

# Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

## **Copyright Notice:**

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit <a href="https://www.mnhs.org/copyright">www.mnhs.org/copyright</a>.

## Suffrage for Women

BY

JOHN STUART MILL

The Great English Statesman's Famous Speech Delivered in the British Parliament, May 20, 1867

#### SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

BY

JOHN STUART MILL

I rise, sir, to propose an extension of the suffrage which can excite no party or class feeling in the housewhich can give no umbrage to the keenest assertor of the claims either of property or of numbers; an extension which has not the faintest tendency to disturb what we have heard so much about lately, the balance of political power; which cannot afflict the most timid alarmist by any revolutionary terrors, or offend the most jealous democrat as an infringement of popular rights or a privilege granted to one class of society at the expense of another. There is nothing to distract our minds from the simple consideration whether there is any reasonable ground for excluding an entire half of the nation, not only from actual admission, but from the very possibility of being admitted within the pale of citizenship, though they may fulfil every one of the conditions legally and constitutionally sufficient in all cases but theirs. This is, under the laws of our country, a solitary case. There is no other example of an exclusion which is absolute. If it were, the law that none should have a vote but the possessors of 5,000 pounds a year, the poorest man in the community might, and now and then would, attain to the privilege. But neither birth, nor merit, nor exertion, nor intellect, nor fortune, nor even that great disposer of human affairs—accident—can enable any woman to have her voice counted in those com-

Price: Per copy, \$.05; per dozen, \$.50; per hundred, \$3.00 Postpaid: Per copy, \$.06; per doz., \$.60; per hundred, express mon concerns which touch her and hers as nearly as any other person in the nation.

Now, sirs, before going any further, permit me to say that a prima facie case is already made out. It is not just to make distinctions, in rights and privileges, between one of Her Majesty's subjects and another, unless for a positive reason. I do not mean that the suffrage, or any other political function, is an abstract right, or that to withhold it from anyone, on sufficient grounds of expediency, is a personal wrong: it is an utter misunderstanding of the principle I maintain to confound this with it: my whole argument is one of expediency. But all expediencies are not on exactly the same level. There is a kind of expediency which is called justice; and justice, though it does not demand that we should bestow political rights on everyone, does demand that we should not capriciously and without cause give those rights to one, and withhold them from another. As was most justly said by my right honorable friend, the member for South Lancashire, in the most misunderstood and misrepresented speech that I ever remember, to lay a ground for the denial of the franchise to any one it is necessary to allege either personal unfitness or public danger. Can either of these be asserted in the present case? Can it be pretended that women who manage a property or conduct a business, who pay rates and taxes, often to a large amount, and often from their own earnings, many of whom are responsible heads of families, and some of whom, in the capacity of schoolmistresses, teach more than a great many of the male electors have ever learnt, are not capable of a function of which every male householder is capable? Or is it supposed that, if they were allowed to vote, they would revolutionize the State, subvert any

of our valuable institutions, or that we should have worse laws, or be, in any single respect, worse governed by means of their suffrage? (Hear, hear.)

No one thinks anything of the kind; and it is not only the general principles of justice that are infringed, or at any rate set aside by excluding women, merely as women, from the election of representatives. That exclusion is repugnant to the particular principles of the British Constitution. It violates the oldest of our constitutional axioms—a principle dear to all reformers, and theoretically acknowledged by conservatives—that taxation and representation should be co-extensive; that the taxes should be voted by those who pay them. Do not women pay taxes? Does not every woman who is sui juris pay exactly the same as a man who has the same electoral qualifications? If having a stake in the country means anything, the owner of freehold or leasehold property has the same stake, whether it is owned by a man or a woman.

There is evidence in our constitutional records that women have voted in counties and some boroughs at former, though certainly distant, periods of history. But the house will expect that I should not rest my case on general principles, either of justice or of the Constitution, but should produce what are called practical arguments. Now I frankly admit that one very serious practical argument is entirely wanting in the case of women: they do not hold great meetings in Hyde Park (Laughter.) nor demonstrations at Islington.

How far this omission can be considered to invalidate their claims I will not pretend to say. But other practical arguments—practical even in the most restricted sense of the term—are not wanting; and I am ready to state them if I may first be allowed to ask, Where are the practical objections? In general, the difficulty which people feel on this subject is not a practical objection: there is nothing practical in it; it is a mere feeling—a feeling of strangeness. The idea is so very new; at least they think so, though that is a mistake: it is a very old idea. Well, sir, strangeness is a thing which wears off. Some things were strange enough to many of us three months ago which are not at all so now; and many which are strange now will not be strange to the same person a few years hence, not to say a few months; and, as for novelty, we live in a world of novelties.

The despotism of custom is on the wane; we are not content to know that things are; we ask whether they ought to be; and in this house, I am bound to suppose that an appeal lies from custom to a higher tribunal, in which reason is judge. Now, the reasons which custom is in the habit of giving for itself on this subject are very brief: that, indeed is one of my difficulties. It is not easy to refute an interjection. Interjections, however, are the only arguments among those we usually hear on this subject which it appears to me at all difficult to refute.

The others chiefly consist of such aphorisms as these: Politics is not women's business, and would make them neglect their proper duties. Women do not desire the suffrage, and would rather not have it. Women are sufficiently represented through their male relatives. Women have power enough already. I shall perhaps be thought to have done enough in the way of answering, when I have answered all these: it may perhaps instigate any honorable gentleman who takes the

trouble of replying to me, to produce something more recondite. (Hear.)

Politics, it is said, is not a woman's business. Well, sir, I am not aware that politics is a man's business either, unless he is one of the few who are paid for devoting his time to the public service, or is a member of this or of the other house. The great majority of male visitors have their own business, which engrosses nearly the whole of their time; but I have never heard that the hours occupied in attending, once in a few years, at a polling booth, even if we throw in the time spent in reading newspapers and political treatises, has hitherto made them neglect their shops or their counting-houses. I have not heard that those who have votes are worse merchants, or worse lawyers, or worse physicians, or even worse clergymen, than other people. One would think that the British Constitution allowed no man to vote who was not able to give up the greater part of his time to politics; if that were the case, we should have a very limited constituency.

But let me ask, what is the meaning of political freedom? Is it not the control of those who do make a business of politics by those who do not. It is the very principle of constitutional liberty that men come from their looms and their forges to decide—and decide well—whether they are properly governed, and whom they will be governed by; and the nations who prize this privilege, and who exercise it fully, are invariably those that excel most in the common affairs of life.

The occupations of most women are, and are likely to remain, principally domestic; but the idea that these occupations are incompatible with taking an interest in national affairs, or in any of the great concerns of humanity, is as futile as the terror once sincerely entertained, lest artisans should desert the workshops and the factory if they were taught to read.

I know there is an obscure feeling, a feeling which is ashamed to express itself openly, that women have no right to care about anything but how they may be the most useful and devoted servants of some man. But as I am convinced that there is not one member of this house whose conscience accuses him of any such mean feeling, I may say that the claim to confiscate the whole existence of half the human species for the convenience of the other half, seems to me, independently of its injustice, particularly silly. For who that has had ordinary experience of human life, and ordinary capacity for profiting by that experience, fancies that those do their own business best who understand nothing else? A man has lived to little purpose who has not learned that without general mental cultivation no particular work that requires understanding can be done in the best manner. It requires brains to use practical experience; and brains, even without practical experience, go further than any amount of practical experience without brains.

But perhaps it is thought that the ordinary occupations of women are more antagonistic that men's occupations are to any comprehension of public affairs. Perhaps it is thought that those who are principally charged with the moral education of the future generations of men must be quite unfit to judge of the moral and educational interest of a community; or that those whose chief daily business is the judicious laying out of money so as to produce the greatest results with the smallest means, could not give any lessons to right honorable gentlemen on that side of the house, or on this, who

produce such singularly small results with such vast means. (Laughter.)

I feel a degree of confidence, sir, on this subject, which I could not feel if the political change, in itself not a great or formidable one, for which I contend, were not grounded, as beneficient and salutary political changes usually are, upon a previous social change. The idea of a preemptory and absolute line of separation between men's province of thought and women's-the notion of forbidding women to take interest in what interests men-belongs to a gone-by state of society which is receding farther and farther into the past. We think and talk about the political revolutions of the world, but we do not pay sufficient attention to the fact that there has taken place among us a silent domestic revolution: women and men are, for the first time in history, really companions. Our traditions about the proper relations between them have descended to us from a time when their lives were apart—when they were separate in their thoughts because they were separate both in their amusements and in their serious occupations. The man spent his hours of leisure among men; all his friendships, all his real intimacies were with men; with men alone did he converse on any serious subject; the wife was either a plaything or an upper servant. All this among the educated classes is changed: men no longer give up their spare time to violent outdoor exercise and boisterous conviviality with male associates; the home has acquired the ascendency; the two sexes now really pass their lives together; the women of the family are the man's habitual society; the wife is his chief associate, his most confidential friend, and often his most trusted counsellor. (Cheers.)

Now, does any man wish to have for his nearest com-

panion, linked so closely with himself, and whose wishes and preferences have so strong a claim upon him, one whose thoughts are alien from those which occupy his own mind—one who can give neither help nor comfort nor support to his noblest feeling and purposes? (Hear, hear.) Is this close and almost exclusive companionship compatible with women being warned off all large subjects—taught that they ought not to care about what it is man's duty to care for, and that to take part in any serious interests outside the household is stepping beyond their province? Is it good for a man to pass his life in close communion of thought and feeling with a person studiously kept inferior to himself, whose earthly interests are forcibly confined within four walls, who is taught to cultivate as a grace of character ignorance and indifference about the most inspiring subjects, those among which his highest duties are cast? (Hear, hear.) Does anyone suppose that this can happen without detriment to the man's own character?

Sir, the time has come when, if women are not raised to the level of men, men will be pulled down to theirs. (A laugh.) The women of a man's family are either a stimulus and a support to his higher aspirations, or a drag upon them. You may keep them ignorant of politics, but you cannot keep them from concerning themselves with the least respectable part of politics—its personalities. If they do not understand, and cannot enter into the man's feeling of public duty, they do care about his private interests, and that is the scale into which their weight is certain to be thrown. They are an influence always at hand, co-operating with his selfish promptings, watching and taking advantage of every moment of moral irresolution, and doubling the strength of every temptation. Even if they maintain a

modest neutrality, their mere absence of sympathy hangs a dead weight upon his moral energies, and makes him averse to incur sacrifices which they will feel, and to forego worldly successes and advantages in which they would share, for the sake of objects which they cannot appreciate. But suppose him to be happily preserved from temptation to an actual sacrifice of conscience, the insensible influence on the higher parts of his own nature is still deplorable. Under an idle notion that the beauties of character of the two sexes are mutually incompatible, men are afraid of manly women (A laugh.); but those who have reflected on the nature and power of social influences, know that, when there are not manly women, there will not much longer be manly men. (Laughter.) When men and women are really companions, if women are frivolous, men will be frivolous; if women care only for personal interests and trifling amusements, men in general will care for little else. The two sexes must now rise or sink together.

It may be said that women can take interest in great national questions without having a vote. They can, certainly; but how many of them will? All that society and education can do is exhausted in inculcating in women that the rule of their conduct ought to be what society expects from them, and the denial of the vote is a proclamation, intelligible to everyone, that society does not expect them to concern themselves with public interests. Why, the whole of a girl's thoughts and feelings are toned down by it from her earliest school-days; she does not take the interest, even in national history, that a boy does, because it is to be no business of hers when she grows up. If there are women and fortunately there now are, who do care about these subjects, and study them, it is because the force within is powerful

enough to bear up against the worst kind of discouragement, that which acts not by interposing obstacles which may be struggled against, but by deadening the spirit which faces and conquers obstacles.

We are told that women do not wish the suffrage. If this be so, it only proves that nearly all women are still under this deadening influence, that the opiate still benumbs their mind and conscience. But there are many women who do desire the suffrage, and have claimed it by petitions to this house. How do we know how many more thousands there are who have not asked for what they do not hope to get, either for fear of being ill thought of by men or by other women, or from the feeling so seduously cultivated by the whole of their education—aversion to make themselves conspicuous.

Men must have a great faculty of self-delusion if they suppose that leading questions put to the ladies of their families, or of their acquaintances, will elicit their real sentiments, or will be answered with entire sincerity by one woman in ten thousand. No one is so well schooled as most women are in making a virtue of necessity. It costs little to disclaim caring for what is not offered; and frankness in expressing feelings that may be disagreeable or unflattering to their nearest connections is not one of the virtues which a woman's education tends to cultivate. It is, moreover, a virtue attended with sufficient risk to induce prudent women to reserve its exercise for cases in which there is some nearer interest to be promoted by it.

At all events, those who do not care for the suffrage will not use it. Either they will not register, or if they do, they will vote as their male relatives advise them, by which, as the advantage would probably be about equally shared among all classes, no harm would be done. Those, whether they be few or many, who do value the privilege, would exercise it, and would experience that stimulus to their faculties, and that widening and liberalizing influence on their feelings and sympathies, which the suffrage seldom fails to exert over every class that is admitted to a share in it. Meanwhile, an unworthy stigma would have been taken off the whole sex, the law would have ceased to stamp them as incapable of serious things, would have ceased to proclaim that their opinions and wishes do not deserve to have any influence in things which concern them equally with men, and in many that concern them much more than men. They would no longer be classed with children, idiots and lunatics (Laughter and cheers) as incapable of taking care either of themselves or others, and needing that everything should be done for them without asking for their consent. If no more than one woman in twenty thousand used the vote, it would be a gain to all women to be declared capable of using it. Even so purely theoretical an enfranchisement would remove an artificial weight from the expansion of their faculties, the real evil of which is far greater than the apparent.

Then it is said that women do not need direct political power because they have so much indirect through the influence they possess over their male relatives and connections. (Laughter.) Sir, I should like to try this argument in other cases. Rich people have a great deal of indirect influence. Is this a reason for denying them a vote? (Cheers.) Did anyone ever propose a rating qualification the wrong way, and bring in a reform bill to disfranchise everybody who lives in a 500 pound house, or pays 100 pounds a year in direct taxes. (Hear, hear.) Unless this rule for distributing the franchise is to

be reserved for the exclusive benefit of women, the legitimate consequences of it would be that persons above a certain amount of fortune should be allowed to bribe, but should not be allowed to vote. (Laughter.)

Sir, it is true that women have already great power. It is part of my case that they have great power. But they have it under the worst possible conditions, because it is indirect, and, therefore, irresponsible. (Hear, hear.) I want to make that power a responsible power. (Hear, hear.) I want to make the woman feel her conscience interested in its honest exercise. I want to make her feel that it is not given to her as a mere means of personal ascendency. I want to make her influence work by a manly interchange of opinions, and not by cajolery. (Laughter and cheers.) I want to awaken in her the political point of honor. At present many a woman greatly influences the political conduct of her male connections, sometimes by force of will actually governs it; but she is never supposed to have anything to do with it. The man she influences, and perhaps misleads, is alone responsible.

Her power is like the back-stairs influence of a favorite. The poor creature is nobody, and all is referred to the man's superior wisdom; and as, of course, he will not give way to her if he ought not, she may work upon him through all his strongest feelings without incurring any responsibility. Sir, I demand that all who exercise power should have the burden laid upon them of knowing something about the things they have power over. With the admitted right to a voice would come a sense of the corresponding duty.

A woman is not generally inferior in tenderness of conscience to a man. Make her a moral agent in matters of public conduct. Show that you require from her a political conscience, and when she has learnt to understand the transcendant importance of these things, she will see why it is wrong to sacrifice political convictions for personal interest and vanity; she will understand that political honesty is not a foolish personal crochet, which a man is bound for the sake of his family to give up, but a serious duty; and the men whom she can influence will be better men in all public relations, and not, as they often are at present, worse men by the whole effect of her influence. (Hear, hear.)

But, at all events, it will be said women, as women, do not suffer any practical inconvenience by not being represented. The interests of all women are safe in the hands of the fathers, husbands and brothers, whose interest is the same with theirs, and who, besides knowing better than they do what is good for them, care a good deal more for them than they care for themselves.

Sir, this is exactly what has been said of all other unrepresented classes—the operatives, for instance; are they not all virtually represented through their employers? Are not the interests of the employer and those of the employed, when properly understood, the same? To insinuate the contrary, is it not the horrible crime of setting class against class? Is not the farmer interested along with his laborer in the prosperity of agriculture? Has not the cotton manufacturer as great an interest in the high price of calicoes as his workmen? Is not the employer interested as well as his men in the repeal of taxes? Have not employer and employed a common interest against outsiders, just as man and wife have against all outside the family? And are not all employers kind, benevolent, charitable men, who love their work-people, and always know and do what is most for their good? Every one of these assertions is exactly as true as the parallel assertion respecting men and women. Sir, we are not living in Arcadia, but, as we were lately reminded, in *fæce Romuli*; and in that region workmen need other protection than that of their masters, and women than that of their men.

I should like to see a return laid before the house of the number of women who are annually beaten to death, kicked to death, or trodden to death, by their male protectors. (Hear, hear.) I should like this document to contain, in an opposite column, a return of the sentences passed in those cases in which the dastardly criminal did not get off altogether; and in a third column a comparative view of the amount of property, the unlawful taking of which had, in the same sessions, or assizes, by the same judge, been thought worthy of the same degree of punishment. (Cheers.) We should thus obtain an arithmetical estimate of the value set by a male legislature and male tribunals upon the murder of women by habitual torture, often prolonged for years, which, if there be any shame in us, would make us hang our heads. (Cheers.)

Sir, before it is contended that women do not suffer in their interests, especially as women, by not being represented, it must be considered whether women, as women, have no grievances—whether the law, and those practices which law can reach, treat women in every respect as favorably as men. Well, sir, is that the case? As to education, for example, we continually hear it said that the education of the mothers is the most important part of the education of the country, because they educate the men. Is as much importance really attached to it? Are there many fathers who care as much, or are willing to expend as much, for the good education of their daughters as of their sons? Where

are the universities, where the public schools, where the schools of any high description for them. (Hear.)

If it is said that girls are best educated at home, where are the training schools for governesses? What has become of the endowments which the bounty of our forefathers established for the instruction, not of boys alone, but of boys and girls indiscriminately? I am informed by one of the highest authorities on the subject that, in the majority of the deeds of endowment, the provision was for education generally, and not especially for boys. One great endowment—Christ's Hospital—was designated expressly for both. That establishment maintains and educates eleven hundred boys and exactly twenty-six girls.

Then when they have attained womanhood, how does it fare with the large and increasing portion of the sex, who, though sprung from the educated classes, have not inherited a provision; and, not having obtained one by marriage, or disdaining to marry merely for a provision, depend on their exertions for support? Hardly any decent educated occupation, save one, is open to them. They are either governesses, or nothing.

A fact has quite recently occurred which is worth commemorating. A young lady,\* Miss Garrett, from no pressure of necessity, but from an honorable desire to find scope for her activity in alleviating the sufferings of her fellow-creatures, applied herself to the study of medicine. Having duly qualified herself, she, with an energy and perseverance which cannot be too highly praised, knocked successively at every one of the doors through which, in this country, a student can pass into medical practice. Having found every other door fast

<sup>\*</sup> Now Mrs. Garrett-Anderson, the first woman mayor in England.

shut, she at last discovered one which had been accidently left ajar. The Society of Apothecaries, it appears, had forgotten to shut out those whom they never thought would attempt to come in; and through that narrow entry this young lady obtained admission into the medical profession. But so objectionable did it appear to this learned body that women should be permitted to be the medical attendants, even of women, that the narrow wicket which Miss Garrett found open has been closed after her, and no second Miss Garrett is to be suffered to pass through it. (Cheers.)

Sir, this is *instar omnium*. As soon as ever women become capable of successfully competing with men in any career, if it be lucrative and honorable, it is closed to them. A short time ago women could be associates of the Royal Academy; but they were so distinguishing themselves, they were taking so honorable a rank in their art, that this privilege, too, has been taken from them. That is the kind of care taken of women by the men who so faithfully represent them. (Cheers.) That is our treatment of unmarried women; and now about the married.

They, it may be said, are not directly concerned in the amendment which I have moved, but it concerns many who have been married as well as others who will be so. By the common law of England, everything that a woman has belongs absolutely to her husband; he may tear it all away from her, may spend the last penny of it in debauchery, leaving her to maintain by her labor both herself and her children; and if, by heroic exertion, she earns enough to put by anything for their future support, unless she is judicially separated from him, he can pounce upon her savings, and leave her penniless; and such cases are of very common occurrence. If we

were besotted enough to think such things right, there would be more excuse for us; but we know better. The richer classes have found a way of exempting their own daughters from this iniquitous state of the law. By the contrivance of marriage settlements, they can make in each case a private law for themselves, and they always do. Why do we not provide that justice for the daughters of the poor which we take good care shall be done to our own daughters? Why is not what is done in every particular case that we personally care for made the general law of the land—that a poor man's child, whose parents could not afford the expense of a settlement, may be able to retain any little property which may devolve on her, and may have a voice in the disposal of her own earnings, often the best and only reliable part of the sustenance of the family? (Hear.) I am sometimes asked what practical grievance I propose to remedy by enabling women to vote. I propose, for one thing, to remedy this. I have given these few instances to prove that women are not the petted favorites of society which some people seem to imagine; that they have not that abundance, that superfluity of influence, which is ascribed to them, and are not sufficiently represented by the representation of those who have never cared to do in their behalf so obvious an act of justice. Sir, grievances of less magnitude than the laws of the property of married women, when affecting persons and classes less inured to passive endurance, have provoked revolutions.

We ought not to take advantage of the security which we feel against any such danger in the present case to refuse to a limited class of women that small amount of participation in the enactment and the improvement of our laws which this motion solicits for them, and which would enable the general feelings of women to be heard in this house through a few female representatives. We ought not to deny to them what we are going to accord to everybody else: a right to be consulted; the common chance of placing in the great council of the nation a few organs of their sentiments; of having what every petty trade or profession has—a few members of the legislature, with a special call to stand up for their interests, and direct attention to the mode in which those interests are affected by the law, or by any changes in it. No more is asked by this motion; and when the time comes, as it is certain to come, when this will be conceded. I feel the firmest conviction that you will never repent of the concession. I move, sir, that the word "man" be omitted, and the word "person" inserted in its place. (Cheers.)

There were 73 votes for Mr. Mill's amendment, 196 against it—it was lost, therefore, by 123 votes.

"The Tribune" correspondent says, "Some of the greatest intellects in Parliament, and nearly all the young men on whom the future of England depends, made an honorable record on this great question. Among them were Hughes, Stansfield, Taylor, Lord Amberley, Oliphant, Mr. Denman, Mr. Fawcett, the O'Donoghue, and the sturdy old Roman Catholic, Sir George Bowyer."

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

A

# REASONABLE REFORM

By RALPH WALDO EMERSON



### A REASONABLE REFORM

By RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

Published in the Woman's Journal of March 26, 1881.

It is very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. Educate and refine society to the highest point; bring together a cultivated society of both sexes in a drawing room to consult and decide by voices in a question of taste or a question of right, and is there any absurdity or any practical difficulty in obtaining their authentic opinions? If not, there need be none in a hundred companies, if you educate them and accustom them to judge. And for the effect of it, I can say for one that certainly all my points would be sooner carried in the State if women voted.

The objection to their voting is the same that is urged, in the lobbies of Legislatures, against clergymen who take an active part in politics—that, if they are good clergymen, they are unacquainted with the expediencies of politics; and if they become good politicians they are the worse clergymen. So of women; that they cannot enter this arena without being contaminated and unsexed.

Here are two or three objections: First, want of practical wisdom; second, a too purely ideal view; third, danger of contamination.

For their want of intimate knowledge of affairs, I do not think this should disqualify them from voting at any town meeting which I have ever attended. If any man will take the trouble to see how our people vote—how many gentlemen are willing to take on themselves the trouble of thinking and determining for you, and, standing at the doors of the polls, give every innocent citizen his ticket as he comes in, informing him that this is the vote of his party, and the innocent citizen, without further demur, carries it to the ballot box—I cannot but think that most women might vote as wisely.

For the other point, of their not knowing the world, and aiming at abstract right without allowance for circumstances, that is not a disqualification but a qualification. Human society is made up of partialities. Each citizen has an interest and view of his own, which, if followed out to the extreme, would leave no room for any other citizen. One man is timid and another rash; one would change nothing, and the other is pleased with nothing; one wishes schools, another armies; one, gunboats, another public gardens. Bring all these biases together, and something is done in favor of them all. Every one is a half vote, but the next elector behind him brings the other or corresponding half in his hand. A reasonable result is had.

Now, there is no lack, I am sure, of the expediency, or of the interest of trade, or of imperative class interests being neglected. There is no lack of votes representing the physical wants; and if in your city the uneducated emigrant vote numbers thousands, representing a brutal ignorance and mere physical wants, it is to be corrected by an educated and

religious vote representing the desires of honest and refined persons. If the wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full vote as an offset, through the purest of the people.

As for the unsexing and contamination, that only accuses our existing politics, shows how barbarous we are, that our politics are so crooked, made up of things not to be spoken, to be understood only by wink and nudge; this man is to be coaxed, and that man to be bought, and that other to be duped. It is easy to see there is contamination enough, but it rots the men now, and fills the air with stench:

Come out of that, 'Tis like a dance cellar.

If you do refuse women a vote, you will also refuse to tax them, according to our Teutonic principle—no representation, no tax.



NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING Co., INC., Publishers for the

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

#### ADDRESS OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY

To the Congressional Committees, in February, 1884, in favor of a National Amendment for Woman Suffrage:

"You ask why we do not go to our several States to secure this right? I answer, because we have neither the woman nor the money to make the canvasses of the thirty-eight States, school district by school district, to educate each individual man out of the old belief that woman was created to be his subject. Four State Legislatures submitted the question of striking 'male' from their constitutions—Kansas, Michigan, Colorado and Nebraska—and we made the best canvass of each which was possible for a disfranchised class outside of all political help, but two men out of every three voted against it. . . We now appeal to you to lift the decision of our question from the vote of the populace to that of the Legislatures.

"Every new privilege granted to woman has been by the Legislatures. The liberal laws for married women, the right of the wife to own and control her inherited property and separate earnings, the right of woman to vote at school elections in a dozen States, full suffrage in two Territories, all have been gained through the Legislatures. Had any one of these beneficent propositions been submitted to the vote of the rank and file, do you believe a majority would have placed their sanction upon it? I do not.

"I beg you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, that you will at once recommend the submission of the proposition now before you, and thus place the decision of this great constitutional question of the right of one-half of the people of this republic to a voice in the Government, with the Legislatures of the several States. You need not fear that our enfranchisement will come too suddenly or too soon by this method. After the proposition shall have passed Congress by the requisite two-thirds vote, it may require five, ten or twenty years to secure its ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the Legislatures; but, once submitted by Congress, it always will stand until ratified by the States.

"It takes all too many of us women from our homes and from the works of charity and education in our respective localities, even to come to Washington, session after session, until Congress shall have submitted the proposition, and to go from Legislature to Legislature urging its adoption. But when you insist that we shall beg at the feet of each individual voter of every one of the States, native and foreign, black and white, learned and ignorant, you doom us to incalculable hardships and sacrifices and to most exasperating insults and humiliations. I pray you that you save us from the fate of waiting and working for our freedom until we shall educate the ignorant masses of men to consent to give their wives and sisters equality of right with themselves. You surely will not compel us to await the enlightenment of all the freed men of this nation and the newly-made voters from the monarchical governments of the old world.

"Liberty for one's self is a natural instinct possessed alike by all men, but to be willing to accord liberty to another is the result of education, of self-discipline, of the practice of the golden rule. Therefore, we ask that the question of equality of rights for women shall be decided by the selected men of the nation in Congress, and the picked men of the several States in their respective Legislatures."

NATIONAL LITERATURE HEADQUARTERS, CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE: 213 HALE BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA.



[post-1890]

## CORRECT PRINCIPLE

## But How Can the Whole Public Wish Be Voted Without the Women?

The fundamental principle of our government is that every person should express the wish by the vote, and that the majority should rule. This principle is not fully carried out except in those states which comprise nearly half the territory of the United States, where women have the franchise.

The Legislature of Wyoming, after twenty-five years of experience with woman suffrage, sent the following proclamation to all the Legislatures of the country:

"Whereas, Wyoming was the first state to adopt woman suffrage, which has been in operation since 1869, and was adopted in the constitution of the state in 1890; during which time women have exercised the privilege as generally as men, with the result that better candidates have been elected for office, methods of election purified, the character of legislation improved, civic intelligence increased, and womanhood developed to a greater usefulness by political responsibility; therefore,

"Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that in view of these results the enfranchisement of women in every state and territory of the American Union is hereby recommended as a measure tending to the advancement of

# WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION 403 ESSEX BLDG., MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

## Women in the State

By U. S. Senator George F. Hoar

It is less than forty years since the movement for woman suffrage began to assume serious proportions. The men and women who took up the advocacy of this cause had to encounter prejudices which had existed since the foundation of the earth. The relation of woman to man was a relation of inferiority and of incapacity to act for herself in all the important transactions of life. Woman was not permitted to vote; she could hold no office, except that by a strange anomaly she could occupy the throne of some of the most powerful and highly civilized monarchies of the earth. The married woman could hold no property; could make no contract; had no lawful control over her own children or her own person; she could not make a will; the customs of society shut her out from the learned professions and from all profitable occupations. It was lish police courts, the less woman has to do with it the better for her, and the better for the State, except that even here the State must largely depend upon her for the instrumentalities which are to diminish the evils of war and lessen its horrors. If, on the other hand, it is so to use its forces as to put an end to these things; if education, justice, science, art, charity, the promotion of commerce and manufacture, the healing of disease, the promoting everywhere of increased reverence for the individual soul, be a function to which its great forces are to be devoted in the future, then it is indispensable that woman should have in its management her full and equal share.-From an address delivered at Amherst, Mass., Sept. 24, 1891.

Subscribe for PROGRESS, Official Organ of National American Woman Suffrage Association, published monthly at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.



deemed unbecoming for her to speak in public, and in many parts of the world to appear in public without an escort. On the continent of Europe and in the mines of Great Britain she was condemned to the most brutal and degrading occupations, and was sometimes harnessed to the plow with bullocks, or on all fours drew loads over the tramways of mines. If those who ask now that the vote of women shall be counted in the United States have any prejudice to encounter, let those who feel it remember that forty years ago it would have seemed far more monstrous to do away with the condition of things that I have described, than it does today to count the votes of their wives. their sisters, or their mothers.

Today, woman manages her property; she is admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and to the pulpit; she manages the postoffice; she is librarian of the public library; she conducts the school; she practices medicine; she is head of the hospital; she has elevated the calling of the trained nurse to a high rank among liberal professions. No man can be found so conservative as to desire to take a backward step in any of these things.

Meanwhile the State has been making an equal advance. Universal suffrage has become the rule here, and large extension of the ballot has become the rule in all free States. The negro has become a freeman and a citizen. Everywhere that domain of the State which is represented by force is contracting and that domain of the State which is represented by public spirit, by charity, by humanity, is enlarging. When men thought of government a century ago, they thought chiefly of the jail, the criminal court, the police and army. Today, they think chiefly of the college, the technical school, the asylum, the road, the library, the postoffice, the hospital and the home. The rank of the State among civilized nations is measured by its colleges, its schools of art and science, its institutions for reform, for the cure of the insane, for the education of the blind and the deaf and dumb. The fown points with pride to the excellence of its libraries, its schools, its churches and its roads.

Now the debate between the advocates of woman suffrage and its opponents is, to my mind, but a contest between two theories of the function of the State. If the State is to do nothing or to do little but to raise and discipline armies, to build jails, and to estab-

HENNEPIN COUNTY

SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

19

MO.

403 ESSEX BLDG.. MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN. Political Equality Series.

Vol. I. PHILA., MARCH, 1897. Stoc. per annum.

Vol. 1.
No. 12.
PHILA., MARCH, 1897.

100. per annum,
15c. per hundred.
Published monthly by the National American Woman Suf-

## frage Association, at 1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa. WOMEN AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

DR. MARY D. HUSSEY.

If it is true that "we learn by doing," it is equally true that we show what we can do by doing it.

Women have some form of School Suffrage in more than half the states. This gives an opportunity to advance the cause of education as well as that of woman suffrage. Let women use their ballots to secure better schools, and they will not only increase their own self-respect but win that of all good citizens.

By securing a better education for the boys and girls of to-day they will not only secure better and more useful citizens for the future, but help to hasten the day when the state shall have added to the wisdom of its sons that of its daughters!

In a Republic the state has no more important duty than the education of its citizen-sovereigns, and as women are the God-ordained instructors of youth they should

have a large share in the management of our schools.

All women should take an interest in them as patriotic citizens, if not as tax-payers, and *mothers* should take a treble interest in their welfare.

No matter how good a school is it can always be made better or be more economically managed. If women never visit the schools or attend the school meetings to help elect the very best men and women as school officials, how can they *know* that they have the best schools possible?

Where women attend these meetings it not only increases the attendance of men, but improves the character of the meetings, and secures the election of better school officials. It has also caused more widespread interest in educational matters.

How can we expect to see children grow up with respect for the institutions of their country, when they see the general indifference of parents to an institution with such far-reaching effects as our school system.

School officers and teachers should be watched, not only to see they do no wrong, but to encourage them when they do well. Many a good teacher has degenerated from the lack of this stimulant.

When the children were chiefly taught at

home it might have been well to tell mothers to "stay at home and take care of their children." But now when they all go out to school, the mother's care should surely follow them.

If the mothers, with their fixed principles and settled character cannot attend a "political meeting," (?) and come in contact with the rank and file of the people among whom they live, how much less can they trust their little children, with their unformed characters, to teachers selected by men elected by the politicians they so much fear?

Think of the influence a teacher may have on such little ones!

She has them under her authority five hours a day, five days in the week, for ten months a year, for nearly a dozen years! Should she not be the very salt of the earth to be so trusted? And when such a teacher is secured should she not be honored and paid in a way that is very seldom done?

There are men everywhere who are willing to sacrifice the schools to their political party, but it does not seem possible that women would ever so far forget their duty to the children.

In one great city men were elected to the school board who could only make their "mark" as a signature, and in one little village the president of the board wrote to the teacher, "School will begin on munday."

Ought mothers to be satisfied with schools managed by such ignorant men?

And even worse are the cases where immoral men and women teachers are tolerated by men officials.

Women often have more moral courage than men, especially when the welfare of children is all stake. This was shown in the case of a school principal, who so neglected his duty that while he read the newspapers his pupils read numerous novels! Many parents took their children from the school as they learned little besides mischief. And yet at the annual school meeting not a father raised his voice in protest, but a trembling little woman who had never heard her voice in public before, was greeted by a storm of corrobative applause when she had the courage to tell about it. And that principal retired from the profession.

And how many faithful teachers are unappreciated!

Wherever there are mothers and teachers there should be conference in regard to the culture of the most precious product of our land—the children. And then let these women seek the power of the ballot to make their ideas effective!

Tea 19003

## William H. Richards:

A Remarkable Life of A Remarkable Man



BY

J. B. N.

## William H. Richards:

A Remarkable Life of A Remarkable Man

BY

J. B. N.

MURRAY BROS. PRESS WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE TRUE biographer seeks to throw upon canvas of lasting remembrance the correct outlines of an individual life, and to retouch the picture with such fine lines as will bring to view distinctive characteristics and give expression to the spirit of the subject. The first requisite for a pleasing portrait or an interesting sketch is a good subject. This is certainly offered in the character and attainments of Professor William H. Richards, whose life and work will continue to be an inspiration to many a youth who, amid adverse circumstances, seeks a career of usefulness and real honor.

It is not because Frederick Douglass rose by his own inherent power to a place among the immortals, that he is the Abou Ben Adhem, whose name leads all the rest of America's self-made men, but because he did this from a lowlier starting point than all others and in spite of weights which would have crushed a less Titanic soul. It is not alone for the success which Professor Richards has won in the fields of learning and the faithfulness with which he has served humanity in the walks of peace where noblest heroes are, that we cry "Bravo" when we see him honored by all who appreciate true culture and acknowledge the peer of the leading legal instructors of the present age.

Born at Athens, Tennessee, in the fiery days preceding the "irrepressible conflict," his only ground of vantage over the sage of Anacostia was that he was born of free parents. "The child of the free woman is the child of promise;" but there was little chance for the fulfillment of early promise to the children of free colored people in a slave State. They had not even the protection which a regard for their market value caused the least humane masters to give their human chattels.

Before the birth of her distinguished grandson, Hannah Richards, who, with her whole family, had been manumitted as a reward of

faithful service, was taken bound to a cotton plantation in Alabama, and it was only by her indomitable courage and almost superhuman endurance that she effected her escape, swimming streams and crossing mountains on her perilous journey back to her humble home in Tennessee. To the care and support of this brave woman was left the "Mitherless bairn," who was completely orphaned before reaching his fourth year, and, although she was then about 70 years of age, she labored energetically to keep the proverbial wolf from the door, and fought at least two battles royal with wolves in sheep's clothing, who had stolen her pet lamb and hoped to retain him by force and fraud. When her personal efforts for his rescue were met with threats of clubs and dogs and guns, she appealed to justiceloving citizens to enable her to recover her treasure by law, and easily proved that she was an efficient guardian for him.

Partly to keep him safe and partly to keep him employed, wise Hannah Richards sent her Willie to work on a farm in summer before he was nine years old, and every summer thereafter until he was sixteen years of age and six feet in height; his wages rising steadily from three dollars per month and board with which he began, to ten dollars, the maximum wages for

a man.

So the ill wind of poverty blew to the orphan boy such blessings as are seldom found in the track of the fair winds of fortune. It blew him to the country at an age when the sons of many well-to-do parents are starting on the road to loaferdom. It gave him healthful exercise amid the beauties of nature, in a mountainous region where air and water are unsurpassed in purity, and where the skies rival the skies of Sunny Italy in tints of blue and gold and amethyst. It gave him physical development to stand the coming strain when the noble mind would struggle for wider range and higher view. It gave him enough of the discipline of daily duty to prepare

him for the responsibilities of any position to which an honorable American citizen may aspire.

When a small boy he learned his letters from white girls at places where his grandmother was employed. She took him with her instead of leaving him alone or in doubtful company, and was as particular in training him as if he had been a girl. He attended a Sunday school taught by a free colored man and woman and a favored slave, and there learned to spell words of two syllables. In the winter of 1864 he began going to a private school, which he continued to attend until the Freemen's Bureau sent teachers to Athens in 1865. What if his first school room had a dirt floor? What if his first teachers used Webster's spelling-book and Noah's methods of teaching? He was eager and glad and happy to sit on a rough bench and take home some kind of script to copy, as there were no desks in the primitive school houses. Three of these negro school houses in the town of Athens, and four others in the vicinity were destroyed by fire One of these stood so near the little cottage of his grandmother that the same fire swept away both buildings in August, 1868.

After the Freedmen's Bureau, came the helping hand of northern philanthropy, and excellent teachers, whose souls glowed with pity, and piety, and patriotism, left pleasant homes in communities where they were loved and honored, to teach the most needy and unfriended class in their own country under far different circumstances. Not only did these Christian women delight in giving instruction to the polite, docile and studious lad, but many others took an interest in one whose ideals were so high and gave such promise of becoming the scholar and polished gentleman that he is. Yardly Warner, superintendent of the Friends' Mission Schools, gave him valuable assistance. Rev. James W. White, at whose home he met Bishop Gilbert Haven and other eminent philanthropists, lent him books, and thus opened to him the choicest fields of literature. Rev. David M. Wilson, for fourteen years a missionary in Syria, and who afterwards gave to Athens, Tenn., the leaven of a brave and practical Christian ministry, was a true and faithful counsellor. He gave him sympathy, treated him as an equal, visited his humble home and invited him to his own house, as well as gave him the use of his splendid library. For ten years he was his Sunday School teacher, directed his course of reading and study, gave him his first ideas of the nature of society and of human rights, and instructed him in mental and

moral philosophy. As a pupil he had often been called to act as monitor, and frequently to hear classes recite, and he began, in his seventeenth year, to teach school at Mt. Harmony, Tenn., raising the standard for temperance and purity, and carrying on a vigorous crusade against the use of tobacco. He organized a debating society and strove to improve the condition of the people. An enthusiastic and successful teacher from the beginning, he was employed a second year. As a student-teacher at Athens and afterwards at Warner Institute, Jonesborough, he won the highest praise. He conducted schools at Johnson City and at Greenville with remarkable success, continuing his studies while teaching, and occasionally reporting to the Institute for examination and instruction. Vacation always found him with a book in his hand.

He began to take an interest in public affairs by circulating a petition memoralizing Congress for the passage of Charles Sumner's Supplemental Civil Rights' Bill. As this was in the trying days of Reconstruction, a white physician who favored the measure was driven out of the town with his family and others threatened.

Young Richards early acquired a reputation in his native county as a speaker, having carried off the prize in an oratorical contest at Forest Hill in his sixteenth year, his competitors being picked scholars three or four years his seniors. His first political address, delivered in the court house at Athens in 1876, before he had reached his majority, attracted wide attention and elicited much favorable comment.

In 1878 he entered Howard University, and during his last two years there led his classes in most of the college studies, although pursuing at the same time a course in the Law Department from which he graduated as valedictorian, June 1, 1881. President Garfield, who conferred the degrees upon the class, said of the valedictorian, "The country will hear from that young man." And it has often been remarked that his address on "The genius of Popular Government," remains the best that has yet been delivered by a student of the Howard University Law School during the thirty-three years of its existence.

Having considerable political influence he was appointed to a \$1,000 clerkship in the Treasury Department July 1, 1881, and promoted for efficiency to \$1,200 the following year. This appointment enabled him to pay off his debts. The only financial aid he had ever had was a loan of money from the writer of this article, which money he now returned as he had borrowed it, by instalments. In 1882, he completed a postgraduate course in law at the head of his class; continued the study of Latin and also of Greek. having originally learned the latter language without a teacher, and devoted himself for several years, under able instructors, to the aconisition of the French, Italian, German and Spanish tongues.

On December 21, 1885, President Cleveland dismissed Mr. Richards from the Treasury Department for "offensive partisanship," and on January 1, 1886, he was given a school in the District of Columbia, of which he remained in charge till June 15, 1886, when he returned to Tennessee, where he ministered to the only parent he had ever known in her declining years,

and remained until after the close of her earth'y

pilgrimage.

Wherever he had taught, he was sought as a teacher. Wherever he had spoken, people wanted to hear him again. In 1832 he had spoken along the line of the Southern Railroad against the repudiation of the State debt, and his speeches were so logical and persuasive and so tempered with tact and kindliness, that he won golden opinions and many friends among both races. In 1837 he ardently supported the Prohibitory Amendment through East Tennessee, and spent election day at the polls working with the temperance women. During the same year he was c'ected Alderman in a White Liquor ward of his native town, receiving more votes than his three white competitors together, and was reelected in 1888 by a similar majority, though he had taken an active part in the fight to close the saloons at night. He was elected Mayor pro-tem, for the year 1889 by acclamation, as many Democrats as Republicans voting for him, and so was the first negro to serve as Mayor in a Southern white community.

Mr. Richards was admitted to the Athens Bar December 5, 1887, and in the following April won distinction in the case of the State against Oscar Fifer, white, for the murder of Matt. Whiteside, colored. "The Athenian" says: The Attorney General conducted the prosecution with the assistance of several distinguished lawyers, among them W. H. Richards." On the other side also was a goodly array of the best legal talent in the State. An exhaustive effort was made on both sides, and each of the attorneys made able and elaborate speeches in the case. before it was submitted to the jury." The accused was sentenced to the penitentiary. Give a credit mark to Athens, Tenn., and don't forget that in the consummation of this victory for justice there was the fine, firm hand of the boy who had been left homeless on the hillside when one of the Freedmen's schoolhouses was caught in the prevailing epidemic of fire just 20 years

In 1888 he was elected a delegate to the Republican County, Congressional and State Conventions, and on returning to Washington in 1889, he was a favorite son of Tennessee; no man ever went up to the capital with better testimonials to the essentials of a true and noble manhood. Colored men praised him for his devotion to the cause of the weak and helpless. Republicans lauded him for his able advocacy of their principles, and Democratic members of the bar said he was a good lawyer, a thorough scholar, and a perfect gentleman. All Tennesseans agreed that he was able and worthy to fill any position of responsibility and honor. He wanted a consulship on the Mediterranean, but was offered a clerkship in the Post Office Department, and later a position in the Interior Department, which he accepted January 3, 1890, serving a year and a half, being once promoted.

In 1890 he accepted the Professorship in the Law Department of Howard University, which he had declined four years before, and has for the past ten years been an honored and useful member of the Law Faculty, being at present Professor of the Law of Evidence, International Law and Personal Property, and has a law office at 420 Fifth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. He is a member of the Graduate Club, president of the Howard University Union Alumni Association, is the literary spirit of the Law Faculty, and as president of the Bethel Literary and Historical Association for the past two years, has done much to develop a taste for all that is best in art, in literature, and in life.—Philadelphia

Tribune, Aug. 4, 1900.

I have known William H. Richards all of his life, and think he is as upright, and as honorable, and as worthy a young man as I ever knew, and he is certainly one of the most promising in our county. He wields a wide influence among his own race and considerable influence with the white race.

J. M. HENDERSON,
President First National Bank,
Athens, Tennessee.

#### BETHEL LITERARY'S NOBLE WORK.

Bethel Literary and Historical Association has just closed the most successful season that it has enjoyed in the eighteen years of its existence. We have frequently pointed out its powerful influence for good in this community and we now take occasion to tolerate all that been said in our columns in praise of this magnificent organization. It has given to the world the brightest and most practical thoughts of the race's moral, educational, industrial, social and religious forces, and its course has at all times been governed by the highest consideration for the general welfare. As a result of its labors, Washington rejoices in a purer atmosphere, a deeper intellectual culture, a more genuine refinement, a loftier sentiment, and a wholesome love for the true, the good and the beautiful. Upon no platform in this land, in a single season has there appeared such a wealth of talent, literary equipment and personal worth and distinction. For these splendid results—this preservation of exalted ideals and induction into the larger life, a more perfect civilization—the community is under lasting obligations to the energy, perseverance, tact and high purpose of President W. H. Richards. Washington has always held Prof. Richards in the sincerest esteem for his many excellent qualities as a gentleman and a scholar, but his faithful and well-directed administration of Bethel's interests during the past year, has added brighter laurels to his brow and won anew the affections of his fellow citizens. A community is thrice blessed when it can number among its leaders, men of character, ability and unwavering public spirit like William Henry Richards.—[Editorial, The Colored American,

May 6, 1899.1

For two years he has made Bethel Literary a forum, from which he has sent forth the richest products that have been developed in the mind, heart and soul of both races. Following out the catholicity of his own liberal and comprehensive intellect, and guided by a judgment and tact that have never rung false in his offerings to the public, he ran the gamut of history, theology, sociology, mataphysics, educational and race problems, politics, biography, popular science-every conceivable phase of the economics of civilization. The broad culture of the man, the wide range of his thought, and rare conception of the necessities of his constituents. could not have been more clearly demonstrated than in an analytical study of the varied programs provided during Prof. Richards' administration. Given absolute sway by a loyal and confiding advisory board, he designed and executed the plans which established Bethel upon a plane of intellectual and moral strength, such as even its most sanguine founders had never deemed possible of attainment, and made the organization a factor in the higher education of the community not second in real influence and scope to our mighty Howard University.-[Editorial, The Colored American, June 9, 1900.]

A negro lawyer of Washington, Prof. W. H. Richards, has the honor of being the first to secure the formulation by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals of the principle that a married woman can be partner in a joint stock company. The decision was given under the Married Women's Act of 1896, which for the first time freed the women of the District of Columbia from the shackles of the common. law. To have secured a judicial decision that this act has the widest possible application, reflects great credit on Prof. Richards, who made a most able argument before the Court of Appeals in behalf of woman's right to have equality of opportunity in the commercial and industrial world and equal protection by the laws .- The Woman's Tribune, Portland Oregon, August 26, 1905.

## THE MINNESOTA BULLETIN

Vol. I. No. 2.

MINNEAPOLIS, OCTOBER, 1901

25 Cts. per Year.

#### PUBLISHED MONTHLY

BY THE

#### MINNESOTA

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Editor, Ethel Edgerton Hurd, M. D., 602 Nicollet Ave., Minneapolis,

Assistant Editor, Mrs. A. W. Kissam, 2501 Fillmore St. N. E., Minneapolis.

#### OFFICERS.

President, Mrs. Maude C. Stockwell 304 Andrus Building, Minneapolis.

Vice-President, Mrs. E. A. Brown, Luverne.

Recording Secretary, Dr. ETHEL E. HURD, 602 Nicollet Ave., Minneapolis.

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. A. W. Kissam, 2501 Fillmore St. N. E., Minneapolis, Tressurer, Dr. Margarett Koch, 714-15 Masonie

Treasurer, Dr. Margaret Koch, 714-15 Masonic Temple, Minneapolis.

Auditors, Mrs. Sanford Niles, 312 16th Ave. S. E., Minneapolis; Mrs. Tanthe Bronson, Stillwater.

#### EXECUTIVE BOARD.

MRS. MARTHA J. THOMPSON, 354 Johnson St., Winona.

M S. CONCHETA F. LUTZ, Redwood Falls.

MRS. A. T. ANDERSON, 1919 5th Ave. S., Minneapolis.

MISS BLANCHE SEGER, Winnebago City.

MISS ELLA A. WHITNEY, "The Seville," St. Paul.

MISS SARAH C. BROOKS, 631 Westminster St., St.
Paul.

MRS. L. B. CASTLE, Stillwater.

Member National Executive Board.
Dr. ETHEL E. HURD, 602 Nicollet Ave., Minneapolis.

#### Report of Executive Board

The board met Sept. 10th, at headquarters 717 Masonic Temple, Minneapolis. Those present were, Mrs. Maude C. Stockwell, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, Dr. Margaret Koch, Mrs. A. T. Anderson, Miss Ella Whitney, Mrs. A. W. Kissam and the recording secretary. The president called meeting to order. After report of officers Dr. Eaton moved that Mrs. Anderson confer with the proper authorities in regard to adding suffrage literature to the traveling liberary. Carried. It was voted to pay

the fifty dollars pledged to the N. A. W. S. A. at once.

The president reported that she had written to all clubs asking for suggestions regarding the place to hold the state convention. She received six replies, among them one from Mrs. Concheta Ferris Lutz of Redwood Falls. Mrs. Lutz, singlehanded and alone, cordially invited the convention to meet there, and courageously and graciously offered to undertake the entertainment of the convention and delegates. Mrs. Lutz thus expressed, what her friends never doubted, her devotion to the cause of suffrage. The board appreciates most highly this offer, and tendered a vote of thanks to Mrs. Lutz. It was thought best not to lay this burden upon her now but to wait until Redwood Falls has a well organized club to assist.

Mankato proved the choice of the board. as it is central and the normal school there; the time Thursday and Friday, Oct. 24 and 25. Senator S. A. Stockwell very kindly volunteered to act as our "advance agent." The day proved rainy and muddy, and the senator had his spirit of devotion to the suffrage cause most sorely taxed. His loyalty needs no further demonstration; he but added one more link to the chain of our indebtedness to him. He found the president of the Mankato club, Mrs. Ella Barnard and the corresponding secretary Mrs. Seeley enthusiastic over the prospect and delighted to arrange for the convention and entertain ment of delegates. Prof. Currier will be pleased to arrange to have Mrs. Catt address the students of the normal school.

A vote of thanks was extended Senator Stockwell.

It was voted that the expenses incurred

president, recording secretary and treas-

A request will be sent to clubs in adjoining states, North and South Dakota, Wisconsin and lowa, for delegates to our convention.

Resolutions on the death of Mrs. Martha C. Callanan were adopted, as follows:

Whereas, word has come to us of the sudden death of Mrs. Martha C. Callanan of Des Moines, Iowa, be it

Resolved, that we, the Executive Committee of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, deeply regret the loss of this new found friend, our valued guest during the national suffrage convention in Minneapolis this spring and that we extend our sympethy to the bereaved husband and to the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Stockwell, Drs. Eaton and Hurd were appointed program committee for the convention.

#### State Convention Notes

The State Convention will be held in Mankato Thursday and Friday, Oct. 24 and 25. Mrs. Ella Barnard is president and Mrs. Seelye is secretary of the Mankato club Mrs. Willard Seelye, 719 Second Street South, Mankato, Minn., is the chairman of committee on entertainment. Mankato ladies will entertain ladies in their homes. According to our constitution each club is entitled to three delegates and one additional delegate for every ten members. Let all clubs elect their delegates AT ONCE and correspond with Mrs. Seelve, so that the committee may know how many delegates to provide entertainment for. It would be extremely unkind to the Mankato ladies to neglect this matter. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt will be present and give an address one evening. The other evening will be devoted either to a reception, or a reception and banquet for Mrs. Catt, as the committee may decide later. The program will be published in Mankato and Minneapolis papers as soon as ready. Let us make this convention exceed all others in

in attending the convention be paid to the point of numbers and enthusiasm. The convention at Stillwater last year was a great success and the banquet delightful. We know Mankato ladies will prove equally good hostesses, and if others do their part well we may be assured of success. The round trip fare from Minneapolis is \$4.74. Dr. Margaret Koch of 715 Masonic Temple, can furnish transportation at even a cheaper rate over the Great Western railroad. It will be greatly to the interest of the State Associatian if the transportation in Dr. Koch's hands can be disposed or in this way, and it is hoped Minneapolis ladies will take advantage of the opportunity. -

#### Minneapolis Political Equality Club.

#### LECTURE BUREAU.

The following speakers will be pleased to appear before Minneapolis clubs without charge, and be-fore any club in the state if expenses are paid and sufficient notice given. Application should be made to Mrs. Ima Winchell Stacy, President Political Equality Club, 1322 Vine Place, telephone

Main 2405 L-1, or to the individual speakers.

Mrs. Maud C. Stockwell, president Minnesota
Woman Suffrage Association. 304 Andrus Bullding · Equal Suffrage in Practice:" giving the results of equal suffrage in the four enfranchised states, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and Idaho.

Mrs. Ima Winchell Stacy 1322 Vine Place, "Suffrage Readings," consisting of interesting selections from the works of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson and others.

Dr. Ethel E. Hurd, 602 'icollet Avenue "Retrospect:" giving the history of the agitation for

Dr. Martha G. Ripley. 24 South Tenth Street, Woman Suffrage the Outgrowth of Civiliza-

Mrs. A. T. Anderson, 1919 Fifth Avenue South, Benefits of Equal Suffrage.' Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, 608 Masonic Temple, (1)

'Women in Politics," (2) "Marriage, Its History and Laws. Dr. Corene J. Bissonette, 363 Kasota Building,

'Life of Susan B. Anthony.'

#### W. C. T U

The State Convention of the W. C. T. U. was held in Minneapolis last week. It proved a success in every way, an inspiration for good work.

The many wearing both white and yellow ribbons, and the numbers of members of the W. R. C. who were both, proved a subject of remark. A prominent delegate said, "A W. C. T. U. member who wears a yellow ribbon is a good suffragist, you may depend upon it."

Mrs. Ella Barnard, Mrs. Willard Seelye, Mrs. Etta Koehler, and Mrs. Mary Plymat of the Mankato Suffrage Club, were in attendance as well as MANY others.

#### N. A. W. S A Convention Notes

It was truly the best planned and best carried out of any convention that I have ever attended.—Mary S. Anthony, Rochester, N.Y.

I have attended many conventions of various women's organizations, but never in my life have I attended one when the details were so well arranged as in Minneapolis. You had a splendid corps of workers and everyone should be thanked for their personal effort in making that convention the success it was. - Mary G. Hay, New York City.

The local workers could not have done more than they did to make the convention a success. I admired the ability as well as the great consideration shown in its entire management.—Lucy Hobart Day, Portland, Me., President Maine W. S. A.

Receipts and expenses of Executive Committee N. A. W. S. A., 33rd annual convention:

#### RECEIPTS. Mrs. Martha S. Cranton of Delaware Collections, including regular Sunday

	\$375.27	\$375.27
Excess of receipts over dis- bursements	18.71	
First auditor 31.00		
Treasurer		
Recording secretary 31.30		
clerk		
Corresponding secretry and		
Vice-president 46.85		
President \$30.00 Vice-president 46.85		
committee and two clerks	312.69	
Railroad expenses of business	12.00	
Miss Moffett, for services at sales	12.00	
dents, telephone messages and sundries	4.04	
Newspapers for absent state presi-		
Telegrams sent by convention	2.50	
stips	8,25	
Voting blanks and amendment	1.00	
Freght and cartage on banner-	1.53	
etc	2.70	
Railroad secretary for postage,"	1.1.100	
Railroad agent for signing certifi- cates	11.00	
Printing credential blanks	\$1.85	
DISBURSEMENTS.		
Receipts from sales tables		89.58
Collections from 12 Sunday service	38	88.86

Local expenses and receipts, 33rd annual convention N. A. W. S. A., Minneapolis, Minn., 1901:

DISBURSEMENTS. West hotel, entertaining nation-

Baptist church, convention build-		
ing	255,00	
Telephone in convention building	10.00	
Programs.	140.86	
Invitations to reception and post-		
age	25.10	
ageAdvertising convention	25.65	
Music committee (piano rent and		
carriages).	11.50	
Badge committee (ribbon and		
printing)	16.00	
Entertainment committee (post-		
age, printing, and board of del-		
egates)	56.10	
Finance committee (postage and		
printing)	12.39	
Decoration committee (services		
and materials)	19.30	
General committee (postage, tele-		
phone, telegrams, stenograph-		
er etc.)	52.77	
Trolley ride	22.50	against an
	-	\$925.42
RECEIPTS.		
Commercial club*Advertising in program	\$300.00	
*Advertising in program	129.25	
From women, private subscrip'ns	203.85	
From men, private subscriptions	245.00	
Lunch room commission	2.50	
Trolley ride tickets sold	7.05	
Badges sold	6.00	
From treasury Minnesota W. S. A.	31.77	
-		\$925.42

\*N. B.-There is still \*50 due from advertising in program, making the full amount \$179.25.



#### State Fair Notes

The State fair proved a great success this year in every respect, and the Suffrage Association shares in the general rejoicing.

A whole day spent in presenting the cause of suffrage to individual visitors is, indeed, an arduous task as a few can textify, not only from experience this year but that of former years; however one forgets physical exhaustion in the enthusiasm born of success, added to the knowledge that the cause championed is not only right but just, and of steadily increasing popularity. The reward this year was greater than ever before, and is regarded as a rich harvest. Only those entering the Federation Club house were invited to register, and really only a small portion of those, as many would pass while the attention of those in charge was engaged with others who were registering. Of course, occasionally one addressed would refuse with a sneer; that is to be expected. in all reforms but they are few in number, and, later, when fley have given time to the unprejudiced consideration of suffrage they, too, will gladly enroll their names in the suffrage register. As noted in the last Bulletin men of national reputation, the highest and best in our land, gladly wrote their names there.

Names registered: Minneapolis, 324; St. Paul, 194; state at large, 250; out of state, 130; without addresses, 116. Total, 1,014.

#### **National Conference**

The N. A. W. S. A. held a successful conference in Buffalo, the week beginning Sept. 9. President Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, presiding, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Mr. H. B. Blackwell, and many others of national reputation were present. A significant feature of the conference was the greetings from other organizations.

Mrs. Fannie Humphreys Gaffney, president of the National Council of Women, greeted the suffragists on behalf of the council and said:

"The council owes much to the suffragists and recognizes that all women ought to pay respect to the foresight, courage and ability of those who have blazed the way which all women are treading. All women should think about the questions of the day, among which is woman suffrage. Women who don't think are back numbers. Man wants more brain in his partner now, and she proceeds to develop it in response to the necessity. She must have more mind, because the work of the world henceforth is to be mind work. In thinking there is hope. If any woman inquiring into suffrage really permits her thoughts to work along the straight line of reason she is bound to arrive at the station of suffrage."

Greetings were given by Mrs. Nellie Whitcomb of Maine, president of the National Free Baptist Women's Missionary Society; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis of New York, president of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; Mrs. I C. Menchester of Rhode Island, of the National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty; Mrs. Kate Warren Barrett, of the National Society of the Florence Crittenden Mission; Mrs. Della P. Glasser of Iowa, of the Order of Rathbone Sisters of the World and Mrs. Elia J. Keating, superintendent of the Eric County Hospital and

president of the American Federation of Nurses. A letter was read in which greetings from the National Council of Jewish Women were sent by the president, Mrs. Hannah J. Solomon, and a telegram in which Mrs. Lillian M. Hollister, supreme commander of the Ladies of the Maccabees of the World, extended greetings.

Mrs. Catt expressed satisfaction in receiving greetings from so many organizations of women and interpreted it as an indication of a new spirit of tolerance, progress and liberality of American women. The women's societies formerly were afraid to come in contact with the suffragists, lest some harm should come to the women of the country.—The Woman's Journal.



The Red Cross Society of Minnesota sent a magnificent floral offering to Canton, an expression of love for our martyr president. Made of the flowers he loved, it was a fitting tribute to his memory. As in all the good work of this society, so in this, the prime mover was Dr. Bessie Park Haines of Minneapolis. Dr. Haines has never fully recovered her health, since the Spanish-American war. During that time she worked indefatigably in the interest of the society, and to this it owed largely the success and praise won. doubtless through her efforts that women were admitted as army nurses; she visited Washington and interviewed President McKinley, Surgeon-General Sternberg and many others, to present the claims of women nurses, and was first, in Minnesota, to received notice from Gen. Sternberg that they had been admitted. Her generous and sympathetic nature fitted her especially for this work. She still retains her office as secretary of the Red Cross Society. It is needless to add that she is a suffragist, and ever has the interest of suffrage in mind.

## Fruits of Equal Suffrage, I.

The advocates of equal suffrage are often asked what practical good it has done where it prevails, and they are sometimes challenged to name a single "law aimed at human betterment" that has been passed in consequence. It is not hard to answer this demand. We point to the following laws:

#### IN WYOMING

(Equal Suffrage Granted in 1869.)

Acts providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay when equally qualified (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614;) raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (Same, Section 4964;) making child neglect, abuse or cruelty illegal (Same, Section 2281;) forbidding the employment of boys under 14 or girls of any age in mines, or of children under 14 in public exhibitions, (Same, Section 2289;) making it unlawful to sell or give cigarettes, liquor, or tobacco to persons under 16, (Laws of 1895, Chapter 46, Section 4;) establishing free public kindergartens, (Same, Chapter 50, Section 1;) forbidding the adulteration of candy, (Laws of 1897, Chapter 39.)\*

Making it illegal to license gambling (Laws of 1901, Chapter 65, page 68;) and providing

<sup>\*</sup>This act is incorporated in a Pure Food bill, covering drinks, drugs and illuminating oils. Laws of 1903, Chapter 82, page 102.

to contribute to the delinquency of a child (Same, page 198;) making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents (Same, Chapter 148, page 372;) prohibiting the killing of doves except in August (Same, Chapter 112, page 232;) and abolishing the binding out of girls committed to the Industrial School: girls to be committed till 21 and then if considered reformed, to be paroled (Same, Chapter 115, page 248.)

In Denver, the women voters have also secured ordinances placing drinking fountains in the streets, garbage receptacles at the corners, and seats at the transfer stations of the street cars: forbidding expectoration in public places;

parking 23d Avenue and planting trees.

Ellis Meredith, of Denver, says that equal suffrage has also led to a much better enforcement of the laws prohibiting child labor, requiring that saleswomen be furnished with seats, forbidding the sale of liquor to minors and the sale or gift of cigarettes or tobacco to persons under 16, and others of the same general character.

Mrs. Ione T. Hanna, the first woman ever elected to the school board of Denver, and one of the most highly respected women of that city,

writes:

"Some results of equal suffrage in Colorado are generally conceded; (1) the improved moral quality of candidates nominated for office by the various parties; (2) a decidedly increased observance of the courtesies and decencies of life at the different political headquarters, previous to election; (3) better and more orderly polling places; (4) general awakening interest, among both men and women, in matters of public health, comfort and safety."

Published at the National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.



for the care and custody of deserted or orphan children, or children of infirm, indigent or incompetent persons (Laws of 1903, Chapter 106, page 134.)

Mrs. F. M. Sheik, of Wheatland, president of the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs, said in a letter to Miss Amy F. Acton, of Boston, Sept. 12, 1904:

"The women of this State have always voted since the Territorial days, and it will be hard to find anything they have not had a hand in.

\* \* \* We have not a good law that the women have not worked for."

#### IN COLORADO

(Equal Suffrage Granted in 1893.)

Laws forbidding insuring the lives of children under 10 years old (Laws of 1893, page 118;) establishing a State Home for Dependent Children, 2 of the 5 members of the board to the women (Laws of 1895, page 71;) requiring that at least 3 of the 6 members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women (Laws of 1893, page 75;) making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father (Laws of 1895, page 186;) raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (Laws of 1895, page 155;) establishing a State Industrial Home for Girls, 3 of the 5 members of the board to be women (Laws of 1897, page 68;) removing the emblems from the Australian ballot-the nearest approach to adopting an educational qualification for suffrage (Laws of 1899, pages 177-178;) establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners (Same, page 233;) requiring one woman physician on the Board of Insane Asylum (Same, page 259;)

establishing parental or truant schools (Laws of 1901, page 364;) providing for the care of feeble-minded (Same, page 177;) for tree preservation (Same, page 185;) for the inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by the State Board of Charity (Same, page 88;) requiring in public schools lessons on humane treatment of animals (Same, page 362;) making the Colorado Humane Society a State Bureau of child and animal protection (Same, page 191;) providing that foreign life or accident insurance societies which have to be sued must pay the costs (Same, page 127;) establishing juvenile courts (Laws of 1903, page 179;) making education compulsory for all children between 8 and 16 except those who are ill, or are taught at home, and those over 14 who have completed the eighth grade, or whose parents need their help and support, and those children over 14 who must support themselves (Same, page 418;) making father and mother joint heirs of deceased child (Same, page 469;) providing that Union High Schools may be formed by uniting school districts adjacent to a town or city (Same, page '425;) establishing a State Traveling Library Commission, to consist of five women from the State Federation of Women's Clubs, appointed by the Governor (Same, page 352;) providing that any person employing a child under 14 in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works, shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to a fine (Same, page 310;) requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of household goods used by the family, or conveyance or mortgage of the homestead (Same, Chapter 75, page 153;) forbidding children of 16 or under to work more than 8 hours a day in any mill, factory, store, or other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful (Same, page 309;) providing that no woman shall work more than 8 hours a day at work requiring her to be on her feet (Same, page 310;) making it a criminal offense

[ca 1904?]

## Judge Lindsey on Suffrage

Judge Ben Lindsey of Denver, is the highest authority in the United States on Juvenile Courts. He was lately asked what effect a voting constituency of mothers had on the success of the Juvenile Court system in Colorado. He answered:

"The Juvenile Court system has always had back of it the support of the women, especially the mothers of Denver, and whatever success it may be credited with is largely, if not entirely, due to their efforts."

In Progress for July, 1904, Judge Lind-

sey wrote:

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

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

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

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

"I know that the politicians in both parties reckon seriously with the woman vote, and I know that men of immoral character have been refused places upon party tickets because of the fear inspired by the woman vote if it is aroused; and when it is aroused, as it generally is in proper cases, it can always be counted upon to be on the side of righteousness.

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

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

In view of the recent assertion by Miss Elizabeth McCracken, a casual tourist in Colorado, that the ballot was a disadvantage to women in their philanthropic work, this statement by so distinguished an expert as Judge Lindsey is of especial interest.

Hon, John L. Shafroth lately resigned his seat in Congress because of election frauds in Denver. This has been quoted as an argument against equal suffrage. But Mr. Shafroth declared in a published interview:

"Of the persons implicated in these frauds, a very small proportion, not more

than one in ten at the outside, were women. He added that cheating at elections is much rarer among women than among men. During the first ten years after equal suffrage was granted in Colorado, only one woman was convicted of illegal voting.

Hon. Alva Adams, who has twice been Governor of Colorado, testified to the same effect at the hearing on woman suffrage before the Judiciary Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives on Feb. 16, 1904.

Mr. W. H. Bryant, president of the Honest Elections League of Denver, said in a letter published in the Woman's Journal of April 9, 1904: "As a result of my own experience in the work of the League, I find that women have practically nothing to do with the fraudulent voting." He added that, of the many corruptionists against whom the League has found it necessary to get out warrants, only two were women.

If more women than men cheated at elections, it would be a fair point against equal suffrage. If the numbers of men and women cheating were about the same, it would not be an argument either way. But since experience proves that election frauds are much rarer among women, this is distinctly an argument in favor of equal suffrage.

Published at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.



[March 5, 190]

#### HENNEPIN COUNTY

WOMAN SUPPRACE ASSOCIATION

403 ESSLX DIDG.

MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

## The Wage Earner and the Ballot

# By 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. The reason is readily appreciated. Where there is a clash of interests between employers and employes, the side having the votes and the money to subscribe to campaign funds will naturally receive more consideration from both law-makers and law-enforcers. The health and needs of the disfranchised working women, the eager appeals of their philanthropic sisters, all are easily outweighed by the wishes of the voters.

In Colorado women have voted for years. There, when some little children were

brought from the southern cotton mills and southern methods of employment were adopted in a Colorado cotton mill, a rigorous child-labor law and a compulsory education law were enacted at once, without a fraction of the agitation required in states where women are denied the suffrage. Moreover, the whole moral and economic question of permitting children to be employed in any way which makes for their mental, moral or physical injury is simplified in Colorado, because in that state the law reaches out to the person who contributes to the delinquency of a child, along with the offending child, thus placing the responsibility where it belongs, and diminishing the number of juvenile delinquents. Judge Lindsey, who secured the enactment of the law, enforces it in such a way as to prevent the offering of temptation to thousands of messenger boys, newsboys, cash boys and other child workers, and Judge Lindsey does not hesitate to assert that he is kept in office largely through the votes of women.

\* I also wish to call your attention to the fact that Colorado places the age of consent at 18 years. In that state a girl cannot consent to her ruin at an earlier age than to her marriage. This statute was introduced and passed by the efforts of a woman who was a member of the state legislature.

Another matter of vast importance to wage earners is the education of their children. It is vitally essential that the children shall be compelled to attend school rather than be forced at an early age into industry. The enormous number of illiterate children in our great industrial states is appalling. In Wyoming, where women have voted for nearly half a century, there are fewer illiterate children than in any other state—only 72 in the entire state.

So long as women are prevented from voting, so long will they be kept out of positions for which they are eminently fitted. A few years ago I had an interview with the man who was then governor of New York. He was eager to appoint as chief factory inspector someone who had had experience, was honest, intelligent and capable. I suggested a woman who had been chief factory inspector of Illinois for four years, and had done expert work for the U. S. Labor Bureau. She had had all the necessary experience; she had only lost her office in Illinois because she had been too honest and impartial in enforcing the law; she was unusually strong, energetic, intelligent, capable and forceful; and yet, because she was a woman, the governor admitted candidly to me that he could not consider her as an available candidate. The voters would wish him to appoint a man! So he appointed a man; a man who was inefficient, but who had the backing of a portion of his voting constituency. And the man who was appointed first deputy-inspector had been

elevator boy at the Capitol in Albany. Running elevators was all the training he had

for this important position.

On one occasion when I spoke before an assembly committee on the mercantile bill, I called on the governor, who has since died, and told him I had come to Albany in the interest of the working girls. Being a close personal friend, he did not hesitate to say frankly to me that he was not interested in working girls; they had no votes!

I have known repeated cases where women who have done faithful service in public office have had their positions taken away from them merely to enable some

voter to obtain the coveted place.

I have often had my attention called to the fact that the women holding municipal or government positions get pitifully low salaries compared with the men who do similar work. Efforts to have their salaries raised meet with discouraging results. Such an authority as Carroll D. Wright, National Commissioner of Labor, has said: "The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."—Woman's Journal, March 5, 1904.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.



# Frederick C. Howe on Suffrage

For a generation the ideal of municipal administration has been a business man's government. It is toward that ideal that reformers have been working. We measured our success by a low tax rate, by economy, by getting our money's worth out of government. The highest ambition was a business man for mayor. In reality we have a business man's government And that is the root of our evils. The ideals of the stock exchange control our municipalities.

We spend millions for business purposes, for the promotion of the industry of the community. And yet, when any organization goes to the City Hall for thousands for school purposes, it is met with the response that the city is too poor. We can spend millions for docks, but not thousands for playgrounds, for baths, for gymnasiums, and means of recreation for the poor. Our attitude of mind is that of business. Privileges whose value runs into the millions are handed out of the City Hall windows. There is no city where they are not in excess of the municipal debt.

Business has sent millions of our people to the slums. We have not had time to care for our poor. We have not had time to build places of recreation. In our beautiful parks we put up signs "Keep off the grass," in order that those who use the boulevards may enjoy looking at the

green grass. It is business, big business, but at the same time little business. The idea that the city is a place to get money out of, is the explanation.

In going from one city to another, I have found that the "boss" came sometimes from one party, sometimes from another; but always, directly or indirectly, he was buttressed by some big business interest that wanted to use the city at the expense of its citizens. Those ideas are changing. A new order is coming in. It is expressing itself in a new ideal, the ideal of the city for the people; not the city for business, but the city as a place to live in; not a place for charity, but for justice, and the abolition of privilege.

The city of Cleveland has been described as the best governed in America. In some departments it is the best governed in the world. It has taken its workhouse out into the country, and put it on a fifteen-hundred-acre farm. It turns loose three hundred convicts with not even a wire fence to keep them from escaping, and they work in the fields all summer. During the long summer only four men disappeared. And the only people who cared were the other prisoners. They said "Shame on those men who have broken their parole!" Cleveland has taken the bad boys off the streets and put them on a large farm in the country. There they have organized. They have made one boy mayor, others are policemen. and so they run it themselves, with a few older men to look after them. They work in school and on the farm, instead of following the cycle through the police court, through the reformatory, back to the police, and then to the penitentiary. When the boys leave this farm school. they are as proud of it as the boy who graduates from college. The city thus gives the boy a chance.

There is an upward movement in all our cities. We are endeavoring to work out democracy.

When it is possible to organize the ideals of this new democratic movement, it will stand for two or three things. It will be a city not for men alone. It will be a city for men and women. It is business which has made our cities take the illogical position that women should not participate in municipal affairs because they know nothing about business. We invite women back to municipal affairs, as the chief corrective of the evils which underlie most of our municipal problems. I believe in woman suffrage not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men and women. Any community, any society, any State, that excludes half of its members from participating in it, is only half a State, only half a city, only half a community. Woman Suffrage does not interest me so much because woman is a taxpaver, or because of justice, as because of democracy; because I believe in the fullest, freest, most responsible democracy that is possible. The city of the people will be a man and woman city, a city for all. A city for the people must have for its families the influence of art, and culture, and education, and ease, and happiness. Those are women's things as much as men's things. The city for the people will elect its officials for other than party reasons, and it will keep men and women in office who give good service. It will use very simple machinery for nomination and election. Added to that, it will have the initiative and referendum. because that is pure democracy. It is a democracy of the people, and wherever it has been tried, it is admitted to be a cure for corruption. The initiative and referendum puts the responsibility of government on the backs of those who must bear it

This city of the people, for the people, will not be satisfied to see two-thirds of its houses in slums, as in New York. It will be a city seeking to scatter its population into the country; and that is possible. Do you think, if the administration of a city sets its mind to the simple question of how to make the city more agreeable and happy, that it could not do it? It will be possible in the city for the people.—From an address given by Hon. Frederick C. Howe at the National Suffrage Convention in Baltimore, Feb. 9, 1906.

These POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS (65 varieties) are published by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

HEADQUARTERS, 505 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK.

Price 15c. per 100; sample set 10c.

Subscribe for the Woman's Journal. You need it. Price \$1.00 per year.



[poet - Oct. 1906]

# Twenty Facts About Women Suffrage

#### From WESTERN WOMAN VOTER

Fact No. 1.—A million women in the United States have full political rights.

Fact No. 2.—In five states of the Union, Washington, Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming and Utah, women vote for President, Vice-President, Congressmen, and all state, county and city officials.

Fact No. 3.—Utah—a suffrage state—has the largest proportion of home owners of any state in the Union.

Fact No. 4.—In Denver the women cast 55 per cent of the vote in the large residence wards, and only 4 per cent in the "slum" wards.

Fact No. 5.—Women are only 42 per cent of the population of Colorado, but they cast 45 per cent of the vote.

Fact No. 6.—In New Zealand, at the first election (1893), 78 per cent of the women voted, and 69 per cent of the men. (The women less frequently "lose their vote" by being away from home.)

Fact No. 7.—At later elections in New Zealand the vote of the men steadily rose. In 1905 (latest available report) 80 per cent of the men and 80 per cent of the women voted.

Fact No. 8.—In most states of the Union about 60 or 65 per cent of the men vote.

Fact No. 9.—In Wyoming 90 per cent of the women vote.

Fact No. 10.—In Colorado 80 per cent of the women register and 72 per cent vote.

Fact No. 11.—In Idaho women cast 40 per cent of the vote, though they are in the minority.

Fact No. 12.—In Colorado, in the first eight months after women were enfranchised, more books on political economy and civics were sold than in the whole twenty years before.

Fact No. 13.—In Seattle there were never a hundred women devoting themselves to the suffrage campaign, but 23,000 women registered at the first election.

Fact No. 14.—Eighty per cent of the women voting in Seattle this year were married women—the women of the "home."

Fact No. 15.—In Wyoming and Idaho a larger percentage of women are married than in any other states of the Union.

Fact No. 16.—Where women have voted the longest, divorce is only one-eighth as great as in similar states where they do not vote.

Fact No. 17.—In New Zealand divorce has decreased 77 per cent and crime has decreased 55 per cent since women began to vote.

Fact No. 18.—There is no nation, no state, no city, where women vote where the vote of the undesirable women even remotely approaches that of the women of good repute.

Fact No. 19.—Almost 30,000 women voted at the last election in Denver. Of these, only 400 could be connected with any bad element.

Fact No. 20.—In letters presented to the Chicago Charter Convention in October, 1906, the 140 mayor, of the five states where women at that time voted in city elections (Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and Kansas) were unanimous in agreeing, first, that the women of those states do vote in large numbers (in many places 90 to 95 per cent); second, that the women are public-spirited and take an intelligent interest in public affairs; third, that the vote of the "undesirable women" is an insignificant factor.

# **VOTES FOR WOMEN CATECHISM**

What is equal suffrage?

It is the right of both men and women to have a voice in the laws that govern them.

Where in the United States do women vote?

In Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and Washington and California.

Do the women of these States vote for President?

Yes, for President, Vice President and Congressmen, and all elective officers.

Do not women stay away from the polls?

In Colorado women are only 42 per cent of the population, but they cast 45 per cent of the vote.

Do not the "objectionable" women vote?

In Idaho they are forbidden to register. At the last election in Denver women cast 55 per cent. of the vote in the best residence district, and only 4 per cent. of the vote in the "slum" ward.

Does woman suffrage decrease marriage?

No. It increases it. In Wyoming and Idahoja larger percentage of women are married than in any other State of the Union.

Does woman suffrage increase divorce?

No. It decreases it. Where women have voted the longest, divorce is only one-eighth as frequent as in similar States where they do not. In New Zealand divorce has decreased 77 per cent. since women began to vote.

Are women compelled to vote in the suffrage States

No; nor the men. In 1904, 7,000,000 qualified voters in the United States failed to vote for President.

If women vote, are they compelled to serve on jury?

No. In Utah jury duty is optional, but any defendant may ask that women be summoned on the jury.

Are men compelled to serve on jury?

In Washington the following men are exempt: Lawyers, ministers and priests, physicians, teachers, locomotive engineers, members of the fire department, civil and judicial officers of the United States, and men over sixty years of age. Any one may be excused if it be shown that his interests or the interests of the public will be injured by his attendance.

Lea 1907]

# WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEW ZEALAND



PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE  $\bar{N_o}$ . 1

# Woman Suffrage in New Zealand



PUBLISHED BY THE

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE

No. 1

# Woman Suffrage in New Zealand

by

#### MRS. K. A. SHEPPARD

President New Zealand Council of Women

At the root of the splendid humanitarian efforts being made in New Zealand, is the fundamental truth that men and women are all members of one body. If one half of the body politic is artificially cramped and numbed, the other half must suffer. But when the restrictions are removed and the forces that make for healthy life are allowed to course freely through the whole body, then the action of each part, will benefit all other parts. The effects of the enfranchisement of the women of New Zealand can be traced not merely to one section of the people, but may be found throughout the whole community. For example, it is not an insignificant thing that 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, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years. The effects of womanhood suffrage are not so discernable in the mothers as in their children. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened and measured by truer standards, is in itself an incalculable benefit.

The effect of the enfranchisement of the women in New

Zealand has not been a revolution. Things have not been turned upside down. The country has not been brought to dire destruction, nor have all wrongs been righted. There has simply been an evolution. The poet Burns said of Nature:—

"Her 'prentice han' she tried on man, An' then she made the lasses O."

Well, in my country the "prentice han' of Democracy was first tried on men. In the beginning male property holders alone possessed the suffrage. Then the qualifications for enfranchisement were extended, until every adult man possessed the power of voting. Then the great web of Democracy was further unrolled, and woman appeared in the electoral panorama. Some people have been disappointed, and others delighted at the fact that so great a change has brought about so little that is startling. The truth, of course, is that the great forces which produce the happiest and most beneficent results are invariably quiet in their operation.

One very noticeable effect of Womanhood Suffrage has been the practical refutation of all arguments against it. For years we had to combat these arguments, and as fast as they were demolished in one quarter they would re-appear in another. But since the touchstone of experience has been applied, they have dissolved into thin air. For instance, it was stoutly contended by the opponents of woman suffrage, that women were constitutionally and temperamentally unfitted for such an act of Government as casting a vote. Three months after the enfranchisement of women in 1893, the General Elections were held, and the erstwhile opponents of the new departure were to be seen, cap in hand, asking for the votes of those whom they had publicly declared, a few weeks before, to be incapable of using it aright.

Then it was said that women didn't want to vote, and would not use it if they could. This argument was used with most tiresome reiteration, although petition after petition had been presented to Parliament, asking for the franchise, and these had been signed by thousands of adult women.

I have said that the General Elections were held only a few weeks after the Suffrage was granted. In a sparsely populated and hilly country like New Zealand, where the means of communication are by no means so easy as in older countries, it might fairly have been anticipated that a very small proportion of the women would be enrolled and would vote at such short notice. Yet when the elections were held, it was found that over 78 per cent. of the adult women in the Colony had registered their claims to vote, and that over 85 per cent. of those registered had actually voted.

A comparative table from the New Zealand Year Book of 1906, recording the numbers of men and women who voted at the last five elections, may be of interest here:—

	MEN.		WOMEN.	
1893 1896 1899	POLLS. 193,536 196,925 210,529 229,845 263,597	VOTERS. 129,792 149,471 159,780 180,294 221,611	POLLS. 109,461 142,305 163,215 185,944 212,876	90,290 108,783 119,550 138,565 175,046

With these figures before us and remembering that many women are occupied in service with children and sick persons, and also that in many parts of the Colony the polling places have to be reached by narrow tracks over mountains, and through dense forests, and that often dangerous rivers have to be forded, it will be seen that the women of New Zealand have amply shown their appreciation of the franchise.

But the women did more than avail themselves of their voting power. They awoke a sense of electoral responsibility among their husbands, brothers, and sons, and there came an intellectual stir, an interest in social questions such as the Colony had never before witnessed. And the result has been that ever since the enfranchisement of women, the proportion of male electors who go to the poll has been largely increased. One of the oldest, largest, most influential newspapers in the Colony of New Zealand, the "Lyttleton Times," dated July 17th, 1903, said:

"One good effect of the extension of the franchise to women is seen in the increased activity of the male electors. When men had the field to themselves, it was a rare thing for 60 per cent. of those on the rolls to record their votes; but in 1893 the proportion rose to 69.6 per cent., and in 1899 to 79 per cent. Last year the proportion fell to 78.44 per cent., but the decline was probably due to the fact that there was an unusually large number of contests in which the results were regarded as foregone conclusions. Our ten years' experience of universal suffrage shows that the women's interest in politics has been well sustained."

It may be said to the credit of the Government that directly the franchise was granted, the number of polling booths was largely increased, in order that the natural impediments in the way of women voting might be lessened as much as possible.

Another stock objection was that women would be insulted at the polls. Since most men have mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters, it was hard to believe that they would tamely stand by and see their women-folk wantonly insulted in the performance of a public duty. Yet those who called to mind elections when party feeling ran high, when free beer was provided, and women and children kept themselves

within doors because of the rowdiness prevalent, might well be pardoned for expressing some anxiety on this score. The result has proved their fears to be groundless. The General Elections in New Zealand are usually held in December, the first month of a Summer, warmer and sunnier than we get in Northern latitudes. The election day is made a closed holiday by law, public houses are closed, and the general aspect is that of a fête day. The old objection of "Who would mind the baby?" is no problem in New Zealand. The baby usually goes to the door of the polling booth, and is there minded by "Auntie" or "Grandma," or the next-door neighbor, while its mother records her vote. Most of the voting is done before the midday meal. In the afternoon the booths are less busy. In the evening, however, when the returns begin to be telegraphed, the towns are thronged by crowds anxious to learn the result of the polls. But the crowds, while often excited over the victories or defeats, are absolutely good tempered and well-behaved. The public houses have been closed all day, and rowdiness has become unknown. Even the supporters of the Liquor Traffic are most anxious that there should be no drunkenness, for the trade is on trial, and the consequences to it may be serious. There is no holiday in the year in which it is so absolutely safe for an unescorted woman to perambulate the streets at a late hour of night as the General Election day.

Again it used to be said that women were so much under the influence of ministers of religion, that they would cast their votes as these ministers directed, and that, consequently, the whole country would be priest ridden. In New Zealand we have no state religion. All sects are equal in the eyes of the law. The only religious question that has arisen in thirty or forty years has been in connection with education. For many years the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England have been desirous of obtaining State aid for their denominational schools. Many members of the other sects also have wished to see the introduction of Bible reading in the state schools. Now, women were enfranchised in 1893. Nearly fifteen years have passed since then, and the women's vote has been recorded five times.\* Yet to-day the State education of New Zealand is still free, compulsory and secular. Does this look as if women voted at the dictation of the priest?

It was formerly said that "women would neglect their homes." Of course it was a foolish thing to say that a woman would cease to care for her family, because once in three years she marked a ballot paper and put it into a box; yet it was continually repeated. No one in New Zealand would say so now, but I believe this kind of argument still lingers in some lands. Let me therefore say that I have travelled in New Zealand from North to South, and that I know it on the East coast and on the West. I have been in Australia, I have seen a little of Canada, and have set foot within the United States of America, I have journeyed through a number of the European countries, and I have taken some little notice of the condition of the working classes by which I believe the social life of a country can be most accurately estimated, and the result of my observation is, that nowhere are the working classes possessed of such pretty homes, such healthy, happy children, such comfortable and adequate clothing, and such freedom from care as in the far away Islands of which I am proud to be a citizen.

Opponents to women's enfranchisement said that the finances of the country would be endangered by such a step. This most extraordinary argument was seriously used, and,

presumably was seriously believed; for when the Bill had passed both Houses of Parliament, nearly half of the members of the Upper House petitioned the Governor to withhold his assent to the measure for several reasons, the first of which was as follows:

"It is a Bill of an extraordinarily important nature, and the rights and property of Her Majesty's subjects not resident in the Colony are seriously affected, as results may seriously embarrass the finances of the Colony, thereby injuriously affecting the public creditor, who was unaware that such legislation was seriously contemplated."

The Governor, Lord Glasgow, did not withhold his assent and the foolishness of the claim has been abundantly proved by the fact that each year since the women of New Zealand were enfranchised there has been increasing prosperity. The productions of the Colony have doubled during the past fifteen years; the revenue has been more than ample, large surpluses being devoted to public works. The security the Colony offers to the public creditor is to-day greater and sounder than ever before.

An extraordinary stimulus was given to the energies of women by the wider life conferred by the franchise. The advantages of organized and systematic work were quickly seen. A number of Societies of women sprang into existence, and set their members to work in given directions. Meetings, largely for educational purposes were frequently held, and the laws affecting the social welfare of the community, such as the care of neglected children, the Protection of infant life, Prison Reform, the Liquor Traffic, Old age pensions, Charitable Aid, Illegitimacy, the Contagious Diseases Act, the Disabilities of Women, the Economic equality of Husband and Wife, and many others were discussed, both at the meetings and in the newspapers of the Colony. Other

<sup>\*</sup>General elections take place once in three years.

subjects of general interest were also taken up and discussed; such as the evils of Party Government, the Establishment of an Elective Executive, the Initiative and Referendum, Land Settlement, Municipalising of public services, and others. The isolation of the Societies was soon felt to be a serious disadvantage, and a meeting of delegates held at Christchurch resulted in the formation of the "National Council of the Women of New Zealand." The Council has held a number of meetings in various parts of the Colony at intervals as nearly annual as circumstances would permit. Of course we incurred a certain amount of ridicule and unfair criticism at the hands of the Conservative press. As a rule the average newspaper follows rather than leads, and is in fact, averse to change. Those who attempt anything new may therefore be prepared for unsympathetic carpings and criticisms. This we duly received, but although it was sometimes unpleasant it helped the object we had in view, viz.: the general discussion of the subjects that were presented. To-day, many of the reforms we were ridiculed for urging, are on our Statute Books, and others are considered to be fair questions of practical politics. Some of us are beginning to wonder whether there will be need for Societies composed exclusively of women much longer and if the humanitarian view of politics will not soon have permeated the community sufficiently to be undertaken by Societies of both sexes.

On few questions has the influence of the enfranchisement of women been so much felt as on the question of Temperance. Women have not voted solidly for this reform. Had they done so, they would, with the aid of the powerful body of men electors who cast their votes for temperance, have swept the liquor traffic out of existence.

But since the enfranchisement of women, the growth of the temperance sentiment has been most prominent. A local option poll is taken every three years at which every elector on the Parliamentary roll is entitled to vote:

- (1) For the continuance of the trade;
- (2) The reduction of the number of licensed houses in the district;
- (3) That no license be granted.

Coming to matters purely legislative let me repeat what I have said before-there has been no revolution. It cannot be said that our Parliament has become an assembly of men actuated by the highest and purest of motives. There are still among our legislators men whose words and actions are to be deplored. And it must needs be so since they are representatives. Until all the men and women of New Zealand are earnest followers of the highest there will be found in its Parliament men who represent low ideals. But there has been a steady evolution. Since women have become electors, their views have become important and command respect. Men listen to, and are influenced by the opinions of women to a far greater degree than was the case formerly. There is no longer heard the contemptuous "What do women know of such matters?" And so out of the greater civil liberty enjoyed by women has come a perceptible rise in the moral and humanitarian tone of the community.

This has been made manifest by much of our legislation. The legal standard of morality, and the conditions of divorce have been made equal for both sexes. Women are now enabled to obtain recompense for slander, without having to prove special damage. The profession of Law has been thrown open to women. Legal separation from worthless husbands can now be obtained summarily, and without expense. The Testator's Family Maintenance Act prevents a man from willing away his property, without making suitable provision for his wife and family. The comfort of the aged

poor has been to some extent assured by the issue of pensions to old persons of both sexes. By a recent amendment in the Old Age Pensions Act an aged couple who own their little home, may receive a joint pension of about 14s, per week, An act for the establishment of Government Asylums for inebriates has been passed. One Asylum has been in operation for some time, and the establishment of others is at hand. The health of women workers, and workers of both sexes under 18 has been carefully guarded, their hours of labour and statutory holidays (for which they receive payment) have been fixed. The payment of wages to learners has been insured, and the liability of employers to compensate for accidents has been defined with great advantage to the workers. Legal recognition of the principles of the economic partnership of husband and wife has been given in two of our laws. A purer code of morals is set up by alterations in the criminal code.

The adoption of children has been regulated by law, and, by the Infant Life Protection Act, baby farming has been prevented. Labour Registry Offices have been brought under control, the welfare, health, and comfort of shop-girls have been legally protected, and improvements have been made in the Industrial Schools Act which include better classification and the adoption of better methods generally. In 1902 a Technical Schools Act was passed to provide for the establishment of Technical Schools all over the Colony. An Opium Prohibition Act was also passed, and last year a Juvenile Smoking Suppression Act found its way to our Statute Books.

I cannot say that the foregoing is a complete list of the laws affecting women and children that have been passed since the enfranchisement of women, or of the measures in process of becoming law, but it affords an indication of the trend of legislation in New Zealand. There are, I know, a number of other measures affecting the social life of the people that have found a place on our Statute Books, such as the Arbitration and Conciliation Acts for the settlement of Industrial Disputes, the abolition of imprisonment for debt Act, and many others, but I need not dwell upon these.

We do not assert that a large proportion of the men electors were not desirous of these measures. They probably were, although there is hardly any evidence of the fact. But we do boldly and confidently affirm that the enfranchisement of women gave a splendid stimulus to the desire for humanitarian legislation; that their persistent efforts kept these questions constantly to the fore; that their votes made it necessary for Members of Parliament to proceed with this legislation, with which many of them as individuals had little sympathy. The files of the public press of the Colony afford abundant evidence of the truth of the contention. And we maintain that he who asserts to the contrary, displays an amount of ignorance that utterly disqualifies him from being accepted as an authority.

Let it suffice now to say that never in the history of our Colony has there been so much attention given to legislation of an humaritarian character as since women possessed the Suffrage. The unique character of our legislation is not an unsupported opinion of my own. Many visitors to the Colony have been interested in our social experiments, and while their impressions vary according as they look through Tory or Radical spectacles, the general verdict is that New Zealand is a happy land for the people who dwell in it.

The state of the s

#### **TESTIMONIALS**

From Sir Joseph Ward, K. C. M. G. Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Prime Minister's Office, Wellington, Oct. 17th, 1907.

Woman Suffrage exists in New Zealand because it dawned upon the minds of thinking men that they were daily wasting an almost unlimited supply of mental and moral force. From the time their baby hands had found support and safety by holding the folds of their mother's gowns, they had trusted the happiness of their lives hourly to the common sense, the purity and the sympathy of women. Strange to say, in one department of life alone, and that perhaps the most important, viz.: the political, had they denied the right of speech and of direct influence to women. Men of different countries had for centuries preached and written of evils which deformed their systems of Government and even tainted the aspirations of statesmen for just laws within the state, and equitable relations abroad. Nevertheless these men neglected, or refused to avail themselves of the support and counsel of women's hearts and women's brains, which they accepted on other matters. Indeed, they were ready to listen to foolish arguments against the idea of women entering political life; such as: women would lose their grace, modesty, and love of home if they voted; since they could not be soldiers, they had no right to control questions of peace and war.

In New Zealand we have not found that making a "pencil mark on a voting paper" once in three years has resulted in

any loss of grace or beauty among our women, or even in neglect of home duties. On the contrary the women's vote has had a distinctly clarifying effect on the process of elections. The old evil memories of election day, the ribaldry, the fighting, have been succeeded by a decorous gravity befitting people exercising their highest national privilege. When the contention, that women should not be entitled to vote because they cannot bear arms, is used by one whose mother could only make his life and citizenship possible by passing through pain and danger greater than the average soldier has to face, it becomes inconsistently ridiculous. Besides, many men (clergymen, government officials, etc., etc.), are exempt from actual military service, and that fact has never been used to deprive them of a vote. The main argument, however, which weighed with us, was that of right, of abstract right. If the foundation of government is the consent of the governed, it appears monstrously unfair that one half of the population should not be represented or have any share in it. Therefore, after long and grave consideration, we gave our women an equal right with men in deciding on the qualifications of candidates to represent them in Parliament.

We have no reason to regret the decision. Women promptly refuted one slander which had been prophesied concerning them by showing that having voting power, they meant to use it. As soon as "The Electoral Act of 1893" extending the franchise to both sexes, was passed, women availed themselves largely of its power and its expression.

At the last General Election, that of 1905, in a population comprising 403,000 women and girls (the majority being children) the number of women who actually voted was 175,056, being over 83 per cent. of those whose names appeared on the electoral rolls. The vote of the men was 84 per cent.

of those on the rolls, and when one considers the disabilities which particularly affect women (especially in rough and isolated rural constituencies) such as bad weather, distance from polling booths, difficulty in getting substitutes to look after home and children, etc., etc., this electoral return shows that the possession of the franchise was appreciated at a high value.

Many of my readers would probably desire to ask me whether there has been any noticeable difference as to the tone of public morals since woman suffrage has become law. There has been little difference up to this time, save in the direction of temperance and more stringent licensing laws. The type of elected Members, has not altered, but this Dominion has always had a class of representatives in Parliament of which it has no reason to be ashamed, and which it has apparently no desire to change. I feel confident that if any great crisis in national morals should arise the women's vote would press with irresistable weight in the direction of clean, honest and efficient legislation. New Zealand has not repented having abolished set disqualifications among those men and women who have unitedly helped to build the foundations of a Nation. I write as one who advocated the extension of the franchise to women before my entry into Parliament twenty years ago. I have always supported it in Parliament, and, while closely watching its effect, have never seen any genuine cause for believing that it has not worked for the good of our Dominion.

> From G. W. Russell, Esq., Chairman of the Board of Governors. Canterbury College, Christchurch, July 11th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

In my opinion, Women's Franchise has been a tremendous

blessing to the Colony, and an unmixed one. I cannot recall a single feature, or particular, in which its benefits have been diluted by a corresponding or co-related weakness.

I have never hesitated to state on the platform and with my pen that the admission of women to the electorate completely changed the point of view to politicians, not only of the rank and file, but also the leaders. The distinctive feature of our politics prior to the woman's franchise was finance. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from a point of view of; (1) what would they cost? (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's view is not Pounds and Pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her sympathy-and her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. When they did so, they saw that 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. I trace nearly the whole of the progressive legislation of the country during the last fifteen years to this source. I need not enumerate the outstanding measures, but will refer to three. They are, (1) Liquor legislation in the direct control of the people; (2) the Old Age Pensions scheme; (3) The rapid development of education. In these three respects the progress of New Zealand has been enormous and the cost of the latter has been huge for a young country. The women's vote has been at the back of all three. With regard to the Liquor legislation, I may add, that while I am not a member of the Prohibition Party, I fully sympathize with state control and cheerfully recognize that as the result of our legislation the Liquor Trade has been enormously improved.

In another respect, the Women's Franchise has had a most important effect, namely, in raising a higher standard of criticism regarding the personal character of members of Parliament. The class of stories that were in circulation twenty years ago regarding the doings of some members have ceased to float. Of course, in any body of men, there will be some who are not all they should be, but speaking generally, our members of Parliament are men who conscientiously desire to do their duty faithfully, have clean hands, and live upright lives.

Regarding the evils that were freely predicted as likely to follow Women's Suffrage, such as dissension in families, "Blue Stockingism," neglect of home, etc., I can confidently say the prophets were wrong in every single item of their catalogue. I have had a most intimate acquaintance with the politics of the Colony for over twenty years and sat in two triennial Parliaments; and during the successive elections I have never once met with family dissensions as the result of Women's Franchise, though I have met with numerous cases of women differing from their relatives as to whom they would vote for. Not the least valuable result of the Women's Franchise has been its educative effect upon our women. They take a most intelligent interest in public matters, have their own political organizations, such as the Women's Institute, where they exchange ideas, and "give a lead" to us slower thinking individuals, and generally provide the complement to the masculine in politics. Need I point out the effect this will have on the future New Zealander, when hereditary influences have time to operate? We should develop a fine race of statesmen when the time comes that the "political fusion" of parents finds its legitimate result in their offspring.

From the Hon. John George Findlay, M. L. C.
Attorney General and Colonial Secretary, New Zealand.
Attorney General's Office,
Wellington, July 27th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

The suggestions made in America and elsewhere, that the possession of the Franchise has induced women to neglect their homes and children, that they are made tools of by priests and wily politicians, or that they do not use the suffrage, can best be characterized as stupid nonsense. It would be idle to deny that the gift of the Franchise to women has not entirely realized the expectations of its friends, because these friends frequently expected far more from the change than any calm consideration of it justified.

I do not think, however, that the words of Sir William Fox have been in any way falsified by the experience New Zealand has had for the last fourteen years. He said—and I

am prepared to adopt his words:

"Women are equal to men in their minds, in their influence, more than equal to men in their influence upon wise legislation of any kind, more than men's equal in those sentiments which have most influence in promoting the true welfare of a country. They are less liable to be debarred from voting according to their real opinions. They have no cliques, no parties, no over-drawn accounts at the bank. If a woman sees a good object before her, she goes straight toward it.

I believe they would generally vote on the right side."

I think that 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 (Aus-

tralia) 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.

From the Hon. Robert McNab, Minister of Lands, New Zealand. Office of the Minister of Lands, Wellington, July 24th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

Much is feared in different parts of the world from the effect of different opinions introduced into families by the various political views held by men and women. I think that in many cases there is that difference of opinion existing, yet I believe that in the vast majority of cases the women's vote goes with the head of the house. This I regard as one of the strong points in favor of the system. We have Universal Suffrage, and while I see nothing wrong in the working man having an equal vote with the millionaire, I do see something wrong in the vote of a man, who may be only passing through the country, having the same weight as the vote of the head of the family or household. The introduction of the women's vote has resulted in the main in the duplication of the stationary and settled vote of the community, while the transient vote is left as before. The home now becomes a big political centre; the tent has little influence. If you ask me the greatest good that has resulted from women's enfranchisement, l would indicate this change as being of greatest value.

In the conduct of elections, the charge is very marked.

Each general election, although the issues are more keenly fought, owing to the presence of the no-license question, seems to be quieter than the previous contest. That effect I attribute largely to the presence of the women at the polls. Their votes, almost equal in numbers to those of men, are given quietly, and are less subject to the control of popular demonstration; and popular demonstration, being less effective in producing results, gradually passes away.

I think on the whole the women's vote goes to purify political life, though the effect cannot be described as revolutionary. I have observed the operation of woman suffrage during fourteen years' membership of the House of Representatives."

From the Hon. George Foulds,

Minister of Education and Public Health, New Zealand.

Minister's Office,

Wellington, July 22nd, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

Your letter of the 20th instant is at hand. I have pleasure in stating that, in my opinion, 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 have never heard of a single complaint regarding priestly or clerical control of our women voters, and though I have known of many cases of families being divided in their support of candidates for Parliamentary honors, I have never known a case in which family relations were effected prejudicially by the existence of womanhood suffrage. 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.

Any proposal to take away the franchise from women would now be scouted, not only by the women voters themselves, but by the great majority of the men of this country.

From Sir Rorert Stout, Chief Justice for New Zealand.

Judge's Chambers, Wellington, July 22nd, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

I believe that the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women has been beneficial. It has interested women in questions of State and it is difficult to estimate its educative effect in that direction.

I believe that it has tended to lessen undue influence over voters. It has not worked the reform its optimistic supporters expected, for not always has the best candidate been chosen. Women have been more influenced by their male relatives than its supporters expected. I believe it has, however, forced social, as distinguished from more political questions to the front.

From Sir William Jukes Steward,
Senior Member of the House of Representatives, New Zealand.
House of Representatives,
Wellington, July 23rd, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

Being the Senior Member of the House of Representatives

(where I am now attending my twenty-seventh session) I have been asked to state my opinion as to the results of Womanhood Suffrage in this Colony (or "Dominion.")

I have no hesitation whatever in declaring that those results have been entirely satisfactory.

The women of New Zealand take an intelligent interest in political matters, and exercise the franchise in as large a proportion as do the male voters. They use their own judgment, and are fully as independent of outside influences as are the men. I have never known an instance of any domestic discord resulting, even when, as is often the case, husband and wife support opposing candidates. In such cases they agree to differ and do not resent each other's independent action. Nor do I know of a case in which a woman has neglected her domestic duties in order to give attention to political meetings. In my opinion, the women's vote makes for the public weal.

From H. W. Bishop, Esq.,
Stipendiary Magistrate, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Magistrate's Court,
Christchurch, Aug. 19th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

For many years I was a consistent opponent of the proposal to grant the Parliamentary Suffrage to women, and I could anticipate nothing but mischief from the movement. I can now frankly say that I believe I was wholly mistaken in my pessimistic views. Looking at the whole question to-day, calmly, deliberately, and dispassionately, after the lapse of these years, I have formed the decided opinion that New Zealand is a great deal the better for the recognition of

women in the direction stated. Particularly do I believe that their influence has been most valuable in furthering humanitarian legislation, and in educating public opinion on important social questions of a beneficial nature.

From Samuel Saunders, Esq.,
Editor of the Lyttleton "Times."
Christchurch, New Zealand,
August 6th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

The extension of the franchise to women has had an entirely wholesome effect upon the social and political life of the country. By inducing a large number of women to take an interest in public affairs, it has widened the horizon of the whole sex, and has brought a new force to the solution of the problems of government. Women have made no unreasonable demands upon their representatives, but their influence, in the mass, has always been cast on the side of clean politics and clean politicians and the result is seen in many of the beneficent measures they have helped to place upon the Statute Book.

From W. H. Triggs, Esq., Editor of "The Press." Christchurch, New Zealand, July 23rd, 1907.

DEAR MADAM;

The results of my observations of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand may be stated as follows:

(1) I think it has not entirely realized the hopes of its

earliest promoters, but, on the other hand, it has not fulfilled the dire prophecies of its opponents.

(2) It has certainly not led, in any single case, to my knowledge, to women neglecting their homes and children.

(3) I have seen no instance of ill-feeling between the sexes, owing to the exercise of the vote. On the whole I think the presence of women voters has had a refining influence at the polling booths, and I doubt if there is any country in the world in which election day passes off with so much decorum as in this Colony.

(4) The effect on political parties has been very much less than was anticipated, either by the friends or the opponents of the movement. The most marked result of the admission of women, in my opinion, has been the strengthening of the prohibition vote.

From A. E. Cohen, Esq.,
Acting Editor "Evening Star."

Dunedin, New Zealand,
July 25th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

The prophecies which you state are made in the United States, re the extension of the franchise to women in New Zealand, namely, that it has resulted in (1) a neglect of home and children, (2) that the women are the tools of priests and unscrupulous politicians, and (3) that they do not care to use their vote, are absurd. The same statements may be made of the men with equal justice. They imply that women are less intelligent than men, which, I need not say, is as stupid as it is inaccurate. The women of New Zealand vote side by side with the men, and they do not allow their vote

or voting to interfere with those tastes, habits, and manners which have ever distinguished them from men. I should say that the women's vote has made little or no great difference one way or the other to our social life. The women take sides and the balance of parties is much the same as ever. Probably there is a keener interest in economic, social, industrial and moral questions, and a really notorious candidate would have little chance of success, though even here we cannot dogmatize. But the character of the New Zealand Parliament is admittedly high—there is nothing to surpass it in any of the United States State Legislatures-bribery-violence of tongue-evil living-corruption-scenes in the House, are simply unknown. This is not all due to the introduction of the women's vote, but the latter has maintained the high repute New Zealand legislators have always had. The actual working of the vote at election times causes no disturbance; men take their wives and daughters and young persons take their sweethearts and when they leave the voting booth there is an end of it. Possibly those who predicted a millenium as a result of the women's franchise are as disappointed as those who predicted a pandemonium. Neither has followed. New Zealanders cannot understand why other countries make such a fuss over so simple a business; that women should vote as well as men, seems to us self evident. To sum up, the outcome in New Zealand, socially and politically, is emphatically on the side of common sense, fair play and good government.

From George Fenwick, Esq., Editor "Otago Daily Times," Dunedin, New Zealand, July 26th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

I have never wavered in my belief that the granting of the suffrage to the women of New Zealand was the barest act of justice, and that the effect of such enfranchisement has been distinctly to the benefit of the Colony. To those who have taken part in the elections since woman suffrage was enacted by the New Zealand Legislature, it has been patent that women voters have manifested a keen and intelligent interest in many of the great social and political questions that have agitated our public life. In some of these questions, they have been markedly a power for good, and there are, I believe, very few intelligent people in the Colony at the present day, unless biassed by self interest, who would have the temerity to say that the granting of the suffrage to women has been in any way harmful.

From Gresley Lukin, Esq.,
Editor of the "Evening Post."

Wellington, New Zealand,
August 5th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM:

I would say emphatically that the assertion that woman suffrage in New Zealand has failed ignominiously, is absurd; nor can it be truly asserted that any evil effects have resulted from the extension of the franchise.

It has certainly not justified the sanguine hopes of those who expected it to effect a social and moral revolution, while on the other hand it has failed to realize any of the dark forebodings of its opponents. In a very large number of cases, there can be no doubt that the votes of the female members of the household have gone to supplement the vote of the male head—which in the strife of parties will very little disturb the balance. When women take a personal and independent interest in politics, they are usually even keener partisans than men, and I cannot say that in the matter of votes they show any higher regard for personal character than men. They appear to be guided by much the same varied motives and considerations as their brethren and are no more amenable to outside influence. The privilege was advocated and granted dispassionately, as a matter of principle; the right has been exercised quietly, unobtrusively, and, on the whole, intelligently.

From Charles Fraser, Esq.,
Editor of the "Otago Witness."

Dunedin, New Zealand,
October 15th, 1907.

DEAR MADAM: .

In reply to your inquiry as to my opinion as to the result of granting the franchise to the women of this Dominion, I cannot believe that any individual who carefully investigates the matter can come to any other conclusion than that the happiest results have followed. Before the question became a live political issue in this part of the world, I was allowed the inestimable privilege of the friendship of intellectual and enlightened women. The conclusion was irresistably forced upon me that to exclude such women from a voice in the government of the country, while I, on attaining 21 years of age,

no matter what my intellectual capacity, would automatically and by right become entitled to vote, was a monstrous injustice which should be ended. I did entertain doubts whether the domestic servant, the factory girl and others should be granted the privilege accorded their more intelligent sisters. The specious argument that men were, by mere contact with their fellow men, more enlightened in political matters and affairs of the world than women of the same educational status seemed to me very convincing. Experience has taught me, however, that women as a whole are actuated by a higher sense of duty and nobler aims and aspirations in giving their votes than an equal number of men. Nothing but good has resulted from the enfranchisement of the sex in this fair land of ours. Reforms which aim at uplifting humanity have been hastened, and I am firmly convinced that when the younger generation of women, brought up with a due sense of the responsibility which will rest upon them, constitute the majority of the women electors, this will be a purer, sweeter and better world to live in.

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

# Women's Freedom League.

Offices: 1, ROBERT ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C. 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

TEL. 15143 CENTRAL.

Tel. Address, "TACTICS," LONDON.

#### OFFICERS.

President-Mrs. Despard.

Hon. Treasurer. Hon. Organising Secretary. Hon. Secretary.

Miss Benett. Mrs. Billington-Greig. Mrs. How Martyn, A.R.C.S., B.Sc.

#### CONSTITUTION.

NAME.—The Women's Freedom League.

OBJECTS .- To secure for Women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the League shall be promoted by—

- 1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
- 2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
- 3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections; at By-elections in opposition to the Government candidate and independently of all other candidates.
- 4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
- 5. The organizing of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
- 6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives and other bodies and their members.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the League, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. All members must approve, though they need not actually participate in, militant action.

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE SOCIAL EVIL.

Or all the objections that have been offered to the demand for Selfish the enfranchisement of women, there is not one which appeals to Objections any higher motive than selfishness. In all previous movements of a similar kind, there has been a considerable amount of honest and well-founded distrust of the probable effects of any sweeping measure of reform. Broad-minded statesmen might, and did, dread the advent to political power of a large and comparatively uneducated working class. As Robert Lowe said, after the establishment of household suffrage, they had now to set to work to educate their masters. But in regard to the enfranchisement of women the case is entirely different. No one pretends, or could pretend, that the granting of their just demands would mean the inrush of unreasoning animalism into affairs of State; so, with a frankness unrivalled in the history of political movements, opponents of Women's Suffrage fall back on appeals to sheer brute selfishness which, as often as not, they hardly take the trouble to disguise. This is the meaning of all the talk about the unsexing of women by political activities, and the constant insistence that their proper sphere is the home. What is really at the bottom of the opposition is the fear that if the vote be granted it will mean a long step in the direction of bringing to an end the present economic and social dependence of women upon men. Man likes female subservience and dreads female competition. Leaving aside blind ignorant prejudice, there is no other reason than this for resisting the just demands of the women of this country to be admitted to full citizenship, and the more fully we can expose this reason in all its elementary ugliness the better. Therefore, we may as well say frankly to those who are standing in the way of this great and urgent reform: You are not actuated by any real desire to safe-guard the interests of women or by any patriotic solicitude for the future of your country; you are actuated simply and solely by determination to maintain the privileged supremacy of the male sex.

But this is just the very point at issue in the present campaign, Suffragist and it is the clear perception of this which turns the Suffragist agitation Agitation into a moral movement, claiming the sanctions of civic righteousness a Moral and justice on its side. We British people have an almost unlimited Movement capacity for shutting our eyes to facts until a situation becomes too intolerable to permit of self-deception. We have been assuring ourselves for generations that the women of this country were the respected equals and companions of their male protectors in whose chivalrous devotion lay their true security. Unfortunately the facts do not bear out this poetic way of looking at the question of the relations of the sexes. I like to think, and I believe it is true, that the average Englishman has a real respect for womanhood, but that respect

# Women's Suffrage

AND

# The Social Evil.

BY

# The Rev. R. J. CAMPBELL.

Speech delivered on December 17th, 1907, at the Queen's Hall, London, under the auspices of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. - - 38, Museum Street, W.C.

Published by THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

Copyright.

need not be imperilled by any change in the direction of making his women folk independent of his good will. And it has to be admitted, whether we like it or not, that the enjoyment of privilege tends to blind its possessors to the disadvantages it entails upon others.

Prostitution

Let me mention only one aspect of the problem in which the disparity in the relative economic position of the sexes operates disastrously without our apparently being aware of it. You will forgive me, I am sure, for doing a little plain speaking on this point; I refer to the nauseous problem of prostitution. Opponents of Women's Suffrage profess to be terribly anxious to safeguard the integrity of family life, but modern civilization is having to pay a terrible price for this desirable thing. In every great city of the western world there exists a class of women who live by hiring themselves to men with whom their only bond is that of lust and lucre. In London alone it is estimated that the number of these women amounts to scores of thousands. Everybody knows this, and, in polite society, pretends not to know it. Where has this class come from, and why does it exist? The answer is that for untold centuries the woman has been not only the dependent, but more or less the private property of the man. Broadly speaking, the man owns all there is to own; he used to own the woman out and out; now he only owns her indirectly as it were. Man is woman's capitalist. Women have little or no access to the sources of productive employment, and therefore they have to remain in a position of dependence. At the best this position of dependence makes the woman to some extent the inferior of the man; at the worst she becomes his victim. This is where prostitution comes from; it has an economic root. Women sell themselves to men because men have control of the sources of wealth. The stronger sex has a practical monopoly in the field of politics and industry. The truth is, though it may not be pleasant to face it, that most of our notions about women and the family have their origin in male selfishness, although with the lapse of time they have become sacro-sanct. Why are we so hard on female offenders against sexual morality, and so lenient with their betrayers? Why is the man allowed a certain licence in this respect which is unthinkable in his wife and sisters? The real reason is that the ordinary man of primitive times wanted to make sure that he would only be called upon to support his own children, and the same motive holds almost equally good now, only we have managed to disguise it with a number of sentimental considerations about female virtue which have grown up around it. But the operation of this motive, coupled with the desire to leave the man untrammelled, has, under existing economic conditions, led to the creation of two classes of women—the class from which man draws his friends and companions, and the class which ministers to his passions without involving him in social obligations of an exacting kind. Prostitution is thus the direct outcome of man's determination to do as he likes, coupled with an equally firm determination to see that woman does not imitate him in this respect. The device is quite ingenious, although we have not consciously and of set purpose adopted it. But for the economic dependence of one sex upon the other it could not exist for an hour.

In stating this one hard moral and economic fact I have deliberately chosen one of the more prominent evils for the remedying of which a radical change is called for in the political status of women. If this terrible evil, with all its vicious accompaniments, is to be abolished it is the women themselves who will have to do it. And it will not be done by moral appeals, for while these appeals are being made the conditions are continuing unchecked which produce fresh victims. All honour to those who are devoting time and energy to rescuing a few from the crowded ranks of ill-fame; but we all know well enough that the impression made on the appalling total is but small. We shall have to go one better than Social Purity organizations.

What is wanted is such a representation of women in the Legis-Political lature as shall secure to them a living wage on the same terms as to Lever men. There are far-reaching economic problems here upon which Needed I hardly dare to touch at present, but we may as well recognize plainly that to give women political power is the best way to secure to them in the long run such an economic status as will litt them clear out of their present position of reputable and disreputable dependence upon men. It may seem an utterly unpractical thing to say that the housewife deserves her wage just as much as the husband, and that it ought to be secured to her independently of his favour or caprice, but this change will surely come. Women know too well the hardship of the present state of things not to be able to recognize the remedy when once it is put into their hands. Moreover, to educate women and then deny them a living is damnable. To give them a mere pittance, and expect them to eke it out with the wages of shame is equally soand it is notorious that this is a thing which is often done in the case of young shop girls. To tax women for public purposes without giving them any voice in the expenditure of the money they pay is the violation of a principle of political justice for which seas of blood have been shed in ages past. It is intolerable that a large and increasing portion of the wage-earners of this country should have the conditions under which they labour regulated by politicians belonging to another sex; if women cannot be trusted to legislate for men-and I do not believe they could in every respect - neither can men always be trusted to legislate for women. It is well known that every economic interest in this country makes itself felt in proportion to the effectiveness of its voice in the Legislature; with the best intentions in the world men are not likely to look too sharply after the interests of women if the women are not able to voice their own cause effectively, and that means the possession of the vote. Governments never lead in the direction of administrative reform; they are always driven. Give women the vote and the pace will be accelerated in the direction of those great social changes which are already on the horizon, and which mean ultimately the abolition of pauperism, unemployment, and prodigal waste of life and energy among the lower classes. No one knows where poverty pinches better than the working man's wife; it is she who has the making of the family budget; she can tell you best what the difference will be if the loaf becomes a farthing dearer. Every year we are interfering more and more with the venerated maxim that an Englishman's house is his eastle. Whether we will or no we are being driven to care more thoroughly for the welfare of child life, not only in schooling, but in feeding, clothing, and housing. Is there any sensible reason why the mothers of England, to whose hands is committed the principal care of the children in their early days, should not have a direct share in legislation which is having increasingly to do with the making and maintenance of the home?

Woman Demands a Career

And, apart even from marriage and the family, we are having to face one new and portentous fact—the emergence of the woman who is being fully equipped to take her place in professional or commercial life along side of theman. Woman is demanding a career, not merely an existence. She is the proved equal of the man in any field of service where physical strength is not a sine qua non. This problem is not going to decrease; it is going to become larger. You can no more prevent the intrusion of women into fields of activity hitherto reserved for men, than labour was able to prevent the invention of machinery. What are you going to do about it? Barring them out is no good, although it has been tried, with every species of intolerance, from the Universities downward. You will have to face a new economic situation. You will have to reconcile yourself to the replacement of male by female labour wherever it happens to be cheaper, and then you will have to ask whether it is good for the body politic, or even possible, to prohibit such labour; if it cannot be prohibited, it will have to be represented in Parliament like all other labour.

There is no need for sex competition. Enlightened self-interest ought to bid us welcome every improvement in the status of women. If they have shown themselves capable of taking their place in our industrial and public life, we ought to see to it that the principle of comradeship is extended still further. If the new industrialism means -and it does mean—the employment of a vastly increased number of highly trained and intelligent women, it will be to the interest of the whole nation to see that these women are fully represented in the councils of State. Let there be no barriers of sex privilege. If we are comrades in the home, comrades in the school, comrades in the office and the workshop, let us be comrades at the hustings too. We need the woman's point of view in all questions affecting the national well-being. Let the men of England request it as a measure of wise patriotism; do not let us concede it in any grudging or half-hearted manner. Honour, prudence, and fair play unite to bid us take this enlightened course. The hour is not far distant when we and our descendants will wonder that such a battle ever needed to be fought, and we shall vie with each other in respect and admiration for the brave women who are fighting the battle of their sex against such heavy odds of bigotry and prejudice to-day.

Branches of the WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. ENGLAND. Honorary Secretaries. BIRMINGHAM ..... BIRMINGHAM ...... Miss Girling, 10, Linden Road, Bourneville. Caldicot (Newp't, M.) Miss L. Corben, Ivy Lodge. CARDIFF Miss C. Corben, Ivy Lodge.

CARDIFF Miss O. Stevenson, 15, Oakfield Street, Roath.

CHELMSFORD Miss E. Boothby, Hill Road, Springfield.

CHELTENHAM Mrs. Earengey, B.A., 3, Wellington Square.

CHESHIRE Miss A. Hines, The Nook, Cecil Avenue, Ashton-on-CHESTER..... Mersey.
Miss E. Woodall, 36, Princes Avenue. COLCHESTER ...... Miss Kent, 9, Mersea Road Eastbourne ...... Mrs. Dilks, 33, Hurst Road. MANCHESTER Miss F. Kirkman, 47, Mosley Street.

MARLOW. Miss A. Witcomb, Lord's Wood, Marlow, Bucks.

MIDDLESBROUGH Mrs. Coates Hansen, North Gate, Roman Road. Potteries (Staffs) ... Mrs. Gough, 35, Elm Street, Burslem. SHEFFIELD ...... Miss S. G. Barnet, 5, Victoria Flats, Glossop Road. SUDBURY Mrs. Robertson Kemp, Gainsborough House.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS... Miss Le Lacheur, The Wilderness.

WEST SUSSEX Miss V. Cummin, Easebourne Vicarage, Midhurst.

WOKING Miss I. Pocock, Lyndhurst, Chobham Road. Wolverhampton ... Mrs. Cresswell, 25, Rugby Street. YORK ...... Mrs. Anderson. 54, Vyner Street. IRELAND. BANGOR (Co. Down)... Dr. Harriette Neil, Rosetta Cottage, Princetown Rd. SCOTLAND. ABERDEEN ...... Miss N. Scott, 92, Hamilton Place. DUNDEE ...... Miss L. Clunas, I, Blackness Crescent. DUNFERMLINE ...... Mrs. Beck, 1, Elliott Street. EDINBURGH (East) ..... Miss Storrie, 93, Ferry Road, Leith.

"Miss Jack, 4, Fountainhall Road.

GLASGOW (Central) ... Miss Semple, 25, Albert Drive, Crosshill.

"Miss Soga, 6, Montague Street.

"With Miss Soga, 6, Montague Street." (Western) ... Miss Wilson, 308, Dumbarton Road, Partick. ,, (Pollokshields) Miss C. Anderson, 23, Princes Square, Strathbungo. ,, (Dennistoun)

HELENSBURGH ......

Miss Savage, 21, Gibson Street, Hillhead, Glasgow.

Miss Gadsby, 66, Sinelair Street.

KILMARNOCK ......

Miss Hamilton, 66, King Street. Perth..... Miss A. Buist, 5, Atholl Crescent. Scattered Members Miss E. Murray, Moore Park, Cardross, Dumbarton. LONDON. BATTERSEA ...... Mrs. Duval, 37, Park Road, St. John's Hill. S.W. Bromley (Kent) ..... Miss Evans, 94, College Road. Central (Miss A. Mocatta, 108, Iverna Court, Kensington, W Miss Hillsworth, 13, Clapham Road, S.W. CHELSEA..... Miss Hamilton, 28, Glebe Place. CLAPHAM ...... Miss F. Underwood, 16, Newland Terrace, Queen's Road, Battersea.

CROYDON ...... Miss D. Brightwell, Langley, Natal Rd., Thornt'n H'th. Dulwich ..... Mrs. Moore, 4, Playfield Crescent, E. Dulwich. FINCHLEY Miss Berry, 4, Derby Villas, Nether St., N. Finchley.
Mrs. Mitchell, Saltburn, Mountfield Rd., Ch. End. HACKNEY ...... Mrs. Mustard, 49, Moresby Road, Upper Clapton. HAMPSTEAD Mrs. J. Brindley, 4, John Street.

HERNE HILL. Miss Spencer, 32, Geneva Road, Brixton.

HIGHBURY Miss Arklay, 10, Highbury Hill, N.

HOLLOWAY Miss Wilkie, 52, Bayston Road, Stoke Newington. Kensington Mrs. Railton, 42, Campden House Court, W.
Lewisham Miss Henderson, Eaton House, Dacre Pk., Lee, S.E., and Mrs. Manson, 62, Inchmery Road, Catford. MAIDA VALE....... Miss Baenziger, 134, Portsdown Road.
NORTHERN HEIGHTS Miss Mairet, 12, Blythwood Road, Crouch Hill. PECKHAM Mrs. Pickering, 23, Albert Road.

SOUTHALL Mrs. Fielden, Lynton, Dormers Wells Lane. TOTTENHAM ...... Miss M. Sims, 15, Glaserton Road, Stamford Hill. WILLESDEN ...... Miss James, 9, Wrottesley Road, Harlesden.

# Published by the Women's Freedom League.

The second of th	Conta		4d.			
Towards Woman's Liberty. By Teresa Billington-Greig						
Woman under the Law. By W. G. Earengey, B.A., LL.D. (Lond.)						
Debate—Sex Equality v. Adult Suffrage						
Citizenship of Women. By Keir Hardie		Id.				
One and One are Two. By Israel Zangwill		•••	Id.			
Talked Out. By Israel Zangwill			1d.			
Tactics: Past and Present. By Teresa Billington-Greig						
Women's Suffrage and the Social Evil. By I	Rev. R.	I. Campbe	ell id.			
Some Economic Aspects of the W.S. Mov	ement.	By Re	V.			
R. J. Campbell	•••	***	Id.			
The Hour and the Woman			1d.			
Postcards of Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Holmes, Miss Irene Miller, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Mrs. Sander- son, Miss Schofield, Lady Russell, Miss Muriel Matters, and others,						
and various Cartoon Postcards			Id.			
Badges: W.F.L. Badge and "Votes for Wome	i Fia	5	1d.			
Ribbon Badges	***	***	3d.			
Ties in the Colours	***	***	8d.			
Waistbelts ,, ,,	•••	•••	1/0			
	C 1					
Other Literature on						
Case for Women's Suffrage. By Brougham Vill	iers	***	2/6			
British Freewomen. By Mrs. Carmichael Stopes			1/10			
Jane Bull to John Bull. A Book of Cartoons						
Awakening of Women. By Mrs. Swiney			1/0			
Woman Suffrage. By Arnold Harris Mathew						
Diana of Dobson's. By Cicely Hamilton						
Sphere of "Man." By Mrs. Carmichael Stopes						
Subjection of Women. By John Stuart Mill						
Women and Economics. By Mrs. Gilman						
Influence of Woman. By Buckle						
Woman: a Few Shrieks. By Constance Smedley						
Warning to Suffragists. By Cicely Hamilton			6d.			
How the Vote was Won. By Cicely Hamilton		***	6d.			
The State and the Woman. No. II. Mrs. Arn			4d.			
Better and Happier. By Lady McLaren	***		6d.			
Better and Happier. By Lady McLaren						
Woman's Franchise. By Mrs. Wolstenholme Elm	ffunca	Br. M				
The Constitutional Basis of Women's Su	in age.	Dy M	id.			
Political Rights of Women. (Condorcet.) Trans. 1		lice Vicke				
"No Votes for Women." A Reply by Lady Con	stance L	vtton	3d.			
Schools of To-morrow. By Margaret Macmillan	5001100 13	, 00011	6d.			
Sex Symphony. By J. R						
	8 11.1.1	and our				
Franchise News	with Suf	frage Nor	Id.			
Jus Suffragii. An International Paper dealing	with 15th	rage 1101	4d.			
issued Monthly, post free	(Bronge)		6.4			
Badges: "Jus Suffragii." International Badge	(Drouge)	ettë	ou			

PRINTED BY FRANCIS & CO., 13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON E.C

[ca. 1908 ?]

The

# **Lellowship Religion**

Mary Russell Mills

5 cents each; \$3.50 a hundred; \$20 a Thousand

The Fellowship Publishing Co.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Ready October 1st, 1908.

## The Art of Living

Second Edition

by

## Mary Russell Mills

A Spiritual Manual of Vital and Permanent Value. Ideal for personal study for the quiet hour and for adult classes.

Cloth, 75 Cents

By Mail, 80 Cents

#### Fellowship Sunday School Lessons

Two Series on

"Foundation Stones of Character"

and

"First Principles of Fellowship Teaching,"

by

MARY RUSSELL MILLS

Send 5 cents for samples.

### The Fellowship Publishing Co.

Los Angeles, Calif.

#### The Fellowship Religion

Mary Russell Mills



E have never had a western religion. We have imported our entire stock of religious commodities from the Orient. Christianity was one of these importations, and, being an excellent article, it wore well and for a long

while. There are many of us who do not yet know that it is practically worn out, some, even, who have no suspicion that it needs any repair. But there came a time when it began to grow quite evident to some—and this conviction has been deepening with the passing of the last one hundred years—that it did not fit us as well as it once did, that its dimensions were growing restrictive. I heard a prominent Congregational minister say, "We talk of the faith of our fathers. That is precisely what none of us hold today." A Presbyterian minister of thoughtful and acute habits of mind, said, "The younger Presbyterian ministers are not preaching the doctrines of the church; they are preaching Socialism or practical Christianity, or trying to reconcile the theory of evolution with the biblical account of creation-a thing they

can never do." And he was right. A Methodist clergyman, who holds one of the highest offices of the church and is of national reputation, made this assertion, "There exists today a most deplorable state of affairs; underneath the surface, the churches are all honeycombed with New Thought and many heresies."

No one could look with an unprejudiced eve out over the life of the western civilization, and not see that this portion of the world, at least, is stretching itself, and getting ready for something different from what it has known along this line. France has broken entirely with the Roman Catholic Church. Germany has, as a state, released herself from orthodox Protestantism as an authority. In Italy, the home and stronghold of Catholicism, there are being made, here and there, most enlightened protests against its tyranny. In Austria, we behold the curious spectacle of men ceasing to be Catholics and passing over into Protestantism, as a form of religion a little farther along than the former: and from this, of course, they will go on to liberalism. In many countries of South America, they are ceasing to be Catholic, or religious, at all, in a formal sense of the word, and this is also gradually becoming the case in Mexico. While in the United States, no intelligent person can doubt that we are surely, if slowly, slipping out from under the yoke of Catholicism, and protesting against Protestantism. That the latter is certainly losing its hold we must see, if we look at the facts which indicate the ebb of ecclesiasticism. Statistics and general observation show us the churches as not losing but having completely lost their hold on the masses.

What have we done, in view of this

state of affairs?

Some of us have rather inconsiderately rushed into agnosticism. We have, identifying or confusing the form with the essence, so keenly felt our seeming losses and ignorance that we have practically said. "Let us try getting on without a religion." But that has not worked, and cannot, for as Plato long ago saw, "man is a religious animal;" as Sabbatier affirms, he is "incurably religious." And the attempt has practically proved itself futile. There have been churches formed on the basis of practical reform-effort, as "Labor Churches:" there have even been churches formed on the basis of skepticism, as in the case of the followers of Auguste Compte. I have been informed that the family and near friends of that typical heretic of our own day, Robert Ingersoll, gather once a day in the room containing the ashes of the departed one, and to an accompaniment of soft music, meditate on and speak of his virtues. This, beautiful as it may be intrinsically, suggests a reversion to ancestor worship.

Again, some of us have gladly welcomed the great ideas brought to us by the teachers from the Orient, who have been visiting our shores during the past few years, or the interpretations and adulterations of those ideas, as presented to us by Christian Science, Theosophy, or some of the many schools and cults of New Thought, which have rapidly grown up among us. Concerning Vedantism, we have said, "Here is a religion deeper and broader than Christianity and very much older"; and we have seemed to think that the latter assertion was a great recommendation of it, not considering the truth of the wise admonition:

"If a man claims to know and speak of God, and carries you backward to the phraselogy of some old moldered nation in another country, in another world, believe him not. Is the acorn better than the oak which is its fulness and completion? Is the parent better than the child into whom he has cast his ripened being? Whence then this worship of the past? The centuries are conspirators against the sanity and majesty of the soul."

While the religion that has found its most complete expression in India contains the most porfound divine and sublime insights and statements of the truth of life, truth that can never be superceded, yet in the way it has been apprehended and practiced, it no more fits our world of to-

day than does Christianity-perhaps not as well. And the land of its birth is recognizing this. India is rising, slowly but surely, throughout the length and breadth of her territory, not only in protest against military misrule, but her own religious decay. Japan has formally renounced Buddhism and practically all religion. There was a time when she might have adopted Christianity as her state religion; but after having, with her rare sagacity, sent a commission around the world to study other religions, she wisely concluded that no existing form adequately influenced the practical life of this age. Persia is falling away from the old and attempting the new. And thus is the Orient adding her testimony to the general consensus of tendencies along this line.

Everywhere—we might as well acknowledge it, "the faiths which have comforted and created men and nations" are crumbling, fading and passing away. They were alive once and sufficient unto the needs of the human heart and will. They are not now adequate to our present state—even of the knowledge we have won by the use of our sensual and reasoning faculties. They do not meet the demands of present-day feeling, desire, tendency and aspiration, either individual or collective. We are a "population of ladies and gentlemen out in search of a religion."

We demand, because of the force and progress of that which we are, a larger look at God and life; a more vital sense of relationship; a new and deeper love; a more imperative motive to duty; a religion of insight and interior authority.

"The elements already exist in many minds around you of a doctrine of life which shall transcend any written record we have." The great primal step has been taken in the formation of such a doctrine by the insight of the sages of the east into the unity of life. A high, strong, beautiful, though not finished or sufficient modern scripture has been given us by that great prophet, Emerson. Many honest and earnest attempts are being made and welcomed by many souls, to express the great divine Idea which has been hovering over us and pressing on us, as is evidenced by the many schools and cults already referred to, and the critical sociological movements which are taking place among Yet there has remained a need for some one definite, consistent, coherent statement of religion, so deep and broad, so sane and tolerant and explanatory, so adequate to all the needs that have developed in the present stage of the evolution of humanity, as to "make all skepticism absurd."

I do not make any apology for believing that the Fellowship movement is at once the announcement and vehicle for the new expression of religion that is needed at this time. I can the more freely assert this faith, because this movement did not start out to be this. "You cannot build anything which has roots." The Fellowship idea was not builded. It grew,—grew out of the world's need, and an aspiring and humble endeavor to meet that need. It is significant that its first tentative pronunciamento was entitled, "The Gospel for an age of Unrest."

What then, is the Fellowship Religion? To attain as comprehensive a view as is possible within the limits of this article, we may regard it in four aspects. It is:

A Religion of Principle,

A Religion of Progress,

A Religion of Practice, A Religion of Purpose.

1. A Religion of Principle

Every expression of religion, carrying the power of permanency in it, must be founded on principle, on eternal, immutable truth, that which IS, and is an elemental part of life itself. If we go down to the core of every influential form of religion that the world has known, down through all the superstition, opinion, formulation of belief—"aberglaube," as Matthew Arnold calls it, we will find more or less blind faith in one central truth—a conviction that there is a Somewhat that is

goodness, power and love, at the heart of the universe, and that it can be trusted; also the conviction, nearly one with the former, that that goodness and love ought to be expressed in our human lives. Thus the trust and love we announce and repeat and emphasize as the central truths of our system, are indeed the expression of central and fundamental principles, shorn of all superstitions and superfluities of

creed and dogma.

But we must make further explication of the truth that this is a religion of Principle, by reference to the fact that every religion is an attempted explanation of the constitution, course and purpose of life. It struggles with the great problems presented to us by existence, by the occurrences of our individual lives and of history: by the intimations of unseen existence brought to us by our aspirations and longings. To be a religion at all, it must present some theory of life that is for the time at least satisfactory and inspiring. There is only one theory of life that will permanently explain, satisfy and inspire; that is large enough to comprehend and preserve all that is of worth in the most intelligent faiths of humanity: to embrace and explain all the doubts of all honest skeptics; to take full account of and justify all of the ugly facts of existence—the sufferings and seeming injustices of life; and to become

inspiration and fulfillment for every human soul. This is the Unity Philosophy-that which sees all life, every being, object, atom and fact of it, as the expression of one great Power which is Intelligence, Wisdom, Goodness, Love, each entirely and all in one. This insight into life reveals it as a great, divine plan, unfolding and unfolding by an undeviatingly evolutionary method. It shows all of the processes as trustworthy, and all seeming evil as incompleteness or present "failure to hit the mark," and points to increasing and ultimate success in the entire and voluntary expression by humanity, of the perfection which is the nature of all things. It announces the manifested universe as conceived in wisdom, as holding a love and good will at the heart of it, as being permeated with high aim, inevitable tendency toward the best, and a beauty which is a foregleam of its own perfection. In this conception of life, we find our directions toward the matchless culmination, which is the dawn and mid-day of the flawless consciousness of that Radiant Reality, which carries up and transmutes all things into Infinite and Eternal Beatitude.

In this philosophy of life we have firm standing-ground, a real basis for faith. The appeal to the heart and will, the call to the trustful life, have here a backing and reasoning, that make them coincident with





the most accurate powers of thought. A life of serenity and trust, based on this philosophy, is logical and natural. And there is something magnetic and powerful about the person who truly trusts the whole good order of things. If we stand firmly, calmly, confidingly with God, with the universe, as those who do not doubt that against "all appearances, the nature of things works for truth and welfare," we stand on a rock; and the world will know it and sooner or later will come and stand with us.

#### 2. A Religion of Progress

Looking at all of manifested life, as we do, as an evolutionary scheme, one that works always in the developing of the good into the better and the better into the best,-we must view all things in flux, movement, progress. The ascending effort on the part of all nature is never lost sight of. And this not only indicates the trend of life outside of human volition, but of man's own nature-sets the pace for him -so to speak, and suggests at once the value and direction of all our efforts. In the light of this view of life, we may read the significance of all our longings, our divine discontent, our efforts to raise ourselves above ourselves. And as we, universally and almost instinctively and unconsciously, work for some better state of

being, we can see at once that any true religion is the essence, the motive, and spur for intelligent and unceasing progress. The more truly religious we are, the more earnestly, definitely and wisely are we working for the world's development and better-In the expression of religion of ment. which we are speaking, we take account of all that has been done by nature, below the threshold of human consciousness. We perceive that the great work swings steadily on, and will continue to do so. We trust the great forces that carry us ever onward and upward. And yet, so far from being soothed into the least tendency to inactivity by this confidence, we find here the mightiest incentive to the most strenuous, earnest and unremitting labors. We do not inertly say, "Nature will do the work by virtue of what she is. We can do but little. Therefore we need not trouble or bestir ourselves." We see, rather, that nature has worked up to the point we call human—that is, to intelligence, choice, volition, conscious execution. It is the working of the same force that. below man, we called "evolution." In him we call it "aspiration," "determination," "effort." But it is the operation of the same law. We are become intelligent evolutionary forces. Now we work and will work. Now we strive to accomplish and we do and shall accomplish that to

which we have set our hands. We see that the world of yesterday does not fit the men of today, that we must have new and more beautiful institutions, with which to clothe and express our new and larger ideas. These institutions have in their establishment, growth and changes, expressed our best ideas, hitherto held. We do not condemn but rather honor them, as being the best we could have possessed in even the near-by past. But in the light of the great truth of the unity of life and its necessary corollary, the brotherhood of all men, we see that our politics are monstrous; our economics are organized warfare, our penal systems are incarnate revenge and cruelty, our international relations are artificial, exclusive and barbarous; the most of our so-called education has been an ineffectual attempt to teach by reverse and inverted methods; and nearly all of our religious expressions up to date have been ecclesiastical attempts to shut the door of heaven on all who did not walk in what we considered proper paths of theological definition. That reformation, liberation, growth, discipline, illumination are needed, is clearly evident. And this new religion is a great call of nature and of grace to an organization of effort, a consecration, a loyalty that shall parallel the world's most noble history and heroism:

that shall bring about a bloodless and glorious victory of love.

#### 3. A Religion of Practice

But it is on the thought that this is a religion of Practice that the strongest emphasis must be laid. And by this is meant the practice of these principles in the individual life of him who holds them, every day and every hour in the day. No thought, however good, is good at all unless translated into good conduct. "Conduct is nine-tenths of life." Principles are explicated and proved, truths are tested, by the stern application of them to daily living. The whole object of this manifested life is that we should express in substance and action, the highest goodness of which we can conceive. The Holy Spirit is choosing to dwell, for the present, in "houses made with hands," and these houses must be "fit dwelling places." No good and beautiful society can be constructed of individuals who are not earnestly and continuously striving to live in the spirit which they desire as the pervasive one in that society. Hence, while the movement must go on, throughout the whole texture of human life, and whenever a step may be taken, whether collectively or individually, it should be most enthusiastically done-vet it is toward personal righteousness and purity that the thoughts

and efforts must be most definitely and earnestly directed. We are to give ourselves to the contemplation and understanding of this most expansive, most uplifting philosophy of life; we are to engage in all efforts for the forward movement of society; but above all we are to endeavor to conform our individual lives to the pure idea in our own mind, and by interior energy recreate our world in perennial beauty and limitless joy. And this "personal righteousness" means the life of trust and love. It means trusting the Great Heart at the center of the universe. trusting the divine nature and aim in all men and all events, trusting the whole good order of things. It means making the test of all our words, actions and relationships, the question, "What is the loving thing to do?" and thus actively expressing that trust which is the recognition of the Deity within ourselves and all else.

"Most of us," as some one has well said, "have learned to pay one hundred cents on the dollar, that we ought to be kind to dumb animals and the like"; what we now need is a great insweeping tide of love and sympathy that shall help us to really enter the lives of others, and shall bring them into our lives as parts of our own souls.

When we have practically proved that we are steadfast in a trust that cannot be disturbed, and carry "a stock of love that cannot be exhausted," we shall lead and lift the world toward its native, divine

destiny.

Two lads of eighteen or nineteen years of age, members of our Los Angeles Fellowship, went, one summer, to Santa Catalina Island for a few weeks' vacation. They wished to hire a boat and sail around the island, stopping here and there, but found that they could not obtain one without the security of the name of some well known person. They were unknown, and gave up the effort to get a boat, in great disappointment. Walking up the beach, they met a rough-looking man in sailor garb, who greeted them with the utmost enthusiasm and heartiness. When they asked him his name, and where they had met him, he threw open his coarse jacket and revealed a Fellowship pin, at the same time pointing to the pins they wore. He had only to hear of their perplexity to gladly become their security. In starting they asked him just why he did this. "You are Fellowshippers; I trust you," he replied. "Would you have done it if we had not been Fellowsippers?" they asked. He hesitated, and then replied, "Yes, I am a Fellowshipper. I trust." Their holiday was cut short by the serious illness of one of the boys. Making their way with difficulty back to Avalon, where

they had obtained the boat, they again met their whole-hearted friend. He took them to the room where he ate, slept and lived his simple life, put the invalid in his bed, went for a physician, sparing no expense or trouble, and tenderly cared for the suffering one until the first streak of daylight came. But he had now become tired and worn, and felt that he must sleep a little before his day's work began, and he had become a little impatient with the constant moaning and groaning of the nervous boy. He went out and threw himself on the sand and, unfortunately, slept heavily until past the time when the lads must take the steamer for the mainland. His great chagrin and self-condemnation for this seeming neglect, and his slight impatience, were pathetic. He wrote them a most penitent letter, all through which rang the oft-repeated cry, "I was not a good Fellowshipper, after all!" And yet this man. ignorant and rough and naturally careless as he appeared, had attended but one Fellowship meeting. Spending a Sunday in Los Angeles he had been attracted by the singing, had dropped into a Fellowship gathering, and had heard that which changed the whole tenor of his life. He had learned that Fellowship means trust and love and service.

4. A Religion of Purpose

Religion is that fine sense of soul which

connects the individual with universal purpose. And this largest conception of universal purpose, most definitely places each individual as a necessary, eternally ordained part of the Perfect whole; reveals each soul as a unique thought of the Divine Mind, and a thought expressed for a purpose; shows each one of us as having set before us a task which is a part of the building of the world,—a task which assembled humanity, without us, could not perform. Thus it admonishes us to nobly and joyously play our parts as actors and factors whose absence or subtraction would leave the scheme incomplete. Set in the light of Divine Purpose, we behold our beautiful America in her true position in the world-life, and gladly ascribe to her the significance which makes her name a synonym for the largest opportunity mankind has known.

"And thou America,
For the scheme's culmination, its thought
and its reality,
For these, (not for thyself) hast thou arrived.

"Thou too surroundest all, Embracing, carrying, welcoming all, thou too by pathways broad and new, To the ideal tendest.

"The measur'd faiths of other lands, the grandeurs of the past,
Are not for thee, but grandeurs of thine own,
Delfic faiths and amplitudes, absorbing, comprehending all,
All eligible to all.

"All, all for immortality, Love like the light silently wrapping all, Nature's amelioration blessing all, The blossoms, fruits of ages, orchards divine and certain, Forms, objects, growths, humanities, to spir-

itual images ripening.

"Give me, O God, to sing that tho't, Give me, give him or her I love this quenchless faith, In thy ensemble whatever else withheld

withhold not from us, Belief in plan of Thee enclosed in Time and

Health, peace, salvation universal.

"Is it a dream? Nay, but the lack of it the dream, And failing it life's lore and wealth a dream, And all the world a dream.'

The time has come when "that Supreme Beauty which ravished the souls of those eastern men" has elected to speak in the West also. When the inner light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world shall illumine many souls, and enable them to "follow so far those shining laws, that we shall see them come full circle: shall see their rounding, complete grace; shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart, and shall show that the Ought, that Duty, is one thing with Science, with Beauty and with Joy." Then shall the Orient and Occident and the whole round world join hands and hearts and flow together in a solemn and boundless joy to celebrate a communion in the Deific Purpose that sublimes the universe into itself.

Ready October 1st, 1908

## The Divine Adventure

Second Edition, Seven Lectures by BENJAMIN FAY MILLS

on the theme:

"Can Modern Men Practice the Sermon on the Mount?"

This book is a novel exposition of the fundamental principles of rational and satisfactory living, with fascinating and illuminating illustrations from real life.

Cloth, \$1.00. — By mail, \$1.10.

The first chapter is printed separately, for use by classes, for

5 cents. - By mail, 6 cents.

## The Eve of a New Era

Ready October 1st.

A new book by

BENJAMIN FAY MILLS

Fifteen of Mr. Mills' most brilliant addresses.

Cloth, \$1.50. — By mail, \$1.60. Send Orders Now

FELLOWSHIP PRINCIPLES and THE GREATER FELLOWSHIP, free on receipt of two-cent stamp.

The Fellowship Publishing Co.

# Fellowship

## **Published Monthly**

Edited by

BENJAMIN FAY MILLS

Assisted by Mary Russell Mills, N. O. Nelson, Bolton Hall, William E. Smythe and Reynold E. Blight

This is a unique publication, representing The Fellowship Philosophy and The Fellowship Organization; standing for what Marcus Aurelius called "Religion without Superstition" and Emerson describes as "A Form of Religion which makes all skepticism absurd."

\$1.00 A YEAR 10 CENTS A COPY Trial Subscription, 3 Months, 25 Cents

## The New Revelation

by

#### BENJAMIN FAY MILLS

An Illuminating Exposition of Fellowship Principles. 5c each, \$3.50 a hundred, \$20 a thousand.

Fellowship Religion

A stimulating address by Mrs. Mills. 5c each, \$3.50 a hundred, \$20 a thousand.

FELLOWSHIP PRINCIPLES and THE GREATER FELLOWSHIP, by Mr. and Mrs. Mills, sent free on application and two-cent stamp.

# The "Unanswerable Argument"

#### By Mrs. Lida Calvert Obenchain (Eliza Calvert Hall)

It is asserted that "the average good American woman's indifference to woman suffrage" is an unanswerable argument against the movement.

If this be true, there is an unanswerable argument against every good work and every reform movement of the present day, or of any past day, for it is a fact that "the average good American woman," and her brother, "the average good American man," are shamefully indifferent to the things that make for the public good.

A knowledge of sanitary science is a good thing. The average American woman living in a town without a drainage system will permit the cook to throw dish-water and kitchen garbage into the back yard, and the average American man, unless deterred by law, does not hesitate to expectorate on the public pavement and the floors of public buildings. Is this indifference to sanitary precautions an unanswerable argument against sanitary science?

The men and women who are working to abolish child labor encounter a vast indifference to this subject on the part of legislators and the people at large. Is this indifference an unanswerable argument in favor of child labor?

Seventy-five years ago, women did not go to college. When the agitation for the higher education of woman began, the indifference of the average American citizen arrayed itself against education for women. Was this indifference an unanswerable argument in favor of illiteracy for women?

There was a time when a married woman could not make a will, and a married woman's wages belonged to her husband. So indifferent were the average men and women to this injustice that it was years before married women obtained property rights. Was this indifference an unanswerable argument against granting woman the right to dispose of her own possessions by will, and to collect and spend the wages earned by her own toil?

But why go further in citing parallel cases? There are two classes of people in the world. In the women of one class, a keen sense of justice is developed. In the other class, the sense of justice is so undeveloped that women belonging to this do

not object to a condition of disfranchisement that reduces them to the political level of the idiot, the lunatic, the felon, the minor and the illiterate negro of the South.

This large class of women is well described as "average," and by mere force of numbers these average women may continue for a long while to have things their own way. But human progress means the setting aside of the opinions and wishes of average people, and in the long run the world is governed by the small first class, the men and women who love justice, who know what justice is, and who, by this love and knowledge, are raised above the "average."—The Woman's Journal, April 11, 1908.

### WILL WOMEN VOTE?

The Colorado Secretary of State, in a letter to Mrs. Maud Wood Park, says 80 per cent. of the women of Colorado register, and about 72 per cent. of them vote.

The Wyoming Secretary of State, in a letter to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, says 90 per cent. of

the women in Wvoming vote.

The Chief Justice of Idaho and all the Justices of the State Supreme Court have signed a published statement, saying that "the large vote polled by the women establishes the fact that they take a lively interest."

In Australia, at the last national elections, 628,-

123 men voted and 431,033 women.

In New Zealand, when equal suffrage was granted, out of the 139,915 adult women in the

colony, 109,461 registered to vote, and the number of women voting has increased at each triennial parliamentary election since. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550;

in 1902, 138,565 and in 1905, 175,046.

In none of these places had the majority of women ever asked for the ballot. In all of them, the opponents of equal suffrage had vehemently asserted beforehand that the women did not want it, and would not use it if they had it.—Alice Stone Blackwell in Woman's Journal of Aug. 22, 1908.

The small school vote of women is claimed as a proof that women would not use the full ballot if they had it. But, wherever school officers are chosen at a separate election, only a small fraction of the men ever turn out to vote. Statistics collected by Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, of Evanston, Ill., show that in Illinois the number of men voting at a school district election can often be counted on the fingers of one hand. At one such election, only two men voted. In New York, State Commissioner of Education Skinner several years ago publicly asserted that in the country districts, where the school elections are held separately, the vote of the men is about as small as that of the women.

As a rule, the small elections call out only a small vote, while the large elections call out a large one. This is equally the case with men and

women.

Political Equality Leaflets, sample set, 10c.; per 100, 15c.

Published at National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.



WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION 408 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS. :: MINN.

## DOROTHY DIX ON WOMAN'S BALLOT

#### Women Ought to Vote, Because-

Taxation without representation is tyranny, whether the individual who pays the taxes wears trousers or petticoats, and because all just government must rest upon the consent of the governed.

Women form one-half of the population, and as long as they have no voice in the government they are held in serfdom. It is not just that, merely by reason of sex, one-half of the people of the country should rule the other half.

It is folly to say that women are represented by the votes of the men of their family. No man is willing to sacrifice his suffrage and let his father or brother vote for him.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because they are unlike men, because they have different aspirations, different needs, a different point of view, a different way of reaching conclusions. Feminine talents, which are invaluable everywhere else in life, should be equally useful in politics. WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because every question of politics affects the home, and particularly affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's house-keeping 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.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because their vote would supplement man's, and, while he looked after the big things, they would look after the little things. The man might interest himself in making his country a world power, the woman voter would see that the street-cleaner did his duty so that her children might not be killed by diphtheria.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE because they would look just as much at the candidate as they would at the platform upon which he stood. It is practically impossible to put the party yoke on women. This has been proven in the States in which women have suffrage. When a clean man was put upon either the Democratic or the Republican ticket and a corrupt man named on the other ticket, the woman

vote invariably has flopped over to the good man. It was the women of Denver, irrespective of party, who kept Judge Lindsey in office after the party committees had turned him down, and thus enabled him to continue his great work of child-saving.

WOMEN SHOULD VOTE, if for no other reason than because women, if they had a chance, would be just as potent a factor in politics as they are in religion. They would compel men's interest in the subject.

Everybody knows that if women ceased going to church, shut up all the missionary societies and preachers' aid societies, nine-tenths of the churches would have spider webs growing across their doors inside of a month. Practically all of the men who go to church and contribute to religious causes do so at the instigation of wife, mother, sister or sweetheart.

The majority of good men are responsible for the rottenness of politics and for our plundered and misruled cities, because they are careless about voting, and often do not trouble to vote at all. Women would have a better civic conscience, and if they were given the ballot they would not only vote themselves, but see that their husbands and brothers and sons did.

It is often said that if women had suffrage, it would increase the number of votes cast without affecting the result, as every woman would vote like her husband, or her brother, or her father. The chances are that the influence would work the other way, and men vote with their women folks.

In America the majority of girls are given a better education than boys. They go to school longer, and they read more after they are out of school than young men do. There are also millions of middle-aged women banded together in all sorts of study clubs all over the country, and it is folly to claim that these women are not as well qualified to understand any political question as their husbands are.

That all women would not vote wisely that they would be swayed by eloquence, by the personal charm of the candidate; that even the ballot would not bring the millennium to women, is freely conceded. But the majority of men are Republicans or Democrats for no better reason than that their fathers were before them, and this is still a very badly governed world. Yet no one would advocate that man's most precious right—the right of suffrage—should be taken away from him.—Dorothy Dix, in San Francisco Examiner of Aug. 14, 1908.

Published at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.



# Political Equality Series

VOL. IV.

Subscription Price 10c per Year.

No. 9

Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Headquarters, Warren, O.

#### WOMEN AND ANCIENT CUSTOM

(BY MRS. JUDITH HYAMS DOUGLAS, OF NEW ORLEANS.)

There is only one thing that can make me see the justness of woman being classed with the idiot, the insane, and the criminal, and that thing is, if woman is willing, if she is satisfied to be so classed.

If she is satisfied to remain in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, then and only then is woman justly classed. For it is idiotic not to want one's liberty; it is insane not to value one's inalienable rights; and it is criminal to neglect one's Godgiven responsibilities.

God placed woman, originally as ultimately, in the same sphere with man, with the same inspirations and aspirations, the same emotions and intellect and accountability.

Eve could no more escape punishment

for her individual act than could Adam. Nor can woman today escape condemnation if she is satisfied to remain in the customs of ancient barbarism.

The Chinamen for centuries have taken peculiar means of restricting woman's activities. They have bound the feet of the girl-babies as in a vise, confining them to inactivity and uselessness, because the Chinamen claim that, the smaller a woman's foot, the more elevated her ladyship.

One significant fact about this is that, after centuries of constraint, God continues to send the female child into the world with feet well formed, with a foundation as substantial to stand upon as that of the male child. As in this instance, so in all cases of restrictions put upon woman—they do not come from God, but from man, beginning at birth.

Like the Chinese, all nations have bound, not only the body, but the mind and soul of woman, with the mummy bands of aged customs, confining woman's activities—men claiming, as the Chinamen, that the smaller a woman's sphere, the more refined her ladyship.

For thousands of centuries, man has said that woman must keep silent in the churches, and that she must obey her husband, that she must not earn her own living; that woman must be blindfold to injustice, and tongue-tied upon all public questions. But is woman satisfied with eternal tutelage? Is not a mother's wisdom too ripe to need tutelage from her sons?

The time has come for women to outgrow the adolescent period of platitudes, and to resent being childishly called the "better half of man," while being treated legally as a degenerate, irresponsible, and a menace to the public at large.

As the heathens have outgrown the custom of drowning their babies because of their sex, so woman should outgrow all customs that seek to drown woman's identity, solely because of her sex.

These customs can never be destroyed until woman is woman's friend, until women unite to overcome sex prejudice.

The thing for woman to do is to blaze the way of her sex so thoroughly that sixteen-year-old boys in the next generation will not dare to ask a scholarly woman incredulously, "If she really thinks women have sense enough to vote?" Woman can enter into the larger sphere her great Creator has assigned her, only when she has an equal voice with man in forming public opinion, which crystallizes customs; only when her voice is heard in the pulpit, applying Scripture to man and woman equally, and when woman's voice is heard in the legislature. Only then can be realized the full import of God's words when He said, "It is not well for man to be alone."

To move in this sphere, all women will have to unite in a godly zeal for public good, progressive force, and permanent values, as did Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony—the three wise women of the East, who first pointed toward the star of hope for the dawning of good will toward womankind.—From address given at the National Suffrage Convention in Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 16, 1908.

Subscribe For

#### **PROGRESS**

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

#### PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality leaflets.

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, \$1.50.



[post-1908]

A. 50.

# "HOMO SUM"

BEING A LETTER TO AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGIST.

By
JANE E. HARRISON, LL.D.

#### 2nd EDITION.

Published by
The National Union of Women's
Suffrage Societies,
14, Great Smith St.,
Westminster, S.W.

# "HOMO SUM"

Being a Letter to an Anti-Suffragist from 
• An Anthropologist. •

BY

JANE E. HARRISON, LL.D.

60

TEMPLAR PRINTING WORKS, 168, EDMUND STREET, ——— BIRMINGHAM.



## "HOMO SUM."

Being a Letter to an Anti-Suffragist from an Anthropologist.

DEAR ANTI-SUFFRAGIST,-

Will it induce you to read this letter if I tell you at the outset that the possession of a vote would grievously embarrass me? Personally, I have no more interest in or aptitude for politics than I have for plumbing. But, embarrassing though I should find the possession of a vote, I strongly feel that it is a gift which ought to be given, a gift which I must nerve myself to receive. May I also add that, had your Society been founded some ten or twenty years ago, I might very possibly have joined it. I cannot do so now, because my point of view has changed. How this change came about, I should like to explain a little later. For the present, will you, by way of apology for this letter, accept the fact that there is between us the deep-down sympathy of a conviction once shared?

And further, by way of preface, may I say that I do not want to argue, probably because I find that in my own case disputation rarely, if ever, is an efficient instrument in my search after truth. What always interests and often helps me is to be told of any conviction seriously and strongly felt by another mind,

especially if I can at the same time learn in detail the avenues by which that conviction has been approached. This is why I venture on the egotism of recounting my own experiences.

In my own case, the avenues of approach to what I believe to be truth have been circuitous and through regions apparently remote and subjects irrelevant. I have been investigating lately the origins of religion among primitive peoples, and this has led me to observe the customs of South Sea Islanders and North American Indians. In order to understand these customs, I have been further driven to acquire the elements of psychology and sociology. Without intentionally thinking about the suffrage question at all, while my thoughts have been consciously engaged with these multifarious topics, dimly at first, and clearly of late, the conviction has grown up in my mind that I ought to be a Suffragist. I can with perfect candour say that for weeks and even months I have tried to shirk the formulation of my own views and the expression of them to you, partly because I feared their expression might cause either boredom or irritation, still more because I wanted to do other things. But the subject, fermenting in my mind, has left me no peace, and irresistibly I have felt compelled to embark on this letter.

Your position is, I think, what mine once was: that a woman is better without a vote. The possession and use of a vote—of political power—is somehow "unwomanly." With this position in one sense I still heartily agree, but I must add a hasty and perhaps unexpected corollary.

Possession and use of a vote by a man is unmanly. This sounds absurd, because by "man" our language compels us to mean not only a male thing but a human being; whereas of the word "woman" we cannot at present make the correlative statement. In this undoubted linguistic fact lies hidden a long, sad story, the secret indeed of the whole controversy. For the present, may I summarise my position thus? I share with you the feeling that a vote is unwomanly. I add to it the feeling that it is unmanly. What I mean is that, to my mind, a vote has nothing whatever to do with either sex qua sex; it has everything to do with the humanity shared in common by two sexes.

May I illustrate this statement? We are apt to speak of certain virtues as "womanly," certain others as "manly." It is "womanly" to be meek, patient, tactful, modest. It is manly to be strong, brave, henourable. We make here, I think, an initial mistake, or at least, over-statement, apt to damage the morality of both man and woman. To be meek, patient, tactful, modest, honourable, brave, is not to be either manly or womanly; it is to be humane, to have social virtue. To be womanly is one thing and one only; it is to be sensitive to man; to be highly endowed with the sex instinct; to be manly is to be sensitive to woman. About this sexendowment other and more complex sentiments may tend to group themselves; but, in the final resort, womanliness and manliness can have no other than this simple significance. When we exhort a woman to be "womanly," we urge her to emphasise her relation to the other sex, to enhance her sensitiveness, already, perhaps, over keen, to focus her attention on an element

in life which nature has already made quite adequately prominent. We intend to urge her to be refined, we are in peril of inviting her to be coarse.

The moral and social danger of dividing the "humane" virtues into two groups, manly and womanly, is evident. Until quite recent years a boy was often brought up to feel that so long as he was strong, brave and honourable, he might leave gentleness, patience, modesty to his sister. To her, so long as she was gentle, tactful, modest, much latitude was allowed in the matter of physical cowardice and petty moral shifts. Both were the losers by this artificial division of moral industry. The whole convention rested on a rather complex confusion of thought, which cannot here be completely unravelled. The virtues supposed to be womanly are in the main the virtues generated by subordinate social position. Such are gentleness and the inevitable "tact." They are the weapons of the weaker, physically or socially, of the man or the woman who dare not either strike out or speak out; they are virtues practised by the conquered, by the slave in rude societies, in politer states by the governess and the companion, but also by the private secretary and the tutor; they are virtues not specially characteristic of the average duchess. In a word they are the outcome not of sex but of status.

The attempt, then, to confine man or woman within the limits of sex, to judge of right or wrong for them by a sex standard, is, I think, dangerous and disastrous to the individual, dangerous and disastrous to the society of which he or she is a unit. This is felt and acknowledged about man. We do not incessantly say to a man, "Be male, your manhood is in danger." Such

counsel, we instinctively feel, would be, if not superfluous and impertinent, at least precarious. A man sanely and rightly refuses to have his activities secluded into the accident of sex. We have learnt the lesson-and to this language bears unconscious witness--that "man" connotes and comprises "humanity." Dare we say as much of "woman"? The whole Woman's Movement is, to my mind, just the learning of that lesson. It is not an attempt to arrogate man's prerogative of manhood; it is not even an attempt to assert and emphasize woman's privilege of womanhood; it is simply the demand that in the life of woman, as in the life of man, space and liberty shall be found for a thing bigger than either manhood or womanhood-for humanity. On the banners of every suffrage society, one motto, and one only, should be blazoned .-

Homo sum, humani nihil (ne suffragium quidem)\*a me alienum puto.

In the early phases of the woman's movement this point was not, I think, to any of us quite clear. The beginnings of a movement are always dark and half unconscious, characterised rather by a blind unrest and sense of discomfort than by a clear vision of the means of relief. Woman had been told ad nauseam that she

<sup>\*</sup> To anyone who has patience to read this letter to the end it will, I hope, be sufficiently clear that I wish to emphasise rather the importance of the general movement for woman's emancipation than the particular question of the vote. The words of Terence chosen for my motto mark my attitude: "I am a human being, nothing that is human do I account alien." But that there may be no ambiguity I have allowed myself the addition of a parenthesis, "not even a vote"—ne suffragium quidem.

must be womanly, she was not unreasonably sick to death of it, stifled by unmitigated womanliness. By a not unnatural reaction, she sought relief in what seemed the easiest exit—in trying to be manly; she sought salvation in hard collars and billy-cock hats. Considering the extravagance and inconvenience of the feminine dress of the day, small blame to her if she did. I am ashamed to remember now that a certain superficial ugliness in the first beginnings of the movement blinded me for a time to its essential soundness. It was at this date that, had your Anti-Suffrage Society existed, I might have joined it.

The danger, never serious, of any tendency to "ape the man" is over and past. The most militant of Suffragists\* never now aims at being masculine. Rather, by a swing of the pendulum we are back in an inverse form of the old initial error, the over-emphasis of sex. Woman, not man, now insists over-loudly on her own womanhood, and in this hubbub of man and woman the still small voice of humanity is apt to be unheard. This new emphasis of sex seems to me as ugly and perhaps coarser than the old error. Still, we are bound to remember that perfect sanity can never fairly be demanded from those in bondage or in pain.

The woman question seems, then, somehow to hinge on the balance between sex and humanity. Between the two there seems some sort of rivalry, some antinomy.

But is this possible? Is there really any conflict, any dissonance? And if so, how may we hope for its resolution?

The real issue of a problem is always best seen when its factors are so far as possible simplified. We may therefore be pardoned if for a moment we go back to consider conditions of life less complex than our own. It was indeed in studying the psychology\* of primitive man, in noting how primitive man faced the problems of sex and humanity, that what may possibly be in part a solution of the difficulty occurred to me.

That frail, complex, pathetic thing we call our humanity is built up, it would seem, out of some few primitive instincts which we share with other animals and with some plants. Sex† is one of these instincts, nutrition another, self-preservation a third. These three instincts all work together for the conservation of life in the individual. Each in itself gives satisfaction, and—a noticeable point—they do not normally clash. Each makes way for the other, no two acting simultaneously. Hunger appeased makes way for love, and love for hunger. Instincts on the whole tend to be recurrent rather than concurrent. If we had only these simple instincts to reckon with, if our humanity was based only on sex, self-preservation, nutrition, there would be, it seems, no "war in our members."

<sup>\*</sup> I cannot bring myself to use the ugly diminutive now current.

<sup>\*</sup>I should like here to acknowledge my debt to Mr. W. McDougall's Introduction to Social Psychology, a book which should be in the hands of every student of social phenomena. My psychology is almost wholly based on the work of Mr. McDougall and Dr. William James. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that for my views on the woman's question neither of these writers is in any way responsible

<sup>†</sup> For brevity's sake I use the word sex as equivalent to what psychologists term the "instinct of reproduction"; the equivalence is valid for all but the lowest forms of animal life.

But to these simple impulses, these life-functions as it were, man has added another,-the gregarious, or, as sociologists pleasantly term it, the "herd" instinct.\* Why men and some other animals herd together-whether for warmth, for food, for mutual protection, or from some obscurer sympathetic impulseis not very clearly known. But once the "herd" impulse is established, the "simple life" is, it would seem, at an end. Up to this point though individuality was but little developed, the life-impulses of the unit were paramount; but henceforth, the life-impulses of each unit are controlled by a power from without as well as by instincts from within-controlled by the life-impulses of other units, a power that acts contemporaneously with the inner instincts, and that is bound to control them, to inhibit for its own ends the individualistic impulses of hunger, of reproduction, even of selfpreservation. With the "herd" instinct arises the conflict between our life-impulses and the life-impulses of others. Out of that conflict is developed our whole religion and morality, our sociology, our politics.

Between "herd" instinct and the individual impulses, all, happily, is not conflict. The "herd" helps the individual to hunt and to get food, above all helps the weaker individual to survive. But, on the whole, what we notice most is *inhibition*, what primitive man calls tabu. The history of civilisation is the history of a long conflict between herd-socialism and individualistic im-

pulse. What concerns us here is the effect of "herd" instinct on one, and only one, of these impulses, the sex instinct. Herd instinct tends to inhibit all individualistic impulse, but the conflict is, in the case of the impulse of sex, most marked, and, it would seem, most ineluctable. The herd aggregates, sex, more than any other instinct, segregates; the herd is social, sex anti-social. Some animals—e.g., birds—are gregarious until breeding time, and then they separate. Had humanity had no sex, it would probably have been civilised ages ago, only there might have been no humanity to civilise.

At this point you will, I am sure, exclaim-I am almost tempted to exclaim myself—"This is impossible, outrageous." What about the primal sanctities of marriage? What about "the voice that breathed o'er Eden "? Are not man and wife the primitive unit of civilisation? From the primitive pair, you will urge, arises the family, from the family the tribe, from the tribe the state, from the state the nation, from the nation the federation, from the federation the brotherhood of all humanity. Alas, alas! To the roots of that fair Family Tree, whose leaves were for the healing of the nations, anthropology, sociology, and psychology have combined to lay the axe. Alas for Eden! Adam and Eve may have learnt there, though they appear to have forgotten, their Duty towards God, but of their Duty towards their Neighbour they necessarily knew less than a pack of hunting wolves. Society, in so far as it deals with sex, starts with the herd. Society is founded, not on the union of the sexes, but on what is a widely different thing, its prohibition, its limitation. The "herd" says to primitive man not "thou shalt marry,"

<sup>\*</sup> See Mr. Trotter's very suggestive papers on "Herd Instinct" in the Sociological Review, 1908.

but, save under the strictest limitations for the common good, "thou shalt not marry."\*

Here, again, a glance at primitive conditions may serve to illustrate my point. Without entering on any vexed questions of origins, it is now accepted on all hands that in the social state known as Exogamy we find one of the earliest instances of marriage, or, rather, anti-marriage law, of inhibition of the sex-impulse by the herd. Savages over a large portion of the globe are still found who form themselves into groups with totems, sacred animals or plants whose name they bear. Within these totem groups they agree not to marry—the Buffalo man may not marry a Buffalo girl; he may marry an Antelope girl. All Antelope women are his potential wives. All Buffalo girls are "tabu," are his "sisters," or his "mothers." Sex, if it is not, as some sociologists think, the origin of the pugnacious instinct in man, is at least often closely neighboured by it. By the institution of exogamy, by the tabu on the women of a man's own group, peace is in this respect secured—secured, be it noted, not through sex union, but by its limitation, its prohibition.

All this, you will say, is curious and interesting; but really too primitive to be of any avail. We have shed these savage instincts. Pugnacity about sex is really out of date, as irrelevant to humanity as the horns that the buffalo exhibits in fighting for his mate. I am not so sure that pugnacity in relation to sex is really obsolete, since sex is still shadowed by its dark familiar,

jealousy. But let that pass. The instinct of sex is anti-social, exclusive, not only owing to its pugnacity; it is, we have now to note, anti-social, exclusive, owing also to the intensity of its egotism.

Once more I would not be misunderstood. Egotism, the self-regarding sentiment, is, like pugnacity, an element that has worked and does work for civilisation. The self-regarding sentiment is indeed the very heart and kernel of our volition, and hence of our highest moral efforts. Moreover, all passion, all strong emotion, intellectual passion excepted, is in a sense exclusive and egotistic; but of all passions sex-emotion is nowadays perhaps the most exclusive, the most egotistic.

The reason of this is so far obscure that it must be considered a little in detail. As civilisation advances, the primal instincts, though they remain the bases of character and the motive power of action, are in their cruder form habitually satisfied, and therefore not immediately and obviously operative. Among the well-to-do classes, it is rare to find anyone who has felt the stimulus of acute hunger, and unless he go out into the wilds to seek it—thanks to generations of good government and efficient police—a man may pass his whole life without experiencing the emotion of fear. But, for the prompt and efficient satisfaction of the sex-impulse, society has made and can make no adequate provision. And this for a reason that demands special attention.

It is very important that we should keep hold of the initial fact that at the back of sex lies a blind instinct for the continuance of the race, an instinct shared with plants and animals. This instinct is so bound up with our life, with our keenest and most complex emotions,

<sup>\*</sup> I use "marriage" throughout this paper to mean simply the union of man and woman irrespective of any forms or ceremonies that may attend it.

that we are inclined to forget that there is an instinct at all, apt to forget not how low down but how deep down it lies. This instinct, it has been well observed, tends "in mankind to lend the immense energy of its impulse to sentiments and complex impulses into which it enters while its specific character remains submerged and unconscious."\* This is not the case with hunger, nor vet, save to some slight degree, with fear. But, if it is important that we should not lose sight of the basal instinct, it is still more important that we clearly recognise the complexity of the emotional system into which that basal instinct enters, because therein lies the complexity of the problem of relating the individual to the herd. So long as the need is simple and instinctive, its inherent egotism is not seriously anti-social; but when the simple instinct of sex develops into the complex sentiment of love, the impulse and its attendant egotism is, if less violent, far more extensive and all-pervading, far more difficult to content and balance. Desire is a ruthless tyrant, but simple-hearted; love the most exacting of taskmasters.

This egotism, this exclusiveness in sex-emotion, is most easily observed in its acuter phases, and in these analytic days is noted by patient as well as spectator. Take the letters of the newly-engaged. Old style (frankly self-centred and self-projective): "We feel that all the world is the richer for our new-found joy." New style (introspective, altruistic): "We shall try not to be more selfish than we can help." The practical

result is probably much the same; in the intensity of the new reinforcement of two lives united, all the outside world, once so interesting, becomes for a time a negligeable fringe; but the advance in the new intellectual outlook is marked. Personality we now recognise is not a thing that you can tie up in separate parcels, labelling each parcel with the name of the person to whom it is addressed. Any new strong emotion dyes and alters the whole personality, so that it never is and never can be the same to anyone again. Analogy is usually misleading, but the closest and most instructive analogy to what happens is that of focus. You cannot have a strong emotional focus on two things at the same time. Of this natural and inevitable sex-egotism society is, of course, wisely tolerant. This man and woman will ultimately do society a supreme service, and for a time she accepts as inevitable that they should be, in common parlance, "no good." Society en masse has a good deal of common-sense, but in the more intimate clash of individual relations sentiment is apt to obscure clear vision, and the necessarily egotistic and exclusive character of a sex-emotion\* is sometimes overlooked.

Sex, then, like other strong instincts, is anti-social and individualistic. In its primal form it induces, perhaps more than any other instinct, pugnacity; in its later and more diffused form, as the emotion of love, it is exclusive through its intensity of focus.

<sup>\*</sup> See W. McDougall, Social Psychology, p. 82.

<sup>\*</sup> I apologise to all psychologists, and especially to Mr. McDougall, for a somewhat loose use (unavoidable in a popular discussion) of the terms instinct, emotion, sentiment.

Now, this intensity of focus, this egotism, is often confused with altruism, and is labelled "Devotion to another." Society, it will be urged, may suffer from the exclusiveness of sex, but is it not ennobled by the spectacle of utter self-devotion, the devotion of the lover to his mistress, of the wife to her husband. A Frenchman long ago defined love-with a truth that is not at all necessarily cynical—as Le grand égoïsme à deux. No one who has gone through the experience of "falling in love" will deny that the definition is illuminating. One secret of the intense joy of loving and being loved is the immense reinforcement of one's own personality. Suddenly, to another you become what you have always been to yourself, the centre of the universe. You are more vividly conscious, more sure of yourself. Many motives move a man and a woman to marriage, but of these not the meanest is a healthy and hungry egotism.

But surely, it will be urged, self-devotion cannot be akin to egotism. The self is "lost in another." "Hence the purifying, elevating nature of the flame of love, which burns up all the dross of selfishness," etc., etc. But does it? Can any honest man or woman say that he or she, with single-hearted devotion, desires solely the good of the beloved one? A man desires his wife's happiness. That happiness comes to her through another, not through him. Is he utterly content? What he really desires is not solely her happiness but that her happiness should be in him.

Surely, though, there is such a thing as utter devotion, that asks no return. The spirit of "though he slay me yet will I trust him," a spirit of self-abasement rather than self-enhancement. There is, and it is what modern psychology calls "negative self-feeling."\* Its recognition throws a flood of light on the supposed ennobling devotion of sex, and especially, perhaps, of sex in woman.

Egotism or self-feeling takes, we are now taught, two forms, positive and negative; the instinct for self-assertion, the instinct, sometimes equally strong, for self-abasement. With the first form we are all familiar. The second form, which is quite as real, and perhaps more poignant, has been, till lately, somewhat neglected. This instinct of self-abasement, of negative self-feeling, appears in animals. A young dog will crawl on his belly, with his head sunk and his tail drooping, to approach a larger, older dog. The instinct is not fear; it does not accompany flight. The dog approaches, he even wants to attract attention, but it is by deprecation. It is the very ecstasy of humility.

This negative self-regarding sentiment, this instinct of of subjection, enters into all intensely passionate relations. It is an ingredient alike of love and of religion, and accounts for many of the analogies between these two complex sentiments. There can, however, be little question that, though it is rarely, in moments of vehement emotion, wholly absent in either sex, it is more highly developed and more uniformly present in women. In the bed-rock of human—or, rather,

<sup>\*</sup> Mr McDougall (Social Psychology, p. 62) says that "negative and positive self-feelings" were "first adequately recognised" by M. Ribot (Psychology of the Emotions, p. 240).

animal—nature lies, I think, the sex-subjection of woman, not, be it clearly understood, because man is physically stronger, but because he is man and his form of sex self-feeling is dominant and positive; woman's is more usually submissive and negative.

A superficial thinker may imagine that here I give my case away. "Ah! now at last we have the truth. Man is born to command, woman to obey. Woman is by nature unfitted to rule, and hence to vote. Back to the hearth and home." Not at all. Woman qua woman, qua sex, is in subjection. What purpose that serves in the divine economy I do not know, but it seems to me a fact, one that I have neither the power nor the wish to alter, one also, I think, that has not been clearly enough recognised. But woman qua human being, and even qua weaker human being, is not in subjection. The argument from superior force is as obsolete as war-paint When a man first says to a woman, "I and woad. must insist that you . . . ." he had better take care. He is in danger of toppling over from admiration or friendship into love. The woman, if she is attracted, yields, with a strange thrill. This is not because he is the stronger. The same evening her brother also "insists" that she shall not borrow his latch key. He also is stronger, but there is no corresponding thrill.

My point is, I hope, clear. If woman were woman only, "the sex," as she is sometimes called, she would wish, she would ask, for no vote, no share in dominion. A claim based on sex is, to my mind, doomed to failure, and this not because man is physically or even mentally stronger, but because qua man he is dominant, he has more positive self-feeling. The consciousness of this

haunts, I believe obscurely, the inward mind of many, both men and women, who object to "women's rights"; they shrink from formulating this consciousness, and confuse it with the argument from superior strength. It is better, I think, that, if true, it be plainly faced and stated. To my mind, one of the most difficult problems that men and women have to work out together is how to reconcile this subjection of sex with that equality and comradeship which is the true and only basis of even married friendship.

Our analysis of egotism into positive and negative has important bearings on the subject of "devotion" and its supposed "hallowing" influences. Sex-devotion is not altruism. This truth women, perhaps, more than men, need to lay to heart. I do not think women can fairly be blamed for their confusion of thought in this matter, because the sanctity of devotion has been so constantly impressed upon them. Their charity is always to begin, and often end, at home. What purpose in evolution this tendency to self-devotion in women serves, remains, as before said, obscure. It is the cause of intense rapture to women, and, so far, is a good. It occurs in strong natures as much, and perhaps more, than in weak. When unduly fostered, and when not balanced by sympathy and comradeship, and by a wide intellectual and social outlook, it acts in married life as an obscure canker, peculiarly irritating and poisonous, because masquerading as a virtue. egotism of self-assertion atrophies life by over-focus, but the egotism of self-abasement adds to this morbid over-focus a slackening and enfeebling of the whole personality, which defeats its own end and repels where it would attract. The important thing is to clear the air and see plainly that this sex-devotion, this egotism of self-abasement, is not altruism. It causes none of the healthy reactions of altruism, none of that bracing and expanding and uplifting of the spirit that mysteriously comes of "giving ourselves to something other and greater than ourselves."

But, it may again be urged, granted that sex leads to egotism, yet because it is intimately bound up with the parental instinct, it does also lead to altruism. Bound up with, associated—yes, but of its essence, no. People do not marry that they may indulge the altruism of bringing up their children. Races exist who are not even aware that marriage has any connection with the birth of children, and to whom therefore the prospect can lend no altruistic impulse. Parental, or, rather, maternal instinct is one, and perhaps the greatest source of "tender" altruistic emotion, of that disinterested love for and desire to protect the helpless which is the least egotistical and perhaps the loveliest of human sentiments. But the maternal instinct in the main is a thing healthy indeed and happy, but nowise specially holy. It is an extended egotism. Our ego, we are nowadays taught, is not limited by our own personality. It extends to wife and husband, to children and relations, to our clothes and possessions, to our clubs and associations. The extended ego, like the personal ego, is apt to be at war with herd-altruism. Love of my own children does not necessarily lead to love of yours. A woman will often shamelessly indulge about her children an egotism that she would blush to

exhibit for herself. Strange though it may seem, the most altruistic members of society, the best citizens, are not invariably those with the largest families. Here, again, we are bound to remember that a large tolerance should be extended by society to the egotism of parents. It is from parents that society draws the raw material of which society is made.

Before leaving the question of sex-egotism and sexexclusiveness, may I guard against any possible exaggeration or misunderstanding? The instinct of sex, by its association with pugnacity, and by the intensity of its mutual egotism, is, we are obliged to admit, to an extent beyond that of the other instincts, exclusive and anti-social. Under the influence of sex and the intensified self-assertion it brings with it, a man will demand that society should be a sympathetic spectator; here comes in his positive self-feeling; he will be sensitive and alert to resent any shadow of criticism as to his choice, but share his emotion he cannot. Most highly civilised human beings have moments when, if they look facts in the face, they feel that under the influence of passion they fall, somehow, a little below themselves, just because of this intense egotism, this inexorable inability to share. The social conscience is sensitive nowadays. Our very religion has come to be not a matter of personal salvation, but rather the sense of sharing a life greater than our own and somehow common to us all.

And yet, all said and done, a man or woman is generally (not always) the better and the bigger for passing through the experience of *le grand égoïsme à deux*. Because of the frailty of our mortal nature he can have

this experience only towards one human being at a time, and that one must be of the opposite sex. But through that one,

"Earth's crammed full of Heaven And every common bush ablaze with God."

To almost every mortal it is granted once in his life to go up into the Mount of Transfiguration. He comes down with his face shining, and of the things he saw on the Mount he may not speak. But through that revelation he is suddenly humbled before all the rest of the world whom he cannot thus utterly love.

To resume: Sex, we have found, is a splendid and vital instinct with a singular power of inter-penetrating and reinforcing other energies. But it is an instinct that has for its attendant characteristics, among primitive peoples, pugnacity, in later civilisation, intense egotism. Always and everywhere it tends to be exclusive and individualistic. This exclusiveness of sex seems permanently and inexorably imposed by ineluctable nature. Now, if the object of life were the reproduction, the handing on of life, we should say, and rightly say, to woman: "Be womanly: be wife and mother." And we should say to man: "Be manly: be husband and father." So best would our purpose be served. But the problem before us is more difficult, more complex. We want to live life, and human life, for woman as for man, is lived to the full only in and through the "herd," -is social. We want, in a word, for the sake of this fulness of life, to co-ordinate our individualistic instincts of which sex seems to be the strongest and most exclusive, with our altruistic herd-instincts.

The old view, while we were yet untroubled by ethnology, sociology, and psychology, was that life is a sort of Sunday school, which we entered at birth to fit us for a future life. It had rules we were bound to obey, virtues and vices to be acquired and shunned, praise and, above all, blame, to be duly apportioned. Alas! for the Sunday school and its virtues; it has gone the way of the Garden of Eden. We may well nowadays sometimes sigh for their lost simplicity. The life we know now is more like a great maelstrom of forces out of which man, in tardy self-consciousness, just uprears his head. And the maelstrom is not only of mechanical forces, which he might compute and balance, and which by counterpoise negate each other, but of vital spiritual and mental forces, which grew by counterpoise and whose infinite intricacy baffles computation. Not the least difficult, and certainly among the most intricate and complex of the problems before us, is the due counterpoise of sex and humanity.

The problem is not likely to grow simpler. Sex shows no sign of a tendency to atrophy. In view of evolutionary laws, how should it? It is by and through sex that the fittest survive. On the whole, it is those least highly dowered with sex who remain unmarried and die out. It is true, however, that though the sex-impulse does not atrophy, it becomes milder and less purely instinctive by being blended with other impulses. From a blind reproductive force it becomes a complex sentiment. Therein, in the diffusion and softening of the impulse lies the real hope, but therein lies the complexity of the problem. It is interesting, and may be, I think, instructive, to note a very 'early and widespread attempt at solution made,

and still being made, by primitive man—an attempt in some respects curiously analagous\* to the efforts to-day of beings more highly civilised.

Over the greater part of the world, from the South Pacific Islands, through Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Africa and America, an institution has been observed common to nearly all savage tribes called the "Man's House." The savage, instead of living a simple domestic life with wife and child, lives a double life. He has a domestic home and a social home. In the domestic home are his wife and family; in the Man's House is passed all his social civilised life. To the Man's House he goes when he attains maturity. It is his public school, his university, his club, his public-house. Even after marriage, it is in the Man's House he mainly lives. For a woman to enter the Man's House is usually tabu; the penalty is often death. Oddest of all to our minds, the Man's House is not only his social home but also his church. A woman among savages must not go to the Man's Church. To join in the mysteries of the Man's Church, or even sometimes to behold them from a distance, is to a woman death. At the sound of the churchbell, the sacred Bull-roarer, woman must flee, or fall flat with her face to the ground. The home is to us the place of hospitality for strangers. Not so for primitive man. The entertainment of strangers, all contact with and

news from the outside world, is reserved for the Man's House. There, too, he discusses the affairs of the tribe, there holds his parliament, in a word, a Man's House is "the House" and has all its "inviolable sanctity." From religion, from politics, from social life, from contact with the outside world, woman is rigidly secluded. She is segregated within her sex. She is invited to be "womanly."

From these undoubted and world-wide facts the learned German,\* who has contributed so much to our knowledge of them, draws a conclusion singularly Germane. The province of woman, he urges, always has been, always must be, that of natural ties, of sex and of the blood relationships that spring from sex. Her emotional sphere is that of the family. Man, on the other hand, is by nature apt for society. He is naturally drawn to artificial associations made, not under the compulsion of sex, but by free choice, through sympathy, equality of age, similarity of temperament. Woman is the eternal guardian and champion of the union of the sexes. She sets her face always against comradeship, against the free association of equals, which leads to advanced social complexes, to clubs, brotherhoods, artificial societies of every sort. In fact, broadly speaking, woman is of the individualistic instincts; man is of the herd-sentiments. Ethnologically speaking, woman is of the family; man of the Man's House.

This mutatis mutandis is the position occupied by many at the present day. But, be it observed, this

<sup>\*</sup> I should like to state distinctly that the ethnological observations introduced from time to time are to be regarded not as arguments supporting my thesis but merely as illustrations. The desirability of the emancipation of women is no wise bound up with their acceptance, and should they be discredited to-morrow or otherwise interpreted, it would remain untouched. The study of primitive custom has, however, helped me to my present point of view, and may, I hope, help others.

<sup>\*</sup> Heinrich Schurtz, Altersklassen und Männerbünde, 1902, and for English readers see Hutton Webster, Primitive Secret Societies, 1908.

position must not be based on arguments drawn from primitive sociology. Our learned German, had he read to the end of his own book, must have seen the refutation of his own theory. The Institution of the Man's House almost invariably breaks down. The doors, once so rigidly closed to all but the initiated man, open inch by inch. Gradually the Man's House alters in character, becomes more religious, the centre of a Secret Society to which woman begs or buys admission; it ends as a mere sanctuary or temple, or as a club-house whose tabus are less and less stringent, and whose last survivals are still precariously entrenched in the precincts of Pall Mall.

The institution of the Man's House was unquestionably an advance in civilisation; but what is good for a time is not therefore good for all time. The full reasons for its breakdown are too complex for discussion here, but one cause of inadequacy is clear. Good and useful though the Man's House was for man, it left out half of humanity, woman. It civilised man by releasing him from sex, or, rather, by balancing his sex instincts which gather round his home with his "herd" instincts, his comradeship which centred round the Man's House. But the solution was crude, and by segregation. Release was sought, as too often to-day, not by a wise ascetism, but by the banishment of temptation, by the seclusion of women within their sex. It is as noticeable to-day as then that the less self-restraint a man is prepared to exercise, the more rigorously will he insist that woman shall be secluded. It is only the man who has his passions well to heel who is prepared to grant liberty to woman. Man had, and, in part, still has yet to learn that one half of humanity cannot be fully humanised without the

We are now at the second chapter in the history of the relation of the sexes. Woman, as well as man, is asking to be civilised, woman, who bore man, and who will bear his children. In woman, too, is this tremendous sex-impulse, that may devastate, and that should fertilise. Is woman to live life to the full, or is her function only to hand on life? If she is to live it to the full, there is for her as for him only one solution. Sex must be not ignored or atrophied, still less must it, by a sort of mental jugglery, be at one and the same moment ignored and over-emphasised. Woman cannot be moralised through sex, because sex is a non-moral, that is a nonsocial instinct. But, for woman as for man, non-moral sex, the greatest of life forces, can be balanced, blended with other and humane sentiments. Man, because he is physically stronger, has got a little ahead in civilisation. Woman, not because he is stronger, but merely qua sex impulse, is at present subject to him. It is for him, surely, to hand on to her the gospel that has been his salvation, to teach her the words: "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto."

If sex, then, is egotistic, exclusive, if it needs balance by a broader humanity, what are the chief non-egotistic humanising tendencies? What master passions can we oppose to the individualism, the exclusiveness, the pugnacity, the egotism of sex? The answer is clear. We have two great forces at our disposal, the desire for knowledge,\* or, as psychologists call it, the "instinct of

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;The love of knowledge must be a disinterested love; and those who are fortunate enough to possess it, just in proportion to the strength and width of their love, enter into a great kingdom where the strain of disturbing passions grows quiet and even the persecuting whisper of egotism dies at last almost completely away."—Professor Gilbert Murray.

curiosity," and pure altruism, the desire to use our strength and our knowledge for the welfare of the herd. and specially its weaker members. Now, it is the emergence of these two desires which have marked the two stages of the Woman's Movement—I mean the demand for higher education, the demand for political freedom.

At this point I must make a somewhat shameful confession. For long, very long, I was half-hearted as to the Woman's Movement. I desired higher education, freedom to know, but not, as I explained before, the vote, not freedom to act and control. The reason was mainly pure selfishness, and—for this is always at the back of selfishness—a sluggish imagination. I myself intensely desired freedom to learn; I felt it to be the birthright of every human being. The thing was self-evident to me, I did not care to argue about it; it was a faith held with a passionate intensity beyond any reasoned conviction. Man had always most generously held out to me the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge; I not unnaturally placed him on a pedestal, and did homage to him as my Sacred Serpent.

But as to the vote, politics seemed to me, personally, heavy and sometimes rather dirty work, and I had always, on principle, preferred that a man-servant should bring in the coals. I am not ashamed of my lack of interest in politics. That deficiency still remains and must lie where it has always lain, on the knees of the gods. But that I failed to sympathise with a need I did not feel, of that I am truly ashamed. From that inertia and stupidity I was roused by the Militant Suffragists. I read of delicate and fastidious women who faced the intimate disgusts of prison life because they and their

sister-women wanted a vote. Something caught me in the throat. I felt that they were feeling, and then, because I felt, I began to understand.

To feel keenly is often, if not always, an amazing intellectual revelation. You have been wandering in that disused rabbit-warren of other people's opinions and prejudices which you call your mind, and suddenly you are out in the light. If this letter should meet the eye of any Militant Suffragist (pugnacity, may I say, is not my favourite virtue, though my sympathies are always apt to go more with the church militant than the church triumphant), I should like, though I do not fight in her camp, to thank her from my heart for doing me a signal service, for making me feel, and thereby teaching me to understand.

An eminent novelist has recently told us that women are to have higher education, but not political power, not the Parliamentary vote. Women are "unfit to govern." An eminent statesman has only yesterday told us that women may have university training, they may even look for that priceless boon, that crown of intellectual effort, the degree of Bachelor of Arts; they may have knowledge, and the label that guarantees them as knowing, but membership of the university, power to govern, power to shape the teachings by which they have profited, No.

Have Mrs. Humphry Ward and Lord Curzon, in their busy and beneficent lives, found time to read M. Henri Bergson's "L'Evolution Créatrice"? Long ago Socrates told us that we only know in order that we may act. M. Bergson has shown us how this is, and why. Intellect as contrasted with instinct, is the tool-maker, is essenti-

ally practical, always ultimately intent on action. To a few of us—and we are happy, if sometimes lonely—knowledge, which began with practical intent, becomes an end in itself, an object for rapturous contemplation. But to most human beings, and these are the best of our citizens, knowledge is the outcome of desire, and is always forging on towards action, action which necessarily takes shape as increased dominion over the world of nature and humanity. You can, it is true, shovel ready-made information into the human mind, without seriously affecting life and character. But the awakening of the desire to know is primarily nothing but the awakening of the intention to act, to act more efficiently and to shape the world more completely to our will.

Mrs. Humphry Ward and Lord Curzon are half-acentury too late. They may entrench themselves on their castle of sand, but the tide has turned, and the sea is upon them. When women first felt the insistent need to know, behind it, from the beginning, unconscious though they were, was for most of them the more imperative impulse to act.

Women qua women may remain, for the better continuance of life, subject to men; women as human beings demand to live as well as to continue life. To live effectively they must learn to know the world through and through, in order that, side by side with men, they may fashion life to their common good.

I am, dear Anti-Suffragist,

Sincerely yours,

AN ANTHROPOLOGIST.

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE LITERATURE

SOLD BY

## The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

AMPHLE	the state of the s	1 Suffrage
Marram	ent, by Alice Zimmern	··· ··· Qui
Vomen and	their Unfair Position under the	e Law, by
J. W. F	ages, by A. M. Royden	04.
Votes and Wa	organisation of Suffrage Work	(4.5.5)
entles, Let u	s Rest, by John Galsworthy	1d.
LEAFLETS		
To Women who was a women who women who women who women who women who women was a work when women who women who women who women women who was a work who would be with the work who would be with the work who would be with the work who women who would be with the work which which we will be with the work which which we will be with the work which which would be with the work which which we will be with the work which which will be with the work which which will be with the work which which will be with the work will be with the work which will be with the work will be with the work which will be with the work	ho are Not Well off for Supporting Women's ge	
	e Home 4d. and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, I	per 100 2/6 per 1,000
Women in the To the Literal	e Home 4d. and many others.	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women
Women in the To the Literal	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I	per 100 2/6 per 1,000
To the Literal  Please se Suffrage and fo	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I  end me the following Pamphlets and forward full Catalogue:—	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women
To the Literal  Please se Suffrage and fo	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I  end me the following Pamphlets and forward full Catalogue:—	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women
To the Literal  Please se Suffrage and fo	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I  end me the following Pamphlets and forward full Catalogue:—	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women
To the Literal  Please se Suffrage and fo	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I  end me the following Pamphlets and forward full Catalogue:—	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women
To the Literal  Please se Suffrage and fo	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I  end me the following Pamphlets and forward full Catalogue:—	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women
To the Literal  Please se Suffrage and fo	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I  end me the following Pamphlets and forward full Catalogue:—	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women
Women in the	and many others.  ture Secretary, N.U.W.S.S.,  14, Great Smith Street, I  end me the following Pamphlets and forward full Catalogue:—	London, S.W.  Leaflets on Women

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is law-abiding and non-party. Its President is Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

It has affiliated Societies in all parts of the Kingdom.

If you are in sympathy with the objects of the Union, will you write to the Secretary, N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, for the address of the Society in your district?

Send for the pamphlets and leaflets mentioned on the other side of the paper, also :—

"Physical Force and Democracy,"

By A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

"The Common Cause,"

ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

"The Englishwoman,"

ONE SHILLING MONTHLY,

and the full Catalogue of N.U.W.S.S. publications.

All to be had from the Literature Secretary, N.U.W.S.S. 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster.

[ post-1908]

# Woman and the Vote

By Mrs. Mary Kenney O'Sullivan.

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

- 1. COST OF LIVING is rising, and in many families the woman's wages are needed to eke out the family income.
- 2. THE STANDARD OF LIVING is rising, and workingmen's families demand better conditions, and MUST have a larger income to meet them.
- 3. Women living in cities can no longer help sustain the family by farm work, dairy work, or by spinning and weaving; therefore their only ways of helping to provide for the family are,

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

OR to go out to work in factory or shop.

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

### NOT SO LONG AS WOMEN ARE CHEAP LABOR.

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

Women's labor, AS LONG AS IT IS CHEAP, is just as dangerous, and for just the same reason. When women organize and vote they will get EQUAL PAY for EQUAL WORK, and they will not longer compete unfairly with men. Then men's wages will improve, and, though fewer women will be employed at the higher wages, this will not be a hardship, because the increase in the man's wages will give the family the larger income needed, without its being necessary for so many women to work outside the home.

# Woman Suffrage Endorsed

Woman suffrage was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor at its 1908 convention. The Federations of Labor of California, Connectucut, Colorado, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Washington and West Virginia have officially declared for Woman Suffrage.

The National Grange has several times officially endorsed Woman Suf-

frage

State Granges of California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Washington have endorsed the action of the National body.

The National Association of Letter Carriers has endorsed Woman Suffrage. State Letter Carriers' Associations, following the example of the National body, are Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Washington.

Other National organizations which have adopted Woman Suffrage reso-

lutions are:

National Women's Single Tax League.

World's W. C. T. U. (representing 50 countries and provinces). National W. C. T. U. (500,000 members).

National Association of Spiritualists of United States and Canada. National Convention of Universalists.

Western Federation of Miners.

United Mine Workers of America (350,000 members).

Supreme Commandery, Knights of Temperance. American Single Tax Conference.

International Cotton Spinners' Union.

International Women's Union Label League. International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

International Socialist Congress.

International Bricklayers' and Stone Masons' Union (70,000 members).

United Teamsters of America. National Purity Conference.

National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society.

United Textile Workers of America. Ladies of the Modern Maccabees.

Ladies of the Maccabees of the World (155,860 members).

National Council of Women (1,500,000 members).

Nurses' Association of the Pacific Coast. Native Daughters of the Golden West.

Women Workers of the Middle West. International Council of Women (representing 20 countries and upwards

of 6,000,000 of women members).

At simultaneous meetings held in Boston, New York and Chicago, The American Women Trade Unionists adopted Woman Suffrage resolutions, and the Woman's International Union Label League includes Woman Suffrage in its revised constitution.

Other National organizations which have taken action on some phase of the question, or have received fraternal delegates from the Woman Suffrage

Association, are:

American Library Association,

The Socialist Party,

National Educational Association, National Congress of Mothers, National Catholic Women's League,

National Council of Jewish Women,

National Finnish Temperance Society,

National W. R. C., Ladies of the G. A. R.,

General Federation of Women's Clubs, League of American Municipalities, National Municipal League,

Peace Congress,

Charities and Corrections.

At least Five Hundred Organizations, other than Woman Suffrage Association, officially endorsed Woman Suffrage in the years 1904 to 1908, inclusive,

[ca 19097

### Political Equality Beries

Vot. IV. Subscription Price 10c per Year. No. 10.

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SHEFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Headquarters, Warren, O.

#### THE DIRECT WAY

(By Professor Frances Squire Potter, of the University of Minnesota.)

When pushed to the wall, objectors to equal suffrage nowadays take refuge behind one of two platitudes. The first is used too often by women whose public activities ought logically to make them suffragists. It is that equal suffrage is bound to come, but that at present there are more pressing needs. "Let us get the poor better housed and fed," these women say. "Let us get our schools improved, and our cities cleaned up, and then we shall have time to take up the cause of equal suffrage." Is not this a survival of that old vice of womankind, indirection? What is the use of getting the power to do something after you have had it done by somebody else? How much harder it is to get someone else to do it for you than to do it yourself!

But that is not the worst. Besides being harder, it is less effective. It is humiliating. It is false to American principles. We educate our men and women alike and together; on the same terms they engage in business and bear the burdens of taxation. Shall we go back on this whole theory when it comes to its fundamental application? The suffrage issue should not be pand as it is for a bud to open up into a flower. What finer requiem can we offer to those who have spent their lives in the struggle and without seeing the victory, than our confession of faith in the worth of the sacrifice?—From address given at the National Suffrage Convention in Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1908.

#### Subscribe For

### **PROGRESS**

Official Organ N. A. W. S. A.

Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

#### PRICE 25 CENTS PER YEAR.

+ + +

Send 10c to National Headquarters for sample set of Political Equality leaflets.

\* \* \*

For suffrage news, read Woman's Journal, 6 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., edited weekly by Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell; 3 months on trial, 25 cents; one year, \$1.50.

put off, but it should be placed first, as making the other issues easier and permanent.

Besides, is it not even more "ladylike," more "feminine," more "graceful," less "ostentatious," less "talkative," does it not "take less time from the home and the children," to go into the nearest polling place and register a vote, than to dress becomingly, journey down town, visit office after office, and take up the time of busy men who are so full of their own opinions that they really have little wish to represent different opinions? If, indeed, we have time for this social politics, would it not be equally "womanly" to call upon women in their homes, instead of upon men in their offices-I mean upon those women of less opportunities than ourselves, who so often are spoken of as a menace to equal suffrage? These woman have not so many opinions to combat or win over, and, whatever personal interests acting against good government they might have, these doubtless would be no stronger, at least, than those of the men. Would it not be well for us to interest and educate the women with some of this time betowed upon the men under the present system? And would not the public-spirited women of today do this instantly if equalsuffrage were granted?

This brings me to the other platitude. How often are we told, "When women want the suffrage, it will be given to them." That is to say, when an overwhelming majority of women want what they ought to have, then they can have it. Extension of suffrage never has been granted on those terms. No great reform has gone through on those terms. In an enlightened

State, wanting is not considered a necessary condition to the granting of education or the extension of privilege. The enlightened State confers the privilege in order to create the desire. The unenlightened States, like Turkey and Russia, hold off until revolution compels a reluctant, niggardly, malevolent abdication of tyranny.

The course of nature is identical with that of the enlightened State. Opportunity jogs our elbow before we are aware of it, before we are ready for it.

The air environs the bird before it can fly, and nature pushes it out of the nest. The ocean is waiting for the fish hatched far up in the river, and the current carries it down. Life is waiting with infinite opportunity for the human soul, as the air waits for the bird and the ocean for the creatures of the sea. There is scope at all times for the strong, and no one is strong until he acts. No one is wise until he thinks. No one is patriotic till he assumes the duties of citizenship. These things cannot be done by proxy.

There is infinite satisfaction in working with the law of gravitation rather than against it. Even if all women stood aside, as so many do, natural forces are working for us. We have the conviction that that which has come in Finland and Australia, which is coming in England, will come in America. And there is a majesty in the sight of a great world-tide which has been gathering force through generations, which is rising steadily and irresistibly, that should paralyze any Asiatic Xerxes who thinks to stop it with humanly-forged chains.

It is as inevitable for the mind and soul to ex-

HENNEPIN COUNTY

WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION

MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

### Progress of Equal Suffrage

### By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

It is sometimes said that while the movement for women's education and property rights has advanced rapidly, the movement for suffrage has made little or no progress. On this point, let the "hard facts" speak for themselves.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and a few other places in the

old world.

In 1838, Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows with children of school age. In 1850, Ontario gave it to women, both married and single. In 1861, Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867, New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869, England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows. Victoria gave it to women, both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women.

In 1871, West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880

by New York and Vermont.



In 1880, South Australia gave municipal

suffrage to women.

In 1881, municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland, and parliamentary suffrage to the women of the Isle of Man. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883. Municipal suffrage was given by Ontario and Tasmania in 1884, and by New Zealand and New Brunswick in 1886.

In 1887, municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey. In the same year Montana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers.

In 1888, England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the Northwest Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889, county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891, school suffrage was granted in Illinois.

In 1893, school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894, school suffrage was granted in Ohio, bond suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women, both married and single. In 1895, full state suffrage was granted in South Australia to women, both married and single. In 1896, full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho.

In 1898, the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all offices except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; Delaware gave school suffrage to tax-paying women; France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; and Louisiana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers. In 1900, Wisconsin gave women school suffrage, and West Australia granted full state suffrage to women, both married and single.

In 1901, New York gave tax-paying women in all towns and villages of the State the right to vote on questions of local taxation, Norway gave them municipal suffrage, and the Kansas Legislature voted down almost unanimously and "amid a ripple of amusement" a proposal to repeal municipal suffrage.

In 1902, full national suffrage was granted to all the women of federated Australia, and full state suffrage to the women of New

South Wales.

In 1903, bond suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas, and Tasmania gave women full state suffrage.

In 1905, Queensland gave women full

state suffrage.

In 1906, Finland gave full national suffrage to women, and made them eligible to all offices, from members of Parliament down. In 1907, Norway gave full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage, Sweden made women eligible to municipal offices, Denmark gave women the right to vote for members of boards of public charities, and to serve on such boards, and England, with only 15 dissenting votes out of the 670 members of the House of Commons, made women eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors. The new State of Oklahoma continued school suffrage for women.

In 1908 Michigan gave all women who pay taxes the right to vote upon questions of local taxation and the granting of franchises; Denmark gave women who are taxpayers or the wives of taxpayers a vote for all officers except members of Parliament, and Victoria gave full State suffrage

to all women.

Years ago, when equal suffrage was much more unpopular than it is now, somebody asked Bishop Gilbert Haven if it were true that he had been speaking at a suffrage meeting?

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

I mean to march with the procession!"

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

Political Equality Leaflets, 10c. sample set, published at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.



Reprinted from the Volume of Proceedings, National Education Association, Denver, Colo., 1909

### CHILDHOOD AND MORALITY

BEN B. LINDSEY, JUDGE OF THE JUVENILE COURT, DENVER, COLO.

In dealing with the morals of the child, it has never been the purpose of the state to usurp the function of the home, the school, or the church; but under our form of government, it always has been the duty of the state to deal with certain child offenders. Under the common law accepted in many of the states of the Union with some modifications by statute, a child after the age of seven might be guilty of crime; and when he violated the law he was dealt with by the state, under the same court procedure as in the case of adult criminals. One of the first protests against this absurdity was made by a schoolmaster in England in a treatise on criminal jurisprudence and the actual working of the penal code of laws, published in London in 1833. Please observe this description of trials of boys in the Old Bailey Court, the leading criminal court of London:

The Old Bailey Court, in proportion to the numbers, as often sentenced boys as men to transportation for fourteen years and life. Nothing can be more absurd than the practice of passing sentence of death on boys under fourteen years of age for petty offenses, I have known five in one session in this awful situation; one for stealing a comb almost valueless, two for a child's sixpenny story-book, another for a man's stock, and the fifth for pawning his mother's shawl. In four of these cases the boys put their hands through a broken pane of glass in a shop-window, and stole the articles for which they were sentenced to death, and subsequently transported for life. This act, in legal technicality, is housebreaking. The law presumes they break the glass and it is probable in most instances they do so. In two of the cases here named, however, the prosecutrix's daughter told me there was only a piece of brown paper to supply the place of that which once had been glass. In the latter case, the unfortunate mother caused her son to be apprehended, in the hopes of persuading the magistrate to recommend him to the Refuge for the Destitute, or some other charitable institution. She, however, in the course of her examination, said she was from home, and that the house was locked up at the time of the shawl being taken, which was afterwards found at a pawnbroker's. This made it housebreaking; and, in spite of all the mother's efforts, he was condemned to death. He is now in the penitentiary. The judges who award the punishments at the Old Bailey appear to me as if they were under the influence of sudden impulses of severity, there being at no time any regular system to be recognized in their proceedings. This the prisoners know, and speculate on, particularly the boys (p. 300).

Within a hundred years boys, it would seem, have been hanged for what now is denominated petty larceny, and it is not much beyond this period when they were beheaded and their heads stuck upon gibbets as the gruesome reminder of the punishment in store for thieves; and even with two hundred offenses in England at that period punishable by death, many of which today are looked upon as the petty offenses, crime increased. It was such protests as that of the old schoolmaster that caused considerate home secretaries to

Sessions]

commute such sentences to imprisonment for life or a period of years in the penitentiary; but to one at all familiar with the degradation that came to childhood thru the old methods of the jails, this consideration might be questionable. The state that sent the child out into life with his soul seared and his body debauched, as thru jails was so often the case, was just as culpable as the state that choked the child to death upon the theory that it was choking crime. The state had not waked up to the difference between evil and the child; it had not waked up to the truth the Master taught, that evil is overcome with good, not with the stripe, the iron bar, or the degrading lash, much less the hangman's noose. The federal government as yet has not provided us with very reliable statistics as to the number of children dealt with by police offices and courts. And it is to be hoped that a federal children's bureau will be established, to gather, specialize, and focus statistics and facts upon this important subject.

I am satisfied, however, from special inquiry and investigation in sixty of the large cities and towns of the nation, that we do not overestimate when we place the number of children dealt with by police and court officials every year as at least one hundred thousand. It might reach two hundred thousand.

As the ages of dependents and delinquents are now being measured in most of the states up to the eighteenth year, it will be seen that within the period of delinquency and dependency, as fixed by the laws of the states, the courts of the nation are called upon within this period of the child's life to deal with nearly two million children under this minimum estimate, and nearly four million under the maximum estimate.

But counting the number even at a million, it should be sufficient to emphasize the responsibility of the state for the child. Until some very material economic changes are brought about, this number is more likely to increase than to decrease. Courts alone will not stop the increase. They are not cure-alls. Children's courts can do much, but whatever they do must be done largely thru the home, the school, and the church. They must bring into the life of the child the influences that come from these institutions responsible for the child, and therefore, the appeal of the state must be to the home, the school, and the church. In dealing with his morals, instead of taking the child out of these three institutions of his life and putting him in jail, he must be placed under those influences that are as near akin to them as it is possible for the state to devise. The state's effort in this direction may be seen in the development of the industrial schools, training schools, parental schools, detention-home schools, the probation system, and that marvelous revolution in the law which came upon us about ten years ago in Colorado and in Illinois, when the child for the first time in the history of jurisprudence was no longer regarded by the state as a criminal, but rather as its ward; no longer looked upon as the malefactor to be hung or degraded thru the mire and filth of jails and criminal courts, but rather, as in the language of our own statute, "one to be aided, assisted, encouraged, educated;" in a word, to be saved to good

citizenship, to be redeemed as the most valuable asset of the state. Therefore, since the appeal of the state must be principally to the home and the school, the work must be done principally by and thru the home and the school. It is unnecessary to recount the splendid work that is being done. We are not here to pat ourselves on the back with an inventory of the things we have done, but rather to point out those things we can do, which we have not done: to discover, if we can, those faults, those mistakes that are bound to be a part of any work, however sincere and however helpful. I am not sure I can do that. I can perhaps point to some experiences that seem to me to present some defects, some mistakes of the home and school.

The average young child is frankly, innocently unmoral. He takes what he wants, if he can get it, not because he is an embryonic thief, but because this is nature; not human nature, but nature itself, and nature is seldom altruistic. The normal child is merely a healthy little animal, to start with, and his morals develop, grow with his growth and strengthen with his strength only when they are guided in the right direction. The most demoralizing agency in childhood is fear, and it may be found at the bottom of most of the immorality among children. The child lies because he is afraid to tell the truth; he may be afraid of a whipping, of one parent or the other, of a bigger boy, of the teacher, of some far-off abstraction called God, a remoter abstraction called the devil, or a fearfully imminent reality called the bogic man, said to haunt all dark places. In any event, no matter what it is he fears, it is fear that makes him a liar, and this opens the way for all the other derelictions of youth, and age too, for that matter. I lay emphasis upon this because the habit of truth-telling and the attitude of fearlessness are generally either dominant or lacking in the child before he enters the public school. The school is what the children make it, moral, unmoral, or immoral, according to the homes they come from, quite as much as the children are a product of the school. It is very lovely to think of childhood as the age of innocence and uncontaminated virtue, but it is also very dangerous; for childhood left to follow its own devices, its own untaught impulses, its purely animal emotions, is very far from that ideal that we like to believe it. Our morals are very largely a matter of relationship to the life around us. Thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, thou shalt not oppress a stranger, thou shalt not covet—these are the temptations that come with community life, and the boy and girl who go to school are assailed on all sides as never before. It is not to be wondered at that they fail now and then.

Ask the average boy in the Juvenile Court why he will not steal again and nine times out of ten he will give you precisely the same answer: "I will get in jail." To my mind, that is an indictment by the child of the teaching in the home and the school. The child has learned his lesson wrong, a lesson unconsciously taught by parent or teacher: "Steal all you can, cheat all you can, so long as you don't get caught." It is the lesson he carries with him

Sessions]

thru life into the commercial and business world, and the lesson that develops many of our most dangerous criminals in the world of business and finance. Their intelligence (or, if it fails, the same intelligence of shrewd lawyers ever held in reserve) makes them masters of the art of not getting caught, and like the delinquent child, getting what they want lawfully, if they can; law-lessly, if they must.

One of our difficulties is to overcome this careless teaching and to teach the child to do right because it is right; because he hurts himself when he does wrong and because he owes it to himself to do right; because it is weak and cowardly to do wrong and because it is strong and brave to do right. The threat of a mother or teacher to turn the child over to the policeman or jailer, has, in my judgment, started as many criminal careers as any mistake ever made. It is well to hold up the consequences of evil-doing, but in doing this the undeveloped mind of the child has too often accepted it as the real motive or the only motive for righteous conduct.

I also wish to contend for a different definition of the sins of childhood. Ignorance of the law cannot be pleaded as an excuse by man, but how is a child to know until he is taught, and why condemn thoughtlessness and ignorance in the same terms which we bestow upon hardened vice? We shall deal more justly with erring youth, and more wisely with the great problem of zig-zag human nature if we look upon the cardinal virtues as an achievement, rather than a heritage lost early in life.

Perhaps the most common offenses against morality among school children may be listed as follows: disobedience, swearing, use of tobacco, lying, stealing, and personal impurity in thought and action. After eight years of active personal work, gaining the confidence and getting the opinions of hundreds, and I would almost say thousands, of boys and many girls, I would not dare confirm their judgment as to the extent of these delinquencies. For instance, I have frequently addressed the question to boys of the intelligent type and an age when their judgment is fairly worthy of confidence, as to the number of their companions who were guilty of the offenses named. Their answers in 90 per cent. of the cases were about like this: "Nearly all the kids I know swear." "Most all the fellows will lie if they think there is no proof and they can get out of it that way." "Over half of the kids in our school will steal if they get a chance and they think they won't get caught." "All the kids I know talk bad things, tell dirty stories, and boast about things that most of them never did, but they think it is smart to say they did and some kids I know have."

Making due allowances for the exaggeration of children, and especially boys apprehended for delinquency, who are inclined to exaggerate the extent of similar delinquency among others, and over against this taking the opinion of some of the best boys I ever knew who have never been guilty of any of these offenses, but whose life among their companions makes them reliable witnesses—infinitely more so than their parents or teachers—I am inclined

to think that if we tried the morality of children in the public schools in this country by this test—namely: Is the child disobedient, does he swear, does he lie, does he steal, is he impure in word, thought, or act—the results would be so startling that I have always seriously doubted the wisdom of its public discussion, except in a most guarded and careful way.

Again, however distressing it may seem, I am not disposed to believe the results as bad as the admission of technical moral delinquencies would imply. How many men can say they passed thru their boyhood without being technically guilty of any one of these offenses? That is a part of the weakness of human nature. Its occurrence and correction is a part of the method of strengthening and building character; but of course there is a limit. If any one of these misdeeds becomes chronic the state is certainly preparing to reap a criminal rather than a good citizen, and in the home, the school, the Sunday school, and in our dealings with childhood and youth as citizens for our example is constantly affecting some sensitive soul—we cannot be too careful in our teaching and dealing with children. Of course, I do not mean to justify even an occasional lapse or violation of the moral code in the derelictions which are the most common among children, but I do say it is a very exceptional child who passes thru the period of childhood and adolescence without an occasional lapse in some and often all the respects referred to. When I consider the children themselves I do not believe their moral condition as alarming as it might seem, and yet it is alarming enough not only to justify but demand a great deal more of our attention than I believe we are inclined to give the subject.

After all, the protection of the child against immorality in his life depends upon the strength of his character. Character is founded upon conscience, and conscience comes from the development of the human heart; therefore, the necessity for moral and religious training, which is the very basis of all our principal education and the most important part of it. Thus to solve these difficulties of childhood and youth we must fall back upon the home, the school, and the church, and in these recent times of congested cities I would add another factor, the neighborhood itself. We have four factors in the development of character and childhood which I should put in this order: (1) the home; (2) the church; (3) the school; (4) the neighborhood.

Of course, the home means the parents, the church means the Word of God, or other ethical training. It would be well if we had such a perfect condition of society that we could depend principally upon the home and the church for this moral training; but how is that possible when there are hundreds of thousands of children without homes who are left to shift for themselves because of the ignorance and indifference of parents or thru some economic, social, or political condition? Divorce, desertion, drink, ignorance, poverty, crime, and evil neighborhoods, where lawlessness flourishes thru bad politics, provide an example and environment that is a constant

Sessions]

source of evil to child-life. It is hopeless to expect these children to receive instruction from the natural source—father and mother. For similar reasons they are without religion or church influence.

Now the state is in certain cases as much responsible for the moral, physical, and mental development of the child as the parent. Where there is no parent, or where the parents are careless or helpless or unable to discharge their functions, it becomes the duty of the state to step in. Thus we have compulsory school laws, child-labor laws, probate-court laws, juvenile-court laws, non-support laws, contributory-delinquent laws, and so forth. All of these laws simply represent the effort of the state to perform its duty toward the child, just as the clothing and fitting of a child in the home and his being sent to church, to Sabbath school, or to the public school, represent the effort of the parent to do precisely the same thing. The state being burdened with parental responsibility under the law of parens patriae, must take a hand in the development of the child; and since the most important factor in its development is its moral character, the state cannot shirk its responsibility in this respect.

The fact that the school must necessarily and properly be non-sectarian has made the burden of the state one of considerable difficulty, and to harmonize its attitude toward the child with the recognized rights of parents is one of the great problems of our modern civilization. The fact that most of our children have good homes and some church affiliation does not justify us in objecting to the school making the basis of all its education moral training; but because of the difficulties referred to, the school is deficient in the most important feature of all education, and in thousands of cases is merely grinding out citizens who are more dangerous because they are more intelligent. Intelligence without moral character, intelligence without conscience, is infinitely more a menace to the state than ignorance without character or conscience. The methods of the latter are crude and revolting and generally easily corrected and guarded against. The methods of the former are shrewd, cunning, insidious, and deceiving.

In the nine years that I have been the judge of a court, I say without hesitation that the most dangerous crimes against the state have come not from the ordinary or ignorant criminal, thief, "stick-up," burglar, or murderer, but from men from the high schools and universities, who thru the cunning of criminal intelligence have committed monstrous crimes against their country and set in motion a wave of evil that has sorely afflicted the home in thousands of cases and contributed to the debauchery of childhood.

Crimes of this kind could not exist if men and women were brought up according to the golden rule of doing as they would be done by. It is their absolute selfishness that makes them disregard everyone else in their scramble for place or wealth. The home that knows no touch of altruism is responsible for them, and the condition of society that worships success, no matter how it has been achieved, delights to honor them. When it comes to the power

of an example, one "malefactor of wealth" is ten times as productive of evil as ninety and nine ordinary prisoners doing time in the penitentiary.

I believe it is the duty of the school, and especially presidents of universities, who are leaders in the thought of the nation, to point out such criminals in order that the youth of the nation may abhor rather than wish to emulate them, as many of them wish to do.

As that man is dangerous who would raise up hate as a champion of his cause, so is that man more dangerous when in the interest of lawless business he suppresses the truth and sneers at those who dare to tell it. The apologies of pious plutogogues (which includes some college presidents) for the lawlessness of plutocrats, whose bounties they have shared, are doing more in this country to inflame the passions of the envious, the ignorant, and debased, and to raise up anarchy than all the sayings of all the demagogues and Emma Goldmans. If the vile monster of anarchy flames and hisses it is largely because of the injustice and evil that men do.

Because industrial wealth deserves its honors should it not be more ashamed of its crimes? Men have a right to make money honestly. But shall the right to "special privileges" and monopoly of the people's natural resources carry with it a right to corrupt men, women, and children, to poison the sources of democracy and endanger our freedom and our liberties, the administration of our laws, and all the institutions of the Republic?

Do not those, conscious or unconscious, who thus lend themselves to the defense of lawlessness, become the assassins of human character; become the despoilers of manhood and the exalters of an unrighteousness that, of all places, should be pointed out and condemned in the universities and the schools? Should it not be known to those who are to take the reins of government from our hands? Should donations of money, however great, or advantages, however needful, deter us from telling the truth to youth? Should we not warn them of treachery? Should we not sanely dwell upon the ominous shock it portends? As Chief Justice Ryan, of Wisconsin, said over thirty years ago, should we not "point out their colors, teach them the sound of their trumpets, that they be not deceived; that they may know of the preparation in their camps?" Shall institutions of learning be faithful to Mammon or faithful to God; faithful to the Republic or faithful to its despoilers?

Just as some of the courageous college professors and university presidents are strengthening the morals of the youth of the nation in fearlessly pointing out evil in high places regardless of consequences, so among the greatest debauchers of the morals of the youth of this nation are those college presi 'ents who become apologists for rich criminals. This is very seldom direct and open, tho it has been amazingly so in a few instances. It is often veiled in addresses abounding in high platitudes warning us against the radical and the anarchist and insisting that we should be "let alone," should be "safe and sane" or "smile and push;" constantly pointing out the dangers of being envious of the rich, as tho the American people were generally given to that

154

Sessions]

monstrous crime. It is one of the most effectual schemes of intellectual sissies who are afraid to attack evil lest it involve them in a row with the leader of the bad gang, which they are forced to follow. Rebellion might bring a smash in the face with the withdrawal of financial support.

From ten years' experience in seeing the government of a city and state corrupted and democracy murdered, and knowing that the conditions in one state are not different from those in other states where the same temptations exist to steal public property and trample upon justice to men and women, I am profoundly convinced that many college presidents and college professors know little about the real government of their country. I know some street boys and any number of saloon-keepers and gamblers who could tell them more truth about it than they know. I think one of the greatest things that could be done for some universities in this country would be to get some ward boss to deliver a few truthful lectures to their presidents upon how their country is governed; they could tell who are the real criminals; they could tell them who are responsible for the debauchery of the home and the ruin of the child that comes thru political corruption, involving always a partnership with vice, and thru the corruption of courts and legislatures the withholding of that economic justice that is the chief weakening of the American home, and from which the child suffers most both physically and morally. I know positively from actual experience and personal knowledge that some of the men directly or by innuendo thus held up as models to the youth of the nation are the men who debauch city councils or legislatures in order to defeat laws for the just protection of men and women, and, profiting by it, become generous contributors or maintainers of the institutions presided over by intellectual sissies who are too incompetent, too ignorant, or too cowardly to tell the truth.

The bad example furnished by business men and public officials is a serious cause of youthful delinquency. A messenger boy confided to me that he went to a well-known club one night, and there received a message from a "prominent" citizen, which took him to a disreputable resort, and that he went from there with a bottle of champagne to another dissolute place. I knew the man the boy described. He violated every duty toward the child that his education in the home, the school, and the church had ever taught him to respect.

I tried another boy who was accused by a wholesale jeweler of stealing watches. The boy, about sixteen years of age, had passed the second year in the high school. When I got his confidence I first learned his habits, for bad habits make weak characters and weak characters cannot resist temptation to lie, steal, and lead immoral lives, however much their intelligence may enable them to make money or succeed in other directions. He had been very successful in securing certain jewelry from his employer and disposed of it without detection for a long time. He had been a messenger boy. He was perfectly aware that men holding prominent positions in the churches

and posing as good citizens were found by him in places that belied all of their professions. He told me frankly of the habits of his life without any apparent shame and indeed endeavored to justify his sins. He said that more than half of the boys he knew were guilty of similar indiscretions and that, of course, included his chums in the high school. He assured me that the police did not interfere with boys frequenting disreputable places in spite of the law, but he said as the imparting information, "The cops do not put us out because there is a graft in it—they stand in with those people, and as long as they get a rake-off they do not stop the kids doing what they please." He insisted that the "fourteen K." stamped in the watch case was a fraud and that they were plated brass, and the "22 J. M." stamped in the works was another fraud, since it was not a genuine 22-jewel movement as it purported to be. This was put on the watches in order to "fool the suckers in the country" who purchased what he called "fake jewelry" at ten times its real value. He also confided to me that there was burglary insurance upon this sort of property and upon several occasions the amount of insurance collected for loss was much in excess of the value of the jewelry.

Again, I recall a heartbroken mother who came to me in tears telling me that her little Billie had been arrested for stealing a bicycle. She insisted that the boy was looked after and such conduct was unaccountable upon the theory of home neglect or training. The boy stood well in his classes at school. He naturally associated with the boys in the neighborhood and the leader of his gang had been sent by his father, a faro-dealer and gambler, to the saloon for liquor at various times. On a Sunday afternoon when the gang was together, the leader having been sent by his father to the saloon for a flask of whiskey, he tarried on the way home with the boys assembled in the alley, and out of pure banter, perhaps, he "double-dared" any fellow to take a "swig" out of the bottle; and since no boy likes to be double-dared, of course, everybody took a drink. The crowd became more or less intoxicated for one dare led to another, and one or two drinks is enough to affect the mind of a twelve-year-old child. The boys who were not affected declared that the liquor burned them so that they were unable to swallow it. In leaving the alley it was proposed that they steal the bicycle on the curb and sell it for money to get drinks more acceptable to the gang. When they appropriated the bicycle the policeman stepped into the case for the first time—tho it was against the law for the boy to enter a saloon or purchase liquor-and arrested them for the theft of the wheel. All of these children were guilty of immorality and were regular attendants at the public school.

When we begin to place the responsibility we must divide it between the public official who tolerated lawlessness, the home and the school that had failed to strengthen the characters of the boys so as to resist temptation, and the business man who set the bad example. Of course, the chief difficulty was in the home and the failure of the school to make good the shortcomings of the home. The Master taught us to pray, "Lead us not into temptation

156

Sessions

but deliver us from evil." The public official by his own action certainly violated that injunction, which of course did not mean that the mere leading into temptation was an excuse for crime, for the prayer was also an admission of the great inherent character of human nature that needs to be strengthened against evil by moral training—thru the heart and conscience. In all of these cases, had the boys been properly trained in the home or the school they would have resisted temptation and have avoided evil. None of us is so strong but that we fall into evil at some time in our lives. The extent of our sin depends upon the strength of our character.

It is a truism to say that the hope of the nation is in the home and the school; and while the school cannot supply the deficiencies of the home, it can, if it fulfils its functions, do much to overcome them. This does not mean that parents shall shirk and put the responsibility upon the school; but because of the defects in our modern society the school must recognize its responsibility and endeavor to perform its duty as a developer of the home. Our contributory-delinquent laws enable the schools and the public officials to compel the parent to do his duty, and the probation courts will assist many a helpless home that is unable to perform its full mission; but the principal aid in such cases must come from the school.

Personal influence comes thru personal contact, and since personal influence is perhaps the most powerful factor in moral or immoral development, there comes a grave responsibility to the teacher. With this responsibility comes also a great opportunity that from the standpoint of service to mankind ought to be welcome, since there is no class of our citizens, not even parents themselves, who can do or are doing more to mold the character of the coming generations than the teachers in the schools. I believe that to gain the affection and confidence of the child is the first step toward strengthening his moral character. Nothing helps more than little talks with the children. Sometimes these talks are better delivered in private and sometimes when the children are together. I believe it is a good deal more important in the grammar grade to have frequent talks upon such subjects than to teach grammar, arithmetic, or geography. Among the subjects I would recommend would be: "Our Duties to Each Other;" "The Absurdity of Hate;" "Truthfulness;" "About Quarreling;" "Usefulness," "Gentleness and Kindness, Mercy and Charity;" "Money and Manhood;" "Evil Associations;" "Evil Thoughts;" "Evil Talk;" "Jealousy and Envy;" "I Forgot;" "What Is Success?" "The Man Who Serves and the Man Who Makes Money;" "Public Service;" "A Pure Life."

Children will not tire of these subjects, if they are properly presented. On the contrary, there is nothing that interests them so much and nothing that contributes more to their real education. On quarreling I would take some actual experience, describe it, and get the boys interested and then have them join in the discussion as to the duty of each boy involved, with praise for the moral courage necessary upon such occasions. Let the boys

know that you understand what they talk about, with some homely illustration. Describe about what they do and what they say. Discuss their duty to each other and the varying conditions; when to fight and when not to fight, and in the vernacular of the street, when to "snitch" and when not to "snitch," this being the slang expression for telling on another.

The moral development of the child must in a measure depend upon his physical development. You cannot separate the two. The child is entitled to be well fed, nourished, housed, and cared for. This means again that his moral welfare must depend upon the economic conditions under which he lives, and just in proportion as we improve these conditions, just to that extent do we increase the chances of the child to become a healthy, wholesome, moral, strong citizen.

Neither can we leave out of consideration the importance of industrial training. Just in proportion as we equip the child for industrial efficiency, to that extent do we equip him for moral efficiency. Human character too weak to resist temptation is a prolific source of immorality. Therefore, just as we equip the boy and girl by practical training to meet the real conditions of life by ability to care for themselves thru honest labor, to that extent do we really strengthen character and reduce the chances to yield to temptation.

It is a sad thing to read reports from school officials in cities, for example, that 90 per cent. of school children have bad teeth. It is not at all far-fetched when we point this out as one of the causes of immorality. Moral weakness is often very properly traceable to physical deficiencies. Such defects may be and happily are being removed by the work of the schools. So long as we have parents in this country, as has been said, "who are as competent to set the character of a little child as they are to set its broken leg," we must depend upon the school to supply the deficiency of the parent and the home.

Medical inspection and the work of the visiting nurses alone, thru the direction of the schools, can do more for the moral welfare of the children of this nation than all the children's courts can ever do.

One of two things seems fairly plain: either we must revise our ideas of what is to be exacted from the public schools, or we must reorganize the schools upon a very different and much broader and more expensive foundation. If education is to be made not merely a period of schooling, not even a preparatory course for the duties of life, but part of life itself, it is evident to even a cursory observer that the profession of the teacher is shortly to be regarded quite as seriously as that of the physician or lawyer, and remunerated accordingly. There must be many more classes, and instructors who are specialists in the subject with which they deal. Education must be made so fascinating that compulsory school laws and truancy officers will come to be regarded as anomalies, belonging to that dark age in our history when special legislation was necessary to bar out the subjects of the Mikado from those schools whose officers were constantly employed in trying to prevail upon native American children to attend.

BEN. B. LINDSEY, JUDGE OF THE JUVENILE COURT, DENVER, COLO.

I am taking for my text a recent case in the juvenile court, for I know of no better way to emphasize the relation of the child in the community than thru dealing with some concrete cases that constantly face the officers of that court.

Ten or twelve little fellows ranging in age from nine to thirteen years were complained of by a woman of the neighborhood. She said they swore at her, and when she passed them on the street accosted her with vile epithets and otherwise made her life a burden. She was confident that all of these boys were little limbs of Satan, without home or school training, and only fit for the reform school. The better part of her backyard was given over to a chicken coop. They had killed one of her chickens, and the long string of complaints against these youngsters made what appeared to be a prima facie case of lawlessness that was a disgrace to all of their training. The little culprits, arraigned in court and relieved of their terror, developed an advocate in a little eleven-year-old. His explanations were typical of that frequent, and, on the part of the child, unconscious indictment of the community and the individual in the community. "It was this way, Judge," he said, "you see the only place we have to play ball is back of her house, and sometimes we knocks the ball in her yard, and when we goes over there to get it she threatens to have us arrested. She calls us all kinds of names, and once she grabbed our ball and wouldn't give it back to us." More or less terrified when the officer was called in, the youngsters all denied that they had called "the lady" any names. The ball had struck one of the complainant's chickens, and there was a demand also that the boys or their parents be compelled to pay for the chicken, and the complainant fixed the value of the chicken at \$3.00. She explained with great detail that the chicken was a pullet, which she said was different from a hen, and, because of its youth, worth much more than a hen. However much we may admit a certain amount of natural or even vicious rowdiness on the part of boys, my own experience with socalled juvenile lawlessness of this kind has convinced me that the great number of cases involve just as much, if not more, fault on the part of the community and the attitude of the individual in the community toward the child than the child itself. Of course, we may question the wisdom of using this as an excuse to be availed of by the child; but in spite of all of our efforts to avoid any such attitude which might encourage rather than discourage lawlessness, the average twelve-year-old American boy inherently and naturally sees and feels the injustice involved. No person has a keener sense of justice than a child. Observe the cross-examination by the little advocate:

"Haven't we got a right to play ball?"

"Yes, but you mustn't disturb Mrs. Jones."

"But we couldn't help the ball going over in her yard."

"But you must be very careful not to bat the ball in that direction; you might break her window or kill her chickens."

"But we can't help the ball going over there sometimes—and has she any right to keep our ball, because when I asked her for it she just called me all kinds of names and said she would have us arrested?"

And so the colloquy continues. If it wasn't for the danger of being misunderstood, and of course the unwisdom of any such statement in the presence of these boys, I, as a just judge, might very properly have responded: "Yes, you have a perfect right to play ball. If the city, if the community in which you live hasn't provided you a playground within a reasonable distance of your homes, and the vacant lot adjoining Mrs. Jones' place is the only ballgrounds you have, or if the street is the only place to play, then play in the Jones' lot or play in the street, but, whatever you do, play ball. If the ball accidently goes in Mrs. Jones' backyard, and she doesn't return it to you but keeps it, we will send an officer to Mrs. Jones' house and demand that she return that ball or be prosecuted for larceny. If Mrs. Jones is so ignorant, so grouchy, so petulant, so absurd as to call you names and threaten you with the police and the jail I think you ought to be little gentlemen enough not to imitate her example in back talk; but if you swear back at her in the natural course of weak human nature, she got just what was coming to her, however distressing it may have been." Of course, my friends, this very righteous condemnation of the community for its attitude toward the child would have been received by a great many individuals as a plain case of encouraging lawlessness in the juvenile world, and the court would have been condemned accordingly.

I am not here to excuse the waywardness of the child in the community, much less to justify it; neither am I here to apologize for lawless little citizens, but I am here to point out that injustice of which we have had entirely too much in the past, which would seek to put upon the child burdens that properly belong to the community as a whole, and in too many cases are created by ignorance, selfishness, and injustice of the individuals of the community in dealing with childhood. It is only within recent years that the community has begun to awake to its responsibility as a community for the child. While responsibility rests most with the home and the parent, the home and the parent cannot do their full duty toward the child, nor the child receive the full measure of benefit from the teaching of the parent, unless the effort of the parent be supplemented by the community in the discharge of its duty toward the child. The cities in this country represent the highest development of community life. As it is the right of all men and women to found homes and rear children, so there comes a corresponding duty to every individual in the community, who may enjoy these rights, whether accepting them or not, to take some of the responsibility and cheerfully accept some of the 740

Department]

Just as, in return for the benefits thru the establishment of government and the maintenance of law, the individual must sacrifice some of his personal liberty and accept uncomplainingly and patriotically certain obligations and burdens of the community as a whole, so in return for the blessings of children must each individual and each community be willing to undergo uncomplainingly some reasonable sacrifice on behalf of the childhood of the community.

But in this respect how thoughtless and short-sighted we have all been in the past. I think we can say without boasting that our own beautiful city has, as much as any city in this country, done its part for its children; but I recall very well within much less than ten years appearing before the Park Board to advocate public playgrounds, to be met with cynical indifference by the then members of the Board and to have it pointed out to me, as the consoling answer to our pleas, that there were enough vacant blocks in Denver for the children to play, or if there were none in the immediate neighborhood there must be some within a mile. "And," said one member of the Board to me upon one occasion, "I frequently walked a mile to the old swimming-hole, and why can't the boys in the district walk a mile, if necessary, to the baseball grounds?" Another argument was something like this: "Where is this thing going to end? If we provide playgrounds for these kids what is to prevent the demand that we provide other things?" "Yes," we replied, "there is nothing to prevent it, but everything to demand it. We want a public natatorium, a public trade school, a recreation center, and if the children get hungry and the parents cannot feed them, we will in the end want you to do that—just that. In a word, there is absolutely nothing that the child needs which the parent for any fair reason cannot furnish, which it is not the duty of the community to supply."

It is very difficult to put any limit upon the duty of the community to the child. It is certainly coextensive with that of the parent, if there be no parent, or if the parent be helpless or the child suffer from the parents' neglect.

One of the greatest gains for the child is that which comes thru the conversion of the community to its duty toward the child. Nine-tenths of the work is done in bringing about the conversion. It had always been a theory of mine, for example, in the early fights for public playgrounds and public baths, that when the first appropriation came for these things, when the city authorities intrusted with the money and power of the people to establish them took the first step, made the first appropriation, builded the first playground, the first natatorium, nine-tenths of the work was done. After that it was only a question of the momentum that would be gained thru the force of the principle finally accepted. I have not been disappointed in this theory; on the contrary it has been more than demonstrated in this community, and I believe in other communities. There was a time when we had to go before the Park Board with statistics in an appeal to the pocketbook to show how it had cost this

city and county \$40,000 in one year for prosecutions of juveniles in courts and their care in institutions, largely because the community had failed in its duty toward the child. There were at that time no public playgrounds, no natatoriums, and such complaints as that I have referred to were constant. The police were burdened with complaints from prudish people against the naked little kids in every convenient puddle, swimming-hole, or wading-place in the city. In the early days of our court we let the little boys in scanty attire bathe in the fountain pools in our court-house yard on the theory that a community which could afford thousands of dollars every year in maintenance and decoration of aluminum nymphs and statues of nude women sporting themselves in expensive artificial showers, could at least provide something of the kind for needy flesh and blood that clothed the human souls of its future citizens. Prudish people would come for blocks out of their way to gaze upon the half-clad youngsters, who were so much more shocking than the naked statues that never drew a protest; and upon their complaint the police would chase the dripping live-nymphs, who not only didn't have to be brought to our court, but took refuge there, assured of protection. In those days it was hard to make the dull-minded understand the value of a heroic effort to arouse the community to its responsibility for the child and the natural normal pleasures of the child that, unless permitted a natural outlet, are sure to express themselves in lawlessness. But the lesson worked. The same city government that first pooh-poohed our demands responded to the demands of public education, that came with public agitation, with the playgrounds and the public bath, whereas, before they were educated, before they felt the pressure of public sentiment (which is only public education), they were as dense as they were dumb to such appeals.

Such complaints as I have mentioned, such incipient lawlessness and many other examples of kindred nature which I could describe have either ceased or materially decreased just in proportion as the community has awakened to its own culpability, to its own part in the lawlessness of which it had complained and which it sought in the past to place alone upon the shoulders of the child.

In short, even at the expense of overlooking the child's part in the case, what we did was to indict before the bar of justice the community as a whole and that individual who thru selfishness or ignorance, and sometimes viciousness, was an infinitely more important person to be proceeded against than the child brought dripping from the public fountains by the policeman or deprived of his play in the neighborhood without a playground. Frequently there is in the complaint of the neighbor, who saw in the breaking of a window only juvenile lawlessness, mere personal selfishness and a disinclination to bear some burdens that rightly come with God-given rights and the advantages of community life.

In the cases I have described, as in most such cases, we find the child the most reasonable and the most just of all those involved. They readily agreed

Department]

to pay "the lady" for the unfortunate pullet and promised solemnly to respect her privacy. I had merely reasoned with the little prisoners—conceding their rights and the "lady's" rights—bespeaking for her their patience and manly bearing under trying provocations. As the gang, restored to freedom, descended the Court House stairs the little advocate, voicing their united sentiment, piped back to the probation officer, "Say, tell the Jedge we're very much obliged to him." But "the lady" saw in this appreciation of justice only encouragement of crime, for the policeman on the beat, knowing very well the attitude and ignorance of "the lady" and "no place to play" was the chief cause of the trouble, found it easier for his own relief to comfort "the lady" with the relieving assurance that it was "no use to arrest those kids, for the judge would only let 'em go."

If the child in the community is to have justice and the community itself is to be most relieved of those annoyances that come from the misdirected energy of youth, the individuals composing the community must be educated to a better understanding of childhood. Most cases of so-called juvenile lawlessness in communities are merely cases of juvenile naturalness misunderstood or misdirected.

I recall two cases of what the boys call a "charivari." One developed half a dozen neighborhood rows; another lasting loyalty and friendships. In the one case it was resented with threats that incited a riot and in the other it was welcomed with the good humor that prompted it.

Such cases constantly remind us of the necessity for one of the greatest of all remedies for a certain kind of juvenile misunderstanding that so frequently provokes communities. I refer to that tact and kindliness that is born of a wise self-control in individuals. It is the foundation of the active and well-directed patience that is the most effective weapon in such cases. It promotes understanding rather than misunderstanding. It is the same wisdom that restrains the neighbor from chasing the small boy who rings the front door bell. It made a certain little mother master of a bad(?) gang, whose ravages of back porches brought complaints by the score to police and court. She did not threaten, she did not complain. One day while watching for the assault of the invaders of her backyard, she suddenly appeared smiling her sweetest smile, invited the whole gang in to partake freely of the ice cream they sought to steal, and ever after it was worth a good drubbing to any boy in that neighborhood to molest the back porch of the little mother. It may have been the loyalty of the savage, but it was loyalty, and loyalty is worth cultivating.

I am not suggesting this as the remedy, of course, for every such difficulty but as an example of the conquering spirit; I wish it could be more understood and applied in every community. If it is not more prevalent in the community's attitude toward the child it is because it is not more prevalent in other departments of life. All the courts or probation schemes on earth can never effectively correct the faults of the child so long as there remain the faults

of those who deal with children in homes, in schools, in neighborhoods—in the community itself. There can be no court, no institution, for the protection of the community against the faults of children that is fair or just unless it carry with it powers for the protection of children against those who deal with them, and a part in the education of the community to its own responsibility for the child.

If the community is to assume a certain responsibility for the child it must exercise a certain supervision over the child, the parent, and the home. It must by wise laws, wisely enforced, see that the parent does not shirk, does not dodge, because purely in the interests of the homeless child or the child from the careless or helpless home it has to perform certain parental duties. This is being done by the contributory dependency and delinquency laws, and while somewhat new and poorly understood and enforced as yet, they bid fair to perform an important part in the solution of this great problem. But here, as everywhere, education offers our greatest hope for the future.

It is within much less than half a century that the community has awakened to its responsibility for the child, and I think we may safely assume that no more fundamental changes are possible in our present system of civilization and government than those that affect the home and the child, and the responsibility of the parent to the community for the child and the community to the child for itself.

# Mayors of Five States

RECOMMEND MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

### INTRODUCTION.

Letters of inquiry as to the results of municipal woman suffrage were addressed to the mayors of cities in the five States where women enjoy municipal suffrage, viz., Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Kansas.

The women of Australia, Finland, New Zealand, Tasmania, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Natal, S. A., Canada and the British Isles also have this privilege, but the opinions of the officers of cities in these commonwealths was not asked, because of their distance.

One hundred and forty mayors replied. Selections from these letters are arranged in alphabetical order under each State heading. Practically unanimous in favor of woman suffrage was the testimony.

If these replies had all told a different story, if they had stated that few women voted, that these few were corrupted and easily bribed, that polling places were unfit for refined persons to enter, that worse men were elected, that women had no interest in law and order and were not public spirited, that the bad women voters outnumbered the good, if such had been the universal consensus of opinion we might well hesitate about enfranchising women. But now we can continue urging enfranchisement, confident other women

will be as true as the women of the five favored States.

### LETTER SENT TO MAYORS.

DEAR SIR:—We shall be under great obligations to you if you will tell us briefly of the results of municipal woman suffrage in your city.

- 1. Do women vote in considerable numbers?
- 2. Are they corrupted by their participation in elections?
- 3. Are the polling booths generally located in places fit for women to enter?
- 4. Is there more or is there less bribery and corruption in elections?
- 5. Are better or worse men elected to office?
- 6. Are women generally in favor of law and order?
- 7. Do they take an intelligent interest in municipal affairs?
- 8. Are they public spirited and ready to rally to the support of upright and honorable men of progressive views?
- 9. Are there enough "bad women" voters to be a menace?
- 10. Do you recommend woman suffrage in cities?

Thanking you in advance for your trouble in replying, I am,

Yours truly, CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH,

Women secured complete suffrage in 1869.

W. S. Collins, Mayor of Basin and President of Big Horn County Irrigation Company.-For the twenty-one years I have lived in Wyoming women have voted at all elections. Husband and wife, father and daughter, brother and sister go to the polls together, as to any other meeting. If any man should locate a polling place where a woman should not go, that man would have short shri't. Woe unto any man who would show anything but respect to a woman at the polls. The polls are as much protected as the fireside. Women vote for men they deem best, often splitting the ticket, so that now all parties endeavor to put up their best men. Women read of state affairs, know what their congressmen are doing, favor law and order, and ennoble the men voters. Bad women trouble good women no more at the polls than they do at the bargain counter or theater. I most heartily recommend woman suffrage everywhere.

Alvin Bennett, Mayor of Buffalo.—1 have been a close observer for eighteen years of the effects of women suffrage in Wyoming and often think women display more intelligence, use better judgment and have more interest in exercising the right of franchise than have men. They

take a very decided and intelligent interest in all municipal elections. I recommend woman suffrage.

D. W. Gill, Mayor of Cheyenne. - As big a per cent of women voters turn out as of men. They are not corrupted by their participation in elections and there is less bribery and corruption. Polling booths are located in the best places in the precincts and are as orderly as a dry goods, grocery or clothing store. They are public spirited and ready to rally to the support of upright and honorable men of progressive views and on moral issues take a stand without fear or favor. There are not enough "bad women" voters to be a menace. These are my convictions after watching the workings of equal suffrage during the twenty-three years of my residence in this city.

C. S. Baker, Mayor of Evanston.—The female vote is nearly as large as the male vote in proportion to numbers. Women are not corrupted and I have not heard of a single case of bribery. Women use their judgment in casting their votes and are seldom coerced. I strongly recommend woman suffrage.

Hugo F. Gaensslen, Mayor of Green River.—On account of equal suffrage, elections in Wyoming are better conducted than many I witnessed in states where women do not vote. We have many women

taxpayers who attend primaries as well as elections. Great care is taken to place in nomination only such men and women as will command the support of the women voters. Women vote in considerable numbers and the percentage is nearly as great as that of the male voters. Better men are elected to office. Not enough bad women voters, if any, to change results for the worse. I heartily recommend equal rights and priviles to women.

Joseph B. McKee, Mayor of Laramie.

The women are alive to their opportunity in casting their ballots both in regard to municipal and national affairs. They are public spirited, favor law and order, and have a keen perception for honorable, upright and progressive candidates. Their lively interest in elections tends to lessen corruption and elevates the standard of elections in this state. Polling booths are always erected in clean and suitable places. I heartily endorse woman suffrage.

A. Kendall. Mayor of Rock Springs.—
Woman suffrage is an unquestioned success in Wyoming, and it is a progressive move to try to have it incorporated in the new Chicago City Charter. The women take a proper interest in politics and candidates, and turn out at the polls proportionately with the men. Women are not as venal as men, and there is no attempt to corrupt them. The influence of woman suffrage is in the right direction—better

men for office and purer morals and elections. It may seem quite an innovation, but it is but a question of a short time, if you get the provision in your charter, when you will see the benefit derived by a general improvement in candidates and movements for the betterment of the city. You are making no mistake.

WYOMING.

Tabulated list of answers to 10 questions:

Recom- mend,	Yes Xes ii
Bad Women M enace.	6 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
Public Spirited.	Yes Kes Kes
Intelligent Interest.	Yes
Favor Law.	Yes
Officials Elected.	Better Better
Bribery.	Less
Fit Polling Booths.	Xes
Corruption	N::::::
Numbers.	Yes
OITY.	Cheyenne Laramie Evanston Basin Buffalo Green River Rock Springs

### COLORADO LETTERS.

Women received school suffrage in 1876 and full suffrage in 1893.

Lou R. Johnston, Mayor of Boulder .-It gives me pleasure to bear testimony to the wholesome influence which woman's suffrage lends to our politics. In state, county, or city elections women are as keenly alive to the situation as men and even more so at times. Corruption is almost unknown and booths are located in unobjectionable places. Men and women cast their votes in the most decorous manner and depart about their business. To bribe a woman is a task. You will find them true to their ideas of right. Bad women are no menace to good government. I recommend woman suffrage. She is better qualified to vote than a man who has just arrived in the country or one who has no moral sense of the responsibilities of American citizenship.

W. H. Briggle, Mayor of Breckenridge. Women vote in considerable numbers, are not corrupted by their participation in elections and better men are elected to office. Women take an intelligent interest in municipal affairs and I find them always ready to rally to the support of upright and honorable men and women.

H. W. Williams, Mayor of Buena Vista.

The ladies vote quite fully and freely, are in favor of good government and not

quite as susceptible to purchase as the male sex. I would recommend that women be given all the opportunities of suffrage. They will use the privilege to greater advantage for the community than is done by the opposite sex. The great bulk of the foreign element who have the suffrage are almost totally unfit to vote in a republic and not educated to our needs as are our own native women.

Mr. Low of the Cambria Fuel Company, Cambria.—Women here vote in considerable numbers, and our pooling booths are located in places where women can enter without the least inconvenience.

T. B. Coulter, Mayor of Canon City.—
I have lived in the State ever since the right of suffrage has been granted to women (1893), and it is a good thing. Women almost universally vote here. They are not corrupted by participating in elections. Better men are elected to office. Women are always in favor of law and order and take an intelligent interest in municipal affairs. Always you can count on the women for any good work.

John F. Murray, Mayor of Colorado City.—Women vote in Colorado at all elections and on all questions decided by elections. Women are not corrupted by participating in elections, but there seems as much corruption as before. I neversaw a polling place that was not as orderly as

our post offices. I see no reason why women should not vote at all elections, as they are as well educated as the men, and hold property in their names, and should be given the privilege of yoting to protect their interests in the country. The women's vote is generally polled as closely as the men's.

Geo P. Wilson, Mayor of Del Norte .-I have watched the result of woman suffrage since its adoption in 1893. Woman suffrage has aided in placing better men in office than under the old masculine rule. A man must now possess a good moral character to gain positions within the gift of the people. The women are for purity in politics and for good government. They give an atmosphere of decency and respectability to the voting places. Our women take as much interest in the elections as do the men, and exercise their right of citizenship with equal, if not better, intelligence than the men. As the pure mother purifies the home, so her influence purifies society.

Robert W. Speer, Mayor of Denver.— Woman suffrage has been an important factor for morality and better government in this state. Besides it does away with the injustice of taxation without representation.

Charles E. McConnell, Mayor of Durango.—Women vote in about the same numerical numbers as do the men and are

not corrupted by their participation in elections. Women are in favor of law and order and take considerable interest in municipal affairs. They show as much intelligence as the men. The "bad woman" vote cuts but little figure here. It goes with the saloon and gambling element vote.

J. B. Farnsworth, Mayor of Fort Morgan.—The presence of women at the polls is a godsend to the country and city wherein they cast their vote. Our women turn out fully better than the men and take more interest for better officials. In the elections they are treated with all due respect, and make election day one of pleasure instead of one of riot and drunkenness. Better men are elected to office.

C. W. Bomgardner, Mayor of La Junta.—I am in favor of equal suffrage rights to women. Their vote is more apt to be cast for reform and good government than for the hobo and gambler.

H. C. Rose, Mayor of Leadville.—I am in favor of woman's suffrage on all propositions, Municipal, County, State and Government The women vote in cousiderable numbers and are not corrupted by participation in elections. There is no bribery and no corruption in women's voting at any election. Better men are elected. If woman suffrage should become a part of our political system you need have no fears of the results. As women

have always acted for the best interests of the young, why not for the betterment of man? The women's vote is always a patriotic vote. If with you there is seldom a majority vote of men except at presidential elections, then would it not be better to add the woman's patriotic vote to that of the men who are interested in good government?

C. A. Bradley, Mayor of Longmont.—Women do vote in large numbers and bribery is unknown. Better men are elected to office, and through the franchise given to women, all the towns in this part of the state, Berthand, Loveland, Fort Collins, Greeley and Longmont, are temperance towns and the law is well enforced. It is through the influence of the women that the politics of the state is fast gaining ground in the right direction and it will be but a few years until we have one of the cleanest states in the Union.

E. E. Nichols, Manitou.—Women vote in considerable numbers and have been the means of purifying our politics. Majority are in favor of law and order, and a large majority act and vote intelligently.

John Gray, Mayor of Montrose.—We believe in municipal suffrage for woman, because we believe that eventually she will be led to realize what she can do and will be more active than she now is. When women have acquired some practi-

cal ideas of business and politics they will use their influence at the caucuses and conventions as well as voting at the polls. I believe that woman's influence tends to good, and that after she has become familiar with public affairs she will be able to make her influence felt. She has not been in a position before calling upon her intellectual resources, and this is the first step in that direction. It is the necessary step. Bad women cut no important figure. They do not turn out at elections.

Frank P. Tanner, Mayor of Ouray.—
A very large percentage of the women vote regularly at each election. The polling places are in every way fit and proper for women to enter and vote. They are very keenly in favor of law and order, and take an intelligent interest in all municipal affairs. They use good judgment in supporting the best candidates. I favor woman suffrage in all cities.

Robert M. Pollock, Mayor of Rocky Ford.—Woman's suffrage is very satisfactory in every way. Women almost universally vote, and politics are raised to a higher level. The elections are held with less bribery and corruption, and better men are elected. Bad women are no menace.

N. W. Meigs, Mayor of Salida.—Women vote in large numbers and are not corrupted, They take an interest in municipal salidation.

pal affairs and support good men for office.

### COLORADO.

Tabulated list of answers to the ten questions:

Recom- mend. Bad Women	9 10	Sex C	3	2000	o Yes	*	3		01	Yes	:	;	:	ON	Ye	•	*	•
Menace.		ž:	-		Z	-	:		Z	•	8	Z	-	•	-	*	•	*
Public Spirited.	13	res	,	"	*	:	;	1	Yes	:	-	:	:	:		Yes	:	*
Intelligent Interest.	7	Yes	**		Yes	:	3	prova	Yes	:	**	:	;		Soon	Yes	:	
Favor Law.	9	Yes.	;		Yes	:	:	al ap	Yes	;	1.6	:	**	;	•	:	:	4
Officials Elected.	2	Better	4		Better	Same	Better	f gener	Same	Yes	**	**	Better	"	:	Same	Better	Same
Bribery.	4	ress	**		Less	Same	Less	etter o	Same	Yes		Yes			Same	**	Less	Same
Fit Polling Booths.	8	X es	**	1,	:	:	:	ì	Yes			Yes	,	3			:	.,
Corruption.	74	og:	:	100	Yes	:	:		ON	:	99	=	:	;	;	:	=	,,
Numbers.	1	xes.	:	:	;	•	:		Yes	:		Yes	:	*	;	**	:	:
VT10		Soulder	Suena Vista.	Jambria.	Sanon City	Jolorado City.	Del Norte.	Denver	Durango.	Fort Morgan	la Junta	Leadville	Longmont,	Maniton	Montrose.	Ouray	Rocky Ford	Salida

### IDAHO LETTERS.

Women secured full suffrage in 1896.

James A. Pinney. Mayor of Boise City. - Woman suffrage has proved an entire benefit not only to the community but to the women in giving them a clearer and more accurate understanding of municipal affairs in which they are or should be vitally interested. Women generally avail themselves of this privilege. At a recent municipal election forty-five per cent of the entire vote was cast by women. The polls are in comfortable rooms and entirely orderly. Women receive no more ill effects than from going to pay their taxes or visiting a public school room. A man of bad character would be certain of defeat by the woman's vote. Women take an active part in all branches of suffrage, attending caucuses, serving as election officers and going as delegates to conventions. The vote of "bad women" is small and generally found to be cast for a law and order candidate.

- D. Raymond. Chairman of Village Board of Trustees, Blackfoot.—The women vote in proportion to the men. Fewer professional politicians and more good citizens are elected. Women are our best citizens and cannot be corrupted.
- R. S. Madden, Mayor of Caldwell.— The vote of women means cleaner politics for Idaho. Thirty to forty per cent of the

votes cast are by women. The political atmosphere is noticeably purer. No campaign orator in a stump speech dares to tell a story or utter a sentiment that is lewd.

- E. Hagen, Mayor of Emmett. -Women vote in considerable numbers, are public-spirited and rally to the support of upright men.
- J. B. Scarborough, Mayor of Franklin.—There is no good reason why women should not have the right to vote. It has a tendency to purify politics. Woman suffrage in Idaho is all right.
- T. Driscoll. Mayor of Genesee.— Women generally yote and are not injured in the least. Less money is used in campaigning where women vote. I favor woman suffrage.
- Fen Batty, Mayor of Grangeville.— Women vote in considerable numbers, always favor law and order regardless of politics. On a bond election recently for the purpose of buying a water system, the city would have lost if the women had not come to the front. Not enough bad women to be a menace.
- H. R. Pluzhoff, Chairman Board of Trustees Hailey. Woman suffrage is a complete success and I recommend it.

Wayne S. Bridgeman, Mayor of Harrison.—Ladies with few exceptions vote. Elections are usually held in the opera

house. Woman suffrage has greatly improved conditions here.

J. A. Fenton, Mayor of Meridian.—All the women able to get out turn out strong and vote. While the effect is somewhat disappointing yet they are as good or better than a great many men, and should have a voice in saying who shall represent them.

William M. Morgan, Mayor of Moscow.—The common argument against equal suffrage that the ballot will have a debasing influence, that only bad women vote and that ladies will be liable to indignities at the polls, is entirely without foundation in fact. No candidate dares cater to the "bad women" vote and they are not a menace. No party dares nominate a candidate of known bad morals.

Adam Aulbach, of Murray.—I have no reason to regret being one of the original supporters of the woman suffrage movement in Idaho. Women vote almost universally. In cities in this county, women take an intelligent interest in municipal affairs.

R. W. Purdum, Mayor of Nampa.— Women suffrage in Idaho has come to stay. All political parties are now compelled to nominate clean men. Caucusing now is to decide on a candidate whom the ladies can say nothing against. Our polling booths are in proper places and they are clean. R. E. Haynes. Mayor of Payette.—Woman suffrage is the gateway to civic purity and I recommend it with all my heart. A large per cent of our women are regular voters. The individual dignity of women is strengthened thereby.

H. Elmore Frey, M. D., of Pierce.— Ninety per cent of the ladies vote in city and county. Women serve with credit in official capacity. Woman suffrage is preventing gambling, drunkenness and crime among the citizens of our mining camps, where we have the toughest element in the United States. I have seen them close dives and saloons that the sheriffs and United States marshals could not by simply posting notices on the doors.

W. H. Cleare, Mayor of Pocatello.— Women vote as generally as do the men, and take an interest in municipal affairs, when they touch their homes and children.

John L. Jacobs, Mayor of Rexburg.— Women have voted in good numbers. Women always vote for good morals and men to support them. Suffrage is the right of every woman citizen.

James G. Gwinn, Mayor of 'St. Anthony.—The most refined woman may cast her ballot without coming in contact with anything distasteful. I never knew a woman to yield or use bribery or corrup-

tion. Women of Idaho seem to be more in favor of law and order and social morality than men are.

W. M. Duthil, Mayor of Troy.—Two thirds of the women vote and are not corrupted. Polling places are two hundred per cent better than before women voted.

Sherman J. Rossi, Mayor of Wallace.

—Women are not corrupted by voting.

They are public spirited and intelligent in voting upon all questions of public interest. I am heartily in favor of equal suffrage.

### IDAHO.

Tabulated list of answers to ten questions:

Recom		_	50	•	-		•	1/15	1		000	S				3	*	:	5	
Bad women Menace	2		:	:	:	*	*	:	-			Yes	:	:	:	•	39	*		No
Public Spirited	8 7	-	:	,		:	4	:	-			Yes	:	"	;	7	:	:		Yes
Intelligent Interest	TAY	1	:	:	.,	,,	*	•	-			Yes	:	3	;	:	•	**		Yes
Favor Law		601			Yes	**	**	:		*	;	:	;	39	3	*	1	**	3	3
Men Elected	Dotton D	Petter	39	17	99	**	**	**		9	,,,	**	**	**	99	**	**	:	3	-
Bribery	4	ress	**		Voor	100	19		,,	-				Voc	201	3	3			
Fit Polling Booths	g oo	y es	i	•		;	9.0	"	33	**		:	11	**	**	**	,	:	-	4
Corruption	n ca	ON.		1			:					:	:	:	:	*	:	3	3	700
Numbers		Yes45 per cent	Yes	the contract of	xes-40 per cent	Xes			: :							Yes - 90 per cent	Xes			Yes-two thirds
			2	1	:	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1			1	

### UTAH LETTERS.

Women secured full suffrage in 1896.

George T. Shelley, Recorder-American Fork City.—The officers elected are better and there is no bribery.

Frede T. Petersen, of Bear River City.

—I am in sympathy with woman suffrage. About seventy-five per cent of the women here cast their vote. The elections are quiet and orderly. The presence of women has some effect upon the rougher element of men. Some women in our county hold such offices as the positions of Recorder and School Trustee, and they are very efficient.

Anton Christensen, Mayor of Bingham Canon.—The women vote is about as large as that of men. Little, if any, corruption. The tendency is to elect better men. I favor equal political and economic rights for women and men.

C. Holst. Mayor of Brigham City.— The women take as much interest in voting as do the men, but do not neglect their home duties by standing on the streets talking politics. If good city government is wanted, by all means let the women vote.

Daniel T. Leigh, Mayor of Cedar City.—Yes, women do vote, and better men are elected.

James B. Jardine, Mayor of Clarkston.—Women do vote, and for good, hon-

orable men. I am for woman suffrage first, last and all the time.

Alma Eldredge. Mayor of Coalville City.—Yes, the woman vote is in proportion to their numbers with men. Special care is taken to have polling booths pure and proper places for women to enter. Our city is free from bad women. There is no such thing as a bawdy house in the city. The City Treasurer is Ellen Copley.

L. M. Olson. Mayor of Ephraim.— Male and female voters about equal in number. Polling places are in school and city hall. Women show more discretion than Irishmen in New York. The City Treasurer is Hannah C. Williams.

M. O. Miner, Mayor of Fairview .-The purifying of the body politic will come through woman suffrage. As the mother has almost the entire training of the child, her thought, ways and ideas are engrafted on him. The statesman of today being the son of the mother of yesterday we well say here that the hand that rocks the cradle moves the world. Women possess more of the finer feelings, are more tender hearted and spiritual minded. Women seek to put in office men who would be worthy examples for their sons to follow. The idea of women not being allowed to vote belongs to the dark ages. The City Treasurer is Ellen Peterson.

William McHale. Mayor of Frisco.—
Three-fourths of our women vote, and
they have helped to cut out bad officials.
Nearly all County Recorders of Utah are
women. Some County Treasurers and
Clerks are women. There are women
postmasters and court stenographers. All
give best results.

Samuel Weston of Garden City.— Ninety-five per cent of the women of this place vote, and it is difficult for dishonorable men to get office. I never knew a woman influenced by bribery.

A. F. Puitins, Postmaster of Grouse Creek—Woman suffrage is a perfect success. About ninety-five per cent of the women vote. You cannot bribe a woman.

William Brewer, Postmaster of Henefer.—Politics in Utah is improved in every respect by woman suffrage.

R. W. Barnes, Mayor of Kaysville.—About ninety per cent as many women vote as men. We elect women to office in this city and they attend to business better when elected.

George G. Weston. Mayor of Laketown.—Women vote in considerable numbers, and I heartily recommend woman suffrage.

E. W. Robinson, Mayor of Logan.— Women purify politics rather than become corrupted. I never knew of a woman being even embarrassed at the polls or in any public meeting. We never had a case of an attempt at bribing a female voter. Our City Recorder and Treasurer and our County Recorder are all ladies. Their work is efficient and, above all, honest. I know of no instance where men control the wives' votes except when they convince them their own views are right. Our years of experience testify that it is one of the greatest steps toward better civic and social conditions.

L. R. Anderson, Mayor of Manti City.— Ninety per cent of the women vote and are not corrupted. They do not take an active part in conventions, but the nominating conventions are more particular about selecting candidates than before, when women did not vote.

W. I. Sarensen, Mayor of Mendon.—All women vote who can leave home. Sometimes the wife votes as her husband does, other times differently. I sincerely hope you will obtain woman suffrage.

W. H. Pettigrew, Mayor of Nephi.— Suffrage is a right which should be extended to all the ladies of our country. In our city we are not troubled with bad women.

John Styler, Bishop of Oasis.—Ladies of our city are as attentive to their privilege of voting as are the male population. Your women should be allowed to vote.

G. W. Piatt, Mayor of Ophir.—All the women vote. Never heard of bribery or

corruption among women. They tend to improve the class of officers elected.

A. C. Van Buren, President of Town of Orangeville.—The women voters see to it that no bribery or corruption is tolerated.

N. P. Fackrell, Justice of the Peace in Orderville.—No community should be without woman suffrage. Women of our county are as interested in voting as men.

William Hollyoak, Mayor of Parowan City.—Equal suffrage is only common justice and fairness. If woman is to be held to an equal responsibility with man under the law, she is entitled to a voice equal to his in its making. All our women vote and are not corrupted. I favor woman suffrage among all enlightened civilized people.

Arthur Manvell, Mayor of Peoa. — I am pleased to help in the fight for franchise in the nation, and wish you success.

J. H. Harris, of Pinto.—This is not incorporated, but women vote in considerable numbers.

James O. Bullock, Mayor of Pleasant Grove.—Woman suffrage has proven beneficial in every sense of the word. The polling booths are in respectable places. As a rule the woman don't seek to hold office, but in the few instances where they have been elected they filled their respective positions with dignity and honor. Our present City Treasurer is a woman.

J. H. Frisby, Mayor of Provo City.— Woman suffrage in cities is the right theory. There is no good reason why women should not vote. Municipal politics would be in a great measure purified. The City Treasurer is Emma S. Simons.

J. A. Stone, Town Clerk of Salem.— We find woman suffrage a great benefit to the country. Our booths are in the City Hall. Women generally accompany their husbands.

Thomas B. Heelis. President Town Corporation, Santaquin—Allwomen should havesuffrage on an equality with men. Women here vote in considerable numbers.

Wm. J. Hatch, Mayor of Scipio.—The results of franchise for women are favorable, the women appreciate it and use it equally with men.

John Frishson, Mayor of Spring City.

—Fifty per cent of our voters are women. It is harder to bribe a woman than a man. They vote with as good judgment as do men. If we think women good and safe enough to rear our children, of course we are not afraid to let them vote.

W. M. Farlome, Justice of the Peace of St. John.—Women vote in greater proportion than do men. Women vote as intelligently as do men.

Wm. R. Davis, Acting Mayor of Wales.—Nearly every woman votes and this is a great factor in keeping out bribery and corruption. I believe God destined women to have equal rights with men in this great nation.

Peter M. Maughan, Mayor of Wellsville.—I would recommend woman suffrage to purify the ballot.

UTAH.

Tabulated list of answers to ten questions:

Recom mend.	Yes.
Bad women	OO: 1 2::::: 2:::::
Public Spirited	KN 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
Intelligent Interest	S
Law.	Xes
Men Flected	Better ::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::
Bribery.	No Trick I No
Polls.	» &::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::
Corrupted.	N:::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::
Numbers.	Yes—75 per cent Yes Yes—95 per cent Xes—95 per cent Xes—96 per cent
CILX	American Fork Bear River Bear River Brigham Canon. Brigham Clty Codar City Codar City Colarkston

### UTAH---CONTINUED---

Tabulated list of answers to ten quest-tions:

Recom mend.			3	:	,	3	99	:	:	"	.,	3	;	**	3	*
Bad women	1 4	:	**	-			:		:				्द		-	:
Public Spirited	8 Yes	-	:		.,		:	:	:		:	,		:	-	:
Intelligent Interest	Yes Yes	1	:		:	,,		:	:		:		:	**		:
Law.	Yes	:	3	,	:	:		11	**	0.00000	,	;		:		;
Men Elected	Better	: :	:	-								,,				35
Bribery.	No 4	ress	No	Less	No	,,	:	*	:				3	:		I Acc
Polis.	yes Yes	. :	:	3	:	**	**	3		13	**	;	-	,	**	,,,
Corrupted.	No 2	: :	:	:	;	:	3.	33		,	35	:	*	9.0	:	.,
Numbers.	Yes-90 per cent No		Yes	:	*	,,	**		**	1	**	3	*	3	27	
OITY	Nephi	hasis	)rangeville	Orderville	Parowan City	Pena	Pinto	Pleasant Grove.	Provo City	Salem	Santaonin.	Scholo	Aprilio City	T. John	Wales	Wallevilla

### KANSAS.

Women secured municipal suffrage in 1887, school suffrage in 1861, and bond suffrage in 1903—They do not have county suffrage or state or presidential suffrage.

H.L. Humphrey, Mayor of Abilene.—Woman's municipal suffrage is a decided advance in good government. Generally only one-third of the women take part in elections, but when some matter of special importance comes up they come out in large numbers. They hardly ever attend the evening caucuses, but the fact that women vote makes it necessary to put up decent men. There is no bribery and no bad women, or at least not enough to cut any figure in politics.

John D. Brown, Mayor of Anthony—I recommend woman suffrage because where women vote it increases the interest in elections and results in more study and a better understanding of the issues involved and the duties of citizenship. The greatest menace to our government is ignorance and indifference on the part of the voter.

T. R. Mordy, Mayor of Belle Plaine.— Woman suffrage is the first step for the protection of our homes and loved ones. The elevating, civilizing influence drives rum and vice from our city. Ninety per cent of the women vote. J. E. Caswell, Mayor of Belleville.— Women are not subject to corruption. Kansas people generally pride themselves on showing all due respect to women at the polls. I have failed to observe any benefits from woman rights at our elections.

**Abe Perry**, Mayor of Conway Springs. I am truly in favor of woman suffrage in cities.

Frank Stanley, Mayor of Delphos.— I am heartily in favor of giving women the right to vote in our municipal elections.

- A. J. Holderman, Mayor of El Dorado.

  —I am an advocate of equal suffrage. It has much to do in purifying politics. The clerks on the election boards are most always women, which may cause the quietness at the polls. I wish my mother and sister had the same privilege to express their wishes at the polls in Illinois that my wife and daughter have here.
- O. B. Hardcastle, Mayor of Emporia

  —The morals of our town are in very
  much better condition since the women
  can vote.
- J. E. Martin, Mayor of Eskridge.— About eighty per cent of the women vote nor are they corrupted thereby. Better men are elected where women vote. I offer myself as proof.
  - C. A. Hill, Mayor of Eudora.-This

town has been benefitted in having women take an interest in the conduct of affairs by voting. We believe it is a wise policy to extend suffrage to all women in the United States.

J. M. Smyth, Mayor of Eureka.—Municipal suffrage has been quite satisfactory here. The women vote in good numbers.

J. Q. McAfee, Mayor of Garnett.—A very small per cent of women vote in this little city. Polling booths are in places perfectly fit for women to enter.

Clay H. Burnett, Mayor of Girard.— Women vote in considerable numbers. Women are more in favor of law and order than men, and better men are elected. Bad women are not a menace.

J. S. Renzenberger, Mayor of Greeley.

-Woman suffrage is all right. The ladies take a great interest in our elections. I heartily recommend woman's suffrage.

Rev. D, F. Honstedt, Mayor of Hiawatha.—Our women vote in considerable numbers. There is less bribery and corruption. Equal suffrage should prevail everywhere.

F. D. Turck, Mayor of Hill City.— Nearly all women vote on important questions. I am in favor of woman suffrage.

S. A. Vanasdall, Mayor of Howard.— Woman suffrage has much to do with the morals of the town Voting places are a great deal more quiet on account of the ladies' presence. F. L. Martin, former Mayor of Hutchinson.—Women vote in considerable numbers and for the best men. I recommend woman's suffrage and that cities be governed by a commission composed partly of women.

W. R. Pratt, Mayor of Independence.— The women vote whenever important issues are involved. Polling places are fit for women to enter. Better men are elected. I recommend woman's suffrage.

William W. Rose, Mayor of Kansas City.—General result has been to increase expense of elections without materially affecting results. The general tendency is, however, to an increase of the woman vote, and this probably indicates a greater degree of intelligence on matters political.

Simon Lint, Mayor of Kingman —The women here vote. They are well protected at the polling places. The women are the saving element in our nation.

H. L. Baker, Mayor of LaCrosse.—The women take much interest in all school and city elections, and better men are elected.

J. A. Keeler, Mayor of Lawrence.— Women take as much interest in local politics as do men. Women are strongly against anything which would not be in harmony with decency and good government, especially in questions of temperance and morality. Coming generations will look back in astonishment to the time when women were denied the right of suffrage.

W. D. Morgan, Mayor of Lincoln.—Polling booths are purer by the women's presence. Men smoking will stop when women appear at the polls. Women take an interest in the welfare of the city.

D. W. Jackson, Mayor of Longton.— Woman suffrage in our cities and schools has had good results. The moral influence was not felt at first, but our better class of women soon became educated in the facts and interested.

A. Fones, Mayor of Lyons.—Women register very freely and vote. They hold the balance of favor. The best element, educated women and those of the church membership, take a hand in our city elections. They stand for better principles, better government, higher education, and for all things that stand for better citizenship.

George T. Fielding, Mayor of Manhattan.—Interest is taken in municipal elections only occasionally by women. Law and order is the paramount issue with women. They favor the election of good men.

R. L. King, Mayor of Marion.—Women vote in considerable numbers here when moral issues are at stake. The suffrage granted here has worked all right.

A. J. Culp, Mayor of Miltonville.— Women here do their part nobly in helping to elect upright, temperate, clean men for office, 80 to 90 per cent of them voting

J. C Gafford, Mayor of Minneapolis.—
If we put up good, clean men women take very little interest in the election, but if we fail to put up good, clean men they take an active part and generally elect their candidate. Whether the tough element will be in control or not depends upon the ladies.

Gaston Boyd, Mayor of Newton.— Women vote in considerable numbers and better men are elected. I object to the ignorant voter of both sexes.

C. S. Kenney, Mayor of Nocatur.— About forty per cent of the women vote. We have no bribery, although we have some spirited elections. Our city treasurer is a woman.

C. H. Tilden, Mayor of Oberlin.—My observation for fifteen years has been that nine tenths of the women voters vote as their husbands vote. It has a tendency to make parties put up better men for office. Women should vote as well as men.

J. E. Scott. Mayor of Osawatomie .-

Women vote in considerable numbers. I routed eight saloons, the only saloons in the town, when I was elected, so women can go anywhere and receive proper treatment now.

A B. Clark, Mayor of Oskaloosa.— Right of suffrage is exercised to a very small extent, owing to the complete failure of the women elected at first. This failure caused from lack of experience.

John Halloren, Mayor of Ottawa.— Woman suffrage has proved satisfactory here I think woman suffrage would be of much greater advantage in large cities than in small.

J. S. Holmberg, Mayor of Peabody.— Better men are elected as women are generally in favor of law and order. When you get them aroused there is nothing that can stop them. Women can over balance the class of voters who can be corrupted.

W. H. Rees, Mayor of Pleasanton.— Nearly all the women here vote. The best women take an active part in our city government, and better men are elected.

N. L. Crow, Mayor of Pratt.—Polling places are always located in the best places. Women are in favor of law and order.

H. E. Kiefer, Mayor of Rosedale.— Women generally vote. Better men are elected. I am in favor of woman suffrage. The city treasurer is a woman. David H. Shields. Mayor of Salina.— Women will rally to a moral issue. Bad women are no menace here. Our menace is the irreligious society women who think drink and prostitution are men's inherent right.

R. M. Markham, Mayor of Scammon.

—We could not keep our vicious element under control if it was not for women's votes. They give the polling places an air of refinement.

William Johnson, Mayor of Sedan.— Women turn out in quite a majority when husband, fathers and brothers request them to go. They favor law and order and are in favor of enforcing the law.

E. S. Barger, Mayor of Smith Centre.

—We have been greatly helped by women being allowed to vote

William Quigley, Mayor of Sterling — Our experience with woman suffrage is most satisfactory. They vote in large numbers.

W. S. Bergindthal, former Mayor of Topeka.—Women do vote in considerable numbers and are not corrupted. I would recommend woman suffrage, not only in cities, but in country, State and nation.

W. M. Holeman, Mayor of Walnut.— We have had some closely contested elections in which women have been out in force. I cannot see why a woman should lose any of her self respect when she goes to the polls and casts a vote for the right.

35

I have observed a man and his wife may take different sides in elections.

L. Z. Stewart, Mayor of Wathind,-Am much in favor of women voting at municipal elections.

Andrew Sproul, Jr., Mayor of Washington.-Better men are elected to office by allowing the women to vote. They take an intelligent interest and are in favor of law and order.

J. C. Fear, Mayor of Waverly.-Women vote largely when vital questions are at issue. The good condition of our own city, morally and financially, is due in part to the refining and purifying influence of women. We have had no saloons or dives for twenty years The city owns the light and water works plants, has good schools, free library, parks, clean streets and strict observance of law.

Finlay Ross. Mayor of Wichita. - This city has always elected men to office above average of those usually elected in municipalities. Women as a whole do not take an active interest in municipal affairs. So long as candidates are chosen in caucus women will not be liable to take the interest in candidates that have been prearranged without their consent. I believe that women should have the right to vote and, by so doing, it will in time mean the purification of the ballot box.

W. S. Finley, Mayor of Williamsburg. -Women all turned out to our election.

Equal suffrage is coming. The great majority of men favor it, but for the ridicule. Their convictions are not stable and they are easily frighteued from them. some day it will be popular and the poor fellows will dare maintain their principles. Right, everybody knows is right.

#### KANSAS.

Tabulated list of answers to ten questions:

Recom mend	10 Xes : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : :	1::: 1::
Bad Women Menace.	o. N	1 11111
Public Spirited.	Kes Kes	:    :  :
Intelligent Interest	Kes 1 : : : : : :	1 2933
Favor Law.	Siri :::::	: ::::
Men Elected.	Better Same Better " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	1 2 2 2 2
Bribery.	None 4	Less
Fit Polling Booths	Kes:	11 11 11
Corruption.	N 0. 111 11 1	1 11111
Numbers.	No No No No No Nes Nes No Nes Nes No Nes	No Yes
CITY.	Abliene. Anthony. Anthony. Belie Plaice. Believille. Conway Springs. Conway Springs. El Dorado. El Dorado. Estrivie. Estrivie.	Garnett. Garnett. Greley. Hlawatha Hla Otty Howard Hutbinson.

#### KANSAS—CONTINUED.

Tabulated list of answers to ten questions.

Kansas City	No	No	Yes	None	Better	Yes	1			*
LaOrosse			144		7.	**			;	
Lawrence.			***			,, !		*		**
Lincoln	77	"	**		Same	**	**	20000		**
Longton:		:	٠.	Same	Better	***	**	33	9	**
Lyons	,	:	,;	None	:		3	**	:	**
Manhattan	In moral issues	*	*		2 :	**	3			**
Marion		;	33		: :	**	;	er.	3	**
Miltonvale.	Yes-80 per cent	:	:			**	**	**	No	.:
Minneapolis	Yes		11	: :	: :					
Mound City	**	*	:		:	:	;	77		*
		3	33	Less	:				**	"
Noreatur		;	,,	None		**	÷	**	**	***
Oberlin		3	33			1		2000		,,
Osawatomie.			100	**		÷	3	,,		*
Oskaloosa.	No	:	,	Same	:			Section 2	;	100,000
Ottawa		46	77	Better		**			11	33,
Peabody.	On morals	:	**			***		**		**
Pleasanton	Yes	No	Yes	Better	Better	Yes	Yes	Yes Yes Yes		Yes
Pratt	No		:		,				No	
Rosedale	Yes	2	11			33	*	;	*	*
Salina	No	5	,,	10	0		2	*	**	**
Scammon.		3	;	March Control		99	*	ě,		**
Sedan		**	,,			11	*	1		No
Smith Center	Yes	:	**		33	*,	33	3	**	Yes
Sterling			33		***	111	3	,,,	**	,,,

Recom- mend.	10		***	.,			:	•
Bad Women Menace.	6	,,	. 64	**	99	**		8
Public Spirited.	00				177	3		7
Intelligent Interest.	7	53	,,,	77		in 2		=
Favor Law.	9	***		**	**	**	30	,
Men Elected.	5	3	310			**		,
Bribery.	Ť.	No more			,,,	110		33
Fit Polling Booths.		,,	33		17		25	
Corruption.	2	*	3	3,5		į	-	2
Numbers.		Yes	-	11	- 2	10	***	
CITY.		Toneka	Walnut	Wothing	Washington	Waverly	Wighita	Williamsburg

The laws of a State are a sure index of its degree of civilization. Notice how ideally women and children are protected by law in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, where women vote on the same terms as men.

Wife's earnings and personal property, not received from husband, in her sole control. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Spouse's interest equal in each other's real estate. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Professions and all public offices open to women. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Jury service open to women. Utah, Idaho. (No prohibition in Wyoming and Colorado and women there act as jurors.)

Equal pay for equal work in teaching profession regardless of sex. Wyoming, Utah. (The law fixes the salaries of other public officials and as women are eligible to any public office, the rule practically prevails in all four states.)

Equality in inheritance for both sexes, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Divorce for same causes to husband and to wife, though wife can also secure separate maintenance or divorce for non support. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Wife and minor children entitled to homestead and to a certain allowance out of husband's estate, which has priority over ordinary debts. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Women privileged to make a will at eighteen years of age. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Free schools from primary grade through State University open to women. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Free text books in public schools. Wyoming, Utah. (If district so vote, in Colorado and Idaho.)

Free kindergartens. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

American flag on school houses. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Compulsory education for children under sixteen years of age, with instruction in physiology and hygiene, Wyoming, Utah. (Colorado, Idaho under 14.)

Alcoholic drinks forbidden to minors. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Tobacco forbidden to children under 18. Wyoming, Utah, (Idaho, 21; Colorado, 16).

No children under 14 to work in mines. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

No woman to work in mines. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah. (Not customary in Idaho).

Eight hours work maximum labor day for women. Colorado, Idaho. (A Supreme Court decision held the Colorado statute defective so that it could not cover laundry work.)

No factory work for children under 14.

Colorado, Idaho. (Practically none in Utah and Wyoming.)

Dependent children in family homes. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho

Juvenile courts and probation officers for delinquent children. Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Women physicians or matrons in certain institutions having women or children in custody. Wyoming, Colorado. (Customary in Utah and Idaho.)

Indecent exhibitions, pictures or exposures and the sale or gift of indecent literature forbidden. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Gambling and prostitution forbidden. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Age of consent 18 or 21 years. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

Prostitutes and other lewd persons forbidden to register or vote. Idaho.

Father and mother share in guardianship of children. Survivor the so e guardian. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho.

I challenge the discovery of four mansuffrage states or countries where women and children are equally protected.

CATHARINE WAUGH McCulloch. February, 1909.

Ca Nov. 17, 1909]

## AMERICAN EDUCATORS

AND

**DEMOCRACY** 

By
FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue :: New York

Subscribe for

## **PROGRESS**

Official organ N. A. W. S. A., published monthly at National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price 25 cents per year.

For Suffrage News, Read

## The Woman's Journal

Edited weekly by Alice Stone Blackwell, at 6 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., Room 1018. Three months on trial, 25 cents; one year, \$1.50.

Subscriptions also taken for JUS SUFFRAGII, the International suffrage monthly, \$1.00 a year.

### POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Send 10 cents in stamps to National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York, for a full sample set of Political Equality Leaflets.

## American Educators and Democracy

There have been three great suffrage mass meetings in this hall within a month. The first, packed to the doors, demonstrated the interest of America in Mrs. Pankhurst, the leader of the rebellion of the women of England. The second was deliberative, structural, historic. It marked the assumption by women of the use of political machinery hitherto controlled by men. The relation of these two meetings is significant, for the first was filled with impassioned will, without which no world reform conquers, and the second was planned by that cold logic which must organize the machinery through which moral power in a democratic nation is destined to act. I believe the Woman Suffrage Party will become a national force, that it is the second and the triumphant phase of the suffrage movement in America.

The meeting tonight is not dominated by the genius of a foreign country, nor does it represent alone the concentrated energy of one great municipality. It is national; it represents our nation, the United States.

A national movement must be original, not imitative. We may be inspired by and we may assimilate the proud spirit of another country, but we never will work out our own salvation by anything imported from without or above. We must look to our own roots to send up out of our own soil the vigor that shall nourish our national growth. No mastery of external machinery alone will save this state. Those who say that giving the ballot to women will not better our menacing conditions, possibly are right, if the give-all were the end-all.

Votes for women we advocate as the first necessity to a long educational policy, that kind of an educational policy which can justify democracy.

In England politics has had a large share in social life. Women, therefore, have had an education in practical politics, which they share only as helpers and servers. Since politics is so generally a part of the life of the British, the professional politician, as we understand the term, hardly exists over there. The dictatorship of a political boss, so familiar in this country, does not oppress them. The ground on which English men and women come together generally in active co-operation is political. Militant politics in England is a

natural evolution, taken over within these last few years by the women, who naturally are employing methods which for centuries have been successful when employed by men.

On all other grounds except the political, men and women in England are kept apart. The latter are a governed class. So far as politics is concerned, England is more of a democracy than America. She often speaks of this. But when it comes to real democratic spirit there is no comparison between the two countries, and it is to this American democratic spirit, which never yet has expressed itself through our political machinery, that we look with hope.

The children of England are educated to class and sex distinctions. The children of America are educated for equal citizenship. The public school is the nursery and the greatest hope of triumphant democracy. In these nurseries our boys and girls are educated together for citizenship, where the English boys and girls are kept apart. But suddenly, at graduation, our young men and women are separated, the men going into business, the women into business or domestic life, and at this same point the professional

politician takes up the tale of Amercan

The strongest manifestation of power in this universe is growth,-normal growth from within, not excrescence. Now, where is the growth of this country? Our growth is found in our schools, and the arbitrary fiat which interferes with that growth at the end of the school period cannot withstand the vigor of this country, rising today through both sexes. Contemporaneously with the awakening citizenship of American womanhood comes the awakening citizenship of American manhood, and we demand that, as our men and women have come up through our schools together, so, for economy of energy, mutual help, and national survival, they go on into our struggle of democracy together-thoroughly together, not partially, as English men and women have done. It is upon this profound national policy, rather than upon any sentiment of chivalry on the part of one sex or the other, that we base our conviction that militant methods will never be more than sporadic, even if that, in our beloved land.

Democracy is struggling to exist. I believe its burden is in the hands of the educators. There are two paramount responsibilities, then, upon all good citizens, men and women. First, choose well these educators, and see that they are placed so that they can survive. Second, expand education beyond the schools into the State, and unify the educational methods of the school and the State. These are the permanent methods, the dynamic methods, indigenous to America. The New York teachers are making a struggle for economic justice. Every suffrage organization in this nation ought to swing in and enforce their claims. Every teacher in this or any other state ought to swing in and enforce Votes for Women. Without it they never permanently can hold economic independence.

Now let us see how we can link our present progressive lines of education to the ultimate life of citizenship. I believe that the three most important principles of today are, first, the principle of educating everybody. This education must be supported by the state—the grade school, the high school, the state university—all three for boys and girls, men and women. You have two of these in the East. In our broader and sounder West we have the three, for I count it the greatest glory of any state to provide a co-educational institution of higher learning.

That element among the trustees and faculty of Harvard which shut out Miss Milholland from the Law School is a relic. Some kindergartner ought to lead these gentlemen to the nearest geological museum, and show them pityingly, but firmly, the fossilized remains of their Silurian ancestors. These remotely-defunct mollusks, after the Silurian age was gone, could not climb up into the Devonian age, and so, squirming themselves into strange shapes, they died, and, turning to stone, became their own monuments. If these sermons in stone cannot teach these gentlemen anything, nature has decreed that they are to stay in the museum to enrich the collection.

The second educational principle is self-government. Froebel introduced this into the kindergarten system. It is the principle of the George Junior Republic, and of all our progressive schools and colleges. No progressive educator today advocates the principle that the educated must govern the uneducated. He knows that it is the duty of the educated to show the uneducated how to govern themselves.

The third principle is industrial education accompanying the cultural education. The time is past when that which is practical is regarded as unfit for the cultured, or that which is theoretically cultured is regarded as complete education.

Project these three principles into the state. You get a working democracy, everybody being educated along practice and theory; everybody learning to govern himself. It is along these lines, and these only, that the evolution of democracy can take place.

Something must supplement the schools and keep these principles going. To a certain extent the church, the social settlement, the club, have done it. But they all stop short of the one thing needful-practical political education along with theoretical political education. As the generation that has just passed, divining a vital need in the social life of its day, evolved the social settlement to meet that need, so the coming generation will divine the peculiar need of its time, and, to meet it, will evolve the Political Settlement. The National American Woman Suffrage Association is suggesting a plan for this in the November "Progress," and it already in a few quarters of the country is under way.

It will give opportunity for that passion which in England is expressing itself in a militant method, and it will create an enlightened power to work through the Assembly District machinery so magnificently inaugurated recently in this hall by the Woman Suffrage Party. The Political Settlement policy will be a quiet and patient growth, as our schools are, and as our social settlements are. You will not hear much about it for some time, but, after this long wave of propaganda which has called forth so many great spirits has passed, you will see, beyond, a new Atlantis rising from the main—beautiful, complete, its roots striking downward to the heart of the world.—Address given by Prof. Potter at Carnegie Hall, New York, Nov. 17, 1000.

#### THE HONEST DOUBTER

By Frances Squire Potter.

I want to touch upon a phase of the suffrage question which often is in the minds of serious men when they oppose themselves to the granting of political equality for women.

No one can help seeing for himself the pitiable discrepancy between the dream of the ideal democracy as it has hovered in the air to the discerning eyes of Plato and all the succession of poet-statesmen since his time, and -the reality! Nothing fairer than the dream has ever dawned upon human conception. It forecasts the nobility and beauty of a state where all men should be free in the exercise of all their powers; where there should be work for all, not drudgery, but joyful service for the common good; where there should be music for all, not a luxury for the rich, but the spontaneous expression of expanding human souls; where there should be art in its multitudinous forms, making our cities beautiful through all their prosperous streets, laughing away the ancient chimera of poverty, disease, crime and everything unlovely and unloving. In a State like that which the poets saw, men would love one another because they would have nothing to envy.

This was the ideal of the early Christians, still burning with the enthusiasm of that divine idealist who died rather than renounce his vision. Again and again, large and small groups of men have tried to realize the mirage in a state or a community. Some have met a measure of success. Most of them have gone to pieces, and cynics have pointed the finger of scorn at these "visionaries." as they call them. But, as time goes on, the visionaries are multiplying, the mirage is less fitful, the



fine experiment comes again and again. It causes no surprise, nowadays, to hear of a new settlement anywhere in Europe or America or the islands of the sea where some enthusiastic idealist is putting his vision to the test in the actual world, than is caused by the announcement that another corporation has been found guilty of defrauding its government, and exploiting its brothers and sisters in the industrial world for its selfish profit. The finger of scorn is swerving from the visionary toward the materialist.

The ideal state has become common talk, and the wonder of it is that Plato's aristocratic dream fires the imagination of the modern proletariat. The rainbow is bending toward the earth. But our proletariat by no means has been lifted to the ideal. It is the prey still of the professional financier, the professional politician. This professional politician and professional financier take the place in the modern struggle for existence of the ancient tyrant and the medieval soldier of fortune. The discrepancy between the ideal and the actual state is scarcely less appalling today than it was in Plato's time, but there is this significant difference, that men today are looking for a swift and perhaps sudden change,

and many forces are combining to bring it about.

Now nobody realizes this discrepancy between the ideal state and the conditions in our United States in this beginning of 1910 as do the good men of our own families. They have tried to live as ideal citizens in an ideal state, and, of course, have failed. They have ended by compromising. When it comes to politics, they either keep clear of it, or, stifling their best instincts, they fight fire with fire, loathing in their souls the weapons they feel they have to use. And it is because of their own experience that they instinctively oppose making possible a similar experience for their wives and daughters. They say intimate knowledge of public affairs cannot help being a deteriorating influence and a torture to the soul-provided one can afford to keep that luxury.

We, who are suffragists, shall have to meet the fear of these burnt children. We, who are students of literature, may recall, to our encouragement, the great story which Edmund Spenser tells of how Britomart found Scudamor, a refined and brave knight, cowering and weeping in front of a gateway defended by a roaring blaze, and how Britomart, the warrior maid, told him to wait for her, and walked through it, unhurt. She had her trials after she got into the castle, but the story ends with that massive citadel of wickedness vanishing like a soap bubble, fire and all.

The good men of every age have felt the same terror at the extension of woman's liberties, and every time women have gone through the fire unscorched, every time the world's ideal of morality has been raised, the world's intelligence has been raised. The world's morality and intelligence have been raised in geometrical ratio to the increase of woman's personal freedom.

It is true that women on the verge of going into politics must expect to rub up against the degrading conditions which today are common in the political world. Not till we are in that world will we know what men have been afraid of for us. But when we do know it, we will know what we have to do.

Through how strange a process will this knowledge come? We will be heart-sick in the first place, will wish we had never gone in. We will be bewildered, ask for advice, not to be satisfied with it. We will find ourselves misinterpreted, vilified at every turn. As we pull ourselves together and look around, the first thing we will learn will be to form our

own judgments of people and situations, and act upon them. How different our alliances will be! How humble we will be toward some who hitherto have seemed to us eccentric! How irrelevant and futile will seem the busy avoider of everything serious, and not so admirable the resigned drudge will appear. We will have more insight into human motives, more charity for mistakes made by the strong, and less sentimental sympathy for those who deserve none. Lastly, we will realize so vitally the educational value of being smitten on one cheek that we will come to accept the high wisdom of turning the other.

But we will not turn it, as women did in the past, because they had to, but because we deliberately, and with a higher understanding, will do so. And when we have achieved this, we no longer will teach this doctrine to our children as a theoretical dogma they never see us practice willingly, but will teach it as the supreme achievement of the character of the future. As they see us steadfastly practicing it in a world of affairs in which we are not deemed to be outsiders, they will respect the philosophy and the practical philosopher. When that time comes, the ideal democracy will be here.

Equal suffrage is an inevitable phase of democracy. We do not fear to acknowledge it as an arena, not a garden. Besides, we can't help ourselves, anyway! The very first woman, early in her married life, involuntarily went out of the garden business!—Reprinted from "The Courant."

All Interested in the Cause of Equal Rights are Urged to Contribute toward carrying on the work. Checks or money orders may be made payable to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

## Price Per 100 Postpaid \$1.75 2 FOR 5 CENTS



[Nov. 30,1909] & for 1-0

# Partial Democracy and The Child

Du Grand

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
ESSEX BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS

## PARTIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE CHILD

HERE was a time when everyone in this audience lived and expressed himself as unconsciously as the bird flies. The instinct within blossomed in some external act or song without waste of energy, without disguise, without remorse. We were natural. That was when we were children. Our joy was ecstasy, our grief its temporary eclipse. This period lasts longer in American children than in those of other countries.

One of our greatest poets said, "I know that there hath passed a glory from the earth." He was remembering what it is to be a child, and he was seeing how far away the world of manhood is from that dear country.

The American child is an absolute democrat. He makes no distinction between the pickaninny in the gutter and little Lord Fauntleroy in the park. He will choose the pickaninny to play with every time, partly because he loves darkness better than light, the mud puddle rather than the

bath-tub, more perhaps because he wants that freedom which somehow seems to flourish better in the nethermost parts of the earth than it does in the upstairs nursery. This large unconcern, which disregards externals, seeking community of interests, seeking true interchange of soul, is so beautiful that I never knew a mother who was not ashamed and embarrassed to put an end to it. I knew one mother who preferred to emigrate from one neighborhood to another, rather than to break up a friendship between her child and a street arab of the neighborhood. She told me that when the waif looked up at her and said, "What are you goin' away fur?" it was the most painful falsehood she ever told that answered him.

You all have heard mothers trying to explain, or rather trying to get out of explaining, why Johnnie should not play with Bill; why his reluctant footsteps must be turned toward Alphonse. The pathos of the child's acquiescence in class distinctions which he does not understand, is mercifully effaced from the mother's mind by the ludicrousness of his expression of resentment at being cleaned up in preparation for Alphonse. She knows that she has turned her child's face away from democracy and has started him downward from his native plane, wherein all flesh is alike in the sight of

God. She has the vague feeling that it is to be so. Perhaps she sees far enough to realize that she deliberately clouds her child's mind, because in common with other mothers, she does not face the problem of making the gutter child a fit companion for her son. It seems easier arbitrarily to put an end to unequal companionships than to equalize them. But out of that easier solution have come our race problems, our social tribulations.

If this normal child, Johnnie, is a thoroughgoing democrat in the matter of race and class distinctions, he is at least equally so in his view of sex. Until he is laughed at for playing with girls, or one particular girl, it never occurs to him to make any distinction between boys and girls in his companionships. When his attention is drawn to it, he sees that the girls wear ribbons and skirts and the boys don't. But the communion of interests, independent of this difference of costume, may be as strong as in the case of the street arab from whom he was sundered by society. His girl friend may outrun him, outthrow him, do him up generally, if their arguments come down to a physical solution, for girl children generally are more vigorous than boy children. How should it occur to Johnnie that Mary was destined for a mild and subdued reflection hereafter, of his public deeds; she, who asserted herself so masterfully, who was so competent and resourceful in the management of their childish affairs? How should he believe that incapacity mysteriously should mildew her energy with advancing years, making her unfit to do in maturity what she did so unconsciously and beautifully in infancy?

As I passed on my way East through Chicago from Minneapolis, a very wonderful spectacle presented itself in the geographical centre of this country. It was the reception to President Taft by the school children of the city of Chicago. My colleague, Prof. Peck, told me that at about the same time in the city of New York, a similar congregation of school children took place. She said that there was something indescribably moving in the procession of children which paraded Fifth Avenue at the end of the Hudson-Fulton week. There were fifty thousand of them marching up to the Court of Honor with the precision of little West Pointers, a rank of girls, a rank of boys alternating, the girls in white, all of them carrying little flags. Each group was preceded by its band playing patriotic airs. They had been preparing for weeks for their exercises. They had been happy in having a share in the public celebration. They had been told over and over that they were the hope of the country, and that the great city of New

York needed their co-operation. They had been looking for an audience to please with their songs and dances, and to line their way as the crowd had packed themselves the whole length of the avenue to see the military and naval parades, and the colonial floats. Those expectations were not realized. The people who chanced to be on the street when the children marched, stood for a moment idly on the curbstone to see them go by. When the hope of the country reached the Court of Honor, where the Governor and his staff and many notables had reviewed all the other parades, they were greeted by a set of empty benches in the upper tiers and a few hundred devoted mothers in the lower tiers. But it did not dampen their enthusiasm. They went through with their exercises, sang the "Star Spangled Banner" and "America," rising to that wonderful last line which paraphrases the English "Long live the King" with the American "Great God, our King." Then boys and girls alike saluted the flag, after which they broke up. Two million people crowded Fifth Avenue to see the army and navy, survivals of a disappearing social ideal, and barely two thousand to see the hope of the country or take the slightest interest in those who are to create the civilization of the future! But it was significant that the boys and girls marched together,

and that there was nobody to notice what that meant!

In the public schools our children are treated alike. The public money goes to girls and boys alike. The waif, the negro, the oriental,—every child in this country walks into the school as he or she ought to walk into the State. The teacher cannot separate Alphonse from Bill, or John from Mary, and it is singular indeed that a partial democracy of adult citizens should be placed upon the foundation of a full democracy and expect to continue indefinitely. It is significant, too, that this partial democracy glorifies war, pours out its millions in battle ships and military armament, while it practises a perennial retrenchment of economy, of parsimony, in regard to the public schools.

You all know the reason why war is glorified and international arbitration indefinitely postponed. It is because the mass of the race, the non-fighting half of the population, are excluded from the councils of the nations, at the same time that their taxes, direct and indirect, are expended by the fighting half. You all know that the reason you weep in your heart while you draw your children away from the waif who looks up into your face asking you why, is because you are not able to be a mother in the full sense. You can be only a partial mother to your own

children so long as you live in a partial democracy. Those who come nearest to being mothers in the full sense—that is, the spiritual sense—are those celibate teachers in our public schools who, like the priests of old, have been compelled to give up having children of their own in order to train citizens for a partial democracy. They are true mothers because they care for all children alike, give their best to all, obtain justice for all. Their world, so far as they are given freedom to make it so, is a democracy. If they only could emigrate to a new planet with their unspoiled young democrats, and leave this world of naval and military parades to die of old age, and lie down in everlasting oblivion under triumphal arches and columns of melted cannon, it would seem as though God's Kingdom might come sooner. But that would be the easier way. The true mother never takes it unless she is compelled, and our true mothers of the public schools are struggling to exist. Their time is coming. They are keeping alive the ideal of a full democracy. They marched at the head of their children out of their schoolhouses through our city. The citizens of New York were not in the Court of Honor to welcome them. But when the future of this country is passed in review with all the glory of our present hopes crowning it with fruition, it is they who will

sit in the Court of Honor, surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses, their arduous course of sacrifice run, their work done, the saviours of a full democracy.

FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER

Address given at Witherspoon Hall, Philadelphia, November 30, 1909, under the auspices of the Woman's Suffrage Association of the State of Pennsylvania

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

## Til skandinavisk-amerikanske vælgere

Stansede du nogengang forat tænke over, at her i denne store frihedens og anledningernes republik for skandinaviske mænd, skandinaviske kvinder virkelig er stillet lavere i politisk henseende, end de var i det gamle land?

Faldt det dig nogensinde ind, at skandinaviske kvinder virkelig har mindre at sige her angaaende vigtige regjeringsforholdsregler, som vedrórer hjemmet, familien og deres arbeide og livsvilkaar, end de vilde have havt hjemme?

Har du begreb om, at det er mulig, at de skandinaviske folk næsten upaatvilelig vil blive de fórste blandt de store racegrupper til at give deres kvinder fuld stemmeret?

## Se paa disse kjendsgjerninger:

Sverige var det fórste land i verden til at indrómme kvinder nogensomhelst grad af stemmeret. Dette var over 200 aar siden. I 1862 blev, fremdeles forud for noget andet land, denne grad udvidet, saa at alle ugifte kvinder, som betalte skat, blev tilladt at stemme ved komunevalg; og i 1909 blev komunal stemmeret udvidet til alle kvinder.

Norge var den fórste fritherskende magt i verden til at indrómme fuld stemmeret til endog endel af sine kvinder. Dette skede i 1907, da skatteýdende kvinder, som i 1901 var bleven givet komunal stemmeret, blev givet fuld parlamentarisk stemmeret. I 1910 blev komunal stemmeret udstrakt til alle kvinder, og den fulde parlamentariske stemmeret vil udentvil ogsaa snart blive givet. Norge er ogsaa den fórste fritherskende magt som har en kvinder i sin lovgivende forsamling.

I Finland har de skatteýdende kvinder i landdistrikterne komunal stemmeret siden 1863, og i býerne siden 1872, og alle kvinder har havt fuld parlamentarisk stemmeret siden 1906. 19 til 25 kvinder har siddet i hver session af den lovgivende forsamling, siden de blev valgbare.

I Island har selvopholdende ugiste kvinder havt komunal stemmeret siden 1882, og alle skatteýdende kvinder siden 1909. Et lovforslag, som giver alle kvinder fuld stemmeret, har gaaet igjennem en session af den lovgivende forsamling og vil udentvil gaa igjennem en anden næste aar, naar det vil blive lov.

I Danmark har skatteýdende kvinder og hustruer til skatteýdende mænd havt komunal stemmeret siden 1808.

I hele Skandinavien stötter de lovgivende forsamlinger lovforslag, som gaar ud paa at fuldfóre fuld stemmeret for alle deres kvinder. Disse lovforslag finder modstand kun hos aristokratiet, og intet lovforslag siges at være mere yndet hos den arbeidende klasse.

VIL DU VÆRE MINDRE PROGRESSIV END FOLKET HJEMME?
HVIS IKKE, DA HJELP DET NYE LAND AT HOLDE SKRIDT MED
DET GAMLE.

BRUG DIN MAGT SOM STEMMEGIVER I DIN STAT OG HJELP TIL

## KVINDERNE STEMMERET

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE
Hovedkvarter:
NEW YORK CITY

## French Chamber of Deputies

Session of 1910

## Official Report of the Commission on Universal Suffrage, on the Proposition to give Women the Right to Vote

Price, 5 Cents a Copy

For sale by the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
Headquarters:
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

The following is a brief resumé and translation of the report presented to the French Chamber of Deputies, the winter of 1910, on the subject of Woman Suffrage.

It begins with a birds-eye view of the situation of women in political life in civilized countries, with the conclusions drawn from the investigation and the recommendations made to the French Parliament by the official Commission on Universal Suffrage.

## French Chamber of Deputies

Session of 1910

Official Report of the Commission on Universal Suffrage on the Proposition to give Women the Right to Vote

## THE EXTENT AND WORKING OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

#### FRANCE.

In ancient France the right to vote was not given to a person, but was the inherent right of property, to be exercised by the person of either sex, who administered that property.

The revolution of 1789, which preached the Rights of Man, brought the first demand from women for equality of sex. This was received by the men with silent disdain.

The republic of '48, which proclaimed universal suffrage, instead of adding to the freedom of women, deprived them of the right of organization of any kind, and came near to denying them the right of petition, as being "against public and parliamentary decency."

With the third Republic there came a transformation in both the education and work of women. Public schools for girls were opened, extending from the primary grades to the universities. They were admitted to the liberal professions, and naturally, and almost without opposition, they were given certain franchise rights.

The revolution which has taken place in commerce and industry must give to women, sooner or later, a consciousness of her rights. According to the census of 1896, there are 6,400,000 women in France in professional life, 42% of all women over thirty years of age are at work, and 34% of all the working world are women. In Paris 55% of the working people are female.

The representation of this important part of the laboring class in the Councils du Travail and Commerce, however just and right it might appear to the majority of citizens, aroused serious opposition in Parliament, but in spite of this, woman today vote, and are eligible the same as men, for Councils du Travail, Higher Councils du Travail, Councils des Prud'hommes. They have the right to vote for, but are not eligible to, Tribunes of Commerce, Chambers of Commerce, and Consulting Chambers of Art and Manufacturing, and Superior Councils of Mutual Life Insurance.

If the elections of the Universities are open to the women students, the elections of Chambers of Commerce open to women merchants, the elections of labor unions open to female laborers, how can we refuse to the women who contribute to the municipal and national budget corresponding electoral rights?

#### **ENGLAND**

In England as in France, the agitation for Woman Suffrage has been part of the same movement, encountered the same obstacles, resulted in the same change of opinion and is bound to meet with the same success, as the agitation for every other form of liberty which women have succeeded in obtaining.

Before 1832 the right of franchise was not one of sex, but of property. The Reform Bill of 1832 expressly barred out women, by qualifying the word person by male.

In 1835 another law deprived a widow of her legal right to a third of the property of her husband and gave him the right to dispose of all of his property.

In 1869, women were given the right to vote in municipal elections on the same terms with men. The following year a bill giving them the Parliamentary vote passed the House of

Commons by a majority of 33, but was killed by Mr. Gladstone, representing the government. The same Parliament made them eligible to School Boards.

In 1880 the Isle of Man granted woman suffrage. The same year, at Mr. Gladstone's urging, a householder and lodger's franchise added the votes of a large number of working men, many of whom were totally illiterate.

In 1880 the women of Scotland were given the municipal vote. In 1888 in England and Wales they became eligible to County Councils and in 1894 a local Government Bill made them eligible as Poor Law Guardians. In 1906 their eligibility to county and borough councils, as aldermen, presidents or mayors was confirmed both in England and Scotland.

Every year since 1865 one or more member of the House of Commons has introduced resolutions in favor of Parliamentary suffrage for women; 23 of them have been discussed and voted upon, but have been stifled before they could be enacted. Is it astonishing that some of the great army of women working for equal suffrage, tired of depending on constitutional methods always in vain, should try other tactics, to accomplish a reform which they have begged for and expected so long?

John Bright said in 1867, "If meetings are without effect, if a pointed and almost universal expression of opinion has no influence on the administration and Parliament, it is inevitable that people will search for other means of obtaining those rights which are so haughtily denied them."

Whatever may be one's opinion of the Suffragette movement, it must be admitted that it has had the indisputable result of forcing to the front the question of Woman Suffrage, so that it is now known and discussed, not only all over England, but in the most distant and backward countries.

#### THE UNITED STATES.

It is but natural that it should be in the United States that the full right of franchise should have been granted to

women. As James Bryce said, "No country owes more to its women than America."

It is easy to understand their indignation, when at the close of the Civil War they saw the negroes, absolutely ignorant, of a different race, entirely incapable of assuming any responsibility, called to take part in the government of the country, and they themselves, who had worked with all their hearts for the emancipation of the slaves and taken so large a share of the risks of war, continue to be shut out from all political life.

From this time they began to appeal to the various states.

The first franchise right given, was the vote in schoolelections in Kentucky in 1838 to widows with children. The school vote is now granted in a large number of states, also the vote on bond issues to tax-paying women in several of them.

Four states have accorded women complete rights. (The State of Washington makes five. Ed.)

Wyoming, while still a territory, in 1869 was the first. When it was admitted as a state in 1899, woman suffrage was written in the constitution. The women have every political right that men have, and according to state figures 90% of them vote. They vote for presidential electors, and are often chosen to sit as jurors and serve as justices of the peace.

Here is an interesting testimonial to their judicial sense given by Judge Kingman of the United States Supreme Court in 1873: "The presence of women has enabled the courts to prosecute and convict many crimes which until now have gone unpunished. When only men compose a jury, the courts are always impotent to enforce the laws against debauch and disorder in all forms, but several women at each session soon put an end to that state of affairs."

Women are often nominated Superintendent of Schools and even more often City Treasurers. All the governors of Wyoming for forty years have testified to the good results from the woman vote. The House of Representatives in 1893 unanimously passed the following resolution: "The ex-

ercise of the franchise by women has greatly helped to banish crime and pauperism in the state. It has made elections peacable, helped good government and given us a remarkable degree of civilization and public order. We call attention with pride to the fact that after twenty-five years of woman suffrage there is not a county poor-house in Wyoming, our prisons are nearly empty and crime except as it is committed by strangers, almost unknown." In 1899 the state legislature reiterated this declaration, and added: "The character of our legislation has gained in dignity, the women have awakened to a sense of political responsibility."

Colorado gave full suffrage to women in 1893. The Secretary of State testifies that 80% of the women register and 72% vote. A declaration favorable to woman suffrage was signed by the governor, two ex-governors, the Chief Justice, all the judges of the Supreme Court, the president of the state university, the Attorney-General, all the senators and representatives from Colorado and a long list of leading men and women.

It ended with the statement that the vote of the women was noticeably more conscientious than that of the men.

Utah women voted when Utah was still a territory. In 1884, Congress deprived both men and women who contracted plural marriages of the franchise. In 1887 the entire feminine vote was declared illegal, but the right of women to vote was re-established by the constitution when Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896. Since then a woman has been elected to the State Senate, and several to the House of Representatives. The State Superintendent of Schools is often a woman.

Idaho gave women the franchise in 1896. Several years ago the Chief Justice wrote: "Woman Suffrage has become much more popular since its adoption. The Constitutional Amendment which established it, was passed by a two-thirds vote. If the question were submitted today, we believe that it would pass unanimously."

Kansas women gained municipal suffrage in 1887 and have not only exercised the right in large numbers, but have served in many municipal offices including mayor. (Before 1902 there had been twenty-five women mayors in Kansas cities, since then there have been about twenty). In 1889 the Chief Justice and all the Judges of the Supreme Court signed a statement that, "Woman Suffrage has made our elections more orderly and fair. Officials of superior quality are chosen. We have a municipal government more moral and forceful."

The Kansas legislature, which is elected only by men, could at any time have suppressed the municipal vote for women if they had judged it to be desirable. Such a proposition was made some years ago. It was repulsed almost unanimously.

Michigan in 1893 voted to give its women municipal suffrage, but the law was declared unconstitutional.

Washington gave women full suffrage in 1883, as a territory, but when it came into the Union as a State in 1889, the right was withdrawn, not by popular vote, nor by the legislature or even United States Congress, but by a judgment of the Supreme Court, not elected, but appointed. (This right was regained in 1910. Ed.)

It is difficult at this distance to judge precisely what effect Woman Suffrage has had on American manners and customs, in political, economic and social affairs. Two points, however, are incontestible: That in the places where women vote, the employees of the State, male and female, receive equal pay for equal work, also that in them was born and rapidly developed that humane and just institution, the Children's Court.

#### BRITISH COLONIES

Australia commenced enfranchising her women in 1877 by giving municipal suffrage to the women of New South Wales, soon followed by the other states.

Women did not show great activity in these purely local affairs, for the School Boards in Australia have few adminis-

trative rights, and the Municipal Councils consider few questions which are particularly interesting to women.

In 1839 the first grant of the full rights of citizenship was made, and in 1902 the federal parliament granted the right of full suffrage to all adult women in Australia and made them eligible to both houses of Parliament.

It is commonly acknowledged now, that there is no opposition to the female vote, and that it is a permanent institution. Even the men who formerly railed at feminine pretensions, now appeal to women's organizations, propose alliances and beg for their support.

The vote of the women has affected very little the proportion of parties, but has had considerable influence on the character of the candidates. Parties have side-tracked candidates whose moral character was too weak to gain the vote of the women.

Equal pay for equal work is the rule. In response to the request of a female political organization, the government has promised to present a federal law regulating marriage and divorce.

In legislation, the women's influence is evident in the following laws:

- 1. Increasing the protection of married women, whose husbands are guilty of cruelty to them or their children, or are unfaithful, or desert them, or neglect to provide for their families.
  - 2. Supressing indecent advertising.
- 3. Making children legitimate, whose parents are married after they are born.
  - 4. Raising the age of consent to the marriage age.
  - 5. Protecting children against immoral literature.
  - 6. Improvements in the care of abandoned children.
  - 7. Regulating the hours of work for children.
  - 8. Prohibiting the sale of opium.
  - 9. Measures against men who exploit prostitution.
- 10. Nominating women for inspectors of public establishments.

- 11. Increasing the payment that fathers of illigitimate children are obliged to make, to \$50, for the confinement and other expenses which he occasions the mother.
- 12. Protection of young girls without work and newly arrived in the country.
  - 13. Instituting Children's Courts.

New Zealand instituted Woman Suffrage by a chance combination of circumstances, rather than in response to a popular demand. The women had had the municipal and school vote since 1866 and 1877. In 1893 several of the political parties thought that the women would be excellent auxiliaries. The Labor Party and the Prohibitionists each saw an advantage to themselves in the woman vote, and the govermment, without strong convictions either way, let the bill pass, confident that the Upper House would stop its final passage. To the astonishment of every one the bill passed, and more than 100,000 women found themselves in possession of a vote. Three months later 78% of the women registered, and of these 85% voted. Moreover since the women vote, the percentage of masculine vote has greatly increased. Before Woman Suffrage it was seldom that more than 60% of the men registered, voted, in 1899 this had incrased to 79%.

It is often argued that women will vote as dictated by their pastors or priests. In New Zealand, both the Catholic Church and the Church of England have long been desirous of obtaining state support for their denominational schools. For fifteen years women have voted, five times in general elections, yet public education in New Zealand is still liberal and secular. Would this be the case if the women voted under the control of the clergy?

The broader life occasioned by the vote gave an extraordinary stimulus to feminine energy. The women quickly learned the advantage of organization. A large number set themselves to work on definite programs. Many meetings were organized, principally for instruction, and laws were discussed touching the social walfare of the community. Un-

doubtedly there was much support for many of these reforms among male electors, but the accession of the woman vote gave a splendid impetus to humane legislation, their persistent efforts have kept social questions in the order of the day, their votes have constrained members of Parliament to pay attention to this kind of legislation for which many of them have but little sympathy.

Canada. If Woman Suffrage has not made the same progres in Canada, as in the other British Colonies, it is due to the mingling of the French and English races, and the intellectual traditions which divide them; partly to the considerable distance between the principal centres of population, and finally to the differences in electoral legislation in the different provinces.

The school vote has been given to the women of all the provinces, and the municipal vote to widows and single women paying certain taxes, in several of them.

South Africa. The suffrage movement here is particularly complex on account of the diversity of races, Anglo-Saxon, Boers and negroes. The agitation for suffrage dates from the conquest of Transvaal by England, but the women, realizing that the first important work was the unification of South Africa, put aside their own desires, to help form the union. This union when complete, and ratified by the British Parliament, adopted a constitution giving the right of suffrage only to adult males, and even shut out the women from certain rights that they had possessed until then, a voice in local affairs to tax-paying women.

British India. Native women advocates have a right to appear in court, a right not permitted to English women in England.

#### SWEDEN.

In Sweden there was not as in France, in England and New Jersey, that sudden transformation, which, in order to establish male democracy, deprived women of rights, which, while limited, they had possessed for a long time. Swedish women have long exercised the right of suffrage in matters of education, and in local councils. Since 1862 women of twenty-one years of age who paid certain taxes have had the municipal vote; this was later extended to include eligibility to municipal offices. That the parliamentary vote has been delayed so long, has been due to the fact that the question has been complicated by that of the extension of male suffrage.

Everything points to Swedish women gaining the parliamentary vote before very long.

#### NORWAY.

The women of Norway obtained the parliamentary vote and eligibility to hold office in 1909. Norwegian women are not only admitted to the universities, but also to all the professions, and even appear at the bar. They serve on juries and in many official positions.

By taking part in public life, the interest of women in all that concerns society and its welfare has been augmented. She has introduced certain improvements in school questions, in the labor of women, and in the assistance given to the poor.

#### DENMARK.

Since 1895 there has been a gradual letting down of the bars to women, beginning with making them inspectors of children in orphan asylums, then admitting to school boards widows with children in school. In 1898 a bill supported by the government, gave them the municipal vote on exactly the same terms as men. At the first election in Copenhagen, 35 men were elected to the City Council and 7 women.

#### ICELAND.

The Woman Suffrage movement here dates back to 1870, although as early as 1850 a law was passed giving boys and girls equal inheritance—a measure of justice for which the

women of England are still striving. In 1908 women were given the municipal vote, and made eligible to the municipal councils. (Since then full rights have been gained. Ed.)

#### FINLAND.

Although women in Finland vote on exactly the same terms as men and are eligible to all offices, the political situation of the country is such as to greatly diminish the importance of the parliamentary regime, the Czar exercising autocratic powers over it. The Parliament of 1907 contained 19 women; that of 1908, 25 women, and 1909, 21 women.

The laws they have introduced have related to the position of women, and the protection of children, but the short duration of Parliament prevented most of them from being enacted.

#### RUSSIA.

In ancient Russia the administrator of a property, either male or female, had the right of representation in local affairs. In 1864 this right was confined to women property owners who could give their vote to some man voter to deposit for them. The constitution of 1905 restricted this proxy to the husband, and those who had no husbands lost the right.

There is, however, a feminine movement developing, which has for its object the winning of municipal and legislative rights on the same terms as men. In 1908 a congress of 800 women met in St. Petersburg and discussed a most advanced program.

#### GERMANY.

Until May 1908 women were forbidden to form political organizations, or to take part in public meetings in many of the German States, particularly Prussian and Bavaria. At that time the Reichstag, at the instigation of the National Council for Woman Suffrage, withdrew the interdict throughout the Empire. At the same time new regulations were published

relative to the matriculation of girls in the Universities, and their entry into the professions.

These reforms, however modest they may appear, have contributed to the development of liberal ideas, but the granting of the parliamentary franchise is peculiarly difficult in Germany, owing to the variety of electoral laws in the different states.

#### HOLLAND.

In 1907 the Constitutional Committee published a report in which six of its seven members declared for Woman Suffrage. Article 80 of the Constitution relating to the parliamentary suffrage, was left to a decision of the Cabinet, which contented itself with a serious recommendation of the right of women to the vote. On the occasion of the budget four of the seven parties represented in Parliament declared for Woman Suffrage.

It is evident that the obtaining of the vote for the women of Holland is only a question of a very short time.

#### BELGIUM.

Belgium has one of the most strongly developed Woman Suffrage movements in western Europe. The National Council for Women Suffrage succeeded in obtaining in 1908 the right for women to vote for, and eligibility to serve on Councils des Prud'hommes.

Liberals and Socialists are divided on the subject of Woman Suffrage, some of them fearing the conservative influence of the woman vote, some fearing the influence of the clergy, and some strongly advocating it.

#### ITALY.

In certain provinces of Italy, women possessed certain franchise rights before the 19th Century. The right of property to representation without distinction of sex, was lost when Italy became unified under the French Code. This was recognized by political leaders as a backward step, and since 1867

#### AUSTRIA.

When the agitation for universal suffrage for men took a new start in 1905, a movement was organized to make the new electoral law included both sexes. It was hindered by the fact that women, as well as minors and strangers, are forbidden to belong to political organizations.

Each province of the Empire has its own Diet and electorial laws.

In Bohemia women not only have the right to vote for, but are eligible to the Diet. These rights had been regarded with indifference until 1908, when two women were presented as candidates, and while not elected, received about 20% of the total vote cast. Since then a new election law has been presented to the Diet to deprive women of these rights.

In Galicia women of the privileged classes may cast a vote through the intermediary of a man.

In Hungary there is a Parliamentary League for Woman Suffrage of about 150 of the Deputies.

#### CONCLUSIONS DRAWN.

After this brief review of the legislation of different countries, it would be an anachronism to take up today the general principles and theories of Woman Suffrage as laid down by its early advocates, Cordorcet, John Stuart Mills and others. What was to them a high moral and social philosophy, has been substantiated by indisputable facts. That, which a half century or so ago was a question of theory and speculation, has become a matter of history.

It is true that only a small number of countries have adopted universal female suffrage and these only since a few years, but if one considers all the countries that have given some form of suffrage to women, it will be found to include nearly all of Europe, as well as Canada, Australia, South Africa and the United States. Even those countries which remain under the authority (not to say superstition) of the Roman Law, although refusing women municipal suffrage, have commenced to give them small concessions in making them electors and eligibles to a series of special jurisdiction, economic, pedagogic and philanthropic, which are part of the municipal power.

Those who stand alone today are not the Suffragists, but the Anti-suffragists. It is France that lags in the rear. The great majority of the civilized world today has decidedly passed us. The laugh is not on our side. We stand alone with Spain and Turkey.

No one dreams of revoking these electorial rights: of female instructors in the Universities, of woman workers in Trade Councils, of woman merchants in Chambers of Commerce, of woman artists in salon prizes, why then not give women who have an interest in the affairs of a community, a voice in municipal elections?

The general characteristics of feminine influence on morals, in the life of the family, in the workshop, in the school, Whatever the point of view, it is certain that at the foundation of the debate, there is only one question, that of equality of sex.

#### HOW SHALL WE ADOPT IT?

It would be possible to give suffrage to women as it was given to men in the Republic of 1848—immediate universal suffrage without any restriction, but we would not propose in the calm of parliamentary deliberation, to copy that which was done in the heat of enthusiasm for the new Republic. We would approach the problem gradually, and solve it in the surest, most practical and efficacious way.

We do not dispute that it will be necessary to acclimatize Woman Suffrage in France, that the country must be led gradually toward the electoral change. That which is at stake is the participation of the woman in the life of the mation, and she should commence with that part of it which touches her most directly.

We advocate confidence in the new recuits to universal suffrage, loyal aid in their political education, making them contribute as much as possible, and as soon as possible, to the service of the Republic, which means the welfare of the nation.

Your committee advocates as most simple and complete, the addition of the words "both sexes" to the electoral law.

The two paragraphs of Article 14:

- 1. "Municipal councils are elected by direct universal suffrage."
- 2. "The electors shall be all Frenchmen, of both sexes, over 21 years of age, and not otherwise incapaciated by the law."

This would prevent any possible controversy as to the extent of the civil rights thus conferred on the woman. No other change would be necessary in other legislative texts, as the definition of electors which is written at the beginning of the electoral code, applies equally to all classes. Where the word "electors" or "Frenchmen" is used—the feminine would always be included. It would insure that the differences of sex would not mean any longer a difference in civil rights in any part of municipal law.

Then when the day arrives when it will be deemed wise to make no difference between municipal and parliamentary rights, we will only need to extend the municipal electorate to the parliamentary one.

Further, women who are electors and eligible to the municipal councils and consequently to the Councils d'Aronndisement and General Councils would also be eligible as senatorial delegates.

We submit the following law:

That the second paragraph of Article 14 of the law of the 5th of April 1884 be modified as follows:

"Electors shall be all Frenchmen of both sexes, over twenty-one years of age, who are not otherwise incapaciated by law."

If these articles have interested you in the Woman movement and in Votes for Women,

## SUBSCRIBE NOW

TO

## THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

THE AMERICAN WEEKLY SUFFRAGE PAPER

If you are a suffragist you cannot afford to do without it. If you are not a suffragist, all the more you need it.

#### SUBSCRIPTION ORDER

#### The Woman's Journal

585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

ă	SUBSCRIPTION	NO
g	DOMESTIC	
a	1 Year	\$1.00
ä	6 Months	.50
8	4 Months on Trial	.25
8	Single Copies -	.05
8	CANADIAN	41 -0
ä	1 Year	\$1.50
ä	FOREIGN	#1 EN
ğ	1 Year	\$1.50

	Date	
Please enter	subscription to THE W	OMAN'S JOURNAL
foryear	from	to
	Name	
	Address	
Paid \$D	ue \$	

[1910]

## LIVING WAGES AND RESPECTABILITY

#### By DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN

Working women, do you want fair, living wages? If so, your big friends are the honestly and effectively conducted labor union and the army of earnest, progressive and enlightened women and men, too, who are behind the Woman Suffrage movement. Unionism and Suffrage are your friends. The labor union insists upon equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex; the woman suffragist insists upon the individuality of woman, the principle upon which the equal wage argument depends. Besides with political power in your hands, you will be able to do much to improve labor conditions for yourself, for your sister workers, and even for your brother worker, for

he is injured often by the unfair wages paid to you.

Many, if not most employers, do not care how or where you get enough to live on when your wage is \$5 a week and it costs \$10 to live. Some suggest, others force, their girl employees to live immoral, indecent lives in order to subsist. Other employers want girls who live at home, in order that the other \$5 may come out of an overworked father or brother, or out of the poor mother who is forced to plan and plan and worry and plan and toil to make both ends meet.

Does any working woman wish either to live an immoral life or to be a burden on her family? In a labor union, well conducted and honestly led, the working woman finds power; in suffrage she will find more power. Unionism plus Suffrage will give her marked power. The Tammany voter has power in his vote, but he has infinitely greater power in his vote plus his organization. The working woman can have the same kind of power. Through her union, voting at the polls, she will be able to regulate and secure labor legislation, she will be able to have appointed woman labor commissioners and factory inspectors who will be compelled to work earnestly, faithfully and honestly in the interest of the working girl. In a Middle Western State, at the present time (March, 1910), the woman Commissioner of Labor refuses to make public the conditions in that State affecting women workers. For political reasons, she refuses to speak, to give to an awaiting public information upon which it can act to help the working girl. Alas, where are the political reasons to compel such public officers to make full publicity of their discoveries related to the employment conditions affecting women? Working women, you must supply such political reasons. A considerable public opinion sympathizes with your wrongs, but friendly public opinion needs such facts as you, through the ballot, will be able to force public officers to discover and to publish fully and freely. Can the working woman fail to see in Unionism and Suffrage her big opportunity for the power that will do most to right the wrongs, to give her fair wages, independence, and respectable living?

Published at National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.



# Mr. Dooley on Woman Suffrage

"I see be th' pa-apers that th' ladies in England have got up in their might an' demanded a vote."

"A what?" cried Mr. Hennessy. "A vote." said Mr. Dooley.

"Th' shameless viragoes," said Mr. Hennessy, "What did they do?"

"Well, sir," said Mr. Dooley, "an immense concoorse iv forty iv thim gathered in London an' marched up to th' House iv Commons, or naytional dormytory, where a loud an' almost universal snore proclaimed that a debate was ragin' over th' bill to allow English gintlemen to marry their deceased wife's sisters befure th' autopsy. In th' great hall iv Rufus some iv th' mightiest male intellecks in Britain slept undher their hats while an impassioned orator delivered a hem-stitched speech on th' subject iv th' day to th' attintive knees an' feet iv th' ministhry. Undaunted be th' rude jeers iv th' multichood, they advanced to th' very outside dures iv th' edifice. There an overwhelmin' force iv three polismen opposed thim. 'What d'ye want, mum?' asked the polis. 'We demand th' suffrage,' says th' commander iv th' army iv freedom.

"The brutal polis refused to give it to thim an' a desp'rate battle followed. Th' ladies fought gallantly, hurlin' cries iv 'Brute,' 'Monster,' 'Cheap,' et cethry, at th' constablry. Hat pins were dhrawn. Wan lady let down her back hair; another, bolder thin th' rest, done a fit on th' marble stairs; a third, p'raps rendered insane be sufferin' f'r a vote, sthruck a burly ruffyan with a Japanese fan on th' little finger iv th' right hand. Thin th' infuryated officers iv th' law charged on th' champeens iv liberty. A scene iv horror followed. Polismen seized ladies be th' arms an' led thim down th' stairs; others were carried out fainting by th' tyrants. In a few minyits nawthin' but three hundred hairpins remained to mark th' scene iv slaughter. Thus was another battle f'r freedom fought an' lost."

"Sarves thim right," said Mr. Hennessy. "They ought to be home tindin' th'

babies."

"A thrue statement an' a sound argymint that appeals to iviry man. P'raps they havn't got any babies. A baby is a good substichoot f'r a ballot, an' th' hand that rocks th' cradle sildom has time f'r anny other luxuries. But why shud we give thim a vote, says I. What have they done to injye this impeeryal suffrage that we fought an' bled f'r? Whin me forefathers were followin' George Wash'nton an' sufferin' all th' hardships that men endure campin' out in vacation time, what were th' women doin'? They were back in Matsachoosetts milkin' the cow, mendin' socks, followin' th' plow, plantin' corn, keepin' store, shoein' horses, an'

From "Mr. Dooley Says," by Finley Peter Dunne; copyright, 1910; published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

pursooin' th' other frivvlous follies iv th' fair but fickle sect. Our brave fellows come back to Boston an' as a reward f'r their devotion got a vote apiece, if their wives had kept th' Pilgrim fathers that stayed at home fr'm foreclosin' th' morgege on their property. Now, be hivens, they want to share with us what we won.

"Why, they wouldn't know how to vote. They think it's an aisy job that anny wan can do, but it ain't. It's a man's wurruk, an' a sthrong man's with a sthrong stomach. I don't know annything that requires what Hogan calls th' exercise iv manly vigor more thin votin'. It's th' hardest wurruk I do in th' year. I get up befure daylight an' thramp over to th' Timple iv Freedom, which is also th' office iv a livery stable. Wan iv the judges has a cold in his head an' closes all th' windows. Another judge has built a roarin' fire in a round stove an' is cookin' redhots on it. Th' room is lit with candles an' karosene lamps, an' is crowded with pathrites who haven't been to bed. At th' dure are two or three polismen that maybe ye don't care to meet. Dock O'Leary says he don't know annything that'll exhaust th' air iv a room so quick as a polisman in his winter unyform. All th' pathrites an' as th' pa-apers call them, th' high-priests iv this here sacred rite, ar're smokin' th' best seegars that th' token money iv our counthry can buy.

"In th' pleasant warmth iv th' fire, th' harness on th' walls glows an' puts out its own peculiar aromy. Th' owner iv th' sanchoory iv Liberty comes in, shakes up a bottle iv liniment made iv carbolic acid, pours it into a cup an' goes out. Wan iv th' domestic attindants iv th' guests iv th' house walks through fr'm makin' th' beds. Afther a while th' chief judge, who knows me well, because he shaves me three times a week, gives me a contimchous stare, asks me me name an' a number

iv scand'lous questions about me age.

"I'm timpted to make an angry retort, whin I see th' polisman movin' nearer, so I take me ballot an' wait me turn in th' booth. They're all occypied be writhin' freemen, callin' in sthrangled voices f'r somewan to light th' candle so they'll be sure they ain't votin' th' prohybition ticket. Th' calico sheets over th' front iv th' booths wave an' ar're pushed out like th' curtains iv a Pullman car whin a fat man is dhressin' inside while th' train is goin' r'round a curve. A freeman bursts through, with perspyration poorin' down his nose, hurls his suffrage at th' judge an' staggers out. I plunge in, sharpen an inch iv lead pencil be rendin' it with me teeth, mutilate me ballot at th' top iv th' dimmycratic column, an' run f'r me life.

"Cud a lady do that, I ask ye? No, sir, 'tis no job f'r th' fair. It's men's wurruk. Molly Donahue wants a vote, but though she cud bound Kamachatka as aisily as ye cud this precinct, she ain't qualified f'r it. It's meant f'r gr-reat sturdy American pathrites like th' Pollacky down th' sthreet. He don't know yet that he ain't votin' f'r th' King iv Poland. He thinks he's still over there pretindin' to be a horse instead iv a free American givin' an imytation iv a steam dhredge.

"On th' first Choosday afther th' first Monday in November an' April a man goes around to his house, wakes him up, leads him down th' sthreet, an' votes him th' way ye'd wather a horse. He don't mind inhalin' th' air iv liberty in a livery stable. But 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' flure, open th' windows, disinfect th' booths, take th' harness fr'm the walls, an' hang up a pitcher of Niagary be moonlight, chase out th' watchers and 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.

"'We demand a vote,' says she. 'All right,' says I, 'take mine. It's old, but it's trustworthy an' durable. It may look a little th' worse f'r wear fr'm bein' hurled again a republican majority in this country f'r forty years, but it's all right. Take my vote an' use it as ye please,' says I, 'an' I'll get an hour or two exthry sleep iliction day mornin',' says I. 'I've voted so often I'm tired iv it annyhow,' says I. 'But,' says I, 'why shud anny wan so young an' beautiful as ye want to do annything so foolish as to vote?' says I. 'Ain't we intilligent enough?' says she. 'Ye'ar too intilligent,' says I. 'But intilligence don't give ye a vote.'

"'What does, thin,' says she. 'Well,' says I, 'enough iv ye at wan time wantin' it enough. How many ladies ar're there in ye'er Woman's Rights Club?' 'Twinty,' says she. 'Make it three hundher,' says I, 'an' ye'll be on ye'er way. Ye'er mother doesn't want it, does she? No, nor ye'er sister Katie? No, nor ye'er cousin, nor ye'er aunt? All that iliction day means to thim is th' old man goin' off in th' mornin' with a light step an' fire in his eye, an' comin' home too late at night with a dent in his hat, newsboys hollerin' exthries with th' news that fifty-four votes had been cast in th' third precinct in th' sivinth ward at 8 o'clock, an' Packy an' Aloysius stealin' bar'ls fr'm th' groceryman f'r th' bone-fire If they iver join ye an' make

up their minds to vote, they'll vote. Ye bet they will.

"But befure they do I'll r'read this in th' pa-apers: "A hundhred thousand armed an' detarmined women invaded th' capital city to-day demandin' th' right to vote. They chased th' polis acrost th' Pottymac, mobbed a newspaper that was again th' bill, an' tarred an' feathered Sinitor Glue, th' leader iv th' opposition. At 10 o'clock a rumor spread that th' Prisident wud veto th' bill, an' instantly a huge crowd iv excited females gathered in front of the White House, hurlin' rocks an' cryin' 'Lynch him!' Th' tumult was on'y quelled whin th' Prisident's wife appeared on th' balcony an' made a brief speech. She said she was a member iv th' local suffrage club, an' she felt safe in assurin' her sisters that th' bill wud be signed. If nicissry, she wud sign it hersilf. (Cheers.) Th' Prisident was a little onruly, but he was frequently that way. Th' married ladies in th' aujeence wud undherstand. He meant nawthin'. It was on'y wan iv his tantrums. A little moral suasion wud bring him ar-round all right.

"'The speech was received with loud cheers, an' th' mob proceeded down Pinnsylvanya Avnoo. Be noon all enthrances to th' capital were jammed. Congressmen attimptin' to enter were seized be th' hair iv th' head an' made to sign a pa-aper promisin' to vote right. Immejately afther th' prayer th' Hon'rable Clar-

ence Gumdhrop iv Matsachoosetts offered th' suffrage bill f'r passage. 'Th' motion is out iv ordher,' began th' Speaker. At this minyit a lady standin' behind th' chair drove a darnin' needle through his coat tails. 'But,' continued th' Speaker, reachin' behind him with an agonized expression, 'I will let it go annyhow,' 'Mr. Speaker, I protest,' began th' Hon-rable Attila Sthrong, 'I protest—' At this a perfeck tornado iv rage broke out in th' gall'ries. Inkwells, bricks, combs, shoes, smellin' bottles, hand mirrors, fans, an' powdher puffs were hurled at th' onforchnit mimber. In th' confusion th' wife iv Congressman Sthrong cud be seen wavin' a par'sol an' callin' out: 'I dare ye to come home to-night, polthroon.'

"'Whin th' noise partially subsided, th' bold Congressman, his face livid with emotion, was heard to remark with a sob: "I was on'y about to say I second th' motion, deary.' Th' bill was carried without a dissintin' voice, an' rushed over to th' Sinit. There it was opposed be Jeff Davis, but afther a brief dialogue with th' leader iv the suffrageites, he swooned away. Th' Sinit fin'lly insthructed the clerk to cast th' unanimous vote f'r th' measure. To-night in th' prisince iv a vast multichood th' Prisident was led out be his wife. He seemed much confused, an' his wife had to point out th' place where he was to sign. With tremblin' fingèrs he affixed his signature an' was led back.

"'The night passed quietly. Th' sthreets were crowded all avenin' with goodnatured throngs iv ladies, an' in front iv th' dry goods stores, which were illuminated f'r th' occasion, it was almost impossible to get through. Iv coorse there were th' usual riochous scenes in th' dhrug stores, where th' bibulous gathered at th' sody-wather counthers an' cillybrated th' victory in lemon, vanilla, an' choc'late,

some iv thim keepin' it up till 9 o'clock, or aven later.'

"'Whin that comes about, me child,' says I, 'ye may sheath y'er hat pins in ye'er millinary, f'r ye'll have as much right to vote as th' most ignorant man in th' ward. But don't ask f'r rights. Take thim. An' don't let anny wan give thim to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matther with it. It's more than likely it's on'y a wrong turned inside out,' says I. 'I didn't fight f'r th' rights I'm told I injye, though to tell ye th' truth I injye me wrongs more.

"I believe ye're in favor iv it ye'ersilf," said Mr. Hennessy.

"Faith," said Mr. Dooley, "I'm not wan way or th' other. I don't care. What diff'rence does it make? I wudden't mind at all havin' a little soap an' wather, a broom an' a dusther applied to pollyticks. It wudden't do anny gr'reat harm if a man cudden't be illicted to office onless he kept his hair combed an' blacked his boots an' shaved his chin wanst a month. Annyhow, as Hogan says, I care not who casts th' votes iv me counthry so long as we can hold th' offices. An' there's on'y one way to keep the women out iv office, an' that's to give thim a vote."

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC. 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

[January, 1910]

HENNEPIN COUNTY

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

403 ESSEX BLOG.

MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

# JANE ADDAMS WANTS TO VOTE

This is what Jane Addams, Chicago's most useful citizen, says:
For many generations it has been believed that woman's place
is within the walls of her own home, and it is indeed impossible to
imagine the time when her duty there shall be ended, or to forecast
any social change which shall release her from that paramount
obligation.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women today are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. One could illustrate in many ways. A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome, and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house, as so many of my neighbors do, she cannot fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administrations for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. Women who live in the country sweep their own dooryards, and many either feed the refuse of the table to a flock of chickens or allow it innocently to decay in the open air and sunshine. In a crowded city quarter, however, if the street is not cleaned by the city authorities, no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed a tenement house mother may see her children sieken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, she cannot provide fresh fruit, unless the meat has been inspected by city officials, and the decayed fruit, which is so often placed upon sale in the tenement districts, has been destroyed in the interest of public health. In short, if woman would keep on with her old business of caring for her house and rearing her children she will have to have some conscience in regard to public affairs lying quite outside of her immediate household. The individual conscience and devotion are no longer effective.

If women follow only the lines of their traditional activities here are certain primary duties which belong to even the most conservative women, and which no one woman or group of women can adequately discharge unless they join the most general movements looking toward social amelioration through legal enactment.

The first of these, of which this article has already treated, is woman's responsibility for the members of her own household that they may be properly fed and clothed and surrounded by hygienic conditions. The second is a responsibility for the education of children:

(a) That they may be provided with good schools;

(b) That they may be kept free from vicious influences on the street;

(e) That when working they may be protected by adequate child labor legislation.

The duty of a woman toward the schools which her children attend is so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell upon it. But even this simple obligation cannot be effectively carried out without some form of social organization, as the mothers' school clubs and mothers' congresses testify, and to which the most conservative women belong because they feel the need of wider reading and discussion concerning the many problems of childhood. It is, therefore, perhaps natural that the public should have been more willing to accord a vote to women in school matters than in any other, and yet women have never been members of a Board of Education in sufficient numbers to influence largely actual school curiculi. If they had been, kindergartens, domestic science courses and school play grounds would be far more numerous than they are.

More than one woman has been convinced of the need of the ballot by the futility of her efforts in persuading a business man that young children need nurture in something beside the three r's. . . .

Because many thousands of those working in factories and sheps are girls between the age of fourteen and twenty-two there is a necessity that older women should be interested in the conditions of industry. The very fact that these girls are not going to remain in industry permanently makes it more important that some one should see to it that they shall not be incapacitated for their future family life because they work for exhausting hours and under insanitary conditions. . . .

In closing, may I recapitulate that 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; 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?

[Extract from an article by Jane Addams in Ladies' Home Journal, January, 1910.]

Published by the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, St. Paul.

Price 20 cents per 100.



[ Jan 20, 1910 ?]

# Judge Lindsey on Woman Suffrage in the West

AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN "THE NEW YORK TIMES" AND IN "THE PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC LEDGER," FEBRUARY 7, 1909

Reprinted by the Equal Franchise Society of Pennsylvania, January 20, 1910, with a letter from Judge Lindsey authorizing the publication

"To a man from Colorado," said Judge Lindsey to a reporter, "all this fuss and argument as to whether or not women should vote seems very strange. Out in our part of the country we never think of discussing the question. It's an accepted part of the established order of things. You might as well ask, 'Should a man vote?' Of course he should, and none the less should she-that is, if we're going to have a representative government. The question of what woman has done or is going to do with the ballot should be eliminated from the discussion; it narrows itself down strictly to a question of justice. If women are to be subject to laws, and if they are to be taxed either as property owners or in the less direct way as wage earners and consumers, then it is only a matter of fair play that they should have a voice in the making of the laws and in the imposition of the taxes.

"For the sake of argument, let us admit women are as yet unfitted for the franchise; and I still believe in giving the franchise to them and thus educating them up to the proper exercise of what under our form of government are their rights and duties. I wouldn't care if it puts us back ten or even twenty years, I say let the women vote.

"I cannot see the sense in proclaiming that women have this, that and the other weakness, and that these would affect their exercise of the ballot. Out in Colorado we have discovered that women have their civic weaknesses. But the whole country long ago found that men, too, have theirs. Any town, county or State government will afford lamentable evidence in plenty as to the truth of this. Now, if we are going to deny the ballot to women because they are not stiff back-boned goddesses of wisdom, to be fair or to be even logical we should also take the ballot away from men, for surely they have proved themselves neither gods of wisdom nor of virtue."

"To leave this side of the question," interrupted the reporter, "how has women's suffrage worked out in practice?"

"Well," answered the Judge, "I can't say that the women's vote has helped things much in Colorado. Both the political parties of the State have been and still are under the absolute domination of the public service corporations. Now this is a point that I want you to make clear: I have found that women in politics are no better and no worse than men. Don't forget that when a question narrows itself down to the bread-line, to selfish interests, both sexes follow the same line of action—they look out for No. 1. If a women wants to get a political job she'll

stand for iniquity; if she's afraid of losing her job she'll do the same thing.

"When I was running for office, practically as the women's candidate, there was a certain leader in the women's suffrage movement who gave her support to my opponent, the machine's candidate, for the simple reason that she was afraid of losing a political job that she held. Under the circumstances I didn't expect her to do anything else, any more than I would have expected it of a man.

"Yet to be strictly fair, I must say that the women voters have had a certain influence. I have been in caucuses where some one would say:

"'Let us have Bill Jones nominated for that place.'

"'Bill's a good fellow,' the boss would reply, 'but his record is bad, and the women would get after him. The Lord help us then!'

"So some one else with a cleaner personal character would be slated for the nomination, and Bill would be given some appointive job, something that could be handed out after election, so that he would not hurt the tighet

"I know of two men of bad personal character against whose nomination this cautionary advice did not prevail. They both ran for high offices on the State ticket, and both of them were defeated. It was the women who defeated them. I know, because I visited practically all the polling places in Denver that election night when the ballots were being counted, and nearly all the scratching was done in a feminine hand."

"Does emotionalism play any part?"

suggested the reporter.
"Yes, I think that their antagonism to a candidate is chiefly aroused by some objection that has an emotional basis. man's life is known to be bad, if he's a debauchee, the women's vote is likely to go against him. Or take some issue that affects the home or the children, the women will give it their backing. There was my That was own nomination, for instance. due solely to the women's voting strength. The bosses of both parties were against me. The Republicans had a man slated for the place, but at the last minute, with the convention already in session, it was decided that he would not do, and before the machine could decide on another man I was put in nomination, and by a pure fluke carried it. Then the Democrats indorsed me, 'amid hisses and curses,' as one of the local papers described it. Why did they do it? This is the reason that the Democratic boss gave me: "'Lindsey, we simply had to indorse you. If you were on the Republican ticket only, 5000 women would have voted the straight Republican ticket. We would rather swallow you than face a straight vote of that size.'

"Now there are a number of things being said by the anti-suffragists here in the East about women's suffrage in Colorado that I want to take this opportunity to deny.

"The first of these is the assertion that the respectable women stay away from the polls, leaving the franchise, so far as the women are concerned, entirely in the hands of the dissolute. According to a newspaper clipping which I have here a special investigator sent to Colorado by the National League for the Civic Education of Women includes this statement in his report:

"'Many visits to Denver on election days and at other times have shown me but few women at the polls and never in sufficient numbers to excite comment except in one putrid spot, where women are always in evidence day and mgnt. They are the real arbiters of Denver's elections. Directly or indirectly they are, through the influences they control and by which, paradoxical as it may seem, they are themselves controlled, a compact voting strength of from 8000 to 10,000. This is sufficient to weight the balance in any city or county election. Many blocks in one section of one of the most beautiful cities on the continent are given over to them and their companions, none of whom adds to the city's financial revenue and all of whom owe no allegiance save to the city's Chief of Police. If he wills it, they remain, if he wills it, they leave. There is no one to question him or his authority, and these miserable women dare not. If they vote 'right,' they stay; if they vote wrong, they go.'

"Now whoever told that story to the league's special investigator told him a deliberate lie. The whole thing is an outrageous statement. In the first place the number of dissolute women given as voting is a gross exaggeration. I should say that 500 would be the correct figure. On the other hand, about 30,000 women cast their ballots at the last election. Five hundred out of 30,000 doesn't make a very terrifying proposition. I hardly see how an election could be swung by such a minority.

"Another misstatement which I want to nail is the constantly recurring assertion that the women of Colorado do not want the ballot, that the majority of them have been negligent and indifferent to their civic duties. As an answer to that let me give you these figures: Forty-two per cent. of the population of Colorado is female; on an average 40 per cent. of the total vote cast has been by women. At some elections this has run as high as 47 per cent. These figures are official, and it would strike me

that they are a trifle better as a basis upon which to found an opinion than a special investigator's casual visits to the polls. It would also seem like pretty good proof that women of all classes go to the polls.

"And this talk about a woman being less womanly and less motherly because she casts a ballot is all rot. A woman can go to the polls in Colorado with the same dignity, modesty, and comfort that she can go to a butcher shop.

"On election day my mother walks around the corner to the poll and votes with men. Both she and I take it as a matter of course.

"Yes," said the Judge in answer to a question, "she votes as I do. And I'm afraid that most women who have husbands or fathers or sons follow the political lead of their men folk.

"No, I don't think that this simply results in a useless doubling of the vote. The main point is that they have the right to vote, and to vote as they see fit if they believe there is any issue which affects their interests. If they see fit to follow the lead of their men folk that is their own affair and a minor question. In judging the interests that women may have at stake in an election it should be remembered that 25 per cent. of the women of Colorado are wage earners.

"Another point that is sometimes raised is that giving women the franchise would introduce politics into the home and add another discord to a relationship which often enough has discords aplenty already. During my tenure of office as County Judge I have been compelled to listen to the marital troubles of some six thousand people. That includes both divorce and desertion cases. I have heard all manner of things given as the cause of family jars. There has been just one exception, and that exception is 'politics.' Never once has that been given as the cause of family difficulties. Not that wives do not try to influence their husbands; when I was running for office I know that many men were swung over to my side through the influence of their spouses. In my particular case I know that more husbands were influenced by their wives than were wives influenced by their

"Speaking of my experience as a Judge in the County Court reminds me of another thing that I should say in behalf of women in politics. I have already said that like men they are willing to vote for the party, however iniquitous it may be, that butters their bread; but I should add that in my eight years' experience on the bench, during which time I have tried nearly all the election fraud cases of Denver, ballot-box stuffing, and offenses of that kind, I have rarely had

a woman before me as the culprit. I used to say that women offenders in this variety of crime average about one in a hundred. Larger experience has made me decrease the average to one in a thousand.

"I shall also perhaps make a little addenda to what I said about the women voters being willing to stand for corruption. You see, they really have had no opportunity to register their disapproval. Both machines are in the corrupt control of the public service corporations; all the nominations are machine made; and there really isn't much choice for the voters. If we could have enacted in Colorado a law providing for direct nominations at the primaries and the Australian ballot law the voters would then have an opportunity to express their real sentiments."

"But if the women," said the reporter, "are really dissatisfied with the political conditions in Colorado and represent 40 per cent. of the voting strength of the State, why don't they organize a party of their own and make a fight for clean politics?'

"Yes, the women are strong enough in numbers to do it. Every once in a while a women's party is found; but it is always taken as a sort of half joke and fizzles out. Nothing has ever come of any of these in-

"What has been the total result of Colorado's fourteen years of women's suffrage?"

"The result has not been impressive. Little, very little, has been accomplished, but that little would not have been accomplished without the women's vote.'

"Do you recommend it to the East?" "I surely do. The East should extend the franchise to women as a matter of justice, and the practice of justice is just as beneficial for a community as it is for an individual. Furthermore, it will help the women. But don't let any one believe that the granting of the suffrage to women will help usher in the millennium; the sore spots in the body politic will remain just about as sore as they are

JUDGE'S CHAMBERS

# Juvenile Tourt DENVER, COLO.

BEN B. LINDSEY, JUDGE

JANUARY 17, 1910

MISS CORNELIA FROTHINGHAM, Corresponding Secretary Equal Franchise

1104 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa. My dear Madam:

The interview that you refer to is approxi-

mately correct, but in parts was not put just as I would like to have had it stated. The point that my interviewer drew me out on was this: He wanted to know if political corruption had not existed in Colorado in spite of Woman Suffrage. This, I of course frankly admitted, because it is true. And up to very recent times I also admitted that Woman Suffrage had not enabled us to eliminate this corruption. I made it perfectly clear to my interviewer that ninety odd per cent. of the corruption was by men and due to men. Perhaps one per cent. of it could be attributed to women as individuals who were used by the powers. I sought to point out how illogical it was to argue against woman suffrage in Colorado because it had not helped us as much as we would like in eliminating political corruption, because if that argument is good against woman suffrage it is ninety odd per cent. more against male suffrage, for it is not fair to expect the women to accomplish in a few years what the men have brought about and have never been able to correct. I also admitted very frankly that when it came to the bread line in politics women had similar weaknesses to men because they were human just like men, but I have insisted always that this was absolutely no logical argument against woman suffrage. The net results of woman suffrage in purifying politics and giving us good laws have more than justified granting them suffrage. In the March number of "Everybody's Magazine" I shall make myself perfectly clear, I hope, upon this subject.

I believe that it will in the end weaken the cause of woman suffrage to claim too much for it. I am more heartily and more enthusiastic for woman suffrage every year that I live, and I believe in the end when women understand the real causes of political corruption they will do much more than the men have done to put an end to it.

My mail has been very congested, and I have been ill a part of the time, so that this has been the first opportunity I have had to answer your letter. I have no objection to your using my interview and this letter, but I do wish it understood that I have never said anything against woman suffrage or any depreciation of it, and one or two disjointed, disconnected sentences of things I have said, used for that purpose, have misrepresented me because separated from the context of my interview.

Sincerely yours, BEN B. LINDSEY.

post april 1910 WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIA MINNEAPOLIS By MARY WARE DENNETT Suffragists, both as individuals and as organizations, are steadily and increasingly asked the following questions: 1-What are the present laws relating to women and children in the various States? 2-How great is the discrimination against women? 3—How much need is there for more legal protection for children? 4—Just how much better are the laws relating to women and children in the States which have woman suffrage than in those which have not vet gained it? The answers to these questions are very interesting and important; interesting to all public-spirited people who believe in social progress; important to every citizen of the country, whether concerned or not about social progress. But they are interesting and important because they are parts of necessary economic and social research, not because they are suffrage arguments. While it is true that there is no State in the whole country the laws of which are as fair to women as to men, this fact forms no part whatever of the logic upon which the equal suffrage demand is made. While it is true that most suffragists are public-spirited people, and therefore are deeply distressed about unjust laws, and are keenly endeavoring to bring about better legislation, they have to remind themselves over and over again that such interest and such work belong to their duty as citizens, and do not belong to their work as suffragists. They also have to remember the history of the enfranchisements of men in this country, as shown by the following facts: 1—The first voters got their rights by the original Colonial charters, most of them including religious qualifications, and all of them including property qualifications, thus restricting the ballot to relatively few men. 2-After the Revolution, for the sake of the "common defense" and the "general welfare," the religious qualification was removed. A large number of men were then enfranchised, but they did not ask for the vote, nor did they promise to use it well, or to use it at all. 3-In 1790, by the Naturalization Act of Congress, another large number of men were enfranchised, which act also enfranchised their descendants, and again they did not ask for the vote nor promise to use it well. 4—When the negroes were given the vote, it was not at their request, nor were they required to show that they would make good use of it. 5—The same has been true of the enfranchised Indians.

Now, what is required, at present, of a man before he can vote in the United States?

He must be 21 years old.

He must be native born or naturalized. In some states he must be able to read.\*

THAT IS ALL.

He is not asked whether he will use his vote.

He is not asked if all men want to vote.

He is not asked if he thinks the laws need changing. He is not asked if he will promise to better the laws.

He is not asked to give statistics showing whether men have previously used their votes to better the laws.

He is not asked if he is sure he can still be a good father. He is not asked to "remain attractive" after he votes.

But all such requirements, and more, are made of women when they

aspire to vote.

Mrs. Catt said at the Senate suffrage hearing in April, 1910: "In the one hundred and twenty years of national life, no class of men have been forced to organize a movement in behalf of their own enfranchisement. Yet American women, who have conducted a persistent, intelligent movement for half a century, which has grown stronger and stronger with the years, appealing for their own enfranchisement and supported by a petition of 400,000 citizens of the United States, are told that it is unnecessary to consider their plea, since all women do not want to vote."

Just so long as the opposition † can keep the suffragists busy giving promises and proof that women will use the vote to good advantage when they get it, just so long will the opposition keep on asking for more prom-

ises and more proof.

It is time to stop that sort of work as suffrage work, and concentrate all our energies on the real point—namely, that the qualifications for voting shall be made without regard to sex.

\* In a few Southern States there are additional educational and property

qualifications affecting the negro voters only.

† Who forms the opposition? Not the organized Anti-Suffragists (they hardly count), but "the special-privileged classes and the professional politicians who are constitutionally opposed to more voters and to the extension of more power to those who vote."

SEND TWO-CENT STAMP FOR CATALOGUE OF SUFFRAGE LITERATURE AND SUPPLIES



NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
Publishers for the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

# THE TRUTH VERSUS RICHARD BARRY

A refutation, paragraph by paragraph, of an antisuffrage article entitled, "What Women Have Actually Done Where They Vote," purporting to be an impartial report of an investigation into the results of equal suffrage in the (then) four equal suffrage states. © Certain utterly frivolous charges are ignored.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

# INTRODUCTION TO MR. BARRY'S PAMPHLET

In 1910 Mr. Richard Barry, widely known as a writer on sociological conditions, made a careful study of the effects of woman suffrage, social and political, in the (then) four woman suffrage States. His report was published in the Ladies' Home Journal of Nov. 1, 1910.

It is here reprinted from the Journal by permission.

In 1906-08 a similar study was made chiefly in Colorado, by Dr. Helen L. Sumner, a "Suffragist," for the "Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York," and published in book form under the title of "Equal Suffrage" by that organization in 1909.

The striking observations made by Mr. Barry are remarkably illustrated and supported by Dr. Sumner's book, as will appear by the extracts here given following Mr. Barry's article. [Many other parts of the book could be quoted with like effect.]

# SOME ILLUMINATING SIDE LIGHTS

Richard Barry was commissioned by the Ladies' Home Journal to make his personal investigation into the workings of equal suffrage after he had already published in Pearson's Magazine a series of articles of a violently anti-suffrage bias—which articles were, moreover, shown to be full of false, misleading and inaccurate statements in essential matters. Altogether, Mr. Barry spent only a few weeks in the four states—Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming—the area of any one of which is greater than that of all New England. He gives practically no authorities for his assertions, merely attributing them to "an old Senator," "a woman attorney," "a high Denver official," etc., and the statistics which he quotes are given a false interpretation. The article provoked an avalanche of denials and refutations from prominent persons in all walks of life in all four states.

Dr. Sumner, who was not a suffragist, spent two years on her work, giving her attention almost wholly to Colorado alone. She says in her preface that "one of the terms of my contract with the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League was that the investigation should be conducted in an impartial and scientific manner.' Having at the beginning no formulated conclusions on the question, I endeavored to the best of my ability to live up to the spirit and the letter of this clause \* \* \* \* I could not possibly have had a greater degree of freedom in studying conditions and formulating conclusions."

Dr. Sumner is as generous with authorities as Mr. Barry is parsimonious. None of the statements in her book have been challenged. To determine whether or not her findings bear out those of Mr. Barry the reader is referred to her own summary of her investigations at the end of this pamphlet.

Additional copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from National Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth avenue, New York City. Price: per copy, \$.03; per dozen, .25; per hundred, \$2.00. Postpaid: per copy, \$.04; per dozen, .33; per hundred, express.

# WHAT WOMEN HAVE ACTUALLY DONE WHERE THEY VOTE

MR. BARRY:

THE TRUTH:

# "The Question of Child Labor Had Never Even Been Discussed!"

Before I went West I ascertained that Oklahoma, the newest State, is commonly conceded to have the best child-labor laws in this country; and my surprise came when I found that these laws were compiled from the best provisions of the laws of New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin and Nebraska, and that Oklahoma did not go to any of the States where women vote to find a model when providing for its child-labor laws.

I found that Wyoming and Utah, where women vote, prohibit the employment of children in mines only, while the States of Nebraska, Oregon, New York, Wisconsin and Illinois, as well as several others, where men only vote, prohibit the working of children under fourteen years of age in twelve specified employments during school hours.

When I asked officials of the suffrage States how they could account for this condition where women vote they replied that the question had never been discussed. They added that such a law was not necessary anyway, as there is no chance of child labor in the mountain States, where they have no factories. Yet Montana, where men only can vote, and which is as sparsely settled and as free from factories as Wyoming, Utah or Idaho, all three States where women vote, has a constitutional amendment prohibiting the working of all children under sixteen years of age.

While I was in Denver one of the newspapers undertook the exposé of a revolting child-labor condition near the city.\* As it was the paper of the party out of power and as an election was in progress the opposition papers and every man in office poohpooled the exposé. Nothing came of it. Nor did the voting woman of Denver even investigate whether it were true or not that children were being overworked and abused in the outskirts of her own city. I sought

It is true that when the present child-labor law was passed in Oklahoma, it was drafted on the basis of the best provisions in New York, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Nebraska and a few other advanced states. Oklahoma did not go to any of the states where women vote to find a model for the reason that the problem of child-labor in the Western States where women vote is so new a problem that it had not been made a serious subject of legislation.

The Western States are rapidly awakening to the importance of enacting preventive legislation and the fact that Montana led with a good law proves nothing in the argument for or against Woman's Suffrage. At present Wyoming orbids employment of all females and boys under 14 in or about coal mines; fixes the working hours at 8 in the 24 for all workers in mines, smelters and ore mills; requires seats for female employees in manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments. Utah forbids boys under 12 and girls under 16 in street trades; excludes all minors from the night messenger service; provides a list of dangerous occupations from which children under 14 are excluded; limits the hours to 8 per day for all persons in mines; while the law in Idaho is still in need of radical re-

Meantime Colorado and California have passed excellent child-labor laws with the combined vote of men and women; while Washington has one of the best child-labor laws on the Western coast. In that state the hours are limited to 8 per day for all employees in mines, and for all females in mercantile or mechanical establishments, laundries, hotels and restaurants; no child under 16 may be employed in bakeshops at night, and compulsory school attendance is required to 15 years unless eighth grade has been completed. In the messenger service the age limit is 19 years for girls, while boys under 19 who desire to engage in this

<sup>\*</sup>The next year the legislature passed a child labor law fully covering this condition.

the reason for this and found, for example, that the most prominent political women's organization of Denver was absorbed in a factional fight.

I found, too, that no proof of age, other than the mere statement of the child or parent, is required in any of the four suffrage States, whereas nineteen States require documentary proof of age. None of the States where women vote is in this last

work must have a permit from the judge of the juvenile court.

The reference to the factional fight in a prominent political women's organization in Denver should create no surprise. It reads very much like the report of factional fights in men's political organizations in other states; the difference being that factional fights in men's political organizations are too frequent to be considered worthy of comment. The awakening in Colorado, however, is evidenced by the excellent childlabor law enacted within the present year fixing the eight hour day in all occupations to 16 years and for all persons in mines, smelters, ore mills, coke ovens, etc.; prohibiting night work under 16 years; requiring school attendance of all illiterates to 16 years; forbidding the employment of any minor under 16 years in immoral or dangerous vocations; and requiring proof of age of the child seeking employment under

The provision requiring proof of age also exists in Washington, Utah and California.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY. Executive Secretary National Child Labor Committee.

# JUDGE LINDSEY'S JUVENILE COURT BILLS

#### MR. BARRY:

He (Judge Lindsey) had seven bills affecting the Juvenile Court which he asked to be passed. They were all drawn with an eve to the protection of children and were modeled on proved legislation elsewhere. When it came to submitting them to the Legislature he asked the one woman member of the lower house to introduce them. The woman member introduced the bills. The woman's clubs publicly indorsed them and women went to the State House to lobby for them. "Three," said Judge Lindsey, "concerned technical trivialities in the reading of the law and were of no particular moment except that they would expedite legal procedure. One of them was revolutionary and vital. Three concerned important changes in the law."

The first three were passed. The last four never got out of the committee. The unimportant bills got through; the important ones are still pigeonholed. Yet California, Illinois and Massachusetts, where wo-

# THE TRUTH:

This is a gross mis-statement of fact. Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, the woman member of the legislature mentioned, has explained the matter. In the Woman's Journal of Nov. 5, 1010, she writes that, of the seven bills referring to the Juvenile Court, only four were given to her to introduce. Three passed wthout amendment and are now on the statute books of the State. The fourth passed the House, but was lost in the Senate. Of the other three, two, introduced by a man, passed the lower House and went to the Senate but never got out of committee; and one passed both houses and became a law. The truth of the matter is, then, that of the three persons entrusted with Judge Lindsey's bills, the woman has three successes to her credit and the two men only one between them. This statement is corroborated by Judge Lind-

The Legislative Committee of the Colorado State Federation of Women's clubs passing similar laws.

Judge Lindsey could not explain why his laws failed of passage; the woman member of the Legislature would not. But I found an old State Senator who told me the truth.

"The Legislature has nothing against children," he said, "and if some sensible man had presented those bills and explained their need in simple, forceful language, they would have been passed."

men do not vote, have found no difficulty in reported in 1909, that Mrs. Lafferty had more bills to her credit-mostly relating to the welfare of women and children-in that session, than any other one member of the House, and that most of her bills went through with comparative ease.

# PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN

## MR. BARRY:

I also found that the eight-hour law for working-women failed in the last Colorado Legislature. A similar law went easily through the Legislature of Illinois, but was annulled by the Supreme Court, after which a ten-hour law was passed. Now why should such a law for women fail in Colorado, where the women vote, and pass in Illinois, where they do not vote? I asked this of a prominent official of the State of Colorado, and he answered: "There is nothing that a woman wants to accomplish that she cannot accomplish wthout the ballot."

In twenty States where men only vote laws have been passed limiting the hours that a woman may be employed. In not one of the four States where women vote are there any laws restricting the hours of labor for woman employees.

In thirty-eight States the earnings of married women are secured to them and cannot be required by law (as can the earnings of married men) for the support of their families. Eight States have no such law, and Idaho, where women have voted fourteen years, is one of them.

Thrty-four States compel employers in stores, factores, shops, etc., to provide seats for female employees. Idaho is not one of them.

There are other good laws pertaining to the work of women. For instance, Massachusetts prohibits an employer from deducting from the wages of women when time is lost because machinery has broken down; Deleware has a law exempting the wages of women from execution, while Indiana,

## THE TRUTH:

In 1903, the Colorado Legislature passed a law prohibiting the employment of women for more than eight hours in any occupation requiring them to stand on their feet. The Supreme Court-composed wholly of men-declared this law unconstitutional. In 1909, a bill providing for an eight-hour law for women, without any reservations, was introduced into the Legislature by a woman member and failed in the Senate for want of one vote. A "similar law" did not "go easily" through the Legisla-ture of Illinois," but had to be watched and fought for every step of the way by women, most of them ardent suffragists; and the present ten-hour law was finally secured only by the most unremitting care and watchfulness-also largely on the part of suffragists—as such famous women as Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Miss Mary MacDowell, who worked for it, will testify.

The United States Census for 1900 gives the number of women employed in factories in the four states under consideration, as follows: Idaho, 155; Wyoming, 45; Colorado, 2,094; Utah, 1,205. In the same table, the figures for New York state are 293,524; for Massachusetts 173,144; and for Pennsylvania, 168,605. In the four suffrage states, Colorado, which has the largest number of women working in factories, has the most advanced laws; Utah, which has the next largest number, has the next-best laws, and so on-from which it should be obvious that legislation of this character is enacted in proportion to the number of women needing it and the keeness of that need. And it Massachusetts and Nebraska have laws can be enacted better and quicker when

these laws is found in any of the four have a voice in the framing of the laws. States where women vote!

prohibiting night work by women. None of those who have most at stake in the matter

"To sum up: Of the (present) six equal suffrage states, three have passed eight-hour laws for women (though in Colorado the law was thrown out by the courts), and one a nine-hour law. Of the non-suffrage states, not one has an eight hour law for women and only five have nine-hour laws. The Legislatures in most of the suffrage States have shown greater readiness to protect women from over-work than the legislatures in most of the non-suffrage States." -Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge in "The Wage-Earning Woman and The State.'

Idaho, in common with the other equal suffrage States mentioned, has excellent laws for the safe-guarding of the property rights of married women. (See Isaac N. Sullivan, Chief Justice of Idaho, Woman's Journal, Nov. 12, 1910). The wife's wages are not specifically mentioned, for the reason, probably, that there are so few women working for wages in Idaho.

According to the census of 1900, there were at that time 153 saleswomen in the entire state. Mrs. Eva Hunt Dockery, for ten years a member of the Legislative Committee of the Idaho State Federation of Women's clubs, writes in The Woman's Journal of Dec. 17, 1910: "Up to a very few years ago there was not a department store in the State and the clerks in the stores were treated as in good old days in the East, like members of the family." All the other equal suffrage States have laws requiring that seats shall be provided for saleswomen in stores. On the other hand, attention is invited to Mrs. Florence Kelley's description of the efforts which had to be put forth by the very women who are asking for the vote in order to get the present legislaton in other states.

# THAT "ALARMING INCREASE IN JUVENILE CRIME"

#### MR. BARRY:

In 1905 and 1906 there were sixty-seven children committed to the Golden Industria! Home, the Colorado State reformatory. The following two years one hundred and ninety-seven were committed there: an increase of three to one.

The chief of police of Denver told me that juvenile crime is on an alarming increase in that city. Tudge Lindsey says this is due to the increased pressure of economic conditions, but he does not deny the fact.

#### THE TRUTH:

The reason for this increase was simply that during this time a larger appropriation was obtained and more cottages were built so that more children could be accomoted.

Judge Lindsey DOES most emphatically deny the fact that juvenile crime has increased in Denver. He says: "Out of a school population of 50,000 children there were complaints against 608 children in the entire city of Denver during 1910 that were considered serious enough even to justify the filing of a formal petition for their correction. The great majority of their offenses are of a rather trivial nature. The police officers of Denver and others would testify that the criminal conditions among vouths that formerly existed in Denver have not only greatly decreased but the serious cases that we formerly had to cope with through exceptionally bad gangs that congregated in Denver have almost entirely passed away."

# THE JUVENILE COURT

#### MR. BARRY:

The criers for women's votes have pointed to the establishment of Judge Lindsey's Tuvenile Court as one of the greatest achievements of woman's ballot, and have repeatedly said that Colorado was the first State to establish such a court. I found this to be untrue, as the juvenile courts in Boston and Chicago both antedated the one in Denver. Nor is the Denver Juvenile Court an exclusive possession of Colorado. Fifteen States where men only vote have established such courts.

# THE TRUTH:

The Juvenile Court of Boston was established in 1905, at which time the one in Denver had been in operation for four vears. The Chicago and Denver courts have been called "twin sisters in child saving," the law under which both cities began to hold separate hearings for the cases of child law-breakers having been enacted in the same year, 1899. In 1903, a better and more comprehensive statute, based on the workings of the court in actual practice, was enacted in Colorado, and this law has been the model of the numerous states and foreign countries which have since taken up the Juvenile court idea. Idaho has recently enacted a Iuvenile court law, although as yet there is little need for it. Judge Lindsey has frequently stated that his chief support, in working to establish the Denver court and to keep it going, came from women, and that the fact that the women had votes to back up their support was of incalculable value. It has never been denied that the women succeeded in reelect-

<sup>\*</sup> For further evidence on this point see "The Wage-Earning Woman and The State" by Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge, "The Truth About the Wage Earning Woman and the State" by Florence Kelley, Pauline Goldmark and Josephine Goldmark, and "Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation" by Florence Kelley.

ing Judge Lindsey to his office on an independent ticket in two different elections when he had been slated for defeat by both political machines.

# MR. BARRY'S FIGURES ON ILLITERACY ANALIZED

#### MR. BARRY:

I went into the question of child illiteracy in the four States where women vote, and found that the United States census of 1900 showed that Wyoming had one illiterate child to every hundred and eighteen people in the State. Oregon, a Western, sparsely settled State where women do not vote, had only one illiterate child to every sixty persons in the State, or four times as many as Oregon, where women do not vote. Nebraska, again, where women do not vote and with twice the population of Colorado, had only half as many illiterate children.

#### THE TRUTH:

The figures concerning illiteracy in the United States Census reports do not apply to persons less than ten years of age, so Mr. Barry's reference to "illiterate school children" is misleading. The Census report states that in the States of the Western Division, illiterates are found chiefly among foreigners, Chinese and Japanese largely, and among the Indians. The figures for the four states under consideration, as given in the Census of 1900, with the figures for four neighboring states are:

Wyoming 4.0	Montana 6.1
Colorado 4.2	Arizona29.0
Utah 3.1	Oregon 3.3
Idaho 4.6	Nevada 13.3

Women do not vote in Arizona. How does Mr. Barry account for its large percentages of illiteracy?

# ARE CHILDREN LESS PROTECTED BY LAW IN THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES?

#### MR. BARRY:

In none of the four states where women vote was I able to find any Home Finding societies for the placing of destitute children, such as you find in Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, and a number of other Eastern States. This is the most humane and economical method of caring for the orphan, and yet you do not find it where women vote.

The conclusion of my investigation of the laws for children was, as any one can see from the actual records I have given, that instead of being better protected, or even as well protected in the States where women vote, they were actually less protected in the States where women had for years the opportunity to pass laws for them, and the *conditions* parallel the laxity of the laws.

#### THE TRUTH:

Idaho has an excellent society of this character called "The Children's Home Finding and Aid Society." In the first session of the legislature after women got the vote in Colorado, a bill was passed providing for the placing out of dependent children in good homes under proper supervision at state expense. All four states have provided by law in various ways for the care of helpless and friendless children.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union, a globeencircling organization of men and women who play important parts in the public affairs of their various countries, is on record as declaring that "Colorado has the sanest, the most humane, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world." And these laws which drew such praise from impartial sociologists, not one but has come into operation since Colorada's adoption of · equal suffrage in 1893. In the speech which Congressman Edward T. Taylor of Colorado delivered before the Committee of the Judiciary of the House of Representatives in March of 1912 he gave a list of 150 laws which have been passed largely through the efforts of women, of which a very large proportion have to do with the protection of children. A study of the compilation of the laws affecting the welfare of women and children in the equal suffrage states, which has been made by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, will demonstrate conclusively that the interests of children are exceptionally well looked after in these commonwealths.

# HAS THE SOCIAL EVIL BEEN ABATED?

#### MR. BARRY:

The chief of police of Denver joins with the chief of police of Salt Lake City (the only two towns of any size in the woman suffrage country) as my authority for the statement that prostitution is largely on the increase both in Colorado and in Utah. Idaho and Wyoming, being rural communities, can show a better record, but still no better than similar communities elsewhere.

Denver and Salt Lake City are among the few remaining large cities in this country where an open segregated district is given over to the public practice of the social vice. In one of the principal streets of Denver painted women exhibit themselves in the doors and windows; while two blocks away is a schoolhouse, and children daily pass through this district on their way to school. Salt Lake City has the only "stockade" in America, a walled space in the center of the city, where the social vice is practiced under police protection.

#### THE TRUTH:

Against this vague and general assertion, attention is called to the fact that Utah is the first state in the Union to enact legislation designed to check the spread of venereal disease, and that in the last session of its legislature, a law was adopted which provides for drastic measures for the suppresion of the white slave traffic; that in the last session of the Colorado legislature, a law was passed providing for heavy penalties for procurers-male and female-forbidding the employment of any person under eighteen in a house of prostitution, making immoral solicitation a felony, and making it a felony for a man to live upon the earnings of an immoral woman; that in Idaho "lewd persons of immoral life" of both sexes are not allowed to vote; and that in all four states the age of protection for young girls is eighteen years.

The "segregated vice" district in Denver is located in the lower part of the city in a section of railroad tracts and wholesale and commission houses, almost devoid of private homes. The women of the district are prohibited by police regulation from exhibiting themselves publicly, and, for their own protection, keep themselves as much in obscurity as possible. As a result of persistent pressure brought to bear upon the city authorities, culminating in an imperative concerted demand from women with votes behind

Nor have the women stamped out polygamy, not even when they have the ballot as in Utah. This on the statement of the most prominent paper in Salt Lake City, "The Salt Lake Tribune," which on August 1 of this year published a list of one hundred and fifty men who had contracted plural marriages recently.

them, the "stockade" in Salt Lake City was abolished two years ago. Three years ago, women voters also succeeded in having the restricted vice district abolished in Boise, Idaho.

Polygamy has, at least, lost legal sanction in Utah since women got the vote; and every year, with the increase in number of non-Mormon VOTING WOMEN, it is losing social and moral sanction. It is generally acknowledged that the most powerful influence that has ever been brought to bear upon this problem is that of the ballot in the hands of conscientious, high-minded, non-Mormon women.

# SOME ANNOTATIONS ON MR. BARRY'S DIVORCE STATISTICS

#### MR. BARRY:

Inexamining the divorce records of these four States I found that the laws are as lax as anywhere in the Union. Except that each State requires a year's residence they are as lax as in Nevada and South Dakota. Several attorneys in Denver told me that, except for the year's residence as against six months' residence in the other two States named, it is just as easy to get a divorce in Colorado. All the ordinary pleas are substantial grounds, except incompatibility of temper, and that bar against easy divorce is more than made up by the clause in the law which permits a divorce on the grounds of "mental cruelty." In one case a man did not speak to his wife at breakfast and was adjudged to have committed "mental cruelty.

The following table taken from United States Government statistics, shows the increase of divorce in the four States since equal suffrage became a law, down to 1906, since when the figures have not been computed. In Wyoming woman suffrage came in 1869, in Colorado in 1894,\* in Utah in 1895, and in Idaho in 1896.

Year.	Idaho.	Utah.	Wyo.	Colo.
1894	. 89	189	66	364
1895	.134	202	71	414
1896	.139	225	70	450
1897	.129	228	63	398
1898	.162	209	84	437
1899	.136	234	99	426
1900	.204	273	122	450
1901	.243	264	144	509

<sup>\*</sup>Colorado granted woman suffrage in 1893 and Utah in 1896.

#### THE TRUTH:

Opinions differ as to what constitutes a "lax" and what a "good" divorce law. Congressman Taylor, of Colorado, says that his state has "an exceptionally good divorce law, containing many provisions for the protection of women and children in their personal and property rights. Possible as it is for conscientious people to differ radically as to the character of the divorce laws of these states, it is a fact that they are in conformity with the laws of other newer states in which the old English Common Law has been replaced with statutes believed to be more in harmony with their special conditions, and also with the laws of some of the most progressive countries in the world.

This table is of slight significance for the reason that it does not give also the increase in population, which, in these frontier states, was exceptionally rapid.

The only fair way to measure the increase in the divorce rate is to take the number of divorces according to some fixed unit of population. The United States Census report for 1900 gives the following annual average per 10,000 of the population for the states of the Western Division, which—with the exception of New Mexico and Arizona—are similar in laws, and in character of population and social conditions. From this it will be seen that the equal suffrage states compare favorably with the male suffrage states in the matter of divorce:

1904281 410 137 1905296 355 145 1906320 387 143	508
---	-----

I could not find from any of the records that women have made any successful effort in any of the four States to correct the divorce laws. Nor has the fact that women vote done anything to correct the evil itself. Instead, as these figures prove, divorce has been on the constant increase in all the States where women vote.

	1900	1890	1880	1870
Montana	167	139	125	73
Idaho	120	93	58	67
Wyoming	118	86	58	67
Colorado:	158	197	138	60
New Mexico	73	46	12	1
Arizona	120	67	47	10
Utah	92	74	114	62
Nevada	III	97	106	99 88
Washington*	184	109	75	
Oregon	134	108	92	80
California*		84	84	52

Divorce is increasing all over the country faster than the population and especially throughout the West. See Special Report, Marriage and Divorce, United States Census Bureau.

# AWFUL EXAMPLE OF THE FAILURE OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE!

## MR. BARRY:

Idaho, where women have voted for fourteen years, is the only State in the Union lacking a law to compel railroads to provide suitable segregated toiletrooms for women and children.

### THE TRUTH:

"This strikes an Idahoan about as absurd as if he had said, "New York has no law compelling cow-boys to enter cafes without their chaps." The one thing that Idaho lacks to make her the most wonderful state in the Union is railroads. The few lines that she has, with very few exceptions, are the big trans-continental lines which traverse the state, and the need of the law just mentioned has never entered the head of any citizen of the State."

Eva Hunt Dockery of the Legislative Committee of the Idaho State Federation of Women's Clubs in "The Woman's Journal" of December 17, 1910.

# AS FOR VOTES AND WHISKEY

#### MR. BARRY:

Last year the police board of Denver passed a regulation prohibiting all unescorted women from entering cafes and restaurants where liquor was sold after eight p. m. Instantly a storm of protest was raised, not by refined, respectable women, not by the women of the streets, but by political women. These political women complained that their "rights" were being interfered with, that they might be compelled to be on the streets after eight

# THE TRUTH:

"The police board made such a ruling; for the benefit, it was believed, of 'The White City,' a resort where liquors are sold, and the purpose was to drive people out there to get their drinks. For a few weeks the order was enforced; then so many absurd and foolish things happened that it was practically discontinued. For instance: two elderly ladies, stopping at the Savoy, went into the dining-room after a trip to the city park, and were told they

<sup>\*</sup>Was not an equal suffrage state at this time. ‡Colorado gave votes to women in 1893. The divorce rate has then actually decreased under equal suffrage.

prohibit them the use of restaurants after that hour.

"Ladies," said the chief of police, addressing a committee of these women who visited him, "I can prove to you from the records here in my office that the women of Denver drink more whiskey than the men. Shall I open my books and show you?"

They did not ask for proof. They withdrew their protest, and that regulation is in effect today. But this regulation stands not by reason of, but in spite of, the political women of Denver."

p. m., and that it would be an outrage to would have to have their lemonade served in their room.

> "Of course no good was accomplished. And, of course, many of the best women in the city entered their protest.

> "As to the alleged statement of Mr. Armstrong, then Chief of Police, he specifically denied ever saying anything of the kind, and his records would not bear out any such statement."

Ellis Meredith, Denver Election Commissioner.

# **HOW ABOUT WOMAN'S ECONOMIC CONDITION?**

## MR. BARRY:

You can hire plenty of girl stenographers just out of school, in Denver and Salt Lake City, for \$5 and \$6 a week. You cannot hire even the greenest boy for less than \$7.50 a week. This ratio of male to female wages extends pretty generally throughout the scale of skilled labor.

In none of the four States did I find a woman in executive management of a corporation. There are no women realestate operators or promoters. I did not even find a woman cashier of a bank, though I inquired for one.

#### THE TRUTH:

"The United States Reports show fewer women in the wage-earning class in Colorado than there are in any other state and a higher average of wages both for men and women. The average yearly male earnings in the United States are \$513, and the average yearly female earnings \$213, yet Colorado shows an average of \$638 for men, \$554 for women."-"Measuring Up Equal Suffrage," by George Creel and Judge Ben B. Lindsey.

Did Mr. Barry inquire for any women mine owners or operators, for any women sheep or cattle raisers, for any women fruit or wheat ranchers? There are plenty of them in all four states. Did he overlook the fact that, in Colorado, a woman has held the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction ever since women became eligible, and that in the other three states, women have, with varying frequency, been selected for it; that in all four states a large proportion of the county school superintendents are women and that there are women on practically all of the town and city school boards; that women serve in large numbers in various other state, county and city offices (almost invariably with great credit to themselves and the satisfaction of the public); that the appointment of women upon all the important official boards-such as the library commission, the governing bodies of public charities and corrections and the board of regents of the State universities-is provided for by law; that in all four states women have frequently

In school-teaching it is the same as in the East. The grades are taught by women, the high schools and universities largely by men, while the principals are, nine time out of ten, men. And the men are paid more than the women!

been elected to the legislatures? And that women receive the same pay as men for any given office?

Wyoming and Utah provide by statute for "equal pay for equal work" by men and women teachers. In Colorado and Idaho no effort has been made to obtain such a law for the reason that it has always been the custom, possibly because women are not political non-entities, to give men and women doing the same work, the same salaries, as a matter of course. Suffragists have never claimed that the vote will secure the high-salaried positions for women-only that where women do the same work as men, the vote will help them to get the same pay.

# ON THE PURIFICATION OF POLITICS

## MR. BARRY:

Another positive claim made by the advocates for "votes for women" is that if women were given the ballot they would uplift and purify politics.

I was in Denver at the time of the last election, and had, therefore, a first-hand opportunity to study the question of woman's honesty in politics. I saw scores of women accept money for the election held in Denver on May 17, 1910.

#### THE TRUTH:

Congressman Taylor of Colorado stated in his speech before the Judiciary committee of the U.S. House of Representatives last March that 99% of the persons guilty of corrupt political practices in Colorado are men. Judge Lindsey has repeatedly declared that the number of women taking part in election frauds, etc., is infinitessimal. Numerous public men -practical politicians-have at one time or another, placed themselves on record as declaring emphatically that the number of politically corrupt women was not worth counting with. On the other hand, the testimony from all classes of citizens that the woman vote has tended to purify politics is overwhelming.\*

<sup>\*</sup>In 1898, a general statement in favor of suffrage and containing a declaration to this effect was signed by the Governor, both United States Senators, two ex-Senators, both Members of Congress, the Chief Justice and two Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, three Judges of the Court of Appeals, four Judges of the Court of Appeals, four Judges of the District Court, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer, the State Auditor, the Attorney General, the Mayor of Denver, the President of the State University, the President of Colorado College, and the presidents and officers of numerous Woman's clubs. In 1899, a similar statement was passed by the Legislature, and in 1911, as a result of the publication of the very magazine article now under consideration, an Association was formed by the leading men of the state, called the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association for the purpose of supplying accurate information with respect to the workings of equal

Two issues were before the people. First, the temperance question: should the town be wet or dry? Second, the water-franchise question: should the city own its own water plant or let a corporation have it?

On the temperance question every one of age could vote, and the ballots were about half male and half female. On the franchise only taxpayers could vote, and the ballots were about two-thirds male and one-third female. The great bulk of the money was spent by the saloonkeepers to keep the town wet, and by the corporation to get the franchise.

The corporation, though it spent hundreds of thousands of dollars, could not purchase the male electorate. Municipal ownership won by a comfortable majority.

But on the temperance question the vote was: For the drys, 17,237; for the wets, 33,191; the wets' majority, 15,954. With the votes half female and half male the saloonkeepers won almost two to one.

"It was chiefly the voting of woman of Denver, who defeated the renewal of the water monopoly's franchise at a recent election, and declared for municipal ownership. It is chiefly the voting woman of Colorado who is demanding inquiry into telephone, gas and street car charges."-"Measuring Up Equal Suffrage," by George Creel and Judge Ben. B. Lindsev.

"The housewives of Denver enlisted for the fight. They gave their days ungrudgingly, walking from house to house among their neighbors (there were no motors at their disposal), giving in simple language the arguments against granting a franchise to the water company and the advantages to the city of owning its own plant.

"It was a question of household ecopomics with the women. They wished to get the best possible bargain for their

'It was a question of public morality, too. They wished to break, in one instance at least, the alliance between big business and crooked politics, which has done so much to hurt Denver in the past.

"And when you face a woman with a question which concerns household economics and public morality at the same time, something is likely to happen.

"So it happened Tuesday."-Rocky Mountain News, May 19, 1910.

"The people-women as well as menharbored a suspicion that the 'moral' issue had been injected into the campaign for the purpose of clouding the franchise juestion, and resented it. The movement had it - source in no spontaneous demand from the people, and many men and women believed that it was unwise and un-

suffrage and of correcting future misrepresentations. On the other hand, not six persons of standing have ever been found to declare over their own signatures that equal suffrage has been a failure, and the few who have declared themselves against it, have contented with asserting that it had not done the good ex-

pected of it. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, a short time before her death, sent a circular letter, asking whether the results of equal suffrage were good or bad, to ministers and editors in the suffrage states. In all 624 answers were received. Of these, 62 were opposed, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor.

timely."\*--Bovd F. Gurley in The Boston Common, May, 1910.

"Under male suffrage there were three ".lrv" towns in the State of Colorado. Under equal suffrage a local-option law was but or the statute books, and there are now fifty "dry" towns and twelve "dry" counties. And it may also be mentioned that Denver is one of the few cities in the land that has no saloon-keepers in its council."--"Measuring Up Equal Suffrage," by George Creel and Judge Ben. P. Lindsey.

# "THAT INDEFINABLE SOMETHING!"

#### MR. BARRY:

A little later, in one of the most exclusive polling places, I talked with one of the highest officials in Denver. The votes were being cast in a garage. Women were driving up in their automobiles, and were being escorted to the ballot box by their husbands, brothers, fathers and friends. All looked perfectly orderly and respectable. But, out in the street, two girl workers, smartly dressed, were seated in a carriage with their feet poised on the opposite seat, nibbling the candy just handed them by the manager on his rounds, and chatting familiarly with every male hanger-on that came along.

"Don't fail to look below the surface," said the official. "When anyone tells you that women mixing in politics help any tell him he has no real knowledge of the subject. In this election about a thousand women are being paid as workers and 422 more women are sitting as officials at the polling places. Every single one of those women has lost something, that indefinable something that ought to set her apart. I would no more think of letting my wife or daughters come here to work than I would think of taking poison into the kitchen.

"It is inevitable," continued this political manager, and I may well close with his words, as the man stands high in Denver's political circles, and voices the opinion that I found was held by many-"It is inevitable," he said, "that women recognition of this truth, and knows that

# THE TRUTH:

"Just as all the laws passed by the women significantly concern the home and its environment, just so does participation in public affairs seem to have given Colorado women a deeper, more intelligent and energetic interest in their homes.

"What statistics there are all fail to show that the home broadening has been attended by 'coarsening and deterioration.' The Colorado birth-rate has increased steadily, and the school population has gained twenty-five per cent. in five years. The most careful investigation of court records proves that there has never been a divorce where the wife's political activity was assigned as the

"Absolute honesty forces the confession that the average women's political meeting is far finer, more effective and inspiring than those held by men.

"It is not the Colorado custom for women to electioneer, but even in those cases where they remain about the polling places, distributing literature or cards, dignity is rarely laid aside and even the familiarities of persuasiveness are not employed. There is an unwritten law among them that forbids this sort of thing.

"The Colorado man has come to the

<sup>\*</sup>This was the almost unanimous opinion of the press throughout the country.

should lose not only their fineness, but the Colorado woman has grown in also their characters when they mix in politics. They cannot see the game as we do, not because they are mentally inferior, for I do not believe they are, but because they lack the experience in affairs. So men do not treat them seriously. Woman suffrage in this State is a joke, when it is not a shame. High-minded men ignore the woman voter; to low-minded men she is-well, the less said about that the better."

strength and effectiveness without loss of essential womanliness or sacrifice of valuable traits.

"Outside of the corrupt and self-seeking, the vile and venal, the man can not be found in Colorado who would do away with equal suffrage, or go back to the conditions that preceded its concession." -"Measuring Up Equal Suffrage," by George Creel and Judge Ben. B. Lindsey.

"Ministers on Votes for Women, Testimony from Colorado, Testimony from Wyoming, Testimony from Idaho, Judge Lindsey on Suffrage, Some Common Questions Answered by Sarah Platt Decker, Eminent Opinions.

# Conclusion of Dr. Sumner's Book, "Equal Suffrage"

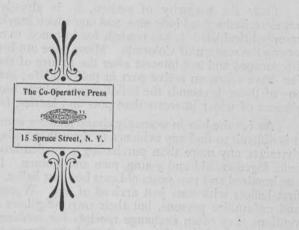
The effect of equal suffrage upon the women themselves, their outlook upon life, and their relationship to the home, is, in the opinion of many, the crux of the problem. Its effect upon party politics has been slight. But the reason is to be found primarily in the character of the present political machinery. To fully perform, under the existing system, the duties of an enfranchised citizen requires not only an inflexible moral code, but the public spirit, the self-immolation, and the unselfish devotion of a martyr. Politics in Colorado are at least as corrupt as in other states, and the woman of ideals who goes into political life for reform soon finds, not merely that she is working in the mire, but that she is persona non grata with the habitual denizens of the mire and with those persons who profit by its existence. Sometimes she becomes unutterably disgusted and ceases her political activity; sometimes her grit rouses antagonism, and she is more or less politely shoved out by experts at the business; and sometimes she stays and is taught "the tricks of the trade." The last case illustrates the one direct evil of equal suffrage, but, fortunately, it is of rare occurrence, and affects only women of weak moral fibre.

Over the majority of women, it is already evident that equal suffrage has exercised a good influence, and one which inevitably reacts, to a certain extent, upon political life. It has tended, for instance, to cultivate intelligent public spirit among the women of Colorado. Many have not been aroused; many have become discouraged and lost interest after the failure of their early efforts; comparatively few have taken an active part in political life; but thousands vote, and to every one of these thousands the ballot means a little broadening in the outlook, a little glimpse of wider interests than pots and kettles, trivial scandal and bridge whist.

As for the loss in womanly characteristics sometimes alleged to have resulted, it is difficult to find any evidence to show that voting affects this side of a woman's character any more than purchasing a garden-hose. Families usually go to the polls together, old and young, men and women. In Pueblo, in 1906, one woman one hundred and two years old cast her first ballot. Many mothers have cast their first ballots with sons just arrived of age. Women at the polls meet, not rough and unfamiliar persons, but their own neighbors and friends. In political conventions they often exchange receipts for cooking eggplant and choice information about the baby, the servant, and the dressmaker, just as they would at any other gathering.

Equal suffrage has brought, then, practically no loss and some decided gain, the latter mainly evident in the effect of the possession of the ballot upon the women of Colorado. It has enlarged their interests, quickened their civic consciousness, and developed in many cases ability of a high order which has been of service to the city, the county, and the state. Closely allied to this wider outlook and richer oppportunity, and also distinctly visible as at least a tendency, is the development of the spirit of comradeship between the sexes. It is still too early to measure adequately these factors, and perhaps it will never be possible to determine exactly how much equal suffrage has contributed. But the Colorado experiment certainly indicates that equal suffrage is a step in the direction of a better citizenship, a more effective use of the ability of women as an integral part of the race, and a closer understanding and comradeship between men and women

<sup>\*</sup>For further evidence on this point the reader is referred to House Document, No. 762, of the Sixty-Second Congress, second session; and to the following, published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth avenue, New York City:



[ post - 1910]

WOMAN RAI SOCIATION

SSE SG.,

MINNESPOLIS, :: MINN.

TO THE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL:

You are educators of public opinion. You should give your moral support to the equal suffrage movement for three reasons: First, because it is just; second, because in practice it makes for righteousness; third, because of the unrighteousness of the methods and interests arrayed against it.

Its abstract justice is generally conceded.

Its practical good results are established by the consensus of testimony from hundreds of clergymen in the enfranchised States. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe in 1910 sent a circular letter to all the Episcopal clergymen and to the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian ministers in the States where women vote, asking if the results were good or bad. She received 624 replies. Of these, 62 were unfavorable, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor. The answers from the Episcopal clergy were in favor, more than two to one; from the Baptist ministers, seven to one; from the Congregational ministers, about eight to one; from the Methodist ministers, more than ten to one; and from the Presbyterian ministers, more than eleven to one. These figures speak for themselves.

The ministers were practically unanimous in saying that the ballot had done women good by broadening their minds and leading them to take a more intelligent interest in public questions; that it had made them more intelligent companions for their husbands, and better able to instruct their children. A large number said that it had promoted temperance, had helped to secure liberal appropriations for educational and humanitarian purposes, and had made it harder for notoriously bad candidates to be nominated or elected. This last result is conceded even by Mr. A. Lawrence Lewis, one of the very few respectable men in Colorado who have ever written anything against woman suffrage. In his article in *The Outlook*, which the antisuffragists have reprinted as a tract, he says:

"Since the extension of the franchise to women, political parties have learned the inadvisability of nominating drunkards, notorious libertines, gamblers and men of discredited occupations, because the women almost always vote them down."

Mr. Amos R. Wells, editor of the Christian Endeavor World, wrote to twenty-five ministers—most of them Doctors of Divinity—choosing their names at random from among the subscribers in the enfranchised States. He asked them whether equal suffrage was working well, fairly well or badly. One answered that it was working badly, and three that it was working fairly well. All the rest were positive, and a number of them enthusiastic, in declaring that it was working well. They specified the same good results as the ministers who replied to Mrs. Howe—the enlargement of women's minds, the defeat of bad candidates, and the strengthening of the temperance cause by the women's votes.

In Idaho and Wyoming, the repeal of the laws that formerly licensed gambling is universally credited to the influence of the women voters. So is the defeat of the recent attempts to legalize racetrack gambling in California, Utah and Colorado. Former Chief Justice Groesbeck of Wyoming was a strong opponent of licensed gambling, and fought it in season and out of season. He writes: "The influence of the women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government, and opposed to drunkennesss, gambling and immorality." Rev. Dr. B. F. Crary, formerly presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming, says of woman suffrage: "Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing it."

Kansas had municipal woman suffrage for twenty-five years before it granted women the full ballot. When the full suffrage amendment was pending, it was endorsed by almost every Ministerial Association in Kansas, while it was opposed by the vicious interests from one end of the State to the other.

Frances E. Willard wrote: "The two most strongly-marked instincts of women are those of protection for herself and little ones, and of love and loyalty to her husband and her son. Wherever women have had the ballot, they have used it in the interest of the home and against the saloons, the gambling houses and the haunts of infamy."

These vicious interests are always and everywhere arrayed against the ballot for women. This is an added reason why the clergy should take their stand in its favor. It is a maxim in war, "Always do the thing to which your adversary particularly objects.\*

<sup>\*</sup>From a leaflet by Alice Stone Blackwell, published by Woman's Journal.

The suffrage movement today is the supreme expression of the mother spirit in woman. It is no longer based on "Woman's Rights" but on Woman's Duty. Women have learned that their duty is not ended with the care of their own children; moreover, that they cannot adequately protect their own children while other less fortunate ones are uncared for. They see in government added opportunities to help men care for the weak and the unprotected, to help men with public housekeeping, to help men make our villages, towns and cities better places in which to live.

They are asking for the vote not because they think less of their homes and churches, but because they want the homes and churches better represented in government, and more power given to the things for which the home and church stand.

# NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Printed by N. W. S. Publishing Co., Inc.

