

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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[ca. 1912?]

SELECTIONS FROM

EQUAL SUFFRAGE ..SONG SHEAF..

by

EUGÉNIE M. RAYÉ-SMITH



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ONE CENT A COPY

The Richmond Hill Record

COME VOTE, LADIES!

(Tune: "Good-night, Ladies!")

Come vote, ladies; come vote, ladies; come vote, ladies;
The civic call obey.
Gladly will we cast a vote, cast a vote, cast a vote,
Gladly will we cast a vote
On Election Day!

"VOTES FOR WOMEN," SURE TO WIN.

(Tune: "Yankee Doodle.")

It happened once in England fair
That woman's mind got started
On thinking suffrage rights her share,
From her unjustly parted.
That laws and taxes she should heed
In which she had no say, sir,
To her fair thought seemed false indeed;
She cried, "We'll not obey, sir."

Chorus—"Votes for women," keep it up;
Never mind what party;
"Votes for women," sure to win!
Sing it strong and hearty!

"We'll show the world through word and deed
By us the vote is wanted;
Let legislators now take heed;
Our courage is undaunted!"
The struggle waxes fierce and strong;
With zeal these women burning,
Will bring the men to own their wrong,
All weak traditions spurning!

To cousins now across the sea
Strong hope is thus imparted.
They need no force to set them free,
They turn to men true-hearted.
What women will in this good land
'Tis done before you speak, sir,
With loyal word and willing hand
They're given what they seek, sir!

WOMAN'S SONG OF UNION.

(Tune: "Suwanee River.")

Way off across the waste of waters,
Far, far away,
Hear now the call of England's daughters,
Herald of Freedom's day:
"We greet you, sisters of a nation
Born from our side,
Joint heirs in civic right and station,
One common law our guide!"

Chorus—All the world is one great union,
Equal rights our lay!
Come, sisters, join the vast communion,
Help usher in our day!

Back ringing o'er the waste of waters,
Where echoes play,
Hark! voices of Columbia's daughters
Join answer on the way:
"With joy profound and true devotion
Our prayers we blend,
One band united by old ocean,
One human goal our end!"

BRING IT TO PASS IN THE YEAR.

(Tune: "Bring Back My Bonnie to Me.")

For suffrage from ocean to ocean,
For suffrage from mountain to shore,
Fair women are all in commotion,
And men leaguers with them galore.

Chorus—One pull, a strong pull,
Bringing the ballot so near, so near,
Another pull, together pull,
And bring it to pass in the year!

Last night as we listened and waited,
A message came over the sea,
It wished us good luck and it stated
Our sisters in China are free.

The "voice of the people" has spoken,
'Tis borne by the wind o'er the sea,
To loyal hearts wafting the token,
The presage of near victory.

NEXT ELECTION DAY.

(Tune: "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching.")

In our Western home we sit,
Thinking, Eastern friends, of you
And the noble cause to which you give your might;
And our eyes with joy are lit
As we read of all you do,
For we're proud of you, our sisters dear, tonight!

Chorus—Tramp, tramp, tramp, we're onward marching,
Good luck, comrades, on the way!
And beneath the golden glow
Of the suffrage flag, we know.
You will join us on the next election day!

We have fought the battle here,
We have won the freeman's right,
So we promise you a loyal helping hand;
Bid our sisters all good cheer,
For the goal is now in sight,
You are crossing now into the promised land!

From the East we greeting send,
Where we work for freedom's day,
And we look to you, oh children of our pride.
With your own our voices blend,
And our hearts are almost gay,
For we hope to take our place soon at your side.

Chorus—Tramp, tramp, tramp, we're onward marching,
Good luck comrades on the way!
And beneath the golden glow
Of the suffrage flag, we know.
We will join you on the next election day!

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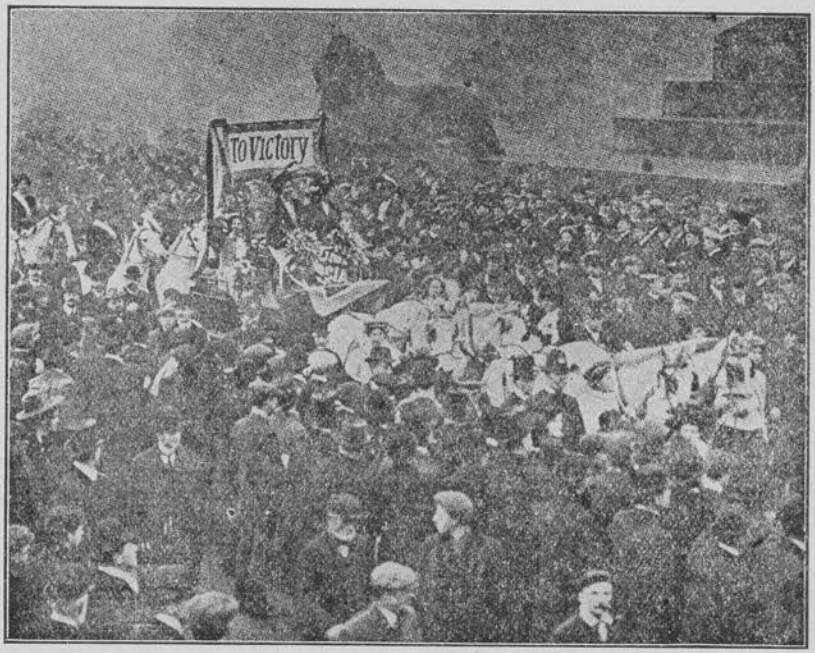
Eugenie M. Raye-Smith

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[ca 1912?]

THE MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

BY ANNIE G. PORRITT



The Procession to Welcome Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel, and Mrs. Leigh, on their Release from Prison, December 19, 1908.

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THE MILITANT SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND



MRS. PANKHURST.

The outbreak of militant tactics in London on Tuesday, November 21st, 1911, when over two hundred women were arrested for resistance to the police and for breaking windows of public buildings, came as a surprise to many Americans who had thought that these methods of the Women's Social and Political Union were entirely of the past. It was equally a surprise and a very disagreeable surprise to the women who have carried on the militant movement that there should be any necessity for further suffering and sacrifice on their part in their long struggle for the vote. But the challenge was thrown down by Mr. Asquith. By his announcement on November 9th that the government intended to bring in a bill sweeping away all the various property and occupation qualifications on which the vote is now based, and conferring the suffrage on all the men in the United Kingdom, the Women's bill, for which the Prime Minister had publicly and repeatedly pledged the government to grant facilities, was rudely swept aside.

From the time that the Liberals came into power in 1905, there had been a majority in the House of Commons for woman suffrage. The Cabinet was not unanimous on the question; but in the Cabinet also there was a majority favorable, and only a small but determined minority opposed. Woman suffrage was not a party question, and on the Conservative side of the House of Commons there was strong and influential support for the women. Mr. Balfour had spoken and voted in favor of the Women's Bill in the Commons, and in the House of Lords, the Earl of Selborne and Lord Lytton were strenuous and enthusiastic champions of the women. All these had been united in favor of the bill which passed its second reading in July 1910, and for which the Prime Minister had promised time and facilities in 1912.

One member of the Cabinet was, however, strenuously opposed to the moderate bill which had been framed to meet the views of Liberal and Conservative supporters of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could see nothing in the bill but a measure which might strengthen the ranks of the Conservative party. While loudly professing himself an advocate of the enfranchisement of women, he spoke against the Conciliation when it was before the House of Commons, and in a speech at Bath on November 24, 1911, after the announcement of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, he said that the Conciliation Bill and the measures of limited suffrage put forward by the women would have been grossly unfair to Liberalism. To Lloyd George party was the one consideration, and for the sake of party he was willing that the Government should be false to its promise, and should betray the women who had relied on the publicly pledged word of the Prime Minister of the UnitedKingdom. "The bill has been torpedoed," was Mr. Lloyd Geroge's exultant description of the honorable tactics employed by the Government to clear away the troublesome question of Votes for Women. It could scarcely be a matter of surprise, that the women did not show themselves eager to accept Mr. Lloyd George's offer of leadership, when he tried to make them believe that he was desirous to make himself the champion of a "broad democratic extension of the franchise to women."

The suffragists of all parties took action immediately on Mr. Asquith's announcement of the intention of the Government to bring in a Manhood Suffrage Bill. A deputation of women composed of representatives from all the Women's Suffrage Associations in Great Britain at

once approached the Prime Minister to ask the inclusion of women in the Government Bill. They met with an emphatic refusal. "I am the head of the Government," said Mr. Asquith in brave words that could not be outmatched by the most despotic king in history, "and I am not going to make myself responsible for a measure which I do not believe to be demanded in the interests of the country."

Following up this assertion that he believed woman suffrage to be injurious to the women and to the empire, Mr. Asquith expressed his willingness to accept an amendment to the bill for the inclusion of the women. Mr. Asquith well knew that such an amendment was impracticable. A large proportion of members of Parliament who favored the Women's Bill, and were willing to admit one million householding women to the franchise, would not vote for a measure which would at a stroke put the women electors in a majority over the men.

Even Mr. Lloyd George's leadership could not restore to the women the majority that they had been able to count upon for the Conciliation Bill. The Manhood Suffrage Bill was announced as a Government measure. It would have all the advantage that accrues to a bill in the English Parliament through being under the conduct of a Cabinet Minister, through having the right of way over private member's business, and through the Government whips lining up the supporters of the government to vote for the bill at every division.

An amendment to bring women into the bill would have none of these advantages. The Conservatives, as a party, are opposed to the whole measure, and while a few Conservative supporters of woman suffrage might vote for such an amendment, their number would be more than neutralized by the Liberals who either from personal feeling, or in deference to the known opposition of Mr. Asquith, would vote against the amendment. A careful count of the members of the House of Commons failed to disclose a majority for woman suffrage as an appendage to a great measure enfranchising every man in the United Kingdom; and the women were faced with a repetition of the fate they had twice before encountered. In 1867, when the narrow franchise of 1832 was extended to working men living in the boroughs, the amendment for the admission of women was rejected. Again in 1884, when the hopes of the women were high, the franchise was extended to two million more men — the working men living outside the boroughs; but the amendment admitting women, was by the action of the Cabinet ruthlessly swept aside.

Unless the women were included from the first in the Government Bill the hope of speedy enfranchisement for the women was indeed, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, "torpedoed." The apparent concession of permission to amend the bill was wholly illusory, and after the answer of the Prime Minister, there was but one course for the women to pursue. Unless the movement for woman suffrage was to slip back into the condition of academic and fruitless discussion in which Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel had found it in 1905, resort must again be had to the methods by which it had been lifted into the arena of living political questions. However hard it must have seemed to the women who had already answered the question "Do Women want the Vote?" by going to jail in order to gain it, to be again called upon to undergo pain, privation and suffering such as are entailed upon them by arrest and imprisonment, there was no hanging back, and the fact that over 200 women were arrested, tried and subjected to punishment in connection with the raid on the House of Commons of November 21st, showed conclusively that the zeal, enthusiasm and devotion of the woman had not lessened during the period of quiescence of the months of truce.

Not until the ballot has been granted to women will England ever again be at peace within herself, nor will her Government rest upon the only sure basis — the consent of the governed. It is impossible for the Ministers to hope that the movement of the women can be crushed by severity, or quelled by sentences of imprisonment, for the courage, the endurance, the heroism of the women have been tried and tested, and there will be no drawing back from their demand for justice, and for the equal protection of the law for their sex, until these demands are recognized by Parliament and the Cabinet, and placed upon the Statute Book.

The militant movement began in the autumn of 1905. At that time the Conservative Government which had been in office since 1905 was obviously about to lose control of Parliament. Its popularity had been waning for several years and it was the general expectation that at the approaching general elections the Liberals would be returned to power. The Liberal party has always professed a belief in democracy and self-government. Its cry has been liberty and the government of the people by the people. After it came into power in 1905 it was continuously engaged for several years in the struggle with the House of Lords. It was then championing the rights of the people against the privileges

of the peers, who by a mere accident of birth were enabled to rule their fellow countrymen; and every high-sounding phrase concerning human rights and the abolition of special privileges could be seized upon by the unrepresented women as entirely applicable to them — even more so than to the members of the House of Commons who resented the overruling of their measures by the House of Lords.



A Typical Scene.
The Arrest of a Suffragette.

Judged by its principles and traditions, the women had apparently a good basis for hoping that the Liberal party would include woman suffrage in the programme on which the elections of 1906 would be fought. They were, however, quickly undeceived. On the 13th of October, 1905, Sir Edward Grey made a speech at Manchester, and after the meeting Miss Cristabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney ventured to follow the immemorial custom of addressing a question to the speaker. The question was, "Will the Liberal Government give votes to working women?" To

this question the Liberal leader would give no reply, and after a scene of wild confusion, the two women were turned out of the meeting, and once outside, were arrested for causing an obstruction in the streets. For this offence, Miss Pankhurst went to prison for seven days and Miss Kenney for three days.

This was the beginning of the militant campaign. It must be remembered that going to jail in order to win from the Government some right, or some concession to a conscientious scruple, is no new thing in England. The example had been set by the Pilgrim Fathers who refused to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England before the sailing of the Mayflower to a freer land. Every right of dissenters had been won through the painful process of imprisonment. Through the acceptance of punishment and suffering for conscience sake, the Quakers gained the privilege of affirming in courts of law, instead of taking the oath; of marrying and burying their own members in their own way; and of exemption from service in the militia. In the years from 1840 to 1868, many men and women went to prison rather than pay the rates levied for the upkeep of the Church of England, and later still, men were willing to go to jail rather than comply with the law compelling them to have their infants vaccinated within three months after their birth; and also as a protest against paying the tax levied under Mr. Balfour's Education Act of 1902 to defray the cost of religious teaching of which they disapproved in the schools of the Church of England and those of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another point which must be kept in mind, if the English militant movement is to be understood, is that the women were constantly told that they must prove to the leaders of the political parties that women really wanted the vote. How could they prove this fact to an unwilling listener? Education, persuasion and argument had been tried for years. Bill after bill for the enfranchisement of women had been introduced in the House of Commons Many had passed their second reading by large majorities. Not one had ever been voted down; but the Government in power never permitted any woman suffrage bill to advance further than second reading. Enormous petitions had been sent to Parliament; and women had for generations proved their fitness for a share in political power by taking a deep interest in politics. They had acted as canvassers at every election,

and had become recognized as the best and most effective campaign orators on whom a party manager could rely in any election.

All this political activity and serviceable usefulness counted for nothing with the Liberal party when the women came to its leaders with a plea on their own behalf. Women were quite competent to address meetings in order to persuade men to vote for the candidates of one or other party; but such ability was not held to be a proof of their fitness to cast a ballot. It was quite suitable that they should give their work and their services on behalf of a man or a party of men; but to demand a place for themselves in the political system was a proceeding of such unheard-of selfishness as to call forth a howl of execration from the very men who had most profited from the devotion of their women supporters.

The women must find some means of showing that they wanted the vote, and that they were, moreover, determined to obtain it. What better way was there to give proof of their earnestness in their demand than by showing that they were willing to go to jail in support of it? Every woman who had suffered imprisonment because she had insisted on preferring petitions to Ministers, on making her way through the lines of police to the House of Commons, or had picketed through weary hours the residences of the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet, or even because she had flung her message wrapped around a stone through the windows of the hall or building to which all access was barred to her, was a living irrefutable proof that women wanted the ballot; and every sympathiser who subscribed money for the expenses of the campaign showed her endorsement of the demand.

It is impossible here to take in order all the incidents of the militant campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union from October, 1905, to the 17th of June, 1911, when after the magnificent Coronation procession of the women of Britain in which suffragists of every shade of opinion took part, Miss Christabel Pankhurst was able to announce at the great meeting held in the evening in Albert Hall that Mr. Asquith had given his solemn pledge that the Conciliation Bill should be allowed ample time for all its stages during the next session of Parliament. This historic announcement was greeted with wild enthusiasm and twenty-five thousand dollars were raised on the spot for the further expenses of the campaign, the end of which then seemed clearly in sight.

The Conciliation Bill was a measure upon which women suffragists of every shade of opinion had agreed. For a number of years there has been a majority in the House of Commons in favor of Woman Suffrage. This majority has included men of all parties — Conservatives, Liberals, Labor men and Irish. The Labor men naturally desire a democratic measure while the Conservatives do not wish to see a general enlargement of the electorate. To meet all objections, a bill was framed extending the suffrage to women on one only of



Mrs. Pankhurst in Prison.

the many qualifications on which men have been voting since 1885. This is what is known as the occupation franchise. It confers the right to vote on every man occupying a house or tenement on which taxes are paid for the relief of the poor. If this franchise were extended to women and every woman who occupied her house in her own name were permitted to vote, it would admit to the electorate about one

million women, largely of the working classes and chiefly either single women or widows.

From the point of view of the suffragists this was not an ideal measure. It failed to include the married women or the daughters who remain at home. It failed to take in the working women who have no house of their own — the factory workers who board out, or the domestic servants who live with their employers. But it was not a measure enfranchising wealthy women to the exclusion of the working classes. It was a bill which in respect of this one qualification swept away the distinction of sex; and most important of all, it was a measure for which the women knew that there was a majority in the House of Commons.

With the Premier's pledge of facilities for the Conciliation Bill, it seemed as though there was to be no further need of militant tactics. At a word from the leaders of the movement, all demonstrations of a militant character immediately ceased, and a truce was proclaimed which was strictly observed all over England until it was publicly ended after Mr. Asquith's rebuff of the women, on the 18th of November. In the six years during which the women had carried on their campaign, over seven hundred women had suffered imprisonment, many had been seriously injured, and two at least had died from the effects of the hardships they had undergone.

For some months the authorities had resorted to forcible feeding, in order to break the hunger strikes which were instituted by the women as a protest against the extreme severity of their sentences. In England, as in all European countries, respect is usually shown to political prisoners. They are granted special privileges and are not compelled to wear prison clothes or to associate with criminals while undergoing their sentences. The authorities, however, steadily refused to extend these privileges to the suffragettes. They were treated exactly on the same level, though not with the same leniency, as drunken men who create disturbances or destroy property. When they broke the prison rules to which, as they held, they ought not to have been subjected, they were punished for mutiny, and the terrible treatment meted out to these heroic women, as narrated simply and with scarcely a comment by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst in *The Suffragette* is enough to convince the most obdurate sceptic that in England some women at least really

do desire the vote. All this suffering on the part of the women was not without its effect. The country was aroused to the situation and to the necessity of some measure to allay the rising tide of anger and indignation that was sweeping through the womanhood of the nation; and it was generally held that the question of woman suffrage had been definitely brought into the field of practical politics.

In the meantime the Liberal Government and Cabinet Ministers individually, had suffered in prestige and reputation almost as much as the women had suffered in physical pain and in womanly susceptibilities. The great Liberal majority which had backed the new Government in 1906 was reduced in January 1910 to practically nothing, and Asquith only continued to hold office through the favor of the Irish and the Labor party. At the second election fought on the question of the veto of the House of Lords, Mr. Asquith's position was not improved. A large majority there was for the passage of the measure, but this majority was not composed of men who owned allegiance to the Liberal leader. At the time that Mr. Asquith so proudly asserted that, "I am the head of the Government," the government of which he was the head was actually in a minority in the House of Commons, and only by the assistance of his temporary allies was he permitted to retain his position as Prime minister.

The worst sufferers in the Cabinet had been the men who had successively held office as Home Secretary. Mr. Herbert Gladstone incurred so much odium through his support of forcible feeding and his obstinate refusal to acknowledge that there was anything political in the agitation carried on by the women, that it was deemed wise to raise him to the peerage and to send him to South Africa as Governor General. Mr. Winston Churchill who succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Home Secretary was particularly detested by the women on account of his lip service to democracy and his inveterate opposition to extending his principles to the other half of the human race. He began his term at the Home Office badly by giving orders to the police not to arrest the women at the demonstration in November, 1909. These orders were apparently taken to mean that the police might use any violence they pleased against the women, and that they were not to afford them the protection of the law against hooligans and roughs who are always on the spot in London when any

excitement offers. The result was a scene of violence and of injury to the women which was a disgrace to any civilized country, and Mr. Winston Churchill's term as Home Secretary was discredited from its very inception. It was in vain that Mr. Churchill tried to retrieve himself by reforming the rules of prison management and by practically conferring on the militant suffragettes in jail the privileges for which they had struck under Mr. Gladstone's regime. The women were obdurate in their antagonism to him, and at the present moment, Mr. Churchill is about the best hated man in the English Government.

In November, 1911, Mr. Churchill followed Mr. Gladstone's example and relinquished the office of Home Secretary, taking refuge in the lesser dignity of the Admiralty, while Mr. Reginald McKenna took his place at the Home Office. It must have struck dismay into the heart of Mr. McKenna when he found that immediately after taking office he had to cope with the difficulties arising out of the arrest of two hundred resolute women, ready again to go to prison rather than to submit any longer to be governed by a Parliament in the election of which they were denied all share.

The hope of peace and speedy victory for the modest measure of enfranchisement for which the women were pressing came abruptly to an end when Mr. Asquith made his announcement that in the next session of Parliament, the Government intended to press through the House of Commons a bill for manhood suffrage. If all the old qualifications for the franchise were to be swept away, there could be no enfranchisement of women "on the same terms as men" without extending the bill to all the women of the nation. For such a measure the women have no assurance of a majority in the House of Commons. Their friends among the Conservative party would desert them on a bill of this character, and many men who have favoured the admission of a small proportion of women into the electorate are openly opposed to a suffrage measure which would place women in the majority among the electors. The fact that there are in England a million and a half more women than men seems very alarming when it is a question of enfranchising women generally, and there are many among the friends of woman suffrage who are honestly afraid of so sweeping a measure.

It is for these reasons as well known to Mr. Asquith as to Mrs. Pankhurst — that the women felt that they were

being cheated and mocked when the Prime Minister announced to the members of Parliament who favoured votes for all men and women, that he was prepared to give the vote to two million men who had never asked for it, who had not held a single public meeting or sent a petition to Parliament on behalf of such an extension of the franchise while he refused to include the women who had spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in their campaign for the vote, who for six years had toiled and suffered and even died in the effort after freedom, and who had patiently, resolutely and persistently pressed their claims on a Government in the hands of the party which professed the principles of democracy and self-government. Who can wonder that militant tactics were at once resumed?



Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence's Release
April 17, 1910.

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[ca 1912?]

The Plans and Purposes of the Prohibition Party.

By Oliver W. Stewart.

Perhaps no political movement in the history of the United States has been more misjudged than the one inaugurated by the Prohibition party. It has been the misfortune of the party Prohibitionist to be misunderstood by the greater part of those who pass judgment upon him. The Prohibitionist does not believe that you can make men good by law. He does not hold that all drunkards can be saved by a mere legal enactment. He does not take the position that all making and selling of liquor can be stopped by a prohibition law, even with a Prohibition party back of it. He has approached the question from another side. Look for a moment at his real contention. Drunkenness is a prevalent vice. The consumption of alcoholic beverages is on the increase. No clear thinker can see anything good to come out of the increase of drunkenness and the increased consumption of alcoholic beverages. It is universally conceded that harm does result from these causes. It is a waste of words to say that courts, public officials statistics, reports of committees, and everything of the sort, are to be found on record to the effect that the drink traffic and the resulting drunkenness are colossal misfortunes to our people and that they stand in the way of the material and spiritual progress that would be possible were they removed.

The Government's Usual Policy.

The Prohibitionist next observes that the government has a settled, well-directed policy toward those things or acts that harm and in-

jure the people. The government prohibits the counterfeiter, the murderer, the thief, the perjurer, and the like. It is true that its prohibition is not absolutely effective as to any of these. Men continue to counterfeit and lie and steal, in spite of the prohibition of the government. But no one proposes in view of that fact that the government shall change its policy to one of license or toleration. When we think of these things our minds keep clear and work accurately and we see that government is created, among other things to protect the rights, lives and happiness of the people. We know that we cannot put an absolute end to stealing and murder, but long ago it was determined that the government would be false to itself if it did anything less than forbid such crimes, and in the event of their commission to do its best to punish the criminal.

Why An Exception?

This, I have said, is the general policy of the government. So far as I know, except as to the liquor traffic, there is no variation from it. This policy of the government is as old as Sinai. The Prohibitionist offers nothing new as to the saloon. He comes forward with the suggestion that if the making of drunkards, a thing which the saloon certainly does, is harmful and injurious, not only to the drunkard, but to his wife and children, and to society, the state should treat such business according to the same law by reason that governs it in determining its policy toward other criminals. Upon those who oppose Prohibition rests the burden of proof. It is for them to point out why the liquor traffic should be an exception.

Need of a Party.

This brings me to a question, "Why a Prohibition party?" The question is easily answered. In this country we govern by means of political parties. I do not assert that it is the best way to do it, but it is the way that we employ. If a man believes that the maintenance of the gold standard is the supreme issue of the hour, he votes to maintain the gold standard by voting for a gold standard party. If he believes that the greatest question in sight is the free coinage of silver and has determined that he will support that proposition, he does it by voting for a free silver party. If a man believes that the license of the liquor traffic, and its protection by law on account of that license, is an injurious and sinful thing, and if he determines that he will oppose that policy, he can do so effectively only by voting the ticket of a party that has declared in opposition to such practice.

Prayer.

In answer to this it may be said that a man might pray against the license system and then vote as he pleases without reference to that question. But it can be seen at a glance that if he prays for the overthrow of the license system and then votes the ticket of a political party that believes in, advocates or maintains that system, he has voted against his prayer. In that case he does not lose his vote. It is his prayer that he loses. His ballot, which was the one and only thing by which he declared his sovereign will, has been cast against his prayer and his high conviction as to the right of the saloon question.

The Ballot Indorses the Party.

No man can vote for a political party without voting for the things for which it stands. The old parties at this moment confessedly stand for the license of the liquor traffic. The need of the Prohibition party under such conditions is an obvious one. The duty of Christian men to vote its ticket when to do other-

wise is to consent to the national sin of license, certainly is clear.

Cannot Be Right to do Wrong.

It may be urged that the Prohibition party grows slowly. True, it does. So does the church. When all things are taken into consideration I think the Prohibition party might easily stand in comparison with the church on that point. Considering how few have dared to count themselves members of it, how little of means it has had with which to work, the small number of those who are on the platform as its representatives, the general weakness of its press, I think the Prohibition party might court comparison with the church with its tens of thousands of paid workers and with all its machinery well arranged and long in operation. But why any comparison at all? The man who objects to the Prohibition party because it is small, should remember that it is his action that helped make it small, and that if he would join it, it would be considerably larger than it was before. The question of size is absolutely independent of the question of right. No Christian man has a right to go with the multitude to do evil because if he went the other way to do right he would be lonesome.

VOTE FOR:

Chafin and Watkins for President and Vice President;

Calderwood for Congressman at large;

Lobeck for Governor; and the rest of the state and local ticket.

Issued by the Prohibition State Committee, Minneapolis, in behalf of the Prohibition ticket.

[ca.1912?]

Cash Up, Mr. Taxpayer

A Study of the Minnesota Legislative Expense

You Pay the Bills--the Other Fellow Gets the Jack-Knife.

State Tax Rate to be Shoved Up More Than One Hundred Per Cent.
But You're a Nice Fellow,
Mr. Taxpayer—So
Smile, Charley,
Smile!

The Long Prairie Leader Republican edited by Rudolph Lee, gives to the public a statement of the expenses of the last Republican legislature, opening the article with the following significant paragraph:

"What has Brewery domination of Minnesota politics cost the people of the state? This cannot always be demonstrated in figures and dollars but a study of the expense account of the legislature which has just adjourned will give the people an idea of what it means to them to permit the liquor interests to control their law making body.

The facts are shocking. They will lumbfound and appall the most indifferent and calloused of our citizens. The session has been characterized by the most outrageous petty grafting and the expense account has been swelled by the purchase of thousands of dollars worth of unnecessaries.

The legislature bought 1,212 jack-knives at a cost of $1,252.42. That was about half a dozen jack-knives for every legislator. No wonder they cut the life out of all reform legislation! And you paid the bill, Mr. Tax-Payer. You bought 685 fountain pens for them. That would give each legislator something over three pens apiece. You paid $334.09 for their rubber bands. Judging from the way many of them voted there is rubber endough in their elastic consciences to have made a band that would girdle the globe. You paid $96.20 for their jugs and tumblers and how much it cost you for stuff to put into the jugs has not yet been revealed. Their hair brushes and combs cost you $128.55 and you paid $288.75 for their scratch pads, You paid $40.20 for soap and if they had used it to keep their records instead of their faces clean you might have been better satisfied. It cost you $82.70 for paste. It

might better have been spent for starch to stiffen up their back bones.

An itemized statement as submitted by the Long Prairie Leader is as follows:

Here is a Statement of Some of the Totals of Legislative "Expenses" Published in the Editorial.

****

1,212 Picket Knives	$1,252.42
685 Fountain Pens	1,944.35
Ink Wells	280.90
Envelope Openers	105.50
Typewriter Paper	2,110.59
Carbon Paper	956.30
Pencils	51.35
Pins	27.20
Rubber Bands	334.09
252 Scissors	334.70
Ink	130.68
Erasers	116.95
Pen Holders	53.29
Baskets, Boxes and Cuspidors	588.35
Scratch Pads	288.75
Paste	82.70
Rulers	106.40
Paper Fasteners	506.10
Typewriter Ribbon	52.00
Matches and Safes	33.60
Shoe Brushes and Blacking	38.85
Soap	40.90
Hair Brushes and Combs	128.55
JUGS AND TUMBLERS	96.20
Furniture and Fixtures Bought	3,183.25
Spring Water, 3,415 Gallons	170.75
Rent of Furniture and Typewriters	455.05
Law Books, Etc	1.455.90

We quote again from the Leader which is a Republican paper:

"Do you know that the session just adjourned, a session controlled and dominated by the Brewery interests cost the people of the state $349,000?

Did you know that the legislature gave employment to nearly as many clerks and door keepers as there were members and that with the exception of fifteen pages, none were paid less than $5 per day and many of them as high as $7 and $10 per day? (Sundays and no-session days included.)

You know now that this brewery-controlled law making body throttled and strangled about every reform measure you hope to see enacted into statute but did not understand that you would be helplessly forced to pay all expenses they might vote. They took occasion to stock up on personal effects to the extent of thousands of dollars."

If the people want this kind of thing to continue they know how to get it—elect to the legislature again representatives of those political parties that either do not dare or do not care to strike a straight, square, manly blow at the brewery interests that controlled the last legislature. There is not a single student of the situation, Republican, or Democrat, or Socialist, or Prohibitionist, or Mugwump, or political Buccaneer, or political orphan—not one —that does not recognize that the brewery interests dominated the Republican machine in its state convention and in the last legislative session where the Republican party was in overwhelming majority.

Let no man be deceived. The individual members of the legislature were for the most part clean, upright, straight, square men PERSONALLY; but they were elected by Republican votes and not only gratitude but honor required that they should act in harmony with the Republican policy as outlined at the Republican convention in the Republican platform. They were not elected to represent PERSONAL VIEWS. They were elected as Republicans to represent REPUBLICAN POLICIES. We will never get far toward reform until the voter begins to grasp the tap-root truth that an officer elected by the vote of any political party is bound by honor and gratitude to work for the principles, policies and tenets of that party, regardless of what he personally may think. If a man does not believe with a party his remedy is to leave it. Reform legislation will come through a reform party, not through a reactionary party.

We quote again from the Leader:

THEIR IDEA OF ECONOMY.

The House organization gave a concrete illustration of its idea of economy at the time it was voting extra pay to employees. It seems that five scrub women had been engaged to come nights to scrub out after the day's session had adjourned. These widow women on their hands and knees toiled into the night cleaning the tobacco juice, the cigar stubs and the litter accumulated during the day and at the close of the session each put in a bill for the modest sum of 45 dollars for the work. Shocked by the amount asked for and remembering their promise of economy to their constituencies, the organization promptly cut the bill to 32 dollars and immediately voted to raise the salaries of the Sergeant

at Arms to $7.50 per day for the entire session. Only a calloused and sodden brewery-controlled organization could have the nerve to try to make up for its shameless extravagance in caring for its heelers by deducting from the hard earned wages of poor widow women.''

As a result of this extravagance, gentle Tax-Payer, the levy on your property for state purposes will be doubled. If you don't happen to feel like buying fine combs and hair brushes, shoe polish and jack-knives for other people and refuse to pay your taxes, the state will come around and lovingly, but firmly, sell your property away from you; so you better pay the bills. And if you want more of the same kind you can get it at the same place—if you want relief elect to power that political party which has fought through thick and thin with hardly a whiff of victory for forty years for the rights of the people. Its voters have gone into their own pockets and paid its campaign expenses. No brewery boodle or corporation corruption fund was available to it, even if such money had been acceptable to it. But it has made the fight consistently and persistently and at its own cost, and declares in its platform for every important measure defeated by the last session.

We quote once more from Republican authority on Republican legislature:

WILL RAISE THE TAX RATE!

''As a result of the management and action of the Brewery controlled legislature the state tax rate this year and next year will be increased one hundred per cent. The tendency of the legislature for many years in this state has been to cut down the state tax levy, it having been

found that the income from gross earnings, taxes and other special taxes was increasing to the point where this income would wipe out the regular tax rate and render a state tax unnecessary. The extravagance and reckless business management of the Brewery legislature was such that the state tax is to be raised from nine-tenths of a mill to one and nine-tenths mills for the year 1911 and 1912.

So smile, Charley, smile.

It cost you and other tax-payers over a third of a million dollars to get the booze-bossed legislature to kill all reform legislation looking toward the protection of your home; to deny you the rights of self government by even so mild and elastic a measure as county option; or to let the people vote on state wide prohibition; or to give you initiative, referendum or the recall for recreant and criminal public service. (You wouldn't hire a kitchen mechanic nor a $5 a month chore boy nor a hod carrier nor a street shoveler without the right to discharge him if he was unfaithful.) That same booze-bossed legislature extended the patrol limits in the city of Minneapolis, defeated honest reapportionment, packed the Committee in favor of predatory wealth, sand bagged ''White Slave'' legislation, repealed the anti-cigarette law and enacted tax legislation still further lightening the burden of the ''fat boy'' rich, adding to the burden of the honest tax-payer.

Plenty more of the same kind at the old party stand. The St. Paul Pioneer Press says:

''The lesson taught is the utter fatuity of expecting any reform movement to triumph, any success in filling places of honor with honorable men, while the friends of reform

continue to align themselves under the old party banners—banners which are now borne aloft with no other purpose than to use the traditional loyalty of voters to their party as an instrument for furthering the purposes of knaves. The utter disorganization of the electorate, and the disappearance of party lines as grafters and boodlers unite, point to a general realignment as the only cure for an intolerable situation.

This points the voter clearly to the Prohibition party as the proper place to cast his ballot and give his allegiance if he wishes to see real reform.

VOTE FOR:

Chafin and Watkins for President and Vice President.

Calderwood for Congressman at large.

Lobeck for Governor; and the rest of the state and local tickets.

Issued by the Prohibition State Committee, Minneapolis, in behalf of the Prohibition ticket.

[ca 1912?]

Prohibition As A Present Political Platform.

Any question to be of such importance as to be made the proper basis of a political platform must measure up to four tests. (1) It must concern the purpose of the government—the life, liberty and happiness of the people, the establishment of justice, the general welfare, the common defense, the blessings of liberty, or some similar governmental purpose. (2) It must be of such magnitude as to be of real importance. (3) It must be unsettled. (4) It must be capable of settlement.

Questions measuring to but one or two of these tests may properly be in a platform, but may not properly be its basis. The center beam of a real political platform will be found always to measure up fully to the four tests. Take a living and hence dangerous illustration —the tariff. It has been the center plank of more political platforms than all other questions in American politics. Around it have been waged the battles of the past with valor and zeal. Platform builders have laid it as the main stay of their structures, and the level and plummet have trued every other plank to it. but not a platform architect would now dare to line to it, and both of the parties which have been accustomed to forget all else would now gladly forget it.

The reason that the formerly great platform timber has become a cumbrance in the political lumber yard is not hard to find. It concerns to no small degree the purposes of government Check 1. It is of sufficient magnitude to challenge commercial attention. Check 2. It is unsettled. Check 3. But it cannot be settled. It fails at 4.

We have tried to settle it, but failed. Our fathers tried, but failed. Their fathers tried, but failed. Were commercial conditions (with which tariff deals) static, a shrewd mathematical statesman could arrive at a solution, and an intelligent political party could adopt his solu-

tion as the basis of a platform, and, when in power, enact the solution into the law-books and then look for new worlds to conquer. But commercial conditions change, hence the tariff fails to measure to the fourth requisite. It is an administrative and not in its stricter sense, a political problem.

Take a dead illustration—the slavery question. Apply the measure to every test to it, and it bulks full—it concerned the life, liberty, and happiness of the people. Check 1. It was of mighty, moral, commercial, political and social import. Check 2. It was unsettled. Check 3. It was capable of settlement. Check 4. All of which leads to the general observation that most commercial questions are not true political questions because based upon principles which change with changing commercial conditions; hence, commercial questions rarely merit other than subordinate positions in political platforms. Per contra, moral questions which measure to the tests for platform timber, being based on the changeless principles of moral rectitude should and by the voice of history do form the basis of platforms in the real political contest. And no intelligent reader will be long misled by the prominence of candidates, frequency or noise of brass bands, or other ocular or auricular evidences as to the real issues of a campaign. A political issue is vital. The campaign with its beating of the tomtoms and torch-light procession is not. A "wake" makes a mighty demonstration, but its basis is a corpse. So with many a campaign.

Prohibition is the only present issue that measures to the four tests of basic platform material. It is vitally and inseparably related to the fundamental purposes of government. No issue, present or past, has so concerned the God-given rights of life, liberty and happiness, to insure which governments are instituted among men.

As to life, in its coarse, corporeal, material sense—the liquor traffic out-butchers Gettysburg every six weeks. As to life in its somewhat elevated sense—comfort, contentment, hope, cheer; the contrast broadens by ten diameters. As to life in its best sense, moral, spiritual, vital life, a hundred Gettysburgs could not work devastation so damnable as a single night of debauchery. There were 4,000,000 blacks who bore the relatively gentle bondage of bodily slavery. There are probably not less than two and a half times as many who are under the unspeakable inward bondage of the drink habit. That which is imposed upon a man from the outside is nothing. Death, the Leveler, will come at longest and whether good or bad will free him of it. That which is of the life, not merely on the life, is beyond the touch of Death. So when Lincoln compared the slavery of drink to the slavery of shackles he rightly said:

"Herein shall we have a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; in it more of want supplied, more of disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping."

And happiness—no time need be wasted to show how this sweet purpose of government is turned to gall and wormwood and ashes by drink. Therefore, prohibition, as a present political issue, does vitally concern the basic principles of government. Check 1.

It is a mighty problem, mightiest in the sense shown in the preceding paragraph. Yet, financially, commercially, economically (all bearing the $) it over-tops the most colossal of problems.

Financially it represents an annual outlay of more than the total national debt at the close of the civil war. The direct drink bill of the nation for twelve months would lay a pavement of silver dollars twenty-four inches wide, dollar touching dollar, reaching from Hell Gate, New York, to Golden Gate, San Francisco, and the "change" left over would build the Panama canal complete. With this yearly drink bill we could buy at farm prices the annual product of wheat, barley, rye, buckwheat, also potatoes, also at mine values all the gold, silver, and pre-

cious stones; and besides we could pay all the dividends on all the railroad stock, the national bank stock, the total expense of all our public schools and all the pensions paid to the old soldiers.

Another proof of the enormous power of the liquor traffic is that while Teddy the Terrible dares to shake his fist in defiance of every other monopoly; while Taft has not hesitated to bust the Standard Oil and the Sugar trusts; while the scholarly Wilson does not hesitate to fling his defy in the teeth of every other monopoly; not one of these "champions of the people's rights" has dared to so much as give an unkind look at King Booze. They all cower and cringe at the liquor traffic 'that doth bestride this narrow world like a colossus and the craven creatures peep 'round beneath his legs' tremblingly as dormice in a lion's cage.

And economically that money is worse than wasted. "No," says some one. "It makes a market for barley and hops and corn." But the man who would buy brick and mortar and labor to build a dam to flood and destroy a city would worse than waste the money paid for the material and labor though he would make a market for brick and mortar and employ a horde of toilers. Commercially it is a dead weight. It destroys ambition and ability and that destroys productivity, and without productivity there is no healthy commerce—in the last analysis, no commerce. I eschew argument to illustrate. On the banks of the Red River of the North are ten cities, five in prohibition North Dakota, and five in license Minnesota. Towns thrive on commerce and die without it.

Every Prohibition city gained more population from 1890 to 1900 than its license sister had accumulated during its entire existence. The total population of the five Prohibition cities in 1910 was 31,230, while the license cities, watered by the same stream, served by the same railroads and having the same advantages in every way except for the commercial dead weight of the saloon, had but 10,035—or less than one-third the population of the dry towns.

The prohibition issue is a mighty issue. Check 2.

It is unsettled. On this I venture to be dogmatic! Check 3.

It is capable of settlement. Up to this time it has remained unsettled in the face of many attempts of honest and capable people to solve it, and this was probably inevitable. Edmund Burke said with a possible touch of cynicism, "The people never do a thing right till they have tried every possible way of doing it wrong." Yet he shot not far wide of the truth. We have tried to settle the question by enacting that a saloon shall have no chairs, screens, games, or music,—though no one holds that a sitting on chairs, or hiding behind screens, or playing checkers, or listening to music that sends the saloon habitue home to chase his children with a boot-jack, or brain his wife with a rolling-pin, or shoot the stars out of the sky, or the life out of his neighbors. It is not the chairs nor the screens nor the games nor the music that play havoc with humanity—it is the booze.

We have had a singular fascination for every measure and method for stopping the traffic that the ingenuity of the mind could devise,—except to stop it. The bill of particulars would be tedious. Let us consider the two great past prohibition waves, and the one that is now sweeping toward high tide. The first came in the fifties. Its plan was to elect temperance men to the legislature, regardless of party affiliation or policy. It was the first crude attempt of the temperance people in politics, and was so specious, plausible and easy that everybody interested lent a willing hand and seventeen states swung majestically into the dry column at the hands of Whig, Democratic, American and other temperance legislators. The laws thus enacted fell into the hands of Whig, Democratic, American and other party sheriffs, constables, mayors, and prosecutors. The various parties by whom these officers were elected were either hostile or indifferent to prohibition. The infant law was cussed and

cuffed and kicked by men who were good enough in general, but as touching the law were wholly bad. The policy fell into disrepute for want of a political sponsor who wished the law to succeed. Its open and protected violation drove even the better element to seek its repeal.

That every one of the seventeen states staggered back into the liquor column ought to be conclusive evidence of the failure of the policy of enacting a law radically opposed by the parties in power and turning its enforcement over to the officers elected by those parties. Statesmen have never sought to settle even relatively small political problems by such methods.

The history of the earlier "wave," with the laws subject to the caprice of subsequent legislative bodies, led to an effort to rectify the former error by engrafting the prohibitory laws into the Constitution. John B. Finch, chairman of the Prohibition party, Frances E. Willard, president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and nearly all leading opponents of the traffic united to bring about this "solution." It was a mighty battle—"The People vs. The Liquor Traffic" was the slogan, but the real, though unrealized, fight was "The People vs. The Political Parties."

It was with the utmost difficulty, after begging and bullying, pleading and pounding, that the legislatures would submit the question to the vote of the people. Then, when submitted, the leading party politicians like Wm. J. Bryan of Nebraska, A. B. Cummins of Iowa, and John J. Ingalls of Kansas, would take the stump against it. After the amendment was adopted some scheme to thwart the will of the people would be devised. Vide Iowa, whose 30,000 prohibition majority was nullified; Ohio, whose 82,000 prohibition majority was ignored, by the treasonable chicanery of the hostile political leaders. Even when the amendment was graciously allowed to become operative, as in Maine and Kansas, the recreant officials made the law a hissing, a reproach and a by-word in large areas of the state. So again the "settlement" that put the law into the hands of its political enemies and assassins failed to settle.

It would seem that the people need to learn again and again the homely philosophy of Abraham Lincoln, "Our cause, then, must be entrusted to and conducted by its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work, and who do care for results."

It would seem that we have to learn again and again that the mere writing of a law on political questions that are properly political issues, is no solution of the question. The laws will not enforce themselves. "The ax has never yet been made that will chop wood," says President Dickie, of Albion University. "No matter how good the tool may be, it needs a man at the helve."

The good Prohibition axe has been put in the hands of men who not only refuse to use it for its intended purposes but who have done everything in their power to keep everyone else from using it for its intended purposes. The hostile courts have dulled its edge, and hostile sheriffs have broken its helve. John D. Finch used to remark, "A law will no more enforce itself than the itch will scratch itself."

How then could the question be settled? Why not try to settle it the way we settle other political questions? Great problems are solved by framing them into the dominant plank of political platforms, and appealing to the people for their solution at the hands of a political party committed to the execution of the proposed policies on those questions. In other words, the liquor question will be solved when a clear cut and correct policy for its solution is engrafted into a party platform, when that party is elected to power, the law in harmony with the policy is enacted into statute, and the statute is committed to the hands of sheriffs, constables, mayors, marshals, prosecutors and policemen, all of whom are in harmony with and elected by a political party committed to the policy.

The prohibition issue as a political plat-

form demands the prohibition of the manufacture, sale, importation and transportation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. No one doubts that if the manufacture and transportation is effectively prohibited its sale will stop, even if there were no law prohibiting it, because men never sell that which they cannot get to sell.

There are approximately 2,000 distilleries manufacturing distilled liquors. The government holds the key to every such distillery. There are about the same number of breweries, every one of them under close government inspection. To stop the sale may be a difficult thing so long as the manufacture continues, because it can be sold in secret from jugs, bottles hollow canes, plug hats, boot legs, tin bustles and hundreds of other ingenious devices, but it cannot be made in a jug or a plug hat or a hollow cane or a tin bustle. It takes a brewery or distillery with tall smoke stacks, acres of floor space, vast tanks and machinery and coal pits, and other paraphernalia, making secrecy impossible, except for the production in such small quantities as to be politically, economically and socially negligible. Therefore, the question is capable of solution. Check 4.

The liquor problem therefore looms on the civic horizon not only as a present basis for a political platform, but as the only present basis for a true platform. It is the only question void of sectionalism. It is the only question upon which a man dares to make the same speech east, west, north and south, in city or country; and no other question so vitally concerns all of the fundamental purposes for which governments are instituted among men.

Chafin and Watkins for President and Vice President;

Calderwood for Congressman at large;

Lobeck for Governor; and the rest of the state and local ticket.

Issued by the Prohibition State Committee, Minneapolis, in behalf of the Prohibition ticket.

[ca 1912?]

A Socialistic Fallacy.

Our friends, the Socialists, "make bad weather of it," whenever they attempt to deal with the liquor question. This is inevitable since the American Socialist, unlike the Socialist of other countries, has resolutely determined to close his eyes to any rational view of the drink traffic. The Appeal to Reason, the leading organ of the Socialist movement in America, attempts to answer a correspondent who has pointed to the brewery as the cause of poverty and gives its readers three paragraphs that are worthy of study by any one who has been tempted to hope that the Socialist party could be depended on to cure the drink evil. The Appeal says:

"The Appeal admits that drinking is a very foolish, if not a vicious, habit. Some workers no doubt, wrong their families and themselves by spending money for liquor which could be better used for other purposes. It may be also that drunkenness determines in many cases who are to be abjectly poor.

"But if you were to end drinking completely, so long as the capitalist system prevails, there would be just as much poverty as today. Capitalism cannot employ all. If it did, wages would raise to the point where the profits would cease. It is compelled to have an idle army of many millions in this country all the time in order to save its own face. This being true it would make no difference how virtuous people were, there would be no more produced than there is at present.

"Another thing. While the liquor business does exploit the people who drink to a tremendous extent, it is only one aspect of the profit system. People pay three or four times the actual cost of the real necessities of life; that is, for food and cloth-

ing. Being exploited when they work and when they buy, poverty is an absolute essential to the capitalist system. You might completely end the liquor business, but the other avenues of profit would continue exactly the same conditions that prevail today. If there would be any change at all it would be that instead of the drinker being left without a job and utterly destitute, the man who drinks nothing and whose morals are above reproach would then be left jobless and penniless."

Two of the errors in this reply are so glaringly patent that one is surprised that the editor of the Appeal should have risked making those assertions. He says:

"If you were to end drinking completely, so long as the capitalist system prevails, there would be just as much poverty as today."

By no process of reasoning—not even by a Socialist's reasoning—can this be held to be true. Let it be conceded, for the sake of argument, that the "capitalist system" keeps millions of men poor. Nevertheless, if the drink evil were stopped by the abolition of the drink traffic, the hundreds of thousands of those men who now earn enough even under the capitalist system, to provide a comfortable living for themselves and their families, but now spend that money for drink and are therefore in abject poverty, would not be poor, but reasonably prosperous. The capitalist system, continued, would not deprive them of the products of their toil to any greater extent than it does, and, without the drink traffic in existence, the products of their toil would give them the necessities and some of the comforts of life, instead of the poverty to which the liquor traffic now dooms them.

Again the editor of the Appeal says:

"While the liquor business does exploit the people who drink to a tremendous extent, it is only one aspect of the profit system."

The liquor traffic is NOT an "aspect of the profit system," has no relation to the profit system.

The profit system is built upon the manufacture and sale of commodities of value. In theory, at least, there may be a perfectly equitable profit system in the manufacture and sale of the necessities and comforts of life—a system that does no injustice to any one and gives the man who gets the profit but a fair return for his own labor and for the wear and tear of his outfit.

A very large part of the business of the country is today carried on, under the profit system, with honesty and fairness. But the liquor traffic never can be carried on in fairness. It is not business, seking profit, but robbery seeking plunder. It is built upon the sale of a stuff that has no value and carries always with it a distinct damage to the buyer.

If alcoholic liquor were sold, absolutely without profit, as our friends, the Socialists, tell us it is to be in their Utopia, it would still be damaging to the buyer. If it were made and distributed free by the government or could be found flowing, free as water, from springs, it would still be a source of physical, mental and moral damage and ruin to every one taking it.

Right there is the outcrying wickedness of the scheme of the Socialist, who proposes, not to do away with this source of unspeakable evil, but to continue it, under public administration.

The editor of the Appeal in common with the whole Socialist party, is wrong, too, utterly wrong, in his theorizing about poverty. It is sheer nonsense to say that the capitalism is "compelled to have an idle army of millions," to keep wages down. Capitalism would employ every man willing and able to work, if there were demand for the goods he could make. The central point of trouble in the industrial world today is, not the unwillingness of the capitalist to manufacture, but his inability to sell. And the chief cause of his inability to sell legitimate commodities is the fact that the people every year waste for alcoholic drink more than two

billion dollars—more money than they pay to any one line of legitimate business.

If we had the rational common sense to close the gin mill and the factories where alcoholic poisons are made, the money now so spent, turned, as it would be turned almost entirely, into channels of legitimate trade, would create a demand for legitimate commodities that would put every one of that "idle army" to work.

More than that, the ability of the capitalist to grind the laborer down to a starvation wage would be gone; for there are none too many workers in this country to supply the goods the people would demand and buy, if the waste of the gin mill were stopped.

But the Socialist may answer that even that would not prevent the capitalist system from demanding of the people exorbitant prices for the necessities of life.

We need to study that a little. That system of extortion rests upon vicious laws and the maladministration of good laws. These are made possible by the corrupt control of government by the two old parties that serve the liquor traffic and hold power by its support. Let the people put those parties out of power, take power to themselves by the administration of government at the hands of the Prohibition party, give us honest, intelligent, sober law makers and officials, drive out the saloon-fed gang that now control our city governments and the drunken judges that now disgrace our bench, and we shall have such legislation and such administration of law as will make a fair distribution of the necessities of life.

VOTE FOR:

Chafin and Watkins for President and Vice President;

Lobeck for Governor; and the rest of the state

Calderwood for Congressman at large;
and local ticket.

Issued by the Prohibition State Committee, Minneapolis, in behalf of the Prohibition ticket.

[illegible]

The Faith of the Fathers

An Address at the Notification Rally at Waukesha, Wisconsin.

W. G. Calderwood.

There are two epochs in American history, and only two, which stand out peculiarly as eras marked by signal development in the affairs of the nation. During these epochal periods the people have taken new hold upon the vital political principles and have made such strides toward higher civilization through that social agency known as government as to challenge both the attention and admiration of the whole world. Graven upon and cherished in the hearts of the people of these times were those primary tenets of righteous political faith that have been the foundation of this nation's greatness. And the political faith of the people was made whole and effective by works on battle field or at ballot-box, as occasion demanded.

The first is the Revolutionary period—those turbulent days of Franklin, Adams, Washington, Otis and the patriot fathers who composed that school of philosophers who first laid down as fundamental those rugged and revolutionary propositions so faithfully formulated by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that, to insure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We Have Kept the Faith.

And the Prohibition party stands alone as the only political organization which has kept that faith, or has fought the fight for the application of that faith to present political problems. There is not a student of reputation on the continent that dares, or if he dares will be able to defend the conduct of any other political party upon that basis. The masters of no other political ship have sought, nor even suggested, that the prow of their craft should be set toward the ideals of the fathers. They have bowed their heads in veneration at the sound of the patriot names, but their hands have made haste to do contempt to their patriotic lives.

Since a fundamental purpose of government is the protection of life, then the consent, most elemental and primitive statescraft under that purpose consists in the elimination of every agency that destroys life or interferes with its fullest development.

The Faith Betrayed.

Hence, any so-called government that protects under its authority an agency that destroys life is not, in that act, government, but treason to government. And those political parties which, by pretended legal provision, levy public blackmail, or collect public graft under the euphonous misnomer of regulation, sell a heritage a thousand times more sacred and valuable than West Point to a foe to the public weal ten thousand times more cruel, hateful and destructive of our inalienable rights than the most vile and vicious human tyrant ever trampled down the hearts and hopes of humanity. The coarse and bungling treason of Benedict Arnold becomes virtue beside the refined perfidy that traffics in the blood of manhood, the hearts of motherhood, the virtue of girlhood and the souls of all.

The political party that goes before the pub-

lic with its lips dripping the filth and slime of that bargain with hell, proclaiming itself the "friend of the people," betrays "the least of these, My Brethren," with a Judas kiss. Aye, it out-Judases Judas. He flung back the price of blood, and he had the shame to hang himself. Such a party puts him to the blush for it struts about jingling the thirty pieces in its pockets, brazenly begging for more power; and, when it can no longer deceive the people, it uses its guilty gold, stained by the blood and tears of the people it has betrayed, to buy itself the place and power for further plunder.

That political policy which ignores a slaughter which numerically outbutchers Gettysburg every fortnight and makes the horrors of that bloody field smile and rollick like a children's Mayday as compared with the grotesque and ghastly diabolism of physical, moral and spiritual degredation and havoc which the traffic spreads through the land, lacks every element of statesmanship as set forth by the fathers.

And be it now known to all men, and forever remembered by all people, that there is but one political party under the flag that stands for the political faith of the fathers, and that party has named, to restore those policies in the administration of its national affairs, Eugene W. Chafin of Arizona, and Aaron S. Watkins of Ohio.

The Faith's New Prophet.

"Four score and seven years" rolled by and there stood upon a billowed battle field in southern Pennsylvania the tall and gaunt form of a new prophet of the faith of our fathers. Abraham Lincoln brought no new philosophy, but the unfoldment of that laid down in the foundation of the nation. He preached no new faith, but applied the faith of the fathers to the problems of the hour. For God's great truths are too big to be grasped by human mind at once. God uses men much as men use trumpets. Through trumpets men speak truths beyond the trumpet's capacity to understand. And through men God speaks truths which the man who speaks them does not grasp.

Through them He spoke the truth that "all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life and liberty." But in the frigid air of human selfishness that truth froze, like the music in Munchaussen's tale. Man, God's trumpet of truth, in the frigidity of his heart held that, if there coursed in the veins of his brother so much as one sixty-fourth of colored blood, he was endowed by his Creator with no inalienable right. But the hot phillipics of Phillips, the burning editorials of Garrison, the warm pathos of Harriet Beecher Stowe and the sympathetic statesmanship of Lincoln thawed out the frozen melody which charmed the world with a new anthem of brotherhood of man.

Physically Abraham Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation. Spiritually Jehovah God wrote it by the hand of Thomas Jefferson, a slave holder, and gave a nation form and power and vitality under it by the sword of George Washington, a slave holder. But the truth of God was as potent and sure to the salvation of the nation in 1776 as in 1861. Abraham Lincoln, prophet and interpreter, keeper and defender of the faith of the fathers, was a progressive statesman when he applied the immutable principles of government, as laid down at the foundation of the nation, to the vital problems of his day, maintaining that anything that destroyed the life, liberty and happiness of the people was infidelity and that to use the names of the founders of the constitution to defend such institutions as wrought havoc to its principles was sacrilege.

The Seed of Abraham.

And we are the seed of Abraham, for we alone defend that faith.

And particularly are we the keepers of the faith of the fathers, as interpreted by the founders of the Republican party to which its present leaders have been so long and so grievously recreant.

The first President elected by that party had taken the stump for Prohibition before his Cooper union speech against slavery. As early as 1842 he had pointed out that the drink traffic was a greater evil than slavery, and based his opposition to the damnable "business" on the proposition that it destroys the lives, liberties and happiness of the people. In one of his earliest recorded speeches he said:

"Whether or not the world would be vastly benefitted by the total and final banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks seems to me not now an open question."

Eleven years later he signed his name in approval to the statement:

"The most effectual remedy would be the passage of a law altogether abolishing the liquor traffic, except for medicinal, mechanical and sacramental purposes."

And he never wavered in that faith; on the day of his assassination he said:

"After the reconstruction, the next great question will be the overthrow of the drink traffic."

And no man and no party that can view the gruesome crimes of the traffic against the womanhood and childhood of the nation—its destruction of the American home; its bullying desecration of law; its bold usurpation of the functions of government—can view these and not protest with voice, vote and influence to the full measure of his ability—no such man can honor Lincoln. For we honor men by emulating those deeds that made them worthy; not by prating their praise with our lips. Abraham Lincoln stood for Prohibition, and the Prohibition party alone keeps his faith.

Horace Greeley, the Republican party's greatest editor, was a Prohibitionist. He wrote, editorially in the Tribune:

"What the temperance men want is not regulation of the liquor traffic, but its destruction; not that its evils should be circumscribed (idle fancy) but that they should, to the full extent of the state's ability, be utterly eradicated. No shilly-shally legislation can endure, and it would be good for nothing, if it could. Stave in the heads of the barrels, put out the fires of the distilleries, confiscate the demijohns, bottles and glasses that have been polluted by the infernal traffic."

And the Prohibition party alone keeps his faith.

United States Senator Wilson, afterward Vice-President under Grant, said concerning the internal revenue act:

"I would as soon have this government license gambling houses, or houses of ill fame, and it would be just as creditable to this Congress. I believe that such a provision sanctions the greatest immorality. It has been the struggle of the distillers of rum all over this country for a quarter of a century to adopt a license system and get licensed. No laws are infinitely better than license laws and the friends of temperance in this country are unanimous in that opinion."

James G. Blaine wrote editorially in the Kenebec Journal:

"There can be no question that we have a well organized and powerful party with the flags of temperance, freedom and American enterprise proudly waving at its mast. Drive rum as a beverage from all the avenues of society and the tide of national prosperity shall roll on, from generation to generation, while time shall last."

The apostate Republicans of this time deny the faith of their fathers and cover the names of the founders of their organization with contempt with their deeds, while assuming to sing their praises with their lips. The Prohibition party is the defender of the old time faith of

that once great party in the policy of Prohibition.

The People's Right.

But the Republican party gave emphasis to another fundamental principle of the political faith of the fathers. Abraham Lincoln best voiced it in his Gettysburg speech, when he said:

"Let us here highly resolve that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, for the people and by the people shall not perish from the earth."

Government by the people has gone. Not beyond recovery, but it has gone. We have the form, but not the substance. We have the body, but not the spirit. It has gone by the faithlessness of the Republican party to the political faith of its fathers. That every northern legislature and many southern legislatures are absolutely dominated by the brewery is so trite as to lack interest. It is acknowledged, hands down, by everybody. It is confessed, without the accompaniment of a blush of shame, by political leaders under whose leadership the people have lost a heritage for which their fathers gladly spilled their blood and gave their fortunes.

This therefore, is not the accusation of a Prohibitionist. It is the indictment of Republicans to whom have been committed the interests of the people.

The Long Prairie Leader, the official mouthpiece of one of the candidates for nomination for governor on the Republican ticket in my state, says, in an editorial in which it five times asserts that the brewery controlled our last legislature:

"The facts will dumbfound and appall the most indifferent and calloused of our citizens. This brewery-controlled law-making body throttled and strangled about every reform measure, and the people are helplessly compelled to pay all the expenses."

The Minneapolis Journal, the most influential daily in my state, in an article signed by its political editor said:

"In 1907 the brewers went into the political game on a large scale, and in 1908 they loomed up as the controlling power. They dictated the election of a majority of the senate in 1906. At each session they have controlled the house."

The Minneapolis Tribune, a leading Republican daily, recently said editorially:

"If there is any spirit left in the people of Minnesota we expect to see a large increase in the Prohibition vote this fall. Many persons who see no objection to decorous drinking, or even to well ordered saloons, are sensitive to the cynical debauchment of an entire legislature and the corruption of its whole session's work by the organized business of liquor selling. Nobody knows how much the power of the liquor interests contributed to the legislative acts of offense and neglect that made the session a stench in the public nostrils."

The ostrich's wings were most useful to him but now serve him no useful purpose but are used for his exploitation and for the profit and pleasure of others. So our legislatures were formerly useful to the people but they are now used for the exploitation of the people and for the profit and pleasure of the breweries.

And I am repeatedly and confidently assured that conditions in Minnesota are far better than in other states. It was the faith of the Republican fathers that this should be a government by the people—not by a class of the people, and for a class of the people. It would be alarming, and, if the blood of our fathers were in our veins, we would resent the domination and control of any class. If the farmers, the most numerous and most necessary of all classes of citizens, were to gain control of the government and legislate in their own interests and defeat proper regulation of their business, our fathers would have risen against the tyrannical usurpation. Or if the bankers, or the preachers, or the merchants, or the teachers—all numerous classes and all classes whose activities are beneficial to society—if they should gain control of our legislatures and force favors, or defeat control, the patriots of '76 and of '61 would repel the tyranny at any cost. But the brewers, one of the smallest classes, by united testimony make the laws that govern the state and nation. In my state there are 472 brewers and they dictate the laws for the 2,075,000 people. They are more potent governmentally than the remaining 350,000 voters.

The Prohibition party is the only party that has kept the faith of the Republican fathers that this is a government of the people, for the people and by the people. And the Prohibition party is the only party that presents to the people any practical program for the restoration of the government to the people who have been robbed of it by the neglect, folly, or worse, of those political organizations which have been trusted to preserve and defend it.

Keeping Faith Not Enough.

But the business of the Prohibition party is, not only to keep the faith, but to enthrone it; not merely to point out national dangers, but to avert them; not only to propose reforms, but to achieve them.

We have kept the faith; we have fought a good fight, and the hour of our opportunity is at hand.

The broken and torn remnants of the decaying political structures have lost both form and feature. The names, Republican and Democrat, are as meaningless as to political definition as the jargon of a Zulu. Men who think, blush to call themselves by the name of either of the dominant parties. Patriots who are ready to die for great political principles are loathe to bow down and do obeisance to flesh and blood. The long tortuous lingos which the dominant parties dignify by clepping them platforms are either so similar or so meaningless that their partisans can not distinguish them. If the ass and the elephant and the bull moose should get these saddles on which they hope to carry their riders to victory mixed, neither beast, rider, nor public could tell, nor would they care. And whichever of the three may win the race this fall, the liquor traffic will continue to ride in the saddle, and the nominal driver will hang on behind, or, if he bothers the boss, he will get off and walk.

Always the Leader.

In contradistinction to this, the Prohibition party comes with a clearly defined platform of dominant principles, plumbed and leveled to the highest political philosophy and loftiest civic faith of the fathers. It rings true to every purpose of the Declaration of Independence. It conserves the life, liberty and happiness of the people. It confronts the evils of monopoly and demands their sane correction. It has been the clear brained and fearless champion of nearly every one of the meagre reforms that have been wrung from the other political organizations, and introduced to the word nearly every demand of the socalled progressive wings of the dominant political organizations.

It led the demand for civil service reform in 1872. It was the first party to demand that nearly-achieved reform, the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people. It gave the world its first lessons in railroad rate regulation, and was a pioneer in the demand for 2-cent letter postage. Its first platform demanded reform labor legislation and laws prohibiting discrimination in favor of capital. It was the first, and for years the only, party to stand for equal suffrage, claiming, under the Declaration of Independence, that governments

derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

In its platform of 1876 it demanded that government lands should be granted to actual settlers only, a provision most tardily enacted by the Republican party after millions of acres of our public domain had been acquired by land grabbers, an evil from which we are now suffering millions of dollars of loss annually, while in addition, actual settlers are denied the cheap lands that they would now develop but for the criminal policy so long pursued.

The Prohibition party was the first to demand the suppression of lotteries, and the denial of the mails to their use, or to the use of lottery advertisements. It was also the first to demand the abolishing of the electoral college, and the direct election of the chief magistrates by direct vote of the people. It began its crusade against the white slave trade in 1876, or more than a generation before the slow brains and the money engrossed hearts of the license parties had wakened to the need. It demanded the suppression of polygamy in its first platform, and was the first, and I think is yet the only, party to demand the protection of the home through uniform marriage and divorce laws.

It stood for international peace arbitration before any other party, and demanded a non-partisan commission of tariff experts to handle the everlasting question upon which the old parties have kept the people in ignorance and divided.

Nor does that complete the category.

The Hour's New Demand.

BUT all that, even raised to the nth power, does not compass the purpose of the Prohibition party nor justify its further survival. It must bear fruit of its kind in its own branches soon, or Destiny will say to Fate, "Cut it down. Why cumbereth it the ground?"

The business of the Prohibition party is to paraphrase itself into the present tense.

We have been too long laying our plans in the sweet faith that we shall win "in God's good time." God forgive us our tender, trusting blasphemy.

NOW is the accepted time, and there is no other! TODAY is the day of salvation, for nations as well as individuals. It is man who says "by and by." God says NOW.

Our CAUSE shall not fail. A righteous cause is born but to triumph. But the agent of that cause must work out its own salvation.

The Prohibition party holds lease of life, only so long as it can show itself worthy to live. It must accomplish its end or give way to such force, as will, under God, work out His purposes.

The Prohibitionist, private in the ranks, who has proudly boasted that he is the only man in the precinct that votes the ticket, must take upon himself the duty of carrying his precinct against all comers for the Prohibition nominees We must elect men to office, and do it NOW.

We have nominated Eugene W. Chafin with persuasion in his every sentence, with statesmanship and patriotism, and with endurance which makes him the superior of any of his opponents as a campaigner, and Aaron S. Watkins, his peer.

We have elected Virgil G. Hinshaw, with the training of a veteran, the zeal of youth and the fire of determination as national chairman.

We have a battery of platform advocates unequalled by any other party.

We have state and county chairmen, block captains and precinct lieutenants.

We have editorial and special writers of unsurpassed ability and papers of wide circulation.

All Rests on the Private of the Line.

But dismal defeat will dog our dreary march through this campaign unless YOU, Prohibitionist of the line, save the day.

Eugene W. Chafin and Aaron S. Watkins will do their best. Virgil G. Hinshaw will work night and day, knowing no rest. State and county officials will outdo their past heroic efforts for victory. The papers will surpass their former matchless efforts. **AND THE PARTY WILL FAIL of its mission without YOU, Prohibitionist of the line.**

You have been a faithful, persistent, unstampedable, undiscourageable, unswervable Prohibition voter. All honor to you for that. But you have been an unhopeful, unworking, uninspiring, non-hustling citizen. All shame upon you for that!

You are the only man who can set the prairies on fire for a Prohibition victory NOW!

Light your torch and at it!

You are the only man that can start the rattle of the musketry of the battle along the line.

In the name of God, FIRE!

But you put your trust in God, and the righteousness of your cause. Aye! Verily! And so you should. But God has no feet to carry the message of political righteousness to your neighbor, but **your** feet. God has no tongue to talk patriotism to your neighbor, but **your** tongue.

The only man that has any right to trust God is the man whom God can trust. He who hath faith in Prohibition should work for it, for faith without works is a funeral.

Two hundred and fifty thousand voters polled Prohibition votes four years ago. Probably not a less number of women would have done so, if they could. And we have made gains during the quadrennium. If every one of this half-million will do what he or she can and ought to do, the Prohibition candidates nominated at Atlantic City will be elected, and the Scripture of God will be fulfilled—"and a nation shall be born (with a new birth of civic righteousness) in a day, for the mouth of Jehovah God hath spoken it."

And if but one in five of the present Prohibition host will do his dead level best, we shall see Prohibition legislators, prosecutors, Congressmen and governors elected, and a thrill of cheer will animate every patriot, and a chill of fear will shake the uttermost parts of liquordom's hell!

Aye! The day dawns. But let EVERY PROHIBITIONIST furnish some light.

"Behold the dawn lights up the east,
The stars with gladness glisten.
God's better day sweeps through the gray,
Lean out your souls and listen."

VOTE FOR:

Chafin and Watkins for President and Vice President;

Calderwood for Congressman at large;

Lobeck for Governor; and the rest of the state and local ticket.

Issued by the Prohibition State Committee, Minneapolis, in behalf of the Prohibition ticket.

THE FINANCIAL ISSUE.

There is no lower political ambition, that is legitimate, than the ambition for the prosperity and financial success of the nation. That individual or party that cannot lift the political gaze above the sordid dollar is the mucker in civics. The party or individual that will not believe that there is anything in public affairs more precious or inviting than what he, with his muck rake turning over the filthy lucre of tariff schedules, monetary standard and interest rates can uncover is blind to real values and void of true patriotism. Above the fog, and the slime and mire of dollarhood there is the clear atmosphere, the sunkissed vales, the green fields, and the sublime heights of manhood, and the precious real estate of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to him unseen.

The Prohibition party and the prohibition issue is, last of all, a financial question. The party and the issue would stand the same if, in point of fact, it was not a matter which in any way affected the material prosperity of the individual, the community, or the nation.

Yet, as a matter of fact, it is the most gigantic of all financial and economic questions.

The tariff—the total receipts for tariff last year would not pay the liquor bill for 60 days!

Trade with our "Pacific Possessions?"—the value of our entire shipments of goods to the Philippines (NOT the profit on the shipments, —the TOTAL VALUE OF THE SHIPMENTS) would not pay the drinks for the nation for 24 hours.

The railroad rates?—All of the dividends of ALL of the railroads in all of the United States would not pay for our ps and qs for 35 days.

Spending too much on the army and navy—maybe so. But the total expense of both departments last year would not satisfy our craving for tanglefoot for 45 days.

The "Crime of '73?" Our average annual loss on account of selling our silver for less than coining value would not pay for our "eye-openers" for one hour and thirty minutes of a morning!

The robbery of the national banks? Yes! But the total capital of the national banks could be absorbed by the people with the savings of less than six months' tribute to the drunkeries!

Et cetera ad infinitum et ad nauseum!

This is the lowest possible plane of political discussion.

It does not represent the issues of the Prohibition party.

As for us, we have a higher purpose.

But, to him who insists on worshiping at the shrine of greed, here is the hugest altar yet erected to that deity.

To him who from habit or inclination must be a political mucker, we extend the invitation to get into the big puddle! Vote the Prohibition Ticket.

Prohibition Committee, Minneapolis.

I have looked into thousands of homes of the working people in Europe; I do not know how many in this country. In every case, so far as my observation goes, drunkenness was at the bottom of the misery and not the industrial system or the industrial surrounding of the men and their families.—Carrol D. Wright, former U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

VOTE FOR:

Chafin and Watkins for President and Vice President;

Calderwood for Congressman at large;

Lobeck for Governor; and the rest of the state and local ticket.

Issued by the Prohibition State Committee, Minneapolis, in behalf of the Prohibition ticket.

[ca 1912?]

THE MARKET.

The Law of Supply and Demand.

It ought to be reasonably clear that a given number of people with a given number of dollars under the same general conditions would sustain a given or fixed market. That is to say, two villages of a hundred families each, each family having an income of a hundred dollars per month, would, other things being equal, furnish a market for about an equal number of merchants, and carpenters, and school teachers and preachers and lawyers and other like occupations.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science became convinced from its study that the use of intoxicating drinks in a community reduced the demand for the necessities and comforts of life. The Academy asked Mr. A. R. Heath, a statistician, if he could develop a statistical basis upon which to answer through actual experience the query, "How much more employment will a given number of dollars provide in the hands of a sober people than the same number of dollars in the hands of a drinking people?" Mr. Heath called attention to the fact that even in Prohibition states, under our interstate commerce law drinking was protected and largely indulged in and that therefore no community of non-drinking people could be found. But taking Maine as a State where on account of the Prohibitory law drinking was largely reduced, he proceeded to discover how many of each leading occupation was employed in the State of Maine in proportion to the population and wealth of the State. From these figures he established what he called a Maine standard of market.

Comparing other states with the standard thus established in Maine he found by the census figures that in California they had 26,271 less carpenters than would be required by the Maine standard. In other words, the drink traffic in California starves this vast number of carpenters out of a living. In the same State it was found that there were 16,066 less merchants than the Maine standard would require. In Illinois, a rapidly developing State there were 13,040 less carpenters, and in Ohio there were 37,390 less carpenters, 45,180 less merchants, and 23,426 less business concerns, than would measure to the Maine standard. Money spent for liquor will not support a market. In Massachusetts, close to Maine, there were 24,102 less carpenters than would be required for the population and wealth of Massachusetts under the Maine standard, and there were 40,994 less merchants.

Applying the same Maine standard developed by Mr. Heath, to Minnesota, the following startling table tells a story of Minnesota's loss. The first column of figures shows the number in each occupation named which the population and wealth of Minnesota should employ according to that standard. The second column shows the number we do actually employ as shown by the census, and the third column shows the loss we suffer because of the blighted ambition, stifled enterprise, the weakened manhood, the disease and death for which drink is responsible. The fourth column hsows the industries in which Minnesota has a surplus beyond the number which would be required by the Maine standard.

OCCUPATIONS.	No. Minnesota should have by Maine standard.	No. Minn. actually has.	No. of Minn. loss.	No. of Minn. gain.
Architects, draftsmen, etc.	753	399	354	
Clergymen	4,627	2,690	1,937	
Engineers, (civil, mechanical, etc.)	1,711	1,048	663	
Journalists	963	778	185	
Literary and Scientific people	813	272	541	
Musicians and Music Teachers	3,504	1,802	1,702	
Physicians and Surgeons	5,175	2,114	3,061	
Teachers and Professors	27,623	13,381	14,242	
Bar tenders	955	2,572		1,617
Saloon keepers	946	2,928		1,982
Distillers and rectifiers	0	40		40
Hotel keepers	3,027	1,726	1,301	
Launderers and Laundresses	6,080	3,806	2,274	
Bankers and Brokers	2,451	1,999	452	
Bookkeepers and accountants	9,301	5,524	3,777	
Livery stable keepers	1,720	953	767	
Retail Dealers and Merchants	37,196	16,055	21,141	
Wholesale Dealers and Merchants	1,430	1,277	153	
Corporation officials	2,860	2,303	557	
Stenographers and Typewriters	3,328	3,078	250	
Carpenters	38,433	15,191	23,242	
Masons	7,661	4,061	3,600	
Painters	14,113	5,626	8,487	
Plumbers	3,105	1,484	1,621	
Bakers	2,000	976	1,024	
Machinists	9,730	3,628	6,102	
Cabinet Makers	839	651	188	
Milliners	5,108	2,138	2,970	
Tailors	5,427	2,785	2,642	

To make some concrete observations, the young man who wishes to enter the architectural profession finds that if it were not for drinkers and drunkenness in the State of Minnesota we would give employment to 753 architects, but the saloon interferes with the business of home building and business building and therefore there is employment but for 399 architects and the young man's chances are therefore 354 less in this occupation than they would be without the saloon. Possibly he wishes to become a civil engineer. He finds there are 663 less opportunities in that profession than there would be but for the drink traffic. Drinking men are not reading men, hence if the young man wishes to enter the journalistic field he finds 185 less opportunities. Drinking attacks the aesthetic and interferes with every occupation that tends to refine, hence the young person who wishes to become a musician or music teacher finds that there are 1,702 less places open for him. The drinking man permits his wife or his babies to go without medical care and as a consequence the demand for physicians and surgeons has decreased in this State by 3,061. Our young women who wish to become teachers or professors find their opportunities 14,242 less than they would be if the children of drinking men were getting the same educational advantages as those of non-drinkers. and while the starving of 14,242 teachers out of a livlihood is an appalling fact, yet the real condition that challenges attention is the fact that the children which these 14,000 teachers should instruct are going half-educated and ignorance is the cancer of Republics. Then we come to the young man who would be a bar tender. He finds that Minnesota would furnish 1,617 more opportunities than would Maine and if he were to enter the saloon business he will find 1,922 more openings in the North Star State in proportion to its wealth and population than he would find in Maine. And if he were to become a distiller and rectifier he finds that Maine gives him absolutely no chance, whereas there are forty such men in this State.

An interesting side light on the same subject is shown by a study of the homes that are owned and the homes that are without incumbrance in drinking and non-drinking States. In the North Atlantic division out of each hundred people 41.1 own their own homes and 26.5 own their homes free of incumbrance. Of this division prohibition Maine stands at the head with 66.4 of the people living at home and home owners, and 51.9 of these own their homes free from incumbrance. Vermont, which was formerly a Prohibition State, shows 61.4 per cent as owning their homes and 36 per cent of these are without incumbrance, whereas Pennsylvania, a license State in the same division, shows but 43.6 home owners, 30.7 per cent of which are without incumbrance.

In the North Central Division in which we live, the average of the entire division is 58 per cent home owners and 36.6 per cent unincumbered, but in North Dakota the Prohibition State in this Division 78.2 per cent of the people own their own homes and 42.7 per cent of these are without incumbrance. Whereas in Minnesota, a license State, 64.9 per cent of the people own their own homes and 37.3 per cent of these homes are without incumbrance. These figures are decidedly interesting as revealing some of the financial and commercial aspects of the liquor problem.

It may be urged that other causes may account for these results. Maybe so. But drinking liquor never made a man richer or better able to buy a house or boots or shoes or groceries. The dullest observer knows that when a man drinks to excess that fact destroys the market that he otherwise would make for all the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of life. The drunkard knows it; his wife knows it; the town

knows it; the saloonkeeper knows it; the merchant knows it; and no one even attempts to deny it. In proportion as the drink traffic prospers every legitimate trade must suffer.

Do Not Be Deceived.

A Progressive Legislator Opposed by a Reactionary Party is Powerless.

> "When charged with the responsibility of carrying out legislation, then you have **GOT TO HAVE A PARTY BEHIND YOU.**"
>
> *President Taft.*

Hence the legislator who is charged with the responsibility of carrying out progressive legislation might better have a small **progressive party back of him to help** him rather than a big **reactionary party in front of him to hinder him.**

THE PROOF—READ THE RECORD.

In the session of 1909 of the Minnesota Legislature, the insurgent (or progressive) Republicans as characterized by Lynn Haines in his book on the Minnesota Legislature, secured the passage of 18 per cent of the measures which they introduced. The Prohibitionists secured the passage of 22 per cent of the measures which they introduced.

The progressive Republicans had a big reactionary party obstructing them. The progressive Prohibitionists had a progressive party helping them. Hence Elmer Adams, progressive Republican, **experienced legislator,** University graduate and editor of a big daily, was able to secure the passage of no more bills than C. L. Sulerud, hardware man, progressive Prohibitionist and **first termer.** Adams had an **obstructionist party** to hinder and Sulerud had a **progressive party** to help. Kerry Conely of Rochester, progressive, was urged to run on the Republican instead of the Prohibition ticket, because he "could get results." Although very active and very able, he failed to get a single bill past his hostile party. The same was true of Carlson, Lee, McMartin and other leading Republican progressives.

Of all the men in the legislature in 1909, 5 reactionaries and 3 progressives succeeded in getting 50 per cent of the bills they introduced, passed. One of those 3 progressives was E. E. Lobeck, Prohibitionist. The Republican who faces a Republican speaker, seking to get bills passed out of harmony with the Republican platform, will get less consideration at the hands of his fellows than the Prohibitionist seeking to get bills in harmony with the policy of his party. For example, A. K. Ware, an experienced legislator, asked the speaker of the house that every bill he introduced should be returned to him because no bill bearing his name could get consideration at the hands of his party. The reason was that most of his bills were out of harmony with the platform of his party.

> **If you want progressive laws, elect men belonging to a political party that stands for progressive laws.**

THEREFOR VOTE FOR

Chafin and Watkins for President and Vice President;

Calderwood for Congressman at large;

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[ca1912?]

Washington and Lincoln.

George Washington said: "The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists an indissoluble union between the genuine maxims of an honest policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity The propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained."

Abraham Lincoln said: "This government is especially charged with promoting the general welfare. Understanding the spirit of our institutions to be the elevation of men I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them."

Unfair competition, watered stocks, vicious trusts, exhorbitant charges or inefficient service of public service corporations, the waste and exploitation of our natural resources, unsafe and unsanitary conditions of labor, squandering of public funds, unjust and unequal taxation all balk at the general welfare and degrade the people. These are the present manifestations of

the public wrongs which Washington and Lincoln patriotically opposed. And those political parties in state and nation which have been elevated to power by the people, and have failed to give the people protection from these destructive agencies, have dealt treacherously with the most sacred trust ever confided to men.

LOST MILLIONS Minnesota is now millions of dollars poorer, and is still losing millions of dollars annually because of the unjust discrimination in railroad rates which has made the full development of the resources of much of the state impossible—the railroads gain a few hundred thousand dollars, the people lose millions. The legislature persistently defeats distance tariff, which would remedy the wrong. That balks the general welfare, and degrades the people.

WEALTH IN HEALTH Aside from the horrors of avoidable accidents and of those diseases which result from unsafe and unsanitary conditions of labor, the actual financial loss entailed is enormous. To save employers a few thousand the general public sustains the loss of millions, and individuals suffer pain, privation, disease and death. When our legislature defeated the employer's liability act it legislated for accidents, cripples, disease and death, and that balked the general welfare, and debased men.

JACK-KNIFE POLITICS The last Minnesota legislature bought themselves 1,212 jackknives and paid an average of over $1.00 each for them. That gave each legislator about half a dozen knives. No wonder they cut the heart out of all legislation in the interest of the people. And the people paid the bills. The people also paid $1,944.35 for 685 fountain pens for the same members—over three pens each! And this was but the petty pilfering of the pennies from the people's pockets.

ROBBERY IN UNEQUAL TAXES Unequal and unjust taxation costs the people many millions every year. For example, the railroad companies pay the state $1,784,417.57 less taxes annually than if they were assessed the same as "plain people." They thus dodge taxes equal to one-fifth the total cost of the state government. The tax commission states that $40,000,000 of ship property pays the state taxes equal to $2,353,000 property of the "plain people." The tax levy for state purposes will be doubled on the property of the "plain people" in '12. But that will not increase the taxes of the railroads and other "fat boys."

AND THE DOGS All corporations doing business or owning property in this state, and whose home offices are in other states, pay taxes on a valuation of $132,000. The citizens of the state (mostly farmers) pay on a valuation of $254,000 in dogs! But space fails us. This unjust taxation balks the general welfare, and debases men.

THE BOOZE BARONS nd it was the domination of the Brewery that defeated every wholesome measure, denied us every remedy for our wrongs and forced onto the statute books many vicious laws. That was everywhere aamitted. The Long Prairie Leader, Republican, reviewing the session, said in part: "What has the Brewery domination of Minnesota politics cost the people of the state? This "cannot always be demonstrated in figures and "dollars but a study of the expense account of "the legislature which has just adjourned will "give the people an idea of what it means to "them to permit the liquor interests to control "their lawmaking body. The facts are shacking! They will dumbfound and appall the most "indifferent and calloused of our citizens. You "know now that this Brewery-controlled law-making body throttled and strangled about "every reform measure you hope to see enacted "into statute; but you did not understand that "you would be helplessly forced to pay all the "expense that they might vote."

Lynn Haines, an independent newspaper writer, in his book "The Minnesota Legislature of 1911" says: "The brewery combine does not "consider suffrage a sacred thing." "It (a child labor bill) was drafted with special refer-"ence to the 'white slave' traffic in young girls, "and the 'Brewery Bunch' accomplished the kill-"ing." "The Brewery combine is corrupt. "This element probably spends more money to elect 'controllable' members than all the other special interests together." "The Brewers exert an immeasurable evil influence in Minnesota politics." "Obviously the Brewery combine was at that early date arming its legislative agents with arguments with which to oppose the initiative, referendum and recall." "The Brewers fashioned the fight from inception to finish. Their lobbyists in and out of the legislature made and manipulated the combination that finally yielded 62 votes against the people." And much more.

There is only one political party that dares or cares to face the booze bosses in the politics of this state, and give them battle. That is the Prohibition Party. It had a legislative vote of 4,000 in 1902, and raised that to 53,000 in three campaigns. Its members in the Minnesota legislature have secured the passage of more reform legislation than ten times their numbers of the old party members, because they were backed by a party committed to those reforms. It has three times elected a sheriff in Kandiyohi county and reduced crime and criminal expenses to a fraction of the former figure. It closed 400 saloons under the Indian treaties, and is fighting the adverse decision by which 200 of them have reopened. It has led the fight for local option in our villages. It has been the pioneer

in proposing in its platforms and from the stump every progressive measure for which the progressive factions of the old parties now stand. Its platform first demanded direct election of U. S. senators, president and vice-president by popular vote; regulation of R. R., steamship, and telegraph rates; woman suffrage; suppression of lotteries; abolition of polygamy; international arbitration; uniform marriage and divorce laws; destruction of 'white slave' traffic, and other progressive measures. It was the first advocate of such meagre reforms as have been recently enacted.

NEW WINE BREAKS OLD BOTTLES

The old parties will not reform themselves. It would be easier for one to lift himself over the moon by his garters. John Clark Ridpath, the great historian, ridiculed those who hoped to see the Whig party, which was composed of high-minded, patriotic men, reform its attitude on the slavery question. "Vain chimera!" wrote he; "fond and childish credulity to suppose that the thing to be reformed could mend itself; that the abusers would abolish abuse. The world has not yet seen such an example, nor will such a phenomenon ever be seen under the sun." The "new wine" of reform would break the old bottles of the dominant parties.

THINK ALIKE— VOTE ALIKE

But the remedy is clear. Folk, the democrat, and Hanly, the republican, make the same speeches from the platform, write the same articles in the magazines,—and vote opposite tickets at the polls. Personally they pull together. Politically they offset each other. On election day these two live men are equal to one corpse! And in Minnesota thousands of the most intelligent and most progressive and most patriotic voters do likewise. Personally they are a mighty army. On election day, by voting opposing tickets, they are equal to a graveyard! Let Folk (and those who think like him) leave his party. And Hanly (and those who think like him) leave his party. And let them (and those who think like them) unite in a political party whose platform and purposes do represent their political faith and aspirations, and thus become efficient political units, instead of ciphers on election day. Now they throw their votes away. They lose their citizenship. Both vote for what they do not want, and both get it. Every time they win, they lose. By both voting for what they want, both could get that. Then to win would be a victory. And this is the hour of opportunity.

NOW THIS IS FOR YOU

If you are tired of the rule of the Breweries and the Bosses, and would like to see the people again in control of the people's government, and are willing to help to get your neighbors who believe likewise to act and vote with you, write today for a definite and practical plan of action.

VOTE FOR:

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Calderwood for Congressman at large;

Lobeck for Governor; and the rest of the state and local ticket.

Issued by the Prohibition State Committee, Minneapolis, in behalf of the Prohibition ticket.

[ca 1912 ?]

Platform of the National Prohibition Party.

The Prohibition Party in National Convention at Atlantic City, N. J., July 10, 1912, recognizing God as the source of all governmental authority, makes the following declarations of principles and policies:

1. The alcoholic drink traffic is wrong; is the most serious drain on the wealth and resources of the nation; is detrimental to the general welfare and destructive of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. All laws taxing or licensing a traffic which produces crime, poverty and political corruption, and spreads disease and death, should be repealed. To destroy such a traffic there must be elected to power a political party which will administer the government from the standpoint that the alcoholic drink traffic is a crime and not a business, and we pledge that the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages shall be prohibited.

We favor:

2. Suffrage for women on the same terms as for men.

3. A uniform marriage and divorce law. The extermination of polygamy. And the complete suppression of the traffic in girls.

4. Absolute protection of the rights of labor, without the impairment of the rights of capital.

5. The settlement of all international disputes by arbitration.

6. The abolition of child labor in mines, workshops and factories, with the rigid enforcement of the laws now flagrantly violated.

7. The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

8. A Presidential term of six years, and one term only.

9. Court review of Post Office and other departmental decisions and orders; the extension of the Postal Savings Bank system, and of Rural Delivery, and the establishment of an efficient parcels post.

10. The initiative, referendum and recall.

11. As the tariff is a commercial question it should be fixed on the scientific basis of accurate knowledge, secured by means of a permanent, omni-partisan tariff commission, with ample powers.

12. Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes.

13. Conservation of our forest and mineral reserves, and the reclamation of waste lands. All mineral and timber lands, and water powers, now owned by the government, should be held perpetually, and leased for revenue purposes.

14. Clearly defined laws for the regulation and control of corporations transacting an interstate business.

15. Efficiency and economy in governmental administration.

16. The protection of one day in seven as a day of rest.

To these fundamental principles, the National Prohibition Party renews its long allegiance, and on these issues, invites the co-operation of all good citizens, to the end that the true object of government may be attained, namely, equal and exact justice for all.

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[ca1912?]

THE PLANS AND PURPOSES

...OF THE...

Prohibition Party.

By Oliver W. Stewart.

Perhaps no political movement in the history of the United States has been more misjudged than the one inaugurated by the Prohibition party. It has been the misfortune of the party Prohibitionist to be misunderstood by the greater part of those who pass judgment upon him. The Prohibitionist does not believe that you can make men good by law. He does not hold that all drunkards can be saved by a mere legal enactment. He does not take the position that all making and selling of liquor can be stopped by a prohibition law, even with a Prohibition party back of it. He has approached the question from another side. Look for a moment at his real contention. Drunkenness is a prevalent vice. The consumption of alcoholic beverages is on the increase. No clear thinker can see anything good to come out of the increase of drunkenness and the increased consumption of alcoholic beverages. It is universally conceded that harm does result from these causes. It is a waste of words to say that courts, public officials, statistics, reports of committees, and everything of the sort, are to be found on record to the effect that the drink traffic and the resulting drunkenness are colossal misfortunes to our people and that they stand in the way of the material and spiritual progress that would be possible were they removed.

The Government's Usual Policy.

The Prohibitionist next observes that the government has a settled, well-directed policy toward those things or acts that harm and injure the people. The government prohibits the counterfeiter, the murderer, the thief, the perjurer, and the like. It is true that its prohibition is not absolutely effective as to any of these. Men continue to counterfeit and lie and steal, in spite of the prohibition of the government. But no one proposes in view of that fact that the government shall change its policy to one of license or toleration. When we think of these things our minds keep clear and work accurately and we see that government is created, among other things, to protect the rights, lives and happiness of the people. We know that we cannot put an absolute end to stealing and murder, but long ago it was determined that the government would be false to itself if it did anything less than forbid such crimes, and in the event of their commission to do its best to punish the criminal.

Why An Exception?

This, I have said, is the general policy of the government. So far as I know, except as to the liquor traffic, there is no variation from it. This policy of the government is as old as Sinai. The Prohibitionist offers nothing new as to the saloon. He comes forward with the suggestion that if the making of drunkards, a thing which the saloon certainly does, is harmful and injurious, not only to the drunkard, but to his wife and children, and to society, the state should treat such business according to the same law by reason that governs it in determining its policy toward other criminals. Upon those who oppose Prohibition rests the burden of proof. It is for them to point out why the liquor traffic should be an exception.

Need of a Party.

This brings me to a question, "Why a Prohibition party?" The question is easily answered. In this country we govern by means of political parties. I do not assert that it is the best way to do it, but it is the way that we employ. If a man believes that the maintenance of the gold standard is the supreme issue of the hour, he votes to maintain the gold standard by voting for a gold standard party. If he believes that the greatest question in sight is the free coinage of silver and has determined that he will support that proposition, he does it by voting for a free silver party. If a man believes that the license of the liquor traffic, and its protection by law on account of that license, is an injurious and sinful thing, and if he determines that he will oppose that policy, he can do so effectively only by voting the ticket of a party that has declared in opposition to such practice.

Prayer.

In answer to this it may be said that a man might pray against the license system and then vote as he pleases without reference to that question. But it can be seen at a glance that if he prays for the overthrow of the license system and then votes the ticket of a political party that believes in, advocates or maintains that system, he has voted against his prayer. In that case he does not lose his vote. It is his prayer that he loses. His ballot, which was the one and only thing by which he declared his sovereign will, has been cast against his prayer and his high conviction as to the right of the saloon question.

The Ballot Indorses the Party.

No man can vote for a political party without voting for the things for which it stands. The old parties at this moment confessedly stand for the license of the liquor traffic. The need of the Prohi-

bition party under such conditions is an obvious one. The duty of Christian men to vote its ticket when to do otherwise is to consent to the national sin of license, certainly is clear.

Cannot Be Right to do Wrong.

It may be urged that the Prohibition party grows slowly. True, it does. So does the church. When all things are taken into consideration I think the Prohibition party might easily stand in comparison with the church on that point. Considering how few have dared to count themselves members of it, how little of means it has had with which to work, the small number of those who are on the platform as its representatives, the general weakness of its press, I think the Prohibition party might court comparison with the church with its tens of thousands of paid workers and with all its machinery well arranged and long in operation. But why any comparison at all? The man who objects to the Prohibition party because it is small, should remember that it is his action that helped make it small, and that if he would join it, it would be considerably larger than it was before. The question of size is absolutely independent of the question of right. No Christian man has a right to go with the multitude to do evil because if he went the other way to do right he would be lonseome.



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W. G. CALDERWOOD, MINNEAPOLIS.

[ca. 1912?]

A new Declararation of Independence.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for the voters to dissolve the bonds that have bound them to those political parties which formerly represented the interest of the people with patriotic fidelity, but which in more recent years have been dominated by, and subservient to the "interests" that are destructive of the public good, a decent respect to the memory of our forefathers who founded and fought for those parties, requires an open and candid statement of the causes which impel to the separation. This nation is founded upon and dedicated to the principle that governments are established among men to secure them in certain God-given rights, among which are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that these governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. When any political party, in the administration of the functions of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the patriotic duty of the people to abolish that party, and institute a new party which will restore the People's government to the people. Parties long established should not be changed for light and transient reasons, and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing those parties which their fathers supported before them. But when a long and unbroken chain of abuses and usurpations evince a purpose of robbing the People of the government which is theirs of inherent right, and without which the preservation of Life, Liberty, and Happiness is impossible, it becomes the supreme duty of the voters to oppose those parties which lend themelves to such treason.

The ruling party of this state is everywhere recognized to be the serville lackey of the arrogant and domineering breweries. In support of this black and damning indictment let the facts speak: Through its regularly constituted officers the Republican party named the attorney of the biggest brewery in the state as the chairman of the Temperance (?) committee in the state senate; two years later the present governor, then the lieutenant governor of the state, appointed a temperance committee which stood eight to one against every measure intended to protect the Life, Liberty and Happiness of the people against the insatiate rapacity of the "traffic"; the same committe was re-appointed after it had made history that shamed and chagrined every honest citizen and appalled every patriot; the officer who perpetrated this crime against the sacred purposes of government and flung this vile insult upon an over patient people was rewarded for his fidelity to the breweries by elevation to the highest and most potent executive office in the state by a political party which continues to render undivided service to the liquor interests: it repealed the law requiring that the youth should be instructed in the effect of alcohol upon the physical system in order that the breweries might coin the health and morals of the people into pelf and fill their already bloated fortunes; it has denied the people the right of self-protection against the greed of the gin mills by refusing any extension of the rights to vote directly upon the question to the voters of either the rural or urban districts, or to submit the question to a vote of the entire state;—it has ignored the most extensive, general, and insistent petitions that have ever been presented to the legislature; it sought to force upon the people a re-apportionment bill framed with an eye single to fastening brewery control upon the state. In short it has converted the legislature of the state into a biennial brewers' convention and taxed the cost to the people.

The proof of the appalling fact that the session of 1911 out-Judased Judas in its unspeakable treachery of the interests of the people is found in the bitter confessions of the selfrespecting Republican press of the State. Let patriot voters heed:

> "The fact will dumfound and appall the most indifferent and calloused of our citizens. This brewery-controlled lawmaking body throttled and strangled about every reform measure, and the People are helplessly forced to pay all the expense." Editorial article in the Long Prairie Leader.
>
> "In 1907 the brewers went into the political games on a large scale, and in 1908 they loomed up as a controlling power. They aided in the nomination of J. F. Jacobson, and then dropped him cold in the campaign. They dictated the election of a majority of the state senate in 1906, and repeated the performance in 1910. At each session they have controlled the house."—Editorial article in The Minneapolis Journal.

"If there is any spirit left in the people of Minnesota we expect to see a large increase in the Prohibition vote this fall. Many persons who see no objection to decorous drinking or even well ordered saloons are sensitive to the cynic debauchment of an entire legislature, and the corruption of its whole session's work by the organized business of liquor selling. Nobody knows how much the power of the liquor interests contributed to the legislative acts of offense and neglect that made the last session a stench in the public nostrils."—Editorial in The Minneapolis Tribune.

"The lesson taught in the utter fatuity of expecting any reform movement to triumph while the friends of reform continue to align themselves under the old party banners—banners which are now borne aloft with no other purpose than to use the traditional loyalty of voters to their party as an instrument to further the purpose of knaves."—Editorial in The Pioneer Press.

Now, therefore, we the voters of the State of Minnesota, regardless of all previous party affiliations, do oppose and resent these iniquitous and treasonable usurpations of the people's rights and do declare ourselves to be free and independent from all political parties not openly and aggressively opposed to this treasonable traffic and in support of this declaration and with firm reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence, we do mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

These are the brave words of Abraham Lincoln when the slaveocracy dominated in Washington as the boozecracy now dominates.

I know that the great volcano at Washington, aroused and directed by the evil spirit that reigns there, is belching forth the lava of political corruption in a current broad and deep, which is sweeping with frightful velocity over the whole length and breadth of the land, bidding fair to leave unscathed no green spot or living thing; while on its bosom are riding, like demons on the waves of hell, the imps of that evil spirit, and fiendishly taunting all those who dare resist its destroying course with the hopelessnes of their effort; and, knowing this, I cannot deny that all may be swept away. Broken by it, I, too, may be; bow to it I never will. The probability that we may fall in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause we believe to be just; it shall not deter me. If ever I feel the soul within me leevate and expand to those dimensions not wholly unworthy of its Almighty Architect it is when I contemplate the cause of my country, deserted by all the world beside, and I standing up boldly and alone and hurling defiance at her victorious oppressors. Here, without contemplating consequence, before high heaven and the face of the world, I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause, as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty and my love. And who that thinks with me will not fearlessly adopt the oath that I take? Let none falter who thinks he is right, and we shall succeed. But if, after all, we shall fail, be it so. We still have the proud consolation of saying to our consciences, and to the departed shade of our country's freedom, that the cause approved of our judgment, and adored of our hearts, in disaster, in change, in torture, in death, we never faltered in defending it."

"We want those who think slavery wrong, to quit voting with those who think it right."

A. Lincoln

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[ca 1912?]

The Brewers On The Grill.

The saloon was in politics before the brewery. But the brewery, organized into a close federation of late years, has taken over the political activities of the saloonkeeper, as it has taken over his license and his rent account. It has not changed the situation, except to bring scientific management into the problem. The saloonkeepers had a loose sort of organization in cities and towns. They usually acted together in supporting the "liberal" candidate on whatever ticket.

The brewery has extended the activity of the saloon from the locality to the State. It has invented and put in active operation a system. It is not content with Aldermen and Mayors. It demands Congressmen, Senators, even Presidents, to be at its service. It commands the shrewdest legal talent. It hires the slickest lobbyists. It works into the very halls of legislation the cleverest of its paid attaches as members of the Legislature.

It is a great system. If it were used for a great object, it would be admirable. But for what is it used? In order that men may be debauched a little faster and that the manufacture of new drinkers out of young men and the moral slaughter of young women may go on more rapidly.—Editorial in Minneapolis Journal, Sept. 3, 1912.

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The tavern (English saloon) throughout the centuries has been the antechamber of the workhouse, the chapel of ease to the asylum, the recruiting station for the hospital, the rendezvous of the gambler, the gathering ground for the jail. Alcohol pollutes whatever it touches. It enervates where it does not enslave. It destroys slowly what it does not degrade quickly. For the individual it is a malignant disease, for the community it is a murrain, for the nation it becomes a self-inflicted obstacle to all phases of their progress.—John Burns in his Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture, Labor and Drink.

I have no sympathy with the statement, so often made, that the manufacture and sale of liquor has contributed to the industrial development of the nation. On the contrary, Ie believe that liquor has contributed more to the moral, intellectual, and material deterioration of the people and has brought more misery to defenseless women and children than has any other agency in the history of mankind.—John Mitchell, Labor Leader.

"Every friend of the working man will vote against the saloon every time he gets a chance, and to close it up, not only on Sunday. but upon every day of the week.—P. M. Arthur.

A careful scientist has called alcohol the indispensible vehicle of the business transacted by the "white slave" traders, and has asserted that without its use this trade could not long continue.—Jane Addams in McClure's Magazine.

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"This book is a frank, non-partisan review of the Senate proceedings with special reference to the records of thirty Senators whose terms are expiring. As a campaign document it is bound to cut much of a figure in the States where these thirty Senators must seek re-election. It does not mince words and wastes no ammunition."

Minneota (Minn.) Mascot.—"The only place where a United States Senator should be 'written up' is in the Congressional Directory, when he enters the Senate—by himself—and in the Congressional Record, when he leaves the Senate, a physical or political corpse, this time by a duly appointed obituary committee consisting of his friends.

"That is the way to write up a United States Senator!

"But that isn't the way Lynn Haines does it.

"He actually talks about a United States Senator as if he were an ordinary man.

* * * * * *

"His books on the Minnesota legislature are political text books of inestimable value to the people of Minnesota.

"That Lynn Haines' book on the United States Senate is an important contribution to our political literature goes without saying.

"He tells things in that book that every American voter should know.

"The book should be read by every man who has any interest in our government.

"It is well written and carefully compiled and will add to the reputation of its author and contribute an important factor to the distribution of political knowledge."

Kissimmee (Fla.) Valley Gazette—"It is just what it purports to be, a brief but lucid history of the great events that have transpired in the upper branch of the national assembly during the past five years, having to do in particular with the records made by the thirty Senators whose terms will expire next year. In his story of the filibuster conducted by Senator La Follette against the Aldrich-Vreeland currency measure, when the Wisconsin Senator spoke nineteen hours, Mr. Haines relates this sensational episode, which has never hitherto been published:

'During the night La Follette depended for nourishment upon milk and egg from the Senate restaurant. About one o'clock his secretary brought him a glass of this mixture. He took one sip, stopped and said: "Take it away; it has been doped." Then in a lower tone he instructed that it be taken to his office and sealed up. The next day a chemical analysis showed that this glass of milk and egg contained enough ptomaine to have poisoned the whole Senate. His physician informed La Follette that death would have resulted had he drank it all. In spite of this poison in his system, La Follotte continued his speech for six hours longer. After the fight was over he was ill for several days as a result of the ptomaine.'"

GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE

[1912] Russell

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

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

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	" "
1876	Colorado	" "
1877	New Zealand	" "
1878	New Hampshire	" "
	Oregon	" "
1879	Massachusetts	" "
1880	New York	" "
	Vermont	" "
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	" "
1886	New Zealand	" "
	New Brunswick	" "
1887	Kansas	" "
	Nova Scotia	" "
	Manitoba	" "
	North Dakota	School suffrage.
	South Dakota	" "
	Montana	" "
	Arizona	" "
	New Jersey	" "
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory	" "
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec	Municipal suffrage. Single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	" "
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand	" "

On November 5, 1912, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona and Michigan passed constitutional amendments granting suffrage to women. In Michigan the amendment was counted out by fraudulent methods, but it will be resubmitted in April, 1913.

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage. Married and single women.
1895	South Australia	Full State suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	" "
1898	Ireland	All offices except members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax-paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for Judges of the
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage. [Tribunal of Commerce.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia	Full State suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage. Local taxation in all towns and villages
	Norway	Municipal suffrage. [of the state.
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales	Full State suffrage.
1903	Kansas	Bond suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full State suffrage.
1905	Queensland	" " "
1906	Finland	Full suffrage. Eligible to all offices.
1907	Norway	Full Parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices. [had municipal suffrage.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities, and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town coun-
	Oklahoma	New State continued school suffrage for women. [cillors.
1908	Michigan	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers, or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	Victoria	Full state suffrage.
1909	Belgium	Can vote for members of the Counseils des Prudhommes, [and also eligible.
	Province of Voralberg (Austrian Tyrol)	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
	Ginter Park, Va.	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
1910	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of
	Diet of the Crown Province of Krain (Austria)	[real estate. Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	India. (Gaekwar of Baroda)	Women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Würtemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of Agriculture. Also eligible.
	New York	Women in all towns, villages and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage
	Honduras	Municipal suffrage in capital city, Belize
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years

Send for catalog of suffrage literature and supplies. Subscribe for THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL.
Address: NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

[1912]

CHICAGO POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAGUE
STUDY SECTION LECTURE SERIES

WOMAN
and The Home



By Frank H. McCulloch

Woman and The Home

By
Frank H. McCulloch

A Paper read before the Study Section
Chicago Political Equality League.
Mrs. Franc P. Allore, Chairman, February 17, 1912.
Chicago Woman's
Club

Chicago, 1912.

Woman and the Home

There is much truth in the declaration that woman's place is in the home. More than any one else, she makes it what it is. Her thoughtful care, her patient effort, her gentle grace, her labor and love, constitute and conserve what is best in the home. We rely principally upon her to make it what it ought to be. Man has been occupied with war and the chase and with barter. Conditions have been changing, and while we cling to old traditions and cherish old sentiments, we are apt to overlook the effect upon woman of these changes in reference to the several elements commonly thought of as comprising the home—shelter, clothing, food, sanitation, means of access, education, charitable doings, companionship.

Shelter

Woman has always been the chief home builder. From the time of the cave shelter and the bark or skin tepee, through the period of the log or sod house to the era of the more modern rural dwelling, her labor and will have been potent in determining what the home should be.

But we are becoming more urban. The cottage is giving way to the apartment house. Dwellings are not now so much what the individual or the family wills, as what the community determines. Woman formerly advised as to the best site for securing the desired sunshine and air. Now the quantity of sunshine and air are regulated by ordinances controlling the portion of the lot that may be covered by buildings and the amount of darkness that

may be produced by smoke of locomotive or factory. Our grandmothers made or selected the candles and thus determined the quality of the light in their homes at night. We rely upon the city council to fix the candle power and price of our gas light.

Primitive woman gathered and brought the fuel to warm the home. We are beginning to be warmed from great central heating-plants operating under municipal grants. The housewife formerly sent the ashes to the leach or other place of disposal. Now the ward superintendent controls their taking away.

Where dwellings were isolated each must protect his own from destruction by fire, but in the cities where so large a proportion of the people now live, protection from fire is largely dependent upon the fire departments of the city governments.

Woman's sphere—the home—has been expanding. It is no longer contained within the four walls of the dwelling. By her individual efforts, alone, woman can no longer determine the character of the home. The community controls in many things, and the community acts chiefly by political machinery. The will of the individual is expressed by ballot. If woman is to continue to have the influence in the home which she has had in the past, she must share in the political power which now controls what used to be her individual dominion. Otherwise the rights given her by nature have been wrested from her by the government.

Clothing

Primitive woman was weaver and skin-dresser. We go back hardly farther than to the time of our grandmothers to find women in the home doing most of the spinning and weaving for the clothing of the family. They also dyed the cloth and made it up into garments. Now factory and shop control these manufactures.

"Ready-to-wear" clothing is obtained from the department store. If it is to be of honest texture, if it is to be free from contagious disease germs, some governmental supervision is necessary. The individual housewife, however capable, can no longer control the quality or healthfulness of the clothing of the family. Its price depends largely upon the tariff, concerning which she has no voice.

Women who are fortunate enough to be able to go to Europe, upon returning, have it strikingly impressed upon their minds how the government affects the price of clothing, as they pay tariff-duties of 50%, 80% and 100%. When women buy imported goods here, they must pay tariffs, and even when they pay for domestic goods the manufacturer will be found to have charged more because the tariff has barred competition. So while no law in terms forbids a woman who is earning $6.00 a week from having two woolen dresses, yet by the governmental tariff making her cloth cost twice as much as it should, she is practically denied this opportunity. So government controls this clothing matter over which as mother of the family she is supposed to have full authority.

If her "sphere" be limited to the home in the old acceptation of that term, then these matters of clothing which were con-

trolled by our grandmothers have been taken away from present-day women and turned over to men. Unless the power and duties of men in the home are to be increased and those of the women diminished, the changing conditions must be recognized and women must be given a share in whatever power or authority affects the home.

Food

We men still tell stories of getting into mother's jam when we were boys. But few mothers make jam now. The canning and preserving factories supply what we have, even if it is not just like what mother used to make. Who of the growing generation know what a smoke-house was for? Reading the signs of the times we know that packers make hams and bacon, but how they are "cured" few but government inspectors know. Once the "queen of the home" controlled what was put into the can; now the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture (or perhaps McCabe) governs. When conditions were rural, water used to be drawn from spring or well, and woman's voice could be heard in warning against its contamination; now a large proportion of the

people depend upon the City Council to pump the water and to protect it from sewage and other filth. In cities like Chicago, where water should be abundant, there are large sections where for long times in summer there is water famine in the homes that are above the second floor.

Some women still milk the cows and so control the quality of the milk that is given to the children in the home, but many more are dependent for its purity upon the work of government inspectors who examine for tubercle bacilli or harmful preservatives. If women are to have no voice in the selection or control of these inspectors and other officers upon whom depends the purity and wholesomeness of our food and drink, how can women make the home what it ought to be? If governmental agencies control home affairs, then in order to be able to do her share in the home woman must share in the selection and management of those governmental agencies.

Sanitation

Where homes are so situated that each home maker can keep her own home isolated, clean and healthful, there women are thought most responsible for sanitary conditions. But there is less isolation. There are neighborhoods in Chicago where vermin are so prevalent that no one dwelling can be kept free from them. Garbage heaps and manure piles are so common in some sections that disease-carrying flies are a common scourge. The individual housewife can no longer dispose of her own sewage or refuse. The individual, however cleanly and careful, may be helpless against the careless spreading by others of contagious and infectious diseases. No effort of any one family is sufficient to protect it against insanitary surroundings. Community action is required. The

method of registering community action is by the ballot. If women are to have power to ward off preventable disease that may only be repressed by the community, they must have power to affect community action; they must have the ballot.

Means of Access

In primitive times grown people walked and babies were carried on their mothers' backs. In rural conditions the site of the home is usually near the place of the family occupations, but as population increases and industrial and economic conditions become more complicated, the home is likely to be farther removed from the family activities. The husband and older children may be forced to go many miles to their work, and even the younger children may be obliged to go considerable distances to school. If these trips be slow, they diminish the time for family life to-

gether in the home; if they be expensive, they diminish the family savings. Transportation is largely controlled by municipal grants. The will of the individual concerning these grants or franchises upon which so much of the comfort of the home depends, is expressed by the ballot. If woman's voice is to be heard in the matter, she must have the ballot.

Education

Time was when the parents gave their children the greater part of their instruction in the homes. Now the public school undertakes to do most of the educating of our children. In these educational matters people have been quicker to see that under these new conditions women need political power to properly perform their educational functions that were formerly conducted within the home. In twenty-six states of our Union women have some form of school suffrage.

In all our states women have been required to pay taxes to support the schools all the way along from kindergarten to university. Women form the greater proportion of the teaching force.

Questions of the school curriculum, a whole or a half seat for each child, the common drinking cup, vocational training, physical culture, music, school buildings as neighborhood centers, all these are women's problems and unless women vote they cannot express their views with any effectiveness.

Charity

From the home in olden times came the charity which was the joy of the generous woman. She attended not only those of her own household who were ill or infirm, weak in body or mind, but she gave to the poor who came to the door shelter

and food, and whatever the benevolent woman could spare. To the neighbor in sudden pain, she went as nurse or midwife. When a family was bereft of parents, the children were divided among the neighbors.

But charity is not now dispensed so much from the home. The president of the County Board, the Poormaster, the Supervisor, the State Institutions, are the modern administrators of our charities.

The blind, the feeble-minded, the tuberculous, the insane and the deaf do not now travel from door to door asking alms. They are cared for collectively by the State or County. Orphans are adopted only by State Authority. This work of caring for those who need charity, conducted under the systematic, more economical, more efficient modern methods, should be as much within woman's control today as it was one hundred years ago. It was home work, woman's work one hundred

years ago. Charity still needs woman's appreciation for detail, woman's tenderness, woman's devotion.

Would women have an opinion as to whether or not Peter Bartzen shall continue at the head of our County Institutions?

Modern charity fails because women have not been able through the ballot to control the charity-dispensing officials. This charity work now made the work of government is still woman's work, even if carried on outside the home.

Companionship

More essential to a home than any of the material things that might be mentioned is the *camaraderie* of kindred spirits. It is possible to have a close relation between superior and dependent, but that intimate companionship, and cordial fellowship which is the chief joy of a home

comes only in the atmosphere of equality where neither looks down upon the other as an inferior—and neither feels that he or she is arbitrarily deprived of anything which the other has. Common interests, common rights, close companionship in thought and action, similar intellectual development, and mutual respect, develop love, without which there can be no real home.

Political inferiority is not conducive to the respect which wife and mother ought to receive in the home. Women may submit to being classed politically with criminals and idiots who are also disfranchised, but such classification and submission do not make for good fellowship and love.

Some women are deceived by flattering statements that they are more lovely when helpless than when independent. It is true there is a certain charm in weak helplessness. The father feels it when he carries

his feeble, dependent first born in his strong arms. But if month after month found his baby still as dependent and feeble he would be alarmed, and fear his cherished one was an imbecile. Instead, he welcomes each day's added strength and vigor, the independence of the chubby feet, the increasing deftness of the tiny hands and the flood of questions from the awakening brain. Year after year the father grows more proud and happy as his son or daughter grows into a companion and an equal. He would not exchange this boy or girl for any tiny baby, and yet he has felt both kinds of charm. It is the same with respect to his wife. He knows the woman sex has been in bondage many centuries. He knows that many women bear marks of centuries of enforced inferiority and subjection. All the chivalry of his nature may answer to the call of her helplessness. But having helped her, why should any sane man want her to stay helpless? The average man does not want

his wife to be a perpetual baby in an unlimited childhood. He wants her to grow up. If he married her when she was in the childhood stage, he surely wants her to keep ahead of her children, and he will take as much pride in her achievements as in his own.

Today, to meet the need of the average husband for intellectual companionship, the woman must keep informed on current events, politics and things which interest men. She may need to go out of the home to do so. Even if the home is the chief object of her care and thought, she must have a broad outlook to do her best for the home. She may need to go far afield to hunt for honey from a variety of flowers, but straight back to the hive she flies when she is laden with her precious store.

There is a sense in which it is true that woman's place is in the home, but that is in no restricted sense. Her place is wher-

ever the home is—within the dwelling, outside the dwelling in the community which surrounds and so intimately affects it, in the state and nation which, by their laws, so powerfully control it, in education, in religion, in charity, in politics which so directly influence it.

The home is expanding and with its growth there comes the need of extending woman's influence for it, to the limits of its confines. No one says woman's sphere is part of the home, but many overlook the fact that the home extends far beyond the four walls of the dwelling place. The most potent influence upon the home, outside the immediate dwelling, is the ballot. Women should have the ballot.

[1912]

Shall Women Have the Right to Vote?

ADDRESS

BY

WENDELL PHILLIPS

AT

WORCESTER, MASS.

1851

Republished By

THE EQUAL FRANCHISE SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

1912

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FOREWORD.

A CHINESE philosopher, a disciple of Laotse, once said: "Man is like a child born at midnight who when he sees the sunrise, thinks there was no yesterday." There are many persons in the community even today, who regard the present movement in favor of equal suffrage as a transitory, hysterical agitation of a demagogic nature, of which the impulse has been received in the United States from the outbreaks of militant partisans in England. In the minds of these persons, the movement in the past is vaguely associated with eccentric clothing and more or less ridicule; in the present, with the restlessness of what is regarded as an unwomanly demonstration.

While believers in equal suffrage in this country have taken advantage of the interest aroused in every part of the world by the news from the militant suffragists of England, the movement can claim a respectable history and a fairly long pedigree. If in the last century the pioneers in the demand for "Women's Rights" in England found strength in the support of such men as John Stuart Mill, their American sisters found among others an outspoken champion in another clear thinker—Wendell Phillips. While the progress made toward legal equality since he raised his voice against the unfairness and inconsistency of the law, has made a few of his remarks seem obsolete, it seems as though those very steps of progress were worth bringing forward at this time—if only to measure the ground covered since those days, thus pointing

out a hope for the future. It took fifty-five years to establish the principal of equal guardianship of children in Massachusetts, and somewhat less time in Pennsylvania. In Maryland it does not yet exist. But the principle of equality has at last been established to that extent. Progress is slow; the rate of its speed however is perceptibly increasing. The principle of equality is generally admitted—the question of expediency still faces us.

In reprinting Wendell Phillips' admirable address, the intention therefore, is to make clear the relation of the present movement to its historical background. While listening to the words of the strong man who, in 1851, had the courage to support an unpopular cause in the interest of justice and fair play, it is hoped that encouragement will be given to those who today are fighting in the ranks.

S. Y. S.

EXTRACT

FROM

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS' EULOGY ON WENDELL PHILLIPS

BEFORE THE

MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES OF BOSTON, APRIL 18, 1884.

HIS powerful presentation of the justice and reason of the political equality of women, at Worcester, in 1851, more than any other single impulse, launched that question upon the sea of popular controversy. In the general statement of principle nothing has been added to that discourse; in vivid and effective eloquence of advocacy it has never been surpassed. All the arguments for independence echoed John Adams in the Continental Congress. All the pleas for applying the American principle of representation to the wives and mothers of American citizens echo the eloquence of Wendell Phillips at Worcester.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

This speech was made at a Convention held at Worcester, on the 15th and 16th of October, 1851, upon the following resolutions, which were offered by Mr. Phillips:—

"1. *Resolved,* That while we would not undervalue other methods, the right of suffrage for women is, in our opinion, the corner-stone of this enterprise, since we do not seek to protect woman, but rather to place her in a position to protect herself.

"2. *Resolved,* That it will be woman's fault if, the ballot once in her hand, all the barbarous, demoralizing, and unequal laws relating to marriage and property do not speedily vanish from the statute book; and while we acknowledge that the hope of a share in the higher professions and profitable employments of society is one of the strongest motives to intellectual culture, we know, also, that an interest in political questions is an equally powerful stimulus; and we see, beside, that we do our best to insure education to an individual, when we put the ballot into his hands; it being so clearly the interest of the community that one upon whose decisions depend its welfare and safety should both have free access to the best means of education, and be urged to make use of them.

"3. *Resolved,* That we do not feel called upon to assert or establish the equality of the sexes, in an intellectual or any other point of view. It is enough for our argument that natural and political justice, and the axioms of English and American liberty, alike determine that rights and burdens, taxation and representation, should be coextensive; hence women, as individual citizens, liable to punishment for acts which the laws call criminal, or to be taxed in their labor and property for the support of government, have a self-evident and indisputable right, identically the same right that men have, to a direct voice in the enactment of those laws and the formation of that government.

"4. *Resolved,* That the democrat, or reformer, who denies suffrage to women, is a democrat only because he was not born a noble,

and one of those levellers who are willing to level only down to themselves.

"5. *Resolved,* That while political and natural justice accord civil equality to woman; while great thinkers of every age, from Plato to Condorcet and Mill, have supported their claim; while voluntary associations, religious and secular, have been organized on this basis—there is yet a favorite argument against it, that no political community or nation ever existed in which women have not been in a state of political inferiority. But, in reply, we remind our opponents that the same fact has been alleged, with equal truth, in favor of slavery; has been urged against freedom of industry, freedom of conscience, and the freedom of the press; none of these liberties having been thought compatible with a well-ordered state, until they had proved their possibility by springing into existence as facts. Besides, there is no difficulty in understanding why the subjection of woman has been a *uniform custom,* when we recollect that we are just emerging from the ages in which *might* has been always right.

"6. *Resolved,* That, so far from denying the overwhelming social and civil influence of women, we are fully aware of its vast extent; aware, with Demosthenes, that 'measures which the statesman has meditated a whole year may be overturned in a day by a woman'; and for this very reason we proclaim it the very highest expediency to endow her with full civil rights, since only then will she exercise this mighty influence under a just sense of her duty and responsibility; the history of all ages bearing witness that the only safe course for nations is to add open responsibility wherever there already exists unobserved power.

"7. *Resolved,* That we deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion, or of any individual to decide for another individual, what is and what is not its 'proper sphere'; that the proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest to which they are able to attain; what this is cannot be ascertained without complete liberty of choice; woman, therefore, ought to choose for herself what sphere she will fill, what education she will seek, and what employment she will follow; and not be held bound to accept, in submission, the rights, the education, and the sphere which man thinks proper to allow her.

"8. *Resolved,* That we hold these truths to be self-evident: 'That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments

are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed'; and we charge that man with gross dishonesty or ignorance who shall contend that 'men,' in the memorable document from which we quote, does not stand for the human race; that 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' are the 'inalienable rights' of *half* only of the human species; and that, by 'the governed,' whose consent is affirmed to be the only source of just power, is meant that *half* of mankind only who, in relation to the other, have hitherto assumed the character of *governors.*

"9. *Resolved,* That we see no weight in the argument, that it is necessary to exclude women from civil life because domestic cares and political engagements are incompatible; since we do not see the fact to be so in the case of man; and because if the incompatibility be real, it will take care of itself, neither men nor women needing any law to exclude them from an occupation when then have undertaken another incompatible with it. Second, we see nothing in the assertion that women themselves do not desire a change, since we assert that superstitious fears, and dread of losing men's regard, smother all frank expression on this point; and further, if it be their real wish to avoid civil life, laws to keep them out of it are absurd, no legislator having ever yet thought it necessary to compel people by law to follow their own inclination.

"10. *Resolved,* That it is as absurd to deny all women their civil rights because the cares of household and family take up all the time of some, as it would be to exclude the whole male sex from Congress, because some men are sailors, or soldiers, in active service, or merchants, whose business requires all their attention and energies."

IN drawing up some of these resolutions, I have used, very freely, the language of a thoughtful and profound article in the *Westminster Review.* It is a review of the proceedings of our recent Convention in this city, and states with singular clearness and force the leading arguments for our reform, and the grounds of our claim in behalf of woman.

I rejoice to see so large an audience gathered to consider this momentous subject. It was well described by Mrs. Rose

as the most magnificent reform that has yet been launched upon the world. It is the first organized protest against the injustice which has brooded over the character and the destiny of one-half of the human race. Nowhere else, under any circumstances, has a demand ever yet been made for the liberties of one whole half of our race. It is fitting that we should pause and consider so remarkable and significant a circumstance; that we should discuss the question involved with the seriousness and deliberation suitable to such an enterprise. It strikes, indeed, a great and vital blow at the whole social fabric of every nation; but this, to my mind, is no argument against it. The time has been when it was the duty of the reformer to show cause why he appeared to disturb the quiet of the world. But during the discussion of the many reforms that have been advocated, and which have more or less succeeded, one after another,—freedom of the lower classes, freedom of food, freedom of the press, freedom of thought, reform in penal legislation, and a thousand other matters,—it seems to me to have been proved conclusively, that government commenced in usurpation and oppression; that liberty and civilization, at present, are nothing else than the fragments of rights which the scaffold and the stake have wrung from the strong hands of the usurpers. Every step of progress the world has made has been from scaffold to scaffold, and from stake to stake. It would hardly be exaggeration to say, that all the great truths relating to society and government have been first heard in the solemn protests of martryed patriotism, or the loud cries of crushed and starving labor. The law has been always wrong. Government began in tyranny and force, began in the feudalism of the soldier and the bigotry of the priest; and the ideas of justice and humanity have been fighting their way, like a thunder storm, against the organized selfishness of human nature.

And this is the last great protest against the wrong of ages. It is no argument to my mind, therefore, that the old social fabric of the past is against us.

Neither do I feel called upon to show what woman's proper sphere is. In every great reform, the majority have always said to the claimant, no matter what he claimed, "You are not fit for such a privilege." Luther asked of the Pope liberty for the masses to read the Bible. The reply was, that it would not be safe to trust the common people with the word of God. "Let them try!" said the great reformer; and the history of three centuries of development and purity proclaims the result. They *have* tried; and look around you for the consequences. The lower classes in France claimed their civil rights,—the right to vote, and to direct representation in the government; but the rich and lettered classes, the men of cultivated intellects, cried out, "You cannot be made fit." The answer was, "Let us try." That France is not, as Spain, utterly crushed beneath the weight of a thousand years of misgovernment, is the answer to those who doubt the ultimate success of this experiment.

Woman stands now at the same door. She says, "You tell me I have no intellect: give me a chance. You tell me I shall only embarrass politics: let me try." The only reply is the same stale argument that said to the Jews of Europe, "You are fit only to make money; you are not fit for the ranks of the army or the halls of Parliament." How cogent the eloquent appeal of Macaulay,—"What right have we to take this question for granted? Throw open the doors of this House of Commons, throw open the ranks of the imperial army, before you deny eloquence to the countrymen of Isaiah or valor to the descendants of the Maccabees." It is the same now with us. Throw open the doors of Congress, throw open those court-houses, throw wide open the doors of

your colleges, and give to the sisters of the Motts and the Somervilles the same opportunities for culture that men have, and let the result prove what their capacity and intellect really are. When, I say, woman has enjoyed, for as many centuries as we have, the aid of books, the discipline of life, and the stimulus of fame, it will be the time to begin the discussion of these questions.—"What is the intellect of woman?" "Is it equal to that of man?" Till then, all such discussion is mere beating of the air.

While it is doubtless true that great minds, in many cases, make a way for themselves, spite of all obstacles, yet who knows how many Miltons have died "mute and inglorious?" However splendid the natural endowment, the discipline of life, after all, completes the miracle. The ability of Napoleon,—what was it? It grew out of the hope to be Cæsar or Marlborough,—out of Austerlitz and Jena,—out of his battle-fields, his throne, and all the great scenes of that eventful life. Open to women the same scenes, immerse her in the same great interests and pursuits, and if twenty centuries shall not produce a woman Charlemagne or Napoleon, fair reasoning will then allow us to conclude that there is some distinctive peculiarty in the intellects of the sexes. Centuries alone can lay any fair basis for argument. I believe that, on this point, there is a shrinking consciousness of not being ready for the battle, on the part of *some* of the stronger sex, as they call themselves; a tacit confession of risk to this imagined superiority, if they consent to meet their sisters in the lecture-hall or the laboratory of science. My proof of it is this: that the mightiest intellects of the race, from Plato down to the present time, some of the rarest minds of Germany, France and England, have successively yielded their assent to the fact that woman is, not perhaps identically, but equally, endowed with man in all intellectual

capabilities. It is generally the second-rate men who doubt,—doubt, perhaps, because they fear a fair field:

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who fears to put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all."

But I wish especially to direct your attention to the precise principle which this movement undertakes to urge upon the community. We do not attempt to settle what shall be the profession, education, or employment of woman. We have not that presumption. What we ask is simply this,—what all other classes have asked before: Leave it to woman to choose for herself her profession, her education, and her sphere. We deny to any portion of the species the right to prescribe to any other portion its sphere, its education, or its rights. We deny the right of any individual to prescribe to any other individual his amount of education, or his rights. The sphere of each man, of each woman, of each individual, is that sphere which he can, with the highest exercise of his powers, perfectly fill. The highest act which the human being can do, that is the act which God designed him to do. All that woman asks through this movement is, to be allowed to prove what she can do; to prove it by liberty of choice, by liberty of action, the only means by which it ever can be settled how much and what she can do. She can reasonably say to us: "I have never fathomed the depths of science; you have taught that it was unwomanly, and have withdrawn from me the means of scientific culture. I have never equalled the eloquence of Demosthenes; but you have never quickened my energies by holding up before me the crown and robe of glory, and the gratitude which I was to win. The tools, now, to him or her who can use them. Welcome me, henceforth, brother, to your arena; and let facts—not theories—settle my capacity, and therefore my sphere."

We are not here tonight to assert that woman will enter the lists and conquer; that she will certainly achieve all that man has achieved; but this we say, "Clear the lists, and let her try." Some reply, "It will be a great injury to feminine delicacy and refinement for woman to mingle in business and politics." I am not careful to answer this objection. Of all such objections, on this and kindred subjects, Mrs. President, I love to dispose in some such way as this: The broadest and most far-sighted intellect is utterly unable to foresee the ultimate consequences of any great social change. Ask yourself, on all such occasions, if there be any element of right and wrong in the question, any principle of clear natural justice that turns the scale. If so, take your part with the perfect and abstract right, and trust God to see that it shall prove the expedient. The questions, then, for me, on this subject, are these: Has God made woman capable—morally, intellectually, and physically—of taking this part in human affairs? Then, what God made her able to do, it is a strong argument that he intended she should do. Does our sense of natural justice dictate that the being who is to suffer under laws shall first personally assent to them? that the being whose industry government is to burden should have a voice in fixing the character and amount of that burden? Then, while woman is admitted to the gallows, the jail, and the tax-list, we have no right to debar her from the ballot-box. "But to go there will hurt that delicacy of character which we have always thought peculiarly her grace." I cannot help that. Let Him who created her capable of politics, and made it just that she should have a share in them, see to it that these rights which he has conferred do not injure the being he created. Is it for any human being to trample on the laws of justice and liberty, from an alleged necessity of helping God govern what he has made? I cannot help God

govern his world by telling lies, or doing what my conscience deems unjust. How absurd to deem it necessary that any one should do so! When Infinite Wisdom established the rules of right and honesty, he saw to it that justice should be always the highest expediency.

The evil, therefore, that some timid souls fear to the character of woman, from the exercise of her political rights, does not at all trouble me. "Let education form the rational and moral being, and nature will take care of the woman." Neither do I feel at all disturbed by those arguments addressed to us as to the capacity of woman. I know that the humblest man and the feeblest has the same civil rights, according to the theory of our institutions, as the most gifted. It is never claimed that the humblest shall be denied his civil right, provided he be a man. No. Intellect, even though it reach the Alpine height of a Parker,—ay, setting aside the infamy of his conduct, and looking at him only as an instance of intellectual greatness, to the height of a Webster,—gets no tittle of additional civil right, no one single claim to any greater civil privilege than the humblest individual, who knows no more than the first elements of his alphabet, provided that being is a man (I ought to say, a *white* man). Grant, then, that woman is intellectually inferior to man,—it settles nothing. She is still a responsible, tax-paying member of civil society. We rest our claim on the great, eternal principle, that taxation and representation must be coextensive; that rights and burdens must correspond to each other; and he who undertakes to answer the argument of this Convention must first answer the whole course of English and American history for the last hundred and fifty years. No single principle of liberty has been enunciated, from the year 1688 until now, that does not cover the claim of woman. The State has never laid the basis of right upon the distinc-

tion of sex; and no reason has ever been given, except a religious one,—that there are in the records of our religion commands obliging us to make woman an exception to our civil theories, and deprive her of that which those theories give her.

Suppose that woman is essentially inferior to man,—she still has rights. Grant that Mrs. Norton never could be Byron; that Elizabeth Barrett never could have written Paradise Lost; that Mrs. Somerville never could be La Place, nor Sirani have painted the Transfiguration. What then? Does that prove they should be deprived of all civil rights? John Smith never will be, never can be, Daniel Webster. Shall he, therefore, be put under guardianship, and forbidden to vote?

Suppose woman, though equal, to differ essentially in her intellect from man,—is that any ground for disfranchising her? Shall the Fultons say to the Raphaels, "Because you cannot make steam-engines, therefore you shall not vote?" Shall the Napoleons or the Washingtons say to the Wordsworths or the Herschels, "Because you cannot lead armies and govern states, therefore you shall have no civil rights?"

Grant that woman's intellect be essentially different, even inferior, if you choose; still, while our civilization allows her to hold property, and to be the guardian of her children, she is entitled to such education and to such civil rights—voting, among the rest—as will enable her to protect both her children and her estate. It is easy to indulge in *dilettanti* speculation as to woman's sphere and the female intellect; but leave dainty speculation, and come down to practical life. Here is a young widow; she has children, and ability, if you will let her exercise it, to give them the best advantages of education, to secure them every chance of success in life; or, she has property to keep for them, and no friend to rely on.

Shall she leave them to sink in the unequal struggles of life? Shall she trust their all to any adviser money can buy, in order to gratify your taste, and give countenance to your nice theories? or shall she use all the powers God has given her for those he has thrown upon her protection? If we consult common sense and leave theories alone, there is but one answer. Such a one can rightfully claim of society all the civil privileges, and of fashion all such liberty as will best enable her to discharge fully her duties as a mother.

But woman, it is said, may safely trust all to the watchful and generous care of man. She has been obliged to do so hitherto. With what result, let the unequal and unjust legislation of all nations answer. In Massachusetts, lately, a man married an heiress, worth fifty thousand dollars. Dying, about a year after his marriage, he made this remarkably generous and manly will. He left these fifty thousand dollars to her so long as she should remain his widow! [Loud laughter.] These dollars, which he owed entirely to her, which were fairly hers, he left to her, after twelve-months' use, on this generous condition, that she should never marry again! Ought a husband to have such unlimited control over the property of his wife, or over the property which they have together acquired? Ought not woman to have a voice in determining what the law shall be in regard to the property of married persons? Often by her efforts, always by her economy, she contributes much to the stock of family wealth, and is therefore justly entitled to a voice in the control and disposal of it. Neither common sense nor past experience encourages her to trust the protection of that right to the votes of men. That

> "Mankind is ever weak,
> And little to be trusted;
> If self the wavering balance strike,
> It's rarely right adjusted."—

is true between the sexes, as much as between individuals.

Make the case our own. Is there any man here willing to resign his own right to vote, and trust his welfare and his earnings entirely to the votes of others? Suppose any class of men should condescendingly offer to settle for us our capacity or our calling,—to vote for us, to choose our sphere for us,—how ridiculously impertinent we should consider it! Yet few have the good sense to laugh at the consummate impertinence with which every bar-room brawler, every third-rate scribbler, undertakes to settle the sphere of the Martineaus and the De Staëls! With what gracious condescension little men continue to lecture and preach on "the female sphere" and "female duties!"

This Convention does not undertake the task of protecting woman. It contends that, in government, every individual should be endowed, as far as possible, with the means of protecting himself. This is far more the truth when we deal with classes. Every class should be endowed with the power to protect itself. Man has hitherto undertaken to settle what is best for woman in the way of education and in the matter of property. He has settled it for her, that her duties and cares are too great to allow her any time to take care of her own earnings, or to take her otherwise legitimate share in the civil government of the country. He has not undertaken to say that the sailor or the soldier, in active service, when he returns from his voyage or his camp, is not free to deposit his vote in the ballot-box. He has not undertaken to say that the manufacturer, whose factories cover whole townships, who is up early and lies down late, who has to borrow the services of scores to help him in the management of his vast estate,—he does not say that such a man cannot get time to study politics, and ought therefore to be deprived of his right to vote with his fellow-citizens. He has not undertaken to

say that the lawyer may not vote, though his whole time is spent in the courts, until he knows nothing of what is going on in the streets. O no! But as for woman, her time *must* be all so entirely filled in taking care of her household, her cares must be so extensive, that neither those of soldiers nor sailors nor merchants can be equal to them; she has not a moment to qualify herself for politics! Women cannot be spared long enough from the kitchen to put in a vote, though Abbott Lawrence can be spared from the counting-house, though General Gaines or Scott can be spared from the camp, though the Lorings and the Choates can be spared from the courts. This is the argument: Stephen Girard cannot go to Congress; he is too busy; therefore, no *man* ever shall. Because General Scott has gone to Mexico, and cannot be President, therefore no *man* shall be. Because A. B. is a sailor, gone on a whaling voyage, to be absent for three years, and cannot vote, therefore no male inhabitant ever shall. Logic how profound! how conclusive! Yet this is the exact reasoning in the case of woman. Take up the newspapers. See the sneers at this movement. "Take care of the children," "Make the clothes," "See that they are mended," "See that the parlors are properly arranged." Suppose we grant it all. Are there no women but housekeepers? no women but mothers? O yes, many! Suppose we grant that the cares of a household are so heavy that they are greater than the cares of the president of a college; that he who has the charge of some hundreds of youths is less oppressed with care than the woman with three rooms and two children; that though President Sparks has time for politics, Mrs. Brown has not. Grant that, and still we claim that you should be true to your theory, and allow to single women those rights which she who is the mistress of a household and mother of a family has no time to exercise.

"Let women vote!" cries one. "Why, wives and daughters might be Democrats, while their fathers and husbands were Whigs. It would never do. It would produce endless quarrels." And that self-satisfied objector thinks he has settled the question.

But, if the principle be a sound one, why not apply it in a still more important instance? Difference of religion breeds more quarrels than difference in politics. Yet we allow women to choose their own religious creeds, although we thereby run the risk of wives being Episcopalians while their husbands are Methodists, or daughters being Catholics while their fathers are Calvinists. Yet who, this side of Turkey, dare claim that the law should compel women to have no religious creed or adopt that of their male relatives? Practically, this freedom in religion has made no difficulty; and probably equal freedom in politics would make as little.

It is, after all, of little use to argue these social questions. These prejudices never were reasoned up, and, my word for it, they will never be reasoned down. The freedom of the press, the freedom of labor, the freedom of the race in its lowest classes, was never argued to success. The moment you can get woman to go out into the highways of life, and show by active valor what God has created her for, that moment this question is settled forever. One solid fact of a woman's making her fortune in trade will teach the male sex what woman's capacity is. I say, therefore, to women, there are two paths before you in this reform: one is, take all the laws have left you, with a confident and determined hand; the other is, cheer and encourage, by your sympathy and aid, those noble women who are willing to be the pioneers in this enterprise. See that you stand up the firm supporters of those bold and fearless ones who undertake to lead their sisters in this movement. If Elizabeth Blackwell, who,

tramping under foot the sneers of the other sex, took her maiden reputation in her hand, and walked the hospitals of Europe, comes back the accomplished graduate of them, to offer her services to the women of America, and to prove that woman, equally with man, is qualified to do the duties and receive the honors and rewards of the healing art, see to it, women, that you greet her efforts with your smiles. Hasten to her side, and open your households to her practice. Demand to have the experiment fairly tried, before you admit that, in your sickness and in your dangers, woman may not stand as safely by your bedside as man. If you will but be true to each other, on some of these points, it is in the power of woman to settle, in a great measure, this question. Why ask aid from the other sex at all? Theories are but thin and unsubstantial air against the solid fact of woman mingling with honor and profit in the various professions and industrial pursuits of life. Would women be true to each other, by smoothing the pathway of each other's endeavors, it is in their power to settle one great aspect of this question, without any statute in such case made and provided. I say, TAKE your rights! There is no law to prevent it, in one-half of the instances. If the prejudices of the other sex, and the supineness of your own prevent it, there is no help for you in the statute-books. It is for you but to speak, and the doors of all medical hospitals are open for the women by whom you make it known that you intend to be served. Let us have no separate, and therefore necessarily inferior, schools for women. Let us have no poor schools, feebly endowed, where woman must go to gather what help she may, from second-rate professors, in one branch of a profession. No! Mothers, daughters, sisters! say to husband, father, brother, "If this life is dear to you, I intend to trust it, in my hour of danger, to a sister's hand. See to it, therefore, you who are the guides

of society and heads of those institutions, if you love your mother, sister, wife, daughter, see to it that you provide these chosen assistants of mine the means to become disciplined and competent advisers in that momentous hour, for I will have no other." When you shall say that, Harvard University, and every other university, and every medical institution, will hasten to open their doors. You who long for the admission of women to professional life and the higher ranks of intellectual exertion, up, and throw into her scale this omnipotent weight of your determination to be served by her, and by no other! In this matter, what you decide is law.

There is one other light in which this subject is to be considered,—the freedom of ballot; and with a few words upon that, I will close these desultory remarks. As there is no use in educating a human being for nothing, so the thing is an impossibility. Horace Mann says, in the letter which has been read here, that he intends to write a lecture on Woman; and I doubt not he will take the stand which he has always done, that she should be book-taught for some dozen years, and then retire to domestic life, or the schoolroom. Would he give sixpence for a boy who could only say that he had been shut up for those years in a school? The unfledged youth who comes from college,—what is he? He is a man, and has been subjected to seven years' tutoring; but man though he is, until he has walked up and down the paths of life, until he receives his education in the discipline of the world, in the stimulus of motive, in the hope of gain, in the desire of honor, in the love of reputation, he has got, in nine cases out of ten, no education at all. Profess to educate woman for her own amusement! Profess to educate her in science, that she may go home and take care of her cradle! Teach her the depths of statesmanship and political economy, that she may smile sweetly when her hus-

band comes home! "It is not the education man gets from books," it was well said by your favorite statesman, "but the lessons he learns from life and society, that profit him most highly." *"Le monde est le livre des femmes."* Of this *book* you deprive her. You give her nothing but man's little printed primers; you make for her a world of dolls, and then complain that she is frivolous. You deprive her of all the lessons of practical out-door life; you deprive her of all the stimulus which the good and great of all nations, all societies, have enjoyed, the world's honors, its gold, and its fame, and then you cooly ask of her, "Why are you not as well disciplined as we are?" I know there are great souls who need no stimulus but love of truth and of growth, whom mere love of labor allures to the profoundest investigations; but these are the exceptions, not the rule. We legislate, we arrange society, for the masses, not the exceptions.

Responsibility is one instrument—a great instrument—of education, both moral and intellectual. It sharpens the faculties. It unfolds the moral nature. It makes the careless prudent, and turns recklessness into sobriety. Look at the young wife suddenly left a widow, with the care of her children's education and entrance into life thrown upon her. How prudent and sagacious she becomes! How fruitful in resources and comprehensive in her views! How much intellect and character she surprises her old friends with! Look at the statesman bold and reckless in opposition; how prudent, how thoughtful, how timid, he becomes, the moment he is in office and feels that a nation's welfare hangs on his decisions! Woman can never study those great questions that interest and stir most deeply the human mind, until she studies them under the mingled stimulus and check of this responsibility. And until her intellect has been tested by such questions, studied under such influences, we shall never be able to decide what it is.

One great reason, then, besides its justice, why we would claim the ballot for woman, is this: because the great school of this people in the jury-box and the ballot-box. Tocqueville, after travelling in this country, went away with the conviction that, valuable as the jury trial was for the investigation of facts and defence of the citizens, its value even in these respects was no greater than as it was the school of civil education open to all the people. The education of the American citizen is found in his interest in the debates of Congress,—the earnest personal interest with which he seeks to fathom political questions. It is when the mind, profoundly stirred by the momentous stake at issue, rises to its most gigantic efforts, when the great crisis of some national convulsion is at hand,—it is then that strong political excitement lifts the people up in advance of the age, heaves a whole nation on to a higher platform of intellect and morality. Great political questions stir the deepest nature of one half the nation; but they pass far above and over the heads of the other half. Yet, meanwhile, theorists wonder that the first have their whole nature, unfolded, and the others will persevere in being dwarfed. Now, this great, world-wide, practical, ever-present education we claim for woman. Never, until it is granted her, can you decide what will be her ability. Deny statesmanship to woman? What! to the sisters of Elizabeth of England, Isabella of Spain, Maria Theresa of Austria; ay, let me add, of Elizabeth Heyrick, who, when the intellect of all England was at fault, and wandering in the desert of a false philosophy,—when Brougham and Romilly, Clarkson and Wilberforce, and all the other great and philanthropic minds of England were at fault and at a dead-lock with the West India question and negro slavery,—wrote out, with the statesmanlike intellect of a Quaker woman, the simple yet potent charm, — IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION, —

which solved the problem, and gave freedom to a race! How noble the conduct of those men. With an alacrity which does honor to their statesmanship, and proves that they recognized the inspired voice when they heard it, they sat down at the feet of that woman-statesman, and seven years under her instruction did more for the settlement of the greatest social question that had ever convulsed England, than had been done by a century, of more or less effort, before. O no! you cannot read history, unless you read it upside down, without admitting that woman, cramped, fettered, excluded, degraded as she has been, has yet sometimes, with one ray of her instinctive genius, done more to settle great questions than all the cumbrous intellect of the other sex has achieved.

It is, therefore, on the ground of natural justice, and on the ground again of the highest expediency, and yet again it is because woman, as an immortal and intellectual being, has a right to all the means of education,—it is on these grounds that we claim for her the civil rights and privileges which man enjoys.

I will not enlarge now on another most important aspect of this question, the value of the contemplated change in a physiological point of view. Our dainty notions have made woman such a hot-house plant, that one-half the sex are invalids. The mothers of the next generation are invalids. Better that our women, like the German and Italian girls, should labor on the highway, and share in the toil of harvest, than pine and sicken in the in-door and sedentery routine to which our superstition condemns them. But I leave this sad topic for other hands.

One word more. We heard today a very profound and eloquent address as to the course which it is most expedient for women to pursue in regard to the inadequate remuneration extended to her sex. The woman of domestic life re-

ceives but about one-third the amount paid to a man for similar or far lighter services. The woman of out-door labor has about the same. The best woman employments are subject to a discount of some forty to fifty per cent. on the wages paid to males. It is futile, if it were just, to blame individuals for this. We have all been burdened long by a common prejudice and a common ignorance. The remedy is not to demand that the manufacturer shall pay his workmen more, that the employer of domestics shall pay them more. It is not the capitalist's fault. We inveigh against the wealthy capitalist, but it is not exclusively his fault. It is as much the fault of society itself. It is the fault of that timid conservatism, which sets its face like flint against everything new; of a servile press, which knows so well, by personal experience, how much fools and cowards are governed by a sneer. It is the fault of silly women, ever holding up their idea of what is "*lady-like*" as a Gorgon head to frighten their sisters from earning bread,—themselves, in their folly, the best answer to a weak prejudice they mistake for argument. It is the fault of that pulpit which declares it indecorous in woman to labor, except in certain occupations, and thus crowds the whole mass of working-women into two or three employments, making them rivet each other's chains. Do you ask me the reason of the low wages paid for female labor? It is this. There are about as many women as men obliged to rely for bread on their own toil. Man seeks employment anywhere, and of any kind. No one forbids him. If he cannot make a living by one trade, he takes another; and the moment any trade becomes so crowded as to make wages fall, men leave it, and wages will rise again. Not so with woman. The whole mass of women must find employment in two or three occupations. The consequence is, there are more women in each of these than can be employed; they kill each other by competition.

Suppose there is as much sewing required in a city as one thousand hands can do. If the tailors could find only five hundred women to sew, they would be obliged to pay them whatever they asked. But let the case be, as it usually is, that there are five thousand women waiting for that work, unable to turn to any other occupation, and doomed to starve if they fail to get a share of that; we see at once that their labor, being a drug in the market, must be poorly paid for. She cannot say, as man would, "Give me so much, or I will seek another trade." She must accept whatever is offered, and often underbid her sister, that she may secure a share. Any article sells cheap, when there is too much of it in the market. Woman's labor is cheap because there is too much of it in the market. All women's trades are overcrowded, because they have only two or three to choose from. But open to her, now, other occupations. Open to her the studio of the artist,—let her enter there; open to her the office practice, at least, of the lawyers,—let her go there; open to her all in-door trades of society, to begin with, and let women monopolize them. Take from the crowded and starved ranks of the needlewomen of New York some for the arts of design, some for the counter, some to minister in our public libraries, some for our public registries, some to keep merchants' accounts, and some to feel the pulse; and the consequence will be, that, like every other independent laborer, like their male brethren, they may make their own terms, and will be fairly paid for their labor. It is competition in too narrow lists that starves women in our cities; and those lists are drawn narrow by superstition and prejudice.

Woman is ground down, by the competition of her sisters, to the very point of starvation. Heavily taxed, ill-paid, in degradation and misery, is it to be wondered at that she yields to the temptation of wealth? It is the same with men;

and thus we recruit the ranks of vice by the prejudices of custom and society. We corrupt the whole social fabric, that woman may be confined to two or three employments. How much do we suffer through the tyranny of prejudice! When we penitently and gladly give to the energy and the intellect and the enterprise of woman their proper reward, their appropriate employment, this question of wages will settle itself; and it will never be settled at all until then.

This question is intimately connected with the great social problem,—the vices of cities. You who hang your heads in terror and shame, in view of the advancing demoralization of modern civilized life, and turn away with horror-struck faces, look back now to these social prejudices, which have made you close the avenues of profitable employment in the face of woman, and reconsider the conclusions you have made! Look back, I say, and see whether you are surely right here. Come up with us and argue the question, and say whether this most artificial delicacy, this childish prejudice, on whose Moloch altar you sacrifice the virtue of so many, is worthy the exalted worship you pay it. Consider a moment. From what sources are the ranks of female profligacy recruited? A few mere giddiness hurries to ruin. Their protection would be in that character and sound common-sense which a wider interest in practical life would generally create. In a few, the love of sensual gratification, grown overstrong, because all the other powers are dormant for want of exercise, wrecks its unhappy victim. The medicine for these would be occupation, awaking intellect, and stirring their highest energies. Give any one an earnest interest in life, something to do, something that kindles emulation, and soon the gratification of the senses sink into proper subordination. It is idle heads that are tempted to mischief: and she is emphatically idle half of whose nature is unemployed. Why does man so

much oftener than woman surmount a few years or months of sensual gratification, and emerge into a worthier life? It is not solely because the world's judgment is so much harder upon her. Man can immerse himself in business that stirs keenly all his faculties, and thus he smothers passion in honorable cares. An ordinary woman, once fallen, has no busy and stirring life in which to take refuge, where intellect will contend for mastery with passion, and where virtue is braced by high and active thoughts. Passion comes back to the "*empty*," though "swept and garnished" chambers, bringing with him more devils than before. But, undoubtedly, the great temptation to this vice is the love of dress, of wealth, and the luxuries it secures. Facts will jostle theories aside. Whether we choose to acknowledge it or not, there are many women, earning two or three dollars a week, who feel that they are as capable as their brothers of earning hundreds, if they could be permitted to exert themselves as freely. Fretting to see the coveted rewards of life forever forbidden them, they are tempted to shut their eyes on the character of the means by which a taste, however short, may be gained of the wealth and luxury they sigh for. Open to man a fair field for his industry, and secure to him its gains, and nine hundred and ninety-nine men out of every thousand will disdain to steal. Open to woman a fair field for her industry, let her do anything her hands find to do, and enjoy her gains, and nine hundred and ninety-nine women out of every thousand will disdain to debase themselves for dress or ease.

Of this great social problem—to cure or lessen the vice of cities—there is no other solution, except what this movement offers you. It is, to leave woman to choose her own employments for herself, responsible, as we are, to the common Creator, and not to her fellow-man. I exhort you, therefore to look at this question in the spirit in which I

have endeavored to present it to you. It is no fanciful, no superficial movement, based on a few individual tastes, in morbid sympathy with tales of individual suffering. It is a great social protest against the very fabric of society. It is a question which goes down—we admit it, and are willing to meet the issue—goes down beneath the altar at which you worship, goes down beneath this social system in which you live. And it is true—no denying it—that, if we are right, the doctrines preached from New England pulpits are wrong; it is true that all this affected horror at woman's deviation from her sphere is a mistake,—a mistake fraught with momentous consequences. Understand us. We blink no fair issue. We thrown down the gauntlet. We have counted the cost; we know the yoke and burden we assume. We know the sneers, the lying frauds of misstatement and misrepresentation, that await us. We have counted all; and it is but the dust in the balance and the small dust in the measure, compared with the inestimable blessing of doing justice to one-half of the human species, of curing this otherwise immedicable wound, of stopping this overflowing fountain of corruption, at the very source of civilized life. Truly, it is the great question of the age. It looks all others out of countenance. It needs little aid from legislation. Specious objections, after all, are not arguments. We know we are right. We only ask an opportunity to argue the question, to set it full before the people, and then leave it to the intellects and the hearts of our country, confident that the institutions under which we live, and the education which other reforms have already given to both sexes, have created men and women capable of solving a problem even more difficult, and meeting a change even more radical, than this.

[Jan. 13, 1912]

GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN.

BY CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH OF THE ILLINOIS BAR.

Reprinted from Chicago Legal News of January 13, 1912.

The subject of the guardianship of children could have been treated a century ago in a few words. The father of the legitimate child was his sole guardian and the mother had no authority or right concerning their child except such as the husband gratuitously allowed her. She had, however, all the duties which the husband might put upon her. This meant that the husband decided about the children's food, clothing, medicine, school, church, home, associates, punishments, pleasures and tasks, and that he alone could apprentice a child, could grant him for adoption or control his wages.

Many mothers were kept in happy ignorance of such unjust laws, because their husbands voluntarily yielded to them much of the authority over the children. But this was not so in all families. Many mothers took cases to supreme courts, protesting against the absolute paternal power. When mothers learned what this sole guardianship meant, they urged legal changes. Our present guardianship laws, very few alike, show how women, each group alone in their own states, have struggled to mitigate the severest evils of sole fatherly guardianship, especially the guardianship of the child's person. This to mothers was more important than the guardianship of the child's property.

Perhaps the greatest suffering came from the father's power to deed or to bequeath the guardianship to a stranger and away from the mother. Most of the states now allow a surviving mother the sole guardianship of the child's person with certain conditions.

Six states have not yet thus limited the father's power: Delaware (Rev. St. 1893, p. 713, Sec. 8.) "The father may by deed or will name a guardian for his child"; Florida with a similar provision (Statutes 1906, p. 1027, Sec. 2086); Georgia (Code of 1911, Sec. 3033.) "He may appoint by will." (There is a little obscurity in this statute but as the mother "if a widow" is given power to appoint a guardian for such children as have none, as to their person, this is an implied admission of the father's higher power); Tennessee (Code 1896, Sec. 4258) "The husband may appoint by deed or will" "unless he has abandoned his wife without lawful cause" (Sec. 4251); Virginia (Sec. 2597, Code 1904), "Every father may by his last will and testament appoint a guardian for his child" and Maryland (Public Statutes, 1904, Vol. 2, p. 2013, Sec. 179. See also p. 2003 and Sec. 145 and 147) possibly qualified by a reference to a mother being "left the natural guardian." (See also Hill *v.* Hill, 49 Md. 450, Cornes Case, 2 B. Md. 488.)

Alabama technically might be classed with these six states for the father by statute is specifically empowered to choose a guardian by his last will but as the father's power is much limited, (Code 1907, Sec. 4340) by this "The mother is entitled to the custody of the person of the ward until it is fourteen years of age," Alabama is classed with another group.

In these states where the guardianship is not specifically granted to the surviving mother, the father's sole power of guardianship would cover his child even if yet unborn. Other states formerly so decided.

In North Carolina the father's common-law power to deed or will (Pell's Revisal of 1908, Sec. 1762) is limited (in statute of 1911, Chap. 120) by conditioning it upon the written consent and privy examination of the mother. In New Jersey (Gen. Statute, 1895, Sec. 1615) the mother's consent must be in writing and acknowledged before two witnesses. These last two

states, though recognizing the old rule, fall into another group of more progressive states, where the surviving parent is sole guardian unless he or she has by duly executed instrument resigned his or her rights of guardianship.

Some of the states which allow the surviving maternal parent to be sole guardian, qualify it by the proviso that she remain a widow or unmarried. If contracts in restraint of marriage are void some bright young lawyer may yet win her spurs by proving to some Supreme Court that laws in restraint of legal marriage are also void. If a widower's guardianship ceased upon his remarriage such laws would speedily be changed.

Among the states which thus discourage a widow's remarriage are:

Arizona (Revised Statutes, 1901, Sec. 1958).

Georgia (Code 1911, Sec. 3034) "If a widow."

New Jersey (Gen'l Statutes, 1895, p. 1615, Sec. 2) "being a widow."

North Dakota (Revised Code, 1905, Sec. 8240).

Oklahoma (Compiled Laws of 1909, Sec. 5476).

South Dakota (Compiled Laws, 1910, Vol. 2, p. 423, Sec. 370).

Wisconsin (p. 1282, Supplement, 1906, Sec. 3964).

Wyoming being near the western states, which thus discourage marriage might be expected to have a law which would follow the same wording and the law does in other respects. But as Wyoming women vote, the provision was made that the surviving mother whether remarried or not, might be guardian. (Compiled Statutes, 1910, Sec. 5739).

In many of the States which allow mothers the guardianship after the father's death, the cautious legislators have hedged a little by providing that the mother may secure this guardianship only if she be competent to transact her own business or is not otherwise unsuitable or is a suitable person. Some provide for her removal if incompetent. Among the states showing this timidity are: Arizona, California, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin.

This qualification of competency is in several states mentioned concerning both parents and might well be understood to be implied in all guardianship statutes, for the courts of almost all the states exercise the power of removing children from the custody of parents grossly incompetent, unsuitable or delinquent.

There is a long list of 27 states where the father during his lifetime is sole guardian and after his death the surviving mother is the sole guardian, either conditionally or unconditionally by definite words or certain implications with the same powers exercised by a father in his lifetime. The guardianship laws in these states are a standing monument to the faithful legislative work done by women in their respective states.

Among these are:

Alabama (Code of 1907, Sec. 4339 in case of a girl or boy under fourteen by implication).

Arizona (Revised Statutes 1901, Sec. 1958).

Arkansas (Kirby's Digest 1904, p. 855, Sec. 3759).

California (Kerr's Cyclopedia, Code 1907, Sec. 1751).

Idaho (Revised Code 1908, Sec. 5774).

Indiana (Burns Annotated Statutes 1908, Sec. 3065).

Louisiana (R. C. C., Art. 216 and 250).

Michigan (Vol. III, p. 2680 (8701) Sec. 5).

Mississippi (Code 1906, Sec. 2401) by implication.

Missouri (Rev. Statutes 1909, Sec. 403).

Montana (Rev. Code 1907, Sec. 7757).

Nevada (Compiled Laws 1900, Sec. 563).

New Jersey (Gen'l Statutes 1895, p. 1615, Sec. 1).

New Mexico (Compiled Laws 1897, Sec. 1434 to 1471).

North Carolina (Pell's Revisal, Sec. 1762) if father have not appointed with her consent.

North Dakota (Revised Code 1905, Sec. 8240).

Ohio (General Code 1910, Sec. 10928).

Oklahoma (Compiled Laws 1909, Sec. 54761).

Rhode Island (Gen'l Laws 1909, p. 1170, Sec. 5).

South Dakota (Compiled Laws 1910, Vol. 2, p. 523, Sec. 370).

South Carolina (Code 1902, Sec. 2689).

Texas (Civil Code 1897, Art. 2577).

Utah (Compiled Laws 1907, Sec. 3995).

Vermont (Public Statutes 1906, Sec. 3155).

West Virginia (Code 1906, Sec. 3220).

Wisconsin (Supplement 1906, p. 1282, Sec. 3964).

Wyoming (Compiled Statutes 1910, Sec. 5739).

Although in California and Mississippi nothing specific is said about survivorship, these states are included in the above list because it is generally held that the surviving mother succeeds to the guardianship when the father does not prevent it and because in California (Kerr's Cyclopedia, Code 1907, p. 2203, Sec. 1751) the words of the statute are "The father or the mother." The court has held that under this the father has superior rights but would probably allow the surviving wife to be sole guardian in order to give some effect to the words "or the mother." Mississippi recognizes the mother's right of guardianship over her "fatherless child" and as it also specifically gives the husband the right to grant the guardianship of his "motherless child" (Code 1906, Sec. 2401,) a court would probably hold that he could not have such power should the mother survive. This makes 27 states in all with surviving mother the sole guardian.

Washington is not included in the above list though Sec. 1629 of the Code of 1910 declares the father sole guardian with the same right to a surviving mother. Another statute makes their rights and duties equal and lawyers report that this statute is followed. There are no decisions to guide us. So Washington is listed later among the states allowing joint guardianship. The same is true in the state of Oregon (Oregon Laws 1910, Sec. 1314 and Sec. 2 of Married Woman's Act of 1886).

When statutes make no mention of the father's sole guardianship, a court would doubtless hold that the father had the sole right under the English common law and that the mother had no rights except such as were specifically extended by statute. Among states with such statutes we might count Maryland (Sec. 179, p. 2013 and Public Laws 1904, Sec. 147) where wife may appoint a guardian when she is left the natural guardian. This means when a husband has bequeathed her the power, for decisions state that under the Statute of 12 Chas. II. Chap. 24 "still in force" the father can by will dispose of a child's custody and Mississippi (Code 1906, Sec. 2401) where wife may by will appoint a guardian for her fatherless child and the father may appoint one for his motherless child. In Virginia it is also allowed a mother to appoint by will if father did not.

There are some interesting variations of wording in these statutes. Wyoming throws caution to the winds and lets a surviving mother be guardian, "whether remarried or not." This is much like the impetuous answer which Wyoming sent back to the U. S. Congress which, because of Wyoming having had woman suffrage, had long delayed Wyoming's application for admission to the sisterhood of states.

New Mexico, Arkansas and Missouri are cautious to the extremity of reiteration. "The father while living and after his death and when there shall be no lawful father."

Missouri describes the guardian of the child by the almost forgotten term of "curator," while Louisiana uses the word "tutor."

Some states mitigate the rigors of the father's guardianship by allowing the mother a voice in the adoption of a child. Among these are Florida (Statutes 1906, Sec. 2639) if father has abandoned child, Mississippi (Code 1906, Sec. 542) and Wisconsin (Supplement 1906, p. 1282, Sec. 3964).

In Texas where the parents live together the father is the natural guardian (Civil Code 1897, Art. 2575) but when they do not live together their rights are equal and the guardianship is assigned to one or the other, taking into consideration the interest of the child alone.

When a father abandons his child, is insane or is sent to the penitentiary without disposing of his child's guardianship, courts would hold that the mother succeeded to the parental duties both maternal and paternal. Courts would generally also hold in the absence of specific prohibitory statutory provisions that such abandoned mother would succeed to all

parental rights. Some states make such a provision definitely in the statutes. Tennessee (Code 1896, Sec. 4251), however, makes the abandoned wife's guardianship possible, "If it appear to the court that he abandoned her without a lawful cause." Until a wife makes such proof, the husband could doubtless send for the children and might, if they were of working age, able to support him, compel them to do so.

In divorce proceedings, without statutory provisions making any such directions, the courts would today take full jurisdiction of the children of the marriage, generally awarding their custody to the innocent party, having in view not the feelings of the parent so much as the welfare of the child. This would also be true in the few remaining states where joint or equal guardianship prevails. But in these latter states the wife comes into court the recognized equal of her husband in guardianship and her chances are far better than when legally handicapped by statutory disqualifications. Even in some of the new suffrage states where equal guardianship is not yet specifically provided, the voting mother feels quite sure of fair treatment.

There are sixteen states, including District of Columbia which make parents joint guardians. In law "joint" has a meaning different from equal or similar. "Joint owners" of personal property have equal rights during the lifetime of both, but the survivor takes all and so their interests turn out not to be equal or similar. "Joint trustees" have equal control over the property of the *cestui que trust* only while trustees live and then the surviving trustee has the sole power. "Joint tenants" of real estate have equal rights during the lifetime of all the joint tenants, but the survivor succeeds to all the rights. "Joint" preceding the word "guardianship" means, the duties and powers equal during the joint lifetime of the guardians with all power and duty concentrated in the survivor.

Idaho and Utah are not included in this list, for Idaho's statute (Revised Code 1908, Sec. 5774) says "Either the father or mother" which though practically the same, especially in equal suffrage states where women help elect officers, is not technically joint guardianship. Utah grants guardianship to "A parent but as between parents, other things being equal, if the child is of tender age, it shall be given to the mother or if it be of age to require education and preparation for labor or business, to the father" (Compiled Laws 1907, Sec. 3995). Utah also provides that in case of separation the mother unless immoral shall be entitled to the guardianship of minor children, etc. (Sec. 1212.) A child cannot be adopted without the consent of its parents Sec. 4, p. 133). This, too, gives a mother as good a chance as a father. So for practical utility Utah and Idaho might well be among the sixteen (16) joint guardianship states and on the honor roll which follows:

Colorado (Rev. Stat. 1908, Sec. 2912).

Connecticut (Gen'l Stat. 1902, Sec. 206).

District of Columbia (Code 1911, Sec. 1123).

Illinois (Rev. Stat. Chap. 64, Sec. 4).

Iowa (Annotated Code 1897, Sec. 3192).

Kansas (Gen'l Stat. 1909, Sec. 3966).

Kentucky (Acts 1910, p. 93).

Maine (Rev. Stat. 1903, p. 617, Chap. 69, Sec. 2).

Massachusetts (Supp. 1902-1908, p. 1277, Chap. 145).

Minnesota (Rev. Laws 1905, Sec. 3834).

Nebraska (Cabby's Comp. Stat. 1909, Sec. 5376).

New Hampshire (Laws 1911, p. 110, Chap. 104).

New York (Wadhams Const. Laws 1909, p. 550, Sec. 81).

Oregon (Sec. 2, Married Woman's Act 1880).

Pennsylvania (Pepper & Laws Digest 1907, p. 4875, Sec. 23).

Washington (Remington & Ballinger's Code, Vol. 2, Sec. 5932).

Our bar associations, state and national, struggle with the problem of uniformity in legislation on a variety of legal topics.

The Governors' Conferences also discuss uniformity but there are few matters concerning which the laws are as dissimilar as are these. Uniformity is needed here and the Bar Associations and Governors' Conferences should help secure joint guardianship laws in the six states where father is sole guardian and in the twenty-seven other states where the father's sole guardianship is limited by the rights granted the surviving mother.

NOTE.—The variety of phraseology in the joint-guardianship laws in the several states may be seen from the following:

Colorado. Every married woman is hereby constituted and declared to be the joint guardian of her children with her husband with equal powers, rights, and duties. * * * The surviving parent may by deed or will duly executed, dispose of the custody and tuition of such child during its minority.

Connecticut. The father and mother of every minor are hereby constituted joint guardians of the person of such minor and the powers, rights and duties of both the father and mother in regard to such minor, shall be equal. The surviving parent shall become the sole guardian.

District of Columbia. The father and mother shall be the natural guardians of the person of their minor children. If either dies or is incapable of acting, the natural guardianship of the person shall devolve upon the other.

Illinois. The guardian of a minor shall have, under the direction of the court, the custody, nurture and tuition of his ward, and the care and management of his estate; but the parents of the minor, if living, and in case of the death of either of the parents, the surviving parent, they being respectively competent to transact their own business, and fit persons, shall be entitled to the custody of the person of the minor and the direction of his education. The parents of a minor shall have equal powers, rights, and duties concerning the minor. In case the father and the mother live apart, the court may, for good reason, award the custody and education of the minor to either parent or to some other person.

Iowa. Parents are the natural guardians of the persons of their minor children and equally entitled to their care and custody.

Kansas. The father and mother are the natural guardians of the persons of their minor children. If either dies or is incapable of acting, the natural guardianship devolves upon the other.

Kentucky. The father and mother shall have the joint custody, nurture and education of their infant child or children, and in the event of the death of either of the parents, * * * the survivor shall have the custody, nurture and education and may by will appoint a guardian.

Maine. A guardian for such minor named by the deceased father in his last will or if the father has died without making such nomination, named by the deceased mother in her last will, shall be appointed. Sec. 3. The care of the person and the education of the minor shall be jointly with the father and mother if competent, or if one has deceased, with the survivor.

Massachusetts. The parents of the minor, jointly, if living and in case of the death of either, the surviving parent, shall be entitled to the custody of the person of the minor and to the care of his education.

Minnesota. The father and mother are the natural guardians of their minor children and * * * they are equally entitled to their custody and the care of their education. If either dies or is disqualified to act, the guardianship devolves upon the other.

Nebraska. The father and the mother are the natural guardians of their minor children and are equally entitled to their custody and to the care for their education. * * * If either dies or is disqualified for acting, the guardianship devolves upon the other.

New Hampshire. The father and mother of every minor child are hereby constituted joint guardians of the person of such child and the powers, rights and duties of both the father and mother in regard to such child shall be equal. The surviving parent shall become the sole guardian.

New York. A married woman is a joint guardian of her children with her husband, with equal powers, rights and duties. * * * The surviving parent may by deed or last will dispose of the custody and tuition of such child.

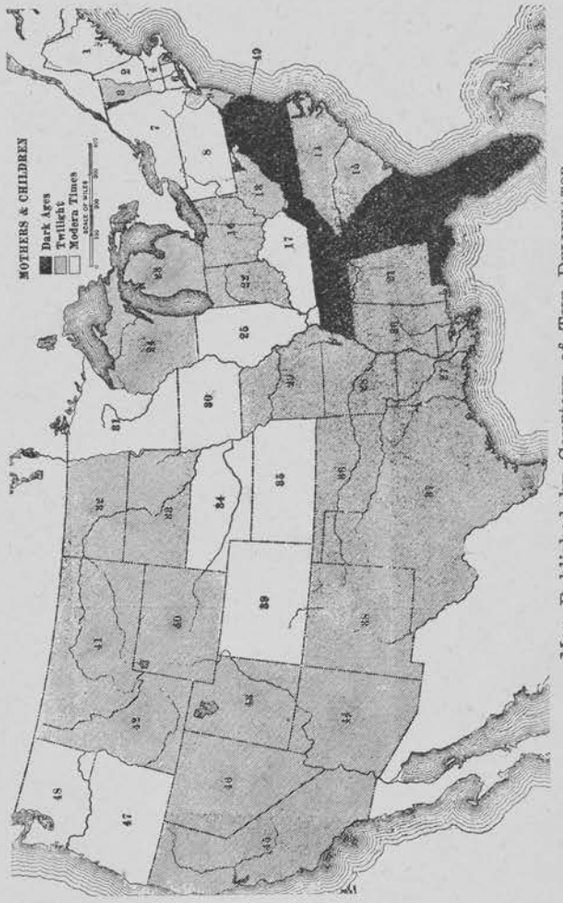
Oregon. The rights and responsibilities of the parents in the absence of misconduct, shall be equal, and the mother shall be as fully entitled to the custody and control of the children, and their earnings as the father, and in case of the father's death, the mother shall come into as full and complete control of the children and

their estate as the father does in case of the mother's death.

Pennsylvania. A married woman who is the mother of a minor child and who contributes by the fruits of her own labors or otherwise toward the support, maintenance and education of her said minor child, shall have the same and equal power, control and authority over her said child, and shall have the same and equal right to its custody, and services as is now by law possessed by her husband, who is the father of such minor child. Provided, however, that the mother of such minor child is otherwise qualified as a fit and proper person to have the control and custody of said child.

Washington. The rights and responsibilities of the parents, in the absence of misconduct, shall be equal and the mother shall be as fully entitled to the custody and control and earnings of the children as the father; and in case of the father's death, the mother shall come into as full and complete control of the children and their estate as the father does in case of the mother's death.

For sale by Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, 938 Fine Arts Building, Chicago.
Price 4 cents per copy. Fifty copies for $1.00.



Map Published by Courtesy of THE DELINEATOR.

[March 4, 1912]

TWENTY-FIVE ANSWERS TO ANTIS

FIVE-MINUTE SPEECHES ON VOTES FOR WOMEN BY EMINENT SUFFRAGISTS



NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE 110 NEW YORK CITY



MRS. MARIE JENNEY HOWE

FOREWORD

THE twenty-five "thumb-mail" essays on woman suffrage in this booklet were delivered as five-minute speeches at a meeting on the evening of March 11, 1912, at the Metropolitan Temple in New York. The meeting was arranged by Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, leader of the Twenty-fifth Assembly District of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York. The auditorium was packed to the doors, with people standing in the aisles as close as the fire regulations would allow; and yet over-flow meetings were conducted outside to appease the crowds of people who were unable to get in at all. The persistent demand that the speeches be cast in a permanent form has resulted in the present booklet.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE WOULD UNSEX WOMEN"

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman



Mrs. Gilman

DID YOU EVER notice that all the objections to woman suffrage are placed in the remote future? They always tell you what it *would* do, or *would not* do. They never *look* at the facts. Did you ever hear any absolutely innocent anti, or any skilful hired writer claim that woman suffrage *does* unsex women?

There are about a million and a half women now enfranchised in America. There are some nineteen different states and countries in the world where women have exercised the suffrage for years and I have yet to hear that this has unsexed woman in a single instance. Now if in forty years, in the nineteen countries, the exercise of the suffrage has not unsexed any women, why should we suppose it would do so in the future?

Did you ever have a good hunting dog, male or female—a good retriever? Did the fact that it was a good retriever have anything to do with the fact that it was male or female? Did you ever eat any of the meat of a large, fat pig? Did it matter whether the pig was male or female? Did you ever wear garments made from the wool of a sheep? Did you know whether it came from a ewe or a ram? Did you ever put your money on a good race horse? Did it make any difference, if you won your money, whether it was won by a mare or a stallion?

There are qualities in every creature which are not sex qualities. We have the distinction of male and female in all the ranks of life except the very lowest. But we have also race distinctions. Those are not peculiar to either sex, but common to both. Now, when you are discussing, for instance, the qualities of sheep—their wool and their mutton and their stupidity—it is the quality of their sheepishness which we discuss, and not their ramishness or their eweishness. Men have their special qualities. Women have their special qualities. The qualities of a human being are not either of those. The power of government is not a sex quality. Both women and men are human beings, and, as human beings, they have an equal right and an equal duty to make this world the kind of world it ought to be, and to keep it so.

So far, we have had only the work of the father to keep the world straight and clean, and to take care of the people in it. He has done the best he could—which still leaves something to be desired. We need his work always, but we need with him the power of the mother to take care of the world, which is what we are here for.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE WOULD INCREASE DIVORCE"

By George Houghton Gilman



Mr. Gilman

THIS objection contains another by implication—that an increase in the number of divorces is undesirable. I am not sure that the remedy for marital troubles is not to make divorce easier and marriage more difficult. But it will be sufficient for our purpose to meet the objection as stated. Does suffrage increase divorce? Uuless this objection is evolved from the inner consciousness of the anti, there must be some facts to sustain it. What are the facts?

We shall refer to the U. S. Census Bulletin, published in 1908, bringing the figures down to 1906.

We shall not consider foreign statistics, though it might be shown that in England, where women have all but the Parliamentary suffrage, the ratio of divorces is but three in one hundred thousand; that in Norway, where three-fifths of the women vote, and where divorces cost but a couple of dollars, and are granted for the asking if both parties consent, the ratio is but six to one hundred thousand; whereas in Japan, where the agitation for the suffrage has not reached the militant stage, the ratio is two hundred and fifteen in one hundred thousand.

It seems fairest to compare the four states that had the suffrage in 1906 with their less-favored neighbors in the western section. If we find there are two states of about the same population, having the industries about the same, and divorce laws almost identical, one having equal suffrage and the other not, ought not the figures to show it if the effect of equal suffrage is to increase divorce?

Idaho and Montana are such states. Between 1900 and 1910 the population of Montana averaged about thirty per cent more than Idaho. By 1910 it was only twenty per cent. The number of divorces in Montana during 1896 to 1906 was forty-three hundred in round numbers. During the same period since Idaho got the suffrage there were but twenty-three hundred divorces there.

Or taking it another way, perhaps fairer; for the five years around 1900 the ratio of divorces to one hundred thousand married population was in Montana four hundred and ninety-seven, in Idaho three hundred and forty-seven.

But perhaps our objector was thinking of Colorado. This is the largest of these four suffrage states, and has the largest ratio of divorces, though there are non-suffrage states that exceed it. What has suffrage done to Colorado?

Just before Colorado got the suffrage, in 1891 and 1892, the average number of divorces was nine hundred and thirty-seven. For the three years 1894 to 1896 the average was but five hundred and seventeen.

During the ten years from 1896 to 1906, although the ratio of divorce increased in the western states on the average fifteen per cent, and in the country, as a whole, thirty per cent, in Colorado it has decreased twenty per cent. In absolute numbers divorces have increased about fifteen per cent in the country during the past five years and in the western states about one hundred per cent, but in Colorado the number has remained stationary during that period, making practically no increase at all.

Compared with eastern states, the ratio of divorce to the married population is high. We should not compare them with South Carolina (which grants no divorces) nor with New York where the only grounds are adultery on the part of the defendant and perjury on the part of the plaintiff. But compared with their neighbors, the suffrage states show a ratio about ten per cent less.

These last figures may not seem important, but remember, if you please, that we are not here to show that suffrage will diminish divorce, but to meet the objection that it will increase divorce. And my answer to the objection based on the figures I have read you, of the situation after from fifteen to forty years of suffrage is, " 'Tain't so."



"INDIRECT INFLUENCE IS ENOUGH"

By Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale



Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale

"THE INDIRECT INFLUENCE of women is enough" say the anti-suffragists, and conjure up a vision of the all-wise mother-wife, guiding her adoring men-folk by the light of her almost supernatural intuition up the foothills of the ideal.

How alluring are these flights of sentiment! How pathetic that we suffragists must apply the brakes to these starry aeroplanes and jolt them rudely to the earth! Yet it must be done, and can be, without broken bones or hearts. The sentimentalists must disembark and change wagons, if they desire indeed to be hitched to a star. We invite their inspection of an aeroplane of our own, built of reason and lofty purpose, and calculated—if properly driven—to carry us all to a region of finer, purer air than their poor wings of sentimentality can hope to lift them to. But in order that they may ride with us they must first know their own vehicle for what it is. Let us examine briefly with them the power and meaning of their Ideal; the directly voiceless and inexperienced, but Indirectly influential and informed, Protected Patroness of the Home.

Were all women intuitively Solons, and all men willing to go to school to them, then indeed this indirect power might exist; but at what a cost! The race of men in tutelage, each one abandoning the fruits of his experience at the behest of a guarded oracle, an aloof, irresponsible and arbitrary goddess!

But in fact, no one can be a Solon by intuition alone, and men prefer their own judgment, backed by experience in the world of business and politics, to the advice of the ignorant Goddess, that pedestalled uncrowned Queen of the Home, half angel and half child. And she rightly, if she be wife as well as angel, loves best the man who is strong in his own strength, whose judgment does not vacillate through any words of hers. The mother-wife, if of the true kind, surely does not seek to influence the views of the man she respects, when his conscience opposes those views to hers. But if in the past she ever did so, what proof have we of her success? Where in history has the Pedestalled Angel's voice overborn that of her free and unscrupulous sister; she who desired power in order to tyranise over, rather than to guide, men?

And this question brings me to a more important one. What *is* indirect influence? (Now must the sentimental aeroplane receive its earthward jolt.) Indirect influence, historically, has been the tool

of all subject peoples, of all enslaved classes; and it has never, no never once in all history, been the weapon of the free. Where slavery, where class rule most abounds, there indirect influence most flourishes —in British ruled India; in Turkish ruled Egypt; in the Zenana; in the Harem; in the prisons of the world; above all, subtle, menacing, debasing, in the Secret Houses; in the Chamber of the King's Mistress; in the Boudoir of the Dupe's Divinity. Here, indeed, throughout all history, we find the parasite's weapon used, the chain of the slave about her enslaving and enslaved masters.

Human influence is beautiful. We all possess it. By speech, by writing, by example, all human beings use it. But never in the past has it been enough for the free man. He has understood that responsibility for and to himself is the essence of freedom, and for direct, responsible influence to supplement the irresponsible, he has fought, suffered, and triumphantly died. Were women really Angels, O Sentimentalist, their human, irresponsible influence might suffice them—at great cost to their mates, as I have said. But they are not. On this planet they are, thank God, with their mates, human, and beginning to glory in their humanity.

Renouncing then, the unasked halo, what have they of influence—(over and above that human influence ever insufficient for their brothers)?—to cling to, stake all needs upon? "They have their *woman's* influence" say you. Ah, Sentimentalist, riding the Planes of Illusion, come down to earth and change wagons at last! What is this woman's influence so dear to you? "Woman's Influence," apart from the insufficient human, the illusiory angelic, what is it but *Female* Influence, the influence of La Pompadour and all her age-long tribe—the influence that has preyed upon the weakness of man since the world began. The influence that "twists a man round the little finger," that "cajoles," that "wheedles," the illicit influence of the weak over the strong, which it is our proud hope at the long last utterly to cast from us and destroy.

Would you have us stoop again to use it? Would you advocate this ignominy? No, faced with the issue I know that you would not. Your mate is free, and his words have the weight of responsibility behind them. When yours too have that weight, then indeed you will use your woman's influence to some purpose. But it will be the influence of a free human, answerable to none but her conscience, and reaching out a hand, not darkly behind closed shutters as must the subject people of the world, but fearlessly in the open, to aid her free and fearless mate.

"MEN WOULD CEASE TO LOVE US"

By Swinburne Hale



Mr. Hale

LADIES and Gentlemen, you will all cease to love each other as soon as you all have the vote. The anti-suffragists have said it! It has been proclaimed in the pamphlets of the League for the Useless Education of Women; it has resounded from the platforms of the National Association Opposed to Further Progress. Even the Committee for the Perpetuation of the Eighteenth Century has endorsed this great fundamental truth. When women vote, men will cease to love them. From which it follows that men will cease to marry them, will cease to have children by them, and will suffer the white nations to decline into sterility and emptiness, so that the invading Mongolian hordes of the year 2000 will find only deserted continents where there had been prosperous peoples. Unless, of course, the Mongolian races, by way of confirming in democracy their newly promised republics, should enfranchise their women also, and themselves go down to oblivion in loveless, childless celibacy.

Think of the possibility! Is there any race suicide like to this? Is it not even beyond the fondest dreams of our National and College ex-presidents? Is it not a subject calling for the instant investigation of Congress? How is California to be saved? By what drastic legislation shall we intervene to preserve the rapidly depleting populations of Washington and Colorado, of Wyoming and Utah and Idaho? Or must we look to the Men's League for Woman Suffrage to perpetuate the race?

Fortunately, as usual the anti-suffragists happen to be wrong. It is not a fact that men cease to love their women when they free them. Not only do freemen love the freewomen of their race, but they respect them and they admire them—oh, infinitely more than ever a shackled angel was respected or admired. And just because of the respect and admiration of that equal freedom there exists a reality of love which the shackled anti-suffragists never know. How should they know it? They have so concentrated themselves on the problem of creating in their men what they call love that they stand aghast at the emptiness of what they have created, and cry out for more anti-suffrage, more shackles, more angelic innocence and impotence. But the solution lies not that way. And why? Because we have reached the stage in the civilization of the world when a wide interest in the things of the world is demanded by men of women. And that wide interest necessitates among other things woman suffrage. Two centuries ago the men were satisfied with their women; they found them intelligent and strong and wise, and they loved them. For in those days of little communication and home industry and home education, the women had very nearly an equal chance with the men to experience the width of life and to develop intelligence and strength and wisdom. But to-day women of the comfortable middle class are in the anomalous position of having most of their old life taken from them and being given little opportunity or incentive to indulge in the new life—in that enormous multiplication of daily contacts with all the world that make a man's life rich. In consequence, the average woman has sunk in strength and wisdom and intelligence. More and more as she saw her life being emptied and both work and the need for work being taken from her with the rapidly increasing wealth of the country, she has stuffed her emptiness with vanity, until to-day—leaving aside the suffragists, the wives of the poor, and the wage-earners, to whom all honor and all praise!—the average woman is, let us say it frankly, weak and foolish and unintelligent.

And the men are discovering this! They are getting tired of it. They are demanding of the women that they fulfill better the capacity of helpmates and chums; and when they fail the men seek their serious life away from them—in business, in politics, in the clubs. The men do not all know *what* is the matter, but they do know that *something* is the matter. Many a man who considers himself an anti-suffragist is bitter against the selfishness and frivolity of women. Many a man would rather pay alimony than be forced to live with one of them. To put it brutally, the reason why men will not cease to love women when they have the vote is that they are ceasing to love them already! The anti-suffragists among the women are on the wrong track: sex alone, however heightened by frivolity and selfishness and charm, is not enough to create love; sex alone can only create passion, and passion is as evanescent as a sunset. Love is too big a thing to be based on sex alone; love is a human thing, demanding human support and human comradeship, and until the women of this country desire and regain the breadth and the depth and the vigor of human life—the chief symbol and weapon of which in a democracy is the vote—they will strive in vain to find and to keep the love that should be theirs by right of human endeavor and human happiness.

"WOMEN ARE DIFFERENT FROM MEN"

By Harriet B. Laidlaw



Mrs. Laidlaw

OF ALL the indisputable things that the antis say in a solemn way, one would suppose that this was so obvious that it could be spared from their list of platitudes.

What, anyway, is its bearing as an argument against suffrage? Just in proportion as women are like men they should have the same rights as men have—but even more is it true that in proportion as "women are different from men" the less can men represent them and voice their interests.

However, this consideration of sex is all beside the question. We demand equal suffrage primarily as human beings, not as women. Sex is the noble, efficient, exquisite condition that underlies all organic existence, and well-sexed creatures in any species are normal and edifying. But emphasis upon sex is a perversion, an abnormality. The extent of such emphasis is an index of the sanity or the degeneration, the morality or the immorality, the development or the imperfection of any species or race. No matter how important—biologically, socially, spiritually—sex may be, remember that the distinguishing characteristics of any species overshadow its sex difference. The difference between the male or female fish is insignificant compared with the difference between fish and lions. The difference between the lion and lioness is nothing compared with the difference between them and a man and woman. The difference between the male and female canabalistic Fiji is dwarfed compared with the difference between them and an Abraham Lincoln or a Florence Nightingale.

Strange is the phenomenon that among the so-called upper classes of the so-called highest civilizations, sex has been most emphasized! This is a foul perversion. Imagine an army of swallows starting on a migration managing their affairs on sex lines! Fancy a pack of wolves gathering for a great run gravely voicing fears that if the lady wolves are allowed to kill, race and fight by day and howl at the moon by night there might be a scarcity of baby wolves next season! Now the human race is made up of men and women and their little children, and *always will* be! We are going forward on a great migration into a land of social betterment, a land of democracy. Our women must run and hunt and seek and find side by side with our men.

Sex can take care of itself. It always has—our spots of effete, civilized mawkishness notwithstanding. Our human men and women

have trod this earth side by side. Women—real women, men's mates—have throughout the ages done strenuous, hard, crude, toilsome, productive work. In our own land they have born and reared children, kept their homes, wrestled with the wilderness and the desert, loaded guns, outwitted Indians and done a thousand heroic things without stopping to ask, "Is it ladylike?"

Everything basic is sexless from the protoplasmic life principle to the moral attributes. Vitality is sexless, will is sexless, purity—every human quality is sexless. Sex is a vital, fundamental thing. But its over-emphasis produces physically, a maudlin mess of humanity, a warped mind, an unstable organism; morally, a double standard destructive of social unity and efficiency. Let us just accept sex as an incident of our humanity and go about our human business.

This reminds me of a recent magazine article called "The Business of Being a Woman." Now, I challenge you, in all reputable literature of the last two hundred years, to find another phrase so shameful, so degenerate. Human work, human business have no sex. However men are different from women, it cannot be decently, normally argued that man shall make life and its activities his business and woman shall make her sex her business; that he shall be in the world and of the world, and that she shall be insulated, cut off from the vital currents of life on the platform of her sex.

There are two salient samples of the "business of being a woman." One is the Oriental woman imprisoned for one purpose in the harem, cut off from the life of her country. The other is the prostitute, the white slave, in our great cities imprisoned in the tolerated house for one purpose, cut off from the life, the protection of her country. Think of a *woman,* an Occidental woman, a moral woman using such a phrase. However, through all the mists of perverted or imperfect thought about men and women we have done well to emphasize manhood and motherhood. But let us average up a bit now on our human attributes and emphasize fatherhood and womanhood. Above all, let us remember that humanhood is greater than any of its attributes; loftier than even our most beautiful, our most poetic, ideals of manhood and womanhood. Let our ideals of humanity grow and rise serene and majestic.



"THERE IS NOTHING IN THE BALLOT"

By James Lees Laidlaw



Mr. Laidlaw

WHEN people propound this undemocratic sentiment they forget that universal manhood suffrage is less than one hundred years old in these states. For hundreds of years men struggled for a voice in the government, and they are still struggling for it on a large part of the earth's surface. Why all this earnest human effort to obtain something that does not count? Ask any man to give up his right to vote. Will he act as if there was nothing in it? Indeed, have not men died rather than surrender this cherished, hard-won right? And yet they say it does not count!

About election time we hear both political parties cry: "We are the workingman's friend! Vote for us and we will give you good labor laws!" Is this not an indication of the value of the ballot?

By the way, note that all three of the presidential candidates of one of the parties have come out, more or less, for votes for women. Who says that the presidential vote of over a million enfranchised women, in the six western states, does not count this year?

Some people argue that the labor union is the power that gets the laboring man fair treatment. But the labor union could not exist without the ballot back of it. It would be declared illegal or unconstitutional. Who can deny that it is the ballot back of laboring men that, used by them collectively, gives force to the demands of the union? The vote, if properly used, will get justice and fair treatment for any class of men.

It has been given to, or taken by, one class of men after another for the protection of that class, or in some cases to give them an advantage over other classes. The nobles, first, wanted protection from an autocratic ruler. Then other propertied classes wanted it to protect their property. Established religious classes wanted it to gain their special ends. Educated classes wanted protection from the ignorant.

But, finally, to promote justice for all men, universal manhood suffrage has been granted in certain of the more civilized countries; and we are only just beginning to have visions of its wonderful possibilities.

Now, in the name of all that is just and right, why should we deprive women of this power for self-protection? We must not and we will not, for more than a short time longer, withhold this measure of justice.

"WOMEN WOULD TAKE THE OFFICES FROM THE MEN"

By Fola La Follette



Miss La Follette

TO OPPOSE women's enfranchisement on the ground that if women vote they will take the offices from the men indicates one of two points of view: First, either a belief that all women are inferior to men in administrative efficiency and that the community will suffer where they serve; or, second, a belief that, though some women may be the equals or superiors of men in administrative efficiency in certain public capacities, public office is a political plum garden where you wish to maintain a sweet male monopoly at whatever cost to the community.

This second attitude of mind can be maintained only by graft politicians, who will never be for granting women the vote until women get it and can defeat them for office. For the one thing the graft politician does not want is a real demoracy. Therefore we may disregard this second state of mind.

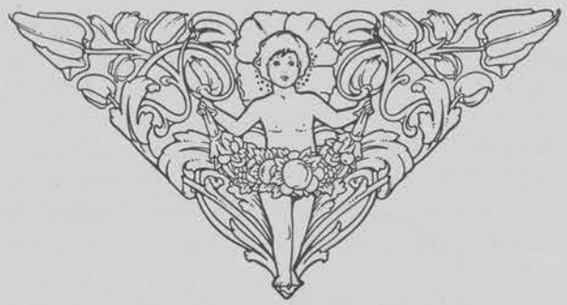
The first group, however, who honestly believe that women are inferior to men in administrative efficiency, we merely ask to stop worrying about the future and consider the present facts. What of the administrative efficiency of the housewives who have made the static family income meet the continually increasing cost of living? If some of you men feel this doesn't require administrative capacity try it for a month or a year. Judge Lindsey says in a recent article that "politics is nothing more nor less than public housekeeping." Why wouldn't our thrifty housewives prove economical city housekeepers?

What about our women public school teachers who render this high public service with as much efficiency and conscientious devotion as if they did get equal pay for equal work? If women are inefficient public servants why do we find some of our best probation officers among them? Why have some of our most effective inspectors and investigators been women? Why do many of our ablest contributions to child labor laws come from women? In Chicago there is a woman garbage inspector; she has the cleanest district in the city, and when any other district gets practically impossible there is always a call for this woman to come and make the inefficient men clean it up.

Woman hold those offices and many others in states where there is only male suffrage, which means that they hold them by the consent of men alone. In the states where equal suffrage exists, as well as in the states where there is only male suffrage, women tend

to hold office in the line of their traditional service to the race, that is in those branches of city and state housekeeping involving the care of children and the larger house of the community. They have held other offices however; they have served as legislators, and have served well, being returned to office by the votes of both men and women.

But, grant that with equal suffrage, women may serve not only in state legislatures but also in the national legislatures. Suppose we do have women congressmen and women senators. All the big special interests such as the Sugar Trust, the Woolen Trust and the railways have representatives who protect their interests. Don't you think it would be a good thing to have a representative of the children's interests in the United States Senate? Don't you think Jane Addams would be a good substitute for William Lorimer?



"WOMEN ARE ANGELS"

By George Middleton



Mr. Middleton

TO ACKNOWLEDGE women are never angels would deprive me of a target. So in order to have something to hit, I must admit that all women *are* angels. Because they are all angels they should have the vote.

Neither temperament nor opportunity have made me an authority on angels. Besides, I have never been curious. Yet, as all men know, there are many kinds of angels. In fact, an angel is as hard to define as to decline. In theatrical parlance, for example, an angel is the person who puts up the money for the "show." I've been told there are many women of this sort who put up the money for the home. Even a full-fledged, self-sustaining angel may have parasites. Sometimes she is only a contributing editor who helps increase the circulation. Since these women are usurping man's traditional privileges of support, why should they not have a chance at his obligations? The overwhelming task of placing once a year a ballot in the box should not be his burden alone. As a man, I protest against the discrimination against my sex. We men cannot protect ourselves. When women are supporting us or our chidlren, or contributing to the support of our home, they should have some say as to the laws that govern us. It is a fundamental outrage that women should have no expression in a vote. Men have achieved the ballot by Divine Right, but I say upon women the ballot should be thrust.

But there are other angels than these self-sustaining, these who contribute equally with men. There are the dreams we seek—elusive angels who inspire us to better things. Here I am on more familiar ground. If they *had* the suffrage would we ever not acquire better citizenship each time we embraced them? Then, indeed, to love her would be a liberal education.

In Dante's celebrated poem, "Angels I Have Met," we find many others. They share men's sins, why not his vote? We are told we have the ballot because of the bullet. We know all men who vote, fight. But what lithograph for battle-fields without its hovering angel?

I mean nothing irreverent in speaking for final angels; the inhabitants of Heaven. For many years they were considered sexless. In the sixteenth century, fortunately, it was discovered they might be women. Ever since, they have been loaned to the earth to make men dream of Paradise. And to-day no man, even the strongest opponent to woman suffrage, will arrogate unto himself exclusive citizenship in

Heaven. There are other places he feels he may meet his friends. This brings me to a further illogicality. Heaven is open to all who may enter; it is a place where there are no mistakes; it is the greatest dream for democracy ever dreamed yet—and this is what puzzles me: How can there be a limited suffrage in a true democracy? It is impossible; even angels should have suffrage—if men achieve Heaven and have suffrage also.

In conclusion, I wish to say—if my arguments have been absurd it is because this objection to woman suffrage is absurd. Individually women may be better than men; but as a class, women admit they are not. No woman has a monopoly on the virtues. No man has a monopoly on the vices. These are merely stray examples of over-capitalization. That which we call angelic is sexless; it lurks in both men and women. But, like an emotion that dies if not turned into an action, it is a useless decoration if not a living force. It's time we dispose of protection for the good; I'm for free trade in the economic and political scheme. Equal opportunity before the law and in making the law. All women are not camphorated females. Some don't need the moth-balls of masculine solicitude. No woman will be too good for the problems of her full citizenship. Therefore, if there is anything angelic lying around loose that we haven't made use of, we'd better nail it on the statute books, and nail it quick.

"IT WOULD MAKE WOMEN LESS ATTRACTIVE"

By Hutchins Hapgood



Mr. Hapgood

FOR A human being to be thoroughly interesting, he or she must stand sensitively on the threshhold of the future. All the faculties of the mind and temperament must take an attitude hospitable to social forms not yet fully developed.

When we meet a man or a woman whose nature seems tremulous with the future, we are strangely and pleasurably excited. He or she is the incarnation of the breaking of old bonds, not to be destroyed, but to deepen life.

The woman whose soul is dissatisfied because her imagination foreshadows another and better world, interested enormously the imagination of Ibsen; she must interest the imagination of all poets and idealists. She must interest all men who love experience and who know that the deeper pleasure of life is bound up with the active forging of new forms.

The women who wants the vote is far more interesting than the vote. It may be that the value of her securing the right to vote, will be the realization of its relative hollowness. But that does not matter. Voting will mean experience and a widening of her activities. It will mean a social working together with many men and many women. It will mean, to some degree, the realization of the social imagination that is now moving her.

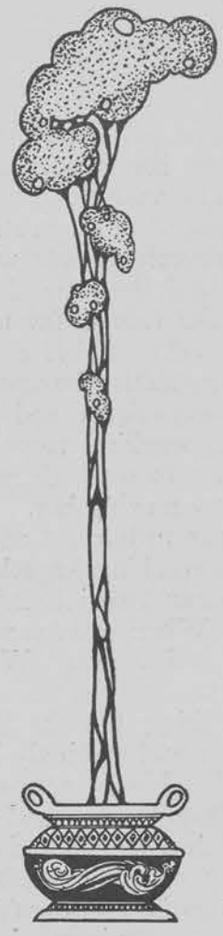
Men know that the deeper intimacies among men are dependent in large measures on men working together. In the city it is a habitual experience that we can associate intimately only with people who are working with us. When women vote there will be another working bond between men and women. We will tend to be intimate with women in a new way.

Everybody who tries a thing for the first time is likely to be awkward. A man hopelessly and suddenly in love is awkward in the expression of it until he is able to connect it with his total life interests. Some of our suffragettes are awkward, but that awkwardness is the condition of their becoming charming with a new and deeper charm; the condition on which an enriching of their nature is dependent. That deep charm is already felt by civilized men whose temperament demands a constantly-increasing vitalization of life.

The suffragette movement means that women demand a larger home, a larger and more varied intercourse with the world. Experience makes men interesting. It makes women interesting. The woman who knows many men well, is, other things equal, more inter-

esting than the woman who knows one man well. The suffragette will bring to her husband or lover, the strong and exciting charm of her experience with the world, including her experience with other men.

The only woman capable of satisfying a civilized man is a civilized woman, and she cannot be fully civilized except on the basis of as rich and full experience as possible, the vote is one of the things which will tend to bring her that experience.



"WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME"

By Inez Milholland



Miss Milholland

IF WOMAN'S place is in the home, how does it happen that there are about eight million women in the United States who are out of the home—working in gainful occupations? How does it come that that number is increasing every day? How does it happen that one-fifth of all women in the world are out of the home—forced to maintain themselves in one or another of the gainful occupations? According to the census of 1900, out of the 131 occupations classified as gainful, we find women in all but two.

Now, those of you who say woman's place is in the home, what are you going to do about these women. There is no use telling them to stay in the home, because if they stayed in the home they would starve in the home—and I don't suppose you want them to starve. You might provide for their maintainance in the home by giving them a government pension. Then what would happen to our educational institutions, our philanthropic institutions, our civic institutions, etc., much of the work of which is done by women out of the home?

If you want to be consistent you have got to remove all these women from these positions, put them back into the home and provide for their support.

Women are not in the workaday world because the conditions under which they must labor are so inviting, but because in order to live they have got to follow their work where it has gone; that is, out of the home and into the factory.

There instead of doing the work by their hands they do it—much more efficiently and cheaply—by means of machines. The only thing lacking in the factory which the women workers had in the home is protection and control—and these she can regain by means of the ballot.

"WOMEN ARE ALREADY OVERBURDENED"

By Sadie American



Miss American

OF COURSE they are already overburdened. The other day I read, in an account of the laundry strike, of a woman who was working (and she was but a type), between seventy-five and eighty hours a week standing on her feet pressing on a man's shirt with all her strength in order that at the end of the week the man might appear on Sunday in full regalia. It is said that change is rest, so I respectfully suggest that if, from that wooden attitude of which we are conscious as to her nether part and perhaps as to her arms, she was to take a nice walk in the fresh air beside a man who perhaps wore dickies to save the over-burdened woman, toward a polling booth, in the meanwhile discussing what each was going to do, that it might start into activity some of those nerve centers which she had not had an opportunity to exercise during the week and that it would be doing a great deal of good to her general physique. And if she deposited a ballot and thus exercised the finer muscles of her hands, she would be making herself an all-around woman.

Another case of overburdening: In the newspapers the other day—and whatever "stands in the newspapers" is so—I saw that a woman had just given birth to her eighteenth child. That was not overburdening; children are a joy. In the course of the daily work of this good woman she must not only look after the health and the digestion of these eighteen, she is compelled to think of the food—if it is clean; the milk—if it is pure; the water—if it is germ-free; of the streets—if they are safe, so that her children may not meet with accidents; of the school-houses—that they be clean; of the grocers and market men—that they give full measure; and so all along the line.

Now I opine that if she was relieved of some of this burden on her mind by also taking a walk to get the air on the way to the polling booth, this also might be a rest and a change and a delight.

Again, there is another class of women—women of leisure, social workers—who keep very busy watching the men who are supposed to cast the vote for others and these women would be relieved if they could have a change and something else to think about, e. g., casting the vote themselves; and a fourth small class of women who in another way are overburdened, drinking chocolate in bed, having an early luncheon, a tea, a dinner and an after-theatre supper, and in

between clothes and trivialities; and these would certainly be relieved and bettered if they had some other business to think about.

What, then, shall we say, returning to our statement that women are *already* overburdened? Well, if they are *already* overburdened, then they are going to have another burden, if the vote is, according to what our objection seems to imply, a burden. Is it a burden? Is it not rather a pleasure? We would make it such and more, for we would make it a relief from overburdening. Then how a burden? Is it an end in itself? Not at all. It is a means to an end—to *the* end, self-protection, self-preservation. Is it not therefore a right? Surely a right and therefore again a duty—a duty in a double sense, to release men (we are not selfish) from their burden of responsibility in the overburdening of women, and to relieve women; and so we hark back to the fact that the vote is not a burden but a pleasure and a joy, and what man would acknowledge that he would deprive woman of either?

Ever since this objection has been placed before me a picture seen some years ago has obsessed my eyes. I was present one fourth of July in a mining-town where one of the sports of the day consisted in loading and unloading burros—a prize being offered for the quickest worker. Pile on pile was loaded on the burros' backs, then piece by piece removed! It took some time. Suddenly all eyes were attracted to a burro evidently grown somewhat impatient of man's burdening and unburdening. Suddenly it rose on its hind legs, and with one good, steady shake relieved itself of its burdens itself. They fell to the ground, and the animal, with a brave, loud smile of satisfaction, cavorted around free! And I was, and am, certain that it was a lady burro teaching its lesson of self-unburdening.

If, therefore, women are *already* overburdened—the "one more burden" of the ballot will be the means of relief—aye, relief and change and rest from votes for women to votes by women for women.



"WOMEN ARE REPRESENTED NOW"

By Howard B. Woolston



Mr. Woolston

IN ANSWERING this assertion we must first define political representation. By this term we mean government through delegates chosen by those represented. Any other plan is a more or less benevolent despotism. The Declaration of Independence makes this point plain.

Now the basis of our representation is the total population, but the method of selecting delegates is by the ballot. Suffrage here is conferred upon adult males with certain qualifications of residence. Others who are denied this right have no controlling voice in the conduct of government; and since they cannot delegate powers which they do not possess, such persons are not represented.

Admitting that women are not directly represented, it is sometimes claimed that they are indirectly represented by the votes of men. This might be possible if there was a male voter for every woman. But such is not the case. According to the census of 1900, in eleven states women outnumbered men. This was also true of most cities. In such cases equal representation upon the basis of male suffrage is impossible.

But taking the country as a whole, the twelfth census showed about a million and a half more males of voting age than adult women. Five million men, however, were foreigners and over two million of them were not naturalized. Now, if we add to these alien males, native men in almshouses, insane asylums and state prisons, there were over one million women in excess of possible male voters.

We must further deduct from potential male electors an unknown number of illiterate colored men disfranchised in the South, and many others throughout the country who were absent or unregistered at election time. Perhaps seventy per cent of all electors actually cost their ballot. The presidential campaign of 1900 brought out a large vote—nearly fourteen million. But that was only one vote for every five or six persons—not enough properly to represent twenty million women. Indeed, there were two million less actual voters than families in the United States at that time, and almost half a million less than the total number of separate dwellings. We cannot assume adequate representation upon such a basis.

It may be said that equality of numbers is unnecessary since women are represented by the men of their families. Let us see. Our statistics show that less than seventy per cent of all females

fifteen years of age and over were or had been married. That the other thirty per cent were represented by male relatives, is a matter of pure conjecture. How about immigrant maid servants and country girls in our city shops?

In the second place, there were more native married women than native married men. Of the excess foreign-born married men, some had wedded native women, others had wives abroad. But such representation is of doubtful value, since many of these men were aliens, illiterate and unassimilated.

Thirdly, widows and divorced women numbered over two million, eight hundred thousand. They may have been represented by relatives, admirers, dependents, or even by attorney. But the possible complications involved in such cases lead us finally to consider how men can actually fix their ballots to express the will of their women coadjuters.

To begin with a simple case, suppose a husband and wife agree on political matters. Then one vote represents two people. But if they differ, will their choices cancel or will the man nullify the woman's views? It may be claimed that their interests are identical and that the man must decide for both. Identity of interests is a large assumption; identity of choice is a larger one. When this man's junior partner or his unmarried son differ on such matters their choice actually offsets his.

Next, suppose this couple is blessed with a family of grown daughters. How shall father adequately represent all the ladies, especially if they disagree? Evidently the odd girl must seek another champion. It may be possible to find a young man who is fancy-free and unencumbered with a widowed mother or a maiden aunt. But if this admirer attempt a compromise with the views of his lady friends, imagination fails to conjure up the appearance of his ballot. Probably he would be led to adopt the crude male expedient of balancing various opinions, and trusting to the secrecy of the polling booth, to mark the ticket according to his own best lights. I wonder how many men ever do otherwise.



"THE BALLOT MEANS THE BULLET"

By Inez Haynes Gillmore



Mrs. Gilmore

OF ALL the objections brought against equal suffrage, the objection that because they cannot fight, women should not be permitted to vote is the most absurd. I hope that I do not take more than two minutes and a half to talk about it because it is not worth even that.

In the first place, military service has never been considered a qualification for voting for the men of this country.

If military service was considered a qualification for voting, men over forty-five could not vote because they are not physically fit to join the army. It that was so, most professional men would be debarred from fighting. At the time of the Civil War it was found that, out of every thousand lawyers 544 were unfit for military service, out of 1,000 physicians, 680 were unfit, out of 1,000 journalists, 740 were unfit and out of 1,000 preachers, 975 were unfit. It that was so, most of our voters would be boys, because boys have fought all our wars. Out of three million enlisted men in the Civil War, two million were under twenty-one.

The argument that women should not vote because they cannot fight is absurd for other reasons. In the first place, women can fight—as witness Joan of Arc and Moll Pitcher. And in the second place, if in order to vote it is necessary for us to fight, then we will fight. Personally, I would much prefer to go to war with all the pomps of war—the band playing and the banners streaming—than wait around at home for the men to come back and tell me about it.

If there had not been something interesting and exciting and stimulating about war, wouldn't we women have had to do it long before this— at a reduced wage?

In the next place, this objection to equal suffrage is absurd because war is gradually disappearing from the earth. If women were to be universally enfranchised, there would never be another war.

And in the last place, the bullet isn't the bullet any longer: the ballot is the bullet. He who is armed with the ballot is better armed than he who is armed with the bullet. And any citizen of this country can protect it better with the ballot than he can with a million guns.

"UNDESIRABLE WOMEN CHIEFLY WOULD USE THE VOTE"

By Maude E. Miner



Miss Miner

WHO ARE the undesirable women? They are the women of the streets and the houses of prostitution, the women who ultimately get into the courts, and who, from there, go on their way to the prison and the workhouse.

It is taken for granted that these women are going to sell their votes; that among them will be offered great opportunity for corruption; that they cannot be depended upon for any possible good.

As a matter of fact, this has not been the case in the states and countries where woman suffrage obtains.

Do we really know these women. I know them, and I find in my work with them that some of them can be depended upon. I find that they have consciences and hearts. They tell me of the young girls who are in dangerous places and they help me in saving these girls. They do not like to see others getting into trouble and often they will help them out of it.

The women of this class in Denver appealed to a woman's political club to protect them from the action taken by the police in forcing them to register and vote. They did not want to register. They never do register if they can help it, because they do not want to disclose their names and addresses. The Denver women took up the matter, and soon after the commissioner of police was relieved of his office.

We will find that the number of these women will decrease with the suffrage. Once the women of our land awaken to the condition which exists, they will take action. They will understand that these women are not in prostitution because they like it or because they are vicious or depraved. They are there because of the conditions under which they have lived and worked and played; because men who are procurers and white slave traffickers have brought them there; not because they themselves wished it.

Women are going to demand a suppression of prostitution—not regulation nor restriction, but abolition. This means enforcing the present laws against prostitution, against street soliciting and houses of prostitution and against procuring women for the traffic. It means securing new laws if they are necessary. It means that public opinion is going to be aroused to demand more protection for the young girls who are feeding prostitution; and, in time, bring about a more equal standard of morality for men and women alike.

"WOMEN ARE NOT READY FOR IT"

By Joseph O'Brien



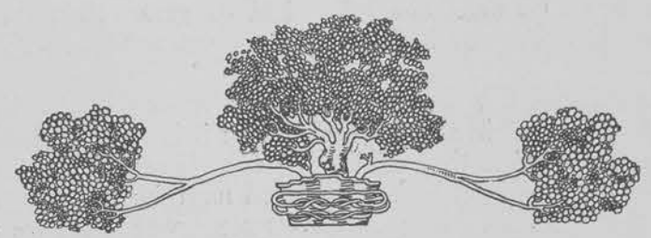
Mr. O'Brien

THE TEST of readiness is opportunity. Readiness for any activity, individual or social, cannot be determined until the opportunity is reached. But when we see a large group of our fellow-beings striving intelligently and earnestly for a chance to take on a heavy social responsibility, as in the case of the women who seek the ballot, and when they recognize in it an obligation rather than a privilege, we may safely assume a readiness for that responsibility.

The ballot is a device by which an individual opinion may be made effective in a political democracy. Woman's training fits her pre-eminently to form an opinion, to which she may not as yet give political expression, on those matters of administration which most vitally affect the welfare of the individual and the state. Fundamentally the affairs of government are more nearly related to the home than to the business office, although man, who seems to have been born with a ballot in his hand, has used it to pervert the normal functions of government. Women have proven their ability to relate the affairs of the home to the larger affairs of the state. Many of our most important social reforms—in schools, in factories, in labor conditions—are due largely to her influence—not her indirect influence, but to her direct, intelligent and often highly-specialized activities. She is by training an administrator and her successful conduct of the affairs of the home has been duplicated in the schools, in industry and in professional life. There is almost no field of human activity which she has not touched. And there has never been any question of her readiness to undertake new and larger activities as long as they have left her dependent. It is only when she seeks this new political activity that will make her an independent unit in our imperfect democracy that the question of her readiness is raised.

I spent a week in Lawrence, Mass., where twenty-five thousand men and women workers in the woolen mills are on strike for a living wage. After their spontaneous revolt against insufferable conditions they were organized by the Industrial Workers of the World. I found that, on the picket line, only women were entrusted with the delicate and even dangerous task of turning back their fellow-workers from going to the mills. I wondered why the men weren't there, too. I investigated and found out. The officers of the union told me that the men lacked self-control, that they were highly excitable, easily provoked to violence, prone to make themselves amenable to hostile

authority. Then women were tried. They were not less courageous than the men, but they were calmer, more rational and less violent in their treatment of the non-union workers, more effective in their work; and rioting ceased. This was not due to any gallantry on the part of the scabs, nor to chivalry on the part of the police and the militia. It was due to the ability of these women, humble, foreign-born mill-workers, untrained and uneducated, to sense the difficulties of the situation and to carry on their work with a minimum of friction. The sight of those women on the picket-line answered a lot of objections to suffrage such as the ignorant foreign vote and the question of readiness. They could vote intelligently to-morrow if they had the chance.



"WOMAN SUFFRAGE WOULD INCREASE CORRUPTION"

By Lincoln Steffens



Mr. Steffens

IT WOULD. But what of it?

We don't take the ballot from railroad presidents because railroads have to buy votes; nor from the colored voters of our cities and the good old American white stock of the rural districts of New England, Pennsylvania and Indiana because they sell their votes.

There is truth in the first implication in this: That women are morally as bad as men. Politically, I think they are worse. They must be. Morality is largely a matter of practice, and women had had no practice in political morality till the suffragists got into the game. And they are showing already that they are as prone to put the special interest of women above the common interest of all as a railroad, a church or a political party. And that's what political corruption is, in its final analysis. Let us grant then that woman suffrage would make our bad government worse for a while. What of it?

Good government is not what we are after. That's the second implication contained in this objection, and it is false and misleading. This is the assumption that makes the Goo-Goos wish for a limited, aristocratic franchise and look for a good man for mayor. And they are right, theoretically. If good government was what we are after, the thing to do is to get a good king.

But, practically, kings have failed, and aristocracies have failed, and now our plutocracy is failing. All these governments rule the people, not in the common interest, but in the special interest of the king, of the aristocracy, or, with us, of business. We are being forced to turn to the people, all the people; not the best people, not even good people, but all the people, on the theory that if all the people are given the vote, all the interests of all the people will somehow be represented; that even if they all vote, even corruptly, in their special interests, the result will be an approximation to, possibly a conscious, intelligent perception of, the common interest of all the people as a people. And, as for morality, since representative government is no more an end than good government is an end; since government itself is but a means to an end; and since that end is the improvement, not of government, but of the brand of men and women, it follows that the participation of all men and women is good for them. No matter whether it is good for the government or bad, the voters'

responsibility with power, the freedom of choice and the exercise of morality under temptations is good; good for men and, since women are so much worse than men politically, absolutely necessary for women. The worse they are, the more corrupt and corrupting, the more necessary it is that they vote. We must make the wives and mothers of men good, incorruptible and moral.

"IT WOULD CREATE SEX ANTAGONISM"

By Griffin Barry



Mr. Barry

IT IS held that sex antagonism would not only be one of the undesirable effects of woman suffrage but that it is one of its causes, and a peculiarly unpleasant one. I think there is much truth in the belief, and that certainly it is unpleasant. In reality it is the same antagonism that springs up inevitably between the rulers and the ruled—as soon as the ruled begin to think. The fact that many of the rulers do not recognize themselves as such, the fact that men's power over women is indeed smaller in this democratic age than it has been ever before in history, and above all the fact that a majority of American women do not picture themselves as ruled—these undeniable facts take nothing away from the reality. The reality is evident all about you—softened a little by civilization, to be sure, but still harsh enough and absurd enough—in the written law, in unwritten social custom, and in the world of work.

Not many generations ago the policy of educating women was born, and in that moment their antagonism for those who assumed to do their thinking for them was born, too. Sixty or seventy years of the education of women, and a class is among us who have been taught to think, many of them the daughters of mothers who have been taught to think also, so that in their own time thinking has become a vital habit. But civilization, while making part of its creatures heiresses to this gift, has neglected to provide—as yet—anything but a stony field for its exercise. And the deprivation falls on all classes—not equally, but so as to let no woman entirely escape.

whether or not she is conscious of her sharing. As usual, the self-supporting woman meets it first, bluntly and fully; and the supported woman feels it later in ways that are, to the best of them, real enough.

The educated girl can go to work, for instance, selling her thought power in the market; but she must expect to get considerably less pay as a rule than men performing the same tasks. That is one, at least, fruitful cause of sex antagonism. Or she can live at home with her family—if her family can maintain her—and touch the imitations of life to be found in books and the arts, and thus get the illusion of having lived. That is about as much satisfaction to the most vital of them as exercising in a gymnasium is to one who really wants a ramble down a country lane with the wind in one's face. Most of them fall back along the line of least resistance and, with something like fortitude, follow the ancient career of matrimony.

But another way has developed within the last few years; one that does not bar out the creative joy of work, nor the aesthetic satisfactions of art, nor the emotional satisfactions of marriage. It may easily include all three; it often does. Women may become suffragists. If you will look about you at the number of yellow buttons pinned upon shirtwaists, you will observe that a formidable number of them have.

"IT WILL DESTROY CHIVALRY"

By Charles H. Caffin



Mr. Caffin

THE QUESTION of equal suffrage has nothing to do with the so-called decay of chivalry. Chivalry is an institution of the past; and its passing away is the result of a changed attitude toward life and of modern economic conditions. The institution, like its name, is obnoxious to democracy. The very word is a horsey word, not a human one. As Charles Sumner declared over fifty years ago: "The age of chivalry is gone. An age of humanity has come. The horse, whose importance, more than human, gave the name to that early period of gallantry and war, now yields his foremost place to man." Meanwhile, since Sumner's day, the horse has been supplanted by trolley cars, with all that they typify in the way of social and economic change.

Sumner hit the mark when he associated chivalry with "gallantry" and "war." For chivalry belonged to a system of society, established by men of the privileged class to satisfy and justify their brutal lust of war, and was the artificial varnish of ideals and manners with which they glossed over their brutality and licentiousness. Chivalry at the top of the social scale has always involved slavery, either actual or virtual, at the bottom. Moreover, its gallantry was expended quite as often on the mistress as the wife. More often, indeed, at the time of the Renaissance, when Platonic Love was the fad. For when the perverted imagination of men had idealized woman into a creature of super-human perfections and set her up on a pedestal to be adored, not for her actual self and her true possibilities of womanhood, but for qualities with which man had invested her to satisfy his own ideas, the wife remained in the background, breeding children for her lord, while chivalry was expended on the mistress.

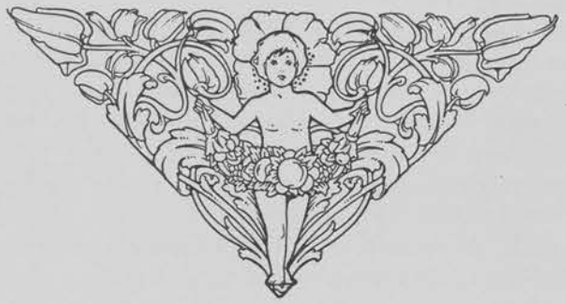
And even such chivalry ceased to be an expression of physical or spiritual enthusiasm and became a mere convention of fashion.

Nor was such poisonous nonsense as this confined to the past. In our own day it still clings about what is left of chivalry; that thing of shreds and tatters which is stuck up as a scarecrow in the path of progress. For it is the qualities of a mistress in the woman that the so-called chivalry of to-day still extolls. It invites her wiles of allurement; encourages her to wheedle, cajole and woo. Meanwhile the independent womanliness in her it smothers with the incense of flattery. It would keep her the doll of man's desires; the puppet to his pleasures.

Every stage in woman's physical, mental and spiritual advancement chivalry has done its futile worst to block. It denied her equal rights of education; it is now with its skeleton arm endeavoring to bar her from the inevitable result to which the use she has made of education has entitled her.

Meanwhile this precious chivalry still involves a virtual slavery. To enjoy its artificial benefits the woman must still be the servant of the man's conveniences. She must make him a home and breed him children, or chivalry is not for her. The woman who is not invited or does not wish to occupy this favored position is outside of chivalry. Chivalry takes no account of the working girl or woman, who, whether from choice or compulsion, of necessity is doing her work and man's work in the outside world. Chivalry in the parlor asks permission of the ladies before it lights its cigar; but in the office without question puffs the smoke in the tired eyes of its stenographer or expectorates on the floor which some exhausted widow will have to scrub.

To-day, when a man treats a woman with decency and respect, it is not because of chivalry but humanity; and because he recognizes that economic conditions have brought about a change in the mutual status of man and woman. He is impelled by a sense of equal justice and welcomes equal suffrage in the hope that it will put a final quietus to the hypocritical selfishness of chivalry.



"WOMEN CANNOT DEFEND THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE"

By Maud Nathan



Mrs. Nathan

FROM the earliest days women have proved themselves capable of taking up arms in defense of their country, when they have thought it necessary to do so.

In India, as early as 200 B. C. the Hindu women fought on the battlefield against the enemies of their country. The Rig Veda celebrates the deeds of the wife of King Nameechi, who was sent by him to fight against his enemies and conquered them. The heroic Queen Chânda Bébe successfully defended the fort of Ahmednuggar against the attacks of the Mogul Emperor Akhar. The Rani of Jhânsi, held a portion of the British army in check during the famous mutiny of 1857-58. Sir Hugh Rose declared that the best man on the enemy's side, was the Rani of Jhânsi, not knowing that the Rani was not a man, but was the Queen, herself.

Herodotus mentions two Libyan tribes who trained their girls to the use of arms. Harpalyce, daughter of a King of Thrace, placed herself at the head of the troops, when her father was defeated and taken prisoner, and attacking the enemy put it to flight and rescued her father. Atalanta of Greece was another renowned woman warrior. It was a woman warrior, too, Queen Tomyris who succeeded in vanquishing Cyrus, one of the world's greatest conquerors.

The British and Caledonian women were, as a rule, brave and warlike and invariably followed their husbands to battle. In the early days of Britain, more than five thousand women enlisted under the banner of Queen Boadicea, and fought as bravely as the men. The Gallic and German women joined frequently in the battles between rival tribes. The women of Tortosa, Spain, distinguished themselves so highly in skirmishes with the Moors, that a military order of knighthood was conferred upon them.

The first crusading armies commanded by Peter the Hermit, contained nearly as many women as men, who fought with equal bravery and success.

In Holland, in the Eighty Year War, the women fought on the walls as well as the men. In the sieges of Alkenaar, Leiden and Haarlem, special mention is made of the deeds of the women. One woman, Renau Hasselaar, recruited a whole regiment of her sex. A park in Haarlem has been named after her.

In the sixteenth century, Madame de Retz, a scholar and the mother of ten children, all educated by her, led her troops against an

opposing army in which her own son was the chief officer; and completely routed his forces. Mademoiselle Lix, the daughter of a French officer, took part in the Polish rebellion and in the Franco-German war as a lieutenant; and her soldierly conduct won for her a gold medal from the French Government, the Bronze Cross of the "Ambulances," the medal of the Pontificial Zouaves, and a sword of honor presented by the ladies of Alsace.

As for the Austrian army, an officer wrote: "We had wives and daughters of frontier soldiers with us on the march through Hungary, who equalled the men in the endurance of fatigue, and they displayed undaunted courage in battle."

In Russia the St. Petersburg census of 1829 showed that among the soldiers and subalterns there were nearly ten thousand women.

In the Russo-Japanese war, many of the Japanese soldiers, who did such good work, were women, and in the recent Chinese Revolution, there was a regiment of Chinese girls.

Many women participated in the American Revolution. One of them, Deborah Samson, was in the army three years before her sex was discovered, and was twice wounded. It is recorded that "her exemplary conduct, and the fidelity with which her duties were performed, gained the approbation and confidence of the officers."

It is estimated that during our Civil War more than four hundred women enlisted in the Union army, and that a large number fought on the Confederate side. It was said that at one time there were one hundred and fifty women in the army of the Potomac alone.

In 1863 the Cincinnati *Times* reported: "Several of the Fair Sex were in the Confederate ranks and certainly conducted themselves with a great deal of courage." The Louisville *Journal* mentioned Frances Hook of Illinois, who enlisted with her brother, as having been of great service as a scout, and said her place would not easily be filled. She was praised as a true patriot and a gallant soldier. Mrs. Francis L. Clayton of St. Paul, fought at the side of her husband in eighteen battles; she was wounded three times and was once taken prisoner.

It would seem that women like these would have no difficulty in defending their vote. However, in preference to smashing heads, they smash windows. Women's best weapons are women's tongues and women's clubs. With these to-day they *are* defending their right to vote.

"THEY WOULDN'T USE IT IF THEY HAD IT"

By Elizabeth Gerberding



Mrs. Gerberding

THE source of arguments usually brought against woman suffrage may be found, generally, in force of habit and tradition; but the argument that "they wouldn't use it if they had it," cannot come under that category, for wherever women have the franchise they certainly do use it.

In Wyoming, forty-three years ago, women were given the vote because the bad men outnumbered the good men, and the good men wanted the help of the women to better conditions. Did those women use the vote? They did—and have kept on using it all these years. When Wyoming wished to become a State, it was proposed to take the suffrage from the women; but the men said "no, if our women who have helped us are not allowed to vote, we will not become a State."

Shortly after the women got the vote in the State of Washington, the Mayor of Seattle, with the chief of police, did a particularly vicious thing for the city, and within a period of three days 23,000 women registered and recalled the Mayor. Since then, they have put that chief of police in the penitentiary.

In Colorado, the women have used the vote ever since it was given, and they have passed many laws for betterment especially affecting women and children. In my own State, California, the women are certainly using the vote. They not only register in greater numbers than the men, but the majority do it at the earliest possible moment.

In Australia, New Zealand and other countries where women have the vote, there is no doubt that it is used.

The crime implied in the statement, "they wouldn't use it if they had it" is the crime of negligence, the greatest in the calendar—greater than arson or murder—because it harms a greater number of human beings. The man who avoids politics because he knows them to be corrupt, who shirks his duty to himself and society because that duty is unpleasant, or, who through indifference fails to cast his vote, is a criminal of the worst type.

If he were not aware of the vital importance of the vote he could plead "not guilty"; but he thoroughly understands the situation, and no excuse is possible. The average woman is better than the average man; she is more conscientious as regards her home and children and the influences surrounding them than the man. Would the average woman be found guilty of this crime of negligence?

Picture a home in the pioneer days of this country. Suppose a

rifle were given to a woman and she was told to use it in the protection of her home and children against hostile foes. Would this woman cast the weapon aside and allow it to become rusty and useless? The records do not bear out such a reproach against American womanhood. She did not do it then and she will not do it to-day when the foes are a thousand-fold more dangerous. The weapon of the vote will be kept bright and ready for use.

In the West is heard always the cry for betterment of conditions. It is on this ground that woman suffrage has been given in the Western States, and I believe that on this ground it will be given in all the States.

Hinging upon this subject is that other "let the women decide." Last year a man who had been opposing woman suffrage for sixteen years introduced a bill to have the matter left to the women alone. It was lost, but not before it was shown to be impractical and impossible. In the first place the women are not registered—a woman might vote once or six times. Aliens might vote. A fund would have to be set aside by legislative action for the purpose of registration; and a fund would have to be set aside by legislative action for the purpose of paying for a special election, and when all this should have been accomplished the result would be a "straw vote."

Besides, in the West, where betterment is the mainspring of the woman suffrage movement, there is a large proportion of men who have positive convictions as to the practical value of the potential woman vote in their search for a solution of problems developed by political corruption. These men want woman suffrage. It would not be fair to them to "let the women decide." They have a right to a voice in the decision of such an important question.

If any one really believes that "we wouldn't use it if we had it," all I have to say, speaking for the women of California where we've got it is, just 'watch us!' "



"THERE ARE TOO MANY VOTERS ALREADY"

By Gilbert E. Roe



Mr. Roe

"THERE are too many voters already?" Are there? If there are, I am in favor of letting the women do all the voting for a while—they could not make any worse job of it than we men have, and they might make a better one.

Whoever makes the argument that there are too many voters already may claim for his argument great antiquity, but he certainly will not claim any novelty. I remember in my reading to have run across an English statute passed in 1420 which started out by saying "that, whereas there are too many voters, worthless fellows without property, voting for members of Parliament, therefore, be it resolved, etc.," that the number of voters be cut down.

But even that was not the origin of the proposition that "there are too many voters already." Why, the first cave man that came to rule over his family or his clan with a club was of the opinion that there were at least just voters enough, when anyone else tried to get a voice in the government; and every despot has made that argument whenever the people sought any part in the government. The ruling class has always made it, and it has been false as death every time.

There never was a country in the world that suffered because it had too many voters. Every government that ever failed, did so because it did not give to the people sufficient representation in government, and I want to say to you women that you must regard the opposition to your enfranchisement as a great compliment. I will tell you why.

If the bosses of the political parties knew that they could deliver your votes, don't you think that they would all be competing with each other to enfranchise you as quickly as possible? It is just because the political machines of the country fear that they cannot deliver the woman vote that they are opposed to woman suffrage. And by the same sign, those of us who do not travel with either machine are in favor of it.



"WOMEN WOULD TRY TO MAKE MEN GOOD IN TOO GREAT A HURRY"

By Bertha Rembaugh



Miss Rembaugh

THERE are two answers to this objection. The first is, it is not so; and the second is, it would not make any difference if it were so. Thus I am doing practically what the lawyers call denying, and at the same time confessing and avoiding.

I suppose that when people say that men would be made good too rapidly they do not mean that women would, by legislation, give men too many opportunities to become good, that they would make it possible for the men children to have more and proper play times and play places, or that they would by legislation lessen the weight of the pressure upon the grown men so that they might have the chance to be decent. If legislation can do those things and women can bring that legislation about, I suppose nobody has any objection to its being tried about as soon as possible.

What they do mean, is that women would in too hurried a manner try to separate men from their pet masculine vices—drinking, swearing, smoking, gambling, and playing baseball on Sunday! Now the answer to that is this: Woman suffrage is not an untried experiment. We have had woman suffrage in our American midst for a good many years, not to mention the British Colonies and the Continent of Europe, and I have yet to hear that the miners and the cowboys of Colorado, Wyoming and Idaho have been compelled, with undue speed, to grow wings. If you look at the statutes of the Equal Suffrage states, and compare them, for instance, with those of the State of Connecticut and the State of Kentucky, you will find there are considerably more blue laws in the last two; and this legislation, however ill-advised and premature, certainly cannot be laid to the women. For that reason, we say it is not so, but we also say it would not make any difference if it were so.

There is a certain tendency, perhaps, in the classes and in the groups who have turned their attention to political conditions for the first time to be a little moralizing and a little doctrinaire. They make that complaint against the clergymen in this state and against what they call the silk-stocking vote. We have anti-race track legislation, and anti-Sunday baseball legislation; but even the people who find that legislation premature—and even those who find it wrong in principle—do not consider it a ground for depriving the ministers

of New York State or the members of the Citizen's Union of their votes. In New York City the city fathers have so longed to make women good rapidly that they have tried twice by ordinance to separate women from the deep degradation and temptation of cigarette smoking. I think we can hardly use this argument unless we are willing at the same time to advocate the disfranchisement of Tammany Hall.

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS JUST BUT NOT EXPEDIENT"

By Morris Hillquit



Mr. Hillquit

ONE of the most specious objections to the enfranchisement of woman is that the measure would be just but not expedient.

Of all the mean words that disgrace the English dictionary, *expediency* is the meanest. It is a euphemistic term for cowardice and brutality, a villain in gentlemen's garb.

When a practice or an institution is devoid of all moral sanction and cannot be justified on grounds of justice, reason or necessity, unscrupulous *Expediency* steps in to save its discredited face. Slavery was never claimed to be just, but for many generations it was tolerated on the ground of expediency. All the horrors of our industrial system, all iniquities of the law, all species of political oppression, all social crimes and private infamies are committed in the unholy name of expediency.

To say that woman suffrage is just but not expedient under our established political and social regime, is a condemnation not of suffrage but of our present regime. When justice becomes inexpedient and iniquity is enthroned in a so-called civilized community, it invariably presages an imminent change in the basic principles upon which such community is organized.

As *Patriotism* is the last resort of the rascal, so *Expediency* is the last resort of the reactionary. The fact that the foes of woman suffrage have been driven to the argument of expediency, their last ditch, is to my mind a sure indication that the triumph of the cause is near at hand.

"MILITANCY HURTS THE CAUSE"

By Elizabeth Freeman



Miss Freeman

I THINK we have only to read the history of this country to be quite sure that militancy does not hurt any great and righteous cause. Certainly we suffragists must admit that the militancy of the English women have given enormous impetus to the suffrage movement in America. It has put new life into the old societies and been the cause of the organization of new ones.

Nevertheless, people come to me and say, "I believed in you until now, but when you destroy private property, I can't approve of that. Why should innocent merchants suffer?"

I ask, "What started the American Revolution?" The destruction of private property—in that most famous tea party the world has ever known. Who suffered on that occasion? The innocent merchants who owned the tea. They lost a little, but through their loss was gained freedom for the American people. The innocent merchants in London—most of whose windows were insured—lost a little, but through their loss freedom will be gained for the women of England, perhaps of the whole world.

You talk of the sacredness of property—but how about the sacredness of women's bodies, the temple of life from which humanity is born? You are greatly distressed over a few broken windows, but I never hear you raising your voices in protest against the broken bodies of hundreds of brave women who have suffered at the hands of the police, the employees of the British Government. You do not ask about these women who have paid for their convictions with their lives; or with operations for that dread disease, cancer, brought on by the brutal treatment to which they have been subjected; or with injuries so severe that many will never walk again.

The world in general is still obsessed with worship of property, and sets small value upon human life. The very women whom you criticize, however, they see the right relationship of these things. Men have often asked the English suffragettes why they did not "get rid" of Asquith, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. They have replied that "getting rid" of opponents may be man's way of working, but not woman's; women feel too deeply the sacredness of human life.

Don't judge these fine women any longer. Get out of the judgment seat and into the dock, and let us judge you. What are you doing to prevent the women of America from following the example of the women of England. It lies with you to decide whether American women shall be driven to militant methods.

"WOMEN DON'T UNDERSTAND POLITICS"

By Frederic C. Howe



Frederick C. Howe

THEY don't. How could they? They have had no experience. Men don't understand cooking. How could they? They have never been cooks.

In one of the debates in the House of Commons, in which the extension of the suffrage was being discussed, Mr. Gladstone said that "To say men should not enjoy liberty until they were ready for its use was like saying that no one should go into the water until he was able to swim."

Political progress in the world has largely come from those of whom it was said: "They don't understand politics." Some years ago I was in Denmark. It is ruled by the peasants. They form the ministry. They control the parliament. A generation ago the feudal class which ruled said, "The ballot should not be extended to the peasants. They don't understand politics. They cannot be trusted with the suffrage." To-day Denmark is in many ways the most advanced country in Europe. There is practically no illiteracy. The tariff has been abolished. There is only a small standing army. Poverty is negligible.

I went through the tenement districts of Copenhagen and found practically none of that misery that exists in other large cities of Europe or America. Education has been extended to all the people. The co-operative purchase and sale of commodities is universal. The middleman has been put out of business. The railroads are owned by the state and operated for the people. Denmark is ruled by those who, a generation ago, did not understand politics.

In the sixties Switzerland was not dissimilar from America. It was ruled by the railroads, the bankers and the business men. The magazine articles and histories describing that period used the same terms with which we are familiar. Switzerland adopted the initiative and referendum. It democratized the government. It took into its confidence those who did not understand politics.

To-day Switzerland is free from graft. It knows no corruption. The people have taken over the railroads. They have adopted comprehensive accident and workmen's insurance. The cities own the public utility corporations. Switzerland is happy in its democracy. It is ruled by those who don't understand politics.

A dozen years ago I was in Wisconsin. The state was then in the midst of a civil conflict over the adoption of the direct primary bill, which at that time existed in none of the states. Special privilege

said that people did not understand politics. We must not extend power to them. "We, the railroads, the franchise corporations, the bosses, alone understand politics. We will give the people such government as is good for them." Wisconsin secured the direct primary. To-day Wisconsin is the most progressive state in America; it is being run by the people for the people. It controls the railroads and public service corporations. It protects the workman. It has enacted the most progressive woman, child and factory legislation. The university has gone out to the whole state in its educational activities. In twelve years' time Wisconsin has become the model commonwealth in America. It is being ruled by those who do not understand politics.

For years Oregon was ruled by the railroads, the timber thieves and privileged interests. United States senatorships were sold on the auction-block. Corruption was universal. The proposal was made to adopt the initiative and referendum. Privilege said, "The people do not understand politics. They must not be given this power."

Direct legislation was adopted in 1902. In eight years the people have used this instrument sixty-four times. They adopted one of the most perfect primary laws in the United States. They added a provision for the direct election of United States senators. They adopted a presidential primary. The people themselves devised this new idea which is sweeping over the country. They gave their cities home rule. They adopted a workman's compensation act, and took the kinks and angles out of their political systems. The people in Oregon who did not understand politics achieved these reforms.

No, woman does not understand politics. Possibly her ignorance is a political asset. She is not in terror of the danger of change. She has no veneration for party problems or dead issues. She will vote in terms of to-morrow rather than in terms of the Civil War.

In addition, the kitchen, rather than the camp, has become the political storm center. To-day politics is a war against poverty, vice, impure food, the dangers of the factory and the mill to the child and woman-worker. Politics relate to things involving health, comfort, convenience, the up-building of the art of living. These problems affect woman more intimately than man. She will not vote for a hunger tariff, once convinced that it is a hunger tariff. If hysterical it will be over the wrongs of the family rather than the wrongs at which Wall Street, the railroads and the privileged interests complain.



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[March 13, 1912]

The Wage-Earning Woman and The Ballot

BY CAROLINE A. LOWE.

Address delivered before a joint committee of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Woman Suffrage, United States Senate, Sixty-second Congress, second session, March 13, 1912.

Mr. Chairman, it is as a wage-earner and on behalf of the 7,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States that I wish to speak. I entered the ranks of the wage-earners when eighteen years of age. Since then I have earned every cent of the cost of my own maintenance and for several years was a potent factor in the support of my widowed mother.

NEED OF THE BALLOT.

The need of the ballot for the wage-earning women is a vital one. No plea can be made that we have the protection of the home or are represented by our fathers or brothers.

We need the ballot that we may broaden our horizon and assume our share in the solution of the problems that seriously affect our daily lives. There is no question that the exercise of the right to vote on matters of public concern enlarges the sense of public responsibility. While in Colorado, visiting a friend who had formerly been a teacher in Kansas, she assured me that the average woman teacher in Colorado, where women have the full right of franchise, is as fully informed on all political matters as is the average man teacher in Kansas, while the average woman teacher in Kansas ranks below the man in this respect.

We need the ballot for the purpose of self-protection. Last Saturday afternoon at the closing hour at Marshall Field's, in Chicago, a young woman fell to the floor in a dead faint and was carried away by her fellow-workers. Long hours of the rush and strain of the Saturday shopping had overcome her. The ten-hour law is not a ten-hour law for us. We must be up at six o'clock in order to be at work by eight. It requires two hours after work for us to reach home and eat our evening meal. Fourteen hours out of the twenty-four are consumed entirely by our daily efforts to make a living. If we secure any education or amusement it leaves us but seven or eight hours for sleep, and this generally in insanitary and unwholesome surroundings.

Does the young woman cashier in Marshall Field's need any voice in making the law that sets the hours of labor that shall constitute a day's work?

In the Boston Store, at the same hour, a delicate slip of a girl employed as an inspector was on the verge of a hysterical breakdown. The floor woman, in all kindness, said to her: "My dear, it is useless to feel like this. The busy season is just beginning, and you will have to stand it." Receiving a wage of $4.50 a week, has this girl any need of a voice in demanding a minimum wage law?

Has the young woman whose scalp was torn from her head at the Lawrence mill any need of the right to participate in the demand that safety appliances be placed upon all dangerous machinery?

What of the working girls, who through unemployment are no longer permitted to sell the labor of their hands and are forced to sell their virtue?

I met Katie Malloy under peculiar circumstances. It was because of this that she told me of her terrible struggles during the great garment workers' strike in Chicago. She had worked at Hart, Schaffner & Marx's for five years and had saved $30. It was soon gone. She hunted for work, applied at the Young Women's Christian Association and was told that so many hundreds of girls were out of work that they could not possibly do anything for her. She walked the streets day after day without success. For three days she had almost nothing to eat. "Oh," she said, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, "there is always some place where a man can crowd in and keep decent, but for us girls there is no place, no place but one, and it is thrown open to us day and night. Hundreds of girls—girls that worked by me in the shop—have gone into houses of impurity."

Has Katie Malloy and the 5,000 working girls who are forced into lives of shame each month no need of a voice in a government that should protect them from this worse than death?

THE WORKING WOMAN AND THE WORKING MAN.

From the standpoint of wages received, it is almost universal that women receive only about half the wages paid to men, although doing the same work.

We working women work side by side with our brothers. We are children of the same parents, reared in the same homes, educated in the same schools, ride to and from on the same early morning and late evening cars, work together the same number of hours in the same shops. We have equal need of food, clothing, and shelter. But at 21 years of age our brothers are given a powerful weapon for self-defense, a larger means for growth and self-expression.

We working women, even because we are women and find our sex not a source of strength, but a source of weakness, and offering a greater opportunity for exploitation, have even greater need of this weapon which is denied to us.

Gentlemen of the Committee, is there any justice underlying such a condition?

THE WORKING GIRL VERSUS HER EMPLOYER.

But what of the working girl and her employer? Why is the ballot given to him while it is denied to us? Is it for the protection of his property that he may have a voice in the governing of his wealth, of his stocks and bonds and merchandise?

The wealth of the working woman is far more precious to the welfare of the state. From nature's raw products the working class can readily replace all of the material owned by the employing class, but the wealth of the working woman is the wealth of flesh and blood, of all her physical, mental, and spiritual powers. It is the wealth not only of today, but that of future generations that is being bartered away so cheaply. Have we no right to a voice in the disposal of our wealth, the greatest wealth that the world possesses, the priceless wealth of its womanhood?

Is it not the cruelest injustice that the man whose material wealth is a source of strength and protection to him, and of power over us, should be given the additional advantage of an even greater weapon, which he can use to perpetuate our condition of helpless subjection?

DISFRANCHISEMENT LEADS TO DISCRIMINATION.

You say the ballot is not a factor as a means of discrimination between the working man and the working woman. We found a most striking example of the falsity of this statement a few years ago in Chicago. The Chicago teachers, firemen, and policemen had had their salaries cut because of the poverty of the city. The teachers' salaries were cut the third time. They organized to investigate the reason for the reduction. Margaret Haley was selected to carry on the investigation. As a result, she unearthed the fact that large corporations were not paying the legal amount of taxes. The teachers forced the issue, and, through their efforts, in July, 1902, $597,033 in back taxes on the franchises of five public utility corporations was turned in to the public treasury, and a few months later an additional $600,000 taxes on these franchises was paid. What was done with it? The policemen and firemen had the cut in their salaries restored, while the teachers did not. Instead, the finance committee recommended and the board of education appropriated the teachers' share to pay coal bills, repairs, etc.

Why was this? It was a clear case of the usual treatment accorded to a disfranchised class.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION.

However, Mr. Chairman, as students of sociology, we are forced to recognize the fact that the ballot has never yet been granted by a ruling class because of the needs of a serving class.

Almost without exception the extension of the franchise has taken place only when the needs of the industrial development have demanded a larger degree of freedom upon the part of the serving class; so that the serving class, driven by the very pressure of economic need, has organized as a class, and after a struggle has wrested from the grasp of the ruling class a larger share in the powers of government.

Instance after instance of the truth of this assertion presents itself. At the breaking up of the feudal system, the peasants in large numbers left the estates of their masters and entered upon the new form of industry made possible through manufacturing. To escape the robbery of the nobility, they organized in guilds. This organization was a necessity not only for their

protection, but also for the better development of their new form of industry. A larger freedom upon the part of the members of the guild was the inevitable outcome of the change in the industrial basis. As a result of the struggle the members of the guilds forced the nobility to relinquish their exorbitant demands and free towns came into existence. This extension of political liberty came as the direct result of the revolution that had taken place in the industrial life of a large number of the peasants of that day.

When the industrial basis of any society, or any large portion of society, changes, the superstructure must change in accordance with it. This was again proved when the transition from the hand tool to machine production took place. Again it resulted in an extension of the franchise to a still larger portion of the working class.

CHANGE IN INDUSTRIAL BASIS NECESSITATES CORRESPONDING CHANGE IN POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

It is this same revolution that has taken place in the life of the working woman. Within the last two generations the women of the working class have been forced from their homes into the industries.

The weaving that we used to do with our hand loom is now done in great factories requiring the services of hundreds of thousands of women and children. The meat that we used to cure in the smokehouse is now prepared in gigantic meat-packing establishments. Our butter is made at the creamery, and our bread at the bakery. Even the education of our children is placed in the hands of the kindergarten and the public schools. There has been nothing for us to do but to follow our jobs into the great industrial centers. History has proved that industrial revolutions are inevitably followed by political and social revolutions.

The industrial basis of the life of the woman has changed. The political superstructure must be adjusted to conform to this change. This industrial change has given to woman a larger horizon, a greater freedom of action in the industrial world. Greater freedom and larger expression are at hand for her in the political life.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the time is ripe for the extension of the franchise to women. We do not come before you to beg of you the granting of any favor. We present to you a glorious opportunity to place yourselves abreast of the current of this great evolutionary movement. You can refuse to accept this opportunity, and you may for a moment delay its advance. But in effect it will be only that of the old woman who, with her tiny broom, endeavored to sweep back the incoming tide from the sea. If you desire to take the broad, progressive attitude, you will support the suffrage amendment now before your committee.

This leaflet is issued by the National Office of the Socialist Party. It is one of a series of fifty titles covering various phases of the Socialist propaganda. The price of these leaflets is 20 cents per hundred, postpaid; $1.60 per thousand, express prepaid; $1.00 per thousand in lots of 5,000 or more, purchaser paying freight or express.

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[March 13, 1912]

Adopted by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Price, $1.50 per 1,000, or $1.00 per 1,000 in lots of 10,000 or over.

Woman's Need of the Ballot

By ELSIE COLE PHILLIPS.

Address delivered before a joint committee of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Woman Suffrage, United States Senate, Sixty-second Congress, second session, March 13, 1912.

Mr. Chairman:

There is sometimes danger in any great question of this kind, which presents a thousand phases, that we are going to lose sight of the underlying principles involved, and I think it best, even though it seems simple, to go back to first principles and consider the real basis of the ballot.

Now, the right to vote is based, primarily, on the democratic theory of government, to which this country was committed in the great phrase that "The just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed." What does that mean? Does it not mean that there is no class so wise, so benevolent that it is fitted to govern for any other class, no matter how wise or benevolent that ruling class may be? Does it not mean that, in order to have a democratic government, we must be sure that every adult in the community has an opportunity to express his opinion as to how he wishes to be governed, and to have that opinion counted? A vote is, in the last analysis, an expression of a need—either a personal need known to you as an individual, as it can be known to no one else, or an expression of a need of those in whom you are interested—sister-women or children, for instance. The moment that one gets that concept of the ballot, the moment one grants that it rests on that democratic theory—upon which is based the whole claim for any adult suffrage, men or women—that moment a large part, practically all, of the anti-suffrage argument is done away with. For instance, take the theory that women are "represented" by men. The theory of republican government rests, does it not, on the theory of delegated authority? Now, it is perfectly obvious to any reasonable being that one cannot delegate what he never had. Until women have the vote, they cannot delegate the vote. Again, even if that were not an impossibility, there remains the other fact that man cannot know the needs of woman as women know them; and if, as is true democratically, a ballot is an expression of a need and an opinion as to how that need shall be met, surely the men, having a different life experience from the women, cannot adequately express woman's need or know how it should be met.

I will give an instance right from the progressive state of Wisconsin, of which we are all justly proud. The men there are noted throughout the country for having put through the legislature the most progressive social legislation that this country has yet seen. No one doubts for a moment that the men in that progressive state desire to see justice for women just as much as for men. But there are certain frightful gaps in that legislation that show that it is impossible for men, with the best intentions in the world, to understand and legislate for the needs of women. To take an instance, there is no reformatory for women in the state of Wisconsin. If a woman

commits a crime or a misdemeanor, it is either jail or prison; there is no half-way substitute. More fundamental, and very much more important than that, is the fact that in this progressive state, where undoubtedly the men wish to protect the women, there still remains the fact that women have not equal guardianship of their children. In the state that is regarded as the foremost in progressive legislation, women have no right in their children; not only have they no right in the husband's lifetime, but he may, in his will, will those children to anyone whom he selects, even if the child is born after his death.

Now we can have, it seems to me, no better proof of the fact that it is impossible for the women to have their needs and views expressed by the men than such facts as these concerning a truly progressive body of men, such as the Wisconsin legislators are.

Again, there is the fact that the ballot is fundamentally a means of protecting the weak. From one point of view we might say that that little slip of paper represents all that the human race has achieved in the democratic struggle, in the struggle of the democratic mass to secure for itself some control over its own living, in the struggle of the dispossessed of this earth to wrest from the possessors thereof the means of controlling their own standards of life and of work.

Now, if this is true, as it seems to be—for the pages of history show how in the workshop of time, on the anvil of life, shaped and reshaped by the hammer and blow of social experience, there has been forged at last this so potent weapon—ask yourself for what it has been forged. Is it to strengthen the hands of the strong? Oh, no; it is to put into the hands of the weak a weapon of self-protection. And who are the weak? Those, of course, who are economically handicapped, first and foremost the working classes, in their struggle for better conditions of life and labor. And who among the workers are the weak? Wherever the men have suffered the women have suffered more. That point will be brought out to you again and again in the plea of the wage-earning women.

But I would also like to point out to you how this affects the home-keeping woman, the wife and mother of the working class, aside from the wage-earning women who have been pushed by economic necessity into the struggle of life. Consider the woman who is at home and must make both ends meet on a small income. Who better than she knows whether or not the cost of living advances more rapidly than the wage does? Is not that merely a true statement, in the most practical form, of the problem of the tariff? And who better than she knows what the needs of the workers are in the factories? Take the tenement-house woman, the wife and mother who is struggling to bring up a family under conditions which constantly make for evil. Who, better than the mother who has tried to bring up six or seven children in one room in a dark tenement-house, knows the needs of a proper building? Who, better than the mother who sees her boy and her girl playing in the streets and in the gutter, knows the need of playgrounds? Who, better than a mother, knows what it means to a child's life—which you men demand that she as a wife and a mother shall care especially for—who, better than she, knows the cruel pressure that comes to that child from too early labor in what the United States census report calls "gainful occupations"?

"But," you may say, "these women are ignorant. How can we afford to allow that ignorant vote to come into the national councils?" Well, you know, after all, ignorance is a relative term, is it not? Certainly this body is too intelligent to think that education in the schools and colleges makes necessarily for intelligence in living. Certainly you recognize that there is a practical wisdom that comes out of the pressure of life, and an educational force in life itself which very often is more efficient than that which comes through textbooks or college.

As an example, there is a story which I think is very much in point here: Mrs. Nathan, president of the Consumers' League of New York, an ardent suffragist, was shopping one day and, while waiting for her change, fell into conversation with the clerk who was waiting upon her. She asked the girl whether she was in favor of woman suffrage. "Well," said the girl, indifferently, "I do not know; I have not thought much about it." Mrs. Nathan said: "That surprises me in a girl such as you are, a wage earner. You ought to know what your needs are, and that the only way to secure them is through the ballot." "That is all right," said the girl; "I know what my needs are, and all the working girls know what they need. They know what life is; but it just appalls me to think of letting in that ignorant Fifth avenue vote."

Yes, it is funny; but, after all, the very funniest part of that story is that it is true; that the only thoroughly ignorant vote that is going to come in when women are enfranchised is the leisure-class woman, who has no responsibilities and knows nothing of what life means to the rest of the world; who has absolutely no civic or social intelligence. But, fortunately for us, she is a very small percentage of the women of this land, and, fortunately for the land, there is no such rapid means of education for her as to give her the ballot and let her for the first time feel responsibilities.

To sum up, then, from this democratic point of view—to refuse women the vote, to longer keep them from this fundamental right, is not only a sin against abstract justice, against the principles of government to which this country is absolutely committed, but it is a perpetuation of two very real, immediate, serious injuries—one to women themselves in the fact that they are thus deprived of an opportunity to show what their needs are, to show what the needs of their sister women and children are; and, in the second place, it deprives the state of the advantage in its councils of this accumulated experience and wisdom, which surely no one can deny does rest among the women of the nation. No man would attempt in his own house to set aside absolutely, to ignore, the opinion of his wife as regards the running of the family, as regards the rearing of the children. Now the time has come when the home and the state are one. We cannot separate them. They are one and the same thing. Every act, every duty of the mother in the home is affected by something the state does or does not do, and the only way in which we are ever going to have our national housekeeping done as it should be done, our national child rearing done as it should be done, is by bringing into the councils of the state this wisdom of women.

WHERE DOES YOUR STATE STAND?

The women of the following states have full suffrage: Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas.

The women of the following states have school suffrage: Kentucky (to widows with children of school age), Minnesota, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, New Jersey, Illinois, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Delaware (to tax-paying women).

The women of the following states have limited or qualified suffrage: Illinois, on certain drainage questions to adult property owners; Montana, tax-paying suffrage; Iowa, bond suffrage; Minnesota, library trustees; Illi-

nois, university trustees; Louisiana, tax suffrage to women tax payers; New York, tax-paying suffrage, local taxation in all towns and villages in the state; New York, women in all towns, villages and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.

The following countries have full suffrage: New Zealand, New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland, Australia, Victoria and Finland.

The women of the following countries have municipal suffrage: New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, British Columbia, North West Territory, Ontario, Norway, Sweden.

The following countries have municipal suffrage to widows and single women: England, Scotland, Province of Quebec.

The women of the following countries have limited or qualified suffrage: Isle of Man, parliamentary; England, county; Scotland, county; England, parish and district to widows and single women; Ireland, to all offices except to member of parliament; France, women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; Denmark, women taxpayers or wives of taxpayers may vote for all offices except members of parliament; Belgium, vote for members of the Conseils des Prudhommes; Province of Voralberg, single women and widows paying taxes; Scotland, county suffrage; Bosnia, parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate; Province of Krain (Austria), suffrage to the women of its capital city, Liabaca; Kingdom of Wurtemberg, women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of Agriculture; India (Gaekwar of Baroda), women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.

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[post-March 13, 1912]

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Votes for Working Women

BY META L. STERN.

Tramp, tramp, tramp! A vast and silent army they go, marching by in the early light of morning, on their way to office, store and factory, thousands of them in every big city, millions of them in the whole country—the women who toil for wages, the working women of today.

They are no new type of womanhood. They are, on the contrary, the only true type of womanhood, for women have always toiled since civilization began, and they always will toil, because all true human dignity is founded on productive labor.

The grandmothers and great-grandmothers of these millions of working women have been workers and producers, too, in their day, but the character of their work was radically different. They worked at home and the product of their toil was usually intended for immediate consumption by their own families. They owned the tools with which they worked and they were their own task-masters, determining their own hours of work and the amount and nature of their products.

But the modern working women must leave their homes to perform their labor, for they are only part of a gigantic system of production, destined to supply the large and complicated needs of society. They no longer own their own tools, but perform just one specialized task with the aid of complicated machinery, and their hours of work, the articles they produce, the conditions surrounding their daily task are quite beyond their individual control.

With the invention of machinery and the rise of the factory system, with the application of steam power and electricity, woman has become a social producer, and the change that revolutionized her economic position brought about a complete change in her relation to organized society as well. The modern working woman has outgrown the four walls of home that comprised woman's sphere in her grandmother's day. For she has been called forth to work side by side with men, to be self-supporting and often to support others by her toil. The man's world has become her world. The human sphere has become her sphere.

The modern woman has exactly the same burdens to bear and the same aims to strive for as her brother toiler. She is confronted by the same industrial problems of overwork and under-pay and insanitary conditions. She must face the same fierce competition on the overcrowded labor market and

the same tragedy of unemployment. But, besides bearing the same burdens as the working man, the working woman has still a few special burdens of her own to bear—the age-long burdens of her sex. If the man's working hours are long, the woman's are still longer. If the man's wages are low, the woman's are still lower. If insanitary conditions threaten the man's health and life, in the woman's case these same insanitary conditions threaten the health and life of generations still unborn.

Thousands of women today are working under conditions unfit for human beings. At unguarded machinery they are risking their nimble fingers, the only source of income they possess. In firetrap buildings they are risking their lives. Badly ventilated workrooms, filled with particles of flying dust, weaken their lungs and make them susceptible to tuberculosis. Long working hours sap their strength and vitality. Dangerous occupations make them physical wrecks in a few years and render them unfit for wifehood and motherhood. In the case of married women workers an appalling infant mortality is a concomitant of woman's labor. But with all these sacrifices ever the woman who performs a man's work does not get a man's wage. Everywhere we find unequal pay for equal work. The voteless sex is cheap.

If the women have always worked and always must work, why should their work be accompanied by so many wrongs and horrors? Because our social conditions have not been adjusted to the great economic change; because industry, although it largely depends upon the work of women, is not adapted to the needs of women; because women themselves have no voice in shaping the conditions under which they must work.

Women of leisure may demand the ballot for abstract reasons, justice and equality; but the working women NEED the ballot. They need it as a means of self-defense in the terrible competitive struggle that marks our present industrial system. They need it to protect their very health, the life and the future of their children. We are living in an age of social awakening. It has long since been recognized that the welfare of the workers cannot be entrusted to the good will of individual employers. Therefore the state exercises its right of control and by labor legislation seeks to regulate to some extent working hours and conditions of employment.

Workingmen, by the right of suffrage, are able to exert a powerful influence upon labor legislation. They are able to elect men to office who will represent their interests and thereby can compel the enactment of laws that will improve their condition. But working women are politically helpless. They cannot voice their demands at the ballot box. They are not represented in the law-making bodies. They cannot compel the enactment of laws that would lighten their burdens. While workingmen have two weapons for self-defense, the labor union and the ballot, working women are only just learning the use of one and entirely lack the other. Industrial organization and political activity constitute the two powerful arms of the labor movement. Men are free to use both their arms. Women are struggling with one arm tied.

Give working women votes and you will give them an opportunity to help themselves as no charity or welfare work or middle-class attempts at reform can ever help them. Give working women votes and they will legislate child labor out of existence. Give working women votes and they will shorten their long workday and establish a decent living wage, thereby combating prostitution more effectively than all your moralizing could combat it in a hundred years.

The Socialist party is the political representative of the working class. Since the working class consists of women as well as men, since women, in fact, form a large and ever-increasing proportion of the working class, the Socialist party stands prepared to fight the woman's battle as valiantly, as unflinchingly as the workingman's. To remove the bonds that hold the working women in double slavery, to combat the crying evils that today make woman's work a curse instead of a blessing, to give women political freedom as a means of winning economic freedom, it is for this that the Socialist party demands votes for women.

STATEMENT ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY VICTOR L. BERGER, SOCIALIST MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM WISCONSIN.

Made at the Hearing Before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, March 13, 1912.

Woman suffrage is a necessity, both from a political and an economic standpoint. Women are a part of the demos—of the people. They are the other half. We can never have democratic rule until we let the women vote. We can never have real freedom until the women are free. To quote the immortal Lincoln on slavery, we cannot endure as a nation half free and half unfree.

Women are now citizens in all but the main expression of citizenship—the exercise of the vote. They need this power to round and complete their citizenship. Already they have this power in six of the States of the Union. They must have it in all the States in order that their rights and powers of citizenship may be equal everywhere within the nation.

In political matters they have much the same interests that we men have. In state and national issues their interests differ little, if at all, from our interests. In municipal questions they have an even greater interest than we have. All the complex questions of housing, schooling, policing, sanitation, and kindred matters are peculiarly the interests of women as the home maker and the rearer of children. Women need and must have the ballot by which to protect their interests in these political and administrative questions.

The economic argument for woman suffrage is yet stronger. Economics plays an increasingly important part in all our lives, and political power is absolutely necessary to obtain for women the possibility of decent conditions of living. The low pay and hard conditions of working women are largely due to their disfranchisement. Skilled women who do the same work as men for lower pay could enforce with the ballot an equal wage rate.

The ideal woman of the men of past generations (and especially of the German) was the housewife, the woman who could wash, cook, scrub, knit stockings, make dresses for herself and children, and take good care of the house. That ideal has become impossible. Those good old days, if ever they were good, are gone forever.

The housewife used to wash. Now the laundry has taken away her wash tub and does the work better and cheaper. The "hausfrau" used to knit stockings. Now the knitting factory does her knitting. The frugal housewife can buy two pairs of stockings for a quarter. She can buy dresses cheaper and better than she can make them.

Even the scrubbing, ironing, and housecleaning are now done by electricity. In many of the large apartment houses in New York and Washington, no cooking in apartments is permitted. Instead there is one restaurant, where usually they have a man cook. And the workingman, as a rule, eats only one meal a day—or at best, two meals a day—at home. The kitchen is slipping away from the woman.

In the good old days, moreover, the woman was supported by her father first and later by her husband. The situation is entirely different now. The woman has to go to work, often when she is no more than 14 years old. She surely has to go to work sometime, if she belongs to the working class. She must make her own living in the factory, the store, the office, or in the school room. She must work to support herself, and often must also support her family.

The economic basis of the life of a woman has changed in America as well as in England and Germany. And therefore the argument that a woman should not vote because she ought to stay at home and take care of her family is an argument the basis for which has been destroyed. She cannot stay at home whether she wants to or not. She must go to work to take care of her family. She has acquired the economic function of the man, and she ought also to acquire the franchise. Without that franchise she cannot protect her interests as a wage earner.

It is often maintained that women are, as a rule. ignorant of politics and that they would make a mess of it if the franchise were given them. It cannot, however, be asserted that men have made so brilliant a success of politics as to warrant them in doubting the political capacity of women. Women, no doubt, are, as a rule, untrained in politics. Their ignorance, however, is due to lack of training. When the vote is first given them, they blunder with it, of course. So, often, do the young men of 21. With more experience, with the consciousness of having the ballot and of its power for good and evil, women soon learn to use it as men use it—for the protection of their political and economic interests. That is the history of woman suffrage in the Western States.

The Socialist party ever since its origin has stood steadfastly for woman suffrage. It has made this demand of prime importance in all of its platforms everywhere. It recognizes that one-half of the race cannot free itself while leaving the other half unfree. It demands woman suffrage for the same reason that it insists upon manhood suffrage—that the race may become politically free as a preparation for economic freedom.

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A Woman's Place, by Robert H. Howe, 5c; 25c per dozen; $2.00 per 100.

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[post - March 13, 1912]

Adopted by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Price, $1.50 per 1,000, or $1.00 per 1,000 in lots of 10,000 or over.

Woman's Need of the Ballot

By ELSIE COLE PHILLIPS.

Address delivered before a joint committee of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Woman Suffrage, United States Senate, Sixty-second Congress, second session, March 13, 1912.

Mr. Chairman:

There is sometimes danger in any great question of this kind, which presents a thousand phases, that we are going to lose sight of the underlying principles involved, and I think it best, even though it seems simple, to go back to first principles and consider the real basis of the ballot.

Now, the right to vote is based, primarily, on the democratic theory of government, to which this country was committed in the great phrase that "The just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed." What does that mean? Does it not mean that there is no class so wise, so benevolent that it is fitted to govern for any other class, no matter how wise or benevolent that ruling class may be? Does it not mean that, in order to have a democratic government, we must be sure that every adult in the community has an opportunity to express his opinion as to how he wishes to be governed, and to have that opinion counted? A vote is, in the last analysis, an expression of a need—either a personal need known to you as an individual, as it can be known to no one else, or an expression of a need of those in whom you are interested—sister-women or children, for instance. The moment that one gets that concept of the ballot, the moment one grants that it rests on that democratic theory—upon which is based the whole claim for any adult suffrage, men or women—that moment a large part, practically all, of the anti-suffrage argument is done away with. For instance, take the theory that women are "represented" by men. The theory of republican government rests, does it not, on the theory of delegated authority? Now, it is perfectly obvious to any reasonable being that one cannot delegate what he never had. Until women have the vote, they cannot delegate the vote. Again, even if that were not an impossibility, there remains the other fact that man cannot know the needs of woman as women know them; and if, as is true democratically, a ballot is an expression of a need and an opinion as to how that need shall be met, surely the men, having a different life experience from the women, cannot adequately express woman's need or know how it should be met.

I will give an instance right from the progressive state of Wisconsin, of which we are all justly proud. The men there are noted throughout the country for having put through the legislature the most progressive social legislation that this country has yet seen. No one doubt for a moment that the men in that progressive state desire to see justice for women just as much as for men. But there are certain frightful gaps in that legislation that show that it is impossible for men, with the best intentions in the world, to understand and legislate for the needs of women. To take an instance, there is no reformatory for women in the state of Wisconsin. If a woman commits a crime or a misdemeanor, it is either jail or prison; there is no halfway substitute. More fundamental, and very much more important than

that, is the fact that in this progressive state, where undoubtedly the men wish to protect the women, there still remains the fact that women have not equal guardianship of their children. In the state that is regarded as the foremost in progressive legislation, women have no right in their children; not only have they no right in the husband's lifetime, but he may, in his will, will those children to anyone whom he selects, even if the child is born after his death.

Now we can have, it seems to me, no better proof of the fact that it is impossible for the women to have their needs and views expressed by the men than such facts as these concerning a truly progressive body of men, such as the Wisconsin legislators are.

Again, there is the fact that the ballot is fundamentally a means of protecting the weak. From one point of view we might say that that little slip of paper represents all that the human race has achieved in the democratic struggle, in the struggle of the democratic mass to secure for itself some control over its own living, in the struggle of the dispossessed of this earth to wrest from the possessors thereof the means of controlling their own standards of life and of work.

Now, if this is true, as it seems to be—for the pages of history show how in the workshop of time, on the anvil of life, shaped and reshaped by the hammer and blow of social experience, there has been forged at last this so potent weapon—ask yourself for what it has been forged? Is it to strengthen the hands of the strong? Oh, no; it is to put into the hands of the weak a weapon of self-protection. And who are the weak? Those, of course, who are economically handicapped, first and foremost the working classes, in their struggle for better conditions of life and labor. And who among the workers are the weak? Wherever the men have suffered the women have suffered more. That point will be brought out to you again and again in the plea of the wage-earning women.

But I would also like to point out to you how this affects the home-keeping woman, the wife and mother of the working class, aside from the wage-earning women who have been pushed by economic necessity into the struggle of life. Consider the woman who is at home and must make both ends meet on a small income. Who better than she knows whether or not the cost of living advances more rapidly than the wage does? Is not that merely a true statement, in the most practical form, of the problem of the tariff? And who better than she knows what the needs of the workers are in the factories? Take the tenement-house woman, the wife and mother who is struggling to bring up a family under conditions which constantly make for evil. Who, better than the mother who has tried to bring up six or seven children in one room in a dark tenement-house, knows the needs of a proper building? Who, better than the mother who sees her boy and her girl playing in the streets and in the gutter, knows the need of playgrounds? Who, better than a mother, knows what it means to a child's life—which you men demand that she as a wife and a mother shall care especially for—who, better than she, knows the cruel pressure that comes to that child from too early labor in what the United States census report calls "gainful occupations"?

"But," you may say, "these women are ignorant. How can we afford to allow that ignorant vote to come into the national councils?" Well, you know, after all, ignorance is a relative term, is it not? Certainly this body is too intelligent to think that education in the schools and colleges makes necessarily for intelligence in living. Certainly you recognize that there is a practical wisdom that comes out of the pressure of life, and an educational force in life itself which very often is more efficient than that which comes through textbooks or college.

As an example, there is a story which I think is very much in point here: Mrs. Nathan, president of the Consumers' League of New York, an ardent suffragist, was shopping one day and, while waiting for her change, fell into conversation with the clerk who was waiting upon her. She asked the girl whether she was in favor of woman suffrage. "Well," said the girl indifferently, "I do not know; I have not thought much about it." Mrs. Nathan said, "That surprises me in a girl such as you are, a wage earner. You ought to know what your needs are, and that the only way to secure them is through the ballot." "That is all right," said the girl, "I know what my needs are, and all the working girls know what they need. They know what life is; but it just appalls me to think of letting in that ignorant Fifth avenue vote."

Yes, it is funny; but, after all, the very funniest part of that story is that it is true; that the only thoroughly ignorant vote that is going to come in when women are enfranchised is the leisure-class woman, who has no responsibilities and knows nothing of what life means to the rest of the world, who has absolutely no civic or social intelligence. [Applause.] But, fortunately for us, she is a very small percentage of the women of this land, and, fortunately for the land, there is no such rapid means of education for her as to give her the ballot and let her for the first time feel responsibilities.

To sum up, then, from this democratic point of view—to refuse women the vote, to longer keep them from this fundamental right, is not only a sin against abstract justice, against the principles of government to which this country is absolutely committed, but it is a perpetuation of two very real, immediate, serious injuries, one to women themselves in the fact that they are thus deprived of an opportunity to show what their needs are, to show what the needs of their sister women and children are; and, in the second place, it deprives the state of the advantage in its councils of this accumulated experience and wisdom, which surely no one can deny does rest among the women of the nation. No man would attempt in his own house to set aside absolutely, to ignore, the opinion of his wife as regards the running of the family, as regards the rearing of the children. Now the time has come when the home and the state are one. We cannot separate them. They are one and the same thing. Every act, every duty of the mother in the home is affected by something the state does or does not do, and the only way in which we are ever going to have our national house-keeping done as it should be done, our national child rearing done as it should be done, is by bringing into the councils of the state this wisdom of women.

WHERE DOES YOUR STATE STAND?

The women of the following states have full suffrage: Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington and California.

The women of the following states have school suffrage: Kentucky (to widows with children of school age), Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, New Jersey, Illinois, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Delaware, (to tax-paying women).

The women of the following states have limited or qualified suffrage: Illinois, on certain drainage questions to adult property owners; Montana, tax-paying suffrage; Iowa, bond suffrage; Minnesota, library trustees; Illinois, university trustees; Louisana, tax suffrage to women tax payers; New York, tax paying suffrage, local taxation in all towns and villages in the state; Kansas, bond suffrage; Michigan, taxpayers to vote on questions of local

taxation and granting of franchises; New York, women in all towns, villages and third class cities vote on bonding propositions; Kansas, has municipal suffrage.

The following countries have full suffrage: New Zealand, New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland, Australia, Victoria and Finland.

The women of the following countries have municipal suffrage: New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, British Columbia, North West Territory, Ontario, Norway, Sweden.

The following countries have municipal suffrage to widows and single women: England, Scotland, Province of Quebec.

The women of the following countries have limited or qualified suffrage: Isle of Man, parlimentary; England, county; Scotland, county; England, parish and district to widows and single women; Ireland, to all offices except to member of parliament; France, women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; Denmark, women taxpayers or wives of taxpayers may vote for all offices except members of parliament; Belgium, vote for members of the Conseils des Prudhommes; Province of Voralberg, single women and widows paying taxes; Scotland, county suffrage; Bosnia, parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate; Province of Krain, (Austria), suffrage to the women of its capital city, Liabaca; Kingdom of Wurtemberg, women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber or Agriculture; India (Gaekwar of Baroda), women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.

(Compiled by Alice Stone Blackwell.)

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[post March 13, 1912]

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The Wage-Earning Woman and The Ballot

By CAROLINE A. LOWE.

Address delivered before a joint committee of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Woman Suffrage, United States Senate, Sixty-second Congress, second session, March 13, 1912.

Mr. Chairman, it is as a wage-earner and on behalf of the 7,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States that I wish to speak. I entered the ranks of the wage-earners when eighteen years of age. Since then I have earned every cent of the cost of my own maintenance and for several years was a potent factor in the support of my widowed mother.

Need of the Ballot.

The need of the ballot for the wage-earning women is a vital one. No plea can be made that we have the protection of the home or are represented by our fathers or brothers.

We need the ballot that we may broaden our horizon and assume our share in the solution of the problems that seriously affect our daily lives. There is no question that the exercise of the right to vote on matters of public concern enlarges the sense of public responsibility. While in Colorado, visiting a friend who had formerly been a teacher in Kansas, she assured me that the average woman teacher in Colorado, where women have the full right of franchise, is as fully informed on all political matters as is the average man teacher in Kansas, while the average woman teacher in Kansas ranks below the man in this respect.

We need the ballot for the purpose of self-protection. Last Saturday afternoon at the closing hour at Marshall Field's, in Chicago, a young woman fell to the floor in a dead faint and was carried away by her fellow-workers. Long hours of the rush and strain of the Saturday shopping had overcome her. The ten-hour law is not a ten-hour law for us. We must be up at six o'clock in order to be at work by eight. It requires two hours after work for us to reach home and eat our evening meal. Fourteen hours out of the twenty-four are consumed entirely by our daily efforts to make a living. If we secure any education or amusement it leaves us but seven or eight hours for sleep, and this generally in insanitary and unwholesome surroundings.

Does the young woman cashier in Marshall Field's need any voice in making the law that sets the hours of labor that shall constitute a day's work?

In the Boston Store, at the same hour, a delicate slip of a girl employed as an inspector was on the verge of a hysterical breakdown. The floor woman, in all kindness, said to her: "My dear, it is useless to feel like this. The busy season is just beginning, and you will have to stand it." Receiving a wage of $4.50 a week, has this girl any need of a voice in demanding a minimum wage law?

Has the young woman whose scalp was torn from her head at the Lawrence mill any need of the right to participate in the demand that safety appliances be placed upon all dangerous machinery?

What of the working girls, who through unemployment are no longer permitted to sell the labor of their hands and are forced to sell their virtue?

I met Katie Malloy under peculiar circumstances. It was because of this that she told me of her terrible struggles during the great garment workers' strike in Chicago. She had worked at Hart, Schaffner & Marx's for five years and had saved $30. It was soon gone. She hunted for work, applied at the Young Women's Christian Association and was told that so many hundreds of girls were out of work that they could not possibly do anything for her. She walked the streets day after day without success. For three days she had almost nothing to eat. "Oh," she said, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, "there is always some place where a man can crowd in and keep decent, but for us girls there is no place, no place but one, and it is thrown open to us day and night. Hundreds of girls—girls that worked by me in the shop—have gone into houses of impurity."

Has Katie Malloy and the 5,000 working girls who are forced into lives of shame each month no need of a voice in a government that should protect them from this worse than death?

The Working Woman and the Working Man.

From the standpoint of wages received, it is almost universal that women receive only about half the wages paid to men, although doing the same work.

We working women work side by side with our brothers. We are children of the same parents, reared in the same homes, educated in the same schools, ride to and fro on the same early morning and late evening cars, work together the same number of hours in the same shops. We have equal need of food, clothing, and shelter. But at 21 years of age our brothers are given a powerful weapon for self-defense, a larger means for growth and self-expression.

We working women, even because we are women and find our sex not a source of strength, but a source of weakness, and offering a greater opportunity for exploitation, have even greater need of this weapon which is denied to us.

Gentlemen of the committee, is there any justice underlying such a condition?

The Working Girl Versus Her Employer.

But what of the working girl and her employer? Why is the ballot given to him while it is denied to us? Is it for the protection of his property that he may have a voice in the governing of his wealth, of his stocks and bonds and merchandise?

The wealth of the working woman is far more precious to the welfare of the state. From nature's raw products the working class can readily replace all of the material owned by the employing class, but the wealth of the working woman is the wealth of flesh and blood, of all her physical, mental, and spiritual powers. It is the wealth not only of today, but that of future generations that is being bartered away so cheaply. Have we no right to a voice in the disposal of our wealth, the greatest wealth that the world possesses, the priceless wealth of its womanhood?

Is it not the cruelest injustice that the man whose material wealth is a source of strength and protection to him, and of power over us, should be given the additional advantage of an even greater weapon, which he can use to perpetuate our condition of helpless subjection?

Disfranchisement Leads to Discrimination.

You say the ballot is not a factor as a means of discrimination between the working man and the working woman. We found a most striking example of the falsity of this statement a few years ago in Chicago. The Chicago teachers, firemen, and policemen had had their salaries cut because of the poverty of the city. The teachers' salaries were cut the third time. They organized to investigate the reason for the reduction. Margaret Haley was selected to carry on the investigation. As a result, she unearthed the fact that large corporations were not paying the legal amount of taxes. The teachers forced the issue, and, through their efforts, in July, 1902, $597,033 in back taxes on the franchises of five public utility corporations was turned in to the public treasury, and a few months later an additional $600,000 taxes on these franchises was paid. What was done with it? The policemen and firemen had the cut in their salaries restored, while the teachers did not. Instead, the finance committee recommended and the board of education appropriated the teachers' share to pay coal bills, repairs, etc.

Why was this? It was a clear case of the usual treatment accorded to a disfranchised class.

Industrial Revolution and Political Evolution.

However, Mr. Chairman, as students of sociology, we are forced to recognize the fact that the ballot has never yet been granted by a ruling class because of the needs of a serving class.

Almost without exception the extension of the franchise has taken place only when the needs of the industrial development have demanded a larger degree of freedom upon the part of the serving class; so that the serving class, driven by the very pressure of economic need, has organized as a class, and after a struggle has wrested from the grasp of the ruling class a larger share in the powers of government.

Instance after instance of the truth of this assertion presents itself. At the breaking up of the feudal system, the peasants in large numbers left the estates of their masters and entered upon the new form of industry made possible through manufacturing. To escape the robbery of the nobility, they organized in guilds. This organization was a necessity not only for their protection, but also for the better development of their new form of industry. A larger freedom upon the part of the members of the guild was the inevitable outcome of the change in the industrial basis. As a result of the struggle the members of the guilds forced the nobility to relinquish their exorbitant demands and free towns came into existence. This extension of political liberty came as the direct result of the revolution that had taken place in the industrial life of a large number of the peasants of that day.

When the industrial basis of any society, or any large portion of society, changes, the superstructure must change in accordance with it. This was again proved when the transition from the hand tool to machine production took place. Again it resulted in an extension of the franchise to a still larger portion of the working class.

Change in Industrial Basis Necessitates Corresponding Change in Political Status of Women.

It is this same revolution that has taken place in the life of the working woman. Within the last two generations the women of the working class have been forced from their homes into the industries.

The weaving that we used to do with our hand loom is now done in great factories requiring the services of hundreds of thousands of women and

children. The meat that we used to cure in the smokehouse is now prepared in gigantic meat-packing establishments. Our butter is made at the creamery, and our bread at the bakery. Even the education of our children is placed in the hands of the kindergarten and the public schools. There has been nothing for us to do but to follow our jobs into the great industrial centers. History has proved that industrial revolutions are inevitably followed by political and social revolutions.

The industrial basis of the life of the woman has changed. The political superstructure must be adjusted to conform to this change. This industrial change has given to woman a larger horizon, a greater freedom of action in the industrial world. Greater freedom and larger expression are at hand for her in the political life.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the time is ripe for the extension of the franchise to women. We do not come before you to beg of you the granting of any favor. We present to you a glorious opportunity to place yourselves abreast of the current of this great evolutionary movement. You can refuse to accept this opportunity, and you may for a moment delay its advance. But in effect it will be only as that of the old woman who, with her tiny broom, endeavored to sweep back the incoming tide from the sea. If you desire to take the broad, progressive attitude, you will support the suffrage amendment now before your committee.

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EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO

SPEECH OF

HON. EDWARD T. TAYLOR

OF COLORADO

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1912, IN CONSIDERATION OF BILL (H. R. 38) TO CONFER LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY ON THE TERRITORY OF ALASKA :: :: :: ::

PRESENTED BY MR. SUTHERLAND

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EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado.

Mr. Chairman, I would not be performing my full duty to the State of Colorado, or to her 135,000 women voters whom I am supremely proud to represent, if I permitted this occasion to pass without expressing their sentiments upon the pending amendment to this bill. This amendment simply grants to the people of Alaska the authority to extend to the women of that Territory the right of equal suffrage. While I would prefer to have a provision in this bill expressly granting the elective franchise to the women and thereby making the grant come directly from Congress itself instead of waiting upon the legislature of Alaska to determine the question, nevertheless, I believe in local self-government, and there is not the slightest doubt in my mind but that the hardy pioneers of the Northwest—the splendid American citizens who are reclaiming that wilderness and making it one of the richest portions of the globe—will be fair enough and broad minded and chivalrous enough to pass a law at the first session of their legislature granting to the women of that Territory the rights of American citizenship.

This amendment will give the Alaskans the opportunity, of which Congress is now failing to take advantage, of directly extending this act of enlightened twentieth-century square dealing to the women who are enduring the hardships and privations incident to pioneer life in that country. I regret exceedingly that I am not the author of this amendment. I intended to and would have been delighted to offer this amendment myself as a greeting to the good women of Alaska; but my attention was diverted for only a moment, and my exceptionally efficient and ever alert friend from Wyoming [Mr. Mondell] got ahead of me. However, I am proud of the fact that this amendment is presented by the Representative of the original equal-suffrage State, and I congratulate this House and the people of Alaska upon the passage of this bill granting to them a Territorial form of government, and specifically authorizing them to permit the women to join with the men in electing the officials and making the laws that will shape the destiny of that rich and splendid Territory. [Applause.]

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

Mr. Chairman, I am going to avail myself of this opportunity to do an act of simple justice to the women of my State and at the same time extend a favor to the millions of good women of this country and render a service to this Nation.

I want to recite in a plain conversational way some of my personal experiences and individual observations extending over a period of 30 years of public life in Colorado, during nearly 19 years of which time we have had equal suffrage in our State. I may say at the outset that I am not going to enter into a joint debate, for three reasons: First, because I have not the time; secondly, because every man who lives in an equal-suffrage State will agree with substantially everything I say—there is only one side to it, and nothing to argue with any man who personally knows the practical operations of woman suffrage; and, thirdly, because men who have never lived in a woman-suffrage State and have no personal experience or actual knowledge on the subject necessarily form their opinions largely upon prejudice and the rest upon hearsay, and there is little use of arguing the question or disputing with a man who does not individually know what he is talking about.

I am always glad, indeed, to tell people who want to learn or discuss the subject with anyone who is willing to form an opinion from existing facts. But it is an utter waste of time and energy to argue with people who resolutely shut their eyes to present-day conditions and whose opinions are based wholly upon the ideas of former generations.

The mountain regions of the earth have ever been the birthplace of liberty and the home of freedom. I have from my boyhood days lived in the Centennial State, where we recognize our mothers and wives and our sisters and daughters as American citizens and treat them as our equals, where the men of our mountain homes have added justice to chivalry and have long since learned and have the candor and manhood to acknowledge that our women's influence in the civic housekeeping of our cities, our counties, and the State itself is as beneficial and necessary as it is in every well-regulated home.

When I came to Congress I never realized, and I have not yet been able to fully understand, the deep-seated prejudice, bias, and even vindictiveness against, and the astounding amount of misinformation there is everywhere back here in the East concerning the practical operation of equal suffrage. I have been equally amazed and indignant at the many brazen assertions that I have seen in the papers and heard, that are perfectly absurd and without the slightest foundation in fact; and I have had many heated discussions on the subject during the past three years. But when I hear men and women who have never spent a week, and most of them not an hour, in an equal-suffrage State, attempt to discuss the subject from the standpoint of their own preconceived prejudices and idle impressions, I feel like saying, "May the Lord forgive them, for they know not what they say." Let me say to them and to my colleagues in the House that it will not be 10 years before the women of this country, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, will be given the just and equal rights of American citizenship.

It is an old and true saying that an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory, and it is equally true that the simple statement of one actual result of woman suffrage is worth more than all the dilettante, theoretical, antisuffrage speeches since the dawn of history.

Since coming to Congress I have been frequently asked by friends what we think of woman suffrage in Colorado and if the women actually vote and if we are satisfied with it and how it works. And

when I tell them that it is an unqualified success and that I doubt if even 5 per cent of the people of the State would to-day vote to repeal it they ask me what it has accomplished, what the specific benefits are and what difference it makes, and many other questions concerning the practical operation and results of equal suffrage in our State.

I will first take up one of the most beneficial results that could ever come to any State and at the same time one that is so conclusive that it is indisputable. I believe that it is generally conceded by enlightened people that the laws of a State are a true index of its degree of civilization. I will, therefore, commence by giving a brief catalogue of some of the legislative measures that have been either introduced by the women or at the request of the various women's organizations and enacted into law as a direct result of the work of Colorado's most representative women citizens during the past 18 years since their enfranchisement.

The first general election after the adoption of equal suffrage in November, 1893, was in the fall of 1894, and the legislature elected at that time convened in January, 1895. I will take up seriatim each session of our legislature since, and very briefly mention only what appears to me the more important of the 150 laws enacted primarily through the influence of women in Colorado from 1895 to 1912, inclusive:

SESSION LAWS OF 1895.

The first women's bill introduced, Senate bill 1, was an act establishing a State home for dependent and neglected children.

Nearly the first bill in the house was Mrs. Holly's bill raising the age of consent to 18 years, the best law in the United States to-day for the protection of girls.

The next was an act making married women the joint guardian of their own children with equal powers and duties.

Then followed acts—

Providing for placing of children out in good homes.

Protection of the property of infants and insane persons.

Prohibiting importation or sale of adulterated liquors.

Important amendments to school law for the deaf and blind.

Important amendments regulating practice of pharmacy and sale of harmful drugs and medicines.

Requiring record to be kept of all county poor.

Regulating examinations and grades of certificates of schoolteachers.

Regulating the handling of the funds belonging to the State university.

Regulating the issuance of liquor licenses.

Providing for the "Keeley cure" at county expense for habitual drunkards.

Preventing the display of anarchistic flags.

Providing penalty for officers violating their oath of office or neglecting their official duties.

There were three women members elected to this house. They were the first, and they, as well as all their successors, have served with credit to themselves and to the women of the State.

SESSION LAWS OF 1897.

An act establishing a State industrial school for girls.
Important amendments to school laws.
Liberal appropriations for industrial school for boys.
Regulating the practice of dentistry.
Prohibiting the sale of cocaine.
Abolishing capital punishment. (Capital punishment was four years afterwards restored, but only allowed in a very few extreme cases.)

There were three women members of the house during that eleventh session of the general assembly. There has never yet been a woman elected to the State senate.

SESSION LAWS OF 1899.

A splendid indeterminate-sentence and parole law.
Compulsory-education law for all children between 8 and 14 years.
Kindergartens are provided for in the schools.
Creation of county high schools.
Creation of library commission.
Board of lunacy commissioners established to supervise asylums and inmates.
Making the white and lavender columbine the official State flower.
An exemption law, exempting sewing machines, bicycles, and other articles of poor people from attachments or execution.
A good mechanic's lien law, protecting rights of laborers.
There were three women in the house during that session.

SESSION LAWS OF 1901.

A law for the care of the feeble-minded.
Colorado Humane Society constituted a State bureau of child and animal protection, to prevent wrongs to children and animals. (This law has been followed in many States.)
School-teachers are required once a week to give a lesson in the humane treatment of animals.
Prohibiting desecration of the flag in the way of advertisements or otherwise.
Mrs. Heartz was the only woman member in the house that session.

SESSION LAWS OF 1903.

An act making father and mother the joint and equal heirs of their children. The best and nearly the first law of that kind in the United States.
An act protecting the household goods and the homestead and requiring the signatures of both husband and wife to either mortgage or sale.
Providing severe penalty for parents or anyone else for causing or contributing to the delinquency of children.
Making Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday—one of the first States to do so.

Making wages a preferred claim in case of suspension of business or receivership.
Regulating the sale of convict-made goods.
Exempting from garnishment or attachment 60 per cent of the wages due at any time to the head of a family.
Prohibiting the employment of any child 16 years of age or less in any unhealthy or dangerous occupation.
Prohibiting furnishing to a child under 16 any tobacco or cigarettes.
Act prescribing and regulating hours of employment of women and children and preventing any girl or woman over 15 years of age from working more than eight hours a day in any position requiring her to stand or be on her feet. Every employer of females is compelled by law to provide suitable seats and permit employees to use them whenever they are not necessarily engaged in active duties.
Family-maintenance act, compelling a man to support his wife and children; also compelling children, if able to do so, to support their destitute and infirm parents.
Authorizing the joining of school districts and the creation of union high schools.
An elaborate codification of the law of wills and estates, making an up-to-date, complete, and exemplary probate law. A married woman can make a will and handle her property the same as her husband. Her property rights are fully protected.
Providing for free traveling libraries—160 of them.
Mrs. Ruble was the only woman member of the house that session.

SESSION LAWS OF 1905.

An act amending laws and providing punishment for persons responsible for dependent neglected children.
Prohibiting the fighting of dumb animals or the injury of them in any kind of sports.
Preventing sale or use of dangerous explosives and regulating use of fireworks.
An eight-hour law for miners in underground mines and smelters.
Creation of State board of nurse examiners for registering and regulating the practice of nursing.
Law against blacklisting and boycotting.
Providing for the State Historical and Natural History Society to secure collections, especially of the cliff dwellers.
There was no woman elected to that fifteenth session of our general assembly.

SESSION LAWS OF 1907.

A splendid pure food and drug law. A former member of the legislature, and a noble woman, Mrs. Martha A. B. Canine, now deceased, is primarily entitled to the credit for the enactment of that law.
Requiring State board of charities and corrections to care for indigent aliens.
Creation of State commission on prison labor.
Severe law against all kinds of cheats, swindlers, deceptions, frauds, and bunkoing of the public.

Providing for the registration of births and deaths and vital statistics.

Prohibiting the insurance of children under 15 years of age, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, and forfeiture of license to do business.

There is no other place in the world that has that law.

A splendid civil-service law. (Very complete.)

An exceptionally good divorce law, containing many provisions for the protection of women and children in their personal and property rights, and authorizing poor women to prosecute without cost, and compelling the husband to provide for care of children and pay alimony and counsel fees for wife during pendency of suit.

Establishment of free employment offices in cities.

Common carriers' liability act.

Coal-mine inspection law.

Providing for suitable burial places in every city and town for all veterans of the Civil and Spanish Wars.

Establishment of a State banner.

Providing for care and protection of abandoned animals.

Prohibiting the wearing of unauthorized emblems, badges, or medals.

Establishment of juvenile courts. (A very elaborate law that has been copied in many other States and commended by the President of the United States and followed in foreign countries.)

A revision and reenactment of a complete law upon the subject of rape and indecent relations

Providing for care and education of dependent and neglected children.

Establishing detention houses and parental or truant schools for juvenile delinquents and providing for their care and education.

Preventing hazing.

Making August 1 Colorado Day, in commemoration of the admission of the State into the Union.

A local-option law providing for the creation of "antisaloon territory," under which some 50 cities and towns and 12 counties and the principal residence portions of large cities have abolished saloons.

Act providing for employment of prisoners eight hours a day and payment to wives or minor children of from 50 cents to $1 a day, if wife or children would otherwise become a public charge.

Providing for the construction of public highways by convict labor, with eight hours a day work and "good-time" allowance.

Act defining who is the head of the family.

A modern inheritance-tax law.

Important amendments of county high-school law.

Amendments of State board nurse examiners' law, providing for registration and qualifications of the occupation of nursing.

Amendments to State industrial school for girls.

Prohibiting quack doctors from advertising.

Requiring signature of wife to make valid assignment of wages, either due or future unearned wages.

Regulating wage brokers and loan sharks and prohibiting loans to minors.

Important amendment to laws of wills and estates, providing for economical administration of small estate and fixing widows and orphans' allowances.

Establishment of industrial workshops for the blind.

There were no women members of that sixteenth general assembly, but the legislative committees of the women's clubs throughout the State were there early and often, and with the votes of the women of the State behind them they largely got what they asked for.

SESSION LAWS OF 1909.

An act creating a bureau of labor statistics.

Establishing a State home and training school for mental defectives.

Establishing a State board of immigration.

Creating the Colorado State Museum and appropriating $100,000 therefor.

Further protecting delinquent children and punishment for persons responsible, and defining duties of courts. (Mrs. Lafferty.)

A school-teachers' pension bill.

Authorizing State board of examiners to act in conjunction with State board of education to examine applicants for State diplomas.

Creation of department of factory inspection, requiring three inspectors, one of whom must be a woman, with full authority to compel installation of safety appliances, and for proper ventilation and fire escapes, and sanitary appliances generally.

Validating the wills of married women.

Licensing and regulating hospitals and dispensaries of all kinds.

Preventing oppression of persons held in custody and making it felony to resort to "third-degree" or "sweat-box" methods.

Providing "good-time" allowance for trusty prisoners.

Making it a felony to live on the earnings of a lewd woman.

Providing for physical examination at public expense of all school children as to eyes, ears, teeth, nose, throat, breathing capacity, and general health condition. Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, the only woman member of this legislature, and a woman physician, Dr. Mary E. Bates, are principally entitled to the credit of this splendid law.

Appropriation of $5,000 for purchase and free distribution of antitoxin.

Authorizing consolidation of school districts for better schools; requiring school boards to furnish free transportation to pupils.

Additional stringent regulation of wage brokers and loans to laborers.

Giving a paroled convict money and clothing, the same as a discharged man.

Making additional provisions for road building by convicts.

Donating some State lands for certain charitable and philanthropic institutions.

Defining "taxpayer" and preventing frauds in franchise elections.

SESSION LAWS OF 1910 (EXTRA SESSION).

Adoption of constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum.

Adoption of the direct primary election law. The passage of these two bills was the consummation of a persistent fight that has been carried on in the State for this reform for 20 years.

The constitutional amendment was adopted by overwhelming vote at general election in fall of 1910 and is now in active operation.

SESSION LAWS OF 1911.

A codification of and complete law for the adoption of children.

Authorizing the placing of poor orphan children in charitable educational institutions and binding them out under proper supervision.

Child-labor law. The most wise and complete law in this country, fully regulating employment of and protection of children and prescribing hours and character of work they may do. Mrs. Louise U. Jones, a member of the house, introduced this bill, and she and Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, a former member, are entitled to great credit for securing its passage.

Creating truancy and probation officers and defining duties.

Act providing that all laws concerning delinquency shall, for the protection of girls, be held to include all girls under 18 years.

Anticoercion act, making it a misdemeanor for any employer to try to compel employees to resign or refrain from joining any organization or society.

Creating the department of factory inspection, greatly extending powers and benefits for protection of all workmen, male and female.

Amendment to "head-of-family" law, designating the wife as head of family if she "provided chief support for family."

Authorizing the wife, without knowledge or consent of husband, to go and make entry on record homesteading the property where they live, so it can not be sold or encumbered without her consent.

Additional employers' liability law.

Miners' eight-hour law providing hours of labor and defining various kinds of occupations as injurious to health.

Providing that in labor disputes it shall be unlawful to issue false advertising to engage workmen under false statements to come in to take the place of workmen on strikes.

Providing for supervision of lying-in hospitals and maternity homes and to prevent improper disposition of children.

Providing for teaching the adult blind.

Further regulations compelling a man to support his wife and children; making nonsupport an extraditable offense.

Drastic antiwhite-slave law, one to five years in penitentiary.

Providing for "good-time" allowance for prisoners in county jails.

Creating the office of State forester.

Authorizing all cities to acquire and maintain public parks outside of city limits. (Mrs. Lafferty.)

A law exempting growing timber from taxes, unless of commercial value.

Act establishing teachers' summer normal schools throughout the State.

Further regulating manner of holding school elections and preventing frauds. (Mrs. Kerwin.)

We think our schools are the best in the world, considering our State's resources and income; our appropriations to the schools are lavish compared with older and richer States.

Act raising the qualifications of school-teachers.

The first State law in the United States admitting to the State soldiers and sailors' homes Confederate soldiers and sailors who are residents of Colorado.

Act creating and designing a State flag.

In this session, which was our last, and is the present eighteenth general assembly, there are four women—Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, Mrs. Louise U. Jones, Mrs. Louise M. Kerwin, and Mrs. Agnes L. Riddle; the first is the chairman of the committee on education.

In addition to the above laws, there are many others not specifically mentioned, and there are a great many beneficial provisions in those laws that I can not take the time or space to give in detail. In reality, it would require fully one-third of the last 10 volumes of our Colorado session laws to fully describe the laws that have been enacted as a direct result of the influence and energy of the women of the State generally and the splendid and indefatigable efforts of the various women's organizations, especially the legislative committee of the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs and the same committee of the Women's Club of Denver. Anyone can check up or verify my reference to these laws by examining the Colorado statutes or session laws in any large library.

I might mention many other general provisions like the establishment of a county visiting board in each county, composed of three men and three women, to examine all county institutions and supervise their sanitary and other conditions; requiring a woman physician in the insane asylum; requiring inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by a State board.

The women's influence makes it much easier to secure liberal appropriations for educational and humanitarian purposes.

Most of the visiting boards of the various institutions where people are involuntarily confined are composed partially of women, and they make those boards very efficient and prevent them from becoming political boards.

Women have been largely instrumental in bringing about the adoption of the commission form of government in Colorado Springs, Grand Junction, and other cities, and in requiring hundreds of splendid ordinances to be adopted by the various cities and towns, and especially in compelling the enforcement of humane laws, sanitation, and general decency.

Women always take an active interest in the enactment and strict enforcement of good public-health laws, and laws for the moral welfare of society. Whenever they have a chance to express their sentiments there is never any doubt as to the result. Every politician knows in advance what it will be, and that is the reason some of them loudly proclaim that woman suffrage is a failure. Equal suffrage is a failure with some kinds of people. A married woman's heart is always in her children and her home—the foundation of the Republic—and any measure affecting either is not a political question with her for a minute. There is only one side to it, and that is the right side. A woman's vote is always a patriotic vote.

In fact, the most wise, scientific, and progressive laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of children and women in their personal and property rights, for the humane treatment of the delinquent, dependent, and unfortunate classes, and for the enforce

ment of the laws and betterment of society are on the statute books of Colorado to-day.

I do not claim that the women are entitled to all of the credit for the enactment of all of these 150 laws. But the mothers and daughters of Colorado have, in my judgment, been the controlling influence that has brought about the enactment of most and have greatly assisted toward all of them. In fact, they have indirectly assisted in the passage of a great many other good laws, and those 150 are 150 good reasons for the women having had a voice in their enactment. I have simply mentioned those, as I recollect it, that the women took the most active interest in and for the passage of which I think they are entitled to the main credit. The women are also entitled to the credit of bringing forward, through their various clubs and organizations, many other beneficial measures at every session of the legislature, but many of which have thus far failed to pass. They will, however, not stop until they pass them. It should be remembered that we in Colorado have all of the powerful influences that always work against all reform legislation that they have in all other States, and no reasonable person expects the women to be able to overcome all of those influences and accomplish everything in 18 years.

There may be some minor inaccuracies in reference to these laws, as I have been compelled to prepare this list rather hastily. I have relied upon my own judgment and personal recollection in making these selections. Possibly no two persons would select the same list, and the titles used are partially abbreviations of my own. But I was a member of the Colorado State Senate during 6 of those 10 sessions of our legislature, besides 3 extra sessions, and was president pro tempore of the senate one term; I was a member of the judiciary committee for 12 years and chairman of the committee for 4 years, and personally helped to pass two-thirds of those laws, and besides twice as many more, so that I ought to be as well qualified as any man in the State to speak on the subject of the women's moral, intellectual, and political influence in causing good legislation; and I candidly believe that I am not putting it too strong or giving them more than their just due when I say that they are fairly entitled to much more commendation than the men for placing on our statute books the greatest number of the most humane and advanced laws that have been enacted by any State in this Union during the past 20 years.

I have made some examination of the laws of other States, and I challenge the entire array of antisuffragists in this country to compare the lawmaking record of Colorado with any male-suffrage State; and I defiantly assert, without the slightest fear of successful contradiction, that unless it be an equal-suffrage State, there is not another State in this Union that has during the past 10 sessions of her general assembly enacted one-half as much beneficial legislation for the protection and moral uplift of the human race.

The splendid record that the women of Colorado have made during the past 18 years is a credit to themselves, an honor to womanhood, and an inspiration to the cause of good government throughout the civilized world.

It is the feminine interest in motherhood, in the child, and in the welfare of the home that has compelled the passage of these laws.

Any 1 of 50 of those laws would be a vindication of equal suffrage. Moreover, the Colorado women are entitled to very great credit which does not appear anywhere for the vigilant exertion of their influence toward the prevention of bad legislation. A very large number of bad or unnecessary bills have been killed by the votes and suffrage influence of women, and the introduction of many more have been prevented by reason of the fear of that same influence.

The women members have all been exceptionally conscientious, industrious, and capable legislators. They devote their energies mostly to moral questions and matters affecting the home and the children, and the betterment of health and social conditions, including humane measures for the unfortunate of all classes.

The delegates of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, who some time ago visited the different parts of the United States for the purpose of studying American institutions, declared concerning our group of laws relating to child life in its various aspects of education, home, and labor, that "they are the sanest, most humane, most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world."

Woman suffrage in Colorado is and has been an unqualified benefit and universally recognized success. There is no thought or suggestion of its abandonment, the only possible difference of opinion among our citizens on the subject being as to the extent to which it has influenced legislation and the general administration of our public affairs. In the protection of the home and the family relations, of childhood and womanhood, in the guardianship of individual rights, in the protection of labor, in the matter of education, in the safeguarding of public health and morals, in the prevention of fraud, in the equal distribution of the burdens of government, in the discouragement and punishment of crime, and in the enforcement of humane laws, Colorado stands abreast with the most enlightened and progressive States of the Union.

Mr. Chairman, one of the best traits of human nature is the desire to advise others of the benefits we enjoy in this world and urge them to acquire the same valuable possessions. Scores of patriotic Coloradans, both men and women, have at various times for years traveled over this country from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf, at their own expense, without the slightest hope of reward, telling the people the value of political equality. Colorado being the most prominent and representative equal-suffrage State, has for 19 years been called the principal experimental station for woman suffrage, and the storm center of attack on the part of advocates and opponents. All the shafts of the antisuffragists on earth have been constantly hurled with fiendish desperation at our State. Hundreds of our public-spirited men and women have spent an incalculable amount of time, thought, energy, and money in answering inquiries from all over the world and in disproving the many vicious libels of the muck-raking magazines, yellow journals, and wanton slanders of mercenary sensational critics.

While all the old stereotyped stock of objections and obsolete arguments that have been doing valiant service for three generations have long since been exploded and ridiculed out of existence by the women themselves and by the actual experiences of every one of our six equal-suffrage States and by every country in the world where

it has been tried—and while I do not at all assume that I can add anything new to what everyone who has studied the question already knows—nevertheless the subject at this time is being more generally discussed throughout the United States than ever before in our history; and as active campaigns for the adoption of equal-rights constitutional amendments are now in progress in the States of Oregon, Kansas, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Michigan, and as I am receiving hundreds of letters and inquiries from those States and some of the others, I will, even at the risk of merely reiterating some of the conclusive answers that have been more eloquently given many a time before, give some of my personal observations and judgment upon a number of phases of the question. One of the first questions most often asked of me is:

DO THE WOMEN OF COLORADO VOTE?

Anyone can answer that question by simply looking at the election records and the census. Any claim that good women do not vote is squarely and conclusively contradicted by the election returns from all the equal-suffrage States of the Union. If you will compare the total population by this last census, or any census of the States that have equal suffrage, and then take the total vote of those States for President or governor, and compare that vote with the total vote of other States, you will see that the increased vote in the suffrage States is exactly in proportion to the total female population in those States, showing clearly that the women do vote in practically as large proportion according to their numbers as the men.

In Colorado there are from 35,000 to 40,000 more men than women. At the general fall election once every two years about 85 per cent of all the men and women vote. But owing to there being so many more men than women in the State, by actual count, the vote of the women in the State is on an average about 45 per cent of the entire vote. In some precincts it runs over 50 per cent. For the office which I hold, of Congressman at Large, at the presidential election in 1908 I received 127,000 votes and my principal opponent received 121,000, while the Socialist had 8,000 and the Prohibitionist 6,000 votes, and there were some scattering votes, making a total of about 265,000 votes. There is no State in the Union with the same population as Colorado that had within 125,000 as many votes as Colorado had, showing that there were at least that many women voted in our State, and we had relatively the same proportionate number in the last general State election in 1910, and will have more than that at the election this fall.

Every election, everywhere, there are some men who fail to vote because they have not registered, or have not time, or do not care, or are sick, or the weather is bad, or have not informed themselves about the issues or candidates. The same reasons apply to a few women every election. By the last census there are 800,000 people in Colorado. There will be 300,000 votes polled in the State this fall. That is twice as many proportionately as will be cast in any male-suffrage State in the Union this fall, and we now have a good registration law and there is no illegal voting.

The Colorado Legislature, during the time I was a member, declared, by a practically unanimous vote of both the senate and the house, that from the time their right to vote was recognized the women of Colorado have exercised the privilege of voting as generally as men. It is an undisputed fact that in every State in the country where the franchise has been extended to women the vote of the men has steadily risen. The vote of the men is much larger proportionately in all the equal-suffrage States of the Union than in those in which women are unenfranchised.

I am often asked if the best women in Colorado vote. As a matter of fact, it is the good women who vote in the largest numbers, proportionately—that is, in the better residence sections of every city and town and throughout the country the women vote is much larger, in proportion to the female population, than it is in the less prosperous and less desirable localities. There is no class of women in Colorado, no matter what their station in life may be, who do not vote. In the little city of Glenwood Springs, where I live, I do not know of there being a woman in the city or surrounding country who does not vote. The records of nearly every voting precinct in the State will substantiate what I say, and any person who makes the assertion that any appreciable per cent of the good women do not vote is unqualifiedly misrepresenting the facts. There are 125,000 as good and intelligent women as ever lived on this planet who vote at every general election in Colorado, and I am supremely proud to say that more than one-half of them have voted for me twice, and I am almost equally as proud in the belief that I retain the respect of all of those who voted against me. I represent in the House nearly five times as many voters as the other Members do, and I ought to be, and am, the proudest man in Congress of my constituency, especially the women.

DO THE BAD WOMEN OF COLORADO VOTE?

It has been repeatedly stated by numerous governors of our State and many other public officials and prominent politicians that there was only from one-third to one-half of 1 per cent of the women of the State who are immoral or disreputable. From my observations of public affairs and experiences in politics in our State, extending over 30 years, and from my knowledge as district attorney, extending over the northwestern quarter of the State, and services as county attorney and city attorney for many years, and my experience in the State senate and official consideration of all classes of our people, I am confident that less than one-half of 1 per cent of the women of the State are bad. In other words, there is not more than 1 immoral woman to every 200 good women. So that if all the immoral women voted, which they do not, and if only one-half of the good women voted, the preponderance of the good-women votes would be at least 100 to every immoral vote. Therefore the utterly thoughtless, and in some cases willful, assertion about disreputable women outweighing the number of good women is not only a ridiculous bugaboo, but is a slander upon the women of the country. Not only in Colorado but in nearly every other State the good women outnumber the bad women fully 200 to 1 Moreover, the women of the half-world do not willingly vote at all. They are constantly changing their names and residences. They are a migratory class.

They do not register unless they are compelled to. They do not like to give any data concerning themselves or as to their real name or address. They shrink from publicity and prefer to remain unidentified. The policemen in charge of those parts of every city know substantially the number of them all the time. They are very largely under the power of the police and sheriff's office, and unless they compel them to vote they generally stay away. And even where they are forced to vote, not over one-fifth of them are qualified voters. So that their influence is negligible; in fact, it is actually infinitesimal. They are no menace whatever. In fact, if it was known that they were voting for any particular ticket or candidate it would do that ticket or candidate ten times more harm than good. Of all classes of women, prostitutes are the ones who least wish to be registered and vote.

Some people seem to have the queer impression that everybody in a city or town votes in the same place, and that the men and women have a general scramble to vote, and all kinds of unseemly conduct on election day. We of the West can not comprehend how any sensible people can get such ideas. No large crowds of people vote in one place. Every city and town and the country is divided into small election precincts, usually not over 300 voters in a precinct. Everyone must vote in his or her own precinct. There are no lewd women in the country or in the small towns, and in the large towns and all cities they are strictly confined to certain districts. They are not allowed in the residence portions of the city. In the city of Denver, with its population of 215,000, there are, as I recollect it, 211 election precincts, and all the scarlet women are confined to 3 or 4 precincts. So that 99 per cent of the women of the city never come in contact with or ever see them. The same applies generally over the State. In fully 19 out of every 20 precincts in the State there are no immoral women whatever. Unless she lives in one of those precincts including the "red-light" district, no respectable woman ever sees an immoral woman at an election in Colorado.

The assertion is made by some antisuffragists that by granting the right to vote to women there will be added to the vote of every criminal man the vote of a criminal woman is utterly without foundation. The vicious and criminal class among women is comparatively very small indeed. In the prisons of the United States, including all kinds of offenders, only 5 per cent of the prisoners are women. In other words, there are 20 criminal men to every criminal woman. In the Colorado State Penitentiary and Reformatory there are to-day nearly 900 men, and only about 20 women. Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote at least 200 to every immoral or criminal vote. This is a matter not of conjecture but of statistics.

In the State of Idaho prostitutes are disfranchised entirely, and if they at any time should become a disturbing element or in the slightest affect the result of elections, that action would undoubtedly be promptly taken in the other States. One reason it has not, I apprehend, is because a great many bad men vote, and many so-called good men do not. Moreover, there is a kind of a humane sentiment that so long as they never take any part in elections and so few of them vote, no one should wish to deny this most unfortunate class of human beings whatever protection a vote can give them; at least, so long as men of the same class are voters.

DO HUSBANDS AND WIVES VOTE ALIKE?

Among the various far-fetched and so-called grounds of opposition to woman suffrage that I have heard, and which is utterly without foundation, is the assertion that women would become as partisan or more so than men, and thereby merely double the party vote and accomplish no real good. Nothing could be further from the actual facts. Women, when they are enfranchised, in every State are, practically speaking, nonpartisan. They have not, like the men, inherited their politics from their fathers; and in States where the people are nearly evenly divided between the parties, practically half of the girls marry men of different politics from that of their fathers. So that in reality they start in very independent, and the great majority of them remain comparatively so. While possibly from 75 to 90 per cent of the married women vote mainly the general party ticket the same way that their husbands do because their interests are the same, nevertheless a small per cent of them always vote independently; and all of them are perfectly free to scratch their ticket, and a very, very large per cent of them do so. It is very seldom that either party elects a straight ticket. We nearly always have a mixture of officeholders. In other words, the women are nothing like as partisan as the men. They are very intelligent voters. They know the art of scratching thoroughly; they are exceedingly proficient in picking out fellows who are no good.

While they vote the head of the ticket quite largely as their husbands or brothers do, nevertheless they always feel perfectly at liberty, and they exercise the freedom of selecting good men on the opposite ticket and almost invariably vote against bad men on what may be called their own party ticket. And that freedom of action never causes any friction whatever in the home. I have never in my life heard of a Colorado man having a quarrel or even assuming to complain or criticize his wife for exercising her choice and best judgment. In fact, some strong party men who feel that for party regularity they should not vote against anyone on their own ticket, at the same time they have not the slightest objections to their wives exercising an intelligent independence which they know is for the general good and which they feel it is not policy for them to exercise. In fact, every politician in the State has occasion to know that women can and will scratch their tickets. And when women have mastered, as they quickly do, the art of scratching, they have learned the most difficult feature of voting.

Women are not natural-born politicians like men are. They are not as crafty or ambitious politically as the men are. The natural result is that the men practically control politics, i. e., the party machinery of the State. At the same time the women read the papers. They talk among themselves. They learn quite fully about all the candidates and what they stand for. They discuss political issues and the candidates with the male members of the family, and they are thoroughly advised as to who's who. Women's interests can not, generally speaking, be roused very much by mere partisan strife. Women never become hysterical and very seldom show much enthusiasm over a mere party nominee. Their interests center

around questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morals, civic beauty, charity and corrections, and public health, public libraries, the care of the children and the home, and the enforcement of humane laws, and such subjects and matters as affect the welfare of the home and family. Men look after the business interests and financial questions, while the moral and humane questions appeal more to the women. In other words, men and women are different in their character and thoughts, and the influence and judgment of both is beneficial in civic and governmental affairs just the same as they are in well-regulated and orderly family relations. The husband is hustling for the almighty dollar and thinking about business matters, while the wife and mother is more directly concerned about the welfare of the children and the preservation of the home, the moral surroundings of the family, and his and her public actions are largely a reflection of the same man and woman sentiments that appear in an orderly conducted home.

A just man ought to, and every loyal son of Colorado does, accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the same political rights which he demands for himself.

ARE WOMEN OFFICE SEEKERS?

No one need have any fear of the women monopolizing all the offices. There has never been any rush of women for offices. Giving a woman the right to vote does not change her feminine characteristics or her womanly nature in the slightest. The women as a class are never chronic or inveterate office seekers. In fact, there is not one out of five hundred who ever thinks of being a candidate for office. They are not ambitious for office. They are never avaricious for power and influence like men are. Men are shrewder politicians and much more unscrupulous than women. In nine cases out of ten when a woman does seek the nomination for an office she is earnestly solicited to do so by many of her friends and acquaintances who recognize her exceptional qualifications for the position. Moreover, women scarcely ever strive for or want the more important positions that the men want. The men want the positions that pay the large salaries and require executive ability and other responsibilities, and that involve control of party machinery, patronage, and large affairs. As a rule women are never candidates for positions of that kind. They do not care to be political bosses, and nine hundred and ninety-nine out of one thousand instinctively shrink from allowing themselves to be made candidates for the highest or best positions.

There is no reason why a fair share of important offices should not be given to women, and they undoubtedly will be as time goes on and women become more qualified to fill them. But in the meantime the women are contented with the educational and clerical positions and minor offices that require energy and much painstaking diligence and conscientious work, and which are compensated by smaller salaries. Furthermore, it should be remembered that all of the offices in any State or county or city is only an infinitesimal amount in number as compared with the entire population, and there is not one-tenth as much reason for the claim that if women vote all of them would want to hold office as there is regarding the men. Neither of them can be

elected without receiving the majority of all the votes, both male and female, and that vote will not be given to either unless the candidate is well fitted for the position.

There are many public-spirited and well-to-do women who have more leisure than their husbands, and who take an active interest in charitable work and the welfare of the unfortunate; and they often serve on those official boards and do a world of good without any compensation whatever. But they are clothed with the authority that compels the officials in charge to carry out their recommendations, which they would not do if the women were not backed up by the ballot.

The voting age of women is 21 years, the same as men, and in Colorado there are only a comparatively small per cent of the women 21 years of age who are not married, and most of those who are not married are school-teachers, or stenographers, or deputies in offices, or occupying some clerical position, or clerking in stores. All of the women of Colorado are exceptionally intelligent and well informed on public affairs. The great majority of the married women have their family affairs to look after, and they do not care to hold offices. But all of them are interested in who are elected to offices and the way the public officials administer their offices.

OFFICES NOW HELD BY WOMEN IN COLORADO.

State superintendent of public instruction: Mrs. Helen M. Wixon.

Regent of State university: Miss Anna L. Wolcott, a sister of former United States Senator Edward O. Wolcott.

State penitentiary commissioner: Mrs. Helen L. Grenfel (formerly for six years State superintendent of public instruction).

President elections commission in city and county of Denver: Miss Ellis Meredith.

Four members of the legislature: Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, Mrs. Agnes L. Riddle, Mrs. Louise U. Jones, and Mrs. Louise M. Kerwin (the first named being chairman of the committee on education).

Judge of the county court of Eagle County: Mrs. Lydia B. Tague (probably the first instance in the history of the world where a woman has been the judge of an important court of record).

Recorder of the city of Denver: Mrs. Lucy I. Harrington.

Auditor of city of Pueblo: Mrs. Carrie E. Truman.

Two members of the State board of charities and corrections: Mrs. Ella S. Williams and Dr. Elizabeth Cassidy.

Vice president State civil service commission: Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker (formerly president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs).

Trustee State normal school: Mrs. Thalia A. Rhoads.

Trustee of State school for deaf and blind: Mrs. M. S. McDonald.

Factory inspector: Mrs. Katherine Williamson.

Four of the five members of both the boards of trustees of the State home for dependent and neglected children and industrial school for girls.

Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, the present superintendent of public instruction in the city and county of Denver, was a delegate to the last National Democratic Convention.

Mrs. Anna H. Pitzer, of Colorado Springs, the sister-in-law of Speaker Champ Clark, has just been elected a delegate to the National Democratic Convention that meets in Baltimore in June, 1912.

County superintendents of public instruction in 45 out of the 62 counties in the State.

In 5 or 6 counties the offices of either a county commissioner or the county clerk or county treasurer is held by a woman.

There are over 500 women members of school boards throughout the State.

The positions of postmaster are held by women in, I think, about 40 towns in the State.

The positions of clerk or treasurer in some 40 or 50 cities and towns are held by women, and a great many deputyships are held by women.

There are several women official court stenographers and clerks of courts.

Women have held office more extensively in Colorado than in any of the other suffrage States so far. Most of them have been married women or widows with grown or half-grown children.

The right of suffrage has quite largely increased the number of women chosen to such offices as were already open to them before. In Colorado women were eligible to the position of county superintendent of schools before their enfranchisement, but when they obtained the ballot the number of women elected to these positions showed an immediate and very large increase.

The duties of the offices which the women hold are performed in an efficient manner, and above all things they are absolutely honest.

DOES EQUAL SUFFRAGE CAUSE DIVORCES?

There is not a single instance on record anywhere in any court in the State, and there never in 20 years has been a case in Colorado, where a divorce has been granted on account of political difference, or where the trouble between husband and wife arose from politics, or where either one ever even claimed that politics had anything to do with it. So that the charge made against our State as to divorces being in any manner connected with equal suffrage is as false as anything can be. Differences in religion between husbands and wives produce a thousand times more quarrels than differences in politics do, and yet no one would nowadays ever think of trying to compel a woman to choose her religion to suit her husband.

DO WOMEN LOSE ANY OF THEIR INFLUENCE OR CEASE TO BE AS MUCH RESPECTED?

The brazen claim that women will become unsexed or lose any of the respect of men is not only entirely without foundation, but utterly absurd. In the olden times men had the right to chastise their wives. They could take them out in the smokehouse and whip them. Have the men nowadays got any less respect for their wives because they can not lick them any more? Respect for woman is based upon her moral character, her intelligence, and her own self-respect. Women are not becoming less respected because they have been admitted to colleges and universities. Women are just as

feminine in Colorado as any place on earth, and they are better wives because they are better informed and more companionable to their husbands. The enfranchisement of the wife has given another common interest to the household. It has had no tendency to create discord in the home. On the contrary, it has brought a comradeship in politics, something similar to that of religion, that used to be found in many families in the East.

There is nothing whatever degrading to a woman to quietly go down to the polls on election day once or twice a year and cast her vote along with her husband or brother or with women friends. There is not the slightest tendency whatever in Colorado among the men to omit the ordinary politeness due the women. In fact, I believe our women by their superior general intelligence and companionable charms command and receive more courteous attention than in any other State. Under equal suffrage there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of the men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings nor as property, but as equal and full citizens. We are proud of our Colorado women. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand of them conduct themselves in a ladylike and exemplary manner and we know that the highest consideration of justice and good government justifies and demands equal suffrage for women. I have little regard for a son who swells up and says that he is better than his mother. To-day a boy in his teens in a country or a State where women are given the right to vote does not look upon his mother or his sister as belonging to the sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out the natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? Both men and women of the various different countries where woman suffrage is granted are much different in their looks and manners from each other; and yet it has had no perceptible effect toward unsexing or making women less womanly than they have always been.

To us people of the West it is utterly stupid for anyone to assume that the vote will lessen the present influence of women. The influence of any class of men, or any individual man, has never in the world been lessened because he had the power to vote. Such absurd and ancient falsehoods should no longer be tolerated or listened to as serious arguments.

DO WOMEN BECOME PARTISAN?

Women will vote for the right as they see it. They vote for men rather than party principles. That is one of the reasons that they are feared by certain politicians. I have heard it said great reformers never vote straight tickets, and women very seldom do. They are conservative reformers. Woman's adherence to party does not generally prevail as against her judgment on policies or candidates. They take the motto as a slogan, "Within the party if we can, without it if we must."

There has never been a purely party measure that has been espoused by women in the Colorado Legislature. The women of all parties want the same things and have always worked for them together in perfect harmony. Men thoroughly understand that, in legislative matters, when they oppose the women they are opposing practically all of the women and the great independent vote of the State.

Men are stronger politically than women, and men dominate the politics of the State and cities. But man's domination is always influenced and often controlled by woman's natural and instinctive desire for honesty and better moral conditions in politics as in everything else. There is no such thing as a distinct woman's vote in the sense that there is in most cities an Italian vote or a Swede vote or a German vote.

Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble for partisan warfare for office, but women will not permit them to be obscured by anything.

HAVE COLORADO WOMEN LOST THEIR WOMANLINESS OR DETERIORATED MORALLY?

The objection that "it is unwomanly" has been made to every change in the status of woman from the time she ceased to be a beast of burden and we men decided to give her a soul and a seat at our dinner table to the present time. The days when ridicule and contempt were the reception accorded any attempt of the woman to enlarge her activities or broaden and enrich her life belong to another century. We have to-day urgent need for better fathers and wiser mothers. The feminist leaders of Europe and the United States are changing the attitude of the race toward one-half of its members.

To-day girls form 56 per cent of the pupils enrolled in our secondary schools and a large majority of those in all our high schools. The old days when women were compelled to keep silent are past. To-day in every field of human endeavor her voice is heard. By the legal establishment and recognizing of women citizenship, the intellect and character and reciprocal estimation of both sexes has been raised. The possession of the ballot has given women an interest in general as well as political affairs, and this has naturally stimulated the men.

There is no real ground of fear for American marriages and the home. Nothing can break the bond between the sexes. Our own higher development will bring better conditions. We will have higher and happier marriages than ever before.

It is an absolute fallacy—the assertion that the activity of women in politics is in any sense whatever a movement of the sexes against each other; in reality it is the making of the sexes more companionable to each other and nearer on an equality.

Ex-Gov. Alva Adams, of Colorado, said before the House Judiciary Committee:

> I have known personally at least 10,000 women voters of Colorado, and I have never known one to be less a woman, or less a mother, or less a housekeeper, or less a heart keeper from the fact that she voted—not one. I have studied this question for 30 years. I did not go out there, as this correspondent (the author of an article in the Outlook) went out there, with a lunch basket and a return ticket, and simply expect in 10 days to pass judgment upon this great experiment.

There is no place on this planet where women are more womanly, more modest, more charming, or more attentive to their home duties, or better wives or mothers than they are in Colorado. In fact, we know that the broadened influence which the ballot has given them has very largely tended to enhance the very virtues and charms which distinguish true womanhood.

DO WOMEN NEGLECT THEIR HOMES AND CHILRDEN?

We have from childhood constantly heard the solemn assertion that the place for women is the home. I have never heard of anyone denying that platitude, and certainly the women of Colorado do not deny it. If there is anything in this world that a woman naturally wants it is a home. That is her natural place, and her main task in this world is home making. In fact, every married woman in this country is a self-appointed and ex officio member of the Mothers' Home Protective League. But nowadays home is not contained within the four walls of an individual house. Home is merely the center of her sphere from which her influence should radiate. The home is largely the community, and the city or town full of people is the larger family of womankind. A woman can not merely stay in the home. Even to have a clean house it is necessary to have clean streets. To have clean streets it is necessary to elect a clean mayor. The same may be applied to all municipal officers and to school boards and health boards. In fact, all government to-day is in a certain sense merely housekeeping on a large scale. For some parts of this housekeeping the men may always remain better qualified than women. In other parts of it women will always be better qualified than men. But it takes both men and women to make a home. Mothers need the ballot to regulate the moral conditions under which their children must be brought up. The men's time is consumed in looking after industrial and commercial interests, but they need the cooperation and help of women in things governing home life. The community and the welfare of men themselves need the increased influence of women more than even the women need the ballot. Woman is largely responsible, not only for the cleanliness of her house and the wholesomeness of the food, but for the health and morals of the children and the conditions under which her children live; and if she is primarily held responsible for those conditions, she should have something to say in the election of the officials and the making of the laws and ordinances by which those conditions are governed.

Equal suffrage in Colorado has made a new and powerful community of interests in the home, and it is a good thing for all members of the home and for the home itself. The responsibility of voting does not for a moment divert feminine attention from home duties. In fact, it accentuates woman's place in the home by giving her an important place in its protection.

But there is another serious and important consideration. There are upward of 7,000,000 women in the United States to-day who in reality have no home. Economic conditions have driven them into the factory, the mill, the shop, and the store. They have not left their homes of their own volition; they are not earning a livelihood in competition with the men of their own election. No one will ever

assert that women voluntarily leave their homes to become wage earners. If some of them think the ballot would help them to better their conditions and enable them to have homes, are they to be blamed and ridiculed for entertaining that hope?

Ninety-nine per cent of the women of Colorado take no more time in politics than to attend probably two or three political meetings every two years and go to the polls on election day to cast their vote. The women of Colorado, generally speaking, do not spend 1 per cent of their time in political matters that they spend in social duties. It only takes a Colorado woman 10 or 15 minutes away from her home to cast a vote. But during those few minutes she is wielding the most tremendous power any woman ever had on this earth for the protection of her home and the homes of all others.

DOES IT INCREASE OR DIMINISH CORRUPTION IN POLITICS?

There is no man worthy of the name who will deny the statement that the influence of his mother and his wife and his sister and his daughter is good. Her influence is beneficial from her childhood to her grave. Is there a man who would have the hardihood to say that he feels his mother, his wife, his sister, or daughter would be more corrupt than he is or less honest than he is in exercising the elective franchise? When you grant equal suffrage to women, it is our mothers and wives and sisters and daughters who are going to vote. And if you assume that the influence of the ignorant or disreputable women is going to outweigh that of the good and the moral women of the country, you are either assuming that a majority of the women are ignorant or disreputable or that the good women will not vote. I most emphatically deny both of those assumptions. The records conclusively show that good women do vote, and every decent citizen knows that the overwhelming majority of women are moral, are intelligent, and are thoughtful and reputable; and they are as solicitous about the moral welfare of the community and society as the men are; and, in fact, more so. I have never heard of a woman being prosecuted or even seriously charged with the commission of a crime in regard to an election. I have heard it repeatedly stated—and I believe it is true—that the men are guilty of 99 per cent of all political corruption in Colorado.

There may possibly be a few very rare cases where a woman has been implicated in some political crookedness, but if there are any such cases that I have never heard of you will find that she was put up to it by some men who were trying to shield themselves behind her, and there will be 99 men more guilty than she. And when it comes to the exercising of the elective franchise, I am absolutely certain that for every woman who may have been justly chargeable with any wrongdoing there will be 99 men who are more guilty. We have sent a good many men to jail and some to the penitentiary; and, of course, some of them may sometimes attempt to hide behind the skirt of some woman of whom they have tried to make a stool pigeon. But it is not true that women in any appreciable number whatever voluntarily enter into any kind of political fraud. They are intensely in favor of clean politics and honest elections. In fact, the good moral influence of women is splendidly demonstrated in politics. Generally speaking,

throughout the entire State there has been a wonderful change in the places and manner of holding elections in Colorado. The meetings for the caucuses and the polling places are all in respectable places, and there is no rowdyism or disturbances whatever about the polls; and our political conventions, while they are intensely exciting and the interest runs high, because Coloradoans are wide-awake and ambitious people, at the same time all public meetings are conducted in an orderly manner, and no woman need hesitate to attend them either as a delegate or as a spectator.

No one claims that all women are honorable, and political power may occasionally uncover some moral weakness. But women are by far the most virtuous, most moral, and equally intelligent half of our population. A people will have a government just as good as, and no better than, they are.

One sure way of answering the question as to whether or not equal suffrage increases corruption in politics is to inquire who are the opponents of equal suffrage. Some of our opponents seem to get great satisfaction over the assertion that a majority of the socialists in Los Angeles voted for equal suffrage. They do not mention that Emma Goldman, the most notorious anarchist in this country, is going about the country lecturing on "Why I am not a woman suffragist."

Everyone who knows anything about woman suffrage or about human nature, or who has had anything to do with public affairs or politics, knows that the vicious and criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women. All those who thrive upon the violation of the law in any way or upon corruption in politics are the bitterest enemies of woman suffrage. Every gambler, every ballot-box stuffer, every political thug, every dive keeper, every depraved denizen of the red-light districts and all of their associates, everyone who is opposed to public decency, every professional debaucher of the public moral, and every conceivable variety of crook in the world is viciously and desperately opposed to women being enfranchised, and they never cease exhausting their vocabulary cursing woman suffrage.

DOES IT DOUBLE THE IGNORANT OR FOREIGN OR CRIMINAL VOTE?

As there are one-third more girls than boys attending the high schools of this country, the women are very rapidly becoming the more educated class. According to the last census, the illiterate men of this country very greatly outnumber the illiterate women. Therefore, extending the franchise to women will actually increase the proportion of intelligent voters. Moreover, extending the franchise to women will very largely increase the number of native-born voters, because there are in the United States over 12 times as many native-born women as foreign born. It is also a matter of record that a less proportion of the foreign born than the native born vote, and as there are much fewer women than men immigrants the enfranchisement of women will therefore doubly tend to minimize the influence of the foreign vote.

Another important feature is that the foreign women are usually much better in morals and intelligence than the foreign men, to whom the ballot is already given.

According to the census of 1910, there are in the United States 7,500,000 foreign males and 5,800,000 foreign females—that is, 129 foreign males to every 100 females of the same class. A foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are usually very acceptable citizens. We also notice another interesting feature in this connection in Colorado, and that is that, owing to their Old World ideas which the foreigners bring with them, the foreign women vote but very little indeed until they become quite thoroughly Americanized.

While on ordinary questions the foreign-woman vote would be very much like the native-woman vote, and would to quite a large degree, duplicate the men's vote, that would not be true of special questions affecting women and children or the home or matters of morality or questions of decency. This is one of the main points of the equal-suffrage question. And if women take the moral and humane side on questions affecting the welfare of the home and the good of society, it is of comparatively little importance whether or not on other questions their votes are duplicates. The taxes paid by women will very much more than meet the cost of printing and counting the extra ballots. Moreover, in a democrary like ours it is of the greatest importance and benefit to the whole people, both men and women, that all of the population interest themselves in all public questions. It has been repeatedly stated that a republic is sound at heart only when all of its adult members take an ardent interest in its affairs. Too many votes can not possibly be cast in a right cause in a democracy which lives and breathes by the public opinion of the men and women who compose it.

There is in this country no lack in our politics of business ability, executive talent, or shrewdness of any kind. But there is much danger of lack of conscience, character, and humanity. The business interests, which appeal more specially to men, are well looked after; but the moral and humanitarian interests, which appeal more specially to women, are too apt to be neglected.

DO WOMEN READILY UNDERSTAND POLITICS?

The ludicrous assertion that women should not be allowed to vote because they do not know enough is only equaled in antiquity and absurdity by the little, old, familiar verse:

> Mother, dear, may I go swim?
> Yes, my darling daughter;
> Go hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
> But don't go near the water.

The women of Seattle knew enough to fire a crooked mayor in about 15 minutes after they were given the ballot; and they knew enough again, a few days ago, to defeat him for reelection.

Women learn how to vote mighty quickly. They do not have to serve any apprenticeship to know the difference betwen decency and corruption or between an honest man and a crook. She always knows the difference between good and bad government and everything pertaining to educational matters or matters affecting the home, and all politicians will very soon learn that she is exceedingly alert and well informed upon all moral questions and questions affecting

society and good government and clean candidates. She comprehends intuitively and instinctively. In fact, on questions of that kind she is much more interested than men, and the advice of every married woman is of great assistance to her husband. In reality, on all questions of that kind, instead of a husband voting his wife there is a great deal more likelihood of the wife voting the husband.

It is utterly absurd and idiotic to assert that women are not sufficiently intelligent to vote. And even if they had no more intelligence than the ignorant portions of the male population that vote, they have a great deal more honesty than the men have, and honesty is needed in politics of the present day even more than intelligence. They certainly have sufficient intelligence to decide whether they are properly governed and who they will be governed by.

THE DEVELOPING POWER OF RESPONSIBILITY.

Responsibility is one of the greatest instruments of education, both morally and intellectually, and woman never will become thoroughly versed in matters of politics until she is given the opportunity of studying them under the stimulus and check of responsibility.

When we consider her handicaps—not merely her natural handicaps but the unnatural hardships imposed upon her by civilization and sentiment—when we consider that for ages she has been discouraged from trying to do anything outside of the home, it is no wonder that she can not do all things as well as men. Lack of ambition always limits efficiency. The wonder is that she does so many things as well as she does. Politically speaking, women are somewhat like uneducated children. They need to be given the aid and stimulus of sufficient imagination to know what the lack of education or of responsible citizenship means.

The great economic questions of to-day affect the women just as much as they do the men. Their interests are mutual and equal, and her enfranchisement has conclusively proven in the six Western States that the result is a more enlightened and better balanced citizenship and a truer democracy. It has been said that the more civilization advances the more the interests of men and women coincide and the more the suppression of their proper sphere has decreased.

One-fifth of all the women of this country have been compelled to go into the field of business and take positions formerly held by men and are actively earning their own support. The ballot is just as imperatively necessary to them as it is to the men. It is not only contrary to the principles of fair dealing to deny the women the right to vote, but this country needs the influence of her ballot, as will be conclusively shown by the result of her vote wherever it has been given to her. It seems to me infamous that women should be longer classed as political nonentities, the same as lunatics, Chinamen, criminals, and children. While there is a good reason for excluding all of those political nonentities excepting women, there is no good reason under heaven for excluding an intelligent woman from trying to better the conditions which affect her by the use of the ballot.

There is no argument or objection ever made against woman suffrage that has not been conclusively disproved by the facts in the States where it has been tried. She has improved and adorned the

offices she has held and the laws she has helped to make and made better the politics of our State, as she does everything else she touches.

A woman who is self-centered and satisfied with the gratification of her appetite and vanities is not the highest ideal of our race and is not performing her highest duty to society or to humanity.

Back here in the East at the present time and in the discussion of the subject before the committee we hear some of the same old arguments that we heard in Colorado 20 years ago, when the campaign was on for woman suffrage in our State, and it is in the light of all these subsequent years that we look back at the absurd and ridiculous claims that were made at that time. Those objections have been demonstrated beyond question to have all been based upon prejudice, bias, and fictitious assumption.

There were in our State a number of women who, before they were enfranchised, did not want to vote. Since then nearly all of them have been faithfully performing their duty.

In all of the States in the Union where men have been compelled to yield up some of their so-called inalienable rights and divide some of their assumed natural sphere with women it has been discovered that women can really cast an intelligent ballot; that equality in a material sphere works out to the betterment of both and to the welfare of society; and that equal political right in those States is not any more listed as one of the absurdities.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IS EDUCATING AND BROADENING.

I have heard it said that the greatest school of life is the ballot box. The present world movement for the enfranchisement of women shows that under the influence of advanced civilization the nations of the earth are becoming ready for universal suffrage and the conception of society which it implies. Feminism is a world movement. It is a part of the eternal forward march of the human race toward a genuine democracy. The whole history of the development of civilization is merely the story of broadening the channel of human liberty and opportunity. All over the world woman is doing and thinking more effectively than ever before.

An eminent author has stated that the most impressive and portentous development of our twentieth-century social order is the woman problem. What is the race going to do with the woman? And what is the woman going to do with the race?

When you consider that women started at the zero point in this country a hundred years ago, with customs and her own sentiment against her, and that her admission to the colleges designed for men was contested more stubbornly than her original admission to the primary school had been, we must admit that her rise in the educational world is a brilliant feat. It certainly has forever disposed of the argument that she is unable.

Women's clubs are a wonderfully educational movement. It is within the memory of most of us when the American women first began to form themselves into clubs. At first they were merely little local literary organizations. Afterwards the matters affecting the welfare of the community were taken up for consideration; and then the women commenced forming State federations and afterwards national federations; and to-day the General Federation of Women's Clubs,

working in conjunction with the International Council of Women, are doing a wonderfully beneficial and humane work for the amelioration of the conditions of women all over the world.

The women's organizations thoroughly realize that their cause for the betterment of humanity can be best advanced by giving the women the ballot. It is rapidly coming to a condition where the intelligent women of the world are making this appeal for equal rights on the ground of natural justice, on the ground of the highest expediency, and on the ground of the abstract right of all women to all possible means of education and all civil rights and privileges which the men enjoy.

The change in the status of women has been so enormous during the past 50 years that to-day the opinion of educated women can no longer be ignored by educated men. Some one has said that the demands of woman suffrage is only one of the outward symbols of the stupendous revolution which has taken place during the last 50 years.

The women of Colorado are quite largely members of various clubs, and they wield an influence that is hardly conceivable by people who do not live in the State. They do not only have all the clubs there are in other States, but they also have political clubs, and there is a great deal of family discussion of public questions, which all has an unquestionable tendency to educate and broaden not only the mind of the wife but the members of the family. Increased responsibility causes increased development and improvement, and increased development means intelligent action and patriotism.

I have often heard it said that one of the largest book stores in Denver sold more books on political economy, sociology, and kindred subjects within six months after women were enfranchised than during the entire previous 20 years. There is no question but what the possession of the right to vote creates an incentive to broader thoughts and greater interest in mankind and womankind for their mutual development.

THE SCHOOLS OF COLORADO.

The life of a nation depends on the welfare of its children. Colorado spends more money per capita on her schools than any other State in the Union. There is no difference made in the salaries of teachers on account of sex. The children have a right to legal protection, and their mothers, who are their natural and best guardians, have a right to be given every means necessary for their protection.

There is not a child in Colorado but what has a seat in a school and is guarded by law compelling its parents to allow it to go to school. Does anyone believe for a moment that if the women had the power to make themselves felt in the administration of public affairs that there would be to-day 100,000 children on half time in the schools of New York City and 25,000 without seats in schools in the city of Philadelphia and an equal proportion in Chicago and many other large cities in this country? Does any sane person believe that if the women of this country had a vote it would have taken 50 years to have passed the bill that just passed Congress creating a Federal bureau for the protection of children? The statistics will show that, practically speaking, there are no illiterate voters in the State of

Colorado. A very large part of our population is American born. The foreign-born voters must be fully naturalized citizens and must have resided at least one year in our State; therefore, neither men nor women are allowed to vote until they are fully identified and acquainted with our affairs and conditions.

Women have equal suffrage in school elections, I believe, in 30 States of the Union. Has anyone ever had the effrontery to assert that their influence has contaminated or had any evil effect upon school elections or made less effective the teaching of moral instruction in those States? There never was a moral law started anywhere in any State in this Republic but what it has had the approval of a great majority of the women, and most of them would support it if they were given the power to do so. Everyone knows that there is a much stronger propensity in women than in men toward the discharge of duties relating to child life. Their moral, educational, and health conditions depend largely upon woman for development, and she can not efficiently discharge these obligations without concerning herself as to the laws regulating such affairs. If she is given the ballot, she then has the power to safeguard the children by giving to them the protection of important laws. It is said that in many States where women have a right to vote upon school elections that the women pay comparatively little attention to them. That may be true where there is no special interest or moral question involved and where the candidates are equally worthy. But where one candidate represents the moral and another the immoral side of questions affecting the welfare of children the women invariably take an active interest, and it is needless to say that they are always on the side of decency.

In the State of Colorado women have always had the right to vote in school elections; and it is true that they formerly paid comparatively little attention to it, excepting, as I have stated, when some moral issue was at stake. But since they have been given the full right and responsibility of voting, tens of thousands of women vote at every election who never in former days thought of voting at a school election.

Another helpful and healthful feature is that prominent women—wives of men in well-to-do circumstances—who have no children, or whose children have grown up, are beginning more and more to recognize the obligations which they owe to others not so fortunate in personal protection; and large numbers of them spend a great deal of time and money in their efforts and successful determination of bettering the laws and conditions surrounding the children of the poor and helpless. A glance at the laws, which I have given, will convince anyone that the enfranchisement of women has exercised a beneficent influence upon the public schools, and toward bettering all school conditions and for the general protection and welfare of the youth of our Commonwealth.

It has been stated that "Women the world over are reformers." That is unquestionably true, and it is equally true that women are progressive. But they are sanely and conservatively progressive. They are never fanatical or revolutionary. They are wisely discriminating and shrewd in their public actions. They interest themselves primarily in things of the home, things that make for purity, decency, and humanity; movements that are more social than political; matters that pertain to education, morals, civic beauty, charities and corrections, sanitation of schoolhouses, charitable and reformatory institutions, and specially and above all, everything relating to children.

ELECTION-DAY CUSTOMS IN COLORADO.

One of the greatest outrages that has ever been perpetrated upon any class of public-spirited and splendid citizens is the infamous misrepresentations sent out by tourists, critics, and anonymous liars about election-day customs in Colorado; and to us the amazing part of it is, why the eastern press will swallow and publish such stuff without ever making the slightest effort to verify it, and, in fact, positively refuse to publish the truth about the actual facts in the suffrage States. The result is the general public have imbibed a large per cent of the lurid, slanderous, and mercenary libels concerning woman suffrage. An election day in Colorado is in no way different from election day in States where only male suffrage obtains, excepting that there is an entire lack of drunkenness and disorder of every kind. Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, in a public address, recently said that in 17 years of her actual experience she had never yet seen an intoxicated man or heard an oath or seen a discourteous action toward any woman at the polling places.

My wife goes to the polls with me, and she, like all other women, always votes absolutely as she wills, and she never wills to vote for a bad man, even if he is on my ticket. The slanders which we hear about woman suffrage not only debase the people who utter them, but they are an impeachment of the decency and honesty of womanhood everywhere.

In residence sections the polling place is usually at a private house. There is never the least disorder at the polls, no discourtesy or offense of any kind. It is not as trying and does not require as long as it does to go to a dry-goods or grocery store. Women often sit beside the men as judges of elections, and nearly always two women act as clerks of election. Women attend political meetings quite generally, and their presence always insures order and decorous procedure.

I have never seen any serious disturbance at any political meeting in my State nor witnessed the slightest disorder at any polling place during the past 18 years. The women often take their babies to the polls in a gocart.

A man must give his exact age, while a woman only swears she is over 21 years old.

Husband and wife, father and daughter, brothers and sisters, or women in pairs or little groups go to the polls together as to any other meeting. No political party nor the officials of any party would think of locating a polling place anywhere where a woman would hesitate to go. The polls are as much protected as the post office or any other respectable place. Every man shows the utmost respect to every woman at the polls. There is no electioneering within 100 feet of the polls. Everything about the polling booth is courteous and orderly. Immoral women do not disturb or trouble good women any more at the polls than they do at a store or at a theater. Generally speaking, there are no saloons in

the residence portions of any city or town, and I would say ninety-five precincts out of every hundred in the State have no saloons in them, and in ninety-nine out of every hundred precincts in the State there are no immoral women. Women are nothing like as venal as men naturally, and, in fact, there is never any attempt made to corrupt them. In fact, women give an atmosphere of decency and respectability to the voting places. In the elections they are treated with all due respect and make election day one of pleasure instead of one of riot and drunkenness.

Polling places are not only in proper and convenient buildings, but they are always orderly and clean. There is no smoking or swearing or unseemly conduct of any kind. The individual dignity of women is strengthened by the ballot. I never knew of a woman being even embarrassed at the polls or at any public meeting. While the women take as much interest in voting as do the men, they do not neglect their home duties by standing on the streets talking politics.

The difference between "influence" and "power" can readily be seen by comparing the results in Colorado and in other States where women do not vote. The women of our State have lost none of their influence, but they have in addition the power of the constituency, and the men of our mountain republic who are chivalrous enough to do the women justice are chivalrous enough still to keep them enthroned by their sides.

RESULT OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

I have lived in Colorado for 31 years and have taken an active part in public affairs during practically all of that time. I personally know the condition of politics before and since woman suffrage was granted; and while my judgment may not coincide with some others, I certainly have no reason for making any erroneous statements or expressing other than my candid judgment, and I can honestly and conscientiously say that I do not know of any bad effects whatever that woman suffrage has had in the State of Colorado, and I do know of enough good that they have accomplished to fill many volumes.

At the time it was adopted in Colorado people both feared and expected too much as a result of woman suffrage. In fact, the enthusiasts for every reform hope for more than they realize, while the opponents always fear the worst possible results. Woman suffrage has not brought about the millennium. It has not entirely changed human nature nor abolished dishonesty or crime. But, in the language of Colorado's grand old man, Senator Henry M. Teller—

> Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable and in much that is advantageous.

I believe I could prepare a list of at least a thousand beneficial results of equal suffrage in Colorado and an equal number of reasons why women should vote. I will not at all attempt to enumerate them, but in addition to those I have already mentioned will merely give in a very general and possibly somewhat disconnected way some of the results as I see them.

Equal suffrage has unquestionably compelled a very great improvement in the standing and moral character of the candidates nominated for office by all political parties.

It has equally improved the political conventions, assemblies, and public meetings and the management of all the different political campaigns previous to elections.

It has made much more orderly and better polling places and election-day customs have wonderfully improved.

It has greatly improved the interest of both men and women in the public affairs of the State and the municipalities.

It educates and broadens a woman's sphere of information, and makes her take a more intelligent interest in public affairs. It makes her more companionable, and consequently increases her intellectual standing, dignity, and influence.

It is a family bond and tie that binds the husband and wife together.

In ninety-nine cases out of one hundred the best and often the only political adviser a Colorado politician has is his wife. Any reasonable fair-minded person who has ever lived in Colorado six months knows that our women count for a great deal more, there is more attention paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment than there is or ever was in any State where they are denied the power that equal suffrage gives them.

Some one has said that in our political conventions a few women are as good as a whole squad of police. Our women are well advised; their judgment is good. Their opinions are entitled to and nearly always receive due respect. It is true that more or less political chicanery always has, and probably always will, exist among some politicians in the State, not because of, but in spite of woman suffrage. Just the same as crime exists, not because of criminal laws, but in spite of them.

At this fall's election there will be nearly a million women who will vote for the next President of the United States, and their influence will determine which way will be cast the 37 electoral votes in the States of Colorado, California, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming.

IT HAS TAKEN OUR SCHOOLS OUT OF POLITICS.

Equal suffrage has almost entirely taken our schools out of politics. One of our prominent educators recently said that there is more politics in school matters in any one block of any large city in this country than there is in the entire 104,000 square miles of Colorado soil.

The ballot is the woman's peaceable, orderly, and dignified assertion and effective execution of her judgment and will. All the old shopworn arguments against woman suffrage that I used to hear from my grandparents when I was a boy seem so ridiculous nowadays that they are a ludicrous curiosity to us people in Colorado. But those relics of feudalism seem to be still current back here in the East, in keeping up the ancient bugaboo against the best, the most intelligent, and most patriotic women on this planet asserting the God-given right of every human being of self-protection. And when the undisputable facts of many years of actual practical tests conclusively and overwhelmingly demonstrates the unqualified falsity of all those antiquated absurdities—demonstrate that they have become deliberate slanderers on the women of this country—our opponents are

now in desperation resorting to all kinds of misrepresentation as to the facts in our Western States. And what provokes us is that these slanderers very often, to use a slang expression, "get away" with their outrageous assertions because, at a distance of from two to three thousand miles away, with no one to contradict them, their positive statements are partially accepted.

While the 150 good laws enacted through the efforts of our women speak many volumes of public records in their behalf, yet it is in the local city, town, and county politics that women exert the most direct influence. The nearer the home the greater the good; such is apparently the philosophy of her interest. Municipal government and school government at home are her special forte, and it would take many more volumes to enumerate the beneficial results of her moral and humane influence in municipal and educational affairs throughout the State.

The composite judgment of all the governors of the six equal-suffrage States is that women are more conscientious about the right of suffrage than men are. Women are much more careful about advising themselves concerning the personnel of the ticket than the men are; and she is fully capable of so marking her ticket as to express her individual choice, and that choice is always for the uplift of politics. No one need ever fear to trust to the women the welfare and good of the community, because their influence invariably tends toward the betterment of our moral, political, and civic environments. Equal suffrage has accomplished all that anyone could reasonably expect, and much more.

Women everywhere being confessedly the most moral, the most sober portion of the American people, it is inconceivable to us how anyone can dread their influence in public life.

I believe the securing of universal franchise for the women of this country would be the greatest step in advancement that civilization has made in centuries. There never has been a good law enacted in the State of Colorado in the past 19 years that the women have not actively worked for.

The women of Colorado are more in favor of law and order and social morality than men. The women on the various boards have brought about many beneficial reforms in our State institutions. No honest man need ever have any fear of the results of woman suffrage. Every crook may well fear it, because self-preservation is the first law of nature. With us, woman suffrage has long since ceased to be an experiment in any sense. It is well tried, thoroughly approved, and a permanent principle of our Government. The woman vote is a great and never-failing foundation or background of moral support. Some one has said it is in their dynamic vital force for good that woman suffrage has made its greatest contribution to the public welfare. The good effect of the infranchisement and the intelligent and public spirit of the women of Colorado is one of the greatest gains to the State and to themselves. Citizens, both men and women, with intelligence, public spirit, and morality that can withstand public temptations are what are most needed for the welfare of a community. Women are much more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, and our politicians now deal more earnestly with home and social questions. There is no place in

the world where the women vote where they have suffered the slightest loss, either of dignity or domesticity.

Equal suffrage safeguards the home by scientific laws; but woman's influence has not only been felt in passing good laws, but very forcibly in the prevention of the passage of bad laws and in preventing the repeal or injurious amendment of many good laws. All women do not join in this work. In fact, a majority do not; but a large number do, and no large number of men, either organized or not, do join in such work. Individually, many men help.

Woman suffrage simply applies to the political sphere that principle of government that secures the best results in the domestic sphere, the mutual cooperation of men and women for the individual and general welfare. It is in the line of the general elevation of the race; it represents a higher civilization; it increases the power of those things that make for righteousness.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Women by the hundreds of thousands are voting in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway. Women have municipal suffrage throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, and many of the English colonies, and I believe she now has practically full equal rights in Sweden, Iceland, and Denmark. In some of these countries the women have been voting for generations; and in all of those countries and States put together the opponents of woman suffrage have never thus far been able to find anything detrimental to the cause of woman suffrage or even find a corporal's guard of reputable men who would publicly say that it had produced any bad results. On the other hand, thousands of the most prominent and best men in all of those States and countries have repeatedly testified unqualifiedly to the good results of woman suffrage.

I will attempt, without giving the literal quotations, to give a synopsis of what hundreds of men and women have said in public speeches or put on record in addresses or articles in various magazines. They assert, in substance, that as a result of equal suffrage fewer politicians and more good citizens are elected to office; that women are the best citizens and can not be corrupted; that there is no bribery, and no corruption of women's votes at any election; that no campaign orator in a stump speech ever dares to tell a story that is not clean; that no candidate dares cater to the immoral woman vote; that no party dares nominate a candidate of known bad morals; and that every party in determining and selecting its candidates is compelled to, and does, select men against the character of whom the women can say nothing. They unite in saying that woman suffrage purifies the body politic; that the moral, educational, and humane legislation desired by women can be secured more easily if the women vote; that the ballot leads to fair treatment of women in public service; that it is the quickest, easiest, and most dignified and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs; that the ballot is a great educator, and that the women become more practical and more wise by using it; that instead of women's influence being lessened by the ballot, it is greatly increased; that in States where women vote there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls; that they have never known an instance where the use of the ballot has caused a woman to lose her womanliness or neglect her home or her family; that there is no just cause or basis for political inequality

between men and women; and that, tested by actual experience, equal suffrage means better laws, better candidates, better government, and consequently a better society.

Gov. John F. Shafroth, of Colorado, says:

Women's presence in politics has introduced an independent element which compels better nominations. It has been a great success in Colorado. Women will always be found upon the moral side of every question. It can not be that our mothers, sisters, and wives would have anything but an elevating influence on government.

Gov. Joseph M. Carey, of Wyoming, has issued a public statement within the last 30 days, in which he says:

Woman [in Wyoming] exercises her right to vote and hold office as a matter of course. I am satisfied that women's influence in political matters has been good. I know it has been a great advantage to women, as girls in schools and in young womanhood make preparations to hold positions of responsibility in civil as well as in official life. Not 2 per cent of the voters would deprive woman of her rights in this State. Within the last few years I have been more strongly impressed that it is right that women should vote and hold office because of the fact that many women have come into very important and responsible positions.

Ex-Gov. Hunt, of Idaho, says:

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

Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, says:

One of the greatest advantages of woman suffrage is the fear on the part of the machine politician to name men of immoral character. While many bad men have been elected in spite of woman suffrage, they have not been elected because of woman suffrage. If the women alone had a vote, it would result in a class of men in public office whose character for morality, honesty, and courage would be of a much higher order.

He further says:

We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of woman suffrage.

He also states that the juvenile court in the city of Denver would not be in existence, and that even if it was, he would not be its judge if it had not been for the woman vote. Both party organizations were against him.

It is universally conceded among all those who are in a position to know that equal suffrage has raised new standards of public service, of political morality, and of official honesty.

Before the franchise was granted, women's property rights in Colorado had all been fairly well secured, and since that time the last discrimination has been removed; so that with respect to property women are on a basis of perfect equality with men.

The splendid record of equal suffrage in Colorado for nearly 20 years is not only utterly ignored by the antisuffragists, but is brazenly denied. Defiantly disregarding all facts and figures, prejudiced scribblers have rushed roughshod over honor, honesty, and decency in a desperate effort to secure something for their muckraking magazines that could be distorted into a showing or pretense that equal suffrage has proven a failure in Colorado. Only the people of the State can fully appreciate the infamous extremes to which irresponsible falsity and scurrility have been carried by venal writers and speakers. The facts from which the true value of equal suffrage can

be argued with mathematical certainty are easily obtainable. The ordinary honest man is not vicious in his opposition to equal suffrage. Some writer has said that with him it is more a matter of sex antagonism, or a survival of the feudal instinct. While there are undoubtedly many reputable men in Colorado and also quite a number of good women who are still opposed to woman suffrage, certainly no man or woman would ever dare advance the so-called arguments that are in vogue in the East. Everyone in our State knows that the Colorado women have grown in strength and efficiency without the loss of the essential womanliness or sacrifice of any valuable traits.

SAMPLE "ARGUMENTS" AGAINST EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

An opponent quoted a newspaper interview with a former United States district judge in Colorado, published a good many years ago, in which he is reported as saying, "If it were to be done over again, the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority." Woman suffrage was originally granted in Colorado merely by an act of the legislature, and ratified by a referendum vote, in the fall of 1893. This was done under a peculiar clause of the State constitution, which allowed the ballot to be extended to women in that way. For eight years woman suffrage existed only as a statute, not as a part of the constitution. Since that judge expressed the opinion that the people of Colorado would repeal it if they could, Colorado has, in 1901, amended the part of her constitution relating to the qualifications of electors, and formally struck out the word "male" and incorporated woman suffrage into the constitution itself by a majority three times as large as it received when first submitted and adopted in 1893. There have been a few ladies in the State who on certain occasions have expressed their disapproval of woman suffrage. Everyone has a perfect right to express his or her opinions, and I am not going to criticize them.

I make no reference to them, but will call attention to a trait of human nature. We have all noticed small children, especially some of them who are raised with a silver spoon, humored too much, and are badly spoiled and headstrong, who, if they can not always have things all their own way, will not play. Everybody can not be elected or even nominated to office, and everybody can not dictate who shall be nominated or what officials shall do after they are elected.

Women, especially during the past few years, since they have become thoroughly well qualified, use their judgment very discriminately and wisely in the selection of candidates. The result is that the women's vote has been the means of defeating a great many men and some women who had political aspirations in our State; and while many defeated candidates and thwarted politicians have been good losers, some of them have not. And after every convention and every campaign there are a few people who are thoroughly convinced that woman suffrage is an ignominious failure, and the way they conclusively prove it is by admitting it in the eastern papers. Of course that may be convincing to some people, but it hardly is to thinking people. And yet any disgruntled politician or disappointed candidate or woman whose pride has been piqued can give out a statement and it will be eagerly seized upon by the opposition press

of the whole United States and heralded from one end of the country to the other. The only surprising thing to me about it is that in 19 years the antisuffragists never seem to have but twice been able to get any statements of that kind, which was done a few years ago and published in a rabid antisuffragist periodical and are being repeated ever since and put in the hearings again, here, now.

Some thoughtless or malicious individuals have asserted that the ballot has had a bad moral effect on women. If this were true, the ministers would certainly be likely to have found it out. In 1910 Mrs. Julia Ward Howe addressed a circular letter of inquiry to all the Episcopal clergymen, and to all the Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian ministers in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho; also to Sunday school superintendents and to editors. She asked whether the effects of equal suffrage were good or bad. The results of her investigation were tabulated and published in the Woman's Journal of October 15, 1910. The replies of the Episcopal clergymen were in favor more than 2 to 1; of Baptist ministers, 7 to 1; of the Congregational ministers, about 8 to 1; of the Methodist ministers, more than 10 to 1; and of the Presbyterian ministers, more than 11 to 1. The answers from the editors were in favor 8 to 1. In all, 624 replies were received, of which 62 were opposed, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor. These figures speak for themselves.

It is a maxim in war and politics, and we sometimes follow it in the House of Representatives, namely, learn what your adversary wants and then do the other thing. Every vicious interest in the country would a thousand times rather continue to contend with women's "indirect influence" than try to cope with women's votes.

A fellow that is no good can usually inveigle some good girl into marrying him, but he can not fool the entire female population, and when he runs for office they will quickly size him up and, in the language of the street, hand him what is coming to him.

PRODUCES BETTER NOMINATIONS.

Women always inquire about the character of candidates. Everyone knows that neither party loyalty nor any other influence can prevent the great majority of women from scratching their tickets for good nominees as against bad ones. The result is, there is not a State in the Union where the moral character of all the nominees of all leading parties and their standing as good citizens in the community is any higher, if it is as high, as it is in Colorado. It makes no difference how much electioneering there may be done in behalf of the party nominees, when a woman goes into the booth and pulls the curtain behind her and is left alone with the ballot containing 50 to 75 names, she remembers having gone over a sample of that ballot before she went in there, and she knows the men she is going to scratch and those she is going to vote for. And while she usually begins by writing the party name at the top of the ballot, the same as her husband would do, she does not stop there. She goes down the line with her pen, and when she stops she has voted what she belives is a good, clean ticket. I think one of the greatest benefits that has come to Colorado, and will unquestionably come to any State, as the result of woman suffrage is the fact that is universally recognized, and which no honest man who knows what he is talking about will deny, that woman suffrage has brought about a better class of nominations for all offices. They are always specially concerned about local offices. They always know, or know of, the candidates and vote with the greatest discrimination on county and city offices. The two parties being so nearly evenly divided in Colorado, it makes it imperatively necessary for both parties to nominate the best men they can possibly select in order to secure their election.

During a campaign in Colorado the women always quietly try to learn the character of the nominees on each ticket. The questions uppermost in their minds about a candidate are, Is he a good man? Is he good to his family? What are the influences behind him, and what are his business associates and moral surroundings? What kind of an official will he make?

Political meetings in Colorado are nearly as largely attended by women as by men. Considering their opportunity to go to meetings, the attendance of women is larger in proportion than the men. My wife is not only the best but in fact the only political adviser I ever had; and every successful public official in Colorado, if he told the truth, would make this same confession.

Hon. Robert W. Speer, mayor of Denver, says:

> Woman suffrage has been an important factor for morality and better government in this State.

One hundred mayors of the cities and towns of Colorado and the governor and nearly all the State officials issued a public statement some time ago in which they officially asserted most positively that woman suffrage has placed better men in office than under the old masculine rule; that a man must now possess a good moral character to gain a position within the gift of the people; that anyone who wants good government ought to be in favor of woman suffrage; and that our women take as much interest in elections as the men and exercise their right of citizenship with equal if not better intelligence than the men. As a good mother purifies the home, so her influence purifies society and politics.

Women are instinctively and invariably opposed to all evils that threaten the home or the Nation. Women's public life is under a microscope. The occasional faults or foibles of some of them are eagerly seized upon and exaggerated by adverse critics as fair examples of the character and conduct of the entire sex. A few feather-headed and erratic individuals may be found everywhere and in both sexes. But common sense will ultimately prevail, and these biased and wanton criticisms will pass and the place thereof will know them no more forever.

COLORADO IS SATISFIED WITH EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Light usually comes from the east, but in this case it is coming from the west. The logic of a progressive civilization leads inevitably to equal suffrage. Any assertion that equal suffrage does not work well where it has been tried is either based upon inexcusable ignorance or actual dishonesty. A proposition to revoke the right of equal suffrage in our State would be overwhelmingly defeated by the men themselves. I believe at least 85 or 90 per cent of the men and fully 95 per cent of the women would vote against it. In fact,

there is no talk of repealing it. There is no discussion about the matter in that way, except from other States. We accept universal suffrage in Colorado as final. We think no more about women voting than we do about bald-headed men voting. They are both intelligent human beings and good citizens. We would no more think of attempting to deprive the women of the right to vote than we would of surrendering our State charter and reverting to Territorial days. The principle of the equal rights of women is irrevocably determined. Woman suffrage will not make a human paradise of society in a day, or in 20 years. But it will and has helped marvelously to make human society more human and make of this country a true democracy, which is neither a class government nor a sex government, but a government of all the people, for all the people, and by all the people.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IS SOON COMING IN EVERY CIVILIZED NATION.

It is the great question of the age. The world is loath to accept new ideas. Custom has always been a tyrant on the minds of men. Reforms have always been viewed with suspicion. A stubborn attitude of resistance to change may be classed almost with the instincts of the race. Some one has said that there has never been a new doctrine promulgated in all history that has not met with bitter resistance, and that it is a safe general proposition that any conduct widely at variance with an established custom will first be regarded as immoral, immodest, or at least unbecoming. These characteristics of the race constitute one of the basic reasons for the hostile attitude of society on the question of woman suffrage. It is custom and not reason that women have always had to face in their fight for the ballot. Sneers and misrepresentations will temporarily even overcome the command, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." But the greatest intellects of the human race have from the beginning of civilization to the present time acknowledged that naturally women are intellectually our equal and morally our superior, and that they are entitled to all the rights that men enjoy. It has been the partisan, the prejudice, the bias, and smaller minds that have always desperately opposed any advance of womanhood. I sometimes wonder if some of these individuals do not harbor a shrinking consciousness of not being equal to compete with or willing to face the result of fair treatment to women. I can not resist having a lingering suspicion that the actions of some men are a tacit confession of fear of the risk to which it would subject their imagined superiority. Practically every broad-gauged statesman of the world has denied that any portion of the human species has a right to prescribe to any other portion its sphere, its education, or its rights. The sphere of every man and woman is that sphere which he or she can properly fill. The enfranchisement of women is a constructive measure. It is the next logical step in the political evolution of this country. No opportunity should ever in our country be closed to any human being who has the capacity to work therein. It is a disgrace to this country and to this enlightened century to longer disfranchise the patriotic and intelligent womanhood of this Republic. There never was a time in the history of the world when the mass of women was so intelligent, so right living and public spirited. Jane Addams and

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Utpon and thousands of other noble women, who have for nearly a life time been working in this splendid fight for womanhood and humanity, are entitled to the encouragement of our commendation and active support. I glory in the fact that they have enough zeal and patriotism to trample under foot the sneers of some of the members of both sexes and to carry on their magnificent work to victory. The world has never enfranchised as patriotic a class of people as the American women are to-day. Patriotism is not confined to the male sex. Let us be big enough, broad-minded enough, humane enough, and honest enough to treat the women of our country as fairly as they are being treated in China. Let us be men enough to give the women a square deal. Let us show to the world that we believe in the Declaration of Independence. Let us evolve our male oligarchy into a twentieth-century democracy.

ANTIQUATED OBJECTIONS.

In referring to the arguments of the opposition to equal rights in this country, an eloquent Senator once said:

> We find only the same ancient footprints, the same things that satisfied men thousands of years ago and which never did satisfy any woman that we know.

Wendell Phillips, in October, 1851, in his eloquent and celebrated lecture, answered all of the arguments against women suffrage that I have ever heard of, and time has conclusively corroborated the correctness of what he said.

All the old objections have been swept into oblivion by modern experiences, and people who repeat them are mostly inexcusably ignorant or merely obstinate. Specious objections, slurs, and coarse laughter are no longer arguments. But unfortunately in no society has life ever been completely controlled by reason, but mainly by instinct, habits, and customs growing out of it. The race has suffered much through the tyranny of prejudice. The human family has been burdened during all the ages by common prejudice and much ignorance. Many people do not keep pace with the movement of the world about them.

St. Paul's command that women be in subjection, keep silent, and learn wisdom from their husbands has long since lost its authority. The old assertion that women should not vote because they have not as much brains as the men was accepted as a conclusive argument for some time after the stone age, but people do not waste much time considering it now. In fact, the human race has developed too much at the present time to countenance dilettante speculation and nice theories about women's sphere and the female intellect and the duties of wife and mother, which are contrary to everyday common sense.

It is probably a waste of time to argue against prejudices that are unreasonable and can not be reasoned down. Some people will harbor their biased and prejudiced notions until they cross the great divide. The woman's success in all the fields in which she has been allowed to enter constitute a solid phalanx of thousands of indisputable facts, which demonstrate her capacity and merit, and we must appeal to the reasoning and thinking people to determine this question.

Some one has said in substance that theories are thin and unsubstantial air against the solid facts of women mingling with honor and profit in the various professions and industrial pursuits of life.

When I think of the 7,000,000 wage-earning women and girls in this country, I often wish I had the time to write a volume on equal suffrage. I would entitle it "Seven million reasons for the enfranchisement of women." In view of my actual experience and personal knowledge of the effect of woman suffrage, I have never yet seen or heard an argument against woman suffrage that had in it what seemed to me any justice or common sense. To us men of Colorado people's prejudice against the woman's vote is incomprehensible. But when we think of it, we realize that it is due partially to lack of information of the evolution, the actual scheme of civilized life, and to the changed conditions of the present day, and also to a more or less inherited masculine repugnance to women having any public capacity or recognition whatever. While in one sense that sentiment of men may be called chivalrous, yet, in another sense it is extremely selfish. It is not chivalrous nor even honest to be willing to permit a woman forever to do exactly the same labor as a man and only receive from one-third to one-half of the pay for it.

Did you ever stop to think that none of the antisuffragists have ever come out to the States where we have equal suffrage and endeavored to show our women and men the error of their way? There is a very good reason why they never do. The archæan objections and medieval arguments that they are still using in other parts of the country have been so conclusively discredited and shown by our actual experience to be ridiculous, that no one in our country would listen to them for a moment. We do not mean to be discourteous to anyone.

Everyone has a right to his or her own opinion, but when objections are diametrically opposed to what we know are the facts and are everyday common experiences we can not resist looking upon people who shut their eyes to these conditions as either lacking candor or as being mental relics of former generations. In future years we will look back and marvel at the supreme effrontery of the male population arrogating to themselves all the wisdom, honesty, and patriotism for so many generations after generations. Posterity will be amazed when it reads the history of the many centuries that women were disfranchised.

THE POWER OF THE BALLOT.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, says:

I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

Jane Addams says that her strongest reason for wishing women to vote is because she has seen and deplored the unfortunate effect upon the character of women of the indirect method of persuasion and cajolery which their present voteless condition compels them to use in their rarely successful endeavor to secure the legislation of which they and their children are so sorely in need. For their own sake women must vote.

Ex-Gov. Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, says:

To the bread-winning portion of the female sex the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother, she must be reckoned with at the polls Hence it is her buckler against industrial wrongs, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all sufficient. Whoever accepts the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence must believe in the right of woman to vote.

Without quoting further extracts I will give a brief symposium of a collection of articles by various writers and a synopsis of many speeches that accord with my judgment and experience upon this subject.

Our Government is controlled by politicians and politicians are controlled by the ballot. While indirect influence has accomplished a great deal, nevertheless we know that it is a wholly inadequate substitute for the actual power of the ballot. Legislators and public officials everywhere give very little heed to any demands that are not backed by the ballot. When the women are enfranchised, they not only have a voice in the making of the laws, but they are in a position to enforce them. They can make or unmake the officials who refuse to perform their duty. We in Colorado know that it is simply absurd to assert that women who vote can not get what they wish much more easier and in a far more dignified way than the women who do not vote. We know that "virtual representation" is a delusion—it does not exist. We know that the ballot is the right protective of all rights.

We all remember that about a year ago an Italian woman, Angelino Napoletino, was sentenced to be hung in Canada for having killed her husband after much brutal treatment from him, including an attempt to compel her to become a white slave. Owing to the aroused public sentiment throughout the United States and Canada her sentence was finally commuted to imprisonment for life.

In Leadville, Colo., within the past year, a woman was arrested for identically the same crime and under almost exactly the same circumstances. She was poor, ignorant, and friendless. In her cell she wondered to herself whether the authorities would hang her then or wait until her babe was born. When her case was called in court, the district attorney arose and said: "The public sentiment of Colorado will not condone me in prosecuting a woman under such circumstances;" and she went free. We have capital punishment in Colorado, only applicable, however, to the most heinous cases. But the conscience of the State would not permit the hanging or even the imprisonment of a woman for killing her husband in defending her own life and honor.

The first right the first woman on this earth started to secure was the right to know, and she has been working for thousands of years for the right to learn and work, and she is now seeking the right to control her own property, her own mind, and her own welfare. Her long years of struggle for equal rights is now culminating in a world-wide demand for equal suffrage for women, because there are no rights, either natural, social, or individual, that can be permanently maintained either politically or in the courts at law save by the possession of political rights.

The good women of Massachusetts, in 1902, after earnestly working for 55 years, succeeded in getting a law making mothers equally with the fathers the guardians of their minor children. The women of Colorado passed that bill in less than 55 days after the convening of the first legislature after they were given the right of franchise. After a half century of earnest effort by "indirect influence," only 15 out of the 48 States have granted that right to the mothers. In 33 States a father is the sole legal guardian and can to day give away his children—in some States even an unborn babe—and the mother is helpless.

The good women of Illinois appealed to their legislature for nine successive years before they succeeded in securing a State industrial school for girls. Senate bill No. 1 in the first legislature that met in Colorado after the enfranchisement of women provided for the establishment of a home for dependent children. The women shot that bill through the legislature, the home was built, and in less than six months the State was mothering her motherless children.

Women are not only learning what their natural legal rights are, but they are learning that the only way to secure them is by the proper, frank, and direct way, not by trying to influence somebody else.

They are learning that citizenship is a pearl of great price, and, like other pearls, it must be worn and come in contact with human lives if it retains its luster.

COLORADO IS THE TOP OF THE WORLD.

Colorado is the bright jewel set in the crest of this continent, where she shines as the Kohinoor of all the gems of this Union.

The Centennial State is a beacon light to all her sisters. We are supremely proud of the advancement that we have made, and we are frank in according to our women their just and full share in its accomplishment.

The voting women of the Mountain States have, with splendid patriotism to the country and with a loyalty to their sex that is worthy of the highest commendation, throughout this land pledged themselves never to cease working for the adoption of woman suffrage until every woman, from sea to sea and from the Gulf to Canada, enjoys the blessings of political equality in the same degree that they do. They refuse to be content with their own freedom so long as their sisters are in bondage. They look forward confidently to the day when all women "shall be enthroned upon justice and equal opportunity and shall taste the fruits of that genuine fraternity which gives to all humanity the power of self-expression."

There is no foundation, in fact, whatever for the assertion that women can not compel the enforcement of the laws. No trouble of this kind has resulted from equal suffrage in practice. The laws are fully as well enforced in the enfranchised States as in adjoining States where women have no vote. Where women have the full ballot they have often defeated bad candidates for higher offices, but no riotous uprising has ever followed. In fact, the suggestion that a law which was supported by a majority of the women and duly enacted would not be enforced is a libel on American manhood.

The International Congress on Child Welfare and the National Congress of Mothers meet here every year. Those noble women are doing a splendid philanthropic and humanitarian work for the proper care and civic uplift of our youth. But just think what a power for good to our race all those good ladies would be if they had the right of citizenship. Their work would be 100 times as efficient. If they and their sisters could vote, you can stake your life on the proposition that the politicians from Maine to California would sit up and take notice. We would have at least one woman juvenile court judge in every large city. They would have a mothers' compensation law and thousands of other reforms that would be for the betterment of the race. They would get their laws enacted by Congress and by every State in this Union, and they would get them now, not after most of these noble women have gone with a discouraged heart to their final reward.

In spite of politicians and political machines, organized bodies of women are constantly securing measures for the alleviation of wrongs and for the bettering of social conditions. Women have just as much at stake in the Government as men have, and they share equally in the benefits of a good and suffer equally the evil consequence of bad government. They feel as never before their responsibility concerning sanitation of cities, conditions of streets, schools, labor, wages, charities, reforms, and every question which relates to the welfare of the people; and they realize as never before how powerless they are without the ballot.

The right to vote commands recognition from all political parties and representatives, which nonvoters never receive.

We will never obtain our highest ideals of citizenship until free men and free women work together for the establishment of the highest human justice.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE PROTECTS LABORING WOMEN.

The status of women in this country has been and is now passing through a marvelous transformation. It is only a few years since it would have been looked upon as almost disreputable for a woman to work in a store or as a clerk in an office. That situation has entirely changed. If our social conditions could be perfectly ideal; if every girl when she reaches the age of discretion could be happily married to some man who would support her as he should and properly care for the family, the question of woman suffrage would be of much less concern. But to-day one-fifth of all the women of this country are compelled to earn their own living by their daily labor. Nearly 7,000,000 women are wage earners to-day, and the number is constantly increasing. Woman suffrage is not responsible for bringing about that condition. It is the economic change that is going on in the life of this Republic. If the right to vote was taken away from the laboring men of this country to-morrow, they would within one year, and in many places within one week, be reduced to a condition of practical slavery; and it is little less than inhuman to compel the 7,000,000 women to work in this country under conditions that would be absolutely intolerable for men. I look upon this as a matter of common humanity. No class of human beings can com-

pel or will ever secure fair treatment either in the courts or any other place unless that class is given the power of the ballot. If the right of franchise is as important almost as life and death to men, why is it not equally important to women? If the laboring man's vote can enforce fair treatment, labor legislation, and decent rules, at least comparatively so, why would not it produce the same effect in the hands of women? It certainly appears to me that every fair-minded man in this country, every man who is in favor of a square deal and of fair treatment to his fellow man, and especially to the womanhood of the country, ought to heartily join in giving the women this right. If any of them do not want to exercise it, they need not do so. They are like children who do not want to go to school. They usually grow up to appreciate the importance of it, and these good ladies will reach that stage some day. There will be enough of them who do need the ballot and will honestly exercise it to creditably represent all of them.

Every adult who is not an idiot or a criminal is entitled to representation in his own government affairs.

Woman suffrage is a necessity, both from a political and economical standpoint. A nation can not long exist that tolerates conditions that discourage marriage and prevent the possibility of motherhood.

The low pay and hard conditions of working women are largely due to their disfranchisement. With the ballot the women who do exactly the same work as the men will enforce the same pay. She can not possibly protect her interests as a wage earner without the ballot. I appeal for the 7,000,000 working women of this country. I can not resist feeling that it is a crime against humanity to deprive them of the right to protect themselves, which they can only do by the ballot. She is forced to compete in the labor market with those who have full political rights, while she herself is a political nonentity. Extend the horizon of her life and the protection of her purity and the conservation of her virtue and her motherhood. All that the ballot is to man it is and will be that and even more to women. Work should be paid for not according to the sex of the worker, but on the merits of the work. Where a woman is equally well equipped to do a certain kind of work, and does do it equally as well, she is entitled to the same rate of pay as a man. But she does not get it, because she can not compel it.

Women claim the ballot as their inherent right, and they use it in the line of their duty as good citizens for the enforcement of the laws and the protection of society. Frances Willard once said that the best thing in the nineteenth century was woman's discovery of herself. One of the best things thus far in the twentieth century is woman's discovery of her duty to help others.

It is not a logical or any reason to refuse the franchise to all women because some women do not recognize the duty of voting. The women who so much need the right to vote do not desire to compel their sisters to vote. If the good ladies who oppose woman suffrage do not desire to perform the duty they owe to society of expressing their opinion by marking a ballot, they need not do so. But I deny that they have any right to try to prevent their sisters from securing the right to protect themselves and perform their obligations to humanity.

The most important subject, in fact, the greatest problem, before humanity to-day is—

THE CONSERVATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.

The conservation of motherhood and childhood. Where married women are forced to work in factories the birth rate decreases and the death rate of children increases alarmingly. Many kinds of work as now performed by women is injurious, and the demand for more protective legislation for women workers is constantly increasing. The handicap against woman is too great for her to bear. Woman is now compelled to work under conditions that ruin her nervous system, undermine her strength, and unfit her for the duties of marriage and motherhood. The result is it discourages marriages, which is unquestionably an alarming evil. Women are compelled to undercut wages.

No man is free unless he has the fullest rights of citizenship, independent of all limitations. The right to vote is the highest test of liberty.

If men were superhuman, the interests of women might be sufficiently represented by men, and the horrors of the sweatshops would be largely if not entirely removed.

The late Hon. Carroll D. Wright, while still National Commissioner of Labor, said:

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

Thousands of women are to-day working at starvation wages, and the conditions of women's work are getting steadily worse instead of better as the number of women workers increases. Anyone who will study the recent investigations of women's work and wages will painfully realize that working women, even in the United States, where there are fewer women and more favorable conditions for women workers than anywhere else in the world, except Australia, need all the help the ballot will give them. In fact, women, even more than men, need the ballot to protect their special interests and right to earn a living.

The experience of all history goes to prove that a disfranchised class can not protect its liberty. It is not a theory, but a condition that confronts us. These millions of women must be permitted to earn their living in an honorable way. To my mind one of the strongest reasons for granting women the right of suffrage is the imperative necessity of her having that power to protect herself in the conditions under which she must work. The need of work is so great and the number of women that must be self-supporting is so large that the employers have been at liberty to dictate their own terms to the workers without regard to whether the wage offered is a living wage. If it is right that we should regulate child labor it is equally right that we should regulate the conditions surrounding women in industry.

While I have never given the subject any extended study, yet my impression is that there ought to be established in this country a minimum wage commission to consider this subject. They have provisions of that kind in other countries and they have apparently worked with great success. It would seem as though the soul of

any fair-minded person would be moved to see the virtue of unhappy women exposed to the terrible kind of modern commercial life and subjected by hopeless proverty to the hearltess demands of vice. With the ballot the economic condition of women will advance and the chance to live clean and happy lives will be greatly improved. The granting of the ballot to women is along the line of higher development of our humanity. To-day women are now engaged in 300 different kinds of industries. To me that is—

THREE HUNDRED GOOD REASONS FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

I am not willing to longer sacrifice the virtue and health of the girlhood of this country upon the alter of a groundless prejudice. Women are ground down by the competition of their sisters to the very point of starvation. To my mind, the political enfranchisement of women is absolutely essential to the economic independence of the working classes, and it has become the world-wide issue of immediate and vital importance to the very existence of democracy.

The wage-earning woman or girl of to-day has absolutely no chance beside her brother, simply because she is not a recognized citizen by virtue of the ballot. I coincide with the humane belief that it is brutal and inhuman to force a woman to compete with those who have full political rights while she herself is a political nonentity. All workingmen and all men of every class regard the ballot as their greatest protection against the oppression and injustice of other men. It is only necessary to ask ourselves what would be the fate of any political party whose platform contained a plank depriving laboring men of the right to vote. No woman on this earth can be engaged in a higher or nobler or more humane work than in making an earnest and persistent fight for the right of her weaker and less fortunate sisters, who, through poverty and oppression and incessant toil, have no power to fight for themselves. It has always seemed to me to be a strange trait of human nature that anyone should strive so hard to prevent others from acquiring rights which they so much need, because, forsooth, he does not need them. Because I am well fed and well clothed is no reason why I should try to prevent others from enjoying the same.

ADDITIONAL "ARGUMENTS" AGAINST EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

I observe that one of the ladies who acts as the official representative of an organization opposed to woman suffrage has just presented an argument to the Judiciary Committee against my pending constitutional amendment for equal suffrage. I will only refer as a sample to one of the grounds of objections which she presents, viz:

> Because the suffrage is not a question of a right or of justice, but of policy and expediency; and if there is no question of right or justice, there is no cause for woman suffrage.

I had supposed that people had ceased to dispute—

THE ABSTRACT RIGHT OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Natural justice is all on the side of women. If all people should take part in government; if women are people; if mankind are and of right ought to be free and equal, in the sense that they are equally

"entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" if all human beings are equally entitled to protection before the law; if, as Lincoln said, "No man is good enough to govern another without that other man's consent;" if "taxation without representation is tyranny;" if our Government is founded upon the doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none;" in other words, if we believe in the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, surely we can not admit that any class of human beings has a right to the exclusive usurpation of these powers and rights, or that these universal principles of eternal right can be justly denied to any intelligent human being merely on account of sex.

President Lincoln also said that "This Nation can not exist half slave and half free." In a republic the ballot is the citizen's right, and in the United States women are arbitrarily deprived of this right. I look upon the recognition of women as citizens as being an act of simple justice; and I can not appreciate either the logic, common sense, or honesty of refusing to grant an act of simple justice to women merely because they are women. The present civilization will not much longer permit the physically stronger half of the human race to ignore the plain rights of the physically weaker half. The reasons why women should vote are the same as why men should vote, the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. A noted speaker has eloquently said that we can not play fast and loose with the eternal principles of justice without being sooner or later caught in the net of our own weaving. Women are one-half of the human race. Why should they be born, educated, married, divorced, and buried under laws made exclusively by men? Why should laws regulating women's labor, women's taxation, women's guardianship of their own children, women's power of will, be enacted without the consultation of women? Why should women and their children eat impure food, drink poisoned water, catch diseases, and live under immoral and degrading conditions over which they have no control?

The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man and rests upon exactly the same ground. The woman's rights movement is a feminist evolution. Women should vote because they are women. To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed, is a means of self-protection due to everyone. Democracy is not a matter of sex any more than it is a matter of race. The disfranchisement of women is a brutal usurpation of power, a relic of primitive barbarity when might made right, which has become unworthy of a chivalrous modern manhood.

Another assertion made by the opponents is a denial that—

WOMEN WANT EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

At the time we submitted the question of equal suffrage in Colorado there were a great many women—in fact, a large per cent of the women—who were indifferent. The large number of newspapers and men who have been engaged for a half century in ridiculing, cartooning, and slurring the advocates of woman suffrage has necessarily had an important effect upon opinions of many women. But, notwithstanding the terrific power of ridicule and the effect of a great many

so-called arguments and objections that we in Colorado know are absolutely ridiculous, the cause of woman suffrage is making the most marvelous progress of any reform movement in this Nation. It has made more progress throughout this country during the past 5 years than it made in the 50 years preceding that, in the general awakening of the country to the justice, and in fact the necessity, of giving the women of this country the right to participate in the making and enforcing of our laws and in determining who their public officials shall be. As intelligent and thinking human beings, as an equal half of this human race, with the same patriotic desires for good government, with really more at stake and a greater interest in the welfare of society than the male half of humanity has, it is inconceivable to me and utterly illogical and contrary to nature to assume that the women are unwilling to be granted the permission, if they desire to exercise it, of having a voice in the civic affairs of our common country.

The best and most conclusive answer is that in every State where women have been given the ballot they actually do vote at every general election in as large a proportion to their numbers as the men. That ought to be sufficient answer, no matter what they may have thought before the right was acknowledged. Equal suffrage can no more be prevented from extending to every State in this Union than you can stop the progress of humanity or prevent the ultimate survival of the principles of right and justice.

Ordinarily the light comes from the East, but in the matter of the enfranchisement of the best half of humanity, I am proud to say, the light is coming from the West. Eastward the woman's star of empire takes its way!

There is no more possibility of the right of equal suffrage being taken from the women of Colorado or any other State that has tried it than there is of returning to Negro slavery in this country. One is just exactly as likely as the other. The human race is not going backward. No member of our legislature could ever even get a bill printed, much less considered, that would attempt to take this right away from the women, and any assertions to the contrary are utterly and totally without foundation.

MORMON INFLUENCE IN COLORADO.

About the most infamous misrepresentation that I have seen in the press and heard, and which is being heralded broadcast and reiterated all over three-fourths of the United States as an argument against equal suffrage, is the statement that the Mormons hold the balance of power and control the politics of Colorado.

I venture the assertion that there is not one individual out of the 800,000 population of Colorado who is old enough to know anything but what will brand that statement as a malicious falsehood.

I have understood that there is one small settlement in southwestern Colorado that is composed principally of Mormons. They are good citizens and do not take any interest whatever that I ever heard of in the politics of the State, or even in that county. Of course there may be a few Mormons scattered over the State, but actually I am not aware that I am personally acquainted with a Mormon in the

State, and my home county joins the State of Utah, and I have known the people of western Colorado for 30 years, and as well probably as any other man. I have never in my life heard, until I came East, that there was any such thing as a Mormon vote in Colorado, or that they cut any figure whatever in politics. I only mention it to show the absurdity and utterly unwarranted viciousness of this attack against woman suffrage by appealing to the public resentment and hostility against polygamy. In the State of Utah the Mormons are and always have been in an overwhelming majority. They control the politics, not by reason of equal suffrage—that has nothing to do with it—but because they are in the majority. The chances are that if an overwhelming majority of the people of any State were Methodists, or Christian Scientists, or Catholic, or Baptist, or any other particular denomination or nationality that that denomination or nationality having an undisputed majority of all the votes would naturally control the politics and the offices.

But it is outrageous to try to invoke the public enmity against polygamy as an argument against equal suffrage. If there is anything under heaven that would prevent polygamy from spreading, it would be the granting of equal suffrage. No denomination or nationality or individual class ever has or ever will dominate the politics of Colorado.

WOMEN AND PROHIBITION.

It seems to me that the opponents of equal suffrage are anything but fair in their statements concerning the relation of women voting to the liquor question. In the cities where there are large liquor interests our opponents warn the moderate drinkers, and incidentally the people interested in the liquor business, that woman suffrage means prohibition. On the other hand, wherever the prohibition sentiment is strong, they loudly proclaim that none of the equal-suffrage States have adopted prohibition or abolished the saloons, and that the liquor interests flourish in those States the same as before the adoption of woman suffrage. Half truths are always the worst kind of deceptions.

In considering the condition of any people or State or city, one must look to their surrounding circumstances and local conditions. Colorado is popularly known as "the summer playground of the Nation." It is one of the greatest resort places in the world and is becoming more and more of a tourist-resort State every year. Owing to the cool nights and delightful summer climate, hundreds of thousands of people from all over the world come here every year, and especially in the summer time. A very large per cent of them are people who are in the habit of using liquor in moderate quantities, and while the liquor trade is only a comparatively small item, yet the revenue derived from the tourist's business every year is an enormous sum. In fact, Colorado's scenery and climate is one of our chief assets and will be worth billions of dollars to her in the future. Those tourists expect to be able to use liquor in a moderate way, the same as they do in every resort place throughout the world. I think that is one reason why the public sentiment of the State does not favor absolute prohibition in Colorado, and possibly it may not do so for many years to come. But when we consider the conditions in Colo-

rado now and what they were before equal suffrage was adopted we have an opportunity of seeing the very great beneficial effect of the ballot in the hands of the women. At the time woman suffrage was adopted, as I recall it, there were only three towns in the State that prohibited the sale of liquor, and there was practically no other dry territory in the State. Saloons generally were open all night and Sundays, and gambling of every kind was wide open, not in every place, but quite generally throughout the State, and there was comparatively little restriction upon the sporting fraternity.

Colorado's population has always been liberal in their views, and the result was that the public sentiment and the conditions that the women had to cope with were a great deal different from what they are in the older States. But they have secured the passage of a good local-option law, and the public sentiment of the State to-day approves of it. Under the operation of that law some 10 or 12 counties are now entirely dry; about 50 of the cities and towns are dry, and practically all the residence portions of all the cities and towns throughout the State are dry. There is no open and very little private gambling. The saloons are closed on Sunday and at 12 o'clock at night. We have high license and strict legislation, and the conduct and management of the saloons are orderly. In fact, the great majority of the saloon people themselves are earnest in their efforts to comply with the law.

Of course, there is more or less contention between the saloon and antisaloon sentiments. But no one can justly criticize woman suffrage because it has not made Colorado a prohibition State. The women are entitled to most of the credit for bringing about this moral and business-like regulation and reduction of the liquor traffic in our State. They have been greatly assisted by a large number of good men and also by the Anti-Saloon League of Colorado.

While I have no definite statistics on the subject, I believe the saloon-license records will show that in proportion to the population there are not one-third as many saloons in the State to-day as there were 20 years ago.

So that whether they have satisfied the antisuffragists and eastern prohibitionists or not, the women of Colorado have, under the conditions existing in our State, made a magnificent record in the cause of temperance and orderly conduct during the time they have had the ballot.

Women will not tolerate disorderly dives or disreputable joints that debauch minors or women; nevertheless, they mean to be just and are disposed to heed the general public sentiment and treat all law-abiding citizens fairly.

The antisuffrage people criticize Colorado for not passing laws to cover conditions that never obtained in our State.

There are some other reckless statements made and published broadcast concerning Colorado that I would like to answer, if time and space permitted. There are also some wanton slanders that are unworthy of consideration. While I would like to characterize them as they deserve, the fact is that the people who make these derogatory statements about Colorado, or about the effect of equal suffrage, are nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand people who never spent a week in the State and know nothing about it. And I simply ask everyone to inquire of people who make statements

contrary to what I have said as to their length of residence in our State and their occupation, and I am willing to submit to all fair-minded people whether the statements of 95 per cent of the inhabitants of our State and an equally large per cent of all those who have ever spent any time in Colorado are to be brushed aside by the assertions of a few slanderers whose opinions are based upon hearsay and prejudice.

THE WOMAN'S MOTTO IS "ONWARD."

The women of Colorado will continue to vote. The women of the world will continue to advance. The man or woman who tries to stop them will be justly relegated to oblivion. You politicians had better remember those three statements, because you will have occasion to reflect upon them. This is an age of individual liberty, and the male sex is not humanity, but only half of it.

There will be no backward movement in the fight for equal rights. Not one foot of ground that has been gained will ever be surrendered. And the people who try to make a little temporary notoriety by an attack on the sex are doomed in the end to disappointment, defeat, and ignominious humiliation. The continued disfranchisement of women is a relic of antiquity that belongs to other days. Purblind politicians and people who cling to prejudice in spite of facts as plain as the noonday sun may keep on fighting and misrepresenting the good women of the suffrage States, but they are coming to be as absurd as old Canute when he placed his throne on the beach and commanded the waves to recede.

The women of this Nation have little by little been taking more interest in public affairs, been reading more and becoming more intelligent and better posted, and each day is assisting a little more than the day before in solving the great problems that are to-day affecting the world. To say that she is going to take a backward step is to brand one's self as an imbecile. The 150 good laws that have placed upon the statute books of Colorado during the past 18 years are a living proof which no one can question that some mighty moral force has held the pen that has written those laws into the history of our State, and that hand is the woman's hand. To attempt to deny that would be the same as denying that Colorado has progressed since her admission into the Union.

In every civilized country on the globe the women are fighting for their rights. They are gradually winning everywhere. The day is soon coming when they will take the place belonging to them—squarely beside the men in the settlement of all public matters. It is a great moral reform.

There will never be any surrender of any of the rights she has secured. There will be no retreat sounded. Their slogan is "Forward, march." And the whole world will rejoice and be benefited when they achieve their ultimate victory.

It will be adopted first throughout the West within 5 years; in the North within 10 years; in the East within 15 years; and lastly in the South within 20 years.

There will be a few progressive States that will get ahead of my schedule and a few reactionary ones that will fall behind. But, gen-

erally speaking, that is the order in which equal suffrage is inevitably coming throughout this country.

For the purpose of accurately showing the progress that the principles of equal rights is making all over the civilized world, I will extend my remarks by inserting a statement which has been carefully prepared by that indefatigable defender of equal rights, Alice Stone Blackwell:

GAINS IN EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

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

Time.	Place.	Kind of suffrage.
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	Do.
1876	Colorado	Do.
1877	New Zealand	Do.
1878	New Hampshire	Do.
	Oregon	Do.
1879	Massachusetts	Do.
1880	New York	Do.
	Vermont	Do.
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Ontario	Municipal suffrage.
	Tasmania	Do.
1886	New Zealand	Do.
	New Brunswick	Do.
1887	Kansas	Do.
	Nova Scotia	Do.
	Manitoba	Do.
	North Dakota	School suffrage.
	South Dakota	Do.
	Montana	Do.
	Arizona	Do.
	New Jersey	Do.
	Montana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1888	England	County suffrage.
	British Columbia	Municipal suffrage.
	Northwest Territory	Do.
1889	Scotland	County suffrage.
	Province of Quebec	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
1891	Illinois	School suffrage.
1893	Connecticut	Do.
	Colorado	Full suffrage.
	New Zealand	Do.
1894	Ohio	School suffrage.
	Iowa	Bond suffrage.
	England	Parish and district suffrage, married and single women.
1895	South Australia	Full State suffrage.
1896	Utah	Full suffrage.
	Idaho	Do.
1898	Ireland	All offices except members of Parliament.
	Minnesota	Library trustees.
	Delaware	School suffrage to tax-paying women.
	France	Women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce.
	Louisiana	Tax-paying suffrage.
1900	Wisconsin	School suffrage.
	West Australia	Full State suffrage.
1901	New York	Tax-paying suffrage; local taxation in all towns and villages of the State.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage.
1902	Australia	Full suffrage.
	New South Wales	Full State suffrage.
1903	Kansas	Bond suffrage.
	Tasmania	Full State suffrage.
1905	Queensland	Do.
1906	Finland	Full suffrage; eligible to all offices.

Time.	Place.	Kind of suffrage.
1907	Norway	Full Parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage.
	Sweden	Eligible to municipal offices.
	Denmark	Can vote for members of boards of public charities, and serve on such boards.
	England	Eligible as mayors, aldermen, and county and town councilors.
	Oklahoma	New State continued school suffrage for women.
1908	Michigan	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	Denmark	Women who are taxpayers or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	Victoria	Full State suffrage.
1909	Belgium	Can vote for members of the counseils des prudhommes, and also eligible.
	Province of Voralberg (Austrian Tyrol).	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
	Ginter Park, Va	Tax-paying women, a vote on all municipal questions.
1910	Washington	Full suffrage.
	New Mexico	School suffrage.
	Norway	Municipal suffrage made universal. (Three-fifths of the women had it before.)
	Bosnia	Parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate.
	Diet of the Crown Prince of Krain (Austria).	Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	India (Gaekwar of Baroda)	Women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.
	Wurtemberg, Kingdom of	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the chamber of agriculture; also eligible.
	New York	Women in all towns, villages, and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	California	Full suffrage.
	Honduras	Municipal suffrage in capital city, Belize.
	Iceland	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years.

[June 1, 1912]
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HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

THE TRUTH ABOUT WAGE-EARNING WOMEN AND THE STATE

A Reply to Miss Minnie Bronson

The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women has published a pamphlet written by Miss Minnie Bronson to prove two conclusions alleged to be detrimental to the exercise of the suffrage by women. First, that women are more generously protected by law in the states where there is no woman suffrage than in the states where women vote. Second, that in all the states wage-earning women are better protected by law than wage-earning men. If they were based on facts, these arguments would at first sight appear to be effective. Unfortunately for the strength of this position, the statements made in support of them are in many cases misleading or entirely false. The interpretation of the facts is wholly so.

1. ARGUMENT MISLEADING.

Aside from the errors of fact which will be subsequently pointed out, the argument is wholly misleading, because it ignores the fundamental differences in the industrial conditions of the suffrage and non-suffrage states.

Labor laws are enacted to protect women who labor in industry. Where factories are few, there is obviously

less need of protection than where hundreds of thousands of women are employed. No one can deny that factory legislation in the four suffrage states is less complete than in the more developed industrial states. But women voters in these four states are scarcely open to criticism for not having secured such complete factory laws as exist in the non-suffrage communities. They have had no such need. The figures which follow speak for themselves.

A Bulletin on Manufactures of the 1910 U. S. Census,* published May, 1912, gives the average number of wage-earners "in manufacturing establishments conducted under the factory system" in the United States. It shows that in the three great industrial states, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, the average number of female wage-earners in the year 1909 was more than 600,000. In the same year the total number of such female wage-earners in the four suffrage states, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado, was 3,499. In other words, the number of women in the four suffrage states working in factories was *one-half of one per cent.* of the women so employed in the industrial non-suffrage states.

States.	No. of Females Working in Factories.
Massachusetts	173,144
New York	293,525
Pennsylvania	168,605
Total	635,274
Idaho	155
Wyoming	45
Colorado	2,094
Utah	1,205
Total	3,499

Since the latest figures showing the number of women employed in separate trades are not yet available

*13th Census of the U. S. 1910, Bulletin on Manufactures, p. 19.

for 1910, the figures for 1900 are equally valuable for purposes of comparison. They show that in one of the chief women-employing trades, where legislation is most needed,—the textile industry,—over 120,000 women were employed in the three great industrial states. In the four suffrage states there was obviously no urgent call for legislation to protect women textile workers, since according to the 1900 Census, only seven women were employed in textile mills in Idaho, only one in Wyoming, 131 in Colorado and 143 in Utah. Similarly, according to the census, in the three great eastern industrial states, 22,365 women were employed as boot and shoe makers. In the same year in the four suffrage states altogether thirty-five women were employed in the shoe industry, distributed as follows; Idaho 0, Wyoming 0, Colorado 4, Utah 31.

Females Working in 4 Industries*

States	Textile mill operatives	Boot and shoe makers	Shirt, Collar, and cuff makers	Tobacco & cigar factory operatives
Massachusetts	60,695	16,359	1,314	533
New York	24,061	3,807	14,507	8,292
Pennsylvania	35,628	2,199	3,827	8,234
Total	120,384	22,365	19,648	17,059
Idaho	7	0	0	2
Wyoming	1	0	0	0
Colorado	131	4	17	25
Utah	143	31	3	2
Total	282	35	20	29

These four western states are still mining, grazing, and agricultural communities. The industrial conditions affecting women in them relatively to the eastern states are substantially as they were in 1900, when these figures were gathered.

*12th Census of the U. S. 1900, "Women at Work," published 1907, p. 188.

II. MIS-STATEMENT OF FACTS.

(1) *Legislation for Working Women in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.*

These fundamental differences between the suffrage and non-suffrage states are not even hinted at in the pamphlet. Not only is the general trend of the argument misleading: there are also errors of fact so grave as to discredit the whole.

If, as is stated on page 5, women really were protected from night work by law in sixteen states where there is no woman suffrage, and were not thus protected in four suffrage states, some conclusions detrimental to the exercise of the suffrage by women might be drawn. It would be fortunate, indeed, if sixteen states had so legislated. Unhappily, only three states—Massachusetts, Nebraska, and Indiana—have such laws for adult women. This statement is thus 80 per cent. error.

This error reappears in another form on page 9, where it is stated that between 1908 and 1910 "fifty-four laws were enacted by the Legislatures of thirty-two states, affecting the employment of women and children. *Chief among them were the laws restricting or prohibiting night work by women.*"

In fact, no law whatever was enacted during those years prohibiting the work of women at night. A single state, Connecticut, partially restricted night work in stores; a woman may not work therein more than ten hours in twenty-four if she is employed after 10 P. M.

On page 10 the statement appears that six states, "Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Virginia enacted laws superseding former laws." This is an error as to four of these six states mentioned. Only Louisiana and Michigan passed such laws, the former establishing a 10-hour day for women and the latter a 54-hour week. Pennsylvania and Virginia already had

such laws and took no action as to the working hours of women during the two years in question. Kansas has to this day no such law. Kentucky enacted its first restriction of women's hours in 1912.

In the next lines it is stated further that five states "enacted initial laws," viz., Mississippi, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Washington. Of these states but one, Missouri, is correctly included. Mississippi has to this day no law limiting women's hours of labor, and the three other states did not enact initial laws between 1908 and 1910 as stated.

All these errors are obvious to any one who takes the trouble to look up Bulletin No. 85 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, in which the legislation for the two years in question is given in detail.

(2) *Are Wage-earning Women Better Protected by Law than Wage-earning Men?*

On page 4 it is stated that "in forty-five states and three territories the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning women are better and more comprehensive than the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning men." This is equivalent to saying that in *all* states wage-earning women are better protected by law than wage-earning men. No authority is given for this assertion. Certainly no safeguarding measure is of greater importance than that which shortens the wage-earners' working day. In this respect workingmen have by their votes obtained very great advantages over women.

At the present time more men than women enjoy the benefits of a working day limited by law. In a recent article on "Legislative Restriction of the Labor of Adult Men" (Bulletin of the New York Department of Labor, March, 1911), John A. Fitch says:

> "A federal law, and laws in twenty states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii and Porto Rico, limit the hours of labor in public employment to eight per day."

Such federal laws, for instance, govern the working hours of the regiment of letter carriers and postal clerks throughout the United States, and of the hordes of men in the federal service constructing public works. Under a similar state law in New York all workers on the 101-million-dollar barge canal from Buffalo to New York, and all on the vast Catskill aqueduct of New York enjoy this protective legislation.

Besides these vast numbers who are protected by state and federal 8-hour laws in public employment, men's hours in private employment are legally restricted to an extent wholly unappreciated by most persons. Thus twelve states limit to eight in one day the working hours of miners. These states are Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Oklahoma, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

Besides the mines Mr. Fitch gives the other private industries in which men's hours of work are legally restricted: smelters, eight states; railroad labor, twenty-four states; telegraph or telephone operators engaged in handling trains, eighteen states; street car employment, ten states; bakeries, brickyards, cement and plaster mills, one state each; cotton and woolen mills, three states; drug clerks, one state; etc., etc. Mr. Fitch sums up:

> "There are, on the statute books of the United States, territories and dependencies no less than sixty-five distinct laws designed to place a limitation on the daily hours of labor of adult males in private employment."

To women only two states, California and Washington, have granted 8-hour laws. The overwhelming majority of employees in public service, affected by the federal and state 8-hour laws, and the 8-hour laws governing private industries, are men.

This pamphlet is thus shown to contain truth and error so interwoven as to mislead the reader, and misinterpretations so reckless that the whole publication reflects discredit upon the author. It is extraordinary that one whose connection with the U. S. Bureau of Labor is exploited on the title page should exhibit so fundamental an ignorance of the statutes of which she undertakes to speak as an expert. This is the more rash because every statement can be readily tested by comparison with the official publications of the Bureau, which are published for free distribution, and hence are accessible to all.

A FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY.

Not only does this pamphlet contain misleading arguments, pointed out above, but it is based on a fundamental fallacy. It would be fortunate if it were true, as stated, that labor laws are automatically enacted in proportion as the number of women wage-earners increases. Any one who is familiar with the laborious process of obtaining legislative protection for wage-earning women knows that this is not the case. Each such act has been the result of long-continued education and effort. The author states that "the years 1908-10 show the most remarkable improvement in laws affecting wage-earning women" (page 9). But she ignores the specific reason why this "most remarkable improvement" took place. It was due not to the spontaneous action of legislators in the non-suffrage states, but to the action of the United States Supreme Court which in 1908, in the Oregon case, for the first time in its century of existence upheld a 10-hour law for women. This decision removed the barrier which had previously prevented such legislation and declared that the health and welfare of the community justified such laws.

The fear expressed in this pamphlet that political equality for women would deprive them of the extension of protective legislation, is well answered by Justice Brewer, who wrote the momentous Oregon decision and was himself a firm supporter of woman suffrage. He spe-

cifically stated in his opinion that even if women's political equality were secured, society must for its own preservation, protect women from overwork. "Even though all restrictions on political, personal and contractual rights were taken away," wrote Justice Brewer, "and she (woman) stood, as far as statutes are concerned, upon an equal plane with him (man) . . . her physical structure . . . having in view not merely her own health, but the well-being of the race, justify legislation to protect her."

In Washington and California the same legislators, who in 1911 submitted to the voters an amendment giving votes to women, gave women the 8-hour working day. They saw the truth that legislation shortening working hours is not a matter of gallantry or chivalry, a gracious gift to please the ladies. It is essential to the life of the nation. For overworked women can not rear sons and daughters capable of carrying forward a democratic republic.

Pauline Goldmark,
Josephine Goldmark,
Florence Kelly.

June 1, 1912.

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What to Read on Suffrage

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IN THE CURRENT MAGAZINES

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Spencer, Anna Garlin. Problems of Marriage and Divorce. The Forum. New York and London. August.

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ELIZABETH J. SHERWOOD.

PERIODICALS OF VALUE TO SUFFRAGISTS.

Jus Suffragii, 92 Kruiskade, Rotterdam, Holland; organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance; Martina G. Kramers, editor. Subscription, $.82 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston street, Boston, Mass.; organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Alice Stone Blackwell, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 5c per copy. Published weekly.

The Woman Voter, 1 Madison avenue, New York City; organ of the Woman Suffrage Party; Mary Beard, editor. Subscription, $ .50 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Western Woman Voter, 419 Boylston street, Seattle, Wash.; Adella M. Parker, editor-in-chief. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

Life and Labor, 127 North Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.; organ of the National Women's Trade Union League; Alice Henry, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

The Progressive Woman, 5445 Drexel avenue, Chicago, Ill.; Josephine Conger-Kaneko, editor. Subscription, $ .50 per year, 5c a copy. Published monthly.

The Forerunner, 67 Wall street, New York city; Charlotte Perkins Gilman, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

The Woman Citizen, State Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.; Antoinette D. Leach, editor. Subscription, $1.00 per year, 10c per copy. Published monthly.

The New Citizen, 624 Gravier street, New Orleans, La.; Sake D. Mehan, editor. Subscription, $ .50 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Newsletter, 180 Madison avenue, New York city; organ of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association; Minnie J. Reynolds, editor. Subscription $ .50 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

The Citizen, Brodhead, Wisconsin; Lena Newman, editor. Subscription, $ .25 per year, 5c per copy. Published monthly.

Votes for Women, 4 Clement's Inn, The Strand, London; organ of the Women's Social and Political Union;; Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, editors. Subscription, 10/10, 1d per copy. Published weekly.

The Common Cause, 2 Roberts street, Adelphi, London, W. C.; organ of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; Mrs. Henry Fawcett, editor. Subscription, 8/8 per year, 1d per copy. Published weekly.

The Vote, 1 Robert street, Adelphi, London, W. C.; organ of the Women's Freedom League; C. Despard, editor. Subscription, 8/8 per year, 1d per copy.

The Freewoman, 9 John street, Adelphi, London, W. C.; Dora Marsden, editor. Subscription, 14s, 3 d per copy.

The Englishwoman, 3 Adam street, Adelphi, London W. C.; E. M. Goodman, acting editor. Subscription, 12s., 1s. 3d. per copy.

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EDITORIAL

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

IN

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

BOSTON, MASS., SEPT. 7. 1912

A VOICE FROM FINLAND

No theoretical argument for woman suffrage is so convincing as its practical success where it has been tried. American suffragists are fortunate in having a chance this year to hear about its working in Finland from a very distinguished Finnish lady, Madame Aino Malmberg.

Madam Malmberg, who is expected to arrive in New York on November 16, is a well known Finnish novelist and writer. She is the daughter of a Lutheran clergyman and a graduate of the ancient university of Helsingfors. In 1899 she was the representative of Finland to the International Congress of Women, and addressed crowded audiences in perfect English, under the chairmanship of Lady Aberdeen.

She took part in Finland's struggle against the tyranny of Russia, is a friend of Mme. Catherine Breshkovsky and has suffered imprisonment in St. Petersburg. For some years past she has resided in England.

During 1909 she addressed immense audiences in England and Scotland, and within the past two years has spoken in the principal cities of Great Britain before the leading Geographical, Literary, Social and Philosophical Societies. The Director of the Lecture League of London writes:

"In the larger cities her audiences have numbered between three and four thousand. Everywhere she has been received with acclamation and the most enthusiastic appreciation of her wonderful personality. Over and over again she has been recalled at the close of her lectures, and the audiences rising en masse have given her nine ringing cheers. With the possible exceptions of Nansen, Shackleton and Peary, fresh from dreadful Polar experiences, no lecturer on the platform in England has evoked such enthusiasm."

Madame Malmberg will give three lectures during her American trip on "The Women of Finland," "Finland's Struggle for Freedom," and "Russian Women in the Movement for Freedom." All these will be of great interest, and the first will be especially appropriate for suffrage clubs. It treats of the position of Finnish Women as characterized in Old Legends and Folk Songs and the National Epic "Kalewala"—Finnish Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries—Development of Social Distinctions—The Modern Women—Mixed Education—The Colleges and Schools of Finland—Women's Occupations—Women as Bank Clerks—Women in Literature, Art and Science—Peasant Women—The Working Woman, the Charwoman and the Cook—Women in Politics—The Political Struggle—Women in Parliament, The Cook who is, most appropriately, also a Member of "The Diet"—The Outlook for Women. This lecture is said to be full of personal anecdote, humor, pathos, and human interest, and will please every class of audience.

The lecture on Finland's Struggle for Freedom is illustrated with unique bioscope films and photographic slides. The one on "Russian Women in the Movement for Freedom" is rendered additionally interesting by the fact that Madame Malmberg personally knows the Russian and Finnish women whom she describes.

Mrs. Philip Snowden writes: "Madame Malmberg is a woman of great personal charm, of exceptional ability and wonderful intellectual attainments. Her speeches are richly eloquent and full of sincerity. I hope that all my friends in the United States will take the opportunity of hearing her."

All great struggles for human freedom are akin, and a fresh impetus will be given to our zeal for equal rights for women when we hear any one of Madame Malmberg's remarkable lectures.

A. S. B.

Since the above was written, Madame Malmberg has arranged to illustrate all her Lectures, when desired, with **Lantern Slides and Motion Pictures,** although they can be given without either if desired.

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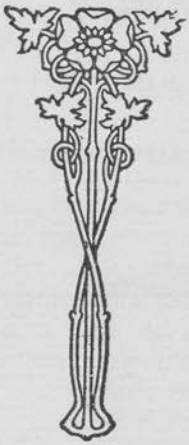
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NOVEMBER, 1912

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[post-1912]

Adopted by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Price, $1.50 per 1,000, or $1.00 per 1,000 in lots of 10,000 or over.

To the Union Man's Wife

BY THERESA S. MALKIEL.

When your husband joined the union he did so for you as well as for himself. He hoped by this to secure you and your children a better living; he wanted to be able to fulfill his duties toward you.

He joined hands with his fellow-workers because he saw that whatever his trouble in the shop may be it is at one time or another felt by the other workers; in a word, he knew that his interests were common with theirs.

Experience taught your husband and the other workers that their strength lay in union. They realized that a union of all those that worked at the trade and suffered from oppression would in time help to end low wages and long hours. They had to unite, for it was the only means of protecting themselves against the bosses, whose opposition to the working men was growing stronger day by day.

You, too, have undoubtedly come to see that the conditions are going from bad to worse; that one boss tries to outdo the other in getting his work done cheaply, in paying as little and in getting as much out of the working man as he possibly can, and that as a result of this practice the rich grow ever richer and the poor, ever poorer.

You, too, have undoubtedly come to see that in those trades where the working men stand together, all for one and one for all, wages are higher and the hours of labor shorter, while the working people themselves occupy a very different position from that occupied by the working people in the unorganized trades.

You must remember that the bosses do not like to see the workers advance themselves, as every cent gained by the working man means a loss to the boss, who is, as a rule, grasping and wants everything for himself. To prevent the working men from bettering their condition the bosses, too, are organizing themselves into unions—not only the bosses from one trade, or those bosses who have union working men, but all of the bosses. They have more time to think, and they have reasoned it out that just as all the working people have one common interest in bettering their condition, so all the bosses

have one common interest in preventing them from doing so. To gain their end they organize not only in business, but in politics as well, in order that they can get judges and legislators who will do as they wish and not as justice demands.

You read these lines and probably say to yourself: But how can this evil be changed? What can the working men do to put a stop to it?

You must remember that in one thing they are equal with their bosses—in their right to say who shall and who shall not govern this land. There are more working people in this land than there are of any other class. If they would all do what your husband did—join the political union of all the working people, the Socialist party—they could have their way in governing this country, even more than they have their way in regulating their work and wages where the labor union is strong.

You can readily see that if it has been possible for your husband and his co-workers in the same trade to gain shorter hours and increased wages, in spite of the organized opposition of all the bosses, it would be easy for the working people of all the trades when united together to better the conditions of all the working people.

You will agree with me that it is no more than right that every man, woman and child in this country should be given an even chance. A person is entitled to five dollars when he earns it, and should not get two dollars and then give three dollars to the boss for the use of the tools, as the working people are compelled to do today. There should be some laws preventing the bosses from taking the money earned by the working people.

You know that the laws of this country are made by the legislators and congressmen, and are enforced by the judges. If all the legislators, congressmen and judges came from the working class, elected to office by the working people, they would make the laws in favor of the working people. You must remember that this is the very purpose of the Socialist party—to improve, nay, to change, the condition of the poor; to see to it that every man and woman gets back every cent that he or she earns; that woman should have the same rights as men and should receive the same wage when she does the same work. She should also be considered as earning a living when she does the work in the home.

The children of the working people should be given an opportunity to get a good education in school and college, as the children of the rich are doing today, instead of wasting their young lives in the mills, mines and factories. Since the laws of this land govern the women as well as the men, the women should have a voice in the making of the laws.

You can see that the Socialist party is the seed of a new life, a seed which has taken root and will grow until it is big enough and strong enough to enable the working people not only to retain every cent that they earn, but will enable them to own jointly all the tools with which their work is done.

You should bear in mind that the Socialist banner is the banner of the working class of the world and is therefore raised wherever the struggle for bread is going on. The hope of the working people for deliverance from the present hardships depends upon their rallying around the Socialist banner, as Socialism alone will deliver the working people out of their slavery.

You can see that by uniting under one banner the working people will become a power the like of which the world has never before witnessed, and every union man and every union man's wife should try to do as much for Socialism as Socialism is trying to do for them.

You should place yourself on record as a believer in Socialism. You should join the Socialist party, the only true representative of the working people on the political field and their stanchest friend on the industrial field.

ALL MADE BY LABOR.

"At a gorgeous dinner of manufacturers given in Philadelphia," said a member of Congress (Congressional Record, page 1435), "Charles M. Schwab is reported by the press to have said:

"'Fifteen thousand wage earners depend for their bread and butter upon the Bethlehem Steel Company. You see there is nothing that enters into the cost of manufacture but labor. Materials? Analyze materials. Your will find that materials mean nothing but labor. Freight and supplies? Analyze them. They mean nothing basically but labor; just so much labor!'"

GROWTH OF SOCIALIST VOTE IN U. S.

1900	96,931
1902	223,494
1904	408,230
1906	331,043
1908	424,488
1910	607,674

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

			Seats		
Country	Year	Vote	Total	Soc.	P.C.
Finland	1911	332,000	200	87	43.50
Sweden	1911	170,299	165	64	38.70
Germany	1912	4,238,919	397	110	27.71
Belgium	1910	483,241	166	35	21.08

Denmark	1910	98,821	114	24	21.05
Luxemburg	1909	(?)	48	10	20.83
Austria	1911	1,041,948	516	79	15.31
France	1910	1,106,047	584	76	13.01
Norway	1907	90,000	123	11	8.94
Switzerland	1911	105,000	170	7	4.11
Italy	1909	338,885	508	44	8.66
Holland	1909	82,494	100	7	7.00
Great Britain	1910	373,645	670	31	4.62
Russia	1906	(?)	442	17	3.82
Turkey	1908	(?)	196	6	3.06
Greece	1910	(?)	207	4	1.93
Servia	1908	3,056	160	1	.62
Bulgaria	1911	13,360	189	1	.52
United States	1910	607,674	394	1	.25
Argentina	1908	5,000	120	1	.83

In addition: Senators, Belgium, 7; Denmark, 4; Sweden, 12. State Legislators, Austria, 31; Germany, 185; United States, 20.

In the French Chamber of Deputies are also 21 "Independent" Socialists. In the Bulgarian Chamber are also 5 representatives known as Socialists, elected through a coalition with a peasant party.

The vote of Great Britain includes: Independent Labor party, 370,802; Social-Democratic party, 2,843. The Canadian, Russian, Turkish, and Greek vote, as well as that of Luxemburg, is not available. The figures of the Australian and New Zealand Labor parties are omitted as not being strictly Socialist.

Issued by the NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY,

111 North Market Street, Chicago.

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Woman and Labor, by Olive Schreiner, $1.50.

Woman and Economics, by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, $1.50.

Labor Unions and Political Parties, by August Bebel, 5c; 50c per dozen; $3 per 100.

The Class War—a leaflet the same size as this one—by W. R. Shier, $1.50 per 1,000, or $1.00 per 1,000 in lots of 10,000 or over.

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