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Is Woman Suffrage Important?

By

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We have no militant suffrage movement in this country, perhaps chiefly because there is noting to militate against. There is no active opposition. What we have to overcome is a polite but perfectly useless acquiesence. What we have to prove is not that woman suffrage is right, but that it is important. In my opinion it has an importance too far-reaching to be casually understood by persons immersed in politics or business, and I shall try to set forth, in a brevity suitable to their leisure rather than to the subject, the nature of that importance. In so doing I can present no new "arguments," but only try to show that among the old, two at least have at the present day a vital thrust in them.

To clear the field for those two, let me say at the start that we do not look to women's

votes for the purification and moral elevation of the body politic. That is a lovely hope, transmitted to us in its classic form, I believe, by George William Curtis. "I am asked," he exclaims, "would you drag women down into the mire of politics? No sir, I would have them lift us out of it."

But we are not much stirred by the prophecy of such miracles in this day. We are more scientific than to judge women in general by the one we have in our romantic eye. We look round in the city and the country, and we see who the men are and who the women are, and we conclude that neither sex has an exclusive monopoly of the virtues.

Indeed, it has been maintained in New York City, by persons with an eye to the private profits of politics, that woman suffrage would be a help to them in their business. Nor is it possible to deny—speaking from that city only—that this sudden extension of the franchise might furnish to the powers of corruption a temporary help. That is because after the vote is granted to them, some time will elapse before a normal proportion of women acquire the habit of voting; a natural

inertia will have to be overcome, and the powers of corruption have a better perfected system for overcoming the inertia of voters upon election day than the powers of reform. "The children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light." That is why nobody ever quite succeeds in the salvation of society.

That state of affairs, however, besides being local, will be temporary. Nothing will call out the votes of the better class of wives and mothers quicker than a striking ascendency of the corrupt powers. And when an equal proportion of all classes of the women's votes is called out, we shall find our educated and our American-born vote increased, and our uneducated and foreign-born vote decreased, in the final proportion.* Therefore, while we cannot look to women's votes for such an inundation of purity as certain chivalric souls would love to think, we can assure ourselves that they will not do any permanent appreciable harm to the body-politic. On the contrary, they will increase the average

*In the year 1908-09 there were enrolled in the public high schools of the United States 475,761 girls and only 365,512 boys. And of the total number of immigrants to this country in the fiscal year 1909, 519,969 were males and only 231,817 females.

intellectual culture and acquaintance with American institutions in the electorate.

Moreover, we cannot ignore the fact that women, even when their opportunity and the demands we make of them are as great as they should be, will remain in certain ways normally different from men. Women are mothers, and men are not. When all psychic marvels and parlor nonsense are laid aside, that is the scientist's difference between men and women. Women inherit, with instinctive motherhood, a body of passionate interests that men only partially share. And when we say that those interests are needed in government, we but extend to the State as a whole a generalization already applied to every essential part of it. For we freely acknowledge, in the daily progress of our lives, that women's vital intuitive judgements tend often to recall us from our theoretical and commercial vagaries to the chief business, the conservation of human resources. An extension of that tendency into the sphere of politics will appear less incongruous and more advisable with every year that the profession of politics continues to improve as it is now improving.

Governments are more and more approaching the real concerns of humanity. All those moral and social problems—education, the preservation of health, and safety, the regulation of hours and conditions of labor, even the cure of the causes of poverty—problems that used to be handled by a few supernormal individuals under the name of "charity"—are creeping into the daily business of bureaus and legislatures. And this civilizing of governments is a process which we must further with all our might, in order that ultimately even the greatest questions of democratic equality, which are still only agitated by a handful of noteworthy idealists, may become the substance of party platforms and the fighting-ground of practical politics. And, while we have not enough experimental evidence for a conclusion, we have the opinions of hundreds of good men in those States and nations where women vote, to support our reasonable expectation that their influence will favor rather than retard this process.

Another hope we may cherish of the political effect, not of women's votes, but of the fact that they vote. The sexes are

more idealistic in what they do together than in what they do apart. And for this reason the coming of women—or the coming of families—into politics, will bring a certain benefit other than what you might estimate by counting the wise or virtuous women's votes. It will make impossible, for instance, that state of conscience prevalent among male politicians, who go into the service of the State with the happy feeling that they have left their virtues at home in the safe-keeping of their wives and daughters. Men throw the innocence of their women-folk as a sop to God, and go about the devil's business. But I doubt whether God, or any one else, was ever satisfied with innocence as a substitute for virtue active in the world. I could never see the value of preserved innocence. It is possible that our republic will be damned to moral destruction, men and women together, and it is possible that it will be saved to great usefulness, but certainly if it is saved, it will be saved not because of the number of cloistered innocents it contains within its boundaries, but because of the number of effective human beings who save it. Any measure, therefore, will do well,

which tends to reduce the number of those persons who think than an ineffectual wife can do the being good for the whole family.

Especially it will do well if it reduces the number of such men in public affairs, where the lack of those high standards that we set for ourselves in our homes is lamentably apparent. "He is such a good man in his family!" we say of our disgraced representative. Perhaps if we do not waste our time trying to make him good outside his family, but allow his family and its acquaintance with him to extend into the sphere of his political activity, he will be good there too, or else nowhere, and there will be no doubt about it. He will at least realize the importance of honor in public service, and no longer be able to return home and think he is better than his acts.

Such probabilities, however, with so brief experiments to test them, do not give political equality a pressing importance to the man of average interest in experimental progress. In considering the effect of women's votes upon politics, as in mentioning the question of abstract rights, I have but endeavored to clear the way for the arguments that are most vital.

It is not justice as a theoretic ideal, nor feminine virtue as a cure for politics, but democratic government as the practical method of human happiness that compels our minds. The Anglo-Saxon race has progressed so far as it has, in intellectual and moral and material culture, largely because it has carried forth the great venture of popular government. We have learned to take it for granted, and so to forget, that civil liberty is the foundation of our good fortune, but we ought to remind ourselves of it every morning. We ought to remind ourselves that we are the van of a great exploit. Had we been alive when the daring plans were laid, we should remember. The greatest hypothesis in the history of moral and political science was set up in this laboratory, and our business is to try out the experiment until the last breath of hope is gone.

The democratic hypothesis is that a State is good, not when it conforms to some general abstract ideal of what a State ought to be or do, as the Greeks thought, but when it conforms to the interests of certain particular concrete individuals—namely, its citizens, all of them that are in mental and

moral health; and that the way to find out their interests is not to sit on a throne or a bench and think about it, but go and ask them. Now to discriminate against an approximate half of the citizens—just because they have, as we say, such *different interests* from the rest—is to betray our hypothesis and destroy our experiment at its crucial point. For the whole point of it was that we would give up asking an expert political class of the people what the State *ought* to do, and go down and ask all the people, expert or not and political or not, what they are *interested* in having it do.

Not only have the thinkers of the world waked up to the fact that women are individuals and so to be counted under this theory of government, but the world itself has so changed that the practical necessity of applying the theory to them drives itself home to us. We have only to open our minds to the facts. With the advance of industrial art the work of women has gone from the house to the factory and market. Women have followed it there, and there they must do it until this civilization perishes. In 1910, approximately one woman in every four in the United States

was engaged in gainful employment, and the number was increasing. Most of these women have no choice as to whether they will work or not, and many of them are working in circumstances corruptive of health and motherhood. It is, therefore, a vital problem for the future of our race, how to render the conditions of industry compatible with the physical and moral health of women. And to one who knows a little about human nature and the deep wisdom of representative government, it is clear that the only first step in solution of that problem is to give to the women themselves the dignity and defence of political recognition.

Compared to the variety of their needs, and the subtlety of the disadvantages under which they enter a competitive system, it is a small thing to give them. But it is the first and manifest thing. It is the ancient antidote of that prejudice which everywhere opposes them, and its smallness,not a reason for withholding, but for bestowing it. Give them that small thing for which Anglo-Saxon men have groveled, and lied, and slaughtered, and perished for a thousand years, to win—namely, a little bit of the

personal sacredness of sovereigns before their rulers and the law. A small thing, but their own—and an indispensable prerequisite and guarantee of every other privilege or opportunity you may hope to confer upon them.

Women have that guarantee in a male democracy, it is stated, through their husbands and fathers who represent them. And to an extent the statement is true. To an extent it is true, even when the husbands and fathers have none of that perfect loyalty to them which the statement assumes, for the habit of mind which democracy engenders in its officials involuntarily extends to their dealing with the unenfranchised. But there is a time when it is not true, and a point where that habit of mind does not extend. And it is a crucial point for them—when as a class they, the unenfranchised workers, segregate themselves and dare to stand alone for their special aims in a labor organization. Then they are severed in our mind, as they are in fact, from any voter who might represent them; and then, above all, they need standing in the political system. For there are just two dependable guarantees of the

effectiveness of an organization of people without wealth, and one is gunpowder, and the other is the ballot.

"Why, the ballot never helped the working-classes!" we hear it exclaimed. "*Organization* is the sole hope of labor!" But such ignorance of the history and significance of popular sovereignty is revealed in the exclamation, that one knows not with what kind of kindergarten instruction to begin to answer it. He has read nothing or he has read in vain of nineteenth-century democracy, who thinks that labor organizations of males could have arrived where they are, in the respect of men and the law, if they had been unable to compel consideration from the State. It is *because* organization is the sole hope of labor that labor must have its portion of the sovereignty. And it is because, when united together for their special purposes, women lose even that second-hand sovereignty they are elsewhere alleged to have, that they must have a first-hand sovereignty. They must have a genuine guarantee that their needs shall be of consequence to the community they serve. Such certified consideration from the powers of law is both a symbol and a

force indispensable to any group, or person, that either desires or is compelled by fortune, to enter the competitive world.

A hearing was held at one of our State Capitols upon a bill to limit the hours of women's labor. Twelve big employers appeared against the bill, stating that the working women did not want it. Five elected delegates from the working women's organizations appeared in favor of the bill, stating that they did want it. No woman appeared against the bill. Now, it matters nothing what was the history of that bill, nor whether one favors or opposes it. It is simply necessary to acknowledge that such a hearing shows a drawn conflict of two vital interests in the State. The stronger and wealthier and better organized of those interests we clothe with the whole power and prestige of political citizenship, and the knowledge of political methods. The weaker and poorer and less organized we leave with no power and no standing in the community, and no political experience whatever. We let those employers come down to the Capitol and demand what they want from their representatives, and we make those workers come up and beg what

they want from somebody else's representatives. The idea of such a hearing upon such a bill ought to disgust every clear-minded American with this old-fashioned masculine pretense at representative government.

Such is the argument from the ideal of democracy, theoretic, practical, and coercive in the concrete present. Yet, in so far as we are moral, in so far as we are believers in the progressive enrichment of life, we have something more to do than live up to our ideals. We have to illumine and improve them continually. The Athenian youths had a running-match in which they carried torches, and it was no victory to cross the tape with your torch gone out. Such is the race that is set before us. And we may well remember —we in America who scorn the contemplative life—that no amount of strenuousness with the legs will keep a flame burning while you run. You will have to be thinking.

And it is out of a thoughtful endeavor, not merely to live up to an ideal of ours, but to develop it greatly, that the suffrage movement derives its chief force. I mean our ideal of womanhood. It is not expected by the best advocates of this change that women will reform politics or purge

society of evil, but it is expected, with reasoned and already proved certainty, that political knowledge and experience will benefit women. Political responsibility, the character it demands and the recognition it receives, will alter the nature and function of women in society to the improvement of themselves and their husbands and their children and their homes. Upon that ground we can declare that it is of vital importance to the advance of civilized life, not only to give the ballot to those women who want it, but to rouse those women who do not know enough to want it, to a better appreciation of the great age in which they live.

The Industrial Era—for all the ill we say of it, we must say this great good, that it has made possible and inevitable the physical, and social, and moral, and intellectual liberation of women. The simplification of home life through invention and manufacture, the growth of large cities with their popular education, and above all the division of labor, have given her a free place in the active world. This fact is the disctinctive feature of these ages. To a distant and universal historian—a historian who writes

the lives of the people—I believe that this change in the position of women will appear not only the most striking, but the most excellent achievement of ours. For we could never evolve a heroic race of people on the earth until we gave them a twofold inheritance and tradition of active, intelligent virtue. That we have begun to do. And no act of ours at the present time can more urge and certify this great step in the history of life than to give it a political expression and guarantee. Citizenship will rouse and educate women, it will develop our ideal of them; therefore, it is a dominant necessity of advancing civilization that they have it.*

*I cannot refrain from saying a word here in apparent contradiction of my theme. It is addressed to those self-assured reformers who, with small sense for the real in history, find themselves in too fatuous agreement with that theme. There was scope for great character, and life's full experience, in the lot of woman long ago, when many arts and industries and the business management of them, and of a household, fell to her. Spirited and splendidly intelligent women lived then. And they profited by opportunities for growth which are now gone. There are few places to be filled in the modern industrial world equal in variety and amplitude to the place of the "circumscribed" women of old. Hence in gaining, through the development of industry, a great social freedom, women have lost in many cases a valuable breadth of experience. It is, however, lost irretrievably, and now we must replace it to what extent we can. We must replace that ample interest and stimulus to growth which women used to find in the home with interests beyond it, and chief among them—as being equally vital—the civic interest. Thus in so far as women are gaining freedom in this era, they demand citizenship as a guarantee of that freedom, and in so far as they are losing a certain breadth of life they require citizenship as a guarantee against narrowness.

The relegating of women, outside the period of motherhood, to a life of futile sainthood, with exclusive charge of the *goodness* of the community and nothing to do with the community's *behavior*, is a great foolishness at the bottom of our social habits. Of this ancient practice and the quite recent idealization of it, of the damage it has done to men and women and children, no history can give the account. Nor is it easy to establish a sense of this in an age which is permeated by the sentiments of a degenerate feudalism. It may awake the sane and heroic in us, however, to recall the pagan ideal of Plato. He says, in the seventh book of the laws:

"The legislator ought to be whole and perfect, and not half a man only. He ought not to let the female sex live softly and waste money and have no order of life, while he takes the utmost care of the male sex, and leaves half of life only blessed with happiness when he might have made the whole State happy."

Two truths that will be news to many after two thousand years, are contained in that sentence. First, that it is just as important for women to be happy as for men; and, second, that true happiness for the best spirits of either sex does not consist in

living softly and wasting money and having no order of life, but in regulated purpose and achievement.

Compare that elevated utterance with the ideals of the age just behind us. Take a sentence from Martin Luther:

"The woman's will, as God says, shall be subject to the man, and he shall be her master; that is, the woman shall not live according to her free will . . . and must neither begin nor complete anything without the man; where he is, there must she be, and bend before him as before her master, whom she shall fear, and to whom she shall be subject and obedient."

The same morbid tyranny appears, although without the offence of imputing it to God, in Jean Jacques Rousseau, a preacher of the native equality of men:

"The education of the women should be always relative to the men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable; these are the duties of women at all times and what they should be taught in their infancy."

In these quotations the ideal woman, although drained of intelligence and power, appears to retain a monoply of the distinctly Christian virtues, while the man permits himself, upon Biblical or other authority,

the bearing of a despot. If you add to these ethics a certain idealization of that powerless woman, a tendency to erect her enforced feebleness into a holy thing, and add also a sentimental subservience of the man to this enslaved queen in matters of no moment, you have the attitude of the leisure class of our own day, our inheritance of elite sentiment. It is expressed by Lyman Abbott in his little book about the womanly woman:*

"When the wedding day comes she has no desire to omit from the service the promise to obey. . . .She wishes not to submit a reluctant will to his, but to make his will her own. She wishes a sovereign and is glad to have found him. . . .To give up her home, abandon her name, merge her personality in his keeping—this is her glad ambition, and it swallows up all other ambitions."

In this modern example it is still tyrannically demanded of the woman that she confine herself to the virtues of passivity, but the demand is made in morbid idealism rather than mere brutal bigotry.

It ought to be necessary only to point away from these unnatural dogmas to the great judgment of Plato; it ought to be necessary only to recall the high attitude of

*"The Home Builder," Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1908.

Jesus.* It wants no argument to support the development of women, for a developed personality is a good that justifies itself. The purpose of life is that it be greatly lived, and it can be greatly lived only by great characters. Yet it can be shown, upon a practical demand, for what special purposes we need women of great spirit.

We need them, in the first place, for the cultivation of a certain gentle humility and good sense in their husbands. It is bad for a man's morals to regard himself as the constant purveyor of privilege to a supposedly inferior being. This attitude of condescending over-bearance towards women is one of the chief follies of that very immature person, the average man of affairs. And when he tries to make up for it with a great deal of sentimental adoration, he makes it only the more foolish. For to worship that which is held inferior in power and wisdom because it excels in innocence of the actual world, is the old and sure way to falsify your moral sentiments. We hear to-day a good deal of protest

*His superiority to His age, and especially to Saint Paul, in wisdom upon this point, is shown negatively in all His recorded dealings with women, so far as I remember, but particularly in that interview at the well with a woman, and a Samaritan, which so astonished His followers.

against that "double standard of morality," which allows men, but not women, to be vicious without loss of standing. The roots of that evil lie in that false attitude. When we have abolished that double standard of morality which allows the "ideal woman" to be ignorant and silly, we shall see the disappearance of that double standard which allows her husband to be profligate and self-centered. When we have less innocence and more virtue in women, we shall have less vice and more virtue in men. Both changes will be for the better, but the latter more obviously. And therefore I put it first, if not greatest, of the uses of the developed woman that she will foster the development of men.

But she will also foster the development of the home and the human family, and make that institution truly beautiful in its nature and great in its effect. That such results will ultimately flow from this political reform, is proven by the outcries which oppose it: "You are bringing dissension into our homes!" "You are striking a blow at the family, which is the cornerstone of society!"—hysterical outcries from persons whose families are already tottering. Certain

it is that many of these cornerstones of society are tottering. And why are they tottering? Because there dwell in them triviality and vacuity, which prepare the way of the devil. Who can think that intellectual divergence, disagreement upon a great public question, could disrupt a family worth holding together? On the contrary, nothing save a community of great interests, with agreement and disagreement inevitable, can revive a fading romance. When we have made matrimony synonymous with a high and equal comradship, we shall have done the one thing that we can do to rescue those families which are the tottering cornerstones of society.

A greater service of the developed woman, however, will be her service in motherhood. For we are in extreme need of mothers whose ornament is wisdom—the wisdom which comes from wide interest, and wide activity, and wide experience of the world, and from no other source under the sun. To hear the sacred duty of motherhood advanced as a reason why women should *not* become public-spirited and active and effective, you would think we had no greater duty to our race and nation

than to rear in innocence a generation of grown-up babies. Keep your mothers in a state of invalid remoteness from genuine life, and who is to arm the young with efficient virtue? Are their mothers only to suckle them, and then for their education pass them over to some one who knows life? To educate a child is to lead him into the world of his experience; it is not to propel him with ignorant admonitions from the door. A million lives wrecked at the off-go can bear witness to the failure of that method. I think that the best thing you could add to the mothers of posterity is a little of the rough sagacity and humor of public affairs.

Such are the great reasons for making the sexes equal in politics; such have been the reasons ever since the question was first broached in the age of Pericles. It is not merely a demand for justice upon the part of citizens unrecognized. It is not a plan to prevent corrupt practices in politics, or instil into the people's representatives any virtue other than the virtue of representing the whole people. It is an act demanded by the ideal principle to the proof of which our government is devoted.

It is the solution, indicated by that principle, of one of the chief problems of our industrial civilization. And it is a heroic step that we can take with nature in the evolution of a great and symmetrical race.

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THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF THE WOMEN IN ENGLAND

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THE CAUSES OF THE REVOLT OF THE WOMEN IN ENGLAND

by

ANNIE G. PORRITT

There could hardly be a greater contrast between imagination and reality than in the case of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. In the minds of many Americans Mrs. Pankhurst is identified with stone-throwing, with attacks on policemen and Cabinet Ministers, with wild outbursts of hysteria and emotionalism, and in general with a line of conduct which they abhor and reprobate as being in the highest degree unwomanly and unladylike. Those who go to hear this famous Englishwoman, will see a dainty, well-dressed and very feminine looking lady of some fifty years young, with a quiet, forceful, well-bred manner, a delightfully clear and pure enunciation, a keen wit, and a wonderful power of holding her audience. They will find it difficult to connect this well-educated and cultured gentlewoman with riotous street scenes and assaults on the guardians of law and order, and the first doubt that will assail them in regard to their preconceived opinion of the English militant suffragette will be as to the possibility of a lady so charming and apparently so gentle ever having identified herself with the disagreeable vulgarities that they have read of in the newspapers.

Before Mrs. Pankhurst has proceeded far with her story, doubts as to her possession of ability or force of character necessary to the carrying on of a militant campaign will quickly disappear; and the next question to arise will be as to the provocation that the Government of England must have given to induce women of Mrs. Pankhurst's type to enter upon a campaign in which the casualties were bound to be entirely on their own side. Women in the United States have suffered from legislation and from customs which press hardly on our sex; but in this country there has never been open, galling, and arrogant assumption of their inferiority, and the total denial, in practice as well as in Law, to the wife and mother of any right in her own children which charac-

terized English society until very recent years, and which has left rankling sores unhealed by the piecemeal legislation forced from time to time from an often unwilling parliament.

The United States inherited from Great Britain, its common law, and with it the inequality in the legal position of husband and wife. In this country as in England, until altered by statute, a woman's property passed at her marriage to her husband, and a mother had no right to her children, not even to the infant at her breast. But from the first colonisation of New England, women enjoyed a higher status than the women of England, and were placed practically on a more even level with the men. The position enjoyed by many of them was so comfortable, and they were treated with so much consideration and deference, that it has even been possible for some women to imagine that their deprivation of political rights was a privilege — a sign of their superiority to matters so vulgar and corrupt as what go under the general name of politics.

Such women should look to England — the motherland of all of our common law and of much of our statute law, — if they wish to learn the basis of the political nonentity of women. They will learn then that they were not allowed political rights, because it was openly held that by the inferiority of their intellect and of their moral powers they were incapable of exercising them, and that it was a natural classification by the "noble sex" which put women with children, idiots, and imbeciles.

It took thirty years of agitation and effort in England to obtain for married women the right to hold property, or to control their own earnings. Again and again bills were introduced and debated in Parliament. There is a brutal frankness about many of these debates which is almost refreshing after the nauseating flattery that one often hears about woman's superhuman superiority to all such mundane affairs as politics. On one such measure there was a debate in the House of Lords on the 21st of June, 1870. The Lords have always shown their high breeding and their strong sense of chivalry by the most outspoken contempt of women as a sex. On this occasion the then Lord Penzance solemnly warned his peers that "the bill involved the question whether the husband should rule in his own household; for if the wife had co-equal power over the property — her own — she would obviously have considerable share in the management." The noble lord was sure that "if there were one race of people to whom it would be less agreeable than another not to be masters in their own homes it was the race represented by their lordships." Lord Shaftesbury, so well and honorably

known for his labours on behalf of over-worked children, was no more willing than Lord Penzance to concede any power to the wife. It had been urged that in some of the States of America laws had been passed giving a wife control of her own property, and the testimony of the American Minister and of eminent American jurists had been given before a Royal Commission to the effect that these laws worked well and harmoniously. This evidence Lord Shaftesbury brushed aside with the remark that in America there were three peculiarities in the relation between husband and wife, which no Englishman solicitous for the purity of the home could wish to see adopted in his own country. These were complete equality of the wife with the husband, no subordination, and greater facility of divorce. He solemnly warned his hearers that the married women's property bill struck at the root of English domestic felicity, intruducing insubordination and equality into the home.

The House of Commons, while on the whole much more favorable to the demand of the wives of England to be released from their position of actual slavery, contained many men who strongly objected to any interference with the absolute and despotic power of the husband. It was vehemently urged against the bill that it was an attempt to "create a factitious, an artificial and an unnatural equality between men and women." If there were occasional hard cases, that could not be helped. Some women must suffer rather than that men in general should be disturbed in their position of advantage and authority.

Even as late as 1882, when the measure at last actually became law, there were not wanting outspoken protests against any limitation of the power of the husband over his wife and her property. "Who is the head of the house?" exclaimed one despairing member of Parliament — "the woman or the husband?" "This bill," he added, "is a measure to carry out certain notions of women who rebelled against the law of God that women should be subservient to men."

Nor was the subservience of the wife shown only in the fact that she could hold no property. Until 1890, a husband had the right to confine his wife in his own house, and to prevent her by force from leaving him. In 1840 in the well-known Cochrane case, the court decreed that "the husband hath by law, power and dominion over the wife, and may keep her by force within the bounds of duty and may beat her, but not in a violent or cruel manner." What was a violent or cruel manner was apparently left by the court to the judgment of the husband; and English husbands of the

lower class for seventy years have freely availed themselves of the right confirmed to them to beat their wives. English magistrates have now often to decide what constitutes a violent or cruel manner, and it takes many discoloured bruises, and very clear evidence of brutal ill-usage before a magistrate is willing to adjudge that a husband has exceeded his legal right.

It was an outstanding example of judge-made law that put an end to the power of a husband to act as judge, officer and jailer in his own cause, and to imprison a wife who wished to leave him. It was Lord Halsbury, recently prominent as the leader of the Last Ditchers who opposed to the last the sweeping away of the Veto of the House of Lords, who made this startling innovation in British social economy. A case came before him on appeal, of a man named Jackson, a groom, who had married a lady of property. After a very short experience of married life, the lady left her husband and returned to her own family. On coming out of church one Sunday morning at her home in Clitheroe, the husband was in waiting with a carriage and kidnapped his wife. Proceedings were taken by her family, and in the first instance Mr. Jackson was given the control of his wife, following the precedent of the Cochrane case. Lord Halsbury simply swept away all precedents as belonging to a previous age — an age of almost barbarism — which could not be quoted at the close of the nineteenth century. "I should think," he said, "that such quaint and absurd dicta as are to be found in the books, on the right of a husband over his wife in the matter of personal chastisement are not now capable of being cited as authorities in this or any other civilized country. It seems to me that all the authorities relied upon for the husband are tainted with the same notion of the husband's dominion over his wife. No English subject has a right to imprison of his own motion another English subject, whether his wife or anyone else. The writ is bad and the lady must be restored to her liberty." This opinion was concurred in by Lord Esher, another of the Judges of Appeal, and an end was made to the right of an English husband to despotic power over the wife. So infuriated were the Lancashire people with this interference with the rights of husbands, that the next time Mrs. Jackson and her sisters appeared in public, they were mobbed by the populace and forced to beat a quick reteat.

The fight of English mothers for the right to some share in their own children was longer, bitterer and up to now less successful than the fight of the English wife to her own property or to her personal liberty. Even yet the English

child has practically only one legal parent — the father when the child is legitimate, is a source of pride and honour to the parent, when it is earning wages or when it has property to pass on its death; the mother when it is the child of shame and dishonour, and when its care and upbringing are a burden almost too heavy for those crushed and feeble shoulders to bear.

In 1884, after fifty years of agitation, which was begun in the first case by the Hon. Mrs. George Norton, the question of the mother's right to some share in her children was again under debate in the House of Commons. The first step in the direction of recognizing the rights of the mother was taken in 1839, in response to the public feeling created by Mrs. Norton's valiant battle against her husband for the right occasionally to see her three boys, or at least to know of their whereabouts and of their health. The story of this struggle has again been told in the life of Mrs. Norton by Miss Perkins recently published, a story full of intense interest and one which shows the legal disabilities of Englishwomen in the first half of the nineteenth century better perhaps than any other book in existence. Another very small and hesitating step had been taken in 1857 when it was made possible for the court, after a woman had obtained a divorce from her husband — which could only be granted if he were persistently cruel to her as well as unfaithful — to award to the wife the care of the children until they attained the age of seven. In 1873 the age to which the innocent mother might be allowed to keep her children was extended to ten years old, and in 1884 the effort was being made to give to a mother the right of guardianship over her children in the event of the death of her husband.

It was not until 1886 that the Infant Guardianship Act was passed, which over-ruled the old law that a man might by will leave his children to any guardianship he pleased, excluding altogether the mother even from access to them. It took two years of debate and agitation after the introduction of the bill in 1884 to force the measure through both Houses of Parliament. During the debates on the bill, one of the strong advocates of the women's cause was Mr. Bryce, now Ambassador from England at Washington. "The common law of England," said Mr. Bryce in commenting caustically on the attitude of the opponents of the mothers of England, "considered husband and wife to be one, but it did so on the basis of giving the husband all that was his own, and all that was his wife's, and giving her nothing; and that principle which had been constantly applied as regarded the property was also applied in the family as regarded the respective rights

of the parents to the custody, guardianship and control of their children. The wife had no rights during the lifetime of the husband, and even after his death, by his will, he could exclude her altogether."

The House of Commons was by no means unanimously of Mr. Bryce's opinion. One member asserted with horror that it was a "monstrous thing" to give the widow power to set aside the expressed wishes of the husband in regard to the children; and other members grew lachrymose over the grief of the father on his deathbed, when he was afflicted with the thought that the mother henceforth would be able to have her own way as regarded the children. These members were answered by Mr. Horace Davey, afterwards Baron Davey, Lord of Appeal, who remarked sarcastically that "there seemed to be an idea in the speeches of several honourable members who had spoken against the bill that the wife had nothing to do with the children, that she was in fact altogether an outsider in the matter; and one honorable gentlemen had even said that the idea that the wife should by right be guardian, if she was the survivor, was shocking."

The laws of England were so manifestly unfair and harsh to women that even the legislators themselves every now and then in a burst of candour confessed their partial treatment of their own sex. In an article published in 1910 in a well known periodical Lyman Abbot wrote: — "Of intentional legislation by men against women and in favor of men there is no historical evidence." Evidently the members of the English Parliament did not agree with Mr. Abbott. In 1857, in discussing the first general divorce law — the law which still governs divorce in England and which discriminates most unfairly between the two sexes — Lord Lyndhurst recalled the "trite but not altogether unjust observation that men made the laws and women were the victims." Another noble lord remarked that the laws of England were more severe against women than those of any other country in Europe, and added that the House of Lords was ' a body of men legislating for women, which had by a code of their own invention and for their own purposes contrived to establish the general notion that unchastity in a man was a much less evil than unchastity in a women."

But it is not necessary to go back to the middle of last century to show that women are discriminated against by English law, and that their unenfranchised position endangers their very means of livelihood. Under the pretext of unsuitability, one kind of work after another is prohibited to women: but no attempt is made to pass legislation opening up new avenues of employment, or to preserve some lines of work,

especially suitable to women, from the inroads of men workers. At the present moment there is a measure before the English Parliament which would exclude women from the coal breakers on the pitheads in Lancashire. The word is dirty and the women who engage in it are rough and uncomely. But it is far healthier work than very much that is done by women without protest from anyone — healthier for example than bending over washtubs all day long. The general character and the level of morality of the pitbrow girls of St. Helen's are fully equal to the average of working class women and they make good healthy wives when they leave their work on mariage.

December, 1911, will see a deputation of these pitbrow women, whose bread is threatened, at Westminster, pleading with the men who do not recognize these voteless women as constituents, not to push down more women into the abyss of prostitution — the one unfailing trade by which men allow women to keep themselves alive. It is no kindness to a starving child to snatch away the mouldy crust which it is about to eat, unless some wholesome bread is given in its place. Women do not naturally prefer work that is arduous, dirty or unwholesome. They take such work because there is no alternative, and the true kindness would be to open up new avenues of employment which they would gladly choose, instead of merely closing the only door by which an honest livelihood may be wrung from a hard and unwilling world.

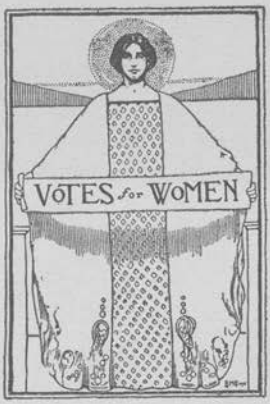
Another modern instance of English discrimination against women is furnished by the Insurance bill on which the House of Commons is engaged in the session of 1911. This measure, which was heralded as the great statesmanlike plan of the Chancellor of the Exchequer which should do away with destitution and make the working classes of England happy and comfortable, is most palpably unfair to women. For widows and orphans it makes no provision, in fact for these most helpless waifs of modern civilisation; it does less than nothing. It does less than nothing because, by compelling every wage earner to ensure against his own sickness and unemployment, it makes it almost impossible for him to make provision either by thrift or insurance against his untimely death. Neither is there any help under the measure for the married women in the home. The single woman wage-earner, although unfairly discriminated against in the amount of relief granted her during sickness or unemployment — a man making the same weekly payment receives ten shillings a week during sickness, a woman receives seven shillings and sixpence — is included within the four corners of the measure.

But the woman in the home — the women who are doing the normal work of wives and mothers — is to have no help during sickness. She is not to be allowed to insure even though she may desire to do so. And the excuse of Mr. Lloyd George for her exclusion is that the nation cannot afford any money for the mother in the home. The demands of the voting wage-earners are too insistent. The voteless woman must drag through sickness with no insurance fund to help out with doctor and nurse, and helper to see to the unfulfilled duties of the mother — duties far more exigent than those which fall to the lot of the factory worker or the casual laborer. If the mother cannot find help, if she goes on working without relief in spite of sickness until she falls by the way, what is that to a Parliament composed of men and elected only by men? Wives are cheap in England, and if a man loses his wife, it is not difficult for him to find another woman willing to take her place.

It is true that the Insurance bill includes a maternity benefit of thirty shillings. But strange as this may sound, the maternity benefit is for the men rather than for the women, and in the first place the bill provided that the money should be paid to the husband. Owing to the great outcry in the country which greeted this provision, it was amended and it was provided that money shall be paid direct to doctor and nurse. It is however, only wives of insured men, who are in full working, for whom the maternity benefit is designed. The wife of the man who is not insured, or who through unemployment has exhausted his insurance fund will not benefit. Nor, unless an amendment is carried, will the widow to whom a child may be born in the first sad months after the loss of her husband.

In short the lesson of the Insurance bill for English women is the old lesson "To him that hath shall be given." For the man with the vote generous treatment and ample help. For the woman without a vote niggardly measure or nothing. This is but the last and latest of thousands of similar object lessons in English legislation, and if those who hear Mrs. Pankhurst during her American tour keep in mind the treatment that English women have received for the last hundred years at the hands of a Parliament elected by men, they will not be surprised to hear that Mrs. Pankhurst and her associates began to be a little reasonably impatient when the Liberal Government in 1905 on coming into office, made it plain that they did not consider themselves bound to do anything practical for woman suffrage.

[ca 1911]



The Wage-Earning Woman and The State

A Reply to Miss Minnie Bronson.

BY

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PREFACE.

This reply to Miss Bronson's pamphlet has been written by Miss S. P. Breckinridge and Miss Edith Abbott, who are both well qualified, not only by rather unusual academic training, but also by practical experience, to speak authoritatively on questions relating to wage-earning women.

Miss Breckinridge is a graduate of Wellesley College, and later received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science from The University of Chicago. Since 1902, she has been a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago, where she has given courses attended by both men and women on "The Legal Status of Labor" and "The Legal Position of Women." In 1904 she was made a Doctor of Law, and she was also the first woman to be admitted to the bar of Kentucky, although she has never actively practised. Since 1907 she has been, in addition, head of the Department of Social Investigation at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, which disburses a budget of $10,000 from a grant of the Russell Sage Foundation, and which has published a series of valuable studies on social conditions in Chicago. Miss Breckinridge is also identified with many social interests in Chicago. She is President of the Woman's City Club; Secretary of the Immigrants' Protective League; a member of the Board of Directors of the Legal Aid Society, of the Consumers' League, and of other similar organizations.

Miss Edith Abbott was graduated from the University of Nebraska, and later received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics and Law from the University of Chicago. She was for two years a Fellow of the University, and studied in Europe for one year at the University of London in the School of Economics. After teaching political economy at Wellesley College for one year, she entered the School of Civics and Philanthropy, where she has been Associate Director for the last five years. She is the author of a very authoritative work entitled "Women in Industry; A Study in American Economic History." Her knowledge of the conditions surrounding working women is by no means confined to America. She is in constant correspondence with the people most interested in the conditions of working women in England and the continental countries, and by travel and correspondence has kept herself well informed concerning the legal and industrial changes which affect the lives of women the world over. Both Miss Breckinridge and Miss Abbott are personally acquainted with hundreds of working women. Miss Abbott has been a resident of Hull House for the last few years, and Miss Breckinridge is in residence each year during her three months' vacation from teaching at the University. They thus add to their scholarly qualifications a keen and living interest in thousands of working women.

JANE ADDAMS.

Hull House, Chicago.

"The statement is sometimes made that the franchise for women would be valuable only so far as the educated women exercised it. This statement totally disregards the fact that those matters in which women's judgment is most needed are far too primitive and basic to be largely influenced by what we call education. The sanitary condition of all the factories and workshops, for instance, in which the industrial processes are at present carried on in great cities, intimately affects the health and lives of thousands of working women."—*Jane Addams.*

The Wage-Earning Woman and The State.

A REPLY TO MISS MINNIE BRONSON.

A pamphlet entitled "The Wage-Earning Woman and the State" has been widely circulated by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. It is written to prove that woman suffrage will not lead to fairer treatment of women in industry or to better laws for their protection. In support of this thesis, the author of the pamphlet, Miss Minnie Bronson, stands practically alone, opposed to the women who, as a result of long years of experience, are qualified to speak as to the conditions under which women work, the difficulties that have been surmounted in securing for them such protective legislation as has been gained, and the need of further efforts in their behalf.

Miss Jane Addams of Hull-House, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League, Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League, Miss Helen Marot, Secretary of the New York Women's Trade Union League, Miss Josephine Goldmark, and many others who speak with authority on subjects connected with women's work are earnest believers in woman suffrage as the surest method of bringing about such reforms as are needed for the protection of working women.

This pamphlet contains a list of the positions held at various times by Miss Bronson before she became a paid representative of the anti-suffragists. It appears that Miss Bronson was a

high school teacher of mathematics from 1889 to 1899, and it is interesting to note that, out of nine different positions which she held during the years between 1899 and 1910, only two, both of which were temporary appointments with the United States Bureau of Labor, the first lasting about two years and the second for six months, indicate any qualification for attempting to speak authoritatively upon questions affecting the lives and interests of working women.

Inasmuch, then, as Miss Bronson is not herself an authority upon questions relating to women in industry and is so radically opposed to the great body of testimony on the subject, it is important to examine her statements carefully. Her opening paragraph shows that she does not understand the woman suffrage argument, and it may be that, even for reasonably intelligent members of the community, that argument must be presented in simpler terms. The great majority of the advocates of woman suffrage would hold, for example, that at least two mis-statements are contained in the following sentence taken from the first page of her pamphlet: "The claim is made that the laws on our statute books are unjust to the wage-earning woman, and that the only redress from this discrimination is the ballot." In the first place, suffragists do not claim that the working-woman's "only" redress is through the ballot; they do say and believe that the ballot is the swiftest and most direct means of bringing about such reforms as are demanded; but, since they are denied the ballot, these same women are devoting a disproportionately large measure of time and strength in trying to bring about these reforms in other ways. In the second place, so far as women in industry are concerned, suffragists are not so much disturbed about "laws

on our statute books" which are unjust to the working woman as they are about the very general absence of adequate protective legislation in her behalf.

"Fallacious Arguments from the Shirt Waist Strike."

The second section in Miss Bronson's pamphlet is devoted to "Fallacious Arguments from the ShirtWaist Strike." It is claimed that a suffragist said in a public speech, "If the women engaged in this industry had had the ballot such a strike as theirs would have been unnecessary." The anti-suffrage comment is that the suffragists did not know that many of the strikers were either immigrants or were under twenty-one. This again is a misrepresentation, probably due to a misunderstanding of the suffragist attitude. When we say that if women had a vote there would be an end of child labor, and that young girls would work shorter hours, this does not mean that we think the children in the mills and factories and workshops are going to be allowed to vote. Remembering that in England conditions improved for all workingmen when some workmen got the vote, we believe that in this country, when some women get the vote, conditions for all working-women will improve, and the day will come when there will be no working children.

Laws for the Protection of Wage-Earning Men.

Not only has Miss Bronson evidently failed to understand the arguments put forth by the suffragists, but she has also failed to acquaint herself with the principles and history of labor legislation in the United States. She seems rather to have sought out for use in this pamphlet a few illustrations which may perhaps give an impression

of superficial familiarity with the labor laws of the various States, but which indicate a lack of understanding of the facts about protective legislation. The opening paragraph (on page 2) of her "comparative study," closes with the statement that "the laws enacted for the protection of wage-earning women are more beneficent and more far reaching than the laws for the protection of wage-earning men." By way of comment, any fair minded person need only recall the long series of statutes enacted in all the leading industrial states, covering a period of nearly three-fourths of a century, as a result of the efforts of workingmen to bring about through legislation a larger measure of justice than they could obtain through their attempts to bargain with individual employers. Thus we have the anti-truck laws; laws providing for the weekly payment of wages; the mechanics' lien laws; the assignment of wages laws; laws making employes preferred creditors; laws providing for liability of stockholders for wage debts; exemption of workingmen's tools and wages from attachment for debt; laws requiring safety appliances and protection against accidents; laws allowing time to vote without loss of pay; laws preventing the coercion of employes in the exercise of suffrage; laws regulating prison labor; the trade union laws regarding blacklisting, protection of the union label, and so on; the laws providing for an eight-hour day for federal, state, and municipal employes, nearly all of whom are men; the laws relating to mining and railroad labor; and many similar laws. Moreover, it should be understood that this legislation, although it may in a few cases protect the workingwoman as well as the workingman, represents the results of long years of earnest struggle by workingmen with votes to improve their condition. And

yet Miss Bronson entirely ignores this great mass of legislation enacted to protect the workingman, while she lays stress on the fact that some states have a few special provisions designed to protect wage-earning women from exploitation which is likely to injure their health and endanger the health of their children.

Comparison of Laws in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.

The chief points of attack, however, in this anti-suffrage pamphlet are (a) the fact that protective legislation for women is found on the statute books of some states where women do not vote, and that (b) in a few states where women do vote similar laws have not yet been passed. The questions at issue here are so confused by the method of presentation that it may be worth while to state them in some detail.

(a) The first point in Miss Bronson's argument is that protective legislation has been obtained in states where women do not vote. No suffragist would deny this. It is, of course, well known that most of this legislation was obtained through the laborious efforts of suffragists. American women would probably have got the vote long ago if they had followed the present English method of making suffrage a paramount issue first, last, and all the time. Instead of this, Miss Jane Addams in Illinois, Mrs. Florence Kelley in New York, and a host of other ardent suffragists have labored with the greatest devotion and self-sacrifice to secure protective legislation for women and children. How much effort they have put into it, how much time and energy it has cost, only those who have been closely associated with them know. It should not be forgotten that, as the result of their experience, they say that the ballot is the

swiftest and surest way to bring about the reforms which are asked by and for the women workers of this country.

(b) A very different question is the point which the anti-suffragist confuses with this,—the fact that such protective legislation does not exist in some of the states in which women have the ballot. No argument on this point is worth noticing which ignores the special needs of these states. Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah are all mining and agricultural states, and have very few wage-earning women who are employed in factories. It would be as foolish to reproach the women of Idaho for not protecting factory girls who do not exist as to reproach the men of Massachusetts because they have failed to pass irrigation laws. Massachusetts had 152,713 women employed in "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits" when the last U. S. census of occupations was taken; Idaho had only 681. A similar contrast might be drawn for any of the other states: thus Wyoming had 501 women in industrial occupations, while New York in the same year had 136,788.

Miss Bronson attaches so much importance to her arguments on this point that they should perhaps be considered in greater detail. For example, she says that "thirty-nine states compel employers in stores, factories, shops, etc., to provide seats for female employes. Nine states have no such laws, and one of the nine states is a suffrage state." If conditions in all states were alike, this might indicate that states in which women vote give less protection to workingwomen than states in which women do not vote. The one suffrage state, however, that fails to provide seats for saleswomen is Idaho, which according to the census had 153 saleswomen in the entire state at a time when Massachusetts had 11,985, Illinois

12,149 and New York 30,858.[1] Those who know the small store in the small western town know that the personal relation still exists between employer and clerk, and that the clerk is usually a mature woman, who is not in the same need of protection as are the tens of thousands of young girls who stand behind the counters of the great city stores, who work under most arduous conditions, frequently under terrible pressure, and who never come in personal contact with their employers and have no opportunity of stating their needs. It should, moreover, be pointed out that in most of the thirty-nine states where voteless women have secured these laws, they have never been given the means of enforcing them. They have obtained protective laws which protect no one. [2]

Hours of Work.

The next point is the fact that night work for women is not prohibited in Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming and Utah. Why should it be? Is it a reproach to Rhode Island workingmen that they

(1) Mrs. Eva Hunt Dockery, who has served for ten years on the Legislative Committee of the Idaho State Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote in the Woman's Journal of Dec. 17, 1910, in answer to Richard Barry's criticism that Idaho had no law limiting women's factory hours:—

"Idaho has no factories where women are employed, so the need of this law has not been felt. 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 they were in the good old days in the East, like members of the family."

(2) Mrs. Kelley in her "Ethical Gains through Legislation" (Macmillan 1910, p. 200) gives the following account of the efforts of the Consumers' League to help the shop girl.

"For years the friends of the young clerks in retail stores have striven to obtain for them the poor privilege of being seated when at work, and with what success? In many states, laws have been enacted making diverse provisions for seats in stores. In New York City, for instance, the law has required, since 1896, that one seat be provided for every three clerks. In some stores the seats have been supplied

have never secured an eight-hour day for miners? Ought the workingmen of Nebraska to be disfranchised because they have not passed a law protecting seamen?

Legislation regarding the hours of labor for women is also discussed. Miss Bronson says that thirty-one states have passed laws restricting the hours, but that two of the suffrage States (Wyoming and Idaho) have not. It has already been pointed out that these two states had almost no wage-earning women in shops and factories who needed protection. Miss Bronson, however, makes a special point against suffrage in claiming that

for the third floor, because the clerks were chiefly employed upon the first. In many stores chairs are abundantly supplied in the fitting rooms of the cloak, tailoring and dressmaking departments, for the use of customers, and are included in the general reckoning according to which there are, on the premises, chairs in the proportion of one to three clerks. In still other cases, chairs or seats are wholly absent from the notion counters and from the counters or tables in the aisles of the stores where half-grown girls serve as sales-clerks. The absence of the seats is suavely explained by the fact that the employes are there only temporarily. But their employment lasts day after day, and the pretext is utterly transparent. In still other places, seats are provided ostentatiously, but girls who use them are censured or dismissed. All these variations of the art of evading the statute have been found by the writer in reputable establishments in New York City."

Reference should also be made to a suffrage pamphlet by Mrs. Kelley called "*Persuasion or Responsibility?*" in which she points out how child labor and compulsory education laws have in the same way turned out to be protective only in name, and she calls attention to the loss which results from the fact that the women who are "fitted by nature and by training to guard the welfare of the children are prevented by law from electing the officers who enforce the laws. For instance, the laws of New York are, in some respects, the most drastic and enlightened laws in the Republic. But the magistrates in New York City will not fine fathers who break the child labor law, and the compulsory education law. . . . . The Commissioner of Health makes no attempt to prosecute merchants and telegraph companies who employ children at night or without 'working papers.' The present Commissioner of Police has not punished one parent for flagrant and wholesale violation of the 'newsboy law,' which forbids boys to work after ten at night or before they are ten years old. . . . If mothers and teachers voted in New York City, none of these things would occur. The same eager interest which has placed the child labor law, the compulsory education law, the newsboy law, and the juvenile court law upon the statute books, would elect a mayor pledged to the enforcement of those laws."

Colorado, a suffrage state which does limit the hours of labor for women, has a very inferior and inadequate law. She does not seem to have discovered that this law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Colorado in 1907, and no longer exists on the statute books. It is interesting, however, to note how she uses it. Disregarding a statement about night work which has already been referred to, her points against this law are so confused that it is best to disentangle them and discuss them separately.

(1) It is claimed that the Colorado law, since it did not limit the hours per week, gave only "slight protection," while the Nebraska law limits the number of hours per week, "thereby ensuring one day of rest." Miss Bronson does not state here that the Nebraska law provides for a ten-hour-day and a sixty-hour-week, and does not prohibit Sunday labor; it is difficult to see how Miss Bronson understands the law to ensure one day of rest.[3] On the other hand, the Colorado law provided for an eight-hour-day, and the number of hours per week was by this fact limited to fifty-six. Since, however, the majority of employers do not want their work places open on Sunday, even when this is not prohibited by law, the limitation of an eight-hour day prescribed in the Colorado law made for the great majority of working women a forty-eight hour week, in contrast to the sixty-hour week in the "neighboring states of Oklahoma, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska" which Miss Bronson re-

(3) What Miss Bronson probably has in mind is the fact that Nebraska in company with a large number of other states has a law prohibiting Sunday labor which applies to both men and women. The fact that Colorado has no Sunday labor law, except one relating to barbers, would be quite as good an argument against suffrage for men as suffrage for women since it is the men in the large metal working establishments who are chiefly affected by the absence of Sunday laws. As these laws are very rarely enforced it seems absurd to discuss them.

fers to with so much satisfaction. Attention must in this connection be once more called to the fact that it is little short of ridiculous to discuss these laws as if they were all genuinely protective through proper enforcement. One may only hope that when women vote they will make these so-called protective laws something more than records on the statute books.

(2) Miss Bronson's knowledge of industrial conditions seems to be singularly at fault when she further criticises the Colorado law because "the clause restricting its operation to women who must stand at their work renders it practically ineffective in the factories of that state, where the manufacturing is largely in what is termed 'seated' trades—ready-made clothing, dressmaking, millinery and like occupations, and in candy making, box-making, and cigar-making. The great manufacturing establishments, where women must stand at work, like cotton and woollen manufacturing, carpet weaving, etc., are not located in Colorado."

This statement is so incorrect that it seemed best to quote it in full. Miss Bronson claims that in Colorado the great majority of women are employed in "seated" trades; and candy-making, box-making, and cigar-making are cited as samples. But the last census of occupations [4] showed 65 women and girls in the entire state employed in candy-making ("confectioners"), 11 in box-making, and 30 in cigar-making, in contrast to 1,184 saleswomen, 762 waitresses, and 1,599 in hand and steam laundries, and surely saleswomen, waitresses and laundry workers are employed in standing trades.

(4) Twelfth Census: Occupations: Table 33.

Unsound Comparisons,

Miss Bronson seems to have been unable to resist the temptation that offered to make a few other misleading and unfair comparisons before closing this part of her argument. She calls attention to the fact that Massachusetts has a law prohibiting employers from deducting the wages of women when time is lost because machinery has broken down; and although it is, of course, well known that this law was passed to correct certain abuses to which women operatives in the textile mills were subjected, Miss Bronson chooses to regard it as an argument against suffrage because the women of Idaho and Utah, Wyoming and Colorado, have not wasted the time of their legislatures in encumbering their statute books with laws that were not needed.

Similarly absurd is her attempt to use as an argument against suffrage the fact that certain non-suffrage states have statutes prohibiting the exclusion of women from occupations on account of sex. Miss Bronson should have known that these laws were passed because, in a few states, the courts took the position that, since women were not voters, they could not become practising lawyers; and the statutes quoted were therefore necessary to correct this situation. In other states, the courts took a different attitude. One of the present writers, for example, was admitted to the Kentucky bar a good many years ago in order to test the question when it was raised in that state and the position taken by the court when she was admitted made legislation on the subject unnecessary in that state; on the other hand, refusal of the court to admit Mrs. Myra Bradwell to the bar on the grounds of non-participation in government made a statute necessary in Illinois. The significant point is that

in any state where women do participate in the government there is no ground on which the court can uphold their exclusion from the bar, and yet Miss Bronson argues that the women in the suffrage states ought not to have the right to vote because they have not passed laws which would be entirely superfluous in any state where women shared in the government, and which were never needed or passed save in two or three states where the courts took the position referred to.

Review of Conditions in the Six Suffrage States.

Washington and California, the newer suffrage states, have eight-hour laws for women, but Miss Bronson says that these laws "were enacted under male suffrage." So far as Washington is concerned, this is not true. Before equal suffrage was adopted, the advocates of shorter hours for women in Washington had tried for eight years to secure an eight-hour law, without success. After the ballot was granted to women the Legislature promptly passed the law.

In California, the eight-hour law for women was passed a short time before equal suffrage was adopted; but, as it was passed by the same Legislature which also passed the woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution by a vote of 33 to 5 in the Senate and 65 to 12 in the Assembly, it certainly does not bear out Miss Bronson's claim that such protective legislation for woman is adopted "above all because she herself is not a law-maker."

Colorado in 1903 passed an eight-hour law for women, but it was pronounced unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in 1907. In the last Colorado Legislature, a more carefully drawn eight-hour law for women passed the lower house

with only one dissenting vote, but was blocked in the Senate, like almost all other legislation in that year, by the deadlock over the election of a U. S. Senator.

Massachusetts has just passed a 54-hour a week law for women, as the culmination of about forty years of effort by indirect influence to improve conditions for women in industry. Utah in 1911 passed a nine-hour law for women, after less than two years of effort by its advocates. (5) Women with votes got this law from the first Legislature of which they asked it.

To sum up: Of the 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 (6) and only five have nine-hour laws. *The Legislatures in most of the suffrage States have shown much greater readiness to protect women from over-work than the Legislatures in most of the non-suffrage States.*

The Right to Vote not Dependent on Hours of Toil.

There is not the slightest ground for Miss Bronson's inference that where a woman has the

(5) Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen of Salt Lake City, chairman of the Industrial Committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, told in the Woman's Journal of May 27, 1911, how this was accomplished. The coöperation of women's organizations with an aggregate of 50,000 members was secured. Mrs. Cohen says:

"The large number of women represented was both inspiring and appalling—inspiring the (women's) committee to give the best that was in them, and appalling to the legislator who would like to be re-elected two years hence, and realized that 50,000 votes stood back of that representation. His discomfiture was increased by the knowledge that some of his constituents, who were identified with corporations and special interests, would demand an accounting. The 50,000 votes prevailed. * * * If we had not had the vote we should not have succeeded."

(6) Arizona has an eight-hour law applying only to women in laundries.

same right to vote as a man, she "must give as many hours of toil per day as he."

Justice Brewer of the U. S. Supreme Court, himself a suffragist, wrote the opinion of that court upholding the constitutionality of legislation limiting women's hours of labor. The decision says in part:

"Even though all restrictions on political, personal and contractual rights were taken away, and she (woman) stood, so far as statutes are concerned, upon an absolutely equal plane with him (man) it would still be true . . . that her physical structure and a proper discharge of her maternal function—having in view not merely her own health but the well-being of the race—justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man."

Wages of Teachers.

Leaving women in industry, Miss Bronson passes on to the wages of teachers. She calls attention to the suffragist argument that the ballot will lead "to fair treatment of women in public service" as indicated, for example, by the laws of Wyoming and Utah, which provide that women and men teachers shall receive equal pay for equal work, and she ends by saying impressively, "It is not denied that female teachers do not in the majority of cases receive the same pay as men for work of equal grade; but here *the law of supply and demand is paramount, and legislation cannot affect it.*" While it would be fruitless to go back to the "iron laws" of the early economists and to enter upon a long discussion of the out-worn doctrine of the inflexibility and almost sacred character of supply and demand, one may briefly call attention to the fact that the

supply of child labor has been very greatly reduced in many states, and entirely cut off in others by means of protective legislation; and that in still other states the demand for child labor has greatly decreased as the result of inconvenient protective provisions in child labor laws, and the demand for the labor of men and women has correspondingly increased. (7)

Conclusion.

In conclusion, it should perhaps be explained that this little pamphlet was written merely to point out Miss Bronson's failure to understand the suffragist argument, which she attempts to criticise, and to call attention to the fact that her knowledge of labor legislation was not such as to

(7) Miss Alice Stone Blackwell has kindly contributed the following interesting statement regarding Miss Bronson's discussion of teachers' salaries.

The average pay of male teachers in Massachusetts is about three times that of women teachers. Miss Bronson says, with truth, that it would be misleading to infer that the proportional difference is so great when the men and women are doing the same work. She immediately goes on to make an elaborate argument, on the same misleading basis, in the endeavor to prove that women teachers do not get as good treatment in the suffrage States as elsewhere.

Let it be kept clearly in mind that the claim of the women teachers is for equal pay when they hold positions involving equal work and equal responsibility—not that an exact half of all the more highly paid and responsible places shall be held by women.

The law of Wyoming and Utah, and the custom in the other suffrage States, is that women teachers shall receive the same pay as men when they do work of the same grade. Miss Bronson claims that women do not get it in Wyoming and Utah, "in spite of the law on their statute books to the contrary," because the *average* pay of women teachers in those States is not equal to that of the men. The law does not say that their average pay shall be the same. It does say that their pay shall be the same when they perform the same work; and this law is enforced.

A majority of the higher teaching positions are held by men in the suffrage States as well as elsewhere. This is a condition of things which will long outlast women's disfranchisement.

In Wyoming and other Western States, where women are largely out-numbered by men and the pressure upon the teachers to marry is very strong, the number of women who remain in the profession long enough to fit themselves for the highest positions is naturally small. But in the suffrage States all educational positions are open to

make her a reliable guide in discussing the subject. It is not necessary here to show that Miss Bronson misleads by refusing to note the obviously good laws which have been passed since women obtained a vote. It may be well, however, once more to call attention to the fact that the beneficial results which suffragists believe will accrue to workingwomen when they have the vote will many of them be indirect and cumulative through a long period of time. While they are none the

women, even that of State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and the salary is graded according to position, not according to sex.

The figures given by Miss Bronson as to the average pay of men and women teachers in different States are therefore wholly irrelevant to the question of whether they get equal pay for equal work.

Entirely misleading, also, is her statement in regard to the actual wages paid to women teachers. Eleven States, she says,(four of them suffrage States, by the way) pay women teachers higher monthly wages than Wyoming and Utah. Everybody knows that teachers are paid more in city schools than in the country, both because the work is harder and because the cities are richer. Wyoming has not a single large city, and Utah has only one. Yet Miss Bronson presents it as an argument against woman suffrage that seven out of the forty-two non-suffrage States pay women higher monthly salaries than these two suffrage States. Is it not more significant that Wyoming and Utah actually pay their women teachers at a higher rate than the much richer States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon and more than a score of others?

In all the enfranchised States, equal suffrage has helped the schools. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe sent a circular letter to all the editors, and to all the ministers of four leading denominations in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, asking them what benefits, if any, had resulted from women's ballot. Out of the 624 answers received only 62 were unfavorable; and among the benefits most often cited by the ministers and editors was that equal suffrage had made it easier to get liberal appropriations for education.

Miss Bronson refers to the recent law granting the women teachers in New York City equal pay with the men when they do equal work. She says: "It is worth noting that this law was passed in a male suffrage State by a Legislature elected by male suffrage." It is worth noting, also, that the teachers had to put in six years of hard and exhausting work to get it by "indirect influence," while in the suffrage States the same result has come about almost automatically, without any labor on their part. It is also worth noting that Miss Grace Strachan, who led the teachers'campaign in New York, is a suffragist and, like Miss Margaret Haley and almost all the women teachers who have led successful fights for better pay she believes that their work would have been much easier if they had had the ballot; and she testifies that the difficulties which they met have converted the teachers to suffrage in shoals.

less valuable for this reason, it should be clearly understood that suffragists do not believe that within the first year or even within the first decade during which women have the right to vote, all possible reforms will be immediately accomplished. At the time when Miss Bronson's pamphlet was published, Idaho had been a suffrage state for fourteen years, and yet her pamphlet is largely devoted to showing that women ought not to be allowed to vote anywhere, because in Idaho, a state in which the number of women is proportionately very much smaller than the number of men, the small minority of voting women had not in fourteen years placed upon the statute books not only the laws which were needed in that State but also an elaborate industrial code protecting factory women who did not exist. For example, during the first session of the legislature after the women secured the vote in Colorado, and within three years in Idaho and in Utah, a much needed form of protection was given to girls by raising the so-called "age of consent" from fourteen to eighteen. When the need of industrial protection is felt, similarly effective measures will undoubtedly be passed. In the meantime is it fair to charge that the women of these states have furnished an argument against suffrage because they have not secured in a few years all of the laws developed out of a century's experience with factory conditions in the more highly organized industrial states, when these laws would be superfluous in the far western states in which they live?

It is of interest that the workingwomen themselves believe that they will have a more equal footing in the industrial struggle when they have the protection of the vote, and that the women's

trade unions of this country and of England [8] are in the front ranks of suffrage advocates. One who thinks earnestly about the position of workingwomen can never overlook the enormous indirect consequences of the ballot, — the gain in education, in independence, in self-reliance, and therefore the gain for workingwomen in the ability to organize. Everyone believes that the privilege of voting is educative in many ways. Workingwomen are only asking that they should not be denied this instrument of education and protection, which no one would now think of denying to the workingman. To quote Mrs. Kelley again, "For any body of wage-earners to be disfranchised is to be placed at an intolerable disadvantage in all matters of legislation."

(8) An extremely interesting phase of the suffrage movement in England which has been much neglected because it is not spectacular nor militant furnishes valuable testimony from the ranks of the workers themselves as to the value they place upon the vote. They make but one appeal, "the political freedom of the poorest of the workers." An extract from one of the tracts issued by the skilled women workers of the north of England to the less competent women of the south may be of interest: "In the old days men suffered as women do now, but since they got political power they have altered all that; they have been able to enforce a much fairer rate of wages. It is the women who are sweated . . . we who have no labor representation to protect us . . . without political power in England, it is impossible to get industrial justice or a fair return for your labor. . . . The cheap labor of women is not a local difficulty that can be remedied by local means; it is a national difficulty, and nothing less than a national reform, giving women the protection of political power, can make any really effective change in their position. So we are agitating for votes for women, and we appeal to you to join our ranks." Again one of their "Textile Tracts" points out that the position of the voteless workingwoman is a forlorn and difficult one. "She has no social or political influence to back her. Her Trade Union stands or falls by its power of negotiating; it cannot hope to have the weight with employers that the men's unions have, for instead of being a strong association of voters . . . it is merely a band of workers carrying on an almost hopeless struggle to improve conditions of work and wages. . . . A vote in itself is a small thing, but the aggregate vote of a great union is a very different matter." (See Atlantic Monthly, vol. 102, "The English Working-Woman and the Franchise.")

"Woman Suffrage Co-Equal with Man Suffrage."

(From the Platform of Principles of the American Federation of Labor.)

"I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice. . . . . It is unfair that women should be governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice. . . . . Men would feel that they were used badly if they did not have that right, and women naturally feel the same."

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Pres. American Federation of Labor.

"I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has endorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote. . . . . I have always stood for the square deal, and that's the only square thing on the woman suffrage question, as I see it. . . . . I personally believe that it would be for the good of us all for women to be enfranchised."

JOHN MITCHELL,
Ex-Pres. United Mine Workers of America.

"I would advise all the Workers of America to work for Woman Suffrage.

KEIR HARDIE, M.P.
Independent Labor Party.

"The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Late U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

"Nothing tells the location of our hearts more surely than the figures of the tax-list. Colorado spends the highest amount per capita for educational purposes of any state in the Union."

HELEN LORING GRENFELL,
For three terms Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

"I saw by the papers that the Governor of Massachusetts lately signed the 54-hour law for women and children, but it was stated that he did so with hesitation, and only upon a promise that no further reduction of hours would be sought for some years to come. On the same day he signed a bill limiting to 48 hours a week the time that men should be employed on public works. He expressed no hesitation about that. Do grown-up men employed at public work need more protection than women and little children working in factories and cotton-mills? What was the reason for this difference? There is only one answer: Women and children cannot vote!"

OWEN LOVEJOY,
Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

[1911]

The Girl from Colorado

OR

The Conversion of Aunty Suffridge

A PLAYLET WITH A PURPOSE

IN THREE ACTS.

By Selina Solomons.

PUBLISHED BY VOTES-FOR-WOMEN PUBLISHING COMPANY
PRICE 10 CENTS
127 Montgomery Street, San Francisco

CAST OF CHARACTERS.

Constance Wright.....The Girl from Colorado
Aunty (Mrs. Lavina) Suffridge.....President S. C. W. C.
Rev. Jay Hawse-Chestnutt.....A Sturdy Oak
Prof. Ernest Armstrong.....Of the University of Stanley
Ivy Millstone.....A "Peach" of Maidenhood
Willie Sapling.....A College Youth
Mrs. Twaddler Jones, Mrs. Dudsleigh Wrinkle.....
.....Voters and Members of the S. C. W. C.
Mr. Twaddler Jones, Mr. Dudsleigh Wrinkle.....Their Husbands (Voters)

Scene laid in the Town of Stanley, California, 1911.

Time required for performance, one hour.

This play is especially for the California Campaign of 1911, but may be performed in any State, by making slight changes in the wording. Many of the minor properties, music, etc., may be omitted in the representation, if inconvenient to provide same. Mr. and Mrs. Jones and Mr. and Mrs. Wrinkle may likewise be omitted as speaking characters.

ACT FIRST.

SCENE—Living room of Aunty Suffridge's bungalow. Entrance from street, upper right. Hat rack. Door opening into bedroom upper right, another upper left. Door to kitchenette lower left. Tea-table with Samovar, and sideboard with tea-service, etc., left side of stage. Writing desk with telephone and couch right side. Five chairs. Bookcase between the two bedrooms, middle upper portion of stage.

As curtain rises, Aunty Suffridge comes out of bedroom u. l., clad in house-gown, open in the back, and admits Constance Wright at street door. Con. is in traveling dress, and carries a small-sized grip.

Aunty S.—(*Flurried manner.*) O here you are, my dear Constance. (*Embraces her.*) So sorry you had to come alone from the station. But it was simply impossible for me to meet you—was detained at an important meeting of the Club—you know I am President, and have to be there. (*Turns her back abruptly.*) Please button me up, dear. But I knew you'd find us, all right, as I am so well known in Stanley.

Con.—(*Setting down her grip and complying with request.*) O yes, certainly, Aunty. But where is Ivy?

Aunty.—She had to take her French lesson over at College. But she'll be back directly and will doubtless bring Professor Armstrong back with her.

Con.—O, is Ivy going through College, then? Isn't that nice?

Aunty.—O no. I don't quite approve of co-education. It is apt to make girls unwomanly and bold. But she is taking French, and goes to the library now and then. (*Goes up and opens door of other bedroom.*) This is your room, if you want to change your gown and refresh yourself before tea.

Con.—(*Depositing wraps and grip in bedroom.*) Thank you, Aunty. But I haven't anything to change with yet. My trunk will be here bye and bye, I suppose. And I am not at all tired. (*Coming down.*) You know, Aunty, I am so delighted to be back in California in time for the election. To think that you and Ivy and all the other women are really going to vote! Isn't it glorious? (*Seizes hold of Aunty around the waist, and tries to waltz around the room with her.*)

Aunty.—(*Standing stiffly and refusing to dance.*) No, I do not intend to vote, nor Ivy, either. I was opposed to the Amendment.

Con.—(*Stopping, disappointed.*) O, Aunty, you don't mean it!

Aunty.—(*Proudly.*) Yes, I was present at the Legislative hearing at Sacramento, and read an original poem entitled "The Wail of a Remonstrant." Would you like to hear it? (*Begins without waiting for an assent.*) (*Constance seats herself on the couch to listen.*)

O honored and wise legislators
  Who destinies guide of our State,
We trust that you will not prove traitors
  But spare us a horrible fate;
The suffragists' clamor unheeding
  Whom vulgar ambition controls
O turn a deaf ear to their pleading
  Who'd drag us to vote at the polls!

No more rights than we have, we desire
  We *true women*—mothers and wives;
For to politics we don't aspire,
  And would cut it right out of our lives.
In your hands is the country's salvation
  And in ours is the saving of souls;
So spare us the sad degradation
  Of voting with you at the polls!

Then hark to our humble petition
  O earnestly do we implore
And leave us our womanly mission
  You to serve and obey, and adore.
This amendment, then, pass it sirs, never!
  And where Honor its heroes enrolls
Your names we'll inscribe them forever
  If you'll save us, O save, from the polls!

(*Seats herself on one of the chairs, and picks up a fan from the table, fanning herself after the effort.*) Several Senators congratulated me when I had finished. They said it would be a great help.

Con.—(*Dryly, amused.*) I have no doubt it was Aunty—to the suffragists! But now that the amendment has carried, and votes for women is an accomplished fact in California, you will surely vote, and Ivy, too!

Aunty.—(*Positively.*) No, I shall not. I could never go through the ordeal. And as for Ivy, I do not wish the delicate bloom of her young womanhood rubbed off by contact with rough men and women at the polls. Ivy is so womanly and innocent. She has been brought up under my own eyes. Then the minister of our church, the Rev. Jay Hawse Chestnutt, does not approve of woman's voting.

Con.—(*Taking note of the fact.*) Ah, indeed!

Aunty.—No. He has preached beautifully on the subject several times. I expect him any minute, as he usually drops in to take tea with us. Is my hair all right? (*Rises, putting up hands and patting hair.*)

Con.—O yes, Aunty. It looks very nice. (*Smiling and taking note again.*)

Aunty.—I am surprised, Constance, at a good looking girl like you taking up with this fad of voting. It will make you so unattractive to men. And I advise you not to express your extreme views in the presence of *Professor Armstrong.*

Con.—Why not, Aunty? Armstrong! That's a queer name for a French professor. He's elderly and wears glasses, I dare say.

Aunty.—Not at all. He's the new assistant professor in the Social Science Department, young and very good looking, and he is from Boston, highly cultured and conservative, *of course.* But I dare say it will not matter what you think, as he is *quite devoted* to Ivy. (*Knock at street door.*) Oh, there is Mr. Chestnutt now. (*Bustles up to door and opens it.*) (*Admits Rev. Hawse Chestnutt.*)

Rev. Chest.—(*Very effusively, grasping her hand and shaking it warmly.*) How are you this afternoon, my *dear* Mrs. Suffridge? (*Hangs his hat on rack near door.*)

Aunty.—This is my niece from Colorado. (*Constance rises from couch, and bows.*) Miss Constance Wright. I was just telling her that your ideas of woman's sphere quite conformed to my own. We shall have to get tea ourselves, as my maid left when she heard that company was coming.

Con.—(*Coming down towards kitchenette and opening door.*) O that doesn't matter, Aunty, I should think you'd hardly need a maid at all, in such a cozy bungalow as this. What a cunning little kitchen! I should love to cook in it. (*Aunty takes samovar from table, and goes into kitchenette.*) (*Con. comes up and addresses Rev. C. who has seated himself.*) I can scarcely believe that a man of your position would use it to injure the great cause of woman's equality.

Chest.—On the contrary, my dear young lady, I revere and worship Woman; Woman as the *inspirer* and helpmate; the tender vine that clings and twines her lovely tendrils about the sturdy oak—Man. (*Aunty returns with samovar, filled with water, and beams on him approvingly.*)

Con.—Just like a parasite, dragging him down.

Rev. C.—Through life's vicissitudes she is ever at his side, a ministering angel, cheering and consoling him, wiping the beady drops of perspiration from his brow, smiling, smiling—— (*Aunty stands with the samovar in her hand beaming on him.*)

Con.—(*Prosaically.*) Even when she has the toothache, I suppose. (*Aunty goes to get a match and lights the alcohol lamp under the samovar.*)

Rev. C.—(*Rising from his chair and striking an attitude, as though in the pulpit.*) She is like the lovely modest violet nestled in the woodland grasses, the graceful, drooping lily of the valley; too pure, too precious to sully her dewy rose-petalled innocence in the mire of politics. Her sphere is the Home, the Little Child——

Con.—(*Innocently.*) But Aunty hasn't any little child, Mr. Chestnutt, or Ivy either; and I haven't heard of their adopting any!

Rev. C.—(*Continuing.*) Leaving to man the rough labor of the world and of government; the strenuous pursuits of industry, commerce and the professions. (*Aunty stands off left and regards him approvingly.*)

Con.—Especially the *high-salaried* positions, of course. It doesn't matter about her bending over the wash-tub all day.

Rev. C.—(*Ignoring the interruption.*) It is his manly function to tunnel the mountain, to span a continent, to cultivate the harvest, to build bridges——

Con.—(*Leaning forward confidentially.*) Tell me, Mr. Chestnutt, did you ever build any bridges, or tunnel a mountain?

Rev. C.—Far above the rude clamor of the market-place, serene as a goddess she stands upon the pedestal where the worshipful love of man has placed her. (*Aunty nods in assent.*)

Con.—(*Rising.*) Beside the idiot, criminal and lunatic!

Rev. C.—Why, my dear young lady! (*Gasping in astonishment.*)

Aunty.—Constance, what do you mean?

Con.—(*Firmly.*) That's the company she has up there on the pedestal in those states where she hasn't a vote. They are all disfranchised together. Now I will go and get ready for tea. (*Goes up toward her bedroom, then turns back.*) By the way, Mr. Chestnutt, I need scarcely remind a man of your erudition, that the Greeks used the word "idiot" to signify a private citizen who took no interest in public affairs. They believed that participation in government was necessary to the right development of the intellect. (*Goes into bedroom u. r.*)

Aunty.—(*Recovering after a moment.*) Mr. Chestnutt, will you be so kind as to assist me in setting the table for tea?

Rev. C.—(*With alacrity.*) I shall be only too delighted, my dear Mrs. Suffridge, if you will give me *minute* instructions, as I am rather awkward about those little domestic details.

Aunty.—(*Taking the tea-pot from the sideboard.*) O, you only have to put on the tea things; five cups and saucers, the spoons and sugar bowl, which are all here. I will put some tea in this, as the kettle is nearly boiling. (*Goes into kitchenette.*)

Rev. C.—(*Gazes after her admiringly. Constance comes from bedroom and observes him. He begins to obey Aunty's behest, taking hold of the cups and saucers gingerly and carrying each one separately to the table.*)

Con.—(*Going over to writing-desk; picks up paper.*) O, this is interesting! (*Reads.*) Sixteenth Century Woman's Club, Calendar for week October 17th to 24th. Monday 10:30 A. M., Class in Ceramics; Art Potteries of the Ancients; Monday 2:30 P. M., High Art Section Study of Painting of John the Baptist's Foot, by an old master. Tuesday, 10:30 A. M., Lecture by Prof. Foss L. Stratton, War Implements of the Silurians. Tuesday, P. M., History Section. Exhibit of Shoe-Strings and other Relics of Louis XI. Wednesday, 10:30, Music Study Section. Handel's Oratorio as contrasted with Rag-time. Wednesday P. M. Social—Bridge Whist. (*Aunty comes in with tea-pot.*) But don't you ever discuss questions of the day, Aunty? And why do you call it the Sixteenth Century woman's Club?

Aunty.—(*Setting tea-pot on table.*) No; they are likely to cause inharmony. We confine ourselves to the Sixteenth Century and earlier. That is the limit. (*Takes cream pitcher into kitchenette.*)

Con.—Yes, Aunty, I should think it was. (*Continues to read from Calendar.*) Thursday A. M., Poetry Section; Allegorical Interpretation of Browning's "Muckle-Mouthed Meg." Thursday P. M., Dramatic Section; Discussion of Question raised by Commentators as to whether Shakespeare's Hamlet was Fat or Lean. (*Stops a moment to take this in.*) (*Aunty returns with cream pitcher. Rev. C. carries plates separately to the table.*) O, I see. You wanted to find out if the weight of authority *leaned* to the side of his *weight* or his *leanness* eh, Aunty? (*Continues to read.*) Friday A. M., Domestic Science and Sanitation in the 11th Century. Wasn't that the time of the plague? Friday P. M., Social Section. Bridge Whist. O, Aunty! So that was the important meeting you couldn't get away from! (*Laughs, and lays calendar back on desk.*)

Aunty.—(*Stiffly.*) As *President* of the Club, it is proper that I should attend *all* functions. (*Looks over at Rev. C. for support, but he is laboriously depositing plates on table.*)

Con.—(*Gayly.*) O yes, Aunty. But if you go to all these meetings, I don't wonder you have so little time to spend in Woman's true sphere—the home!

Aunty.—(*Ignoring these remarks, goes to sideboard or takes from bottom portion a jar filled with cakes.*) (*Street door opens and Ivy enters, Professor Armstrong following her.*) (*Ivy is dressed in an exaggerated hobble skirt, a low-necked peek-a-boo waist, a Marie Antoinette muslin "baby" hat, and slippers with high Frenchy heels. Her hair is puffed out behind and at the sides with rats; her complexion powdered and rouged.*)

Ivy.—(*Bouncing up to Constance, as well as her high heels and hobble skirt will allow.*) O, Connie, dear, I'm so awfully glad you've come! (*Embracing her ecstatically, turns to Professor Armstrong.*) This is my cousin from Colorado; Miss Constance Wright, Professor Armstrong. He came especially to meet you, *this afternoon*, you know, Connie. (*Glancing sideways up at Prof. A. and then back at Con. with a conscious blush. Prof. A. acknowledged the introduction, and also greets Aunty and Rev. C.*) Won't we have a perfectly lovely time together! (*Skipping about with her peculiar "hobble" gait, throwing her hat and jacket on the couch, etc., while she talks.*) Shopping in the city and going to the matinee, and bridge parties nearly every afternoon.

Con.—O, but I haven't any money to go shopping with, Ivy; I spent all I had to come to California. I never indulge in bridge, and don't care for the play unless it is a very good one. So I am afraid I will be a disappointment to you.

Ivy.—(*Not at all impressed.*) O my, how queer you are, Connie! Aren't you interested in *anything* at *all?* (*Flopping down into a chair opposite Con., and looking at her with pitying amazement.*) (*Aunty and Rev. C. busy themselves in completing the preparations for tea, put plate of cakes on the table, set chairs around it, etc.*)

Con.—(*Deliberately.*) Yes, Ivy. I have been telling Aunty Suffridge that I am very *deeply* interested in the election, and seeing the women of my native state exercising the highest privilege of citizenship, as they do in Colorado. (*Prof. A. turns from the bookcase, and looks at her with interest.*)

Ivy.—(*Giving a little scream of horror.*) O, you mean voting! Why we haven't any *time* for such things, have we Aunty (*pronouncing it Arntie*). And it's not womanly, you know! (*Giggles, as though saying something smart or witty.*)

Con.—Well, Ivy, in Colorado we don't consider it womanly to wear a hobbled skirt. You see ideas differ.

Ivy.—(*Jumping up and pirouetting around.*) Why, Connie, these are the very latest fashions from Paris. They are all the rage, and just too *swell* for anything, now!

Con.—Maybe. But we are all American women, not Parisians. You hardly seem to me like a Western girl, Ivy.

Aunty.—Tea is ready. Will you please sit here, Mr. Chestnutt? (*Indicating seat at her left as she stands at the head of the table.*) Prof. Armstrong, you will sit next to Ivy, of course (*smiling sweetly at him*); and Constance, you will be on my right. (*They seat themselves as requested, Prof. A. at the foot between Ivy and Constance.*) (*Aunty S. proceeds to pour the tea.*)

Arm.—(*To. Con.*) I believe it is claimed that woman's vote has not accomplished very much in Colorado.

Con.—(*Quietly.*) It has not brought about the millenium, if that is what you mean.

Aunty.—(*Triumphantly.*) There now! (*Handing Mr. C. his cup of tea.*) Cream and sugar, Mr. Chestnutt? (*With a creamy and sugary glance.*)

Prof. A.—But, after all, results are nothing to the point. You have voted, Miss Wright, have you not?

Con.—(*Taking cup of tea from her aunt.*) Thank you, Aunty. Only once—that was two years ago. I gave up my vote this time to come to California. You see this is my native state, and so when I heard that the vote had been won I just cried for joy! (*Prof. A. looks at her with curious interest, as she passes him his cup of tea.*)

Aunty.—Well, Constance, you are perfectly rabid on the subject (*passes tea to Ivy and pours out a cup for herself.*) But I could never unsex myself by voting. (*Ivy simpers assent.*)

Con.—Well, Aunty, if Nature made men and women so near alike that just putting a piece of paper in a box is going to make us into men, then I should think she might have saved time and energy by making only one sex! (*Rev. C. sets down his cup of tea very hard.*)

Aunty.—(*Reprovingly.*) Constance! What a shocking speech! What will the Rev. Mr. Chestnutt think of you? Have another cup of tea, Mr. C. (*Takes his cup and refills it.*)

Prof. Arm.—Do you consider your niece unsexed by her experience in voting, Mrs. Suffridge?

Aunty.—Well, Constance has voted *only once*, as she says; and it may not have had very much effect, as yet. Still I should like to see her as unsophisticated and girlish as Ivy. Do have some more of the cakes, Mr. Chestnutt.

Rev. C.—But my dear Mrs. Suffridge, Miss Ivy's so different. She takes more after you. (*Drinking his tea, and helping himself liberally to the cakes.*)

Ivy.—(*Pleased and looking at Armstrong affectedly.*) O, so I do; don't you think so, Professor?

Arm.—(*Soberly.*) I certainly do, Miss Millstone.

Rev. C.—"The ever-womanly," as the great German poet so beautifully puts it, "leads us upward and on." Do you not agree with me, Professor Armstrong? (*Looking at Aunty admiringly.*)

Arm.—(*Drily.*) That is undeniable, sir. You and Goethe are both correct. (*Aunty and Chest. both look delighted.*) But exactly what constitutes "the ever-womanly" is a somewhat disputed point.

Aunty.—But surely you *don't* consider it womanly to *vote*, Professor?

Prof.—Woman's most distinctive attribute being the care, nurture and provision for the well-being of the child (*Aunty, Ivy and Chest. all nod approvingly*), or consequently, of the race; then for her to have a hand in regard to pure food, sanitation, morals and education—choosing those who are to make and administer the laws which will ensure the well-being of

her own progeny and of posteritv might justly be considered an act so pre-eminently womanly (*Aunty and Ivy look crest-fallen*) that it might even be called the *most womanly* that she could possibly perform. (*Sensation. Rev. Chest. chokes in his tea-cup.*)

Aunty.—(*After her recovery.*) But what is to become of the *home*, Professor, when women have deserted it and engage in the mad scramble for office.

Arm.—(*Calmly.*) Even if such a state of affairs were to come to pass, Mrs. Suffridge—even if the order of things described by Mill in his Subjection of Women were to be exactly revised, and man to become the subject sex—we should have to accept it as being in the natural course of social evolution, and bound to work out for the welfare of the race. (*Smiles at Constance.*)

Aunty—(*Hastily taking Rev. C.'s cup.*) Let me give you another cup of tea, Mr. Chestnutt. (*Finding none in the pot.*) O, I am so sorry, there is no more here.

Rev. C.—O, it doesn't matter, my dear Mrs. Suffridge. I must really be going. The hour is getting late. (*Rises from his seat, and the others all do the same.*)

Con.—(*Holding out her hand.*) I thank you, Professor Armstrong, for what you have said. I wonder (*hesitating and smiling*) if it would not be possible to incorporate it into one of your lectures at College, and thus help to bring out a good large vote of the women of Stanley?

Arm.—(*Cordially, taking her hand and holding it, and looking nito her face.*) It can be done, Miss Wright, and it will be done, if you will promise to attend the lecture. But we will speak of this further as I too, must take my departure.

(CURTAIN)

ACT SECOND.

Same scene—morning. Aunty busy at desk, writing, a large volume beside her. Sheets of paper scattered about. Does not look up as the door opens, and Constance comes in at the street-door, carrying a small basket of provisions.

Aunty.—O, Constance, is that you? I want you to help me with this paper on the Position and Influence of Woman in the Sixteenth Century. (*Importantly*) I must have it ready to read before the Social Science section of the Club day after tomorrow.

Con.—I've been doing the marketing for lunch, Aunty, I couldn't depend on the man to send the things in time, so I brought the lamb chops and strawberries, and some lettuce for salad. (*Takes things into the kitchenette, then goes up to bedroom to lay off hat.*)

Aunty.—(*Still intent on the pages of the Encyclopedia.*) O yes, (*indifferently*) it's too bad we haven't a maid. They promised to send me one from the office. This Encyclopedia doesn't say anything at all about Woman's Position, but perhaps Ivy will bring back a book from the University library. She has gone to ask Professor which are the best on the subject.

Con.—(*Coming down from bedroom with a white shirt-waist and fancy apron on.*) Well, Aunty, I don't believe there's much to tell about the Position and Influence of Woman in the 16th Cenutry. (*Looks down at the open page of the Encyclopedia and reads here and there turning the pages now and then.*)

Here it says: "The commonest comforts of life such as we understand them, were lacking in this age. There was lavish luxury and display among the nobles and ruling class, but the condition of the common people was deplorable in the extreme. . . . The lord of the manor spent his days in riotous dissipation, when not engaged in fighting in the constant wars, and was half the time in a state of beastly intoxication. . . . The laborer in his squalid and filthy hut, that afforded no protection from the weather, was a prey to disease."————There, Aunty! now what do you suppose the condition of the women was? You see, the book doesn't say anything about the Position and Influence of Woman because—there isn't anything to say! She didn't have any. (*Goes down towards kitchenette.*)

Aunty.—(*Turning over the pages again industriously.*) I cannot believe it. But Ivy will be back soon with the right books, I hope.

Con.—(*Coming up, puts her arms around Aunty.*) Now, why won't you make up your mind to stop being a 16th Century Woman, Aunty, dear—and take more interest in the position and influence of woman in the twentieth century? Well, I must go and start lunch. (*Goes down to kitchenette, then looks back—teasingly.*) Say, Aunty, why don't you go and consult the Rev. Hawse Chestnutt on the subject, since you consider him such an authority on Woman generally?

Aunty.—That's not a bad idea, Constance. (*Rises.*) I should be apt to find him in his study at this hour, I dare say. I'll go and get ready at once. (*Goes up left and into a bedroom to dress.*)

Knocks at street-door.

(*Constance goes to open it. Admits Rev. Chestnutt.*)

Con.—Why, what a coincidence! Aunty was just going to call on you, Mr. Chestnutt. She wanted to consult you on a very *important matter;* her paper that she is going to read before the Club.

Chest.—(*Flattered.*) Ah, indeed! And I have come to—eh—call.

Con.—For the purpose of consulting *her* on a *very important* matter. Am I not right?

Chest.—You are—Miss Wright.

Con.—And I can just about guess what that imoprtant matter is, too. It concerns Aunty and—yourself. (*He looks rather startled, but cannot deny it.*) I believe that you admire my Aunty, Mr. Chestnutt.

Chest.—(*Heartily.*) O yes, yes indeed. Mrs. Suffridge is a very fine woman—

Con.—But not *quite* your ideal, Mr. Chestnutt. Is it not so? For I am sure that you, in common with all the great thinkers and leading divines of the country, believe that woman should use her influence for the good of the community.

Chest.—(*Flattered.*) You are right, my dear Miss Wright. She should use her influence and precisely—in a womanly way.

Con.—By direct participation in government, as Professor Armstrong was saying the other day. Now I feel confident, Mr. Chestnutt, that a public-spirited man like yourself must be deeply concerned in the election of honest and efficient men to office. Perhaps there is some candidate that you are especially interested in?

Chest.—(*Delighted.*) You have divined exactly, Miss Wright; with marvelous intuition. There is an old friend of mine, Grafton Ward, who is up for County Clerk, and approached me the other day on the matter.

Con.—Exactly. Just as I thought. Now, Mr. Chestnutt, you must use your *position* and *influence* with my Aunty to get her to vote for Ward, and use *her* position and influence with the other women of the 16th Century Club to do the same. I am quite sure that Aunty would be willing to sacrifice herself for the common good if she thought you wanted her to do it. There is still time, according to the new law, for Aunty and Ivy to register and vote. By the way, you know, Mr. Chestnutt, Auntie's first name is *Lavina!*

(*Auntie comes out of her room, clad in a tailor suit and large hat; starts back when she sees Chestnutt.*)

Con.—(*With an air of delightful mystery.*) Mr. Chestnutt anticipated your call, Aunty. He has come on a delicate and important mission, which he himself will tell you about.

Aunty.—(*With undisguised pleasure.*) O, indeed!

Con.—Now I must go and see about lunch. (*Goes into kitchenette.*)

Aunty.—(*Coming down and drawing up a chair opposite Chest.*) I am quite curious to know what this *delicate* and *important* mission can be! (*Flustered, putting up her hands to her head.*) But I am forgetting to remove my hat—

Chest.—(*Putting up his hand to prevent her.*) Do not, I beg of you, my dear Mrs. Suffridge. It is—eh, so extremely becoming!

(*Aunty acknowledges the compliment implied.*) You are looking extraordinarily well this morning. I feel—ahem!—that it is a propitious moment for my proposal— (*Auntie places her hand on her heart, with a little gasp.*) I should say my proposition. (*Auntie draws back slightly, with a disappointed look.*)

Aunty.—(*Stiffly.*) What is your proposition then, Mr. Chestnutt, may I ask?

Chest.—It is that you use your high social position and influence in Stanley to insure the election of my old friend, Grafton Ward, a most able and honest man, to the office of County Clerk.

Aunty.—Oh! you want me to use my *indirect influence* in favor of this candidate of yours.

Chest.—Ahem! Your *indirect* influence, my dear lady, and—ahem!—your *direct* influence as well, if I may put it that way.

Aunty.—(*Astonished.*) You mean that you want me to *vote*, Mr. Chestnutt? (*Enter Con. from kitchenette to see how things are going.*)

Con.—(*Opening door of kitchenette.*) O, Aunty; I forgot to ask you whether you like French chops or the other kind?

Aunty.—O, it doesn't matter, Constance. (*Rises and turns her back, annoyed.*)

Con.—(*Coming out and addressing Chest.*) And you, sir; I hope you will remain and lunch with us. (*Getting a chance for a word edgeways.*) Lay it on thick about her being your ideal. (*Retires to kitchenette.*)

Auntie.—(*Coming down again.*) So this is the *delicate matter* you had so *much* at *heart!*

Chest.—Ah yes, my dear lady. For I feel, in common with other leading thinkers and divines, that woman's participation in politics is demanded, for the best good of the nation.

Aunty.—(*With some sarcasm.*) Ah! But these are not the sentiments I have heard you express in the pulpit, Mr. Chestnutt, as to lovely woman and her exalted mission, inspiring man to do his civic duty and never descending from her lofty pedestal into the pool of politics—

Chest.—But my dear Mrs. Suffridge, the rank and file of the women of my congregation are weak-minded creatures who like to hear that sort of slushy talk. (*Auntie gives a start.*) My *first* wife, the late Mrs. Chestnutt, was one of that kind, a mere *echo* of myself, and I will say to *you* in confidence, my dear Mrs. Suffridge, that it required at times all of my ethical culture and manly self-control to refrain from—a proceeding which would have been—ahem!—highly unjustifiable in a man of my vocation—to-wit, wiping up the floor with her!

Aunty.—(*Giving a little shriek.*) O—Mr. Chestnutt!

Chest.—(*Moving his chair closer.*) But you, my dear Mrs. Suffridge, are *quite different.* You are a woman of high ideals, who would not hesitate, I know, to sacrifice her personal feelings to the public good. Such is the *true woman*—such is my ideal! (*Puts out his hand to take hers; Aunty yields it coyly. Constance appears from kitchenette to see how things are progressing.*)

Con.—Shall I cream the potatoes, Auntie? (*Auntie gives a little scream, and draws her hand away from Chest.*) O, I beg pardon! (*Withdraws into kitchenette once more.*)

Auntie.—But how can I ever nerve myself to undergo this dreadful ordeal, from which I have always shrunk with horror!

Chest.—(*Getting possession of her hand again.*) And womanly modesty! But I will be at your side—Lavina! Oh, let me call you by that sweetly symbolic name, so suggestive in its relation to true womanhood! (*Bending forward.*) I will support you with my manly arm, and give you courage to perform the deed! (*Waxing more eloquent.*) I will even wade into the pool with you and lift you above its mud and mice, so that no trace of it shall soil your dainty skirts, like—Paul and Virginia! (*With a happy inspiration.*)

(*Constance opens door again and overhears last words.*)

Con.—(*Coming out.*) And then, Aunty dear, you will be Anti-Suffrage no longer! (*Both start and look at each other quietly and then at Constance.*) Of course, because you are going to vote. And Mr. Chestnutt is going to lead you to the polls first and afterwards—to the altar, of course. And then you will not be Aunty Suffridge any longer, either, but Aunty Chestnutt. (*Laughs gaily.*) Now, Mr. Chestnutt, isn't that so? Aunty has elected you to the highest position in her gift—by only one vote!

Chest.—You are quite right, Miss Constance. Lavina! through all life's vicissitudes and trials I shall be at your side.

Con.—As a sturdy oak should do.

Chest.—And you, Lavina, will twine your loving tendrils about me, even as the clinging vine. (*Catches hold of Auntie and attempts to illustrate; she bashfully resists, then yields.*) Let us exemplify this beautiful parable of the tender, clinging vine and the sturdy—

Con.—Chestnutt Tree! (*They proceed to exemplify.*)

Street-door opens and Ivy and Professor Armstrong enter. They stand spellbound at the sight. Auntie and Chestnutt make haste to "break away."

Con.—Aunty dear, I think you had better change the title of that paper of yours, now you are going to be a 20th Century Woman, you know. (*To Ivy and Arm.*): Aunty is going to vote at the election. Mr. Chestnutt will lead her to the polls, and afterwards to the altar, and she is not going to be Aunty Suffridge any longer, in any sense of the word.

Ivy.—(*Rushing down to her and embracing her.*) O Aunty, isn't it too *perfectly lovely* for any use!

Arm.— (*Coming down and shaking hands with both.*) Accept my felicitations.

Con.—Now there is just about time for you two to go and call upon some of the members of the Club and get them to promise to vote for Ward. It will be a graceful way for you to announce your engagement to be married.

Aunty.—By the way, Constance, what do you think I had better wear to the polls?

Chest.—Let us go, Lavina. You are right, Miss Constance.

(*Both go out at street-door.*)

Ivy.—(*Gazing after them and giggling.*) Isn't it too delightful to have an engaged couple in the family! Let's have an extra good lunch, Connie, and you'll have to stay and celebrate with us. (*To Arm.*)

Arm.—O no, Miss Ivy, I only came to (*looking at Con.*) have a word with you about the—

Ivy.—O, I thought you came to help Auntie with her paper!

Arm.—And I am due at my boarding-house for luncheon.

Con.—We are going to have French chops and creamed potatoes; and I could make a bird's nest salad if I had some cottage cheese from the delicatessen store. Ivy, you might telephone for it—and some cream for the strawberries, right away.

Ivy.—(*Goes up left to 'phone and takes down receiver.*) Hello, I want the delicatessen store—O I don't know the number—on Main street. (*Sees Arm. go up to Con. out of the corner of her eye.*)

Arm.—I thought I might get a chance to speak to you about a plan I have—

Ivy.—O dear, I can't manage this at all. Won't you please come here and do it for me, professor? (*Lays receiver on 'phone.*) Ten cents worth of cottage cheese and a pint of cream. (*Goes into bedroom.*)

Con.—I must look after the potatoes now, and hull the strawberries. You don't get strawberries in November in Boston, Prof. Armstrong! (*Goes to kitchenette.*)

Arm.—(*At the 'phone.*) This is Prof. Armstrong, of the University. I wish to order some things. No, I don't want them sent to the University (*irritably*), but to Mrs. Suffridge's bungalow; cheese—no, I did *not* say Limburger cheese, cottage cream-cheese; no, not cream cheese, cottage cheese and cream: Mrs. Lavina Suffridge's cottage—bungalow. Great Jumping Jupiter! (*Dashes down receiver and goes to door of kitchenette.*) Miss Constance, you will have to come and give this order. (*Stands and wipes the perspiration from his forehead.*)

Con.—(*Smoothly, telephoning.*) Please send at once to Mrs. Suffridge, 126 College Avenue, ten cents worth of cottage cheese and a pint of cream. Thank you so much. Good-bye.

Arm.—(*Looking at her admiringly.*) I have a plan for the election which I think will meet with your approval, Miss Constance—

Ivy.—(*Coming down in white waist and fetching apron.*) O, but *we* have to get lunch now, don't we, Connie? What shall I do first?

Con.—Well, you had better start setting the table now, Ivy. Perhaps Prof. Armstrong will help you. (*With mischievous intent.*)

Arm.—(*Hastily.*) Isn't there something I could do for you—in there? (*Pointing to kitchenette.*) And then I might tell you my plan—at the same time?

Con.—(*Smiling sweetly.*) O no, I never allow the missus, or college professors, in my kitchen. (*Turns and comes down.*)

Arm.—(*Desperately.*) Then let Miss Ivy help you, and I will return to my boarding-house. I am due there for luncheon.

Ivy.—(*Hobbles over to rack and takes possession of his hat.*) O no, you can't go. You've got to stay here and help me set the table. We'll have the best table cloth and dishes on; won't we, Connie? Because this is such a happy occasion!

Con.—Yes, and you and Prof. Armstrong can cut the bread and the cake—it's under the sideboard, you know, and put on a pitcher of water and the butter and—

Arm.—(*Appealingly to her.*) I thought you would be interested in my plan to bring out a large vote of the women—

Con.—(*Smiling back at him.*) O, yes, we'll discuss it after lunch. (*Goes into kitchenette.*)

Ivy.—Now we'll begin setting the table. (*Takes tablecloth and napkins from under sideboard.*) Here's the *very best* tablecloth, and napkins to match. Isn't it perfectly lovely to think of Auntie and Mr. Chestnutt being *really* engaged! (*Looks at him archly as she unfolds the cloth.*) How suddenly things do come about sometimes, when you'd never expect it!

Arm.—(*Ignoring this remark.*) Your cousin said the dishes were in there (*glancing down towards kitchenette.*) I will fetch them. (*Starts to go down, but Ivy intercepts him.*)

Ivy.—(*Dropping the tablecloth in a heap on the sideboard.*) O no, you needn't. I know just which ones to get. (*Pushing past him, then looks back.*) You may put on the tablecloth. (*Goes into kitchenette.*)

(*Arm. sends a look after her and mutters something under his breath. (Goes up to bookcase and stands looking at books.*)

Ivy.—(*Returning with a tray of dishes.*) Here they are, professor. O, you haven't— (*Knock at street-door.*)

(*Ivy puts tray down, opens it—calls into kitchenette.*) The delicatessen things have come, Connie! (*Con. comes in with more dishes. Puts them down on table. Takes package from Ivy.*)

Con.—That's good. Now I can make the bird's nest salad right away. (*Arm. turns around and comes down.*)

Ivy.—(*Tittering.*) Bird's nest salad. How awfully sweet and appropriate! Don't you think so, professor?

Arm.—(*Blandly.*) I did not quite catch your remark, Miss Millstone. (*Addressing himself to Constance.*) That lecture I am going to give—I wanted you to help me choose the title.

Ivy.—(*Fluttering around like a hen with her head cut off.*) O dear, I do feel so excited and happy this morning! Come on, professor, and help me set the table!

Con.—Yes, do get busy, you two. There's quite a lot to be done yet. (*Goes into kitchenette with things.*)

Arm.—(*Severely.*) Don't you think, Miss Millstone, that you had better assist your cousin in the kitchen? I think I can manage alone in here.

Ivy.—(*Calmly.*) O no; I'm not at all clever at cooking, tee-hee!

Arm.—(*Jerks dishes off table, and slams them on sideboard.*) No—I shouldn't imagine you were as clever at it as you are at other arts not *domestic,* Miss Millstone.

Ivy.—(*Giggling as though at a compliment.*) You see, we always had a girl, till Connie came. But I will devote more attention to housework some day—when I get married, you know! (*With arch significance.*)

Arm.—(*Seizes the tablecloth and strides over to the table with it.*) Well, we'd better get this table set, anyway, Miss Millstone. Bring on the dishes now, please. (*Lays cloth very unevenly.*)

Ivy.—(*Fluttering up.*) O, that isn't straight at all! I guess you don't know much more about housework than I do, professor! (*Takes hold of tablecloth to straighten it out, cocking her head to one side, affectedly.*) There! Now we can put the dishes on. O! (*with a shriek of delight as Con. comes in with salad on tray*) there are the birds' nests! Aren't they too cute!

Con.—(*Setting salads on table.*) What were you saying about the title of your lecture, Prof. Armstrong?

Arm.—Why, I thought of calling it "Patriots and Idiots."

Con.—Splendid. Now that Aunty is going to vote, I suppose you will be willing to vote, too, Ivy?

Ivy.—(*Coyly.*) O yes, if *Professor Armstrong* wants me to. You will tell me who to vote for, won't you, professor?

Con.—But you can never vote in that hobble skirt, Ivy. You'd be apt to tumble headlong into the pool. You must get a sensible skirt, and a real hat and *shoes,* with flat heels, and look like *a truly womanly* girl, exercising the highest function of citizenship.

Ivy.—(*Pleased at the notion of new clothes.*) All right, Connie. I'll go to Madame Stitcher's this very afternoon and order the dress. (*Constance goes back into kitchenette.*) But you'll have to promise to take me to the polls, professor, just like Mr. Chestnutt is going to take Aunty. (*Armstrong busies himself in putting napkins on the table.*) I am just tall enough to look well beside you! (*Sidles up and measures herself against him. Arm. moves away to get dishes.*) Of course, Willie Sapling could take me. He's just my age, twenty-one, and is going to cast his first vote, too. But, then, he doesn't believe in women voting, you see, and *you* do. (*Takes knives and forks out of sideboard drawer, and looks up at him again with what is intended to be a captivating expression.*)

Arm.—Yes; (*aside*) wish I didn't. (*Seizes glass pitcher from sideboard and strides to kitchenette.*) May I get some water in this pitcher, Miss Constance?

Con.—(*Coming to door.*) I'll fill it for you. (*Takes pitcher.*)

Ivy.—O, professor! You didn't put those napkins on right at all. (*Con. brings pitcher back to door, filled.*)

Arm.—Thank you. (*Takes it.*) I am so glad you approve of the title. It was suggested to my mind—

Ivy.—(*Rearranging the napkins.*) And you forgot the spoons and the sugar bowl, and the butter dish!

Arm.—(*with an annoyed glance in her direction*)—by that Greek definition you mentioned the other day and—

Ivy.—(*Bouncing up to the sideboard.*) It's time to cut the bread and cake now, professor! (*Getting them from underneath.*) You do it while I put on the knives and forks, please. (*Arm., with an expressive look at Con., sets pitcher on table. Con. goes into kitchenette.*) Here's the bread knife, professor (*holding it out to him with a smile as he comes up.*) Only I hate to hand you anything *sharp*—they say it *cuts friendship,* you know. (*Tittering.*) (*Arm. looks at her absent-mindedly, takes knife.*) Now you have to say the little rhyme we used to say at school—and then it won't! (*Coquettishly.*) Don't you know it—about knives *cutting love in two?*

Arm.—(*Cutting bread in huge chunks.*) I—don't recollect any such rhyme, Miss Millstone. (*Ivy looks at him out of the corner of her eye, as she takes knives and forks from sideboard and places them around the table. Arm. piles bread on plate, then attacks cake, slashing away at it fiercely.*)

Ivy.—O, don't you? (*Innocently.*) Well, it begins "If you love me"—(*Giggles and look at him expectantly.*) (He piles cake on top of bread.) O, professor! You musn't put the cake and the bread on the *same* plate! Is that the way they do at your boarding-house?

Arm.—Well, fix it to suit yourself, Miss Millstone. (*Turns away and goes up to bookcase. Stands facing it, his arms behind his back, whistling. Ivy takes another plate, removes the slices of cake onto it, slowly and with an injured air, as she glances in his direction from time to time. Carries the plate of cake over to the table and puts it down.*)

Ivy.—O! (*Claps her hand on her heart, with a die away expression. Arm. turns around.*) I feel so faint! (*Staggers over to couch.*) I must sit down a moment. (*Flops down.*)

Arm.—(*Coming down slowly.*) Why, what is the matter, Miss Millstone?

Ivy.—(*Closing her eyes.*) I don't know (*in a faint voice*); I feel so weak. I must have been over-exerting myself—this morning. Would you mind—getting me a glass of water?

Arm.—Certainly not. (*Goes over to sideboard, takes glass to table and pours water from pitcher. Ivy poses herself becomingly on the couch, while his back is turned.*)

Ivy.—Won't you please—give it to me? (*Looks up at him like a sick calf, as he stands opposite her holding out the glass of water. He makes one stride, and puts the glass to her lips, placing his other hand at the back of her head, forcing her to swallow the entire contents of the glass.*) O—O! (*Spluttering and gasping.*) It's too much!

Arm.—(*Standing off and regarding her coldly.*) Yes, Miss Millstone—I think it is.

Ivy.—(*Stretching out her hands to him.*) Now—if you will help me—(*he makes no movement*) I think—I can rise—and finish—setting the table. (*Stands up; grabs him by the coat.*)

Arm.—(*Trying to disengage himself from her clutches.*) O, I think you are all right, Miss Millstone. Or, at least you will feel better after lunch. (*As she clings to him, he drags her over the table, reaches over and takes a piece of bread from the plate.*) Here, eat this. (*Crams it into her mouth.*)

Ivy.—(*Rejecting it.*) No, no! It's not hunger—but—O, I'm sure I'm going to faint! Save me! (*Drops her head with a thump on his shoulder.*) O, dear—professor! (*Clasping him tightly around the neck.*)

Con.—(*Coming out of kitchenette.*) Is everything fixed in there? (*Stands astonished at what she sees.*)

Arm.—(*Frantically trying to get Ivy's arms off.*) O yes, quite. If Miss Millstone will kindly—disengage herself.

Ivy.—(*Refusing to oblige him.*) O, O! I was going—to faint—(*in a voice like a squeaking mouse*), but *he* was here and caught me—

Arm.—(*Imploringly to Con.*) Won't you please come—and help your cousin to the couch? I think she will feel better lying down. (*Breathing hard, with set teeth.*)

Con.—(*Coming up to them.*) We had better carry her—hadn't we, since she is so weak. (*Stoops down to Ivy's feet and jerks at them so that she is forced to let go her hold on the professor.*) I'll take her by the feet and you—

Ivy.—(*As her arms slip down.*) O, O! (*Arm. takes her by the shoulders and together they carry her to the couch.*)

Con.—Lay her out perfectly flat. That's the best position for a fainting person. (*Arm. dumps her down, and Con. puts her feet together and adjusts her as though laying out a corpse.*) Please bring some water, Prof. Armstrong.

Ivy.—(*Trying to raise her head.*) O, no; I feel better; but I did faint, didn't I? (*Arm. goes over to table.*)

Con.—(*Forcing her head down again.*) Lie perfectly still, Ivy. (*Feeling her waist.*) Your corset is too tight. That's why you fainted. We must loosen it. (*Makes a motion to undo her waist. Arm. comes with pitcher of water.*)

Ivy.—(*Convulsively preventing her.*) O no—it isn't! But I— (*Shrieks and tries to spring from the couch as Arm. holds the pitcher of water as though about to deluge her with it.*)

Con.—(*Holding her down firmly.*) Just a few drops, Professor, please.

Arm.—Dashes some on her face with his free hand and distributes considerable more on her person as though sprinkling clothes to be ironed. Street door is opened and Aunty enters, followed by Celest. Both stop short in amazement at sight.

Aunty.—What is this? Has anything happened to Ivy? (*Alarmed, advances to couch. Arm. sets pitcher back on table.*)

Con.—O, nothing much, Aunty. Only she felt a little faint, but Prof. Armstrong happened to be right there and—

Ivy.—(*Sitting up.*) He saved me! O, I am so happy! And I promised him—

Aunty.—What, Ivy dear? (*Looking at Arm., who stands, glaring at them all.*)

Arm.—Miss Millstone said she was not hungry, but I think she will feel better after lunch. (*Con. goes into k.*)

Ivy.—Promised to let him take me to the polls, just like you and Mr. Chest. But he couldn't remember the little rhyme about bird's nest salads, you know—

Aunty.—(*Sitting on couch and feeling Ivy's forehead.*) The dear child seems somewhat delirious. (*Severely to Arm.*): What are we to understand, Professor Armstrong?

Arm.—(*Coming down to rack and seizing hat.*) That your niece, Miss Millstone, is—a peach, Madam! (*Enter Con. from kitchenette.*)

Aunty.—(*echoing*)—a peach. O Jay! (*Falls on Chest's shoulder.*)

Con.—Lunch is all ready. (*Arm. claps hat on*): I must excuse myself. They will be waiting lunch for me at my boarding house. (*Turns abruptly to go.*)

Chest.—O no, they never wait lunch at a Stanley boarding house.

Con.—O, professor, let me fetch a clothes brush. Ivy has rubbed some of the bloom off on your shoulder. (*Arm. starts, scowls at shoulder, brushes it with his hand as he walks quickly upright and goes out.*) *Tableau.*

(CURTAIN.)

ACT THIRD.

(*Scene—Main street, Stanley. A polling place. Election day. Afternoon. Voting booth just visible (small) at extreme lower left corner. Sign reading "100 feet from polls, etc." Florist's shop at lower right with rustic bench in front, potted palm. Ice cream and confectionery store, drug store, music store between. Mrs. Twaddler Jones seen coming from polls up right. Mr. and Mrs. Wrinkle going towards polls down left.*) (*Enter Armstrong carrying badges, upper right.*)

Mrs. T. J.—O, good afternoon, Professor Armstrong, is it not? You see we are really voting, with our husbands, too. O, have you the badges there? What an excellent idea that was—to have the Committee appointed by our Club.

Arm.—(*Bowing.*) Ah, yes. Then you are a member of the 16th Century Club? Here are the badges. (*Producing them.*)

Mrs. T. J.—The 20th Century Club, if you please, Professor. You know the name was changed at a special meeting called by our President, Mrs. Lavina Suffridge, who is most anxious to see that all the members should do their civic duty. O, they are handsome! (*Arm. pins a badge in the national colors on her jacket. Mr. Twaddler Jones comes out of florist's with a chrysanthemum.*)

Mr. T. J.—(*Handing flower to Mrs. T. J.*) There, my dear, now you are a full-fledged American citizen.

Mrs. T. J.—(*Fondly.*) To be sure, Twaddler. (*Takes the chrysanthemum.*) I suppose flowers are going up (*to Arm.*) since every woman voter is to be presented with them by some masculine friend or relation.

(*Mr. and Mrs. Dudsteich Wrinkle come from polls. Mr. D. W. goes into florist's.*)

Mrs. T. J.—(*Showing badge and chrysanthemum.*) See my "Good Citizen" badge, Mrs. Wrinkle. This is Professor Armstrong, who gave the lecture, you know.

Mrs. D. W.—(*Enthusiastically.*) O yes, indeed. I haven't had a chance to thank you for that inspiring lecture, Professor. I am sure it has helped us all to be good citizens today. (*Mr. D. W. comes out of florist's with another yellow chrysanthemum. Hands it to his wife.* (*Bows to the professor, lower right, as Constance enters. She likewise carries a lot of badges.*)

Arm.—(*Face lighting up.*) O, I was wondering where you were. I haven't had a chance for a word with you today. (*Mrs. D. W. goes to vote.*)

Con.—(*Smiling.*) No, we've both been too busy. But there seems a lull just now. Well, our plans are working finely, are they not? O dear, it makes me want to vote myself.

Arm.—Simply great. These newspaper articles published all over the state have helped a whole lot, of course. Do sit down here and rest a moment. I want to talk to you.

Con.—(*Seating herself on bench.*) I only voted once, you know, but I am just like a tiger that has tasted blood. (*Laughing.*)

Arm.—Miss Constance, I've never had a chance to clear up that wretched misunderstanding the other day. Of course, I could not go to your Aunt's house again after what happened and I could only see you at college—but you know, Miss Constance, you treated me rather shabbily that day. I came to see you, and— (*Mrs. D. W. is seen to pass into election booth.*)

Con.—And Ivy took possession of you. But Aunty had given me to understand when I first came that you were paying attention to Ivy, and how could I be so unwomanly as to—

Arm.—(*Getting up from bench.*) I never paid any attention to that vain little idiot (*both laugh*)—if she is your cousin. She was always coming to my class room on some pretext or other.

Con.—Ivy is no worse than any average girl would be, brought up on Aunty Suffridge principles, without any occupation or purpose in life but to be *womanly!* (*Laughs.*) Well, I'm afraid you'll have to escort her to the polls, anyway. She says you promised.

Arm.—(*Firmly.*) I did not. She kept hinting, but I tell you, Miss Wright, that if your cousin, Miss Millstone, insists on hanging herself around my neck that I shall drag her to the wharves and drown us both in the Bay.

Con.—Well, you'll both be drowned and hanged then, but if you positively refuse we will have to find another strong arm. I'm sure there must be some college youth available. (*Thoughtfully*): It seems to me that I have heard her speak of one, but I forget his name.

Arm.—(*Eagerly snatching at a straw.*) Yes, she spoke to me of one, the same one, doubtless, but I can't think of his name either. (*Puts both hands to his head.*) O, wasn't it Willie something sappy—Sapling, that's it. Well, I'll go and hunt him up. (*Jumps up and goes off quickly; knocks against Rev. Chest.*)

Rev. Chest.—Oh, good day, Prof. Do you know whether Mrs. Suffridge and her niece— (*Mrs. D. W. comes back from the polls and gets badge.*)

Con.—They haven't come yet, Mr. Chest. Have you voted?

Chest.—Oh yes, but, eh—I was to meet Mrs. Suffridge and eh—could you advise me what kind of flowers would be most suitable to present her with—

Con.—(*Mischievously.*) Well, of course, you can't get violets at this time of the year and it's not the day for orange blossoms yet; I should think a bunch of American Beauty roses would be as nice as anything.

Chest.—(*Delighted.*) Just right exactly. You do possess remarkable intuition, my dear Miss Wright. *A big bunch!*—I shall certainly order at once. (*Goes into florist's.*)

(*Enter Aunty and Ivy, in new costumes, looking very conscious and important. Attending a social function. Mrs. Dudsteich Wrinkle and Constance go up to meet them.*)

Mrs. T. J.—O, so glad you've come, dear Mrs. Suffridge and Miss Millstone. I've voted.

Aunty.—Are we late? Where is Mr. Chestnutt? (*Looking around.*)

Con.—He'll be here right away, Aunty. He is ordering the flowers for you. (*Whispering.*) American Beauty Roses? (*Aunty and Mrs. T. J. converse.*)

Ivy.—(*To Con.*) My new suit just came home from Madame Stitcher's. That's why we couldn't come before. Isn't it sweet and stylish? (*Pirouetting around to show Con.*)

Con.—(*Drawing her down to the bench.*) It's very neat and becoming. Ivy, I want to speak to you about something. You know today is a very important day in your life. You are going to cast your first vote and become a true citizen of your nation, state and country. You are going to be a patriot and not an idiot, from now on. (*Chest. comes out of florist's.*)

Chest.—(*Going up to Aunty.*) O, how perfectly lovely you look my dear Lavina. Are you prepared to cast your ballot?

Ivy.—Yes, I know, and Prof. Armstrong is going to lead me to the polls and give me flowers for voting, like the paper said. Where is he?

Aunty.—(*Opens her shopping bag and extracts articles.*) O, yes, I am *well prepared* for the ordeal. Jay, dear; here are my smelling salts, my fan and handkerchief, and I hope I shall be able to do my civic duty.

Con.—(*Looking over at her, to Ivy.*) Why, he is very busy, Ivy, as chairman of the Badge Committee. He has gone to one of the other precincts and won't be here in time to escort. (*Rises from the bench and leaves Ivy there—goes up to Aunty.*) But Aunty you know who you are going to vote for, don't you? And how you are going to do it? They use the machine here, you know.

Aunty.—(*With dignity.*) O, yes, I have often heard of the political machine, Constance.

Con.—(*Going back to Ivy—confidently seating herself again.*) Now, Ivy, I want you to tell me whether you *really care* for Prof. Armstrong? I know you were *very much excited* that day of Aunty's engagement? We could not judge fairly of your feelings.

Ivy.—(*Tossing her head.*) O, I'm not so awfully stuck on him, if that's what you mean. *Arntie* always talked as if he was such a fine catch, and he's got a *mighty* nice position at the University and all that. But you can have him, Connie! Some of the college boys, Willie Sapling and others—have been much nicer to me than he has, and Willie is a fine football player, if he did get cinched in his classes.

Chest.—(*To Aunty.*) Now, you see, Lavina, these surroundings are not so very contaminating, now, are they? That nice, clean booth or the stores and the flower shop.

Aunty.—(*Looking around.*) Sure enough the drug store might come in handy if I should be overcome, wouldn't it?

Con.—(*Coming up.*) Sure, Aunty, and you can get a *disinfectant,* there, if you need one, you know.

Aunty.—(*To Chest.*) And you will be right here at my side, Jay!

Chest.—Yes, lean on me, Lavina. I will support you with my manly arm. (*She takes his arm and starts to walk down toward the booth with slow, measured tread. Mrs. T. J. and Con. converse up right.*) (*Enter Willie Sapling lower right.*)

W. S.—O, hello, Ivy! (*Ivy jumps up from the bench, delighted.*) Prof. Armstrong told me you were going to vote, so I came over. I cast my ballot first thing this morning. (*Proudly.*)

Ivy.—Yes, Willie! and will you take me to the polls, and you have to give me flowers afterwards, you know.

Aunty.—(*Stopping after going a few steps.*) I must pause a moment and consider the importance of the step I am about to take. (*Closes her eyes and places hand over them.*)

Con.—O, you are not going to be married just now, Aunty.

Ivy.—(*Looking over at Aunty and imitating her.*) You must let me lean on your arm, Willie, as I am only a girl, you know, and have never voted before.

Willie.—Aw, it's dead easy, Ivy; nothin' to be scared of. Come awn! (*Takes hold of her by the arm, a little roughly.*)

Ivy.—(*Closing her eyes.*) Be careful, Willie. I faint *very easily* (*with languid air*) and I wouldn't want to have to be carried into the drug store and be revived in the middle of voting, you know.

Willie.—Aw g'long, Ivy. You aughter be caught in a college rush. This ain't nothin'. Spunk up, Ivy and get some class to ye, like the co-eds have got. (*Starts towards the booth with her.*)

Aunty.—(*Who has nearly reached the polls.*) The thought that I am bearing my share of the burdens of state will uphold me!

Chest.—And my arm, Lavina. (*Strains of "Merry Widow" waltz are heard from music store orchestra.*) But I must leave you here. Only one person is allowed in the booth at a time. (*Withdraws his manly support.*)

Ivy.—(*Tittering.*) Isn't that too funny for anything? Well, *Arntie* won't be a Merry Widow much longer, and *I'm* going to be bridesmaid, Willie. (*Enter Prof. Armstrong up right. Con goes up to speak to him.*)

Aunty.—(*To Chest.*) But you will be here when I return, Jay, will you not, to conduct me from the polls, and take me home?

Chest.—(*Encouragingly.*) Certainly, Lavina, and don't forget to mark the name of Grafton Ward, for County Clerk, Lavina (*Aunty smiles at him sweetly, nerves herself with a strong effort and enters the booth. Chest comes down to florist's.*)

Willie.—O, pshaw, Ivy! You oughtn't to think of such things when you're going to vote.

Chest.—(*Goes up to her on his way to florist's.*) All ready to do your civic duty, Miss Ivy? And you're going to vote for my friend Grafton Ward for County Clerk, are you not?

Ivy.—Yes, but Willie you'd better see about my flowers, you know, before they're all gone. There's plenty of time for me to vote! (*Chest. goes into florist's.*) (*Constance and Prof. Armstrong come down to bench.*)

Arm.—Yes, I think there will be a very large vote of the women in all the precincts. You are certainly to be congratulated on the success of your little plot for the encouragement of true citizenship among the women of Stanley.

Ivy.—(*To Willie.*) Arntie is going to get American Beauty roses, and I think I ought to have some, too.

Willie.—(*Reluctantly.*) Well, I'll see about it, Ivy. But flowers are awfully dear today, you know.

Con.—A rosebud would be most appreciated for Ivy, Mr. Sapling. And some maidenhair fern. (*Willie goes into florist's.*)

Arm.—The men are getting awfully jealous; they say they have voted for years and never got any flowers for it.

Con.—It's been awfully good of you to put in your time like this to help us.

Arm.—And a whole month's salary, Miss Constance; presenting flowers to ladies who hadn't any male friends or relatives. But it's in a good cause. (*Aunty comes out of booth, advancing down stage with mien more self-important than ever. Chest. emerges from florist's shop holding a single American Beauty rose in his hand goes to meet her.*)

Con.—(*Going up to Aunty.*) Now, Aunty, haven't you got that self-respecting feeling? See, here's your badge, aren't you proud to wear it? and Prof. Armstrong says there's been a *big* vote polled by the women. And you had a lot to do with it. (*Pins badge on her.*)

Aunty.—(*With self-satisfied smile.*) Yes, Constance. (*To Mr. Chest.*) O, did you only get one? (*Disappointed air.*)

Chest.—(*Making a good bluff.*) Yes, Lavina. (*Holding the rose off, and gazing at it admiringly.*) Because there is only one American Beauty rose—like you. You are the only American Beauty around here and so was this rose. Will you allow me? (*Fastens it on her corsage, with a flourish.*)

Con.—(*Going up to Ivy who is waiting for the flowers.*) Now it's your turn, Ivy, and don't forget who the best candidates are. (*Willie S. comes out of florist's with a single sprig of maidenhair fern.*)

Willie.—Say, Ivy, this was all I oculd get, and I had to fight with that old Jay Chestnutt for it, too—wanted to give it to his Merry Widow; (*disgustedly*) and there was only one rose and not a single bud. He had to pay five dollars for it, though, you bet! (*Ivy pouts but pins on fern, takes Willie's arm and goes over to the polls.*)

Arm.—(*Coming up to Aunty.*) Allow me to congratulate you on coming safely through the ordeal!

Aunty.—(*Languidly.*) Yes—but I am quite fatigued. I must rest a moment. (*Seats herself on the bench. Chest. sits beside her. Plucks a palm leaf off the potted plant, and fans her with it.* (*Gramophone in music store, or orchestra, plays national air.*)

Arm.—(*To Con.*) As I was saying, the experiment has been a great success, and I am only too happy to have borne my part in it. I fear to be perfectly candid, that my co-operation has been given mainly for your sake, to further your plans and to serve *you.*

Con.—(*Gaily.*) O, but that will never do, Professor Armstrong! That's just what *we women* are always accused of; acting from personal motives, and not for the highest good of the body politic. I am indeed shocked to hear you make such a confession. (*Turns away from him, and strolls over toward the bench.*)

Chest.—(*To Aunty.*) I think, Lavina, that you might enjoy some ice cream by way of refreshment after your political ordeal. And as this place is so convenient—— (*Both rise from the bench and go up to confectionery store.*) (*Gramophone or orchestra plays Wedding March.*)

Arm.—(*Standing before Constance, as she takes Aunty's place on bench.*) I am going to take you at your word, then. You have told me that you made some sacrifice in coming to California, giving up your school and leaving your mother in Colorado. (*Con. looks up at him inquiringly.*) Now, I am going to ask you to make a still greater sacrifice for the good of your native state. (*Pauses.*) I believe so thoroughly in your patriotism that I hope you will not hesitate——

Ivy.—(*Coming back beside Willie but not leaning on him*)—(*triumphantly.*) There! I've done it, I've voted! Now, where's my badge, Constance? (*Con. rises and pins it on.*) (*Professor Armstrong goes into florist's.*)

Willie.—(*Sheepishly, looking as though he wanted one, however.*) O shucks! We men don't have to wear them things!

Con.—Aunty and Mr. Chestnutt have gone to get ice cream.

Willie.—O gee! Let's us get some too, Ivy! (*Go into store.*) (*Professor Armstrong comes out of florist's carrying bouquet bunch of yellow roses.*)

Arm.—(*Holding out roses to Con.*) These are not American Beauties but—

Con.—(*Clasping her hands in delight.*) California!—O, but they are beauties! Where did you get them?

Arm.—(*Coming up to her and putting them into her hands.*) I had them reserved for you early this morning.

Con.—(*Inhaling their fragrance.*) That was so kind of you—and the color! Golden yellow for my native State, and for our great cause as well.

Arm.—For full womanhood, which you tipify—Constance! (*Takes her other hand, as she holds the flowers, and draws her down on the bench beside him*) (*very earnestly.*) A new chair of Municipal Government has been endorsed at the University, and I have been asked to take it. But I will consent only on one condition—that you will return to California and be my assistant. Constance, I appeal to you in the name of civic betterment and good citizenship; for the regeneration and progress of your native State, which I know is so dear to your heart.

Con.—(*In a low voice.*) I will—consider it.

Arm.—Favorably! For the cause of True Womanhood! (*Looks around—draws her to him.*)

(CURTAIN)

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DOES A MAN SUPPORT HIS WIFE?

Discussion by

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE, of London,
and
CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN, of New York.

Also

WHO SUPPORTS THE CHILDREN?
by
Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

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"SUPPORTED" BY HER HUSBAND.

"A man works from sun to sun,
A woman's work is never done."

Does A Man Support His Wife?

By EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

From *"Votes for Women"*, by permission

Many of the customs and laws of this country are founded upon the popular conception that a married woman is supported by her wage-earning husband. The latest example of legislation is the Insurance Bill, which assumes that, while the State has a direct responsibility to the wage-earner, it has no direct responsibility to the married woman on the ground that she is maintained by her husband and falls into the category of his "dependents."

That this theory is one of the grossest economic fallacies ever uttered will be realized as soon as men and women see the necessity of clear thinking on this subject. We shall find as we investigate this matter that the present economic system in this country and in other civilized countries is built up on the unpaid and grossly exploited labour of married women, who effect, as a matter of actual fact, a gigantic saving of the wealth both of the employer and of the State. We shall realize that the very first charge upon a National Invalidity Insurance Bill by every law of justice should be the married women and widows of the nation. However generously they were dealt with, such insurance in sickness would be but an instalment of the vast debt which the employer and the State actually owe to married women who work without a wage.

Such a statement will be challenged. The idea that married women are supporting the community is startlingly new. It is necessary to examine the position.

The wage-earning man works a limited number of hours, and receives a cash return from his employer for his labour. The wife of the wage-earning man works an unlimited number of hours, and receives no cash return from anybody. Her work consists of manual labor of the most arduous and exacting nature. But when all the manual tasks are duly performed her service is not fulfilled. For hers is a position of great and many-sided responsibility, and her vocation as a mother is the most fundamentally serious and sacred to which a human being can be called. Upon the fulfilment of that vocation entailing physical risk and suffering and great sacrifice, the welfare of the nation depends.

As an unmarried girl she was self-supporting (although unless she severed herself from her family much of her energy and strength went in the unpaid labour of the home always done by women). If she entered domestic service she received an economic return for her household labour in wages.

Today a domestic servant earns from £15 to £40 per annum, according to her abilities, exclusive of board and lodging, which middle-class housekeepers in drawing up their household budget estimate roughly at 10s. a week. Upon her marriage she relinquishes this cash symbol of her economic value in the home. She transfers her service from the home of her employer to the home of a labourer or an artisan. Much that she would have refused to do in the service of an employer she cheerfully performs in the service of the family. She scrubs, cleans, stands over the wash-tub, makes and mends and cooks. More than all she bears the long strain and the sharp ordeal of childbirth, and becomes the sole minister to the manifold needs of her infant children. Should sickness fall upon her husband or any member of the family she becomes the sick nurse, performing every kind of personal service in attendance day and night upon the patient. By her labor, the life and well-being of the family is maintained, and upon the life and well-being of the family depend the life and well-being of the State.

There is recreation, there is rest for the wage-earner when the contract with the employer has been fulfilled, but for the pivot of the home, the mother, there can be and there is no holiday, for her task cannot be laid aside.

Where is the value gone of the gross £30, £40, £50, and £60 per annum which she earned as a domestic servant? She is not less skilled, she has gained new powers and new capabilities from deep experience and great responsibility. She works longer and harder. How, then, has it happened that she who once maintained herself is now maintained by her husband; that she who was once a self-supporting woman is now a "dependent"?

The truth is that this woman, once a self-supporter, has become the supporter not only of herself but of her husband and her children. Or, let us say, the man and the woman who, unmarried, supported themselves, have now become joint supporters of each other and of a growing family of children.

The wife of a working man supports her home and family by the same means as does the wage-earning man—by her labour. The fact that the labour is unpaid does not destroy its

real economic value, though it deprives the woman of labour's due reward, and implies an unpaid debt on the part of those who benefit by the cash value of her work.

A married working man without children lives in far greater comfort than an unmarried working man earning the same wage. It would be impossible for an unmarried working man, earning, say, 25s. to 30s. a week, to maintain four or five young children and keep them in a sanitary condition, decently clothed, and reasonably well fed upon this wage. Yet hundreds of thousands of married working men accomplish this miracle!

But let the wife and mother be taken away from the family, and see what happens. Every social worker knows the pitiable condition of the widower with 25s. to 30s. a week left with several young children on his hands. He cannot afford to pay for the labour performed by his wife. He is bound to marry again almost immediately, and if in the interim he did not find some woman relation or neighbor ready to step into the breach with her ministry of unpaid labour his case would be desperate, and the State would have to step in on the children's behalf, and extricate him from his difficulties. He nearly always does find such a woman. "The poor are good to one another." Yes, but it is the women upon whom the burden of generosity falls in almost every case.

Neither the wage-earning husband, nor the employer, nor the nation has given due consideration to the economic value of this vast contribution of the married woman's unpaid labour.

The theory that capital maintained labour once found popular acceptance in this country. That error has been exploded. It is now almost universally recognised that capital and labour are mutually dependent. They support each other. And the State recognises direct responsibility towards both. The theory that the married working man supports his wife is an error equally great. Husband and wife are mutually dependent upon each other for support, and together they maintain their dependents, the young children of the family. Both are of economic value to the State, and the State has a direct

economic responsibility towards both. While the fact that the economic contribution of the married working woman is not requited by a money wage should make her claim for insurance the stronger.

The present Invalidity Insurance Bill is founded upon an economic falsity, namely, that the wife of the wage-earner is supported by her husband, and if it is carried in its present form will inflict gross injustice upon married women, whose labor has been too long exploited, and defrauded of its due recognition and reward.

WHO SUPPORTS THE CHILDREN?

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

From *"Votes for Women"*, by permission

A fortnight ago an article was published in Votes for Women dealing with the question, "Does a Man Support his Wife?" As writer of that article I challenged the theory, almost universally accepted, that the wife of a wage-earner is to be classed with his children in the catagory of his dependents. I pointed out, also, that upon this theory (which I showed to be a misleading fallacy), many laws affecting the home and the family, and many laws affecting also the social and economic position of women are based, and that new laws are being made at the present time which are unjust to women, because they are founded on the same misconception.

As a case in point I cited the "National" Insurance Bill, which inflicts great hardship on women, particularly on married women, who are not themselves wage-earners, and upon widows. This Bill, as it is drafted at present, is the result of the failure on the part of our law-makers to understand or appreciate the economic value to the community of the unpaid labour of the wives of wage-earners.

To say that a wage-earner keeps his wife is as true as to say that an employer keeps his wage-earners. Wage-earners are in a sense dependent upon their employer, but the employ-

er is also dependent upon them. A man supports his wife, yes. But a wife supports her husband also. That is to say, husband and wife support each other by precisely the same means—by their labour. But the man's contribution goes through one more process than the woman's. The man first sells his labour to an employer and gets in exchange for it money which supplies certain of his own needs and the needs of his wife. The woman does not sell her labour, but applies it directly for the supply of certain other needs both of her husband and herself. Thus, as far as mutual dependence goes, they are quits.

But the money produced by the man's labour does more than enable him to supply his own and his wife's board, lodging, clothing and the necessary commodities of their existence. It enables him to take part in supporting his children, who are incapable for many years of giving him any economic return whatever, either in labour or in cash. In precisely the same way a married woman's labour avails for more than her husband and herself and is absorbed in ministry to a number of entirely helpless dependents. The man sells his labour and receives cash, which he applies to his children's maintenance. The woman applies her direct labour for the children's maintenance without effecting first an exchange of labour for money. The paid labour of the father and the unpaid labour of the mother are equally essential to the well-being of their dependents, and both parents are equally indispensable to the welfare of the family. And if anyone asks, therefore, "Who supports the children?" the answer must be, "The mother equally with the father, and the father equally with the mother." And herein, therefore, is the answer found to the question put in my former article as to where the value of the wages earned by the domestic servant goes when she marries. It goes in part to her husband, in part to the maintenance of her children.

But the children do not belong solely and entirely to the father and the mother. They belong also to the State. They are the potential wealth of the nation. This is nowadays so generally accepted that it is unnecessary to support it by argument. Therefore the father and the mother who in addition to

supporting themselves and each other, support also a family of dependent children, are performing a task on behalf of the State, and are servants and supporters of the community.

When a child reaches a certain age the community insists on bringing in the additional services of the teacher, to help the father and mother in equipping the child for taking its future share in the nation's life. The State does not expect the labour of the teacher to be given without direct and material acknowledgment and recompense, and the State gives the teacher an exchange value in money in return for the teacher's service to the child.

The State recognizes also the service of the father. It does not pay him cash, but it secures to him a firm legal status, accords him rights and privileges in regard to the guardianship of his children, and admits, as the present Insurance Bill proves, its direct responsibility to him as a wage-earner in sickness. It is only the mother's service to the community that goes wholly unacknowledged and unrewarded by the State. She is expected to give all her labour to the ministry of dependent children without pay and without acknowledgment. The State admits no direct responsibility to her in sickness except under the semi-penal provisions of the Poor-law, denies her the free medical attendance which it assures to her partner, excludes her from the National Sanatoria that are to be erected, and on the death of her husband insists that she shall forfeit all claim to the sum that has been amassed week by week by the joint labour of wage-earner and wife, and that has been paid into the national treasury out of the family purse in the form of an insurance premium.

So far we have considered only the equal tribute paid in manual and mental labour by the husband and wife for the support of their children. But there is a unique and special service rendered by the mother which has no counterpart anywhere else, unless it be on the nation's battlefield. The wife of the wage-earner not only helps to support her children; she, like every mother in the world, risks her health and even her life to give them being. Now, the mother who having con-

formed to all the dictates of the law of the community faces death upon that battlefield where life is given performs a service to her country equal to that of the soldier, who, having donned the uniform of his Sovereign in token of his obedience to military law, faces death upon that battlefield where, in defence of his nation, life is destroyed. And she is entitled to the same consideration and the same honour. The soldier is decorated. The labourer in the industrial field is rewarded by money, which is the symbol of power. Yet the woman is dishonoured and loaded with disabilities by the laws of the community she serves; and she who is a contributor to the nation's wealth is refused even succour in sickness on the insulting plea that she is a dependent.

"Does A Man Support His Wife?"

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

In "Votes for Women," that satisfying paper so efficiently voicing the needs not only of many English women, but of women the world over, in the issue of July 21, 1911, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence has a leading article with the above title.

It is a clear, strong presentation of one view of the economic position of married women; claiming for them not only that they support themselves by their labors in the home, but even more—that they support the community by those labors.

The application of this article to the Invalidity Insurance bill I do not touch upon, but only its main position.

This special problem in socio-economic relation is one which looks delusively simple, as being so universally before our eyes, and of such unbroken historic continuity; but it is in fact complicated most confusingly.

We have first the complication of sex, causing us to judge an economic relation between man and woman as we would never judge the same relation between two men, or between two women.

Second, we have the complication of different stages of economic development going on together in the same period.

Third, we have the complication of service performed and not paid for.

And fourth, we have the complication of that uncertain question as to how much "service" is of economic value.

In a large sociological sense no civilized human being is "self-supporting." We are all interdependent; living not by virtue of our own exertions, but by virtue of the exertions of many other persons; those before us and those beside us, whose combined labors make up human life.

In an individual sense a man may be called "self-supporting" who contributes to the world more in labor value than he takes out. If it costs other persons three hundred dollars

worth of food, clothing and shelter to keep a man alive, he must give three hundred dollars worth of labor to be "self-supporting." If it costs other persons three thousand or three million dollars worth a year to maintain a man, he must give that amount of labor to be "self-supporting."

If, in a lifetime, one puts into the world more than one takes out, there need be no sense of obligation. Yet our economic ideas are so confused that we speak of a man who lives on inherited money, doing absolutely no productive work, and consuming all he possibly can, as being "independent;" and on the other hand consider those by whose generous, ill paid labor we live from day to day, as "dependents," to whom we have to "furnish employment."

Viewed from this side the life-long labors of the average married woman certainly should be considered as more than equal to all she receives in life, and, in that single sense, she may be academically considered as "self-supporting."

This is, however, but a metaphysical satisfaction; and in no way alters the glaring fact that the income of a married woman is by no means relative to her own economic exertions; but (a), to her husband's economic exertions, and (b), to his good pleasure.

Metaphysically she may solace her soul with the thought that her services are of sufficient value to entitle her to a large salary. Actually, her salary, wage, or income, even if guaranteed to her by law, could be no more than what was left of her husband's income after the house-hold was provided for, even if he kept none at all! If he kept half, as the most modest of men might feel was right, there is the measure of her "support;" board wages, mere food, shelter and warmth, as we must give even to draught animals, or slaves; and beyond that half of the surplus, if there is any.

If the husband's economic efforts are valuable, the wife's "support" improves. If they are of a low value, so is her "support." What she gets out of life is not proportioned to her labors, but to his.

In this painfully practical view the wife *is* supported by her husband. He must give to other persons enough labor to

receive a return of food, shelter and clothing for the family. If his powers are great, and he finds a market for them, he can "support" the family well. If his powers are small, or find no market, he cannot. If he is altogether unable to work, or is dead, the woman must learn to work for other persons in order to "support" the family.

Put it vividly in a single case.

Here is Mrs. Jones, working industriously all day in her house. She sweeps and dusts, scrubs and scours, washes and irons, cooks and clears away, sews, mends, makes beds, for twelve hours a day.

Her husband meanwhile works in a mill for ten hours a day, and brings home as an equivalent of his labors, money, which means rent, coal, food, clothes.

She works as long as he, and at more intricate tasks; and does not feel that he "supports" her.

Now Mr. Jones dies. She remains in the home and goes on as before, performing those intricate tasks.

Then comes the rent bill, the coal bill, the bread bill, the meat bill—all the bills.

Her labors are no equivalent. No one will give her a house, a fire, clothing and food, for doing housework for herself—or for her children; and she has lost her former employer.

This is the actual economic position of a working housewife. She is a servant, on board wages. If her husband is so poor that he cannot afford to even feed a servant, then she has to work for other people—support herself—perhaps support him!

We may now change our question a little and say "does a man support his servant?"

Here is Mr. Smith, who earns enough to enable him to keep a "man." The "man" toils incessantly for his master. He is industry and care personified. He labors and thinks and devotes his life to the service of his master. He certainly earns his wages. But if his master grows too poor to pay those wages, too poor even to pay for food for two, then

must the "man" find another employer; his first one can no longer "keep," i. e., "support" a servant.

This shows that a human being may labor steadily and yet be "supported" at the same time. To support another person does not imply that the other person does not deserve it, has not earned it; but it does imply that the supporter is the employer and that the employer depends on him.

This is the position of the married woman; she is privately employed by her husband, at house service.

Let us distinguish carefully between this, their economic relation, and their physiological, legal, emotional, or other relations. She is his wedded wife, and entitled by law, arbitrarily to "support," even if she is sick and can do no work. She is his mate; they are co-partners in parentage.

They love each other, much or little as the case may be. They have mutual affection, respect, esteem; the pleasantness or unpleasantness of long habituation between them. All these have nothing whatever to do with their economic relation.

Industrially considered she is his housekeeper, or house-servant, on board wages.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence speaks of these unpaid labors of the housewife in the highest terms; not only as noble and beautiful in themselves, but as "a gigantic saving of the wealth both of the employer and the State."

She seeks to establish a higher claim for the dignity and honor of the housewife's position, and for its economic value in particular.

This theory, while bravely and clearly set forth, is not only untenable, but of the gravest injury to the very cause it champions. What women need is not to be soothed and kept content in their economic position by any sweeping claims of its world-value, but to learn once and for all that their position is one injurious and degrading, not only to themselves, but to the world.

It may be safely said that as long as woman, who constitute half the world, are content to live as private servants to the other half, our civilization must remain arrested and incongruous as we see it now.

A later culture, accustomed to the economic equality of men and women, will find it difficult to understand the peculiar anchylosis of ideas which has for so long maintained this paradoxical position.

That the basic reverence of the male for the female has survived at all, through these ages of servile womanhood; that any legal justice has been accorded to a universally servile class; that a social equality even as superficial as ours can be maintained; these anomalies are poofs of the strength of biological and sociological forces, as against temporary artificial conditions.

The early relation of men and women, wherein the father hunted, and the mother carried, skinned and cooked the game, was a fair enough partnership. The late stage, as among the Pueblos of our own Southwest, where the men own the fields and the women the houses, is a fair enough partnership. But since manufacture and exchange began, the whole range of progress, world progress, has been in the hands of men; and all its splendid rewards have been theirs.

The economic status of a nation lies in its "land and labor"; in its natural resources, and the quantity and quality of intelligence applied to them. As that intelligence grows, as new arts, new sciences, new inventions, are given to the world, the world grows rich and strong. Economic progress lies in the long path between that savage, hunting for himself and his family, and the present international distribution of the world's goods.

Here is where the economic position of woman is so misunderstood, for lack of sociological knowledge. Evidently the present visible woman is here, in the same century with the automobile, the air-ship, the International Postal Union. Yet her economic status is that of the squaw. She stays at home and cooks. She has the advantage of utensils and supplies developed by advancing civilization, but her *status*, in regard to getting a living is just what it was then. He gets it—she cooks it.

When they began they were even. He got it, alone. She cooked it, alone.

Now he gets it by the highly developed complex interchange of specialized, organized modern industry. She still cooks it, alone.

This labor is honestly believed to be a saving; to the family and to the state.

It is not a saving; it is an unbearable expense.

The least efficient, most wasteful labor, is that of every man for himself. The next lowest is that of every woman for her man. Every man, to the poorest, thinks he must have one whole woman to cook for him; and they both think it is "economical"!

If they were not women, these innumerable cooks, this fifty per cent. of the human race deliberately set aside to cook for the other fifty, no sane economist could bear the thought of such a colossal waste of labor.

If each man did for himself the work he expects of his woman, there would be no wealth in the world; only millions and millions of poor tired men, sweeping, dusting, scrubbing, cleaning, sewing, mending, cooking, washing, ironing—and dying for lack of food.

Fine words butter no parsnips—neither does housework. Some one has to raise the parsnips.

Suppose there were no women in the world. Would each man think he must have a whole other man to cook for him? Would the other man do it—on board and wages, so reducing the wealth of the world by half—and getting very little of that?

Men have passed that stage of labor, in civilized countries. Some of them, it is true, are still servants; but neither they nor anyone else have any delusions as to their work being a saving, either to the family which can afford to "keep a man," or to the state.

The question of how much personal service is of economic value may be clearly answered: as much as increases the economic value of the person served.

Consider first the case of one person, waiting on himself. His income depends wholly on the amount of time, strength, and intelligence he puts into productive labor. The amount of time,

strength, and intelligence he can afford to spend on the setting of tables, the blacking of boots and mending of clothes, the making of cakes and pies and ironing of table linen for himself, must be measured by its effects on his productive labor. Let us suppose that one hour a day spent in cooking is absolutely necessary to him, leaving nine for his productive labor.

If spending two hours a day in housework enables him to earn as much, or more, in the remaining eight, then he can afford that. If spending three hours a day in housework enables him to earn as much or more in the remaining seven, then he can afford that. But it can be readily seen that if he spent all his time doing housework for himself he would have nothing to eat; and that the limit of justifiable expense for him, in the time devoted to housework, is the amount absolutely necessary to maintain his best efficiency.

Then consider the case of a group of men working together on one economic base; as fifty lumber men in a forest. Their economic product is cut wood: their income depends on how much wood they cut. If each man works ten hours a day, and his labor is worth ten cents an hour, this would represent a dollar a day for each, fifty dollars a day for the group, and one hour's labor of the group is worth five dollars.

Now suppose each of these fifty men makes a fire, three times a day, and cooks his own meals, allowing for this two hours' time. This would equal ten dollars a day, sixty dollars a week, paid for service. Each man earns but one dollar a day, yet they are paying, collectively, ten for their cooking; to say nothing of the waste of the fifty fires and the fifty sets of cooking utensils. No set of men, working collectively, would be so foolish.

Neither do they settle the matter by dividing themselves into two economic classes, the one twenty-five cutting wood and the other twenty-five devoting all their time to cooking for and otherwise serving the woodcutters. If this were done there would be twenty-five men earning a dollar a day, and each paying that dollar to his cook—in which case he would have nothing, and the cook would have to buy the food out of his wages.

If the twenty-five woodcutters devised the brilliant idea of not paying the twenty-five cooks, and the twenty-five cooks, for

some mysterious reason, acquiesced, there would still be but twenty-five dollars a day earned, where there had been fifty, and just as many persons to feed as before. The expenses of running that lumber camp would remain the same; the income would be reduced by half.

The twenty-five cooks might conceivably suppose that they were doing a service to the twenty-five woodcutters; might solace themselves for their lack of wages by imagining how much their services were worth; might add all manner of profuse attention to the really necessary cooking; might sit up all night to frost cake and whip syllabubs—thus endearing themselves to their employers: but the painful economic fact remains that half the labor of that group was wasted.

"No, not half. Somebody has to cook!" protests the woodcutter, swinging his axe proudly; "you don't expect *me* to do it, I hope."

Yes, somebody has to cook. It is very bad economics for each one to do it himself—that cost ten dollars a day. The twenty-five cooks would cost twenty-five dollars a day if they were paid; but as they are not paid, the deluded woodcutters think they cost nothing.

What they cost is the money they do not earn.

And who should do the cooking?

As many cooks as are necessary to do the cooking for fifty men. One can do it, having nothing else to do. If our woodcutters were a little luxurious, and willing to pay, they might have two. Two, at a dollar a day, like the others.

Now we have forty-eight at productive labor, and two at what we might call conducive labor, indirectly productive; and no waste.

The expense of feeding the fifty would be alike, whether they all cut wood or all cooked. As a mere question of economics, for half the world to abstain from productive industry and become servants to the other half, is a waste of nearly 50 per cent. of human efficiency.

Then arises the question of sex, which is the main element of confusion in the case. The social value to the world of rearing human beings, and the psychic value to the husband of the affection of his wife, together with other "values" which need not be obtrusively mentioned, are confused with economic values, naturally enough.

To clear up this confusion, let us now treat of women alone, as we have been treating of men.

Let us suppose one woman, Mary Smith, self-supporting, a dressmaker. Her economic outfit consists of skilled labor. She manufactures garments for purchasers. They pay her for the garments.

She lives alone, "does" for herself, and earns two dollars a day.

Now this woman marries; her husband promptly dies, and she has posthumous twins. She now in due course "bears the long strain and sharp ordeal of childbirth, and becomes the sole minister to the manifold needs of her infant children." I quote from the article under discussion.

What is the effect of this experience on her economic position?

She must still live. As she does not raise food, she must buy it. She must give labor to others that they may give food to her. This she does by dressmaking as before. But now some of her energy has gone into bearing the children; some energy and some time must go into caring for the children: her economic output is decreased by that much.

It is no use asking the children to pay, though many parents literally do this—in later years; and we cannot sell the children nowadays; they are not marketable commodities.

Motherhood is not an economic function. It is physiological, but it is not economically productive. On the contrary, it is economically expensive.

While the children are under the age when they can rightly produce, they merely consume. To provide for them, more must be earned.

This woman, alone, would not expect to see her income raised because she was a mother. Her income depends on how many dresses she makes; not on how many children she has. Let us suppose that she gives half her time to the care of her children and the home, five hours a day. In this case she would earn one

dollar a day instead of two, and have three to maintain on that sum.

Now apears Jane Jones, forewoman in a large shop, also earning two dollars a day, and conceives a violent affection for Mary. Moved by this affection, which is reciprocated, they become close friends. Then Jane says to Mary, "I have to pay half my money for board and lodging; why not pay it to you? Then we can live together in peace and amity, and you will be the richer, while I am no poorer."

This is agreed upon. To give room and board and service to this friend does not take all the money she pays, and does not add materially to the hours spent in housework. The arrangement is a profitable one to Mary, and no new expense to Jane. Mary's income is again two dollars a day, twelve dollars a week, to feed and shelter four, while the beneficent Jane still has six dollars a week to spend on her own clothing and pleasure.

Now comes the great change; the change from a dignified, workable economic arrangement to that now commonly held by women. Jane becomes so ardent in her affection for Mary that she says, "Wilt thou be mine?"

"Why, I am yours," says Mary; "I love you dearly."

"Yes, but I cannot bear to think of your working at dressmaking for strangers! Give it up and work for me! All I have is yours! I will take care of you!"

Mary, under some delusion of greater respectability and deeper affection, rapturously accepts the proposition, and becomes Jane's.

Jane's what?

Jane's housekeeper and servant. Jane is delighted. Mary has more time to make fancy dishes for her, and to decorate the house, Jane's house. It is Jane's house because she pays the rent.

Her salary has not been raised. Out of her twelve dollars she has to pay all that Mary paid for hers—which has disappeared. Now Jane must have carfares, clothes, lunch and tobacco, to say nothing of a little beer; and these leave her less than twelve dollars for their combined expenses. They meet this loss with equinimity, for are they not "together"?

As a matter of fact they are no more together than they were before, but Jane prefers it. Jane likes to think that Mary is "hers," and works only for her. She likes to think that the house is "hers" and not Mary's. She did not like to board in Mary's house; she prefers to support Mary. And she does support her; very poorly, to be sure, but every bit that Mary eats, drinks, wears, in any way consumes, is paid for out of Jane's wages.

Jane is much poorer, of course, but bears it nobly—is she not sacrificing herself to support Mary?

And Mary, poor dear, is quite happy; for she loves Jane, and loves her children, and works from morning to night to care for and please them.

But can she claim that her position is a saving to anybody?

An economic relation is the same, wether between two men, two women, or a man and a woman. Women should not delude themselves with the idea that because they work so hard they are therefore in some mysterious way producing wealth, or even saving it.

They should learn that their economic position is one of gross waste; as that of the twenty-five cooks for the twenty-five woodcutters. Waste of time, waste of srength, waste of fuel, waste of utensils, waste of houseroom, waste of food; all this added to the enormous loss of what they might have produced. Not only is this a heavy loss in our economic wealth, but the preservation of this primitive status of labor in a world otherwise industrially advanced is a grave social injury.

It is the largest deterrent to the social evolution of women, tending to keep them over-personal and narrow-minded; and has a reactionary influence on the men, so lapped in personal service; and on the children who are reared in the atmosphere of servile womanhood.

The value of motherhood to the state is quite another matter, and so is the relation of the state to its young citizens. Whatever arrangements are made about that should be made by free women, in congress assembled. It is their affair.

But the whole difficulty lies in that one small phrase of the grasping male—"Wilt thou be mine?"

Why should she be "His"?

Mutual love, legalized marriage, happy parenthood; these are worlds removed from this last dragging remnant ancient savagery, the squaw-status, the slave status, of women.

Is not legal possession with enforced labor and no pay slavery?

And is slave labor economically advantageous?

When women are wise enough to be free, and free enough to be wise, they will learn to dissociate the joys of love, the status of marriage, the blessings and cares of motherhood, from the plain trade of cooking, and the labors of personal service.

[post-Jan. 7, 1911]

Remarks on "The Ladies' Battle"

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Miss Molly Elliot Seawell has expanded into a small book her recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* against woman suffrage. She asserts that, if women gain the ballot, they must forfeit "enormous property privileges," and that all sorts of disasters will follow. Her statements are unqualifiedly denied by the leading legal authorities of the enfranchised States.

Chief Justice Potter, of Wyoming, says:

"None of the consequences or complications mentioned by Miss Seawell have arisen in Wyoming, where women have had full suffrage since 1869. Married women have not only not been deprived of any property rights which they had before equal suffrage was adopted, but from time to time statutes have been passed extending the property rights of married women." —*The Woman's Journal,* January 7, 1911.

Judge Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court annotated a whole series of Miss Seawell's statements, writing against each the words, "Absolutely false." He added:

"It is hard to understand how anyone with a grain of intelligence could sign her name to such absurdities. The statements are false in every detail, and our experience in Colorado proves that not one of them ever operated in actual practice, as claimed."—*The Woman's Journal,* October 8, 1910.

Chief Justice Sullivan, of Idaho, says:

"It seems strange that a magazine with the standing of the *Atlantic Monthly* would give space to an article containing not only an utter misconception of the legal principles applicable to women who have the right of suffrage, but so many erroneous statements and misrepresentations of the historical facts of the real condition of woman suffrage where it is now in actual operation. I am unable to understand why an author would risk her reputation by making so many false statements. It seems to me that nothing but ignorance, prejudice and a wilful intention to misrepresent could have instigated such an article.

"The idea that every legal voter must be able to fight his way to the polls, and after he has done so, possess the physical ability to enforce the effect of his ballot, is a proposition that would not stand the test in any civilized country. If this so-called basic principle were correct, it would disfranchise at least one-fourth of the male voters in the United States."

Of Miss Seawell's assertion that ruffians would undoubtedly prevent women by force from casting their ballots, Chief Justice Sullivan says:

"No such thing has ever occurred in any of the suffrage States. What would the good men at the polling place be doing while the ruffians were

belaboring their mothers and wives, sisters and sweethearts, and preventing them from depositing their ballots? If anything like that had occurred, the rowdy who attempted it would never attempt such an act again.

"Miss Seawell's second so-called basic principle is that one voter cannot claim maintenance from another voter. Where in the common law or in any statute law in any of the States of this Union can she find such a principle? In some States, inhabitants of almshouses are not permitted to vote; but that is not a case in point. She says the moment a married woman claimed the right to vote, she would be deprived of any claim to support from her husband. There are no such laws in any of the four suffrage States mentioned, and no such laws exist in any other State of this Union, nor is any such principle found in the common law.

"We have made an actual test of woman suffrage in this State for fourteen years, and there has not been a 'stupendous loss to women,' nor any loss whatever; but it has proven beneficial to the best interests of the State. And there is no doubt that the results would be just as beneficial in the more thickly populated States of the Union.

"Paraphrasing Miss Seawell, I believe that the most important factors in the State are the wives and mothers who make of their sons and daughters good citizens to govern and protect the State, and woman suffrage is one of the greatest means to effect that end."—*The Woman's Journal,* November 12, 1910.

Miss Seawell worships the past and is blind to present-day problems. Denouncing certain suffragists who said that they wanted a vote in order to promote education and sanitation, Miss Seawell says:

"Neither sanitation nor popular education was known to the founders of the Republic; yet these founders added more to the forces of civilization than any group of sanitarians or educators that ever lived. Sanitation and education are already well attended to by men, and as large a share of the public income is devoted to them as the people will bear."

It is impossible, within a limited space, to take up one-tenth part of the flagrant errors of fact contained in this little volume. It is a book that may well make suffragists laugh and anti-suffragists blush.

THE GREAT DESTROYER

SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHMOND P. HOBSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 2, 1911

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1911

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SPEECH

OF

HON. RICHMOND P. HOBSON.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 31596) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912—

Mr. HOBSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I wish to show the intimate relations between country life and city life and prosperity and institutions of nations. I will print a lecture of mine on the subject, as follows:

ALCOHOL IN HISTORY.

History is a record of a sad procession of world tragedies. Nations and empires in turn have risen to greatness only to fall. Before the deathblow was struck from without the evidence shows in every case the ravages of a titanic destroyer within, under whose operations the vitality and strength of the nation were submerged in a general degeneracy.

For centuries the world's philosophers and historians have looked on appalled, overwhelmed. Only in the last few years has science taken up the question. Following her patient, rigid methods, under which nature and life have slowly yielded up their secrets, science has at last cleared up the mystery and identified the great destroyer as alcoholic poisoning.

THE DISCOVERY.

The discovery, like most great discoveries, came about almost by accident. During the Boer War it was found that the average Englishman did not measure up to the standards of recruiting and the average soldier in the field manifested a low plane of vitality and endurance. Parliament, alarmed by the disastrous consequences, instituted an investigation. The commission appointed brought in a finding that alcoholic poisoning was the great cause of the national degeneracy. The investigations of the commission have been supplanted by investigations of scientific bodies and individual scientists, all arriving at the same conclusion. As a consequence, the British Government has placarded the streets of a hundred cities with billboards setting forth the destructive and degenerating nature of alcohol and appealing to the people in the name of the nation to desist from drinking alcoholic beverages. Under efforts directed by the Government the British Army is fast becoming an army of total abstainers.

The Governments of continental Europe followed the lead of the British Government. The French Government has placarded France with appeals to the people, attributing the decline of the birth rate and increase in the death rate to the widespread use of alcoholic beverages. The experience of the German Government has been the same. The German Emperor has clearly stated that leadership in war and in peace will be held by the nation that roots out alcohol. He has undertaken to eliminate even the drinking of beer, so far as possible, from the German Army and Navy.

In the summer of 1909 an international conference on alcoholism was held in London, to which most of the great nations sent scientific men or delegates. Comparing the results of investigation made in all parts of the world, finding that these results agreed, representative medical leaders of the conference drew up a report in the form of a statement defining the nature of alcohol, as follows:

THE NATURE OF ALCOHOL.

Exact laboratory, clinical, and pathological research has demonstrated that alcohol is a dehydrating, protoplasmic poison, and its use as a beverage is destructive and degenerating to the human organism. Its effects upon the cells and tissues of the body are depressive, narcotic, and anæsthetic. Therefore, therapeutically, its use should be limited and restricted in the same way as the use of other poisonous drugs.

It is to be noted that the investigation has been conclusive. The question has passed beyond the experimental stage, beyond the stage of theory, and is a demonstration that is final, like the demonstration that the world is round and not flat.

ALCOHOL A POISON.

The last word of science, after exact research in all the domains, is that alcohol is a poison. It has been found to be a hydrocarbon of the formula C_2H_6O, that is produced by the process of fermentation, and is the toxin, or liquid excretion or waste product, of the yeast or ferment germ. According to the universal law of biology that the toxin of one form of life is a poison to all forms of life of a higher order, alcohol, the toxin of the low yeast germ, is a protoplasmic poison to all life, whether plant, animal, or man, and to all the living tissues and organs.

ALCOHOL HAS NO FOOD VALUE.

It is necessary to surrender the old idea, so widespread, that alcohol in small quantities has a food value, that its temperate use has any benefit. The experience of the railroads has led over 39 great railroads to forbid the use of alcoholic beverage among their employees. While the men thought they were being fortified, experience proved the contrary. Science has supplemented experience by actual and accurate measurements. If a man drinks one glass of beer, the day on which he drinks it his general efficiency will be lowered on an average of 8 per cent. If he takes three glasses of beer a day, or the equivalent in light wine, for 12 days, his efficiency at the end of the 12 days will be lowered from 25 per cent to 40 per cent, depending upon the temperament of the man and the nature of the work. In doing mathematical work, like bookkeeping, the loss of efficiency goes above the 40 per cent limit; in memorizing the loss goes up as high as 70 per cent. Thus the most moderate and temperate drinking is harmful. No matter in what quantity taken alcohol remains always a poison.

ALCOHOL A NARCOTIC, NOT A STIMULANT.

In like manner it is necessary to surrender the old idea that alcohol is a stimulant and has medicinal value as such, for it has been found to be a narcotic. What is thought to be stimulation is in reality a condition where the higher centers of coordination and control are more affected by the narcotic and, under the paralytic effect, turn loose the lower activities. The real effect throughout is depressive, and all the ideas of medicinal value attaching to alcohol must be abandoned.

SNAKE-BITE FALLACY—CONSUMPTION FALLACY.

The old idea that alcohol is good for a snake bite, mad-dog bite, or other forms of poisoning must give way, for experiment has shown that in such cases alcohol not only does no good, but actually hinders and even prevents other treatment from being effective. Two men bitten at the same time on the streets of Paris by the same mad dog were treated at the same hospital. One speedily recovered. The other was not susceptible to treatment and died. Though not inebriated and not a heavy drinker, but only a temperate regular drinker, it was found that the alcohol in his system prevented all treatment from taking effect.

The old idea that alcohol is good for those threatened with lung troubles must be abandoned. Accurate records show that deaths from lung trouble are directly in proportion to the average amount of alcohol consumed. In one province of France, where the consumption of alcohol is 12.5 liters per capita per year, the deaths from consumption are 32.8 per 10,000 per year, while in a simi-

lar province, where the consumption of alcohol is 36.4 liters per capita, the deaths from consumption are 109.8 per 10,000. With regard to drinking alcoholic beverages, what applies to consumption applies to pneumonia and other diseases of the lungs, like grippe, pleurisy, colds, and the like. What applies to the diseases of the lungs applies in a general way to the diseases of the stomach and intestines, diseases of the kidneys and bladder, diseases of the liver, diseases of the heart and blood vessels, diseases of the nervous system and the brain, diseases of the blood, diseases of the bones, muscles, and tissues.

The alcoholic toxin not only has a poisoning effect of its own in every case, but in addition, through lowered vitality, the organs and tissues are opened to attack from other sources.

ALCOHOL THE CAUSE OF DISEASE.

The results can be illustrated by taking the effect of alcohol on the white blood corpuscles, the wonderful standing army of the system, whose organized hosts, millions strong, attack and destroy the hordes of disease germs of all kinds that are constantly entering the system through the air we breathe, the food and drink, and through abrasions of the skin. These disease germs, seeking a lodgment, germs of tuberculosis usually in the lungs, germs of typhoid in the intestines, each kind in its favorite organs or tissues, are constantly under assault from the armies of the corpuscles. If the latter win from the outset the germs are thrown off. If the germs win at first they get a lodgment and multiply, and the person contracts the diseases. If by repeated assaults the corpuscles finally win, the patient recovers. If the multiplying hordes of germs win, the patient dies. Nearly all the diseases of mankind and nearly all the deaths hang upon the vitality and vigor of the white blood corpuscles.

ONE DRINK MAKES THE WHITE BLOOD CORPUSCLES DRUNK.

Under the microscope it was found that even a moderate drink of alcoholic beverage passing quickly into the blood paralyzes the white blood corpuscles. They behave like drunken men. In pursuit they can not catch the disease germs. In conflict they can not hold the disease germs for devouring, and they can not operate in great phalanxes, as they do when sober, against such powerful germs as those of consumption.

Every time a man takes a drink of alcoholic beverage he lays himself open for a time to contracting diseases. Every time a man takes a drink he puts his life in peril. No wonder the mortality statistics show, as they do, that a total abstainer has nearly twice the security and hold on life that the average drinker has and about three times the hold of heavy drinkers and those engaged in the liquor traffic.

If the drinks are repeated, the microscope shows that the fighting powers of the white blood corpuscles are permanently impaired, even when they are not actually drunk. This accounts for the lowered vitality of regular drinkers, even though temperate.

After long-continued drinking, even though temperate, the microscope shows that the white blood corpuscles, with the serum which contains their vegetable food continually sucked up by the dehydrating toxin, become carniverous, and begin to feed upon the tissues and organs like disease germs. The favorite tissue food of the degenerate corpuscles are the tender cells of latest development. In the human being the latest development is the brain. The microscope shows the degenerate corpuscles, with the goods upon them, down in their bodies the gray matter of the brain. This accounts for the tremendous mortality among heavy drinkers and for the degeneracy that will be referred to later.

THE GREAT DESTROYER.

It is difficult to say in any particular case whether having alcohol in the system caused a patient to take a disease or caused a patient to die, and "alcoholism" attributed to men who die in delirium tremens is the only record of death ordinarily kept against alcohol. But the British Government, in conjunction with English life insurance companies, from the records of millions of cases, has been able to determine the death rate of total abstainers and of those who drink.

Statistics compiled by insurance companies show that the death rate for the population at large is 1,000 deaths per year out of every 61,215 of the population, and that the death rate of total abstainers is 560 per year out of the same number, and for liquor dealers 1,642 deaths per year out of the same number. These figures, resulting from many millions of cases, can be taken as accurate. They show that 440 deaths out of every 1,000 deaths, nearly one-half of the deaths that occur, are due to alcohol. Applied to this country, over 680,000 deaths per year in continental United States, or over 725,000 per year in the United States and its possessions. In other words, alcohol is killing our people at the rate of nearly 2,000 men a day every day in the year.

ALCOHOL TEN THOUSAND TIMES MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN WAR.

The Army War College at Washington made an investigation of the destructiveness of war. Taking all the wars of the world, from the Russo-Japanese War back to 500 B. C., the War College found that the total number of killed and wounded in battle amounts to about 2,800,000, of which it is estimated that about 700,000 were killed and something over 2,000,000 wounded.

The comparative figures show the appalling fact that alcohol is killing off as many Americans every year as all the wars of the world have killed in battle in 2,300 years.

Applied to the whole white race, we find that alcohol is killing 3,500,000 white men every year, five times as many as have been killed in war in 2,300 years; so that, stated mathematically, alcohol is ten thousand times more destructive than all wars combined. No wonder the Governments investigating the subject have found that war has been only a secondary cause of national decline, and that alcohol has been the real destroyer that has overthrown all the great nations of the past and is now undermining the great nations of to-day.

ALCOHOL'S WOUNDED TO-DAY ARE MORE THAN 100,000,000 WHITE MEN.

The figures of the British Government and English life insurance companies as to the effect of drinking on longevity are stated as follows:

If a young man at the age of 20 is a total abstainer and remains a total abstainer, his prospect of life is 44 years and he will live to the average age of 64, but if he is a temperate regular drinker his prospect of life will be 31 years and he will live to the average age of 51, after losing 13 years out of his life. If he is a heavy drinker, his prospect of life is 15 years and he will die at the average age of 35, after losing 29 years out of his life. Conservative estimates place the number of confirmed drunkards in the United States at something over 1,000,000, of whom 300,000 die every year; the heavy drinkers at over 4,000,000; and temperate regular drinkers at over 20,000,000. A soldier wounded in battle and losing 10 years of his life as a consequence would be classed as seriously wounded. The confirmed drunkards and heavy drinkers together, 5,000,000 in number, must be looked upon as mortally wounded and the temperate regular drinkers as seriously wounded, making a total of over 25,000,000 Americans wounded by alcohol to-day, more than ten times as many as wounded in all the battles of the world since the dawn of history. The estimates for the white race make over 125,000,000 white men to-day wounded by alcohol.

If a great military power were to declare war on unprepared America to-day every patriotic heart would be filled with anxiety. I know the full significance of war, especially when a nation is unprepared. But if I had the choice of having alcohol continue its deadly ravages with the Nation at peace or of having it wiped off the face of the land with a declaration of war by all the nations of the earth, I would not hesitate for a moment; I would take sober, undegenerate America and face the combined world in arms.

ALCOHOL DEGENERATES.

The full ravages of alcohol are not measured even by the appalling list of killed and wounded. War kills and wounds; alcohol kills and wounds ten thousand times more than all war combined, and in addition it degenerates. Its toxin attacks with special virility the young, tender cells associated with evolution. A plant or vegetable or fruit steadily evolving some color or form

under the process of cultivation when watered with water to which a small quantity of alcohol is added will quickly cease to evolve and will lose the color and form and revert backward toward the condition when it grew wild. If a young domestic animal is brought up on a fare to which a small ration of alcohol is added, by the time it is grown it will lose those qualities acquired in domesticity.

THE CURSE OF THE RED MAN AND BLACK MAN.

If a peaceable red man is subjected to the regular use of alcoholic beverage, he will speedily be put back to the plane of the savage. The Government long since recognized this and absolutely prohibits the introduction of alcoholic beverage into an Indian reservation. If a negro takes up a regular use of alcoholic beverage, in a short time he will degenerate to the level of the cannibal.

CONQUERS THE NOBLEST WHITE MEN.

No matter how high the stage of evolution, the result is the same. A white man with great self-control, considerate, tender-hearted, who would not willingly harm an insect, will be degenerated by regular use of alcoholic beverage to the point where he will strike with a dagger or fire a shot to kill with little or no provocation.

THE OVERSHADOWING CAUSE OF CRIME, PAUPERISM, AND INSANITY.

Though at first a tender, loving husband and parent, he will degenerate to the point where he will be cruel to his own flesh and blood. It is conservatively estimated that 95 per cent of all the acts and crimes of violence committed in civilized communities are the direct result of men being put down by alcohol toward a plane of savagery. The degenerating process strikes at the integrity of the reason and is the chief cause of idiocy and insanity. It wipes out self-control, self-respect, the sense of honor, the moral sense, and produces the bulk of tramps, paupers, vagabonds.

DEFIES NATURE AND NATURE'S GOD.

In every living thing there is the evolutionary impulse to rise and progress. In the human family man is not changing much in his physical nature, but is evolving chiefly in his nervous system, building up those delicate centers of the brain upon whose activities rests the moral sense. Nature is trying to produce men of high character, a race of true, noble men. Alcoholic beverages, even in moderation, reverse the processes of nature and set back the purposes of creation.

BRINGS NATURE'S CURSE—BLIGHTS PROGENY.

Nature is pitiless when her processes are reversed. She abhors degeneracy and will not tolerate its perpetuation. With parents properly mated and undegenerated the offspring will multiply and be higher and nobler in each succeeding generation. But woe to the offspring if the parents degenerate themselves. Nature will blast the progeny and everything associated with its production.

BLIGHTS THE FRUITING OF PLANTS AND THE OFFSPRING OF ANIMALS.

Upon a fruit tree watered with alcohol mixed with the water the fruit will fall untimely. With animals the law is the same. Scientists selected from a litter of spaniels two little brothers exactly alike in infancy, and brought them up, one as an alcoholic and the other as a total abstainer, giving the former only a small quantity of alcohol with his food, about equivalent in proportion to what benighted parents often give their children in beer or light wine mixed with water. From another litter of spaniels they selected two little sisters exactly alike in infancy, and brought them up in the same way, one as an alcoholic, the other as a total abstainer. When the four dogs were grown they were mated, the two alcoholics together, and the two total abstainers together, and the process was repeated. The two mothers and the offspring were placed under close scientific observation. Extraordinary phenomena set in with the alcoholic mother. She experienced difficulties and accidents, suffered great

travail in birth, and finally died in pupbirth with the fifth litter, a phenomenon unknown before. Many of her offspring were born dead. Many of them died in infancy, and of those that survived only 17.3 per cent were normal.

The little abstaining mother had no such experience; she bore large litters of healthy, strong pups, of which 90.5 per cent were absolutely normal.

BLIGHTS THE PROGENY OF MAN.

The same inexorable law holds for man as for animals and plants. A scientist having investigated more than 800 cases, announces that of children born to alcoholic parents, one of every five will be hopelessly insane, one out of three will be hysterical or epileptic. More than two-thirds will be degenerate. Another scientist located 10 large families in which both parents were alcoholic, and in the same localities, with other conditions practically the same, 10 large families in which both parents were total abstainers. Of the 57 children of the alcoholic parents, 10 were deformed, 6 were epileptic, 6 were idiotic, 25 were nonviable, only 17 per cent were normal, 83 per cent being abnormal. Of the 61 children of the total-abstaining parents 10.5 per cent only were abnormal, and these chiefly backward, while 89.5 per cent were absolutely normal. Seventeen per cent were normal in the one case and 89.5 per cent in the other case, a difference of 72.5 per cent.

Parents by becoming alcoholic will sacrifice three-fourths of their children on the altar of drink.

ALCOHOL THE CURSE OF THE PERILS OF CHILDBIRTH AND THE DANGER OF RACE SUICIDE.

Another scientist after wide investigation has found that in only 1 per cent of cases do accidents occur in maternity to mothers where the parents are total abstainers, while 5.25 per cent occur where the parents are regular temperate drinkers, and 7.32 per cent where the parents are heavy drinkers. In the case of total-abstaining parents the deaths in infancy among their children will be 13 per cent; in the case of temperate regular drinkers 23 per cent, and heavy drinkers 32 per cent. Of the children of drinkers 10 per cent will have consumption, of the children of total abstainers, only 1.8 per cent. Those who drink alcoholic beverage should realize the terrible price they pay. For even temperate regular drinking, they increase over 400 per cent the chances of accidents in maternity. They nearly double the chances of their children dying in infancy, and they undermine the health and normality of those that survive. A man may take chances with himself, but if he has a spark of nobility in his soul, he will take care how he tampers with a deadly poison that will cause the helpless little children that he brings into the world to be deformed, idiotic, epileptic, insane.

THE ONLY RATIONAL LIFE.

In the light of the truth that every drink endangers health, the terrible truth that alcohol destroys and degenerates, and that it blights progeny, there can be from the standpoint of the individual but one rational course of life with regard to this deadly poison, and that is a life of absolute, total abstinence.

The standpoint of the individual is not the only standpoint from which this great destroyer must be examined. His blight is as deadly for society as it is for the individual. We must examine him from the standpoint of the State.

DESTROYS OVER HALF THE NATION'S WEALTH.

From conclusions drawn from scientific tests referred to above, it is conservative to estimate that the heavy drinkers and confirmed drunkards in the United States have their productive efficiency lowered at least 75 per cent; that the temperate, regular drinkers, who drink alcoholic beverages every day of their lives, suffer a loss of productive efficiency of fully 50 per cent; that the occasional drinkers suffer a loss of fully 10 per cent. This is what Dr. Aschaffenberg proved by his famous test of four German typesetters—drinking men—who averaged a tenth more work when they drank nothing for a day than when they drank even 1 ounce of alcohol at home in pure wine or beer (the equivalent of over 5 per cent loss to the Nation). The wide use of alcoholic beverage I estimate as causing a loss of fully 21 per cent in the efficiency of the Nation's producers. The production of wealth is at a rate of about

$32,000,000,000 yearly; the loss due to lowered efficiency, conservatively estimated in round figures, is therefore fully $8,500,000,000.

ECONOMIC LOSS OF THOSE WHO ARE KILLED.

It is estimated that each one of the 700,000 men cut off untimely every year by alcohol would have, sober, an economic value of $8,000, making a loss of $5,600,000,000. The Nation last year on account of the lowered efficiency of its producers and the death list was over $14,000,000,000 short in its productiveness. Instead of producing only $32,000,000,000 of wealth, we would have produced without alcohol over $46,000,000,000.

THE BURDEN OF CRIME, PAUPERISM, AND INSANITY.

It is estimated that the cost of providing for the added crime, pauperism, idiocy, and insanity produced by alcohol in the United States paid for by direct taxation exceeds $2,000,000,000 per annum.

THE TOTAL LIQUOR BILL.

The people of the United States last year consumed more than two and one-half billion gallons of alcoholic beverage, paying for same nearly $2,000,000,000, making a total loss of above $16,000,000,000.

ALCOHOL DISINHERITS THE NATION.

Summing up the economic losses from the lowered efficiency of our producers, from the death list, from the costs of crime, pauperism, and insanity, and from the liquor bill, the total economic burden laid upon the Nation by King Alcohol, is between sixteen and seventeen billions of dollars, more than half of all the wealth produced by the Nation. If our National Government in a year appropriates $1,000,000,000, though for purposes of uplift, it is criticized for the burdens laid upon the people. Here in alcohol we have a ruler that puts upon us a burden of sixteen and one-half billions of dollars for purposes of destruction and degeneracy.

It is not difficult to see the duty of the State. If a foreign invader landed on our shores and disinherited the people of a single county, the Nation would be up in arms. Here is a foe that has come upon us and is taxing us for more than the values of all the products of all our farms, all our forests, all our mines, all our fisheries; equivalent to taking from our people all that mother earth produces on land and water combined. What shall be the attitude of the State in face of a foe that has disinherited the whole Nation? Clearly the State has not only the clear right but the bounden duty to take up arms and expel the foe.

ALCOHOL IS DESTROYING THE CHARACTER OF THE NATION.

But even this terrific economic loss is but a small part of the ravages of this destroyer. As seen above, alcohol attacks the line of evolution more than any other line. In the case of man the line of evolution is in moral advancement—what in any individual may be termed "character." Therefore the loss of character must be far greater than the economic loss. We found the economic loss to be fully 21 per cent. If character could be measured by percentage, we would have to estimate the loss in average character of the Nation as fully 50 per cent.

Looking upon a nation as climbing a ladder of evolution, alcohol, like a millstone, drags it halfway to the bottom. The full significance of this drag appears when we realize that upon the average standard of character of its citizens must rest the institutions of a nation. It has become an axiom of history that if the average standard of character is below a certain minimum level, a nation can not enjoy self-government.

LIBERTY IS AT STAKE.

In our great cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia the ravages upon the average character have been so great, so many degenerates have already been produced, that the degenerate and corruptible vote not only holds the balance of power between the two great political parties and can dictate to both, but actually holds a majority of the votes, so that honest and efficient self-government as a permanent condition is now impossible. As young as our Nation is, the deadly work of alcohol has already blighted liberty in our greatest cities.

At the present rate of the growth of cities over country life, if no check is put upon the spread of alcoholic degeneracy, the day can not be far distant when liberty in great States must go under. It will then be but a question of time when the average standard of character of the Nation's electorate will fall below that inexorable minimum, and liberty will take her flight from America, as she did from Greece and Rome.

The overthrow of liberty in America would be a sad event for the world. If free institutions can not stem the flood of alcoholic degeneracy in this land, there is little hope for other lands; if the average standard of character sinks too low for liberty here, if in the face of alcohol liberty can not be preserved in America, it can not anywhere else. If King Alcohol continues his triumphant march, crushing the character of our citizens, he will make a short cut to blighting the liberties of mankind.

The State has a right and a duty to protect its free institutions. One of the main objects for which a State exists is to promote the development of character of its people. In the premises, therefore, it has not only the right but the bounden duty to put an end to the ravages of this destroyer.

THE SALOON IS AN ASSASSIN.

Last year, on an average, each saloon in the United States was the cause of the death of three men. This year each saloon, on the average, will kill three men. Each saloon in the United States, on an average, now has 20 men made heavy drinkers or drunkards, who are mortally wounded. Each saloon, on an average, has 100 men made regular drinkers, who are seriously wounded.

Speaking for myself, I feel no bitterness against those engaged in the liquor traffic. They are in business by the consent of the Government, which shares the spoils. The Government belongs to all the people. The blame for the business is to be laid at the doors of all the people who have not done their utmost to destroy it.

In the full light of the facts, I can not look upon any saloon otherwise than as an assassin, the most barbarous, atrocious of assassins. It is vain to plead that the men who drink are responsible for the slaughter. They drink because the drug is kept in their presence. No amount of suffering will cause them to stop, or will warn others away. Meat with strychnine placed along the streets will kill the dogs. No terrible examples will have any effect. The fact of the poisoned meat being placed on the street is the cause of the destruction. When this remarkable, seductive poison of alcohol is placed along the streets in saloons, men will take it. The fact of its being on the street is the real cause of its being taken. Irrespective of the question of the responsibility for its existence, the saloon is fundamentally an assassin.

The first duty assumed by any government is the protection of the lives of its citizens. To any civilized government the life of its citizens is sacred. It is incredible that the governments of the world should continue in league with assassins. When the true nature of alcohol becomes better understood, no community will longer tolerate these assassins, who take their stand on the corners and up and down the squares of our cities. In the premises the State has not only the right but the bounden duty to put an end to this wholesale assassination.

THE NATION'S LIFE ITSELF AT STAKE.

The menace of this destroyer extends yet further, to the very life of the Nation itself. In the rural life of the country, the people do not have the poison continually in their path, so in spite of unusual hardship the great law of evolution and progress causes numbers to increase and each generation to be higher than the previous. Thus it is that the great empires and enduring civilizations of history were all built upon rural life. A time comes, however, in the life of each nation when its citizens, having accumulated wealth, gather into cities to enjoy it. There the great destroyer does his deadly work.

PREVENTS DEVELOPING A THOROUGHBRED RACE OF MEN.

With seductive mockery, the poison stands on the tables of the rich, of the families of high degree. Degeneracy sets in forthwith. In all lands the great families rise only to sink back again. The royal and noble families of the Old World, the great families of America, might have gone on and produced a race of thoroughbreds. But, alas! they count among the most degenerate of all. It is not difficult to produce a thoroughbred race of corn. We can develop a thoroughbred race of horses or of dogs, but we can not produce a thoroughbred race of men. The great destroyer strikes the families down as fast as they rise.

THE RISE AND FALL OF NATIONS AND EMPIRES.

The ravages, however, are not confined to families of high degree. The bars of the saloons keep the poison in the presence of families of middle and lower degree. The whole population of the cities is stricken. Those who have moved from the country to the city begin to degenerate themselves, and their degeneracy is visited upon the offspring. In a few generations the community is flooded with degenerates and abnormals. Thus far, whenever city life has come to predominate, the nation has been doomed. Resting upon degenerates, its institutions have been blighted; and sooner or later in the struggle for survival, when struck by a foreign foe, it has fallen never to rise again. This is the sad history of Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre, Greece, Rome, Gaul. Rome made the deepest imprint on history, because it was longest rural and frugal; and while undegenerate it conquered the world, and upon the true principles of jurisprudence and justice reared a wonderful system of free institutions. But the Romans in turn gathered into their great city to be blighted, put up its crown at auction, and at last the empire was overthrown by the despised barbarians. Any form of plant life can be made to rise and develop indefinitely; likewise, any type of animal life; but history records the sad fact that a nation, made up of the noblest type of all, the creature in the image of his Maker, only rises to fall.

"WESTWARD THE STAR OF EMPIRE MAKES ITS WAY."

The way in which the human race has been able to progress has been that a rural and frugal fragment, still undegenerate, when decadent empires fall, breaks away and migrates to other lands. They could not go back eastward over the ashes of older empires, nor could they remain and build up a new empire in the midst of ruins of degenerates, and so they invariably moved westward. Then in new lands, in the forests and fields, under the process of nature, undegenerated they multiplied in number, rose in character, and founded a new empire, which in turn gathered into cities, degenerated, then perished. Thus the star of empire westward has made its way.

AMERICA IN THE BUILDING.

When Quakers, Puritans, Huguenots, Covenanters broke away from decadent civilization in Europe and came to America they found a virgin continent. Striking inland they built States in the forests, States on the mountain sides, States upon the prairies. For 200 years they remained rural and frugal. Down to 1850 fully 80 per cent of all the people of the United States were engaged in or associated with agricultural pursuits. During this long period, with the process of nature in full operation, we produced, as shown by tests on the battle field or council chamber, the noblest race of men the world has ever seen, who have left us a legacy of free institutions, the marvel of all history.

THE RAPID GROWTH OF CITY LIFE.

About the middle of the nineteenth century the development of agricultural machinery released a large proportion of the population required to produce the foodstuffs and raw materials on the farm. The Civil War left the Nation under a heavy debt. To meet this debt our fiscal policies developed the indirect systems of taxation and gave advantage to manufacturing, causing a flow of population to the cities. Immigrants coming in vast numbers from abroad remained chiefly in the cities. The growth of our cities, at the expense of country life, has been enormous. To-day hardly 30 per cent of our people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the decline of rural life will doubtless continue. The effect upon the life of the Nation of this growth of city life, coupled with the iniquitous license system adopted in 1862, is startling. In 1850 the consumption per capita of alcoholic beverage was a little over 4 gallons per year. To-day it is more than 25 gallons for every man, woman, and child, and is on the increase.

THE DEATH GRAPPLE.

It is not a day too soon to grapple with this foe. We have reached the beginning of the second stage of American life. When degeneracy has gone much further it will be too late. At the present rate it would not be long before abnormals and degenerates would swamp our cities and overrun our States. Nature will not tolerate a race of degenerates. A backward, and usually a despised race, but undegenerate, is found ready to give the coup de grace. When Persia degenerated, Greece was on hand to strike. When Greece degenerated, Rome was ready. When Rome degenerated, Gaul was ready.

If America degenerates the yellow man will be on hand. Some may make light of the yellow man; so did Romans make light of the "Barbarians." The yellow man is not degenerating. He can shoot as straight as a white man now, and undegenerated he can live on one-tenth of what is necessary for the white men while they are in the field doing the shooting. A race of degenerates can not occupy the American continent. In this generation our people must take their choice; in the next generation it may be too late. There is no alternative. We are fairly in the death grapple. All the pages of history are crying out to America, "Conquer the great destroyer or perish." The first law of nature, self-preservation, which holds for a nation or for a man, demands of the nation the death warrant of the saloon.

AMERICA THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

Suppose America should go down before this destroyer, whither will a rural and frugal fragment of America go to start a new empire? History leaves no hope to go back eastward. There is not longer any westward. We have reached the shores of the last ocean. In America the star of empire moving westward finishes the circle of the world.

THE LAST STAND OF THE HUMAN RACE.

In America we are making the last stand of the great white race, and substantially of the human race. If this destroyer can not be conquered in young America, it can not in any of the old and more degenerate nations. If America fails, the world will be undone and the human race will be doomed to go down from degeneracy into degeneracy till the Almighty in wrath wipes the accursed thing out.

GUILTY BEFORE GOD AND MAN.

What is the conclusion from the standpoint of the State? From the standpoint of the individual we found there was but one conclusion, namely, that for any individual in the world there is but one course of life, a life of absolute total abstinence. From the standpoint of the State there is likewise but one conclusion, the right of the State in the premises can not be questioned, neither can its duty. Weighed in the balance of the cold, hard facts, with the truth uncolored, this historic curse, criminal of the ages, stands guilty of undermining the economic prosperity of the nation; guilty of blighting our liberties and free institutions; guilty of slaughtering, killing, and wounding our citizens 10,000 times more than war; guilty of blighting the progeny of the nation, flooding the land with a horde of degenerates; guilty of striking deadly blows at the very life of the nation itself and at the life of the race; guilty of reversing the processes of evolution and the purposes of the Almighty.

At the bar of eternal justice, before the laws of God and man, this great destroyer stands guilty, thrice guilty.

MUST BE DESTROYED.

From the standpoint of the State, there is but one decision: My countrymen, this great destroyer himself must be destroyed.

THE DISEASE IS ORGANIC.

The investigations above show the disease to be organic and chronic. It has been running for 3,000 years; it is grafted upon the social and political life of the nations; it grips every civilized government in the world—the rulers and the ruled, the families of high degree and low degree. It is the deepest, most organic disease known to the body politic and body social, the root and source of nearly all other social and political ills.

THE TREATMENT MUST BE ORGANIC.

For an organic disease the treatment, to be effective, must be organic. What is organic treatment? Who are the organs and tissues and cells of the body politic and body social? The people themselves. Each citizen may be regarded as a cell in the body politic. Any effective cure must reach the great multitude of individual citizens. The problem resolves itself into two parts—first, to find a treatment which, applied to the average individual citizen, will cure him; secondly, to carry this treatment down to the multitudes.

THE POWER OF TRUTH.

The average man is a rational being. If undegenerated, he shares with other creatures three elemental attributes—the instinct of self-preservation, the impulse to rise and better himself, the instinct to protect his progeny. Therefore, being rational, the average man can be cured by taking to him the truth that alcohol strikes at his life, stops, then reverses his evolution and blasts his progeny. The problem, therefore, is to take the great vital truths to the vast multitudes of the people. In the broadest sense, it is a question of universal education.

TWO DISTINCT DOMAINS.

In solving this great problem there are two distinct domains, the domain of the individual and the domain of the State. In the evolution of civil institutions, particularly Anglo-Saxon institutions, a wall has been erected around the individual to protect the man in his home from encroachments by the State. This wall is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and no wise policy will ever undertake to tear it down or to scale it. Many a prohibition fight has been lost through disregard of this principle of government. It must never be imagined that the State can by law prescribe what a man may drink or what he may not drink, or what he may not keep for his own use in his own home. The true way to reach the man in his home is not through the law, but through various legitimate agencies of education.

THE YOUNG MAN'S PROBLEM.

It has been found that one-half the drunkards contracted the habit before they were 21 years of age; indeed, about a third of them before they were 16. It is difficult to change those who have become set in their ways, with fixed ideas. The greatest agency of all is the public school, where the fallacies of the liquor traffic may not invade the textbooks and the teaching. The utilization of the public school already begun should be developed to the utmost and should be supplemented by instruction in the colleges and universities. The pulpit should carry the vital truth about this destroyer, not only at times of political excitement, but all through the year. The preacher should be aided by the laymen, pillars of the church. Every Sunday school should develop its teaching of these truths. Over half of all the drunkards in the land contracted their habits through "social" drinking and "treating." A steadfast, organized effort should be made to gradually change the social custom and remove this "cup" from society, high and low; from homes, from clubs, from entertaining, from feasts.

While prohibition truths control the public schools, the liquor fallacies control the cosmopolitan press and billboards, largely through paid advertisements dwelling on the "purity" or "virtues" of various brands of beer, wine, liquor. This field of the enemy must be invaded systematically. So must art and literature be gradually remodeled to depict not the fancied joys, but the real torments and repugnance of bacchanalia.

ABSTINENCE AND EFFICIENCY.

All employers of men should extend the discrimination principle in accepting employees. The great railroads have come practically to prohibition in their employment—to demanding total abstinence of their men. The mine operator should follow rapidly; the manufacturer, the merchant, the professions, the farmer. It is perfectly legitimate in a private contract or agreement for an employer to demand that an employee so long as he remains such shall not cloud his judgment or lower his efficiency by alcoholic drugging.

ABSTINENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT.

The Government should do likewise, and require total abstinence in all public servants—the Federal Government in its judicial, legislative, and executive branches, its Army and Navy and civil service; the State governments, the county and municipal governments. This principle of efficiency, exacting the highest standard of service in all fields, should be arrayed against alcohol all along the line.

HOME TEACHING.

More systematic effort should be made to enlist the instinct of parenthood and have the teaching in the home improved; especially to check the father's shattering the teaching of the mother by a bad example of his own.

PASS THE CURE ALONG.

In the cure of an organic disease, when a cell gets cured it becomes active and passes the cure to the next. When a person has come into possession of the truth he should never lose an opening to pass it on and on, if only in the shortest, simplest form, that alcohol destroys, degenerates, and blights the progeny; that the question is settled as completely as a problem in geometry.

THE DOMAIN OF THE STATE.

While the various educational agencies enumerated above belong essentially to the domain of the individual, while this domain is really first in order of importance and deepest in effecting a cure, yet there is a domain of the State, and it is in this domain that the will of the people, developed in the domain of the individual, must finally express itself for execution.

THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES MUST CONTROL.

In this field the treatment must also be organic—that is, must rest the control in the hands of the people themselves, not simply in the hands of their representatives. It is vain to hope for a cure of this organic disease by any form of superficial treatment, such as high license and regulation, through judges, aldermen, city councilmen. The city of London inaugurated in its full development the treatment of high license in the year 1285, and for more than 600 years has applied that treatment only to become more degenerate with the passing years. For a half century the United States has been applying the same treatment only to see the consumption of alcoholic beverage per capita rise higher and higher all the time until now it is more than fivefold higher than it was, and is still rising. It is under such superficial treatment that the nations of the past have perished. For the treatment to be effective, the people themselves must control. Not a legislature or even Congress could hope for permanent results without going to the people in referendum.

MAJORITY RULE.

The control of the people is simply an application of the principle of majority rule. The organic treatment in the domain of the State is the simplest and purest form of democracy. The people have a right to vote on such a vital

question, and a majority have a right to rule. The scope of this principle must extend from the smallest political unit to the largest. If no superior law avails, the ward or township has a perfect right to vote and decide by majority what methods or system shall prevail in its own midst.

TRUE LOCAL OPTION.

Likewise the people of the city have a right to vote and to decide by a majority what shall prevail within the city limits, and a decision of the city supersedes all decisions of wards or component subdivisions. It could be questioned whether a city council or board of aldermen has a right to impose a system upon a ward against its will, but the right of the people of the whole city by popular vote to so impose can not be questioned. Similarly the vote of the whole people of a county is legitimately competent to impose the will of the majority throughout the county. Similarly the vote of the whole people of a State is competent to impose the will of the majority throughout the State. Some legislators have undertaken to establish laws for the whole State, but only when a referendum to the people has been made has the result been fully satisfactory. Congress might pass a national prohibition law, but the results could never be permanently satisfactory, the treatment could never be definitely effective, until the people of the Nation cast their vote.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

That part of the law resting in the hands of the people is the real organic law of State and Nation. The people only can make and unmake constitutions. Therefore the constitution of a State is the true ultimate abiding place of prohibition for the State. The Constitution of the United States is the true abiding place of prohibition for the Nation.

WAR TO THE DEATH.

In the domain of the individual and in the domain of the State, in both domains everywhere and all the time, let it never be forgotten that every inch of ground will be contested; that the struggle with the great destroyer is war; that he wages war, cruel, unrelenting, more deadly than any savage war of extermination. No nation has yet kept this destroyer in its midst and survived. America is not different from the nations of history. The records of 3,000 years leave no room for doubt. One or the other must perish. Between America and the great destroyer it is war to the death.

THE LAWS OF WAR.

No great war has ever been won without following the laws of war. In applying the organic treatment, especially in the domain of the State, the struggle, to be effective, must be conducted according to those fundamental laws that give victory.

THE LAW OF PREPARATION.

The first law is adequate preparation based on that principle in the universe by which effect is always proportional to cause. The foundation for war strength is men. The rank and file of the army must be recruited. To get the population to enlist, the work of education must be widespread; education as to the dangers before the Nation, as to the fact that a great war is on. If men are reached by the truth, they will enlist for their country; if not enlisted they are sure to enlist with the great destroyer. Each recruit is equivalent to two soldiers in the final struggle, one added to our ranks and one taken from the ranks of the enemy.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IS THE REAL RECRUITING GROUND.

Both sides are recruiting among our masses. The ultimate issue will hinge largely upon the recruiting contest. The recruiting should begin in the public schools. Not a class or grade should be allowed to pass without educational instruction in the facts of alcohol.

Next to recruits in importance comes the officers. Every great effective army must have a system for developing its leaders.

THE COLLEGE IS THE SCHOOL FOR OFFICERS.

Though less than 2 per cent of the men of America go through college, yet from this 2 per cent the Nation draws 7,700 out of the 10,000 leaders in all the walks of life. To the colleges we must look for our leaders. Not a single class in any college should be allowed to graduate without having had presented to its members in scientific form the great truths underlying this war. One of the weakest elements of our struggle has been the lack of leadership, the lack of a system for developing leadership. The destroyer to-day has a strong hold upon our colleges, particularly in the large universities. This grip must be broken at any cost.

Next in importance to preparation comes the question of resources from which to draw the "sinews of war." As yet the work of developing resources on our side can not be considered as even begun. The enemy by a voluntary stamp system has perfected an almost unlimited source of supply, a tax upon his $2,000,000,000 business. It is vain to hope to win full and enduring victory in the face of the enemy's resources until our own resources have been systematically developed. In a war upon which the Nation's prosperity, its institutions, its very life hinges, we ought in reality to be able to tap the whole vast resources of the Nation. A national finance committee must be organized and begin operations with a definite program to create a new net income of $100,000 each year. In 10 years the great war should have available a net minimum income for national purposes of a million dollars a year; and each decade thereafter should add an additional net income of a million dollars a year. With adequate resources in all departments of the war operations could be conducted systematically, and we could complete those great preparations necessary for the gigantic war we have on hand.

ORGANIZATION IS THE WATCHWORD.

After resources are developed, after the army has been recruited and officered, the next great step is organization. The army must be organized and drilled until it can be wielded like a great engine of war, like the great standing armies of the world. In every State, in every county, in every township, in every precinct, the individuals must be gathered under local leaders into squads; squads must be assembled under higher leaders into companies, companies into regiments, regiments into brigades, brigades into divisions, divisions into army corps, until upon the word of command we can set in motion 10,000,000 patriotic men, the flower of the land.

STRIKE WITH OUR WHOLE POWER.

When the preparations are completed and war operations begin, we must observe the laws of strategy and, above all, the first law of strategy—concentration. Whenever a decisive battle is to be fought, like the approaching battle in Maine, we should bring to bear our whole power. The liquor forces of the United States, of Canada, of the world will be gathered there to assault the citadel of real constitutional prohibition. Shall we leave our local State forces alone, as we did in the recent constitutional fight in Alabama and Florida? When the British occupied Boston, suppose the other colonies had left Massachusetts alone to meet the British Empire. Suppose at Yorktown only Virginians had been in the field. Under such a conduct of war no victory could have been possible. We must assemble all the prohibition and temperance forces of America, develop a strong national organization, and be able to strike with our whole combined power on every decisive battlefield.

STRIKE WHERE THE ENEMY IS WEAKEST.

The second law of strategy is to strike where the enemy is weakest and strike him in detail. The enemy is weakest where the people are the least degenerate—that is, in the country, in towns and smaller cities.

USE THE PRINCIPLE OF THE WEDGE.

When attacking a stronghold the principle of the wedge must be adopted. Enter the point of the wedge by ward local option; win additional wards, concentrating the attack at each fight; and when the majority has been won strike

for the city. In the case of great cities win the rural districts until the majority of the State is sure, then strike for the whole State. For our very great cities, the enemy's citadels, that swing their States, we must put the wedge into the rural States, win State after State, till, sure of a majority, we strike for the Nation and split the log open.

THE SPIRIT OF THE MEN.

Though no great war has ever been won without following the laws of preparation and strategy, neither has any long, hard war ever been won without deep incentive to maintain the spirit of the men. Up till now, before science spoke, by false education and through lack of knowledge on the part of the people at large, the enemy has been able to invoke higher principles, particularly when our leaders blundered in the issue and laid themselves open to the charge of seeking to have the State overstep the dominion of the individual and encroach upon the home.

But by wisely laying the battleground now, with the full facts about alcohol determined, we can by diligent work of education take away from the enemy all incentive but that of greed and gain and can show him forth in his true light, a mighty, ravaging horde, more terrible to-day than all the hordes of Huns, Saracens, Tartars, Ottomans—than all the hordes of history. On the other hand, we should take to the men of our ranks a full realization that we fight for home and fireside, for liberty, for country, for God.

The enemy by ruse attempts to shake the spirits of our forces by saying, "Prohibition does not prohibit." Let us not only show up how it does already prohibit to a marked degree, but let us realize that getting prohibition is but part of our war. The second part is its enforcement. Let us turn the whole power of our organization throughout prohibition territory into such complete enforcement that all the world must see. Shrewd word is also passed along our ranks, especially to the worrying, that "Prohibition can not prohibit." Let us fling this back in the teeth of the enemy. It is nothing less than a boast that the Nation is already lost. Let us put it before our ranks as the cry of pirates who have boarded the ship of state and with jeers are trying to hoist the black flag, with its skull and crossbones, above the Stars and Stripes.

We can and should stir in our ranks the greatest depths of the human heart, depths from which men are transformed, under whose impulses mortals are capable of accomplishing what seems the impossible.

Indeed, we can and should one and all have that deep abiding realization that sustains even in dark hours of temporary defeat, the realization that we are working with the great forces of nature, that the stars in their courses are fighting for us, that it is written in the book of fate that this great destroyer shall be destroyed.

We can all go forward in the great war with a song in our hearts, each to do his full duty, whether as an officer or as a private in the ranks, knowing that whatever betide, whether the heavens fall or the earth melt away, whether we see the victory or die in the conflict, that "the Lord of Hosts is with us," that "the God of Jacob is our refuge."

1593—10167

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[Spokane Primary Ballot Feb 15, 1911]

THE PREFERENTIAL BALLOT

The preferential system of voting which is to come into vogue under the new charter at the coming election of March 7. is apparently simple, but at the same time it is by no means popularly understood.

When the elector goes into the booth on election day next, he will be presented a long ballot containing upon it, in alphabetical order, a list of names. Against these names are ruled columns which are headed respectively, first, second and third choices. Under the charter the elector must fill the first column by placing five crosses, one against each of the five candidates for whom he is allowed to vote. If he mark only four crosses that ballot is null and void; if he mark more than five crosses and mark no crosses in any of the other two columns, the ballot is also null and void. If he mark other crosses in the second and third columns, but mark more than five in the first column then the crosses in the second and third columns are to be counted, but not those in the first.

It is not compulsory that he should mark any crosses in either the second or third columns, but if he does so in the second column, he is allowed to mark five crosses; if he mark more than five crosses they shall not count, but if he mark less than five there is no penalty, as in the case of first choice.

Thus, while it is compulsory for the voter to mark neither more nor less than five in the first column, it is only compulsory in the second column to mark no more than five. Thus, the candidate may mark five first choices and may mark one, two three, four or five, or not any, second choices if he pleases. If he mark six second choices, no one of the choices shall count, although, any first or third choices that he may have made regularly on the same ballot, will count.

But if the elector has voted for candidates A, B, C, D and E, as his first choice, he cannot name in his second choice any of these candidates, nor may he do so on his third. If he does so, however, it does not vitiate his ballot, for the charter provides plainly that in such case where a candidate receives two crosses on the same ballot only the one of the highest rank is counted.

For instance, if A gets a cross in the first, second and third columns, only that in the first column shall count; if in the first and second, only that on the first shall count; if in the first and third, only that in the first shall count; if in the second and third, only that in the second shall count.

In the third column the voter may vote for as many or as few candidates as he pleases, always bearing in mind that he may not place a cross against any of those candidates on whom his choice has already fallen in either the first or second columns.

Taking a concrete instance, and regarding any one candidate, let it be supposed that there have been 400 first choice votes cast, of which 120 are for A and 120 for B. It is clear that neither A or B has a majority of votes cast. Also that they have a tie.

Under the rules, the second choice votes shall then be regarded. Let it be supposed that there have been 300 of such votes cast, of which A receives 80 and B 79. Adding the first and second votes together, A receives 200 and B 199. Neither has a majority of the total vote, which is now 700, although A lead B by one.

The third choice votes are then taken into consideration. Let it be supposed there have been 400 votes cast, although in this instance the total number of votes makes no difference, for the majority rule no longer applies. Now let A have received 180 votes and B 181. Taking the total of first, second and third choice votes, A has now received 380 and B 380. If by chance B's votes in the third choice has been only 170, A would be elected over B. But, in the instance taken there is a tie. In case of a tie where all three choices have been taken under consideration, it is laid down that the candidates receiving the greatest number of first choice votes shall be chosen. In the case under consideration both have the same number. The charter declares in such instance the candidate having precedence in the second column shall be chosen, whereby A is elected, having received one more vote in the second choice column than did B. If, however, each should receive the same number, then the precedence of the two would be determined in favor of the candidate who received a plurality in the third choice, and if this were equal the matter is to be decided by the casting of lots under the direction of the canvassing board.—*Herald, Feb.* 15, 1911.

MILLARD A. BUTLER

I am a practical CIVIL ENGINEER, and as such, and on the merits of my successful career in carrying out works of large magnitude for nearly all the transportation companies in the Inland Empire, am asking your co-operation and vote in gaining the office of City Commissioner at the election on March 7th next.

I received my technical education at the University of Minnesota, and the continuous and rapid promotion I received by companies who require honest and efficient management, and the best of results, is a recommendation in itself.

At present I am conducting a private business as consulting engineer, with offices in the Paulsen Building. I am not a corporation candidate, and neither am at present or ever have been, in any way connected with the government of the City of Spokane.

A SQUARE DEAL TO ALL, whether private individual or corporation, laborer, or capitalist, thus promoting the maximum of civic progress and prosperity.

NOTE.—Mark an X in the square for each man for whom you wish to vote.
Vote in First Choice Column for FIVE Men.
Vote in Second Choice Column for FIVE other men.
Then Vote in Third Choice Column for any others you wish to support.

24	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice
Anderson, S. A.			
Argall, John C.			
Arnett, Joseph			
Auld, Jas. K.			
Belshaw, M. H.			
Boyson, H. H.			
Bungay, C. H.			
BUTLER, MILLARD A.	X		
Chandler, George			
Cheatam, E. J.			
Clapp, Frank			
Clark, J. A.			
Clift, W. A.			
Coates, D. C.			
Cole, H. J.			
Cromwell, Mantford H.			
Denham, Geo. E.			
Dickson, James G.			
Doust, W. J.			
Duncan, Mel. G.			
Durham, N. W.			
Estep, M. E.			
Fairley, Robert			
Fassett, C. M.			
Ferrall, G. H.			
Foss, F. A.			
Funk, Leonard			
Fussy, James H.			
Gaisford, A. D.			
Galbraith, E. P.			
Gamble, Thos. D.			
Gifford, John			
Goodsell, Sam J.			
Goodwin, F. M.			
Gove, E. W.			
Gray, John			
Grimmer, J. M.			
Hayden, Z. E.			
Hindley, Wm. J.			
Hubbard, C. G.			
Hunt, John			
Hutchinson, R. A.			
Ilse, August			
Jamieson, J. M.			
Jarvis, Henry A.			
Lambert, E. V.			
Laumer, N. J.			
Laurence, G. C.			
Leiser, Dr. Oliver			
Libby, Isaac C.			
Lilienthal, H. L.			
Link, Emil J.			
Lloyd, W. D.			
Long, J. Grier			
Luby, Michael J.			
Martin, J. L.			
Macfarlin, W. H.			
McCoy, L. F.			
Mohr, C. W.			
Morrison, Jas. W.			
Mudgett, Geo.			
Murphy, L. S.			
Needham, H. L.			
Nash, L. B.			
Omo, J. T.			
Ostrander, B. R.			
Paulin, R. G.			
Paulsen, N.			
Peterson, O. J.			
Pratt, N. S.			
Priest, Paul			
Richardson, Wm. E.			
Rogers, M. N.			
Rogers, J. G.			
Roy, Wm. R.			
Schlegel, Dr. H. E.			
Shaughnessy, M.			
Sims, Albert J.			
Smith, Chas. M.			
Spanagel, Hugo			
Stevens, Chas. A.			
Swanson, F. K.			
Turner, Wm. B.			
Turrish, J. J.			
Twitchell, C.			
Walker, Frank H.			
Weile, Otto W.			
West, H. G.			
Wiscombe, W. H.			
Witherspoon, W. W.			
Woydt, E. M.			
Wood, Ernest C.			
Wormald, Joe			

REPLY TO

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

By JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY
of the Juvenile Court, Denver, Col.

AT A MEETING HELD UNDER THE
AUSPICES OF THE

Equal Franchise Society

in the Assembly Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

FEBRUARY 24, 1911

EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY
1 Madison Avenue, New York

Price, Five Cents

The Equal Franchise Society

Reply to Anti-Suffragists

By JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY
of the Juvenile Court, Denver, Col.

On February 23rd, the following telegram was received by the Executive Secretary of the Equal Franchise Society:

"Elmira, N. Y.

"Chairman Suffrage Committee,
"Centennial Hall,
"Albany, N. Y.

"Am passing through Albany to-morrow one-forty from New York City to Glens Falls; would like to address meeting regarding suffrage Colorado in support bill before legislature. Must leave Albany four-thirty.

"BEN B. LINDSEY."

Through the courtesy of Speaker Frisbie the use of the Assembly Chamber was secured for the afternoon of the 24th and Judge Lindsey addressed a large gathering composed of Legislators and Albanians as follows:*

I first wish to express my appreciation to the Speaker of the House and to the com-

*This speech was reported verbatim by the Senate stenographer.

mittees in charge for this opportunity in this place, in this hall, here in the state Capitol, to address you upon the subject—to my mind one of the most important subjects now pending before the legislature of this state.

I come from a state where we have long passed this discussion, where we have come to regard the rights of women as equal to those of men,—out there in our mountain states, where men love liberty and are willing to concede to others rights which they enjoy. I didn't come this afternoon to make an extended address in discussing the generalities of this subject. There have been during the past few days, and no doubt will be in the days to come, others more competent to perform that task than I could hope to be. I come rather, my friends, to correct some false impressions, some false statements, some illogical conclusions, which, it seems to me, have in a measure clouded the issue.*

I have been handed an article from a leading magazine, that, while it is veiled under a claim that it is a mere statement of certain facts is, nevertheless, intended to be an argument against suffrage; was prepared for that purpose; presented for that purpose, and, in a measure, has done much

*Judge Lindsey afterwards explained that while in Buffalo he read in the newspapers of the Woman Suffrage Hearing and the incorrect statements in regard to conditions in Colorado made by Mr. Barry and the Anti-Suffragists. Whereupon en route from Buffalo to New York he sent the telegram quoted above.

to chloroform the minds of a good many people, I am sorry to say. As I read this article, I am reminded of an experience I had once with some small boys, especially one small boy. He was a little runaway, but he had never been beyond the State of Colorado. He was very anxious to come to New York. He read in a newspaper in Denver that a man in New York had lost his boy and the boy was supposed to be in Colorado and a reward was offered for the return of the boy. This little rascal went to police headquarters and told the captain on duty that he was the boy, and, since there was a reward offered for the return of the boy, there was some rejoicing that the lost was found. But there arose a controversy between the two men on duty as to who was entitled to the reward, and they called in the boy to testify as to who saw him first. In the course of the examination they discovered the boy was a little impostor; he had never been outside of the state and did not belong in New York at all.

I found the little fellow in jail. I recognized him as a chronic little truant. I thought that he might show some signs of penitence, but he did not. He said: "These guys have spoiled the best bum I ever had planned." When he was asked where he lived he said he had been living in a piano box. Nobody would believe that. I took him out of jail and down into a certain part of our city; following the boy as I did, I

found the piano box very much as he described, and there he had been living for some time. I heard a gang around the corner engaged in a discussion out of the range of my vision but within that of my hearing. I said to this little boy, "Johnnie, I got you out of jail. That was a favor. Do you hear what those boys are saying?" I heard what they said and I was somewhat alarmed, for we once had a boy from that neighborhood for rather serious trouble, and I heard these boys discussing. One said, "He gets full once a week." The other said, "He gets full once a month." And I wondered if it might be a boy. It was very unusual if it were so, and I wondered who it was that was getting full. So I asked my little friend to go among the gang and find out. He came back presently and he said, "Judge, it is the moon those fellows are talking about; a skinny kid said the moon gets full once a week and another guy said the moon gets full once a month. I tell you Judge," he said, "you can't believe all you hear nohow." They were just giving us moonshine. (Laughter.)

My friends, it is hard to believe all you read when you take up some of the articles that have come to my attention recently; articles that are intended as arguments to prevent this legislature from submitting to the people of this state the question whether or not they will divide with others a right for which men have fought and died in many struggles, the right of suffrage, for that is

the question before the legislature of New York to-day.

In this article which I hold in my hand, entitled "What Women Have Actually Done Where They Vote," the first statement of so-called fact that has been called to my attention seems to deal with the question of what women have done to protect children. Let us take that up first. The statement, in general, seems to be, that when certain states wanted an up-to-date child labor law, they didn't go to one of the western states where women voted, but they went to states like New York, Illinois and Massachusetts to find the model law. As though that were an argument against submitting this question to men who vote; this question as to whether or not that right should be divided with others. My friends, let us consider the case for a moment.

Equal suffrage exists in four of the mountain states, and only four, until recently the people of the great State of Washington divided this right with women. Now, what would you think of a man sent out from an eastern city, to some small village in a suffrage state that had no street cars or tenements, to get some model laws for the protection of children hopping on cars, or their protection from the evil of crowded tenements? Suppose this man came back and said, "Those cities or towns haven't any law against children hopping on cars or concerning the regulation of tenements. Women vote out there, and, therefore, it has been a bad

thing to give them the right to vote." Why, my friends, there hasn't been, until recently in any of these states, except one, a city of any consequence. In the name of justice, reason and common sense, why should women there be busy in getting ordinances passed protecting children from dangers of street cars if there are no street cars; or protecting children from the evils of tenements such as exist in New York and Massachusetts when there are no tenements! That is their argument.

Why, my friends, in those western states where I have spent my childhood, youth and manhood, and the better part of my life, we haven't had conditions such as may be found in the great states of New York. Massachusetts and Illinois, which require laws protecting children, and where this writer says he found model child labor laws, for instance. Is it because our women are any less interested in the protection of their offspring than the women of these states in the East? I refute the slander, if that is the imputation; for there are no better wives and mothers and women in the world than are to be found there. (Applause.) And the man who used illogical conclusions, and in a measure false facts, to hurt the women of our state and the western states, in order to serve the purpose of some one determined to prevent women in these eastern states from gaining the right that our women have, simply offered a gratuitous and unnecessary insult to the wives, mothers and women

of those western states. My friends, we have, wherever such laws are needed, as good laws for the protection of our children as are to be found in the world.

In an article published in the Delineator magazine which I with a newspaper friend, Mr. George Creel, had the privilege of preparing and publishing in the February issue, we have summed up these laws, which I don't care to sum up now. But incidentally that summing up and that list, if you care to read it, will demonstrate to any one the falsity of the insinuation, that women of those western states are not just as interested in the problem of their children as those of the eastern states. But I don't think I ever heard of a sweatshop, glass works, button factory, paint works, or any one of a dozen industries, dangerous to youth, in any of these western states and it would no more occur to our people to pass laws against dangers that do not exist than it would occur to the people in villages to pass ordinances against dangers that exist in cities but that do not exist in villages. So that, my friends, if the charge referred to, be a fact, it possesses no significance when honestly used; and in the next place, if there were to be found from that fact, any dereliction on the part of our people where women have equal rights with men, to protect their offspring, it would not, as I hope to show you before I finish, be any argument, either for or against this particular bill here now before the legis-

lature. I propose to show you it is beside the mark. It hasn't anything to do with the question. It is begging the question, but we shall consider the matter from every standpoint, if I may have your attention.

There are many misleading statements, many half truths and many false statements in the article I hold in my hands. I think this unfair method of campaign is generally known, not only in the article in this leading magazine but in similar articles that employ the same tactics, the same misstatements or misuse of facts against woman suffrage. My friends, supposing some one should come to a western state to write an article to show that men should not have the right to vote. God help men! If the same methods were used as those employed against women, no man would ever have the right to suffrage in this country, because you would always find some bad men—more bad men out there than bad women. You would always find in some states where men vote that they had failed to pass some law that some other state had passed, failed to pass it through indifference, or insurmountable obstacles and opposition, or because there was not any demand for that particular legislation. But I never heard of anybody for that reason proposing to make war upon men's right to suffrage, as they now are doing upon women's. But that is the common method of the anti-suffragist out our way and of those who come there to find something that may

seem to bolster up their opposition to doing justice to the most important class or part of our population.

Let us take a few of these statements. I will select a few at random. Here is a statement, calling attention as follows: "I found that the eight-hour law for working-women failed in the last Colorado legislature," and they charge by inference that there isn't any law in Colorado protecting working women, as in some other states. I hold a law in my hand, passed by the legislature of Colorado, a legislature in which women sit on an equality with men, and I read from section 3. "No woman of sixteen years of age or more shall be required to work or labor for a greater number than eight hours in the twenty-four-hour day, in any mill, factory, manufacturing establishment, shop or store, for any person, agent, firm, company, copartnership or corporation, where such labor, work or occupation by its nature requires the woman to stand or be upon her feet, in order to satisfactorily perform her labors, work or duty in such occupation and employment," and so forth and so on. My friends, there never was, I think, in any state at that time (1903) more stringent laws for the protection of women; and yet this article never even mentioned the fact that, in spite of the work done by women, in spite of the fact that this law was backed by the best women of our state, there were some men on the Supreme Court bench of the

state, as there have been in other states, who declared that the law was unconstitutional. Now, if that be any argument against suffrage, it surely must be against male suffrage and not against female suffrage. The only logical result would be to take men out of the courts and to put women there, and then find out how things worked out. There was one gentle, kind-hearted, noble, humane, loving judge on that Supreme Court bench who dissented from the opinion of the other judges, and held that the law was constitutional, and that women, the women of Colorado, especially the women who had backed that law and fought for it, were entitled to have that protection for their sisters.

There isn't anything in this article telling that in Colorado was one of the pioneer movements for the protection of women. There isn't anything in this article that intimates (but everything that would have you believe to the contrary), that there was any law for the protection of children against the evils of child labor, even though we didn't need such laws to the extent that they need them in other states. Why, my friends, within a year after the coming of the cotton mills in our state there was a law put on our statute books forbidding children in cotton mills. Was there any occasion for such a law until the cotton mills came? How many years did it take the State of Massachusetts, and other

states and countries, to get such legislation? Why, splendid men and women fought the best part of their lives in some states to get laws like that. But as soon as the necessity arose in Colorado it had no more than appeared, before immediately there went on the statute books of the state a law to protect children. You can't blame women for decisions of courts on these laws.

And we went further than that. We put on our statute books a law requiring all children to be in school under sixteen years of age, and providing for a school year from September to June, and we declared that any child who did not go to school was a delinquent child, and any person who caused, encouraged or contributed to his delinquency was a criminal and could be sent to jail for an entire year. We find in Colorado to-day and for the last eight years, since the cotton mills appeared and some other industries of our state grew and began to take on conditions found in eastern states, laws with severe penalties attached. so that men, who during the school year employ children under sixteen in any cotton mill or other place of employment when the child has not complied with the school law, that is to say, has worked without a permit between fourteen and sixteen, that man could be sent to jail for an entire year—so severe is the penalty. And yet you are led to believe from this article that there had never been any such law in the State of Colorado protecting children. One of the greatest organizations

in the world, advocating laws for the protection of women and children, has declared publicly, as shown by our article in the Delineator, that Colorado had put the most humane, most progressive and most scientific laws on its statute books of any state or country in the world, for the protection of women and children.

I want to be frank and fair, my friends, with regard to this matter. When we passed these laws, the Supreme Court of Colorado (as Supreme Courts in other states have done), from time to time has declared that some of these laws were unconstitutional, with the result that we have had the fight all over again. Now, the very first legislature after this decision came (our last legislature before the one now in session), found a woman on the floor of the house offering a bill to protect her sisters, to comply with the decision of our Supreme Court, if possible. My friends, was it any fault of that woman that that law didn't get through? No, it was the fault of men; and if there be anything in this statement that women should not have the vote because the law for the protection of women failed in the last legislature in Colorado, it is a pretty good argument that men of Colorado ought not to have any right to vote; that we ought to take it all away from them and give it to women. (Applause.) That is all there is to that. But nobody has ever come to Colorado to write an article to

show why men should not have the right to vote. Nobody ever came for that purpose. If he does, I say again, God help men if he uses the same arguments against men that he has against women.

And because he found, according to this article, that a woman had taken a ten-dollar bill to work in some election—some of them did that in more than one state before they ever had the right to vote—to work for some measure, and because he found that some woman had taken five or ten or fifty dollars, he argues that is a reason why women should not have the right to vote. Just imagine writing an article "Why Men Should Not Vote"; imagine going to Ohio—West Union—to write an article "Why Men Should Not Have The Right To Vote!" (Applause.) Just imagine this gentleman here, Mr. Barry, going down to write an article for the "Ladies' Home Journal," in Uncle Joe Cannon's district, Danville. "What Men Have Done Where They Vote!" (Applause.) If he did, God help men! It wouldn't be a long time, my friends, if there be any logic in that argument, and it is as logical one way as it is the other, before there wouldn't be any male suffrage in this country. Your men would all be disfranchised. Women would be doing all the voting and men would be disfranchised. That is the logic of his argument on this subject—that is if he is fair.

Let us take another statement. I am taking them at random. I might go through

all of this article and there would be the same measure of absurdity. Oh, how easy, when writing, to impose upon the intelligence of some people (so they think), with such rot. Now, just listen to this. He quotes me here in one or two places. I have been quoted before and I grant you that some of the things quoted from me were quite as astonishing to me as to some other people. Will you listen to this? Let me read to you what he said (reads from Barry article): "He had seven bills affecting the juvenile court which he asked to be passed." Now, listen to this, people. "They were all drawn with an eye to the protection of children and were modeled on approved 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. Women'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.'" These are in quotations.

I don't know whether Mr. Barry is here or not, but I hope he is, for I want to say to his face, that when he came and talked to me I took his word as a gentleman and a man. But I never knew before—never in my

experience have I received the word of a newspaper man and then been betrayed, except in this case. Mr. Barry said, "Judge, if you talk to me I will not quote you on anything without first submitting the manuscript to you, for I know how easy it is to make misstatements and to be confused." Mr. Barry put me in quotations, but Mr. Barry never submitted this manuscript to me, as he promised. Now, let us see, if he had submitted his manuscript to me what would have happened. I want to tell him that he not only made misstatements of fact, but garbled, mixed up statements of something I never said. Here are the facts: I gave three bills concerning little children and their protection to the woman member of the legislature. What happened to those bills? Every single one of those bills passed and they are on our statute books. But what does Mr. Barry say? He quotes what some senator said. "I then found an old state senator who told me the truth. He said, 'The legislature has nothing against children, and if some sensible man had presented those bills and explained their need in simple, forceful language, they would have been passed.'" Now, what happened? He said there were seven. There were. This woman said, as I told Mr. Barry, "Judge, I will take three of these bills. I can't take all of them. I have a great many other bills and can't take too many. Perhaps you can get men to help, too." I gave four of those bills to a state

senator and a representative in Colorado, including every one of the three given this woman; and in the senate they never got them out of committee. (Applause.) They never did.

Well, do you know what I thought about the legislature after that experience? We have four women in the legislature this time; and since I had seven bills last time for the protection of women and children and I gave three to a woman and she got them all through; and I gave four to two men, one a state senator, and those four given the senator never got out of committee, I then decided I would give all the bills I had to the women members of the legislature, because the results were so much better. My friends, that is the truth, and yet we have to face lying statements like that in this fight. The records will all show it. I said to Mr. Barry that some people said that the woman member did not care to take the other four bills for certain reasons; (I did not know whether they were true or not.) that she said she could not be burdened with more than three of them.

Now, my friends, that is the fact in this case. In the legislature we didn't get any of the bills at all that we gave to the "old senator." He tried hard enough but he could not budge them out of the committees. I remember when the debate was up on one of those bills presented by a woman, a politician came to me and said, "You know the men," (that is, the big business men),

"wouldn't stand for that law to protect women but they don't know whether they can defeat it or not. They could defeat it if it wasn't for these infernal women." He said, "Do you know, they wanted me to propose an amendment." (It was such that it would defeat the purpose of the bill.) "I said, 'Not on your life. The minute I do that that blankety blank woman will be raising hell.'" Pardon the expression; I am telling what he said; and she would. She would have been there to defend her kind. Now, my friends, that was our experience.

As a matter of fact, some of these laws that we all wanted from time to time have been defeated. How? By the opposition of women? No, not a single law proposed for the benefit of women and children was ever defeated in a western state because of opposition that came from women. The opposition came from men—men. And again I say, if that be anything against suffrage, it is a splendid argument, according to logic, against male suffrage and in favor of female suffrage, *exclusive* female suffrage. That is all, if it is any argument at all, my friends.

Now, let me call attention to another of this article's absurdities. He says, "In 1905 and 1906 there were 67 children committed to the Golden Industrial Home, the Colorado State Reformatory." "The following two years, 197 were committed there; an increase of three to one." And he proceeds to show that there was an increase of crime

in Colorado because 197 boys were sent to a state training school. Well, he is mixed up again; terribly mixed all the way through this thing. My friends, our industrial school for a long time was somewhat limited; and if in 1905 and 1906 (that must have been the year) we sent only 67 children there it was perhaps all that at that time could be accommodated. But women have always helped to get an appropriation for that institution; and we have secured new cottages and help for our institutions and now can send more children there.

Now, my friends, let me discuss this statement a moment: "The chief of police of Denver told me that juvenile crime was on an alarming increase in that city," and, according to the deductions, why that is due to the fact that women vote. No suggestion that men also vote; that it might be as much of an argument against the right of men to vote as against that of women. But let us see. What are the facts? Why I picked up the New York World yesterday and after reading an account of this gathering at the close of the account I read this, "Three boys, thirteen years old, drunk." Why, there would be just as much sense in somebody getting up in the legislature of this state and saying that because three boys, thirteen years old were found drunk in one of your cities, that that was a sign that male suffrage had failed and we ought to take it away from men and give it to women; give it all to women. Now,

my friends, suppose it were true that crime was on the increase? It wouldn't be any argument against suffrage, I think, unless it be against suffrage for men and women both. I am discussing this case from the standpoint of justice; just pure justice; that is all we need to consider, and that is what we must consider. Now, what are the facts? He said there were more girls than formerly in our Florence Crittendon Home, or something of that kind. Let me give you a typical illustration to show you how absurd is this sort of statement. I remember the conditions we find in the police courts in cities in some states, regardless of whether there is woman suffrage or not.

Two boys were brought in. They were engaged in petty pilfering. The judge is limited to determining what they did; he is limited to "What did they do?" He finds they stole something. They are guilty of larceny and he imposes sentences.

Two boys are brought in for truancy. The judge finds they are guilty and imposes sentences.

And then there is a girl brought in; and there is the same procedure.

My friends, that was so in our town and in some of our cities for a long time until the women of our state got back of us in the fight for better laws and better enforcement of laws to protect children. Let us see what happens now.

Two boys are brought in for truancy. "Well, what have you done?" "Stayed away

from school; lived in a shack." "Lived in a shack? What did you do in the shack?" We investigate the matter. The boys confess. "Well, we sit around the fire and smoke cigarettes; read dime novels, and do a lot of bad things." We find they have been doing a good many bad things. Here is a little boy. We discover boys, little boys engaged in petty pilfering and there are other little boys involved. We find that their father, perhaps, didn't pay much attention to his home, didn't know where the boy was at nights; didn't care. And, well, my friends, we might follow the case for a long time. I am not going to do that; but I wish to suggest that not because there is more crime but because there is better work being done in the fight against crime, is this apparent increase due. That is the chief reason. There are good women who helped us get good legislation, so that where formerly we would get two little boys only in our court—boys who, in some other state where they haven't the same methods—would be found guilty and that would be the end of it—now in our state when they get into court we get twenty-two men, women and children involved in neglect, bad conditions; a bad neighborhood; bad environment; and we root out the cause of things and begin to protect those children. And when you read that we have more crimes committed in our state, it is because we go to the root of things and the work is more thorough and we dig deeper than in

other states. That is the reason it seems as if there were more crime. Why, my friends, crime is not increasing in our town because of any neglect on the part of our women. I say that crime may be increasing in every city in America because of unjust social and economic conditions that are going in time to cause the greatest upheaval and struggle in this country that we have had since the civil war. And because I trust to that innate sense of justice always found in women more than in men as a class, I believe we need women equipped with weapons, with powers that men have to line up on the right side in this fight ahead of us to correct these conditions. It is a war on conditions that in the end will reduce crime, when nothing else will. (Applause.)

We are informed that the chief of police said that crime was on an alarming increase in Denver. In the first place, the chief of police of Denver denies that he ever made any such statement. At least one of his captains brought that message to me when this article came out. Recently I was in California discussing this subject with the Governor of California and with some of the members of the legislature which, recently, by an overwhelming majority, did for their sisters of California what I hope the men of New York will do for women here, submitted the question to the people; and as I passed around the city I picked up the "Los Angeles Examiner," I think it was, and read in big head-lines about a dozen

young boy bandits, burglars, that were caught; and I picked up a paper the next day and read about another dozen. Well, my friends, you would think crime was on the increase in that town among children, and I suppose if some man went out there to write an article to show what men do when men vote, he could by the same methods attempt to show that men were responsible for this crime among the city's children; but never would any fair man think of doing a thing so silly. So much for that.

Now, about the social evil in Denver. Why, my friends, there isn't any cleaner city in America on the average than Denver. This article says "In one of the principal streets of Denver painted women exhibit themselves in the doors and windows." I wish to denounce that statement as a lie. That is all. It isn't true. (Applause.) There is a school-house in our town that is contiguous to that district; but committees of women from the women's club and women generally have led a fight for years to get it away from there; but so far their efforts have failed; not because of women, but because of men. Now, if that is anything against women's right to vote, it must be a good deal more against men's right to vote.

Divorces and troubles in court. My friends, I granted most of the divorces that were granted in Denver for a period of eight years when I sat as judge of this county court that the gentleman speaks

about. I want to say to you here, measuring my words and knowing whereof I speak, that in the entire time I sat there in that court, granting the great majority of all the divorces granted in the State of Colorado, I never had one single case, not one, where any domestic infelicity or bickerings arose through any matter concerning politics or differences in politics; not one. (Applause.) Why, such a thing was never heard of, never thought of, never dreamed of. I, the judge who granted most of those divorces, never heard of such a thing.

I have to pick these statements out because it is hard to keep up with the false things that float around; as fast as we scotch one snake, another springs up; and it is very difficult to meet them all at once.

Now, let us see. He says that Oklahoma had to get its child labor law from other states. I think we have sufficiently answered that. It is fair to say I was invited to Oklahoma from Colorado to discuss the proposed laws and have a letter from Miss Kate Barnard, Commissioner of Charities, thanking us for all that Oklahoma got from Colorado in the way of laws and work for its children.

Now I have here a paper saying, inasmuch as we give our women the right to vote in school elections, and they don't turn out, we shouldn't give them the right to vote at general elections. Yes, and we give men the right to vote at school

elections, but men don't turn out. In school elections you can't get men out. Very few of them come out, comparatively speaking. Some women come and some men come out. I want to say to you that my practical experience in politics in Denver for years has been, as shown by facts taken from records and documents, all set forth in an article in the February "Delineator" already referred to, that, in the proportion they bear to the total population, as many women, I believe more women than men, vote. That was shown in Seattle the other day. When you give them an absolute right to vote on an equality with men, they do take an interest and they do discuss these problems intelligently. There is nothing more beautiful to my mind than the sight of mother, father, sister, son, sitting around the table, discussing as they discuss matters of domestic or household economy, some public measure in which they all are interested.

My mother is a conservative, dear old lady from the South. Naturally she was terribly opposed to suffrage at the start, and because of my training, born in the South. I was too. But as I look back now, and I am sure as she does, at our ignorance and some of the absurd arguments that we advanced against it, I am amused.

We are told that women have not the health and strength to go to the polls. It is no trouble for my mother to go to the polls and vote. It is no trouble for my

sister to go to the polls and vote. In fact it is not as much trouble as going down to the department stores to a bargain sale or being jostled in the cars. (Applause.)

On election day as I go down to the office or when I come home in the evening, after supper, we stroll around to the polling place together. It is a nice little walk, about five minutes, almost anywhere in the state. We deposit our votes. Every thing is as orderly as a Sunday school. Why, my friends, some of these things you hear against suffrage seem so ridiculous out there in Colorado that most of us can't understand them. Why, if any one came out to Colorado to argue for suffrage, our people would be astounded. They can't understand the arguments that are being used against it by these people. "Now, really, do women vote? Do they take an interest in these things?" "Why, what are you talking about? Women vote? Why, sure, they vote." "Do men vote? Why, of course they vote." "Do they vote because they take an interest?" Of course. We are all going up together or we are all going down together. Of course we are. Nobody thinks anything about it. We would think it as much of an outrage to try to take suffrage away from women as we would think it an outrage to try to take it from men.

Let us take the statement that the legislature was considering an amendment to rescind woman suffrage (passed away back in 1893). Why, my friends, there never was a more absurd statement than that. Why,

nobody ever seriously considered such a thing. The men charged with it laughed; thought it was a great joke. We submitted that question to the people nearly ten years after women had the right to vote in an amendment to the constitution that might have changed the dual right to vote out there, and after that ten years of experience, and the submission of this question again it was carried overwhelmingly, showing that after ten years of trial the people of Colorado put their seal of approval on the dual right of suffrage. The facts and figures are all given in the article I have referred to in some detail, if any of you are interested enough to follow it.

Now I want to give you a little experience of practical politics and woman suffrage. It may be of interest to you to hear that in 1904 I ran for the office of judge on the Democratic ticket and there was a man on that ticket who was a candidate for district attorney, and he was a crook, c-r-o-o-k; and there was another one there who ran for state senator. He was another crook, and ought to be in the penitentiary, then as now. And I said so publicly, because it was so; it was the truth. I knew this senatorial candidate was a ballot-box stuffer, I knew he was a ward heeler, I knew he was a corruptionist. The gang was so powerful that they put those two men on the Democratic ticket. I don't mean to give offense by telling what is a personal experience, but if you will pardon me (I don't say it boastfully, but modestly), I desire to give you the facts. Most of the better part of the party felt it was an outrage and a disgrace to put those men up for the suffrages of the people. I remember the ward boss came to me and said, "I told the boss not to put so and so on that ticket. If the women get after him, God help him;" but they put him on. Many times have I sat in the caucus of the Democratic party when candidates were being nominated for office, and I know practical politics because I have been all through it. Yes, and I have heard many things that I don't care to mention—connected with the names of some that are well known in Denver. And I have sat at the meeting of the executive committee of the Democratic party in Denver, where I have sat with others, and when a candidate was mentioned, who was not desirable, some one would say, "Now, boys, it won't do to put Jim on the ticket. No, it won't do. You know his character isn't quite—right. Well, we have to admit it and if Jim goes on the ticket, why we will hear about it when these women get after him." Well, those two fellows I referred to were on that ticket. I went to the powers and offered to resign from the ticket. They would not accept my resignation. I told them I would have to fight those two men; and that I didn't want to be on the ticket because it might hurt the Democratic party if I ran on a ticket and fought those two men who were on the same ticket. They were the district attorney and the state senator from

our district. But I had to fight them, because they were crooks, and I told them so. I did it, too; I fought those two men. I went to the newspapers with my statements but the newspapers said, "We can't have a libel suit." "I said, "This statement is not a libel. We can prove it. I will stand by it." But they wouldn't print it. Then I got out a circular. I signed my name in fac-simile to fifty thousand copies, showing why and how these men were crooks and corruptionists and I sent these circulars out to the women voters of the town. I went out that year in company with a friend to the different polling places. My friend was something of an expert on handwriting. My experience in court has made me something in that line myself. There is an iniquitous measure on our statute books, requiring that the voter write the word "Democrat" or "Republican" at the top of the ballot. We have repeatedly tried to get that bill repealed. And we are trying still. Women are helping us. I should say that about 75,000 votes are at times cast in Denver. That is the limit of our voting population, about. I should say if 75,000 votes were cast there in the average election, 65 000 of those or 70,000 would have "Republican" or "Democrat" written at the top of the ballot. That is our law. In that way we could tell something about the handwriting of the people who cast those ballots. I looked purposely to satisfy myself how women had been affected by my fight

against the two crooks on that ticket. Of course the test may not have been absolutely accurate but the experience of many years has taught me that women would as a class go after a man that was bad; and it gave me much pleasure to note that three-fourths of the scratches, as it appeared to me, on those ballots against the district attorney and the senator, were in feminine handwriting. It was women who wrote "Democratic" at the top of their ballot and then coming down the columns of the ballot put an X for a Republican district attorney and an X for the Republican state senator whom we were trying to elect on the Republican ticket. And what was the result? I am glad to say that the entire Democratic ticket was elected in the city and county except those two men—those two crooks—who were snowed under by a vote of several thousand majority by women. (Applause.) I am satisfied from that practical little experience that women more than men were responsible for this result.

Now, we have a number of women out in our state who oppose suffrage. One of them was quoted in the "Ladies' Home Journal" recently. I speak with all due respect of that venerable lady, but I do her no injustice when I say she is one—well, she is a character in our state and a woman who has no sympathy for progressive things, progressive ideas. I remember recently I went to Colorado Springs to talk to the Woman's Club, and because I was in a fight with what we

call the "Beast" out there, this dear woman, (so the president of the club said), asked her, (the president), to leave the meeting after introducing the Judge. This snub and the absence of a good audience which would be reported all over the country she hoped, would show that the women of Colorado were not in sympathy with this fight against what we call the "Beast." Here was a pretty good test, I thought. I want to say to you, if you will pardon a personal experience, when I addressed the club there was practically standing room only. Nobody stayed away so far as I know. It was one of the biggest meetings ever held in the hall there in Colorado Springs.

I wrote in collaboration with a newspaper friend of mine, Mr. Harvey J. C. Higgins, of New York, a series of articles for "Everybody's Magazine," called the "Beast and the Jungle." In a word we were writing about the "Beast," not about woman suffrage. I said there and I say here to you devoted suffragists and to you devoted anti-suffragists, for it is the truth, that must be faced, that the thing which we called the "Beast,"—the venal combination between certain big business men seeking special privilege and vice in cities—is powerful everywhere. It invades the sanctuary of God and will use the preacher in the pulpit, as it has already done, for its own purposes. But that isn't anything necessarily against churches and preachers except to show that there are some weaklings there. The "Beast" uses them as surely as it

uses the divekeeper in the brothel. I am sorry to say that it has used men; it has also used women, but that to my mind isn't anything against female suffrage. If it is, it is ninety-nine times more reason against male suffrage, because where in the story of the "Beast" we told of the weakness of one woman in capitulating to it, because, perhaps, the breadline had to be clung to, we were able to show up a hundred men. (Applause.) And if you can get any consolation out that story in telling the truth about the "Beast" and would use it as an argument against female suffrage, don't forget that to be fair and just you have to admit that it is ninety-nine times more against male suffrage; and if it has anything to do with the case at all it may be evidence justifying your legislature in taking the right to vote away from men and giving it all to women. That is all.

Such, my friends, is the logic of the arguments that we constantly encounter; such is the logic of this article and others like it that I wish to refer to again. Some of the statements are lies. I don't say that the authors always willingly intended them that way, but I do say they have been imposed upon by certain men who did not tell the truth or who have been willing to make unjust and improper use of the truth. Now, I state to such people and I state to you, and I state frankly wherever I may be, that when it comes to political corruption, women fall in some cases just like men, because

they are human beings; they are not ethereal angels of whom we have any right to demand perfection however much we would love so to regard them. (Laughter.)

My friends, this isn't any reason why they should be denied privileges and rights that are freely given to all types and kinds of men, or that any body of men—much less women—should have the impudence to insist they must be first free from imperfections common to us all, as a condition precedent to granting them such rights —simple justice. Such a campaign against popular rights and justice is inconsistent, and absurd.

I want to say to you that I have been on the bench of the juvenile court of Denver for nearly eleven years. I have been in every city in America, I think, in that eleven years. I have been to every state in the Union within that eleven years, except possibly two, and everywhere I find that the chief cause of crime and poverty is certain economic and industrial injustices. These are forcing women into competition with men, whether you would or no. Out of sixteen million women in this country, it is said by reliable authorities, that there are one-fourth of them who are wage earners. There are many thousands of them forced into the double burden of home maker and bread winner every year. I believe there are one hundred thousand women forced into the double burden every year. Let me take a concrete case. In the last generation of

childhood there were 16,000 little children made orphans through explosions in coal mines alone, in that one industry, according to government reports published in an address delivered before the Academy of Social and Political Science in Philadelphia; and, (say these government reports), between three-fourths and four-fifths of all the accidents that killed the fathers of those little children could have been, in all probability, avoided had the corporations that owned the mines used the ordinary safety appliances employed now for the protection of men in countries like Germany and Belgium where such accidents are as one-half or one to three and three and a half in this country. Certain states have provided these laws. We have provided some such laws in our state, and we are trying to get others, but, my friends, when we try to get laws to do justice we find most opposition from certain men. We never had opposition from women.

I remember in my struggle described in the "Beast and the Jungle," stumbling across the letter of the young lawyer, a man out of the university, eminently respectable—(I found most of the big crooks were respectable), written to an attorney in the East, probably in Wall Street, running something like this: "House bill so and so, by so and so, providing safety appliances for protection of men in dangerous employments will incur expenses, etc. We think it dangerous legislation. Will you authorize expenses necessary to kill bill?" Bills like

that have been killed, in more than one state in this union, and when the bill is killed, the fathers of children are killed. Women are forced into this double burden and children come to court. Do you think women of the states, even with suffrage, can all at once and all together stop this sort of thing? No, they can't. It is to be a long, hard fight between organized corruption favoring property rights on the one hand, and the people favoring human rights on the other, whenever the two rights conflict. That struggle is going on in this country. Just as the struggle went on before the civil war, over the old slavery, so it is going on now over the new slavery, and in this struggle we want women at the front; we want them to have the same rights that men have, so when they line up, as I believe the majority of them will line up on the right side, their strength at the ballot box will be for the right even more than now. Therefore, as an advocate of laws for the protection of women and children and because I have dealt with the trials, troubles and tribulations of children for years, I feel it is my duty to these children everywhere I can, to lift my voice and plead, and ask you to plead with men that they extend to their sisters, their mothers, their sweethearts and their wives the same rights they claim for themselves. When the struggle comes, as it will come, and it will be the hardest-fought and most bitter struggle this country has ever seen since the days of the

civil war, I believe from my experience that women can be counted upon as a class to be on the right side.

But, if any of you think that giving suffrage to women is going to bring about reforms all at once, you are going to be disappointed, for you are going to find that women can be used, misled and blinded just like men, some of them. You will find occasionally they can be corrupted just like men. But this fact never will be a logical reason against suffrage or a reason why we should not grant the right to women to vote.

I want to say to you men and women, it isn't a question as to what women are going to do with their vote any more than it is a question what men are going to do with it. The question is: "Is it right; is it just?" and if we believe it is, my friends, if we would be just ourselves we must give them the right. In the end, I believe the net results will be good. The net results of woman suffrage in Colorado have been good. I believe firmly that to-day we have laws on the statute books that we would not have, or would not have got so soon as we have—we might have got them in time—if it had not been for the fact that women vote. Of course, my friends you hear the argument of the anti-suffragists that certain states have laws protecting women and children where women do not vote. What of it? Suppose they have? To my mind, as the lawyers say, that is irrelevant and immaterial. It is beside the mark. Some people

say, "Won't you double the number of voters?" Well, suppose you do? Should a little thing like that stand in the way of granting justice?

There are those women, however, who are home makers and bread winners; there are widows of course; there are the tens of thousands forced into an economic struggle on the same plane with men, who may want to exercise the same privilege that men have at the ballot box by voting for men who are called upon to make laws for them. And as long as they want that right, and say they want it, they ought to have it extended to them. Or whether they want it or not, I think they ought to have it whether they want it or not. That is the way I feel about it. Because it is right. Because it is just. Because it helps women and in the end will help us all.

Now, if there are any questions that any one wishes to ask me I would be very glad to answer them—to try to answer them. There are so many points to be discussed in this matter that I have perhaps wandered over a field and left out something that some would want to know about.

(Reading paper.) Yes, I am mighty glad somebody asked this. I rather expected it. "Does not your Honor think that the children of the women here present would be more protected if their mothers were at home." (Applause.) Did you ever hear it before? "The children of the women here protected from falling into bad habits?"

Well, in the first place, if this bill were passed and these women's rights were on the statute books you would all be home, ladies; you would not need to be here at all. (Applause.)

So the first answer I wish to make to that is, pass the law and it won't be necessary for the ladies to be here, but just so long as you don't pass that law—! After eleven years of experience in problems of child crime, after eleven years of seeing how women and children are hurt through political, economic and industrial abuses, I say to you mothers, I am convinced you would be false to your children at home and all other children unless you were here right now. (Applause.)

Here is another answer to this question: I tried three little boys once. One of them came from a broken home. The father died of lead poisoning in a smelter mill where he worked for twelve long years amidst poisonous fumes and gases of a great industry, and that father was only one of thousands. The mother had those children to support. She could not be at home looking after those children because she had to provide bread. She had to be the bread winner. She had to work, if you please. She was the "mother and six children" we so often hear about. It is seldom we hear, in our experience, of the "father and six children." It is generally "the mother and six children." She couldn't be at

home to look after those children because her husband was dead.

Another one of those little boys came from a broken home. Here are just three children. Our records will show it to you. It is all there in black and white. I think back in the stenographer's notes we can dig it up. The father of the second boy had gone down to perdition in the gambling hell and brothel that flaunted its iniquity in the face of the community; in violation of the law, if you please. Why? Because the big business men in spite of all that women could do or others could do, had done what? They had stolen privileges and they had corrupted the two political parties, if you please. Corrupted them. To do that they had to go into partnership with vice and it was a long time before we could get any justice. Finally through the influence of women who went to meetings, who gave up their homes temporarily, protested, stirred up sentiment, etc., we got a law to correct those things. We put an end to gambling, if you please, so these women not only protected their own homes, but they protected other people's homes.

Now, listen. One of those three little boys was not the victim of the injustice of industrialism or the victim of the gambling hell, but he ran with boys who came from homes that were blighted by both, and I know the father in a home like that. I met him on the street car one day. He was one of those men who howled

against people whom he called "reformers," especially against certain women of the town as "people making all this fuss and bluster." He said they hurt business; that all they wanted was to close up gambling dens. There were those women spoken of just now who attended meetings just like this one. Some had children at home and they not only loved their children but they loved other people's children; and they protected their own homes and other people's homes by temporarily leaving their homes and fighting gambling hells. Thank God, we have women like you in this country who can give up your homes for a little while to come here to fight for justice—a fight that in the end means protection not only for *your* homes, but for the homes of untold thousands. My friends, there are a lot of earnest people, good people, honest people, who are disturbed by this sort of thing. Why aren't women all at home looking after babies? Because they must be both bread winners and home makers, because of unjust economic conditions. Some day when all women have helped in this struggle to cure these unjust economic conditions, we may get good laws which will enable these other women, their sisters in the world, to stay at home; such laws as the employers' compensatory law and other laws, compelling society and the employer who gets the dividends and profits to share with the under dog some of the risks and hazards of the business which their toil and suffering make

possible. We won't get those laws until we get women on the firing line, lined up on the right side.

Now, "Will Judge Lindsey answer the antis who claim that women who vote should be soldiers" (Think of that!) "and sit on juries and be policemen?" Well, my friends, soldiers would have a hard time of it if it were not for women serving indirectly on the battle field through the hospital corps in war time as well as in times of peace. But why should you expect them to be soldiers as a condition to the right to vote? Is it necessary? I can't see that that has anything to do with the case.

Sitting on juries! I haven't any serious objection to their sitting on juries, but our courts in Colorado have ruled that the right of suffrage does not carry with it the right to sit on juries under our law.

As policemen I want to say to you I think the chief difficulty in some of the cities in this country is that we have not women policemen. We ought to have them. (Applause and laughter).

Why not? Why, one woman on the police force would do more good in a town than forty men. The best probation officers in America are women. They have exploded the old time policeman's idea of force and violence. Of course with the physical force necessary, equipped with efficiency and backed up by male members of the force, women are needed in the police department. And women police who do not typify the old

idea of mere violence as men do, have saved and will save more children than all the policemen in the world ever saved. (Applause.)

Let us see what this is. "Has your Honor any better adjudication of woman's place and duty in life than that laid down by the great Judge in the first of his reports, the Book of Genesis?" Well, I really never thought of it. It is a long ways off from Genesis. (Laughter.) Thank God the world has moved some since Genesis. I do not mean to speak irreverently.

"Do the women of Colorado have an independent political party or do they go with the same Republican and Democratic parties?" Well, my friends, let us see what women do. Women differ on this question. Some of our women think they should line up with the regular political organizations; some of them believe in independent parties.

Last spring in Denver, after a long struggle, chiefly through the efforts of an independent organization made up largely of women, we passed an amendment to the charter. Some of the ablest women in the state took an interest in that campaign. We have in these struggles, women like Mrs. Helen Grenfell, one of the ablest women in America, who is to speak here some time soon. She is a wonderful woman. I wish you could see her and some of our other women on the platform every election time; the proceedings are conducted in as orderly a fashion

as anywhere in the world. There you might find women like Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker; Miss Ellis Meredith; Miss Gail Laughlin and Mrs. Ewing Robinson. These are women who discuss these questions much better than do men. I want to say to you the ablest platform speakers in Colorado are women. Has it detracted from their womanly qualities? Not at all. We don't think anything about it. The meetings are always orderly. I know once in a while in some ward meeting, there may be some exceptional case of a disturbance such as happens in any city or town in this country; such as might happen at a church meeting; but I refuse to accept such things as having anything to do with the matter of suffrage. Even if we must include that, we can't get away from the point that where such argument counts once against female, it counts ninety-nine times against male suffrage; and the only logical course is to take the right to vote away from men and give it all to women—and I am not quite in favor of that, yet. (Laughter.)

Now, they do sometimes take part in an independent political party. Not a woman's party—nothing of that kind has come into existence. They did last spring help the Independent or Citizens' party, and through the efforts of women for the first time in the history of Denver the "Beast" went down to defeat. We prevented the corporations from taking franchises and privi-

leges, from stealing them; a woman led the ticket, receiving the highest vote for election commissioner; and there was no more effective campaigning against the "Beast" than that done by women. They saved their homes from being robbed not only of money but of other things dearer and greater than money. Certain business men, the corporations, if you please, were in partnership with vice in order to get franchises and for a long time they permitted gambling houses to run wide open. The gambling houses tempted the fathers of children; and when the husband was gone, the mothers could not stay at home to look after the children—they had to work. And the only way other women could wipe out this state of affairs was to get out themselves and they did; many of them took part with an independent party; and they wiped out some of the evils that attack all cities and saved not only their own homes, but other homes.

Now, let us see, here is something that isn't so much a question as it is a plea. "I don't wish to ask you a question, but rather a favor"—shall I read it?—"I don't wish to ask you a question, but rather a favor. that you pass this bill on woman suffrage as soon as possible, for I wish my wife not to be so busy with the meetings"—I imagine a wag sent this up—"as she was for the last few days that she could not prepare my meals." Oh, now just think of that. (Laughter). Well, I hope, my

friend, that you will be considerate enough to think of those little children whose mothers have to be away to work and who don't have any meals—and that you will wait a while longer while your wife is away from home for a few days, to get justice that in the end will help these little children out. Oh, these selfish men! I have seen some like that before.

Let me explain here. I understand I have been quoted by the anti-suffragists. I don't know what I have been quoted about. I understand they have said I said that women are corrupt in politics. I want to be fair; for it is true that once in a while political corruption will reach out among women. That is nothing against suffrage; no, you can't make that out.

Now, let us see. Well, now, this is a new one. I never heard this before. "Miss Margaret Doane Gardiner, leading anti-suffragist of Albany, says that the vote is no use unless backed up by force, and women are physically unable to do so." I can't understand, my friends, why women should need any more force than the ordinary amount required for locomotion purposes to get to the polls. They don't generally have to use that, because people send an automobile or carriage for them if they don't want to use force. If anybody in our town does not want to use force they send a carriage. Our women have tried to prevent that, and are fighting for the passage of a law prohibiting it. Now, I have every respect for the

question and the questioner, but I want to say it has no bearing on the question at all. Maybe I don't understand it.

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch: That the basis of all government is force; you must have force to enforce your decrees.

Mr. Lindsey: Well, I found that women and men can divide up their respective duties in this matter. If there is some force required that women can't furnish, you will find men willing to do their part. (Applause.)

I want to say my friends that in Denver we are so long past this stage of this discussion that recently in Denver there came from the West Side Debating Club a little boy who I am sure would think it was most absurd to propose a serious discussion on woman suffrage. I said, "Well, Bennie, what do you want?" He said, "Judge, they want you to come over to the West Side Club to preside at the debate." I said, "What is it about?" He pulled out a neatly typewritten paper and I read it. Do you know what was on that paper? Well, I will tell you. "Resolved that all kids over ten years of age shall have the right to vote for the juvenile judge." Now, master Bennie had observed that the "Beast" was getting after the juvenile judge. He thought maybe he would need the kids to help. I said, "No Bennie, no. As long as women can vote in Denver the juvenile judge ought to be quite safe, and if you do debate this question, I am for the affirmative and disqualified to be judge."

If you will pardon a final experience, for I like to give them by way of appreciation. It was said that no one could be elected on an independent ticket in Denver. I want to conclude with this experience if I may without being considered offensive for telling a personal experience, for I don't tell it boastfully, because no man is entitled to any credit. This cause is entitled to all the strength we can bring to it, and that is why I am here telling this to you.

They said it was impossible for any man to be elected on an independent ticket in Denver. The women wanted to get a primary law to prevent the abuses that had existed. Why a woman introduced at this session the best corrupt practices act ever prepared in this country.

Well, they said it was impossible for any one to be elected independently. We had that very same condition in San Francisco. Now, I don't say this in any mean spirit. But I want to show you the difference where women vote and where they do not.

There is a lot of corruption in San Francisco and I found that men were a good deal like boys grown up. They were like boys who came to my court once for stealing apples. Little boys would go to the farmer's orchard and steal apples. The old farmer was disgusted and complained. Finally I said, "Why don't you build a fence around your orchard?" He did it. But it wasn't long before they were climbing the fence and he was complaining again. Then he decided

to put a dog on guard. He did. And for a while it began to look as though he were secure. But one day the old farmer came to me and said, very much disgusted, "Do you know that dog is running with those kids!" And so he was. Oh, that was terrible. (Laughter.) That unfaithful dog! How do you think it happened? Master John, a little boy, a very good little boy; a very intelligent youngster—he was quite discerning and diplomatic, and undoubtedly when he grew up made quite a good politician of a certain type—do you know what he did? Well, he supplied himself with a nice bone and sneaked up outside the fence, and called the dog over. "Here doggie, doggie, doggie!" The dog growled at him and barked, but he came over, when he saw the bone, and it wasn't long before the little dog stopped his growling and wagged his tail. Little Master John patted him on the head; and the dog didn't growl any more. He fed that dog and gave him bones and crumbs from the table. Then Master John went back to the other boys and said, "It's all right now. The dog won't bother you." He'd corrupted the dog. Over the fence the little rascals went again, and the dog went with them.

Then said the old farmer, "I will fix them. He got a bull pup that was said to be a vicious animal; and it seems the apples were protected for a little while, for some of the youngsters had lost the rear seat of their wearing apparel; and it began to look

as though the old farmer was at last secured. However, there came a worse complaint than ever. The boys threw rocks at the dog and finally the old man came in one day to report that the dog was dead. He claimed that somebody had poisoned the pup, and he was sure it was these boys. Suspicion turned toward the boys. There was also the case of a scandal in school. Teacher lost her pocketbook. She left it on the desk. Some little boy took the pocketbook and she was doubly shocked to find it was Master John, who had stood pretty well. She had left the pocketbook on her desk in her room and there was twenty-five dollars in it. And the worst thing was that Master Willie, who had been counted on to tell her the truth had told her when she asked him, that he didn't know anything about it. He didn't know. And then there was big Bill, a ruffianly boy that she rather suspected.

Among other details, here is what developed. That Master John had given Master Willy ten cents of the money and surrendered to big Bill a large part of it. He said, "Now I gave Willy a dime and Billy came along the alley and saw us, and said I better go halves with him or he would snitch on me"—(perhaps you don't know what "snitch" means; I hope you will pardon the expression, but I have to tell it as it happened. It means he would tell of him).

Well, my friends, that in a measure is the whole problem of society. We leave our

pocketbook lying around, our public privileges, our franchises, our community wealth, just as Teacher did. Teacher led little boys into temptation; Teacher violated the supplication, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Teacher violated a prayer, and we, the people, violate our duty when we leave our public wealth laying around so that little John, is tempted and we find when we investigate that little Willy got a dime, while Billy got the larger part of it, and John whom we had trusted got what was left. Then we try to secure our wealth; we build a fence around it, the legislature and our laws and public officers and servants, but Master John got over the fence; Master Billy, a cunning little boy grown up, a lawyer, boosted him over. And then they found the little dog there, the little dog who was faithful for a while. But, the dog discovered that Master John had jobs to be handed around for favors, and so the little dog ran with Master John. When that was discovered they put the faithful bull pup on duty. But when Masters John and Billy found they could not corrupt the faithful dog, they killed him.

And that my friends is what they did in San Francisco. Francis J. Heney was there, fighting for the people's pocketbook that Master John, grown up, eminently respectable, had tried to steal. They couldn't bribe him or frighten him, so they threw rocks at him, and slandered him and shot

him down and turned him down at polls. My friends, men did that! Men did that!

We had a little fight like that out in Denver where some of our Master Johns, grown up were trying to steal Teacher's pocketbook, our community wealth, franchises for the city railroad company and the gas company on which they were going to issue twenty-five million dollars of watered stocks and bonds which the people would have to make good by paying unjust rates, but a few people were on guard. I don't say it boastfully my friends, but we tried to be faithful as we could, and to fight the combination between big business men and vice; we fought as well as we could; we wanted to be the faithful dog on guard, and they threw rocks at us, and tried to bribe us, and tried to force us out when they found they couldn't induce us to run with them. When election came in Denver we had women as voters (they did not have women in California). We had in our campaign a boy of fourteen years of age, who could talk; and you should have heard him talk. There were newsboys in that fight, and mothers, wives and sisters were fighting for the right. They said that no man could run independently against the "Beast"; but kids were there, mothers were there and sisters were there, and the wives and sweethearts of the men were there. And I knew the methods they used. I knew the game, and years ago when I found I could not play the game and be square, I knew in conscience and for

the sake of little children we had to be the faithful dog as best we could.

And let me tell you something that happened. One of the bosses said to a little boy who was fishing with us, "Well, kid you don't count: you've got no vote." And quicker than a flash this little boy answered, "I haven't eh; I'll have you understand, sir, that in the State of Colorado my mother has got a vote and my sister's got a vote, and she married a fellow, and he's got a vote, and they'll see that he votes right; and that is more than you will do." (Applause.) And it came out true.

In San Francisco, my friends, Francis J. Heney, a man whom I am honored to know and love as a brother, was struck down; struck down because he was the faithful dog. Men had the vote, if you please, and women did not. But in Colorado, in Denver, women had the vote as well as men, and while Heney, the faithful dog who tried to protect the people and do his duty, one of the greatest and best of men, was defeated by about 15,000, if I remember rightly, running against two machines; in Denver my friends, where women had the vote, against two machines, two tickets, against bitter and virulent opposition waged desperately and determinedly by the combination between lawless public service corporations and divekeepers, against this corrupt alliance; this modern juggernaut that drives everything before it, and would run down and over

everything that stands in its way; in the fight for women and children, when I ran for the office of juvenile judge, was I defeated by 15,000? No! No! Independently and alone, *elected* by 15,000, twice as many as any candidate of the two machines got. Women voted in Denver and they did not vote in San Francisco. Women voted. Had women voted in San Francisco I believe Heney would be district attorney there to-day; Heney, the faithful dog, on guard.

My friends put women on guard in the State of New York, and your faithful dogs will survive and not be shot down or defeated as they were in San Francisco. (Applause.)

Mrs. Blatch: Judge Lindsey has to rush off for his train and we want to pass this resolution:

"Whereas woman suffrage has proved to be a benefit to the State of Colorado and its women, it is,

"Resolved, that we call upon the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York to pass on for decision by the voters, the question of the enfranchisement of women."

(Resolution unanimously adopted.)

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WHAT WOMEN MIGHT DO WITH THE BALLOT

THE ABOLITION OF THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

By

CLIFFORD G. ROE

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The Abolition of the White Slave Traffic.

By CLIFFORD G. ROE.

The white slave problem is becoming more important every day. People everywhere are thinking about it and discussing ways and means to bring about the abolition of white slavery.

In considering this movement it is well to point out what women might do with their ballot to help bring success.

Right now political battles are being waged for and against vice, and the traffic in girls.

Great political movements are being launched against politicians who have connived at and even encouraged vice and its right hand partner, white slavery, in order to gain personal, selfish power and perhaps wealth at the expense of the nation's manhood and womanhood.

Women, having cast aside the mantle of affected prudery and false modesty, are aroused the world over. They are important factors in this great crusade for better civic morals. And that they may be spurred on to even greater efforts is the hope of the writer.

What is the white slave traffic?

It is the widely accepted term for the procuring, selling or buying, inveigling or encouraging of women for the purpose of holding, forcing or enticing them into a life of prostitution. The term white slavery, perhaps, is a misnomer, and not really descriptive, since the traffic reaches to every race and color, originating in Europe, where its victims are white; however, it is generally used to designate the business by which the vice merchant is kept supplied.

The white slave market is the traffic in girls for immoral demands. This market is governed by the laws of supply and demand. There are various social and economic causes for this

supply and demand and the result has been the opportunity for trading in the bodies and souls of our daughters.

They are procured into disreputable lives with or without their consent, and they are held slaves by the conditions which surround them. These conditions range from forcible detention to ingenious deception with discouragement and disease as intermediary stages. "They become slaves to their keepers, slaves to their patronage, slaves to the habit of drink, slaves to cigarettes, slaves to drugs, slaves to the very despair that shame and moral wreckage bring."

Those creatures, both male and female, who trade in human flesh to fill resorts of vice are called panders, procurers and white slave traders. The methods employed by these traders are varied. In fact all the ways and means for luring victims to shameful occupations have not been fathomed. Each day one who studies the question becomes more appalled at the magnitude of the problem and the innumerable and intricate avenues that must be followed to reach those engaged in this despicable business.

By appealing to the love instinct in girls, flattering their vanity, and promising employment to the poor are the more common methods used.

Perhaps the best way to ascertain how the procurers work is to go to court records. There one will find indisputable facts, and the greatest progress made thus far in the abolition of the white slave traffic has been brought about by giving these facts to the public. Hard, cold facts must convince.

All one has to do is to pick up a daily paper in almost any city, to read an account of the arrest, prosecution and conviction of a procurer. The average reader will immediately say, that case is exceptional. To prove that these cases are not exceptional let us glance for a moment over the list of cases tried in the courts of Chicago since the middle of May, 1911.

It should be understood that it is not suggested that Chicago is worse than any other large city. In fact Chicago, in proportion to its population, has less vice than many other cities, and white slavery is practically broken up there.

That investigations are being carried on there, and that hundreds of vice vendors have been convicted proves that Chicago is trying to become cleaner and better.

Note the various methods used by the panders in the following cases.

Adam Lewicki is the owner of a disreputable resort in South Chicago. He met a girl in a chop-suey restaurant on Monroe street, and offered her money and other inducements to become an inmate of his house. She refused and he had her arrested on a charge of stealing fifteen dollars from him. His plan was to pay her fine and thus have her in his power. She told all of the details to detectives who caused Lewicki to be arrested. He was convicted by a jury for an attempt at Pandering and sentenced to imprisonment.

A case which shows how the love method is used effectively is that of Edward O'Brien. This fellow persuaded a girl to believe that he had fallen in love with her and even went so far as to marry her. After the marriage ceremony was performed he placed her in a house on the West Side of Chicago. She testified in court that he compelled her to lead a life of shame, and to give him the money she received from it. He was also sentenced to imprisonment and to pay a large fine.

Often the methods used by procurers are very simple. That is the very reason their business is so dangerous to society. Lawrence Mangano and Ernest Pagano knew how susceptible to flattery most girls are, so in this case they appealed to this human weakness. These two fellows procured a girl to become an inmate of a vice resort. She was working in a restaurant on the South Side, and one of these men was very attentive to her for several weeks, taking her to theatres, praising her beauty, and buying clothes for her. The case against Pagano was dismissed because he furnished the evidence to convict. Mangano was sentenced to imprisonment and pay a large fine. What became of the girl? She was sent to the House of the Good Shepherd.

How the girl seeking honest employment is lured to ruin was brought out at the trial of Samuel Davidson. This is the

most frequent method the white slave traders employ to trap innocent girls.

On July fourth Davidson became acquainted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with a sixteen year old girl who is the daughter of one of the city employees there. Her mother died three years ago, and the little girl has been her father's housekeeper since then. Davidson learned from her that she was growing tired of working at home, and wanted to find employment where she could save some money. Davidson gave her his card and told her that if she would come to Chicago he would find employment for her. He corresponded with her after that until he at last induced her to go to Chicago. She went there on the fourteenth of August, and met him by appointment. There was an aviation meet going on at that time, so he took the girl to see the airships, then to a theatre, and later took her to a resort of shame where he said she could stay until he secured employment for her. She was not acquainted with Chicago, but soon found out the character of the place, got away and reported the case to the police that same night. Davidson was arrested and waived a trial by jury, and was sentenced by Judge Uhlir to serve six months' imprisonment and pay a fine of three hundred dollars, the minimum sentence in Illinois for Pandering. The girl was sent back to her married sister in Milwaukee.

The most dangerous and the meanest of the white slave traders are the women who have entered this lucrative vice field. Snug fortunes have been made by these beasts who prey upon their sisterhood. Women panders are often creatures of superior culture and intelligence, who carry on their wretched business with cunning and dispatch. Even a former school teacher, Dora Douglas, was convicted and sentenced to prison in Chicago in December of 1908, for procuring girls from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and other places.

One would think that women who are naturally more sympathetic than men would shrink from such a business. However, transactions which involve outrages such as cannot be surpassed in the worst annals of historic misrule, these women

procurers often will perform without the quiver of a lip, or the droop of an eyelash. Richly attired, of fascinating manner, sometimes possessing remnants of former beauty, and withal keen as razors, and sharp as steel traps, these women are almost the most dangerous creatures extant in the civilized world. They gain the confidence of girls more readily than do the men procurers. They may be "Madams" procuring for their own resorts; or they may be mere agents, getting a stipulated price for every girl they "land."

Alma Kendall, who kept a house in Chicago, induced two girls to leave their homes in Memphis, Tennessee, and go to live in her house. They were there for two weeks before the facts came to light, and the Kendall woman was arrested. She was tried in court, convicted and sentenced by Judge Hopkins to serve six months in prison, and pay a fine of three hundred dollars.

In all, during the summer months, eleven persons were convicted in Chicago for pandering. The total prison sentences was five years and ten months, and the total fines, twenty-seven hundred dollars. This simply means that even in Chicago, which thus far has been unique in its ardent prosecution of white slave traders, in most cases minimum sentences have been imposed. In the city where the leading men and women, both socially and commercially, are using money and influence against vice, and are supporting an office that will not compromise in its fight against white slavery it is quite the exception to have the maximum sentence meted out by the courts.

What is the reason? It is the same reason which keeps other cities from instituting any prosecutions at all. It is the same reason which has nourished this white slavery in its infancy and unwittingly encouraged it to wax fat and grow powerful. The reason is a sleeping public conscience. In the nerve racking race for money and power, the dollar has been glorified above all things else. Let some one steal a pocket book containing a dollar, and this some one is very likely to get the limit when he or she stands before the judge for sentence. But let this same some one steal one of our daughters and sell her

body and soul, and in the great majority of cases the sentence is the lowest possible.

It is not the judge who should be blamed for this. He is human and interprets the laws according to the standards of life about him. The trouble lies with the people who create and mould these standards, the people who allow public officials to value a dollar bill at a higher rate than they value a human being.

The foregoing number of cases prosecuted in one city within a few months, proved by court records, demonstrates that white slavery is a real issue. These cases illustrate the more common artifices used by the procurers. They show us how subtle is the evil business. They prove how futile are prosecutions alone. Prosecusions serve only to focus the public mind on an atrocious evil that has crept into our social structure.

It is not our belief that by prosecuting white slaves they will be exterminated. We do know that in so doing we cut off the source of supply of new recruits and thereby diminish the total number. However, the abolition of the white slave traffic is impossible, under existing conditions, through court prosecutions alone.

Those who have consistently and honestly fought white slavery fully realize that to convict the slave traders is but to scratch at the surface of the problem. This has been but the first great task. The next is to arouse the public conscience to its duty.

Women have aided so far, and cannot but be important factors now in the complete abolition of the white slave traffic. When we look at the question squarely we know that the only effective way to abolish white slavery is to abolish the whole social evil. One goes with the other. White slavery furnishes the fuel that feeds the flame of the social evil.

In this new era when men and women who stand for a higher moral tone in society are beginning to take the reins of government into their own hands, great things will be accomplished, perhaps not all at once, but speedily.

The vice problem has perplexed all ages and all peoples, but

in the past men alone have ruled. Now that women are coming into their own right let us see what they may do toward the solution of this problem.

Professor Zueblin said two or three years ago in Boston: "Three great movements are shaping society at the present day, the political movement, the labor movement and the woman movement."

All these movements must work for a better moral standard. To accomplish this we must not only plan for present day needs, but we must look well to the future.

In the past few years a vigorous educational and legal campaign against the dealers in vice has been going on.

Laws both national and State have been passed and are now being enforced to some extent.

Some States have as yet not legislated against the traffic in girls. Women in those States should organize a systematic campaign to secure this legislation. If they find the road rough and filled with thorns they should proceed cautiously and perhaps not ask for too much at once.

In Illinois where the first law against panders was passed, we first pushed a law through which was fairly effective, then at the next session we amended that law and made it more broad and more effective. We have yet to ask there for a higher penalty for the first offense.

Having secured a law against the traffic in girls, see that the public officials enforce the law. Too often political influence will be used to prevent the active and sincere enforcement of these laws.

Does one for a moment believe that this white slave business could have grown to such importance if it had not been protected by officials who often maintain systems of blackmail, graft and tribute as revolting as they are dangerous to the general welfare of society. It is fairly safe to say that wherever houses of vice are operating in defiance of the laws, and most of them are so doing, some one is getting protection money. This is the political sore which women should help cure.

More important than the law against panders is the Injunc-

tion and Abatement Law which has been passed by Iowa and Nebraska, because it gets right down to bed-rock, to the very source of the white slave evil. This is the house of disrepute itself.

The writer is informed that in the two above States white slavery has been abolished. Therefore, if both the Pandering Law and the Injunction and Abatement Law can be passed, you will have excellent weapons for the attack you should make in your State. The women of Idaho having helped to pass a law against pandering, are now busily working to secure an Injunction and Abatement Law.

Women have played an important role throughout the United States in launching and conducting campaigns for laws which will help abolish white slavery.

It was the women of California who caused the recent laws to be passed there. They employed an attorney to draft laws suitable to the needs of the State. Women of other States have successfully backed similar laws. The next step is to demand their enforcement.

In Seattle, where it was believed that the laws against vice were not enforced, the women shared honors with the men in electing officials pledged to rigidly enforce these laws.

In our efforts to abolish the traffic in girls, it does not seem fair to fight the unfortunate women who either gravitate or are tricked into lives of shame. The persons to fight are those who encourage, maintain and protect the social evil. That is where the laws of supply and demand enter into the question.

White slavery is the outgrowth of a stimulated demand, incited and encouraged by men and women, low and degenerate as they are grasping and avaricious.

Newspapers and court records for several years past tell of the vast number of girls that are inveigled into disreputable resorts. Therefore, we must assume that the voluntary supply is not sufficient to meet the demand.

We should remember that if there is no demand there will be no supply.

Why not wage relentless war against those who create the

demand as well as those who make up the supply?

Why not insist upon the arrest and conviction of those who visit immoral houses, as well as those who fill them as inmates?

These are practical questions.

They concern the double standard of morals which men and women have established and maintain.

Social ostracism of men who encourage the social evil has never been more than very faint-heartedly attempted, owing perhaps to the "whip-hand" men have held until recently in the world's economics.

Women have felt that they had to marry; it was their economic necessity, or they thought it was. And men, knowing this, have not felt the need of being scrupulous. Therefore, girls of the tenderest up-bringing, the most unquestionable purity, have been willingly given by ambitious parents, or have given themselves, in marriage with men whose relations to the social evil were notorious.

However, that time is now passed, at least in America. No longer are women the serfs, nor the toys of men, but through education and changed economic conditions they have entered into the commercial and industrial life and are becoming more and more independent.

It seems the time has arrived when women should insist upon a single standard of morals for men and women.

More important, however, than all the laws against procurers of women and the social evil; more important than the enforcement of these laws are the plans which are being developed for the education of our children regarding public morals. These are preventive. They look toward the future.

Vice is a moral fault, a defect of the natural character, or a defect as the result of training and habits.

The social evil of the present age and the white slave traffic which springs from it are the results of generations of mistaken training.

An American author living in Paris is quoted as saying: "The usual American girl of today is a half-sophisticated, wholly self-assured babe, with too much knowledge of the world before

she is married, and not enough of it after she is married." It would seem that just the reverse is true. Most American girls have too little knowledge of the world before marriage, and too much afterward. Knowledge of the right sort has been veiled too much with mystery both for the boys and the girls. Mothers and fathers have inherited affected prudery, false modesty and hypocritical innocence. Casting all these aside is the greatest step forward to better morals and cleaner citizenship which the public men and women and the progressive educators of our time have made. Of course, education in this direction must be conducted along safe and intelligent lines. It may take generations to mould the habits and train the minds in the right channel. But it is possible of accomplishment. In the homes and in the schools and colleges the knowledge of life that young people deserve to know should be given them. Young men will then have a higher respect for womanhood. To boys and girls life and its wonderful development and its holiness should be explained in the right way and at the right time.

Mighty things are waiting to be accomplished, and these things women might help accomplish with their ballot.

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[June, 1911]

THE WORLD MOVEMENT for WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1904 to 1911.

Being the Presidential Address delivered at Stockholm to the Sixth Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, on Tuesday, June 13th, 1911, by

Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT

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IS WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROGRESSING?

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

By Carrie Chapman Catt.

In the debate upon the Woman Suffrage Bill in the Swedish Parliament, a few weeks ago, a University Professor said, in a tone of eloquent finality: "The Woman Suffrage movement has reached and passed its climax; the suffrage wave is now rapidly receding." To those who heard the tone of voice and saw the manner with which he spoke, there was no room for doubt that he believed what he said. "Men believe for the most part that which they wish," wrote Julius Cæsar. With patronising air, more droll than he could know, the gentleman added: "We have permitted this movement to come thus far, but we shall allow it to go no further." Thus another fly resting upon the proverbial wheel of progress has commanded it to turn no more. This man engages our attention because he is a representative of a type to be found in all our lands: wise men on the wrong side of a great question—modern Joshuas who command the sun to stand still and believe that it will obey.

Long centuries before the birth of Darwin an old-time Hindoo wrote: "I stand on a river's bank. I know not from whence the waters come or whither they go. So deep and silent is its current that I know not whether it flows north or south; all is mystery to me; but when I climb yon summit the river becomes a silver thread weaving its length in and out among the hills and over the plains. I see it all from its source in yonder mountains to its outlet in yonder sea. There is no more mystery." So these university professors buried in school books, these near-sighted politicians, fail to note the meaning of passing events. To them, the woman movement is an inexplicable mystery, an irritating excrescence upon the harmonious development of society. But to us, standing upon the summit of international union, where we may observe every manifestation of this movement in all parts of the world, there is no mystery. From its source, ages ago, amid the protests which we now know barbaric women must have made against the cruel wrongs done their sex, we clearly trace the course of this movement through the centuries, moving slowly but majestically onward,

gathering momentum with each century, each generation: until just before us lies the golden sea of woman's full liberty. Others may theorise about the woman movement but to us has been vouchsafed positive knowledge. Once, this movement represented the scattered and disconnected protests of individual women. In that period women as a whole were blinded by ignorance, because society denied them education; they were compelled to silence, for society forbade them to speak. They struggled against their wrongs singly and alone, for society forbade them to organise; they dwelt in poverty, for the law denied them the control of property and even the collection of wages. Under such conditions of sexual serfdom, what wonder that their cries for justice were stifled, and that their protests never reached the ears of the men who wrote the history of those times? Happily those days are past; and out of that incoherent and seemingly futile agitation, which extended over many centuries, there has emerged a present-day movement possessing a clear understanding and a definite, positive purpose.

This modern movement demands political rights for women. It demands a direct influence for women upon the legislation which concerns the common welfare of all the people. It recognises the vote as the only dignified and honourable means of securing recognition of their needs and aspirations.

It pins its faith to the fact that in the long run man is logical. There may be a generation, or even a century, between premise and conclusion, but when the premise is once stated clearly and truthfully, the conclusion follows as certainly as the night the day. Our premise has been stated. The world has jeered at it, stormed at it, debated it; and now what is its attitude toward it? In the secret councils of every political party and every Parliament in the civilised world, this question is recognised as a problem which sooner or later must be solved; and the discussion is no longer upon the justice of our claims, but how to avert final action. Our opponents may not recognise this fact, but we who have watched the progress of this movement for many years, we who are familiar with every symptom of change, have seen the opposing forces abandon, one by one, each and every defence, until nothing remains but pitiable pleas for postponement. Such developments are not signs of a receding wave.

To follow up the advantages already won, there is to-day an army of women, united, patient, invincible. In every land there are trained pens in the hands of women, eloquence and wit on women's lips to defend their common cause. More, there is an allied army of broad-minded, fearless, unyielding

men who champion our reform. The powers of opposition, armed as they are with outworn tradition and sickly sentiment *only*, are as certain to surrender to these irresistible forces as is the sun to rise to-morrow.

These are the things *we know*. That others may share the faith that is ours, permit me to repeat a few familiar facts. A call for the first International Conference was issued nine years ago, and it was held in the City of Washington. At that time the Woman Suffrage agitation had resulted in nationally organised movements in five countries only. In chronological order of organisation these were: The United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, the Netherlands. Two years later, in 1904, the organisation of the Alliance was completed in Berlin, and associations in Canada, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden were ready to join. These nine associations comprised the world's organised movement, and there was small prospect of immediate further extensions. To-day, seven years later, however, our Alliance counts 24 auxiliary national associations, and correspondence groups in two additional countries. Are these evidences of a wave rapidly receding? It would be more in accordance with facts should we adopt the proud boast of the British Empire, and say that the sun *now* never sets upon Woman Suffrage activities. More, the subscribing membership in the world has increased seven times in the past seven years, and it has doubled since the London Congress. Even in Great Britain, where the opposition declared at that time very confidently that the campaign had reached its climax, the National Union, our auxiliary, has tripled its individual membership, tripled its auxiliary societies, and doubled its funds since then. A similar increase of members and funds has come to the two militant groups, and twelve independent suffrage societies have been organised in that country. The membership and campaign funds have likewise tripled in the United States, and every president of an auxiliary national society has reported increase in numbers, funds, and activity. This army of Suffragists is augmented by new and enthusiastic converts every month and every week. We welcome to this Congress fraternal delegates from men's leagues of five countries, four of which have been organised within the past two years. The movement grows everywhere by surprising leaps and bounds. Two things are certain: first, Woman Suffrage is not a receding wave—it is a mighty in-coming tide which is sweeping all before it; second, no *human* power, no university professor, no Parliament, no Government, can stay its coming. It is a step in the evolution of society, and the eternal verities are behind it.

Those unfamiliar with our work may ask, what does this

great body of men and women do? They do everything which human ingenuity can devise and human endurance carry out, to set this big, indifferent world to thinking. When John Stuart Mill made his famous speech in the British Parliament, in 1867, he said: "I admit that one practical argument is wanting in the case of women: they do not hold great meetings in Hyde Park nor demonstrations at Islington"; and the Parliament roared with amusement at the droll idea of women doing such things. But John Bull and Uncle Sam, and all the rest of the brotherhood of lawmakers, are slow and stubborn. They have scorned the reasonable appeals of women and have spurned their signed petitions. So demonstrations of numbers and earnestness of demand had to be made in some other form. In consequence, Hyde Park has witnessed many a demonstration for Woman Suffrage, one being larger than any other in the history of England, and on Saturday of this week a procession longer than any which has yet upheld the standard of an aspiring cause will pass through the streets of London. There are no examples among men in their long struggle to secure suffrage rights of such devotion, self-denial, and compelling earnestness as has been shown by the British women. I believe more money has been contributed, more workers enlisted, more meetings held, more demonstrations made in Great Britain alone in behalf of Woman Suffrage than in the entire world's movement for man suffrage. Certainly the man suffrage movement never brought forth such originality of campaign methods, such superb organisation, such masterly alertness. Yet it is said in all countries that women do not want to vote. It is to be devoutly hoped that the obstinacy of no other Government will drive women to such waste of time, energy, and money, to such sacrifice and suffering, as has that of Great Britain.

Nor are demonstrations and unusual activities confined to Great Britain. Two thousand women swarmed to the Parliament of Canada last winter, thousands flocked to the Legislatures of the various capitals in the United States. A procession of the best womanhood in New York a few weeks ago marched through that city's streets in protest against legislative treatment. Sweden has filled the great Circus building in Stockholm to overflowing. Hungary, Germany, France, "demonstrate," and in my opinion no campaign is moved by more self-sacrificing devotion, more passionate fervour, than that in Bohemia. Teachers and other trained women workers are holding meetings night after night, willingly carrying this burden in addition to their daily work that the women of Bohemia may be free. In our combined countries many thousands upon thousands of meetings are held every year, and millions of pages of

leaflets are distributed, carrying our plea for justice into the remotest corners of the globe.

There are doubtless hard encounters ahead, but there are now educated women's brains ready to solve every campaign problem. There are hands willing to undertake every wearisome task; yea, and women's lives ready for any sacrifice. It is because they know the unanswerable logic behind our demands and the irresistible force of our growing army that Suffragists throughout the world repeat in unison those thrilling words of the American leader, Susan B. Anthony, "Failure is impossible."

It is not the growing strength of our campaign forces alone which has filled us with this splendid optimism; there are actual gains which in themselves should tell the world that the goal of this movement is near. Of the nine associations uniting to form this Alliance in 1904, eight have secured a permanent change in the law, which is a step nearer the political suffrage. Of the 24 nations represented in this Congress the women of 15 have won more political rights than they had seven years ago. These gains vary all the way from the repeal of the law which forbade women to form political organisations in Germany; ecclesiastical suffrage in Switzerland, suffrage in Trade Councils in France, Italy, and Belgium, up to municipal suffrage in Denmark, and political suffrage and eligibility in Australia, Finland, Norway, and the State of Washington.

Among our delegates we count women members of Parliament from Finland, a proxy member from Norway, a factory inspector from each of these two countries, and several town councillors from different countries; and to none of these positions were women eligible seven years ago. There are victories, too, quite outside our own line of activities.

A new organisation has arisen in Portugal which has conducted its campaign in novel fashion. Observing that the new constitution did not forbid the vote to women, Carolina Angelo, a doctor of medicine, applied for registration as a voter, and when denied appealed her case to the highest Court. The judge, Dr. Affonso Costa, sustained her demand, and one woman in that country possesses the same political rights as men. This lady has just cast her first vote. She was accompanied by ten ladies and was received with respectful applause by all the men present. This movement developed out of an organisation composed of 1,000 women members whose work was to further the cause of republicanism in Portugal. The suffrage organisation is small and new, but the President of the Republic and three members of the Cabinet are favourable to a further extension of political rights to women, and the new workers are con-

fident of favourable action by the Parliament. It would be curious indeed if the women of Portugal, without a struggle, should be crowned with the political power so long withheld from the long-suffering women of other lands. But justice, like the physical forces of nature, always moves on by the "paths of least resistance," and therefore it is the unexpected which happens. It is with especially affectionate and tender cordiality that we welcome this newly organised and already victorious group into our Alliance. With pride and gratitude we have ordered a Portuguese flag to be added to our international collection, and hope to number Portuguese women in our future Congresses.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, by the new constitution of February 20th, 1910, authorised by the Austrian and Hungarian Empire, four classes of men may qualify to vote. The first is composed of landowners who pay a tax of 140 crowns on their estate, and widows and spinsters are included in this class. They vote by proxy only, but that is a mere detail. The first election took place in May, 1910. Seventy-eight women voted, seventy-six being Mohammedans, one Servian, one Roman Catholic. When it is remembered that this Mohammedan land has so far forgotten the injunctions of the Koran as to extend this small portion of justice to women, this achievement, though seemingly unimportant, becomes a very significant straw which unmistakably shows the way the wind is blowing in this twentieth century.

As the direct result of our organised movement there has been an important triumph to celebrate at each International Congress. The most significant gain of the past year comes from the United States. In point of wealth, population, and political influence, Washington is the most important American State yet won. It will be remembered that in the United States Woman Suffrage must be secured by the vote of a majority of the men voters in each State. The question in Washington was carried by a vote of three to one. The most gratifying factor in this victory was the common testimony that this remarkable vote was due to the influence of men and women who had formerly lived in one of the adjoining suffrage States, notably Idaho and Wyoming, and who met the theoretical opposition advanced upon every side with facts and figures drawn from experience.

Undoubtedly the five full suffrage States of the United States seem insignificant gains to people of other lands. It is true these States are new and the population small. So new are they that when I was a child the greater part of the territory covered by these States was indicated on my geography map as "The Great American Desert." But a

generation has wrought wonderful changes. Modern irrigation has transformed the desert into fertile land, and its delicious fruits have found their way into the markets of the world. Bread made from its grain may be eaten upon the tables of any land. Its mines send gold and silver to the mints of the world; its mountains supply semi-precious stones to all countries; its coal and iron give thousands of factories work and enterprise. Masts from the great forests of Washington are found upon all seas, and a network of railways covers the territory and carries its vast produce to the ocean, where one of the largest and deepest harbours in the world receives it. All the elements which in other lands have contributed to the up-building of cities and the support of great populations are to be found there. Even now the total number of voting women in these sparsely settled States is half the number of women who would receive the Parliamentary vote by the Conciliation Bill in Great Britain! The territory of these five States is equal to that of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and half of the Netherlands. So unlimited are its resources that time will surely bring a population as large as that found in these older countries. Remember that the vote is guaranteed to all those generations of unborn women, and realise that these victories are of mighty significance.

It is impossible to think of that far-off future without bringing to mind an antipodal empire, that island continent, our best beloved suffrage achievement—Australia. Old monarchies may scoff at its newness, but look to its future. Its territory is nearly as large as that of all Europe; its resources are as varied and rich. Mankind, ever restless, and ever seeking fresh fields with easier undertakings in its struggle for existence, will not fail to supply a population as large. Asia held the cradle of civilisation; Europe was the teacher and guide of its youth; but its manhood is here. It looks no longer to Europe *alone* for guidance. The newest developments come from new lands, where traditions and long-established custom have least influence. As Europe supplanted Asia, so it is not only possible, but quite probable, that Australia, with its new democracy, its equality of rights, its youthful virility, its willingness to experiment, may yet supplant Europe as the leader of civilisation. Look to the future, and remember that over these new lands "the glad spirit of human liberty" will rest for centuries to come; and be convinced that our victories already won are colossal with meaning.

These are the achievements of our cause reached within the past seven years. From history we may turn to prophecy, and ask what are the prospects of our cause? In Great

Britain, the United States, and the four Scandinavian countries further extensions of suffrage to women are sure to come soon. It is not easy to make prophecy concerning the outcome of the Woman Suffrage campaigns on the Continent. Certain it is that the victories which are near in England and Scandinavia will greatly accelerate the rate of progress there, and since the surprising developments in Portugal, prophecy becomes impossible.

As all the world knows, an obstinate and recalcitrant Government alone stands between the women of Great Britain and their enfranchisement. A campaign which will always be conspicuous among the world's movements for human rights for its surpassing fervour, sacrifice, and originality has been maintained without a pause. Ninety towns and county councils, including the chief cities of Great Britain, have petitioned Parliament to pass the Bill, the Lord Mayor of Dublin appearing at the bar of the House of Commons to present the petition in person. Three hundred thousand men during the late elections petitioned Parliament to the same end, and complete evidence has been presented that there is a tremendous public sentiment demanding Parliamentary action. The chief men of Australia and New Zealand have sent their strongest and unreserved approval of the results of Woman Suffrage in their respective countries. The Parliament of Australia has cabled its endorsement to the British Parliament, and now Australian and New Zealand women voters are organising to aid their English sisters. The Government evidently nurses a forlorn hope that by delay it may tire out the workers and destroy the force of the campaign. It little comprehends the virility of the movement. When a just cause reaches its flood-tide, as ours has done in that country, whatever stands in the way must fall before its overwhelming power. Political parties, governments, constitutions must yield to the inevitable or take the consequences of ruin. Which horn of the dilemma the English Government will choose is the only question remaining. Woman Suffrage in Great Britain is inevitable.

In the United States five Legislatures have submitted the question to the voters, and we await the result. One decision will be given this year in October, the others next year.

In Iceland, one Parliament has already passed an amendment to the national constitution, and it now only awaits the action of the next Parliament to become law. In Denmark, there are two suffrage organisations whose combined membership make the suffrage organisation of that country, in proportion to population, the largest in the world. A few weeks ago, I had the pleasure of visiting the Parliament,

and speaking with many men representing all the political parties. The Premier, the speakers of both Chambers, the leaders of parties, and many others, assured me that the Parliamentary vote for women would not be long delayed. It requires three years to amend the constitution in Denmark, and the question is confused with other problems, and we must therefore be patient. The women have voted wisely and well; they are serving with dignity and public spirit in town councils; they are doing womanly and intelligent political work, and the evidence presented by the actual experiment has destroyed nearly all the serious opposition. The final step cannot in reason be long delayed.

It was my pleasure also to visit Norway. I wish every doubting Thomas could see what I saw in Norway. More than all else, I wish the Parliaments of all nations could pay that country a visit. One feels the difference between the enfranchised and unenfranchised countries rather in the spirit of things than in tangible form. That sex antagonism which everywhere exists, whether we like to admit it or not, is gone, and in its place has come a comradeship on a high moral plane. It seems like the peace and relief of mind which is always manifest after the satisfactory adjustment of an irritating difference of opinion. The men have been just to the women, and they are proud of their act; the women have had justice done, and they are grateful. In this state of mutual good feeling, the men promise that they will remove the tax qualification and make the suffrage universal for women as it is for men. The Prime Minister assured me that the four political parties differed widely on many questions, but they were quite of one mind in their approval of Woman Suffrage. Norway presents an ideal example of Woman Suffrage in practice, and is an achievement of which we may boast with no reservation of doubt. Two hundred and ten women sit in its town and county councils and three hundred and seventy-nine serve as alternates for councillors. Everywhere, women as officers, as jurors, as voters are patriotically and intelligently working for the public welfare of their country in dignified and womanly fashion.

I have reserved Sweden, the land of our hostesses, as the last country to be mentioned. Sweden has had a Saint Birgitti, a woman who was canonised because of her goodness and religious work. The guide books tell us that she was the first woman's rights woman in the world, for she was outspoken and emphatic in her demand for Woman's freedom. Later Fredrike Bremer, well known in all lands, advocated rights for women. She was a woman ahead of her times. Her last book, "Herta," published in 1865, set forth the reforms she considered necessary in order to estab-

lish a correct and fair status for women. Many of these proposed changes have now been made, but so new were these ideas then that the book was received with a storm of disapproval. Her former admirers became critics, and her friends thought she had lost her balance of mind. Two weeks before her death she wrote a friend, "I have lost all my popularity, my countrymen no longer approve of me, my friends are lost, and I am deserted and alone; nevertheless I wrote that book in response to the highest duty I know, and I am glad I did it." It is sad to think of that wonderful woman dying in this enlightened land, with possibly no true companion of her great soul to understand the service she had rendered womankind, or the motive which inspired it. But her "prophecy of yesterday" has "become the history of to-day." Municipal or communal suffrage was granted to taxpaying widows and spinsters in 1862, undoubtedly as the result of her teaching. Later the Fredrike Bremer Association was organised, and cultivated education and independence among women. In 1899 two of its members petitioned the Parliament for an extension of suffrage rights, and when our first international conference was held in Washington, it sent a delegate. Measures concerning women were pending in Parliament, and it was determined to organise an association which should have Woman Suffrage as its sole purpose. That was in 1902, and from that date the movement has made amazing progress. The municipal suffrage has been extended to married women, and eligibility secured. Organisations exist in 170 towns, some of them north of the Polar Circle, and there is a paying membership of 12,000; 1,550 meetings have been held since the London Congress. A member of Parliament tells me it is the most thoroughly organised undertaking in Sweden. Does this history indicate a receding wave? Instead, from the days of St. Birgitta this movement has been marching forward to certain victory. No country has made such progress in so short a time. Two political parties now boldly espouse the cause, and the third merely pleads that the times are not ripe for it. It requires three years to amend the constitution here, as it does in Denmark. The women are intelligent, sympathetic, alert and active; worthy descendants of Birgitta and Fredrike Bremer. They will not desert the cause, nor pause in their campaign. It is not difficult to predict the outcome.

The Suffrage Association is not the only force at work in Sweden for the desired end. It has an interesting ally in the many curious inconsistencies in the law which defines the status of women. These must appeal powerfully to the common sense of the people, and thus hasten the conversion of the country to political suffrage. I shall name a few.

1. Women may vote for town and county councils, and these bodies elect the Upper House of Parliament. Women, therefore, have as much suffrage for the Upper House as most men, but they are accounted wholly unworthy by the House they help to elect to vote for members of the Lower House.

2. Women are eligible to municipal councils, and thirty-seven women are now serving as town councillors. Eleven women are members of Councils which have a direct vote for the Upper House, and these women, therefore, have a higher suffrage right than most men; but these same women may not vote at all for members of the Lower House.

3. A gifted woman who will speak at our Congress has secured the Nobel prize in recognition of her rare endowments. Her name and her quaint stories are known the world over. She may vote for a municipal or county councillor, but with all her genius Selma Lagerlöf is not permitted to vote for a member of Parliament.

4. The President of the Swedish Suffrage Association is a learned lady. By the ancient ceremony at Uppsala she has been crowned with a laurel wreath in acknowledgment of her wisdom. Yet with all her learning she is not considered by her Government intelligent enough to cast a vote for a member of Parliament.

5. In Sweden people possessed of a certain income may qualify to cast many votes, the highest number of votes allowable being forty. There are many women who have 40 votes in the municipal elections, and I have myself met several who started in life with nothing in their pockets, but who, by their own initiative and enterprise, have accumulated enough to entitle them to 40 votes. Yet these same women cannot cast one vote for Parliament. A Parliament which sees nothing amusing in these illogical discriminations has no sense of humour.

The Scandinavian peoples represent a race which does not forget that its ancestors were Vikings, who sailed the seas without chart or compass. There are modern Vikings in all these lands as fearlessly ready to solve modern problems as were those of old. It is unlikely that all the people were bold and courageous in those ancient times. There were undoubtedly pessimistic croakers who declared the ships would never return, that the men would be lost at sea, and that the enterprises were foolhardy and silly. It is the antitype of this class which we find in the university professor, but we recall that it is the Vikings who are remembered to-day.

In order to learn the whole truth concerning our movement I sent a questionnaire to all our presidents. Among the questions was this: "What are the indications that the

woman movement is growing in your country?" Not one president of our 24 countries found signs of backward steps. Instead, such volumes of evidence of onward progress were received that it is quite impossible to give any adequate idea of its far-reaching character. In a number of countries the entire code of laws affecting women are under revision, and liberal measures are proposed to take the places of the old. Denmark will take the oath of obedience out of the marriage ceremony. The Bishop of Iceland has supported a Bill to make women eligible to ecclesiastical offices, and declared St. Paul himself would have favoured the change were he here. In Silesia, where women landowners have the right of a proxy vote in the communal election, which, however, has not been usually exercised, nearly 2,000 women availed themselves of this privilege in the recent elections, to the amazement of the people. Unusual honours have been given women in all lands. Simultaneously women were elected presidents of the National Teachers' Associations in Great Britain and the United States for the first time. Positions heretofore closed have opened their doors to women. Equal pay for equal work has been granted the 13,000 women teachers of New York City after a splendid campaign of several years. The Press is everywhere more friendly. Distinguished people are joining our ranks. The argument has changed ground, and the evidence is complete that women are no longer the forgotten sex. King George, in his accession speech, spoke of his wife as "a helpmate in every endeavour for our people's good." It is believed that no other King in English history has thus publicly acknowledged his Queen Consort as sharing responsibility. I can only say that evidence is overwhelming that the walls of the opposition all along the line are falling down like those of Jericho of old before the blare of our suffrage trumpets.

Some may ask why we are not now content to wait for the processes of reason and evolution to bring the result we want. Why do we disturb ourselves to hasten progress? I answer, because we refuse to sit idly by while other women endure hideous wrongs. Women have suffered enough of martyrdom through the false position they have been forced to occupy for centuries past. We make our protest now hotly and impatiently, perhaps, for we would bequeath to those who come after us a fair chance in life. Modern economic conditions are pushing hundreds of thousands of women out of their homes into the labour market. Crowded into unskilled employments for want of proper training, they are buffeted about like a cork upon a sea. Everywhere paid less than men for equal work, everywhere discriminated against, they are utterly at the mercy of forces

over which they have no control. Law-making bodies, understanding neither women nor the meaning of this woman's invasion of modern industry, are attempting to regulate the wages, the hours, the conditions under which they shall work. Already serious wrong has been done many women because of this ill-advised legislation. Overwhelmed by the odds against them in this struggle for existence, thousands are driven to the streets. There they swell that horrid, unspeakably unclean peril of civilisation, prostitution—augmented by the White Slave Traffic and by the machinations of male parasites who live upon the earnings of women of vice. Inaction is no longer pardonable. Prostitution is no longer a moral outcast to be mentioned with bated breath or treated as a subject too indelicate for discussion. It has become a problem actual with an entirely new significance, and demands immediate attention. It is now well known to be the breeding-ground of dangerous and insidious diseases which are surely and steadily deteriorating the race. They enter the palaces of kings and the hovels of the poor. Something must be done; the race must be preserved, while there is time. In accordance with modern discoveries concerning tuberculosis the nations have organised campaigns against it; we women, armed with ballots, must attack this far more serious foe. These wretched women, designed by nature for the sacrament of motherhood, have been told off by distorted, unnatural conditions and degraded into a class which is slowly destroying the race. We must be merciful, for they are the natural and inevitable consequence of centuries of false reasoning concerning women's place in the world. We may, perhaps, draw the curtain of obscurity over those women who because of inherent evil have voluntarily sought this life, but investigation has proved that at least two-thirds of them have been driven to this last despairing effort to live by economic conditions. Upon these women we have no right to turn our backs. Their wrongs are our wrongs. Their existence is part of our problem. They have been created by the very injustices against which we protest.

It is the helpless cry of these lost women who are the victims of centuries of wrong; it is the unspoken plea of thousands of women now standing on the brink of similar ruin; it is the silent appeal of the army of women in all lands who in shops and factories are demanding fair living and working conditions; it is the need to turn the energies of more favoured women to public service; it is the demand for a complete revision of women's legal, social, educational, and industrial status all along the line, which permits us no delay, no hesitation. The belief that we are defending the highest good of the mothers of our race and the ultimate

welfare of society makes every sacrifice seem trivial, every duty a pleasure. The pressing need spurs us on, the certainty of victory gives us daily inspiration.

We have come upon a new time, which has brought new and strange problems. Old problems have assumed new significance. In the adjustment of the new order of things we women demand an equal voice; we shall accept nothing less. So

To the wrong that needs resistance,
To the right that needs assistance,
To the future in the distance

we give ourselves.

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HOME AND STATE

BY

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HOME AND STATE

By Selma Lagerlöf

The following speech was delivered by Miss Lagerlöf at the International Suffrage Congress in Stockholm, June, 1911. Miss Lagerlöf is the foremost woman of letters in Europe—the only woman to whom has been awarded the Nobel Prize in literature. She is the author of "The Wonderful Adventures of Nils," "Further Adventures of Nils," "Christ Legends," "Gosta Berling," "The Girl from Marsh Croft," etc. This speech was translated and given to us by her friend, Mrs. Velma Swanston Howard.

FIRST and foremost I want to thank the leaders of the Congress, who invited me to speak on this occasion.

In making me a spokesman for the Suffrage Cause they have not only conferred an honor upon me, but they have also impelled me to try to get a clearer comprehension of the ever changing and mayhap world-transforming event called the Woman's Movement.

It is one thing to be in the procession—to silently follow the crowd, as I have done heretofore. Thus far one answers only for oneself, thus far a firm faith in the practical necessity for the new movement suffices. But it's another matter to step forth and call out to the passers-by that the right road has been found and

that he does well who joins with us. Therewith one assumes a responsibility which cannot be borne unless one sees clearly that the movement has an ideal significance worth struggling for, whatever one may reap thereby: joy or suffering; success or failure.

Moreover I must admit that when I sat down to think out my speech, I thought that I should have no difficulty whatever in proving the legitimacy of our demand.

I fancied that I only had to step into a well-equipped armory and select the needed weapons. They were already at hand, strong and keen-edged, culled from Life and History, from the world of Thought and Experience. I only had to choose.

"Let's see!" I remarked to myself. "We women demand Suffrage. What plea can we advance that will entitle us to a voice in the Government?"

We Swedish women habitually call attention to the Suffrage Movement itself. We boast of our 170 suffrage organizations, of the numberless pamphlets we send out, of the lectures we hold. We keep repeating that we are thirty thousand strong who have joined suffrage organizations, and flaunt our big petition, with its 140,000 signatures. But I found that it would profit me nothing to drag this out again, for would you not answer that the Swedish women who do not demand the ballot greatly outnumber those of us who do? We emphasize how many there are of us who earn our bread by paid labor. But the State pays less for our work than for the man's, and still bars us from many fields of usefulness.

We must have a hand in the making of the laws in order that this wrong may be righted. We desire a change in the economic position of the married woman and we want her to have the right of determination in matters which concern her personally.

But will the suffrage ever be granted to us Swedish women on this ground? The answer to this would doubtless be, that, in the course of Justice, all these matters will eventually be adjusted without our cooperation. Were we to lay before you what we women have accomplished and are accomplishing as nurses, deaconesses, slum workers, etc., you would answer that just these very things show the power that religion exercises over woman. Suffrage for women would mean the revival of priestcraft. Or, if I were to dwell upon the fact that woman as well as man can take a university degree; that she goes forth as discoverer, inventor, and explorer; that she controls business enterprises and argue that, since she can compete with man in these fields, she must surely prove herself competent to enter the world of politics. Alas, I know only too well what the answer would be! Although there are a few women to whom one would willingly grant the suffrage, there are thousands to whom one cannot afford to give it. Since one cannot make laws for the exceptions, all must be debarred.

But have we done nothing which entitles us to equal rights with man? Our time on earth has been long—as long as his. Has it left no trace in passing? Have we created nothing of incontestable worth to life and civilization? Besides this, that we have brought human

beings into the world, have we contributed nothing of use to mankind? I know that the women before our time did not fritter away their lives as playing children, but worked. I look at paintings and engravings, pictures of old women of olden times. Their faces are haggard and stern, their hands rough and bony. They did not loll as dull slaves in harems. They had their struggles and their interests. What have they done?

I place myself before Rembrandt's old peasant woman, she of the thousand wrinkles in her intelligent face, and I ask myself why she lived. Certainly not to be worshipped by many men, not to rule a State, not to win a scholar's degree! And yet the work to which she devoted herself could not have been of a trivial nature. She did not go through life, stupid and shallow! The glances of men and women rest rather upon her aged countenance than upon that of the fairest young beauty. Her life must have had a meaning.

We all know what the old woman will reply to my question. We read the answer in her calm and kindly smile: "All that I did was to make a good home."

And, look you! This is what the women would answer if they could rise from their graves, generation after generation, thousands upon thousands, millions upon millions: "All that we strove for was to make a good home."

How few among them would answer differently! One and another Nun might cry that her aim in life has been to serve God. One and another Queen would declare that she had served her country. But their

forms would be lost in the throngs; their voices would not be heard among all those who answer: "Our only ambition has been to create a good home."

We all know that this is true. We know that if we were to ask the men, could we line them up, generation after generation, thousands and millions in succession, it would not occur to one of them to say that he had lived for the purpose of making a good home. That has been woman's affair. No man assumes the honor of having founded the home.

We know that it is needless to seek further. We should find nothing. Our gift to humanity is the home —that, and nothing else. We have been building upon this little structure ever since the time of our Mother Eve. We have altered the plan; we have experimented; we have made new discoveries; we have gone back to the old; we have adapted ourselves; we have gone forth and tamed such among the wild beasts as were needed in the home; we have selected from the growths of earth fruit bearing trees, luscious berries, seeds, and the choicest flowers. We have furnished and decorated our home; we have developed its customs; we have created the art of child training, comfort, courtesy, and pleasant social intercourse.

For the home we have been great; for the home we have also been petty. Not many of us have stood with Christina Gyllenstierna on the walls of Stockholm and defended a city; still fewer of us have gone forth with Jeanne D'Arc to battle for the Fatherland. But if the enemy approached our own gate, we stood there with

broom and dish rag, with the sharp tongue and clawing hand, ready to fight to the last in defense of our creation, the home. And this little structure which has cost us so much effort, is it a success or a failure? Is this woman's contribution to civilization inconsiderable or valuable? Is it appreciated or despised?

For answer we need only listen to the comments we constantly hear around us: Why does it go well with this or that one? Because he has had the advantage of a good home training. Why, for instance, is this person so much better able to meet the trials of life than many others? Because his training in the home had been along right lines. Another fails. Why? you ask. This, again, is in a great measure due to the faulty upbringing he received in the home. How has that man been able to bear up under all his misfortunes? Because his wife has always eased his burden by making a good home for him.

Isn't it wonderful, this little retreat! It receives us with joy as tiny, helpless, troublesome babes; it has an honored place for us as feeble and broken old men and women; it gladdens and refreshes the man when he returns, exhausted by the day's toil; it cherishes him as warmly when the world goes against him as when it honors him. Here there are no laws, only customs, which one follows because they are useful and expedient. Here one is disciplined not for the sake of punishing, but only for development. Here one finds employment for all talents, but one who has none can make himself just as beloved as the most gifted genius.

The home can take into its world humble servants,

and keep them for life. It does not lose sight of its own and slaughters the fatted calf when the prodigal returns. It is a store house for the legends and ballads of our forefathers. It has its own ritual for fêtes and ceremonies; it treasures memories of our forebears which no history can record. Here every one may be himself so long as he does not disturb the harmony of the whole. One finds nothing more adjustable, more merciful among all that mankind has effected, and there is nothing so beloved and so highly prized as woman's creation, the home.

Since this is so, since we admit that all the other work of woman is of evanescent character as compared with the extraordinary work which she has accomplished in the home; when we see how persistently the woman's talents point in this direction, must we not with all our heart bemoan the Woman Movement—this departure from the home, their emigration, I might say, from their one accustomed field of usefulness to the man's field of labor?

Most men and a large proportion of the women themselves have fretted and grieved over this. They have also hindered and obstructed in so far as they could, but nothing has availed. The young woman in her search for employment has received but little encouragement, rather has she been scorned and ridiculed. The least desirable places have been open to her, the poorest pay has been offered for her services, which she has gratefully accepted. Few have found anything praiseworthy in this. One instinctively had the feeling that she acted wrongly in leaving the home service.

Nowadays we are making the most extensive investigations as to the causes of emigration. We find that it is due to economic oppression, to a desire for equality and freedom, to a yearning for change, to tempting examples.

But with that has all been said? Do we not all feel that this breaking away from the land of our fathers is due to an irresistible force? We liken it to a fever, this which drives thousands upon thousands from familiar surroundings and beloved associations away to strange lands, to adapt themselves to a new country, to learn a new language, to acquire new methods of work. While the rewards are uncertain, the hardships and discomforts are inevitable. May it not be that some great law of Nature sets into motion the emigration throngs? The rest of us scarcely dare do aught to check it, for we know that so long as there is an acre of unbroken ground on the face of the globe, there will be pioneers who will find their way to it. One cannot prevent humanity from populating the earth and making it habitable; therefore no one laughs at the emigrant. And I believe that there will soon be an end to all ridicule of the working woman. It will be understood that when she was forced to leave home it was not solely for economic reasons, not only from a desire for equality, not only from a longing for change and freedom, all of which have played a part, but there are also other reasons. A force stronger than Nature herself, a touch of the indefinable has stirred woman. Yellowing grain fields, new cities, flourishing States show us where the immigrant has advanced. Perchance the woman, also, shall some day show us

that when she forced her way into the man's working territory she, too, wished to cultivate wildernesses and deserts!

But before we venture to predict anything as regards the future, let us consider what the man has accomplished in his world.

First of all, in what has his labor consisted? During the thousands of years that woman has been working upon her humble creation, the home, what has been man's greatest achievement?

There can be no question as to the answer. Man has created the State. He has served it and suffered for it, he has given to it his almost superhuman efforts; he has risked life for its upbuilding; he has given to it his profoundest thought. To defend it he has placed himself at the cannon's mouth. He has constructed its laws and has classified the inhabitants of this elaborate creation, which embraces all of us and unites us, like the members of a human body.

We must not deny the man the great honor due him as founder of the State, and not only the State as a unit, but also all the smaller and greater organizations of which it is comprised; for they are all his work. As soon as we step outside the four walls of the home, we meet him, and him only. He has created the farm, the village, the city. He has constructed the church, the university, the industrial world. All the States within States are from the start his work. He is the great builder of human ant hills. He never stands alone, but always in coalition. Man's greatest contribution to civilization is the well-organized, strong and protecting State.

Let us be clear on one point! It is not my meaning that the home as I have just presented it, is perfected everywhere. If such were the case, then verily humanity had reached its goal, and further reforms and improvements would not be needed. Naturally I'm aware of the fact that the majority of homes are not perfect, and that many are bad. But the good and happy homes do exist: we have seen them; we have lived in them. We may not have had them ourselves, perhaps, but we can bear witness to their existence. They are no mere dream. Women can create them in poverty and in affluence; in lowliness and in refinement. They are to be found in Kings' palaces and in cotters' huts.

Now, as to the States—these, our greater homes, so difficult to build, constructed with so much effort, watered by so much blood and so many tears, builded by the help of the strongest characters, the boldest minds—is there or has there ever been one that has satisfied all its members? Are they not always in the midst of continuous reform work? Does one not desire even to-day to reform and reconstruct them from the bottom up? Do they not present constant reasons for discontent and bitterness?

In the Nadeschda of Runeberg, Catherine of Russia says to her friend the Countess Natalia, apropos of her home:

"What happiness is yours! To be able to extend toward all a helping hand; to be able to meet all needs, creating a little paradise of joy and bliss only with the heart's desire!"

Catherine was a woman, but here she does not speak as woman but as regent of the greatest kingdom on earth. She knew what every statesman knows: that the State can enforce order and procure defence; yet she was permeated with the feeling of its limitations, and its helplessness in many ways.

Where is the State in which there are no unprotected children, wherein no budding genius is crushed, but where all its young are lovingly nurtured?

Where is the State that gives to all its aged poor the protection and respect due those who are nearing the end of this life? Where is the State that punishes offenders only with the idea of correction and development? Where is the State that utilizes every talent and where the unfortunate receives as much thoughtful consideration as the most favored?

Where is the State which does not embody alien peoples it cannot care for? Where is the State which gives to all the opportunity of living their own lives, so long as they do not disturb the harmony of the whole? Where is the State wherein none of its members may go to waste in idleness, drunkenness, and in shameless living?

Perhaps you will answer that this is not the business of the State. It stands for law and order. But if such is the case, why does it meddle with all these other matters? It does so because it knows that the State which does not create happiness cannot prosper. It is essential to its welfare to be beloved by high and low. The State must be a promoter of comfort, security, education, culture, and ennobling; for to it mankind must look for the realization of their hopes.

Nor has the State been remiss in making great enough demands upon humanity itself; but thus far, for some reason, the State has been unable to enforce these demands.

There is one thing more to be considered. I have been bold enough to state that the home is woman's creation. But I did not say that she alone created it. Fortunately for her and for all of us, she has ever had the man with her. Master and mistress have sat side by side. Had the woman toiled alone she could not have solved the problem. The home would not have been in existence, either as a dream or a reality.

But in the creating of the State man has stood alone. Nothing has impelled man to take woman with him into the Hall of Justice, into the Civil Service Department, into the House of Commerce. He has forged his way alone.

Think how long he alone performed the duties of physician! He still prepares his own meals at the barracks; he coaches at the boys' school. He has taken upon himself the hardest tasks, and he has not been afraid of work.

But has he succeeded? Witness the hatred between the classes; witness the stifled cries from beneath, all the threats and revolutions. Witness the complaints of the unemployed; witness emigration! Does all this

signify that he has succeeded, or that he ever can succeed?

And, mark you! At this very moment, when governments are tottering, admirably constructed though they be; when social revolution appears at our very door—it is right here that the great Woman Invasion into man's field of labor and the territory of the State begins.

Does this signify anything? Or, does it simply mean that women desire a better lot in life—equality, change, freedom, power?

Why does all this come just now? One must be blind not to see, deaf not to hear!

Has not something within been calling and urging: Go forth to new and difficult work! Take your place at the railway switch, sweep the street, copy at the office, sell postage stamps at the post-office, teach the elementary branches, take your place at the telephone switchboard, be a surgeon's helper; do all this subordinate work and be assured that it is not wasted!

Above all, be assured that it is necessary work! You must enter all fields; you must be on hand everywhere, if the State is ever to be beloved like the home. Be certain that your services, now so despised, shall soon be sought after. They will be in such demand that you will hardly be able to meet the wants. Be as-

sured that we shall soon be in evidence everywhere—in uninhabited regions and in cities, with many new occupations not yet known to us, but all working toward the One Good.

Alas, we women are not perfect beings! You men are no more perfect than we are. How are we to attain that which is great and good unless we help each other?

We do not think that the work can be accomplished at once, but we do believe that it would be folly to reject our help.

We believe that the winds of God are bearing us onward, that our little masterwork, the Home, was our creation with the help of man. The great masterwork, the State, shall be perfected by man when in all seriousness he takes woman as his helper.

[June 13, 1911]

SELMA LAGERLÖF

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STOCKHOLM
ALBERT BONNIERS FÖRLAG

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FÖREDRAG VID RÖSTRÄTTSKONGRESSEN

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ALBERT BONNIERS FÖRLAG

STOCKHOLM
ALB. BONNIERS BOKTRYCKERI 1912

Mina damer och herrar!

Först och främst har jag att frambära ett tack till Kongressledningen, som har inbjudit mig att tala vid detta tillfälle, och i detta mitt tack ligger inte bara ett erkännande av den heder, som uppdraget innebär, utan jag vill tacka också därför, att Ledningen genom att göra mig till talsman för rösträttssaken har nödgat mig att för min ringa del söka komma till rätta med den skiftande och törhända världsomdanande företeelse, som heter kvinnorörelsen.

Ty, inte sant? *Ett* är att gå med i ledet, att tyst följa skaran, såsom jag hittills har gjort härvidlag. Så länge svarar man bara för sig själv, och så länge kan en fast tro på den nya riktningens praktiska nödvändighet vara tillräcklig. Ett annat är att stå fram och tillropa de förbigående, att den rätta vägen är funnen och att den gör väl, som sluter sig till oss. Därmed påtar man sig ett ansvar, som inte kan bäras, utan att man har klart för sig, att rörelsen också är av den ideella betydelse, att det kan vara ett gott att kämpa för den, vad man än därav vinner: glädje eller lidande, framgång eller nederlag.

Vidare vill jag bekänna, att då jag satte mig att genomtänka mitt föredrag, trodde jag,

att jag utan svårighet skulle finna skäl, som bevisade rättmätigheten av vår fordran. Jag ansåg, att jag bara hade att gå in i en välförsedd rustkammare och plocka fram de vapen jag behövde. De funnos där redan i ordning, starka och skarpslipade, uppsökta från historien och livet, från tankens värld liksom från erfarenhetens. Jag behövde endast välja.

"Låt se," sade jag till mig själv, "vi kvinnor fordra rösträtt. Vad ha vi då att åberopa oss på som kan berättiga oss att ta del i rikstyrelsen?"

Vi svenska kvinnor bruka fästa uppmärksamheten på själva den rösträttsrörelse, som på få år har uppstått ibland oss. Vi berömma oss av våra 170 rösträttsföreningar, av de massor broschyrer, som vi utsända, av de föredrag, som vi hålla. Vi påminna om att vi äro 30,000 kvinnor, som ha ingått i rösträttsfordrande organisationer, och om vår stora petition med dess 140,000 namnunderskrifter. Men vid närmare eftertanke fann jag, att det inte skulle löna sig för mig att åter framdraga detta. Skulle man inte helt enkelt svara mig, att de svenska kvinnor, som inte begärde någon rösträtt, voro ändå många fler än de, som önskade den?

Vi bruka också hänvisa på hur många vi äro, som numera förtjäna vårt bröd genom eget, avlönat arbete. Men staten lönar vårt arbete mindre än mannens och utestänger oss ännu från en del arbetstillfällen. Vi måste få vår hand med i lagstiftningen, för att detta skall bli rättat. Vi önska ändring i den gifta kvinnans ekonomiska ställning, och vi önska rätt för henne att bestämma över sin egen person. Men kommer man någonsin att ge oss svenska kvinnor rösträtt av denna anledning? Säkert skulle man svara, att dessa handlingar av rättvisa komma att genomföras utan vår medverkan, på samma sätt som den lika arvsrätten och mycket annat blivit oss beviljat.

Skulle jag framdraga det arbete, som vi kvinnor ha utfört och utföra som sjuksköterskor, som diakonissor, som slumsystrar, som frivilliga på fattigvårdens område? Man skulle svara mig, att just detta visar, vilken makt religionen utövar över kvinnorna. Rösträtt åt kvinnorna, det skulle betyda ett återuppståndet prästvälde.

Eller skulle jag betona, att kvinnan kan avlägga akademiska examina, hon såväl som mannen, att hon uppträder som upptäckare och forskningsresande, att hon förestår affärer, och säga, att då hon på dessa områden kan tävla med mannen, så skall hon säkert även visa sig äga förmåga att sätta sig in i det parlamentariska livet? Ack, jag vet, att man skulle svara mig, att om det än finns en och annan kvinna, som man gärna skulle bevilja rösträtt, så finns det tusental, som man inte vill unna den, och som man inte kan lagstifta för undantagen, måste alla bli utan.

"Men ha vi då ingenting gjort, som kan berättiga oss till samma fordringar på tillvaron som mannen?" började jag fråga mig själv. "Vår tid har varit lång på jorden, lika lång som hans. Har den gått spårlöst förbi? Ha vi intet skapat, som är av oersättligt värde för livet och kulturen? Jämte detta, att vi ha satt in människor i världen, ha vi ingen insats gjort till

gagn för det hela? Jag vet dock, att kvinnorna före vår egen tid inte ha slösat bort sitt liv som lekande barn, utan ha arbetat. Jag ser på tavlor och på kopparstick, bilder av gamla kvinnor från gamla tider. Deras ansikten äro tärda och stränga, deras händer knotiga. De ha inte setat som slöa fångar i harem, de ha haft sin strävan och sitt intresse. Vad ha de gjort?"

Jag ställer mig framför Rembrandts gamla borgarkvinna, hon med de tusen rynkorna i det kloka ansiktet, och jag frågar henne, varför hon har levat. Säkert inte för att dyrkas av många män, inte för att styra en stat, inte för att vinna en lärdomsgrad. Och dock kan det arbete, som hon har ägnat sig åt, inte vara något obetydande. Hon har inte gått tom och dum genom världen. Mäns och kvinnors blickar vila hellre på hennes åldriga ansikte än på den ljuvaste unga skönhets. Hennes liv måste ha haft ett innehåll.

Vi veta alla vad den gamla svarar på min fråga. Vi läsa svaret i hennes milda och goda leende: "Jag har ingenting annat gjort än skapat ett gott hem."

Och se där vad de skulle svara, kvinnorna, om de kunde stå upp ur sina gravar släktled efter släktled, det ena tusendet, den ena millionen efter den andra: "Vi ha ingenting annat gjort än strävat efter att skapa ett gott hem."

Hur få av dem skulle svara något annat! En och annan klostersyster skulle ropa, att hennes livsmål hade varit att tjäna Gud, en och annan regentinna skulle förklara, att hon hade tjänat staten. Men deras gestalter skulle

försvinna i mängden. Deras röster skulle inte höras bland alla dem, som svarade: "Vår strävan har varit att skapa ett gott hem."

Vi veta alla, att detta är sant. Vi veta, att om vi frågade männen, om vi kunde ställa upp dem släktled efter släktled, tusental och miliontal efter varandra, skulle ingen komma på den tanken att svara, att de ha varit till för att skapa ett hem. Det har varit kvinnans sak. Det finns ingen man, som gör anspråk på äran att ha skapat hemmet.

Och vi veta, att det är onödigt att forska efter annat. Vi skola ingenting finna. Vår gåva till mänskligheten har varit hemmet, detta och intet annat. Vi ha byggt på denna lilla byggnad sedan vår moder Evas tid. Vi ha ändrat planen, vi ha experimenterat, vi ha upptäckt nytt, vi ha återvänt till gammalt, vi ha anpassat oss själva, vi ha gått ut och tämt dem bland de vilda djuren, som hemmet behövde, vi ha bland markens växter sökt ut sädesslagen, de fruktbärande träden, de välsmakande bären, de skönaste blommorna. Vi ha klätt vårt hem och prytt det, vi ha utarbetat dess seder, vi ha skapat uppfostringskonsten, trevnaden, hövligheten, det glada, behagliga umgängessättet.

Det är för hemmet, som vi ha varit stora, för hemmet ha vi också varit småaktiga. Inte många av oss ha stått med Kristina Gyllenstierna på Stockholms murar och försvarat en stad, än färre ha dragit ut med Jeanne d'Arc för att kämpa för fäderneslandet. Men om fienden kom ända fram till den egna porten, då stodo vi där med disktrasan och kvasten, med den vassa tungan och den klösande handen,

färdiga att strida till det yttersta för att försvara vår skapelse, hemmet.

Och denna lilla byggnad, som har kostat så många bemödanden, är den lyckad eller misslyckad? Är denna kvinnans insats i kulturen ringa eller värdefull? Är den uppskattad eller föraktad?

Man behöver ju, för att få svar, bara lyssna till yttranden, som vi ständigt höra omkring oss. Varför går det en människa väl i världen? Därför att hon har haft ett gott hem. En annan misslyckas. Det beror återigen på den uppfostran, som hon har tagit med från sitt hem. Hur har den mannen kunnat bära alla sina olyckor? Det är därför, att hans hustru alltid har berett honom ett gott hem.

Är den inte också beundransvärd, denna lilla fristad? Den tar emot oss med glädje som späda, hjälplösa, besvärliga barn. Den har en ärad plats för oss som svaga, bräckliga åldringar. Den ger mannen glädje och vederkvickelse, då han vänder åter dit, trött av dagens arbete. Den omhuldar honom lika varmt, då världen går honom emot, som då den upphöjer honom. Där finnas inga lagar, endast sedvanor, som man följer, därför att de äro nyttiga och ändamålsenliga. Där straffas, men inte för att straffa, utan för att uppfostra. Där finns användning för alla talanger, men den som inga har, kan göra sig lika älskad som den mest snillrike. Den kan upptaga fattiga tjänare i sin värld och behålla dem för livet. Den släpper ingen av de sina ur sikte och slaktar den gödda kalven, då den förlorade sonen återvänder. Den är en upplagsplats för

fädrens sägner och visor, den har sin egen ritual för fester och högtidligheter, den bevarar minnen av förfäder, som ingen historia vet att nämna. Där får var och en vara sig själv, så länge han inte stör harmonien i det hela. Det finns intet smidigare, intet barmhärtigare bland allt, som människor ha åstadkommit. Det finns intet så älskat, så högt uppskattat som kvinnans skapelse, hemmet.

Men då det nu är så, då vi erkänna, att allt annat kvinnoarbete är av försvinnande betydelse, jämfört med det utomordentliga, som hon har utfört i hemmet, då vi se, hur envist den kvinnliga begåvningen riktar sig åt detta håll, måste vi inte av allt vårt hjärta beklaga kvinnorörelsen, detta kvinnornas uppbrott från hemmet, deras emigration, skulle jag vilja säga, från det egna, vanda verksamhetsområdet in på mannens arbetsfält?

De flesta män och en god del av kvinnorna själva ha sörjt och ängslats, de ha också hejdat och stängt, så mycket de ha förmått, men ingenting har hulpit. Det har inte funnits mycket erkännande för den unga kvinnans strävan efter arbete, men så mycket mer hån och åtlöje. De minst tilltalande platser, den sämsta avlöning har bjudits henne, och hon har tackat och tagit emot. Men de äro få, som ha funnit något beundransvärt i detta. Man har haft en instinktlik känsla av att hon handlade orätt, då hon lämnade hemtjänsten.

Man gör i dessa dagar de mest vittgående undersökningar över emigrationens orsaker. Man finner, att den beror av ekonomiskt tryck,

av lust till jämlikhet och frihet, av längtan efter ombyte, av lockande exempel — — —

Men har man därmed sagt nog? Känna vi inte alla, att detta våldsamma lösslitande från fädernejorden tyckes förorsakat av ett oförklarligt och oemotståndligt tvång? Vi likna det vid sjukdom, detta, som driver tusen och åter tusen från kända omgivningar och älskade anförvanter bort till främmande land att anpassa sig efter en ny natur, lära ett nytt språk, tillägna sig nya arbetsmetoder. Lönen står oviss, men obehagen och svårigheterna äro säkra och oundvikliga. Måste det inte vara en stor naturens lag, som sätter utvandrarskarorna i rörelse?

Vi andra våga knappt göra något för att hejda, ty vi veta, att så länge det finns en sträcka obruten mark på jordens yta, så länge skall det finnas nybyggare, som söka sig dit. Man skall aldrig kunna förbjuda människor att uppfylla jorden och göra henne beboelig.

Därför är det heller ingen, som skrattar åt emigranten, och jag tror, att det snart skall vara slut med skämtet över den arbetande kvinnan. Man skall förstå, att då hon drevs att emigrera från hemmet, var det inte bara av ekonomiska orsaker, inte bara av begär efter likställdhet, inte av lust efter ombyte och frihet. Detta allt har spelat en roll, men också något annat. Ett tvång, starkare än den egna naturens tvång, en fläkt av det oförklarliga i världen har satt kvinnorna i rörelse. Man skall förstå detta, och man skall inte mer våga att hejda och stänga. Gulnande vetefält, nya städer, uppblomstrande stater visa oss var emigrantens väg har gått fram. Kvinnan skall kanske också visa en gång, att då hon trängde in på mannens arbetsområde, ville hon lägga vildmarker och öknar under kulturen.

Men innan vi våga förutsäga något om framtiden, låt oss se till, vad mannen har utfört på det arbetsfält, han har ägnat sig åt! Och först av allt: Vari har hans arbete bestått? Under de tusental av år, som kvinnan har arbetat på sin lilla skapelse, hemmet, vad har mannen verkat främst och störst?

Det kan inte vara någon tvekan om svaret. Mannen har skapat staten. För den har han tjänat, för den har han lidit. Han har gett den sitt övermänskliga arbete som dess styresman, han har vågat livet för att reformera den. Han har skänkt den sina djupsinnigaste tankar, ställt sig framför kanonmynningen för att försvara den. Han har sammanfört dess område, utarbetat dess lagar, inordnat folkklasserna i denna oändligt konstrika skapelse, som omfattar oss alla och förenar oss som lemmar i en kropp.

Aldrig skall man förneka mannen hans stora ära som samfundsdanare. Inte bara den stora helstaten, utan alla dessa små och stora organisationer, som den innefattar, äro hans verk. Så snart vi gå utanför hemmets fyra väggar, möta vi honom och endast honom. Han har skapat gården, byn, kommunen, staden; han har upprättat kyrkan, universitetet, industrisamhället; alla de stater i staten, som vi känna, äro från början hans verk. Han är den störste byggaren av mänskliga myrstackar, han står

aldrig ensam, tillhör alltid en sammanslutning. Ingen man är så ärad som statsmannen, som den store regenten, därför att vi känna och förstå, att mannens främsta gåva till kulturen är den välordnade, starka, skyddande staten.

Men nu må väl vi kvinnor fråga oss: "Är det möjligt för oss att jämföra vår lilla skapelse, hemmet, med mannens stolta verk, staten?"

Låt oss då för det första slå fast en sak! Det är inte min mening att säga, att hemmet, sådant, som jag nyss har framställt det, är förverkligat överallt. Om så vore, då skulle troligen mänskligheten stå vid sitt mål och inga reformer eller framsteg vidare vara nödvändiga. Naturligtvis vet jag, att de flesta hem inte äro fullkomliga, och att många äro dåliga. Men de goda, de lyckliga hemmen finnas dock. Vi ha sett dem. Vi ha levat i dem. Vi ha kanske inte ägt dem själva, men vi kunna vittna om var de finnas. De äro inte bara en dröm. Kvinnor kunna skapa dem i fattigdom och i rikedom, i ringhet och i förfining. De inrymmas i kungaborgen och i torparstugan. De äro vad som verkligen finnes till.

Men nu staterna?

Dessa våra stora hem, så svåra att bygga, resta med sådan ansträngning, vattnade av så mycket blod och tårar, uppförda med hjälp av de största karaktärer, de djärvaste snillen, finns det eller har det funnits någon bland dem, som har tillfredsställt alla sina medlemmar? Äro de inte mitt uppe i ett ständigt reformarbete? Vill man inte än i dag omforma dem från botten

och ända upp? Inrymma de inte ständiga anledningar till missnöje och bitterhet?

I Runebergs Nadeschda säger Ryslands tsar, kejsarinnan Katarina, till sin vän furstinnan Natalia på tal om hennes hem:

Vilken lycka att till alla kunna hinna,
kunna hela alla brister,
att ett litet paradis av fröjd och lycka
blott med hjärtats vilja skapa!

Katarina var en kvinna, men hon talar inte här som kvinna, utan som regent över jordens största rike. Hon vet, och varje statsman vet, att staten kan skapa ordning och skaffa försvar, men hon är genomträngd av känslan av dess begränsning och vanmakt i andra stycken.

Eller var finns den stat, där inga barn driva omkring hemlösa, där intet ungt människoämne förfares, utan alla unga bli fostrade i glädje och med saktmod, som barnens rätt är?

Var finns den stat, som låter alla sina fattiga gamla få en trygg och ärad ålderdom, som det är tillbörligt för dem, som nalkas livets slut?

Var finns den stat, som straffar inte för att hämnas, utan endast och allenast för att uppfostra och upprätta, som det oss kloka och målmedvetna människor tillkommer?

Var finns den stat, som kan ta vara på varje begåvning? Var den, där den olycklige blir lika omhuldad som den framgångsrike?

Var finns den stat, som inte hyser inom sig

främmande folkslag, som den inte kan lyckliggöra? Var den stat, som ger alla tillfälle att leva sitt eget fria liv, så länge de inte störa harmonien i det hela? Var den stat, där ingen av dess medlemmar får gå till spillo i lättja, i dryckenskap, i skamlig levnad?

Man svarar mig kanske, att det inte är detta, som staten vill. Den vill ordning och försvar. Men i så fall: varför sysslar den med allt detta andra? Den gör det, därför att den vet, att den stat inte kan hålla sig uppe, som icke vill skapa lycka. Den måste det, därför att den behöver att bli älskad av hög och låg. Staten måste vara ett redskap för trevnad, trygghet, uppfostran, kultur, förädling. Det är genom den, som mänskligheten skall få sina högst spända förhoppningar förverkligade.

Bristen ligger inte heller däri, att staterna inte ställa nog stora fordringar på humanitet på sig själva, utan däri, att det hittills av något skäl har varit dem omöjligt att genomföra dem.

Här är nu än en sak att fastslå. Jag har vågat säga, att hemmet är kvinnans skapelse, men jag har aldrig sagt, att hon har skapat det ensam. Till lycka för henne och för alla har hon alltid där haft mannen bredvid sig. Husbonde och matmor ha suttit sida vid sida. Hade kvinnan strävat ensam, skulle hon inte ha löst uppgiften. Hemmet skulle inte ha funnits till varken som dröm eller som verklighet.

Men vid skapandet av staten har mannen stått ensam. Det har stått en drottning vid kungens sida under kröningspällen, men hon har inte varit med som drottning, bara som

hustru. Intet har tvungit mannen att föra kvinnan med sig i domssalen, i ämbetsverket, i varumagasinet. Han har strävat sig fram ensam med sina svåra värv. Hur länge gick han inte som läkare ensam också på sjukhusen? Han går ensam ännu till sin prästerliga gärning. Han lagar själv sin mat i kasernen, han uppfostrar och pluggar i gosskolan. Han har åtagit sig det svåraste av allt, att sörja för de fattige, han har inte fruktat för arbetet.

Men har han lyckats?

Vad vittnar hatet mellan samhällsklasserna? Vad vittna de dova ropen nedifrån, allt hot om omstörtning? Vad vittnar all klagan från arbetslösa? Vad vittnar utvandringen? Vittnar allt detta, att han har lyckats, att han någonsin kan lyckas?

Och se nu! Just i detta ögonblick i tiden, då staterna vackla, så beundransvärt de än äro uppförda, då den sociala omstörtningen synes stå för dörren, då är det den stora kvinnliga invasionen in på det manliga arbetsfältet, in på statens mark tar sin början!

Har detta något att betyda? Eller betyder det endast, at kvinnan önskar sig bättre levnadsvillkor, likställighet, ombyte, frihet, makt? Varför kom den just nu? Man skall vara blind för att inte se, döv för att inte höra.

Eller hör hon inom sig något, som kallar och manar? "Gå ut i nytt, hårt arbete! Tag platsen vid järnvägsbommen, sopa gatan, skriv rent på kontoret, sälj frimärken på posten, undervisa långt ner i "förberedande", sitt vid telefonluren, var hantlangare vid operatio-

nerna, gör allt detta obetydliga arbete, och var viss, att det inte är bortkastat!

Var övertygad framför allt, att det har varit nödvändigt! Du måste in överallt, du måste finnas till hands överallt, om staten en gång skall kunna bli älskad som ett hem. Var viss, att din arbetskraft, som nu är så ringaktad, snart skall bli uppskattad och eftersökt, ja, tagen i anspråk över förmågan. Var viss att på samma sätt, som läkaren inte mera kan reda sig utan sjuksköterskan, skall prästen och fattighusföreståndaren begagna sig av diakonissan, fabriksägaren av den kvinnliga inspektrisen! Var viss, att vi snart skola finnas överallt, i obygder och i städer, med många nu okända titlar och yrken, men alla arbetande för det gemensamma målet!"

Ack, vi kvinnor äro inga fullkomliga varelser, ni män äro inte fullkomliga mera än vi. Hur skola vi nå fram till det, som är stort och gott, utan att hjälpa varandra?

Vi tro inte, att verket skall gå fort, men vi tro, att det vore synd och dårskap att avvisa vår hjälp. Vi tro, att Guds vind för oss. Det lilla mästerverket, hemmet, var vår skapelse med mannens hjälp. Det stora mästerverket, den goda staten, skall skapas av mannen, då han på allvar tar kvinnan till sin hjälpare.

[post-June 1911]

Arguments for Woman Suffrage

by the

World's Great Thinkers

In the administration of a state, neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special functions, but the gifts are equally diffused in both sexes.—*Plato.*

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

In the progress of civilization, woman suffrage is sure to come.—*Charles Sumner.*

Justice is on the side of woman suffrage.—*William H. Seward.*

I take it America never gave any better principle to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in its own hands. I claim the ballot for woman.—*Wendell Phillips.*

Those who are ruled by law should have the power to say what shall be the laws and who are law-makers. Women are as much interested in legislation as men, and are entitled to representation.—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

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

Every reason which in this country bestows the ballot upon man, is equally applicable to the proposition to bestow the ballot upon woman, . . . there is no foundation for the fear that woman will thereby become unfitted for all the duties she has hitherto performed.—*Ex-Speaker Thomas B. Reed.*

Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.—*John Stuart Mill.*

I believe in votes for women for every reason that makes me believe in votes for men—and for one more. The ballot needs women.—*Charles Edward Russell.*

I stand to-night the advocate of *man's rights.* Because *we* need it, woman should be eligible to all public trusts, and should have the same liberty of suffrage that man now has.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

I am in favor of woman suffrage.—*Phillips Brooks.*

(over)

From my large experience as a bishop of the Catholic Church in Wyoming, where we have had Woman Suffrage for 42 years, I am convinced that women vote as honestly, conscientiously and intelligently as do the men—to say the least. I also find that the women are not active politicians nor office-seekers. I have never known but one woman in Wyoming who made herself obnoxious in politics.

As to the Catholic women in my diocese, I do not find that the right of suffrage has drawn them either out of their homes or out of the church, and I think there need be no fear of that result in California.—*Bishop Keane, of Cheyenne, Wyoming* (in an interview given to a Committee of Suffragists during his recent visit to this city, June, 1911.)

It fills me with joy when I think of the many changes that will be brought about when women have the right of suffrage. They will defy the politicians, and vote as any Christian man should and would vote if he had the moral courage.—*Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid.*

I believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put in the hands of women.—*Bishop Simpson.*

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

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

Most of the women would, if they were voters, exercise the suffrage with conscientiousness, understanding and advantage, and the men do no more.—*Hon. John D. Long.*

I see no reason why women—simply because they are women—should not have the privilege of the ballot.—*Geo. C. Pardee.*

Woman suffrage is merely a matter of time and endeavor, for the arguments once advanced against it are not tenable to-day. Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women, and to increase their sense of personal responsibility. It may help to solve the problem of clean local government and make our cities centers of sweetness and light as well as of activity and strength.—*Dr. David Starr Jordan.*

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"California Next"

Political Equality League, Choral Hall, Auditorium Building, Los Angeles, California. Price 20c a hundred.

[pre-Oct. 10, 1911]

Vote for Senate Amendment No. 8

4th Place on the Ballot

OCTOBER 10, 1911

Good Citizenship
A True Democracy

TO THE VOTER OF CALIFORNIA—

Have you ever thought why your Mother, Wife, Sister, and Daughter are not allowed to vote?

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, when our Constitution was made, women paid no taxes, married women could hold no property, girls could not go to public grammar schools, high schools, or colleges. Women could enter no trades or professions except cooking and sewing.

NOW, women pay taxes, accumulate and manage their own property. Girls graduate from grammar schools and high schools, while all State universities and many endowed colleges are open to them.

Six million women are daily workers in the industrial pursuits, and no profession is closed to women.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN HAS COMPLETELY CHANGED.

The time has come to secure for these women, your fellow workers in the home, the city, and the State, POLITICAL FREEDOM.

DO YOUR SHARE BY VOTING FOR THE AMENDMENT FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE OCTOBER 10th.

Women Have Full Suffrage

IN

Australia
New Zealand
Norway
Finland
Isle of Man
Tasmania

Women Have Municipal Suffrage

IN

England
Scotland
Wales
Iceland
Canada
Natal (South Africa)
Denmark
Sweden

IN THE UNITED STATES
WOMEN VOTE
IN TWENTY-EIGHT STATES
On Municipal and School Affairs

Women Vote on Equal Terms with Men in

Wyoming
Utah
Colorado
Idaho
Washington

Why Not In California ?

Printed by the College Equal Suffrage League, 350 Post Street, San Francisco, California. Price 10c the hundred.

[pre-Oct. 10, 1911]

College Equal Suffrage League

318 UNION SQUARE BUILDING

350 POST ST.

SAN FRANCISCO

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ARGUMENTS FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

The THEORETICAL REASONS why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote, and are based on COMMON SENSE and JUSTICE.

As citizens of the same COMMUNITY, women are equally concerned with men in its PUBLIC WELFARE; as citizens of the same DEMOCRACY, they have an equal claim to POLITICAL LIBERTY.

The PRACTICAL REASONS why women should vote are based on the position that they now hold in the world.

1. The INTELLIGENCE of the vote would be raised by Equal Suffrage.

SCHOOL STATISTICS of California show:

Number of BOYS enrolled in the elementary schools.....168,803
Number of GIRLS enrolled in the elementary schools.....153,558
Percentage of BOYS to GIRLS—109%.

Number of BOYS graduated from elementary schools..... 8,103
Number of GIRLS graduated from elementary schools..... 9,529
Percentage of BOYS to GIRLS—85%.

Number of BOYS enrolled in High Schools..... 17,680
Number of GIRLS enrolled in High Schools..... 21,435
Percentage of BOYS to GIRLS—82%.

Number of BOYS graduated from High Schools..... 1,720
Number of GIRLS graduated from High Schools..... 2,525
Percentage of BOYS to GIRLS—68%.

In other words, more than ONE-HALF of the pupils graduated from the elementary schools are GIRLS; and about TWO-THIRDS of the pupils graduated from the HIGH Schools are GIRLS.

2. The INTEGRITY of the vote would be raised by Equal Suffrage.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS of California show that among criminals men outnumber women more than a hundred times.

3. Women need the ballot for self-development.

The ballot is a means of education because it is an incentive to study PUBLIC QUESTIONS. CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY cultivates the CIVIC CONSCIENCE.

4. Women need the ballot for their INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION.

There are over 6,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States who should have a voice in the INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION under which they work.

5. Equal Suffrage has proved its EXPEDIENCY.

Where women vote, they use the ballot, in the main, not for partisan politics, but for EDUCATIONAL and HUMANITARIAN LEGISLATION. They now have full suffrage in WYOMING, UTAH, IDAHO, COLORADO and WASHINGTON; and in AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND and FINLAND.

The Aim of the College Equal Suffrage League is, in general, to further the interests of the SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT; and, in particular, to work for the passing of the SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT to the CONSTITUTION of California (Amendment No. 8), to be submitted to the voters of California on October 10th, 1911.

MEMBERSHIP in the League is open to all MEN and WOMEN who believe in Equal Suffrage. The annual fee is $1; life membership, $10.

The PLAN OF WORK is to carry on an active campaign for the SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, and to engage in EDUCATIONAL WORK upon public affairs, in order that the women of California may be prepared for civic responsibility when empowered with the ballot.

The HEADQUARTERS, at 318 Union Square Building, 350 Post Street, San Francisco, are open daily from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M.

OPEN MEETINGS are held every FRIDAY AFTERNOON at 3:30 P. M.

From the Headquarters as a center of activity, CAMPAIGN and EDUCATIONAL WORK will extend into the neighboring cities and counties.

Will you become a MEMBER?

We need your HELP.

Numbers multiply courage and confidence, and insure SUCCESS.

Good Citizenship
A True Democracy

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ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, when our Constitution was made, women paid no taxes, married women could hold no property, girls could not go to public grammar schools, high schools, or colleges. Women could enter no trades or professions except cooking and sewing.

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DO YOUR SHARE BY VOTING FOR THE AMENDMENT FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE OCTOBER 10th.

Registration closes August 26th.

REGISTER NOW.

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.
318 Union Square Building, 350 Post Street.

Aim: To work for the Equal Suffrage Amendment (election October 10, 1911.)

Membership Fee, $1.00. Life Membership, $10.00.

I WILL BECOME A MEMBER.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

I will contribute $.....

[pre-Oct. 1910?]

To the Farmers and Fruit Growers of California.

By MILICENT SHINN

In the War of American Independence, it was the "embattled farmers" at Concord Bridge that made the first stand and fired the first shot against Taxation without Representation. **That Battle Is Not Yet Fully Won.** There is still one class of American citizens that is taxed without any voice of their own, and governed by officials they have had no part in choosing and laws they have had no part in making. Your own mother, your wife and sister are of that class.

Is it not time to end this inequality before the law, and to be true at last to American principles?

No One knows better than the farmer how a wife stands side by side with her husband and helps him to earn and to carry on his farm. If he dies, he leaves it without fear in her hands. But he leaves it thenceforth **Unprotected by a Freeman's Vote.** No assessor, no supervisor, no legislator need fear that the owner of this farm can call him to account at the polls for any injustice or neglect of this woman's interests. Her name on any petition will count little as against the names of voters, or the pull of some one with votes behind him.

Are you willing to deny your widowed neighbor the protection you think so important for yourself?

Can any woman, for that matter, married or single, have her just say in matters that concern her, without a vote? Suppose your schoolmistress thinks Brown should go to the legislature because he is zealous about safe sanitary schoolhouses, and her brother thinks Jones should go, because he is pledged to Robinson for the United States Senate. Have not both equal right to their opinions, and equal right to have them taken into account in deciding whether Brown or Jones should go? The present way is to take it for granted beforehand that the sister will always be wrong, and the brother always right, so that we count his judgment only, and refuse to listen to hers.

Can you see any just way except to let every sane grown person speak for himself or herself at the polls, and then count the votes? **THEN** we shall be more sure that the majority really rules; now a minority may often carry an election, defeating the wish of the majority.

For women do have some wishes in political matters, wishes that are often defeated now. They do not care a great deal for what men understand by politics. But they do care a great deal for some things that men are too apt to neglect. Wherever they vote, they leave the big party contests, the financial problems, the slates and the combinations,

(OVER)

mainly in men's hands, and devote themselves to the protection of the home and all that bears on it; to the care of children and young girls, to the care of the sick and the broken; to education, public health, and civic beauty. Are no such voters needed in your own community? And if you had one class of voters who would think about the schools, the health inspections, the safety of children on the roads, the trees along your drives, as faithfully as women now attend to their church and club work, would it not be well for your community?

Are not these things true womanly work? Is not her own town a woman's home, and should she not keep it clean, and safe, and healthful, and beautiful for her children, just as much as the house where they sleep?

You are not in such bitter need of this womanly element as the cities are. You can at least get pure milk and pure air and decent play-places for your children, without asking your supervisors. But remember that evil in the cities comes home to you. The cities draw your young people to them; the cities send delegations to Sacramento that outvote yours; the cities breed fashions and diseases that spread out into the country. If women can make the cities cleaner places to live in and can make the city politicians more careful to send clean men to the legislature, you will feel the good of it in your own home.

One thing more:—Fifteen years ago California voted on an equal suffrage amendment. It was carried, outside the great cities, by a fair majority. The cities **Reversed the Vote of the Country,** and kept the ballot from women. There is no doubt that the country will vote again for equal suffrage. Are the cities to outvote the country again? The cities have grown bigger in fifteen years. The organized vices in large cities, which fear the vote of women, are better systematized, better financed, than they were in 1896. If the vicious elements are to be outvoted, the country must not only carry the amendment; it must carry it with a liberal margin.

Will you not do more than cast your own vote for this righteous measure? Will you not work for it?

Printed by the College Equal Suffrage League, 350 Post Street, San Francisco, California. Price, 10c. the hundred.

[pre-Oct. 10, 1911]

Vote for the 4th Amendment

(Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 8)

October 10th

ENDORSEMENTS

One Hundred Thousand California Women, Including

California Federation of Women's Clubs
Woman's Organized Labor
Mothers' Congress
Woman's Parliament
Collegiate Alumnae
State Nurses' Association
American Woman's League
State Woman's Christian Temperance Union

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Mrs. Emory Winship
Charles S. Wheeler
William R. Wheeler
Otto Irving Wise
Miss Ray Wolfsohn

Some Reasons Why We Believe in Woman Suffrage:

BECAUSE governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and women are governed.

BECAUSE taxation without representation is tyranny, and women are taxed.

BECAUSE men and women are different, and, being different, have different points of view; and the good of the state demands that both these differing points of view be expressed in law and government. This can be accomplished only through the exercise of suffrage by both men and women, for voting is the only method by which the viewpoint of the individual concerning matters of government can be effectively expressed.

BECAUSE the basis of government is right and justice and the day is past when the strongest ruled by physical force. Laws based on principles

of equity reign today in place of physical force and are executed by hired officials who are paid from taxes collected from women as well as from men. Women have to obey the laws, they have to pay equally with men for the enforcement of law. They should have a voice in making the laws they have to obey and a voice in choosing the officials whose duty it is to enforce the laws and whose salaries they help to pay.

BECAUSE women have an equal stake in the government with men; they contribute equally with men to the upbuilding and defense of the nation—in time of peace by their labor in the home and in the factory, in time of war by supporting the army on the field and caring for the sick, and in both peace and war by the bearing and rearing of children, without whom the state could not continue to exist.

BECAUSE the right of suffrage would enable women to perform the duties which devolve upon them more satisfactorily by giving them direct control over conditions upon which the proper performance of those duties depends, in that it would enable them to control the purity of the food which comes into the home, to control matters of sanitation upon which the health of the home rests, and to control the environment in which their children must be reared and the economic conditions which they must meet in the struggle for a livelihood.

BECAUSE 7,000,000 women have been forced out of the home and into stores and factories as wage earners and are in vital need of the ballot in order to protect themselves against oppression and unjust conditions.

BECAUSE no woman should be denied the right of self-government because some other woman does not want that right, and because, under equal suffrage, no woman not wishing to vote will be compelled to vote.

BECAUSE the vast majority of California women wish to vote, every organization of women which has expressed itself having recorded itself in favor of woman suffrage, and 100,000 women having already asked, either individually or through their clubs, for the ballot.

BECAUSE, though so far as mere numbers go, the vote would be doubled, an entirely different element would be injected into government, since women are different from men; and since good women outnumber bad women a thousand times over, the proportion of desirable voters would be immeasurably increased.

BECAUSE the right of suffrage is a valuable tool by means of which the educational, economic and other interests of women may be much more easily and more rapidly advanced than without it, even as the plains can be crossed more easily and rapidly in an express train than in the ox carts of fifty years ago.

BECAUSE women are now handicapped in all reform movements by the fact that they have no lever of power with which to command attention when they appeal to party organizations or to public officials in behalf of educational, charitable or other reform measures.

BECAUSE each human being is an individual with an individual viewpoint, and a man cannot represent his mother or his sisters, even as a woman cannot represent her father or her brothers.

BECAUSE, while no cure-all, the ballot is the only means by which existing evils can be either lessened or eliminated, since the making and enforcement of law depend absolutely upon the mandates of the voters.

BECAUSE in all states in which women vote, as shown by the incontrovertible testimony of the laws placed upon the statute books through the work of women voters, woman suffrage has proven itself a great force for civic betterment and for the advancement of public and political morals.

BECAUSE woman suffrage means equality of opportunity, and we believe absolutely in equal rights for all and special privileges to none, either men or women.

COLLEGE EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

318 Union Square Building, San Francisco.

[pre-Oct. 10, 1911]

Vote for Senate Amendment No. 8

4th Place on the Ballot

OCTOBER 10, 1911

Measuring Up Results

OF

Equal Suffrage in Colorado

By JUDGE BEN LINDSEY and GEORGE CREEL

(Extracts from an article in the February, 1911, Delineator)

Colorado, better, perhaps, than any other State, affords an opportunity for a fair appraisal of equal suffrage's value, of its merits and demerits, its efficiency or its failure. This commonwealth is peculiarly suited for such an examination by reason of the typical Americanism that marks its people and its problems . . .

Equal suffrage has been one of the great bells that has aroused Colorado to the work of flushing filth from its politics, bettering economic conditions, mitigating the cruelties of industrialism, promoting equal and exact justice, and making for a more wholesome and expansive environment.

To these ends, in the short space of seventeen years, it has aided in placing a score of needed laws on the statute books. It has raised new standards of public service, of political morality and of official honesty. It has helped to lift the curse of corporation control from the government. It has gone far to bit and bridle the lawless "liquor interest." It has made for a fuller, finer participation in public affairs, and by the introduction of a distinctly independent element into partisan politics, it has compelled the adoption of progressive platforms and the nomination of better candidates than the "old way" ever knew. . . .

If this reform were pinned down to a specific result, and discussion limited to one concrete outcome, equal suffrage could well afford to rest its case on the findings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. This globe-circling 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 of these laws which drew such praise from impartial sociologists, not one but has come into operation since Colorado's adoption of equal suffrage in 1893; not one but owes its inception or its success to the voting woman. Even in those cases where the law was not originated, not specifically championed by them, they elected the official responsible for the law, and whose candidacy had its base in revolt and reform.

(OVER)

The list is as long as splendid:

Laws establishing a State home for dependent children, three of the five members of the board to be women;

Making mothers joint guardians of their children with their fathers;

Raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen years;

Creating juvenile courts;

Making education compulsory for all children between the ages of eight and sixteen, except the ailing, those taught at home, those over fourteen who have completed the eighth grade, those who support themselves, or whose parents need their help and support;

Establishing truant or parental schools;

Forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten;

Making it a criminal offense for parents or other persons to contribute to the delinquency of children;

Forbidding children of sixteen or under to work more than eight hours a day in any mill, factory or store, or in any other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful;

Requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors be women;

Establishing a State industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the Board of Control to be women;

Including instruction concerning the humane treatment of animals in the public school course;

Providing that any person employing a child under fourteen in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works, shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to fine;

Abolishing the binding out of industrial-home girls until twenty-one, and providing for parole;

Forbidding prosecuting and arresting officers from collecting fees in cases against children;

Providing that at least two thousand dollars of the estate of a deceased parent shall be paid to the child before creditors' claims are satisfied. . . .

Equal suffrage did not become a law until 1893, but while there was vigorous championship in the meantime, advocacy was purely argumentative, and entirely unmarked by violent agitation. Equal suffrage's majority was six thousand. And research disclosed these reasons as chiefly contributory to the victory:

That women are equally subject to the law;

That the denial of justice to half the human race would be a detriment to the whole, as experience has proved that under a partially representative government the lives and interests of the unrepresented always suffer;

That it was peculiarly the province of the women to look after the home, and that the modern home could not be thoroughly looked after except through the law;

That men alone were as unfit to legislate for women as women alone would be unfit to legislate for men;

That it was both insulting and degrading to continue the classification of women with "Indians, idiots, lunatics and paupers."

Printed by the College Equal Suffrage League, 350 Post Street, San Francisco, California. Price, 10c. the hundred.

VOTES AND BABIES.

By ANNIE G. PORRITT,

Published by National American Woman Suffrage Association,
505 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Is politics a woman's business, or is it in truth, as our opponents so often assert, meddlesome and unnecessary for women to concern themselves with political matters, which are solely and entirely the province of men? It is an American characteristic — a characteristic which has done much to build up the mighty nation of the United States — that every one minds his or her own business; and if it can truthfully be asserted that politics is never a woman's business, it is in vain for the advocates of woman suffrage to endeavor to turn the attention of women to something so entirely outside their natural field.

People often use the word politics as though it meant only the intriguing and wire-pulling by which one man rather than another attains office, and enters into the enjoyment of a salary, or other advantages due to his access to the public treasury. But this is not the real meaning of the word. Politics means everything that pertains to the making and administration of the laws under which we all live. It means the conduct of the nation's business — wisely ordered, it means prosperity, good government, a high national morality; continuously corrupt and evil, it means bankruptcy, deterioration and moral degeneracy. It means, in short, the life or death, not only of individuals, but of the nation itself.

The range of politics is so wide and so inclusive that no part of the life of any single individual in the nation can remain untouched by it. Politics determines whether the country remain at peace, or embark in war — war whose train of death and misery no woman can contemplate with a light heart. The purity of our courts, and the administration of justice are the concern of politics; and so are the quality of the food we supply to our families, and the price

of the clothing that we purchase for ourselves and our children. Politics mean the conservation of the nation's natural resources — its forests, its coal, and its water powers; and it means also the care of the milk supply for our babies and the cleanliness of the streets in which so many of our children have to play.

Some political matters are certainly the province of men rather than of women. Men are better qualified to judge of currency reform and the control of trusts and monopolies than are women, and few women would contest their superior judgment on these matters. But the domestic side of politics — all that concerns food and clothing, building laws as applicable to the homes of the people, clean streets and the maintenance of good order by an efficient and honest police service, the hours of labor of women and children, the care of the poor, and of the sick, and above all the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of all unnecessary causes of war — these are matters which will never be effectively cared for unless the women arouse themselves to mind their own business.

It cannot be expected that women's business will ever be properly attended to, if it is left entirely to men to do it. Men have too many concerns of their own to occupy them. They are all the time intent on minding their own business. They have relegated everything that concerns the home to their women folk, and they rest contentedly in the not unjustified assumption that their wives, mothers and sisters are fully capable of taking care of this part of the world's work. Hence it happens under modern conditions — with government and politics touching the women, the home and the children at a hundred new points, and pressing heavily in places which fifty years ago were unaffected by government — that all these aspects of politics are neglected, and the home is left to the mercy of politicians whose first care is by no means always for the service of the public. Men do not concern themsleves about the political questions which are of chief importance to the home, because the care of the home is not their business; and women are also negligent

of them, because these are political questions and politics is the business of the men.

The result of the neglect of what we might call home politics — all those aspects of governmental activity which affect the home — was never more strikingly shown than in the summer of 1911. Both England and America experienced abnormally hot weather in July of this year, and the concomitant of the hot weather in both countries was an enormous increase in infant mortality. During the first two weeks of July, in the city of Montreal alone, nine hundred babies under one year of age were slaughtered, and Montreal, with its half million of inhabitants, was not alone in this murderous record. Similar figures could be quoted for every city, with more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, on the North American Continent, and for some cities of a much smaller size. The infant mortality of those hot days of July climbed up into unprecedented figures, and we have the word of the health authorities both of Chicago and New York that even in normal times two out of three of the children who die before they are five years old, die from preventable causes. They are slaughtered by diseases, bred of foul air, tainted water and infected milk, and every spell of hot weather intensifies all three of these death dealing agencies.

Were such murder done now — as murder was done nearly two thousand years ago in the little town of Bethlehem — by the ukase of a tyrant, what a howl of rage and execration would go up from the whole civilized world! But because the murder is done through bad building laws — or the inefficient administration of building laws — unsanitary tenements, dirty, fly-breeding streets, unwholesome milk and infected water, it is nobody's business to attend to these matters, and to save the lives of these infant martyrs. It is not the business of the politician. His concern is to fulfill just sufficient of the demands of his constituents to keep himself and his party in office; and there is no effective demand for reforms in these death-dealing conditions. It is not the business of the good, average citizen, who registers and votes with praiseworthy regularity; for these things concern the home, not the field of business, finance, or what

the ordinary man considers to be politics. It is not the business of the women — not even of the grief stricken mothers with whom there is lamentation and weeping and great mourning — Rachel weeping for her children who will not be comforted because they are not. No, babies must die, and women must weep, because these matters are politics, and politics is not the province of women.

This connection between politics and the death every month and every year of thousands and tens of thousands of American babies is often obscured by the fact that at an election questions concerning the health and safety of the home rarely seem to be at issue. Women often feel and say, when their political duty as mothers is urged upon them, that politics is so uninteresting; that there is never anything discussed, when men talk politics, that seems to have any appeal for the women. This is often quite true; although it is equally true that politics may be killing the baby in the cradle and maiming and handicapping the growing children who have managed to survive. The very fact that politics can be uninteresting to women, while the home is so closely and so constantly concerned by political action, is the plainest and most obvious proof that women's active interest in politics is vitally necessary. Politics is uninteresting to women, because women have no part in determining what questions shall be brought forward in an election, or upon what issues the representatives of the people shall be chosen.

Every now and again, in spite of men's indifference to the questions outside their own field, and the intensity with which they apply themselves to minding their own business, a question does come up in an election which obviously and closely concerns the women. Sometimes there is a question which touches the water supply, the liquor trade, the care of the poor, the hours of labor of women and children or the great national issues of peace and war. On such occasions politics takes on a vital interest for the women, and it is such elections as these that make converts to woman suffrage by the thousands.

It is only through a lack of insight and of logical reasoning

that women fail to realize the fact that issues which would be interesting to women would be infused into every election, if it were worth the while of the polititicians to make any effort to win favor with the women. The greatest practical difference between the states and countries where women enjoy the suffrage, and those where they do not, lies in the different attitude of the politicians towards women's questions. "Tell us what will endear our party to the women," is the historic appeal of one of the two great national parties to the Women's Club of Denver; and this is the attitude which the politicians necessarily assume towards the interests and the demands of voters.

Instead of the great field of women's interests and of the political activities which touch the home lying outside the range of the politician, as soon as women obtain the right to vote, their interests are sought out, and the political parties vie with one another to promote them, in order to "endear themselves to the women" voters. Legislation that will commend itself to the mother and the home-maker, and the full and adequate enforcement of all laws that have been passed for the protection of the home and the children, and for the improvement of conditions for women workers, form the line of least resistance for the politician who is seeking the votes of women. The great mass of women do not even need to know just what is necessary to bring about reforms in the sanitary and moral conditions that surround the home, any more than the mass of men need to understand the principles of currency reform, or the best methods for curbing the power of the trusts. There will always be women leaders, who do know and understand. The rank and file of the women will find no difficulty in understanding the demands that their leaders put forward on their behalf. The mothers and home-makers will heartily endorse such demands when presented to them ; and when the ideas and demands of these leaders are adopted in the political platforms of both parties—as frequently happens in states and countries where women vote—there is little doubt of their being embodied in legislation. The party in power knows that its actions are being watched by thousands of women

voters and that retribution at the polls will quickly overtake the party that proves itself false to its pledges to the women.

It is these conditions, and not the political wisdom of women that has forced the passage of laws protecting the babies of the states and countries where women have the right to vote. The enfranchisement of women has resulted in every case in a lowering of the rate of infant mortality. The improvement in this respect has been far greater in the countries where women vote, as for example, Australia where the rate has been lowered from 111 per 1,000 to 77 per 1,000, than in the states and countries where women have strenuously exerted indirect influence in favor of the babies. In every one of the Suffrage States laws have been passed for the protection of infant life, and for the better care of the children. It is only naturally to be expected that when women obtain the right to vote, they will insist that politics shall be interesting to them, and the politicians who want their votes will see to it that this insistence shall not be in vain.

In the light of the experience of the Suffrage States how absurd and futile are most of the objections brought against the granting of votes to women. How can it be asserted that equal franchise will break up the home, when the chief demand for the suffrage comes from women who want to protect the home, and make it safe and healthy? Or the argument that women ought not to vote because their work in the world is different from that of men and to vote would be to intrude into the men's province! It is exactly because their work is different, and because their point of view is also different, that politics needs the women; while, so long as politics intrudes continually and on every side into the province of women's work, it is not unreasonable that women should desire to have some say in these all-pervasive forms of governmental activity.

Perhaps the most foolish of all is the argument that women have already so much to do that they have not time to vote. This is like telling the woman who has yards and yards of plain sewing to do, that she has not time to use a sewing machine. It is like telling the woman who has ten miles to

walk that she has not time to step into an automobile. Which takes the more time, the more strength, the more of life itself — to tend the sickly infant and see it slowly wasting away; or once a year to put a bit of paper in a ballot box on the way to market, and thereby to vote for and secure pure food and clean water for the healthy and happy children?

There is no antagonism to men in this appeal of the women to be given the power to do their duty. On the contrary, it means relief and help for the men who have tried with some degree of success to mind the women's business as well as their own. When the household runs too badly, the husband becomes aware of it, and probably makes some spasmodic efforts to improve its working. When the nations' housekeeping gets into too great disorder, the men of the nation wake up, and hold conferences on housing, and on the prevention of infant mortality. Spasmodic reforms will never bring order, health, and safety into the children's lives. The women know this. They know that it is incessant watchfulness — the work for which only women and mothers are fitted — that will ever put an end to the slaughter of the innocents in our American cities; and women are quickly learning that watchfulness is futile without the power of control which only the possession of the ballot can secure to them.

TESTIMONY FROM COLORADO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Post-1911]

Laws Resulting From Equal Suffrage

WYOMING—Despite the lack of effective organization, due to frontier conditions of life, the women of Wyoming have been able to exert considerable influence upon legislation. They have helped to secure measures making gambling illegal; giving women absolute rights over their own property; providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay for equal work; raising the age of protection of young girls to 18; providing penalties for child neglect, abuse or cruelty; forbidding the employment of children in certain industries; making it unlawful to give or sell liquor or tobacco to children; establishing kindergartens and a State industrial school; providing for the care of dependent children and infirm, indigent or incompetent persons; making State pure food regulations conform with the national law; and providing for the initiative and referendum, the commission form of government, direct primaries, accounting for campaign expenses on the part of candidates for political offices, and the headless ballot.

COLORADO—In Colorado women have been able to influence legislation extensively, despite opposition on the part of certain powerful commercial interests that dominate the political life of the State. Their most notable achievement was the retention in office of Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of the famous Denver Juvenile Court, when both political parties were arrayed against him.

Their influence as voters has been largely instrumental on securing measures making mothers joint guardians with the fathers over their children; raising the age of protection of young girls to 18; establishing a juvenile court; making parents responsible for the offenses of delinquent children, when they have by neglect or any other cause contributed to such delinquency; forbidding the employment of children in certain industries; making the wife the head of the family in cases where she provides the principal support; providing for supervision of lying-in hospitals and maternity homes conducted by private individuals; compelling men to support their families and making wife-desertion a felony; providing penalties for the punishment of male and female procurers; making it a felony for any person under 18 to work as a servant or employe in any house of ill-fame; making immoral solicitation a felony; imposing heavy penalties upon men for living upon the earnings of immoral women; forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten years; establishing State parental schools; establishing a State home for dependent children, two of the five members of the board to be women; requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women; establishing a State industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the board to be women; requiring one woman physician on the board of the insane asylum; providing for the care of the feeble-minded; making father and mother joint heirs of a deceased child; establishing a State traveling library commission to consist of five women from the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, to be appointed by the Governor; prohibiting the gift or sale of cigarettes to children; prohibiting the sale of opium; making employers liable for industrial accidents; removing the emblems from the Australian ballot (an approach to an educational qualification for voting); establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners; making the Colorado Humane Society a State bureau of child and animal protection, and providing for the teaching of humanity to animals in the public schools. Before the franchise was granted, women's property rights had already been fairly well secured, and since that time the last discriminations have been removed, so that, with respect to property, women are on a basis of perfect equality with men.

UTAH—Since their enfranchisement Utah women have aided in securing measures providing for equal pay for equal work for teachers; raising the age of protection

for young girls to 18; establishing free public libraries in cities and towns; requiring in all schools and educational institutions supported wholly or partly by public funds, systematic instruction in physiology and hygiene including the effects of stimulants and narcotics; providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene and nursing; providing for a curfew bell at 9 p. m. to keep children off the streets at night; making it a misdemeanor for any minor to buy, accept or have in his possession, cigarettes, tobacco, opium or any other narcotic; providing for the protection of dependent, neglected or ill-treated children, and for the punishment of the persons responsible; requiring the establishment of kindergartens in towns of a specified size; prohibiting traffic in women; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; prohibiting the employment of women more than nine hours a day or fifty-four hours a week; providing for medical examination of school children; authorizing boards of health to take certain steps to protect the public against venereal disease; providing for sanitary inspection of slaughter houses and other places where foodstuffs are prepared; forcing wife-deserters to pay a certain sum for the support of their families; giving local option on the liquor question. Women have practically the same rights over their independent property as men.

IDAHO—In the six sessions since Idaho women got the vote they have helped to secure measures making gambling illegal; raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; creating a juvenile court; creating a State humane society; increasing the control of married women over their independent property; establishing libraries and reading rooms and a State library commission, consisting of the president of the State University, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General; providing for a department of domestic science in the State University and for a course of lectures on the subject in the Academy of Idaho; establishing an industrial school; providing for the inspection and regulation of places where foods and drugs are prepared; providing for the commission form of government; providing anti-trust regulations; establishing measures for the control of the sale of liquor; and prohibiting persons of lewd lives, both men and women, from voting.

The Idaho State Federation of Women's Clubs has prepared, for introduction into the next Legislature, bills providing for equal guardianship of children; medical inspection of school children; instruction in sex hygiene in the public schools; the closing of houses of prostitution, and making venereal diseases reportable.

WASHINGTON and **CALIFORNIA**—Women have been granted the franchise so recently in these two states—Washington in 1910, and California in 1911—that they have as yet had no opportunity to propose any legislation, but they have taken advantage of the opportunity offered by local elections to vote for many progressive improvements in their municipalities; and most of the suffrage associations have reorganized as civic clubs for the study of social and governmental problems in order that they may be able to work effectively when their chance does come.