



Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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[ca 1915?]

Summing Up the Case for Woman Suffrage

By Honorable David J. Brewer, late Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court

The real question is a practical one. How does woman's suffrage work when tried? In this nation, nine States—Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, California, Washington, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon, and the territory of Alaska—have granted full suffrage,* and in at least the first six of them it has been in existence long enough for substantial results.

One thing is true of all; there has been no organized effort to repeal the grant. Whatever may be isolated opinions, the general mass of the voters are satisfied. Indeed, few have expressed antagonistic views. If the citizens of these states find nothing objectionable in woman's suffrage, a natural conclusion is that no injury has resulted. Especially is this true when the declarations of its friends in its favor are many and strong.

Doubtless some opposition may come from personal ambition defeated by the woman voters. Thus Judge Lindsey, of the Juvenile Court in Denver, who has attracted much attention by his good work in that court, after having been denied a renomination by each of the great political parties, came out as an independent candidate, and was elected mainly, it is said, by the votes of women who appreciated his labors and determined that the young culprits of that city should not be deprived of the benefit of his judgment and experience. It would be strange if the defeated candidates did not feel and express themselves against woman's suffrage. But their complaint is really testimony to its value.

The change in the position of woman in the past fifty years must be noticed. Then the only vocations open to her were teaching and sewing. But within the last half century she has entered into active outdoor life and is no longer a necessary home-body. Not that home has lost its charms, or that it will ever cease to be the place which she most loves and where she reigns supreme, but choice or necessity has driven her into varied pursuits, many of them calling for familiarity with public affairs and executive ability.

* In 1913 the legislature of Illinois passed a law extending to women all the franchise rights within the power of the legislature to bestow, including all municipal offices, some state and some county offices and presidential electors; and in 1914 Nevada and Montana both granted full suffrage to women. Women now help to elect 91 of the 531 presidential electors; 22 of the 96 Senators and 40 of the 435 Representatives in Congress.

You see them not only doing clerical work in offices, but acting as shop-girls in stores, or laborers in a factory. Many have charge of large administrations, are presidents of colleges, heads of corporations, and indeed engaging in almost every avocation of their brothers, and doing so with success. There is a host of female doctors. Women have invaded the pulpit and are pastors of churches. They are found in the court room, and not a few are efficient and successful practitioners. Indeed, it may be truly affirmed that they have fully entered into the active life of the world.

Female suffrage will come. Not fully at once, but by varying steps. Woman's broader education, her increasing familiarity with business and public affairs, will lead to it. And why not?

The chief reply is the home. God forbid that it should be jeopardized. But female suffrage will not debase the home or lessen its power and influence. On the other hand, it will introduce a refining and uplifting power into our political life.

Union in effort is the growing lesson of the times. Our first parents, guilty of a mutual sin, were, according to the allegory in Genesis, driven out of Eden, that garden which gave men all things to live with and nothing to live for. Hand in hand they went out of Eden; hand in hand they must enter the new paradise, grander and nobler than the pristine Eden, because wrought out of the thorn-growing earth by their united labors.—Condensed from Article in *The Ladies World*.

DR. SHAW PAMPHLETS

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New York City.

The Next President

THE women of twelve States can vote for the next President.
*(In eleven States they have full suffrage; in Illinois—Presidential,
 Partial County and State, Municipal Suffrage.)*

THESE States are Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Illinois, Nevada and Montana.

THE total number of electoral votes in the equal suffrage states is 91.

THE women of this State will be governed by the President whom these women will help to elect. Why should they have no voice in choosing him?

THE women of this State are as intelligent, sane, law-abiding, public-spirited, patriotic as the women of the West. Why not give the same political rights to them?

THE women of this State could remove to the West, and in any of those States vote for President in 1916. Why should they not have the same privilege in their home State? Are political rights to be a question of geography?

VOTES FOR WOMEN

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
 171 Madison Avenue,  377
 New York City

[1915?]

REVIEW OF
1915 LEGISLATION
AFFECTING WOMEN
AND CHILDREN

By MISS MARGARET B. DOBYNE
HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
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Illinois.

Copies can be obtained at
Illinois Equal Suffrage Association
Headquarters
604 Tower Building

REVIEW OF 1915 LEGISLATION
AFFECTING WOMEN AND
CHILDREN *Illinois*

By Miss Margaret B. Dobyne

In reviewing the work of the Legislature of 1915 the measures considered affecting women and children are the essential interests of the new citizens represented by the women of Illinois.

Those measures that were introduced by the Industrial or Labor Committee, including the minimum wage for women, the eight-hour day for women, and child labor bill, which should have been passed in the 49th General Assembly, but which were allowed to go down to defeat, have left the State of Illinois in the rear of more progressive states.

As there was introduced into the Legislature a Bill to repeal the suffrage law the fear of many women of the state that the suffrage act might be repealed proved to be unfounded. The State President, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, and the Legislative Chairman, Mrs. J. W. McGraw, were in constant attendance during the entire session of the Legislature, looking after the interests of the women. Several measures calculated to extend woman suffrage were defeated at their request. It required some explanation to many real friends of suffrage to show that it was unwise at this time to amend the suffrage act in any way. Legal advisers warned that any amendment might open the way for further attacks on the constitutionality of the original suffrage law, and again compel the women to carry on a long

and expensive court fight to keep their present suffrage rights.

Beside the suffrage interest in the Legislature there were a number of other measures in which the women were directly interested, and for which they worked throughout the session of the Legislature. Among these were the Vital Statistics Bill, which was a Bill conforming with the laws of other states enforcing the recording of births by doctors, midwives or parents under penalty for failure to comply with the law. Under this Bill, provision for prevention of blindness among children was made through the free distribution of remedies by the state authorities. Maternity hospitals are to be more carefully inspected and regulated through public supervision.

Granting the use of public schools as social centers was an act which will make more accessible these institutions which rightly belong to the public. Granted also the right to establish and maintain facilities for physical culture in the schools of the state. Small cities of the state will be allowed under the law to provide parks and playgrounds. A moving picture censorship law protects the people of the state from unscrupulous business interests. Likewise provision was made for the special training of delinquent and defective children. The State Board of Education is authorized to inspect and supervise the plans for school buildings outside of the city of Chicago.

The state was given the power to establish custodial care over the feeble-

minded and the use of special buildings for their detention and training.

A state-wide pension law for teachers of the state outside of the city of Chicago.

A measure was passed for the better support of wife and children in the Bill which amended the Mothers' Pension Act to include mothers with dependent children deserted by their husbands for longer than two years.

We now have a law for the punishment of adults causing delinquency or crime in children which provides that others than parents are made liable for contributing to juvenile delinquency through fine and imprisonment not exceeding one year.

The passage of two Bills, the Injunction and Abatement Act, and the Abolition of the Fining System Dealing with inmates of houses of ill-fame, marks the most effective piece of legislative work since the women of Illinois have wielded a direct influence through the ballot. The power of citizens through the Injunction and Abatement law to hold property owners responsible for the action of tenants to prevent lewdness and the practice of prostitution is one of the greatest safeguards against the demoralization of the young. For the continuation of the offense property owners will be subject to fine and condemnation of property for a period of one year.

Through the Commitment Act the courts are given power to commit inmates of houses of ill-fame to correctional institutions which will provide training and treatment and continuous

care for the reformation of such victims.

A Bill was passed to allow persons on probation to pay fines upon the installment plan. The Legislature passed a Bill to amend the Free Employment law and place the State Employment Bureau in the hands of an efficient State Board. Under this Act provision was made for a Woman's Department in the new bureau, for women seeking work and women sought to fill positions.

The passage of these laws by men who were not elected by the votes of women gives a hopeful outlook to the women of the state in the extension of their power to full suffrage.

How Women Voted

The Chicago Public says of the women citizens of Illinois: "How the women voted interests a few Illinois politicians. That they voted is of world-wide interest."

The State of Illinois has a population which includes 1,600,000 women voters. In the Fall election of 1916 Illinois women may vote for twenty-nine Presidential electors. Since they became citizens three general elections have been held in which women have participated. In the first election, April, 1914, the number of Chicago women registered was 218,000. Of that number 163,852 women voted, or 73 per cent of those registered, as compared with 473,000 men registered. 323,821 men voted, or 72 per cent of those registered. Men have voted ever since Chicago was founded; women voted for the first time.

In the Spring election of 1915 the first mayoralty election in which the women of the State participated, there were 286,000 women registered in Chicago. 248,706 voted, or 86 per cent of the number registered, as against 88 per cent of the registered men's vote. Women throughout the State have voted in even larger proportion for candidates and upon important issues. In some places the vote has been evenly divided among the men and the women.



Superseded?

[1915?]

Indirect Influence Increased by Illinois Woman Suffrage

The suffrage laws in Illinois allow women to vote for almost all municipal, school, township, tax and drainage officials, for presidential electors, and upon most questions submitted to electors. In such elections women's power as well as influence has been directly applied. Such direct power has, however, not lessened women's "indirect influence" over officers for whom they may not vote. It has increased such influence. Legislators are elected by men only and yet the social legislation passed by them in 1915 which was approved by women is far ahead of that passed in previous sessions or that passed by legislators in adjoining states where women's "indirect influence" was not supported by so generous a measure of suffrage.

Some of the new laws and amendments improving old ones are noted below with the pages of the session laws of 1915 on which they may be found:

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Good men also helped to secure such legislation, but as they pre-
viously were unable without help to succeed, credit must also
be given to the partly enfranchised

Women's Indirect Influence.

Catharine Waugh McCulloch.

[ca 1915?]



HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL

LEADER OF ENGLISH PACIFISTS

writes a book

JUSTICE IN WAR TIME

Pp. 250. Cloth \$1.00. Paper 50 cents.

Bertrand Russell, lecturer and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, is the second son of the late Viscount Amberley, and grandson of the famous Lord John Russell, afterwards first Earl Russell, whose name stands prominently among the champions of civil and religious liberty in England during the 19th century.

The Reform Bill of 1832 giving universal male suffrage to Englishmen is one of the many successful measures due to his influence. He was the prime minister of England 1846-52 and 1865-66.

Bertrand Russell, author of the present book, is well known in the United States by his books and lectures on philosophy. He received the Butler medal from Columbia University last year for having done the best work in philosophy during the past five years.

His work entitled "Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy" was unanimously pronounced by the London press to be "THE book of the year." It embodied the Lowell lectures for 1914.

Mr. Russell visited Harvard, Chicago, and Michigan Universities in 1914.

Neutrality: The Crucifixion of Public Opinion

By S. IVOR STEPHEN

Pp. 229 Illustrated Price, Cloth \$1 00; Paper 50 cents



To the immortal memory and sublime spirits of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, this great triumvirate of American patriots, fearless, sincere and unfettered fighters for the American ideals of Liberty, Freedom, Justice and Equality, this humble volume is most reverently dedicated by—

The Author

As one newspaper man expresses it, "this book is a humdinger." It starts out with President Wilson's definition of neutrality in August, 1914. It then shows by reproduction of the headlines of certain American newspapers, how, not only the spirit but the letter of neutrality has been violated by distorting and even falsifying important news.

The author does not spare the rod in dealing with American editors and war correspondents, whom he calls "chartered liars," quoting Ambassador Whitlock, minister to Belgium.

It is an impressive mass of facts which cannot fail to startle even the most indifferent American to the unneutral policy of American newspapers which, under the protection of so called "freedom of the press," dare to exploit private interests in time of excitement, although they well know public opinion is practically a powder magazine which a false alarm may explode.

"The liberty to be a liar and the freedom to be a bum" is not the equality for which Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln gave their lives, nor are the principles of democracy safe in the hands of any man or money trust who plays golf while the Ship of State runs on the rocks.

If your book dealer will not furnish you with a copy, send direct to

THE NEUTRALITY PRESS - CHICAGO

[ca 1915?]

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union

DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, *Superintendent*

Woman Suffrage and Temperance

BY DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

In the Colony of New Zealand

women were enfranchised in 1893, and in 1894 a Local Option Law was passed. Today the number of licenses in proportion to the population is less than half what it is in England. "By an act of parliament passed in 1910 it was made illegal to sell alcohol to persons under 21 years of age; and the employment of barmaids was prohibited beyond those already registered. In the last three elections an increasing majority has been cast against liquor."

In New South Wales

women were enfranchised in 1902, they failed to secure Local Option in 1907 and 1910, but the "No License" vote rose in the latter election to the proportion of two for, to three against prohibition.

South Australia

women were enfranchised in 1893, no child is allowed under 16 in a bar-room, and no additional barmaids can be employed.

Queensland

women were enfranchised in 1905, and a law was passed making it illegal to serve any person under 18 with liquor for his own consumption.

In Europe

we find the women in Finland enfranchised in 1907, and a Prohibition Bill passed in 1910, which the Czar at the instigation of the French Government—France being a wine growing country—vetoed.

In Norway

the women were enfranchised in 1908, the same thing happened and the duties on French wines and spirits had to be reluctantly lowered because the Norwegians wanted to borrow money from France for the development of their railways, but they absolutely refused to weaken the direct veto law, by which the Spirit Traffic has been voted out of about half their towns.

In Wyoming

women were enfranchised in 1869; a law was passed in 1895 prohibiting the sale of intoxicants

to persons under 16, and 90 per cent of the state is now dry territory.

In Colorado

women were enfranchised in 1869. State wide prohibition obtained in 1914.

Idaho

women were enfranchised in 1896; a law has been passed forbidding the sale of alcohol to persons under 16, the sale of liquor is prohibited on election days.

Utah

the women received full suffrage in 1896; every county in Utah but one is dry.

Washington

woman suffrage granted in 1910. State-wide prohibition enacted in 1914.

California

woman suffrage granted in 1911. There are over seven hundred dry towns.

Kansas

for thirty years a prohibition state. Full suffrage granted to women in 1912.

Oregon

women enfranchised in 1912. State-wide prohibition adopted in 1914.

Arizona

women enfranchised in 1912. State-wide prohibition adopted in 1914.

Illinois

women granted presidential suffrage in 1913; fifty-two dry counties.

Montana and Nevada

granted woman suffrage in 1914. Both states working for state-wide prohibition.

Alaska

granted woman suffrage in 1913.

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Department of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar Street, Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U. Publishing House, Evanston, Illinois. 2c each or 30c per hundred.

WOMEN ENJOY SCHOOL SUFFRAGE

| Place | Date | | |
|---------------------|------|--------------------|------|
| UNITED STATES: | | Nebraska | 1883 |
| Kentucky | 1838 | New Jersey | 1887 |
| Michigan | 1875 | North Dakota | 1887 |
| Minnesota | 1875 | South Dakota | 1887 |
| New Hampshire | 1878 | Oklahoma | 1890 |
| Massachusetts | 1879 | Connecticut | 1893 |
| Mississippi | 1880 | Ohio | 1894 |
| Vermont | 1880 | Delaware | 1898 |
| New York | 1880 | Wisconsin | 1900 |
| | | New Mexico | 1910 |

WOMEN ENJOY LIMITED SUFFRAGE

Women May Vote on Taxation or Bonding Propositions

| Place | Date |
|-----------------|------|
| Iowa | 1894 |
| Louisiana | 1898 |
| New York | 1901 |
| Michigan | 1908 |

to men. Marriage is still a bar to the suffrage for town and county councils, though not for the London County Council.

^o Municipal suffrage was granted tax-paying widows and spinsters in 1862, and in 1900 extended to all women.

^r Tax-paying women and the wives of men who pay taxes alone have the municipal franchise.

OTHER FORMS OF SUFFRAGE

In 1913, the State Legislature of Illinois passed a law extending to women all the franchise rights within the power of the legislature to bestow which included all the offices not created by the State Constitution. These are: Presidential Electors, Members of State Board of Equalization, Clerk of Appellate Court, County Surveyor, Members of Board of Assessors, Members of Board of Review, Sanitary District Trustees, all officers of cities, villages and towns, except police magistrates, all questions submitted to electors of political divisions of the State.

In certain districts of Austria, Germany, Hungary and Russia women who own property are permitted to cast their votes on various communal matters, either by proxy or in their own persons. In Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Roumania and Switzerland, women have no political rights whatever, but are permitted to vote for certain state boards—educational, philanthropic, correctional or industrial.

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505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

1913 Ed. 1¢

Facts and Dates to Remember

The Extent of Equal Suffrage All Over the World

WOMEN ENJOY FULL SUFFRAGE

| Place | Date | Place | Date |
|--------------------------------|------|------------------|------|
| BRITISH EMPIRE: | | UNITED STATES: | |
| Isle of Man ¹ | 1881 | Wyoming | 1869 |
| New Zealand | 1893 | Colorado | 1893 |
| Australian Federation | 1902 | Idaho | 1896 |
| SCANDINAVIA: | | Utah | 1896 |
| Finland | 1906 | Washington | 1910 |
| Norway ² | 1907 | California | 1911 |
| Iceland ³ | 1913 | Arizona | 1912 |
| Denmark | 1915 | Kansas | 1912 |
| | | Oregon | 1912 |
| | | Alaska | 1913 |
| | | Montana | 1914 |
| | | Nevada | 1914 |

WOMEN ENJOY MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

| Place | Date | Place | Date |
|-----------------------------------|------|--|------|
| BRITISH EMPIRE: | | BRITISH EMPIRE: | |
| Ontario | 1884 | Great Britain ⁵ England Wales | 1869 |
| New Brunswick | 1886 | Scotland | 1881 |
| Nova Scotia | 1887 | Ireland | 1898 |
| Canada ⁴ Alberta | 1888 | SCANDINAVIA: | |
| British Columbia | 1888 | Sweden ⁶ | 1862 |
| Manitoba | 1888 | Denmark ⁷ | 1908 |
| Prince Ed. Island | 1888 | UNITED STATES: | |
| Saskatchewan | 1888 | Illinois | 1913 |
| Quebec | 1892 | | |

¹ In 1881 the right to vote for the independent Manx Parliament was granted to women property owners; and in 1892 extended to women who pay rent or taxes.

² The Municipal vote was extended to tax-paying women in Norway in 1901. In 1907, the Parliamentary vote also was granted to tax-paying women. In 1910 the tax-paying qualification was removed from the municipal franchise and in 1913, from the Parliamentary franchise, so that now all Norwegian women have full suffrage.

³ Only women over forty years of age have the full Parliamentary vote, but according to the law the age will be gradually reduced until it is the same as that of men.

Only tax-paying widows and spinsters have the municipal vote in all the provinces mentioned but Nova Scotia, where married women are included if their husbands are not voters.

⁶ Women have the municipal vote on one qualification on the same terms as men—as occupiers of property in their own name; but members qualify in other ways not open

1915-

Efforts were therefore directed toward a careful poll of the Senate and House.

Our aim is to have the State organized by congressional districts, and during the year chairmen have been found for ten of the thirteen districts. A number of district conferences have been held with most gratifying results.

The taxpaying woman apportionment plan has succeeded beyond our expectations, more than a third of the counties meeting all or part of their apportionment during the first year. We shall continue this plan of raising money, as it divides the burden in a reasonable way.

Every woman's club and Maccabee Hive in the State has been invited to become a member of the State Association and many have availed themselves of this opportunity for greater service.

The publication of the Michigan Suffragist has been continued, and the paper goes into seventy-two of the eighty-three counties every month.

At the Annual Convention, held in Saginaw, November 10-11, it was voted to submit the question to the voters in the fall of 1918.

NELLIE SAWYER CLARK, President.

MINNESOTA

Woman Suffrage Association

The Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association has adopted the plan of organization by legislative districts, having a leader for each and a chairman for each voting precinct or township.

February 15th, Susan B. Anthony's birthday, was chosen as organization day, and at that time there were meetings in fifteen legislative districts, and leaders appointed for each district.

In April, Mrs. Albert McMahon was engaged as State Organizer and has been with us during the year. On account of Iowa being a campaign State, Mrs. McMahon was sent to the southern tier of counties bordering on Iowa.

In ten of these counties organization is under way, and the nine legislative districts of Hennepin County, in which Minneapolis is located, and the six of Ramsey County, in which St. Paul is placed, have organizations with leaders and chairmen in many precincts. In addition to these district organizations there are about seventeen clubs, large and small, in the State.

The two Senators and five of the ten Congressmen voted for the Federal Amendment at the last session. Three voted against and two were absent.

Deputations of suffragists during the summer and fall have visited the two Senators and the ten Congressmen assuring them of the interest of the women of the State in the National Amendment and asking them for their help in getting it through the present session.

The Annual Convention was in session for three days in St. Paul, in

October. At this meeting the Constitution was revised to fit the new plan of organization and the plan for holding quarterly conferences in different towns of the State, which is now in operation was adopted.

The President of the Association sends out a news letter to the suffragists of the State about once in three months.

A monthly letter has been sent out by the press chairman to five hundred newspapers in the State, and a press chairman is sending out plate matter to many of the State papers.

A very attractive Doll Exhibit, showing the different phases of suffrage progress over the world, was made chiefly by the younger suffragists, and is sent out in the State, to county fairs, quarterly conferences, etc.

The Association maintained headquarters on the principal business street of Duluth during the annual meeting of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs, in September. There were suffrage speeches in the afternoons and street speaking in the evenings, the Duluth Association serving tea each afternoon. In the windows were the Doll Exhibit and the voiceless speech.

Headquarters, with speaking, literature, doll exhibits, were also maintained at the State Fair and at seven county fairs.

At a melting pot party in Minneapolis, \$400 was raised, which was sent to New Jersey. The Association gave the services of its state organizer, Mrs. McMahon, to New York for the months of September and October, paying her expenses to and from Syracuse, and other members gave generously of their time to speaking in the New York campaign.

A Suffrage Amendment was submitted in legislature, but was defeated by a vote of 33 to 32.

A bill for Presidential Suffrage was filed in the House, reported upon favorably by a committee, but, on account of a crowded calendar, was not reached and could not secure the two-thirds majority for being placed on special orders.

CLARA UELAND, President.

NEBRASKA

Woman Suffrage Association

After the "near victory" of November, 1914, the Suffragists of Nebraska immediately met in State Convention for reorganization for a new and continuous campaign. The old Board was re-elected and chairmen of standing committees instructed to push all kinds of work inaugurated during the campaign.

Realizing that our campaign organization had not been efficient enough, particularly in the country districts, we were determined to build up a stronger machine. The Constitution was ordered revised to allow organization along Congressional District lines, the chairman of each district to be made a Vice-President of the State Board.

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

The bill pending in the legislature permitting women to vote for presidential electors has been under consideration by the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association for some months. The day after the amendment was lost in the Senate a conference of representatives of the suffrage organizations of the Twin Cities was held in Minneapolis and it was decided at that time to try for a bill for limited suffrage. In a number of states, among them Minnesota, it has been made so difficult to amend the constitution that it is considered wise to obtain, if possible, a measure giving limited suffrage which shall be a stepping stone to complete enfranchisement. The most notable effort in this direction was the successful one in Illinois which two years ago gave the women presidential and municipal suffrage.

In Indiana and Vermont, both states presenting unusual difficulties in the way of constitutional amendments, bills for limited suffrage have been submitted to the legislatures.

The right of the legislature to act independently of the state constitution is based on Section 1, Article II, of the Federal Constitution, which says:

"EACH STATE SHALL APPOINT IN SUCH MANNER AS THE LEGISLATURE THEREOF MAY DIRECT, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled by the Congress."

Citizenship in the United States is of a dual nature, national citizenship and state citizenship, and state constitutions cannot abridge rights conferred by the Federal Constitution.

There are a number of precedents in which state legislatures have acted independently of state constitutions in choosing presidential electors. In the early history of the United States there were several instances in which the State Legislatures themselves chose the presidential electors. This method was regularly followed in South Carolina up to and including the year 1860.

On several occasions State Legislatures have passed regulations for the presidential election enabling persons to vote who, by the State Constitution, would have been debarred from voting; and the right of the State Legislatures to do this has always been upheld by the courts. Thus the Maine Legislature, on March 24, 1864, passed an act to enable soldiers who were absent in the field to vote for presidential electors; and the next day it submitted an amendment to the State Constitution to enable soldiers absent in the field to vote for State officers. The latter required a constitutional amendment; the

former did not. New Hampshire (see Public Laws of 1864) passed a Soldiers' Voting Act for presidential electors, the legality of which was unanimously upheld by the State Supreme Court (45 N. H. p. 607), although the act was in conflict with the State Constitution. The Supreme Court took the ground that the question as to how the presidential electors should be chosen "is governed wholly by the Constitution of the United States as the paramount law, and the Constitution of this State has no concern with the question." The Vermont Supreme Court gave an opinion to the same effect (37 Vermont Appendix).

The National House of Representatives also upheld the constitutionality of the Michigan Soldiers' Voting Act. More than twenty years ago the Michigan Legislature departed from the custom of having the presidential electors chosen upon a general ticket. It divided the State into electoral districts, each district to choose one elector.

It is not possible for women of Minnesota to obtain full suffrage in less than four years, at best. By passing this bill at this time the legislature will give women of the state the right to vote for president at the next election, giving them an importance politically that unquestionably will enhance their prospects for complete enfranchisement. It is a measure which does not conflict with or involve any local issues and may be considered upon its merits. Those who believe in the justice of woman suffrage and in the extension of democracy have an opportunity of forwarding both causes in advocating this measure.

1915 ed.

HENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASS'N.
930 NICOLLET AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS, :-- MINN.

File copy -
**Woman Suffrage in
New Zealand**

Charles Edward Russell, in Everybody's Magazine (December, 1906) writing of New Zealand under the title of "Soldiers of the Common Good," says:

"As to woman suffrage, I asked many about it, and men and women seemed to agree that it is a good thing. The men said the women have notably improved political life; it is the cleaner and purer because of them. Women go to political meetings and rowdyism flees before them; candidates are very careful what they say and how they say it when they know women voters are listening to them. Public officers are more careful about their records because it has been found that women will not overlook things that men pardon. As to public policies, the women have steadily supported reform and the new ideas; they have not cared whether a thing was sanctioned by the ages so long as it was right and good. This is what the men told me. The women said they had not found it any more dreadful to go to a polling place and vote than to go to

a store and buy bread; they had never seen nor heard anything shocking at a polling place, but invariably they had been treated there with the greatest respect. The men said that most of them did not know how their wives voted. As for letting the soup burn and the children go hungry and woman's sphere and all that sort of thing, the New Zealanders despise any such suggestions about their voting helpmates. They say a woman can vote and understand perfectly what she is voting about and be just as good a wife and mother as if she never had an idea in her life above pudding. I don't know; I know I have seen a great many New Zealand households and they seemed exactly as well ordered, as bright, cheerful and happy as any other households anywhere on this celestial globe.

"As for the allegation that with woman suffrage only the ignorant and unworthy would vote, that cannot possibly be true in New Zealand, because practically all the women vote, and it would not be safe to insinuate to any New Zealander that his womankind are not just as intelligent, well-educated and fine-spirited as any women in all the world."

Hon. W. P. Reeves, agent-general for New Zealand, in an address given in London on "The Effect of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand and Australia," said in part:

"Women's parliamentary suffrage tried, and tried successfully, is worthy of your attention, even at the antipodes. It not only proves a good deal, but it disproves a good deal more.

"I do not think there is a single argument urged against woman suffrage here that was not urged almost as monotonously and drearily against it at the other end of the world. Awful pictures were drawn of neglected babies, uncooked dinners, deserted domestic hearths. We were told that women did not want the franchise, and yet it was said that no sooner did they get it than they would become so enthralled, so enthusiastic that they would neglect all the duties of domestic life.

"In social life things are very much as they were. In fact, the complaint of the old prophets of evil now is, not that the skies have fallen or the country is upside down, but that there is so little change. Well, if woman suffrage had only proved that so great and important a constitutional change could come into being so smoothly and easily that the only complaint of its opponents was that it had not revolutionized the country, it would have proved a great deal. If it had only proved that when women get the franchise they use it, and that because they take an interest in the state they do not cease to take an interest in their homes and families, it would have proved something. But it has proved more than that.

"It has distinctly affected legislation. Laws have been passed because of it; other laws have been modified. Changes have been made in the administration of the public service; changes are being made in public opinion outside the public service. Altogether people are beginning to look at customs and institutions with different eyes. Personal results are taking place. I do not think any politician or public worker would try now in his daily life to outrage the finer feelings of women.

"It is true that, for the most part, women do vote not against their husbands and families, but

with them; that they usually do stand with their class, and to their class interests. No one, except an anarchist, could have expected anything else. But it does not follow that they do not exercise a distinct influence in politics. They do; and they bid fair to influence politics still more.

"In addition to that, it is not merely the influence of women upon public life that we have to look to, it is the influence of public life and fuller responsibilities upon women. No one can deny that already the possession of the rights of citizenship has begun to influence women's life and thought and brain in New Zealand, and that that influence is altogether for good.

"On the whole, the part women are taking is quiet, but it is none the less real. They do use the franchise; they do discuss; they do join associations; they do read and listen, and reflect; and they do learn. And this widens their lives, brightens their intellects, makes their lives fuller and more useful to the country, and none the less charming in the domestic circle."

NOTE: New South Wales gave municipal suffrage to women in 1867, and full state suffrage in 1902; Victoria gave municipal suffrage in 1869, and full state suffrage in 1908; West Australia gave municipal suffrage in 1871 and full state suffrage in 1900; South Australia gave municipal suffrage in 1880 and full state suffrage in 1895; Tasmania gave municipal suffrage in 1884 and full state suffrage in 1903; Queensland gave full state suffrage in 1905; New Zealand gave school suffrage in 1877, municipal suffrage in 1886 and full National suffrage in 1893. In 1902 full national suffrage was granted to all the women of Federated Australia.

Political Equality leaflets, sample set 10 cents; 15 cents a hundred, at National American Woman Suffrage headquarters, 505 Fifth avenue, N. Y.



[1915]

Why We Believe in Suffrage for Women

CYRUS NORTHROP
E. F. WAITE
MRS. H. G. HARRISON
REV. JOHN A. RYAN
MOSES E. CLAPP
MRS. C. L. ATWOOD
REV. C. K. SOLBERG
A. O. EBERHART
REV. ANDREW GILLIES
RABBI S. N. DEINARD
MRS. T. H. DAHL
REV. MARION D. SHUTTER
MARY McCOY, M. D.
W. G. CALDERWOOD
MARIA L. SANFORD
REV. ALEXANDER C. STEVENS
JAMES MANAHAN
REV. EDWARD JOHNSON
MRS. EDGAR H. LOYHED
W. A. FRISBIE
JAS. A. PETERSON
REV. STANLEY B. ROBERTS
KLARA M. MICHAELSON
ALLEN D. ALBERT
DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN
FRANK NELSON
DAVID F. SWENSON
ALFRED H. BRIGHT

MINNESOTA

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The women of our country have as much interest in the welfare of the country as the men have. Their judgment respecting moral and social questions is quite as likely to be correct as the judgment of men. Their growing interest in political and economic questions gives assurance that they will be able to master these quite as completely as the men have mastered them. Sex is a foolish test for the right to vote. Let the women by all means be emancipated and be placed on an equality with men as respects political rights.

CYRUS NORTHROP,
President Emeritus, University of Minn.

The chief consideration that has brought me out of passive acquiescence in the inevitable approach of the enfranchisement of women, and into avowed support of the suffrage movement as conducted in America, has been the conviction that the ballot in the hands of women will tend to bring about the economic equality with men which is their due,—equal pay for an equal day's work.

E. F. WAITE,
Judge Juvenile Court, Minneapolis.

Woman's suffrage would tend to promote the enactment and enforcement of laws in the interest of the home and civic morality, and for the protection of females engaged in industrial occupations. Women have a keener and more personal perception of these needs than men, and would give more general and effective support to the necessary legislation. However strong the two main arguments against extending the franchise to women may seem to be theoretically and hypothetically, they have only a slight value practically. That participation in political life would "take women out of the home," is true in a certain sense, but it is not a very important sense. When more than eight million women have already gone into industry, the additional distance that the exercise of suffrage would require the sex as a whole to travel in the direction that points away from the home, would be relatively insignificant. Besides, the vote would enable women to correct many of the evil conditions which economic changes have introduced into their traditional and natural sphere. That some of the most prominent advocates of the franchise for women have endeavored to identify the movement with certain repulsive and destructive doctrines, such as, "advanced feminism," "the war of the sexes," "the right to be mothers without being wives," "love unions," "economic independence," the practices of the English militants, etc.,—is likewise true; but there is no good reason to assume that these pestiferous manifestations amount to more than temporary and accidental excrescences on the general movement. Once the franchise was secured, these blatant and unwomanly champions of the cause would become as insignificant among women voters as anarchists are among men. Woman's suffrage is not, indeed, a panacea for any social wrong, but when its probable good effects are weighed against its probable evil effects, a well defined balance appears in its favor.

REV. JOHN A. RYAN,
The St. Paul Seminary,
Groveland Park, St. Paul.

All history shows that the wrong seeks to minimize human equation that it has to deal with, while the right has depended upon the broader equation, and man's rights have grown just as this equation has broadened, from the

much of the suffrage for man. The hopes of its advocates will not be realized at once; the fears of its opponents will at last prove groundless. The best elements in our citizenship, both men and women, will at last work out the problems of this nation, not alone by the ballot, but by that intelligence and conscience which must use the ballot for the common good.

MARION D. SHUTTER,
Pastor Church of the Redeemer,
Minneapolis.

I believe in woman suffrage for two main reasons.

First, that it is the unassailable right of woman to participate in the government of America.

Second, that the admission of woman to the franchise promises to improve the quality of American government.

Woman has the right to participate in the government because this is a government by partnership and in the payment of taxes, in determining the nature of law, and in the selection of officials to enforce the law, she is as much a partner and generally as competent as man.

The admission of woman to the franchise promises to improve the quality of American government because women as a sex are at least as well educated as men, have a quicker responsiveness to moral appeal, and have manifested at least as great an interest in the cause of good government, as any body of men ever admitted to the franchise in America.

The tendency of government in a republic is irresistibly toward widening, rather than contracting, the privilege of participation. The government of America now suffers from the lack of intelligent, informed, active interest among the present electors. It is a practical impossibility to eliminate the unworthy men voters. The need is upon us, then, to improve the situation by the only means in our power—the enfranchisement of any available citizens possessing large intelligence, interest, moral principle and patriotism. The only such citizenship not now admitted to the franchise is that of women.

I believe it to be the teaching of history that the extension of the franchise to this class of citizenship at approximately the present time is not only just and right, but inevitable as a last step in the elevation of women to a plane of complete social equality with men.

ALLEN D. ALBERT,
Minneapolis Tribune.

For many years I have been deeply interested in training children to become good citizens, and I myself am denied full citizenship.

The state owes it to its children to provide clean, wholesome, and safe conditions, that the home and school may do their work most efficiently. My experience and observation have taught me that mothers and teachers everywhere need the vote to insure the best possible conditions for the boys and girls.

KLARA M. MICHAELSON,
School Principal.

Pursuant to a request to state how I stand on woman suffrage, I beg leave to say that I am in favor of woman suffrage because I think they are entitled to the ballot as a matter of right.

JAS. A. PETERSON.

I have always been a believer in the enfranchisement of women on general principles. I believe equal right

of suffrage in a government like ours is the only safe and just principle. When I analyze the question and find overwhelming evidence in favor of women's right of suffrage I am amazed that any sensible citizen would find any reasonable ground of objection. Every line of statistics I pursue relative to the morals, intelligence and Christian principles of women I am more and more convinced that the exercise of her right as a voting citizen will make for the betterment of our American republic.

STANLEY B. ROBERTS,
Pastor Bethlehem Presbyterian Church,
Minneapolis.

Equal suffrage seems to me to be the right and logical thing. If society continues to progress and to develop, the full right of citizenship for women is inevitable. We should not lose patience if there is opposition. There was equally solemn and apprehensive opposition when higher education for women was first advocated. Today many of the women opponents of equal suffrage are bringing to their work advanced education of which their ancestors tried to deprive them. If there is no reason why women should vote, there is no reason why men should.

W. A. FRISBIE,
Editor Daily News.

My first reason for believing in equal suffrage is, that since woman is as immediately and directly affected in making and enforcing laws as man is, there can be no just reason for depriving her of an equal voice in government.

MRS. EDGAR H. LOYHED,
Ex-President Minn. Federation of Women's Clubs.

Some who now have the power of the ballot have it simply because they are men, while some others, who do not have the right of franchise are qualified both as to intelligence and property ownership, are disqualified because they are women. I believe that the qualifications of the voters of this great republic should be raised and equal suffrage be granted to both men and women.

EDWARD JOHNSON,
Pastor St. Paul's Church.

Extract of a letter to Mrs. Eumund Pennington, President
Anti-Woman's Suffrage Association,
Minneapolis, Minnesota.

I have given very careful consideration to this amendment, and cannot see wherein any injustice could be done the states in granting political equality to the women of the country. I cannot concede that the women lack either intelligence or patriotism, and both intelligence and patriotism of the highest order should be brought to the support of our institutions on election day. The number of women allied with the movement on one side or the other does not affect the important consideration of duty. And inasmuch as the welfare of every home, both from an economic and moral viewpoint, is directly affected by legislation; the cost of living, as influenced by the cost of transportation and distribution of necessities, is a matter of law; the control of vice, including the saloons, is likewise a matter of law. It follows that every woman concerned in the public welfare and the preservation of homes, should be vitally and personally interested in legislation. Obviously, the only potent influence that anyone can have in legislation under our system of government is by the ballot.

JAMES MANAHAN.

Woman is part of all the life of the day. She should have part in all the authority of the day. The sole arbiter of affairs is the voter. Home and society are regulated and protected by the ballot. The true mother and wife senses the best interests of each. She should have the right of suffrage.

In every state and every city where woman has been trusted with the ballot she has disturbed the unrighteous and encouraged the struggling cause of truth. The proof is at hand that woman uses the ballot well. Our equals, our co-workers, our children bearers care much about saving the state. It is not for any man or group of men to say, "We will give woman the right to vote." The right to this privilege accompanies the relation she sustains to all the best institutions of our civilization. American women may ask for what is their own.

ALEXANDER C. STEVENS,
Pastor Trinity M. E. Church, St. Paul.

I have believed in woman suffrage for over forty years and I think it is slowly but surely coming.

(Written in 1903.) MARIA L. SANFORD.

The Declaration of Independence, which is the foundation upon which the superstructure of our government is built, declares that, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Either our forefathers erred in that declaration or our present government is unjust until women as well as men and on equal terms share both its privileges and its responsibilities. True, our forefathers might have erred, but the doctrine that the rights and privileges of government depend upon the accident of sex is grotesque. Its only basis is prejudice resting upon custom.

W. G. CALDERWOOD.

A woman should exercise all the functions of citizenship, including voting, on the same terms as men, so that her brain may develop along the lines of statecraft, in order that she may endow her sons and daughters with the attribute of statesmanship and patriotism.

MARY MCCOY, M. D.,
Duluth.

If you believe in democracy, you must believe in woman suffrage, for the essence of democracy is equality of opportunity. Woman should have her chance for expression and voice in politics as well as in making a living and in culture. Furthermore, equality of opportunity in the government of the great national family will help to free the sex-shackled mind that now limits woman's freedom of occupation.

Politics through its influence on economic conditions affects woman's opportunity for marriage and motherhood. War, liquor, unemployment, tariffs, education, regulation of business, economic evolution affect humanity regardless of sex. Even if every woman stayed at home, as home-maker she would need the ballot.

Intelligent participation in the people's business means a greater individual development, to which woman is entitled. Besides, the more men and women think together, the sooner shall we leave behind the double standard of morality, and the sooner shall a stronger, better race be reared in homes that can be called training schools of good citizenship.

DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN,
University of Minnesota.
President Minneapolis Men's League for Woman Suffrage.

There are many arguments in favor of woman's suffrage, but the one that seems most convincing to a public officer is that there is no just reason why a woman should not be permitted to vote if she wishes to do so.

A. O. EBERHART,
Ex-Governor of Minnesota.

I am heartily in favor of equal suffrage because it means intelligent and complete democracy. There are absolutely no rational grounds for the exclusion of anybody from the privilege of franchise on account of sex.

The enfranchisement of woman will not only help very greatly in the solution of all the problems which confront us, but will also guarantee to this greatest experiment in democratic government in the history of mankind, a successful and triumphant consummation.

ANDREW GILLIES,
Pastor Hennepin Ave. M. E. Church,
Minneapolis.

I favor the enfranchisement of women as a matter of justice. Woman is man's intellectual and moral equal, and in a democracy every woman who desires to exercise the political rights of a free citizen should be given the opportunity to do so.

I favor it as a matter of wise statesmanship. Woman's vote will be for good government, and for social and economic justice. Woman's sympathy with the oppressed and suffering, when given political expression, will be a great national asset.

RABBI S. N. DEINARD.

Woman's suffrage is needed for the protection of the home, the family and the nation. If woman is indispensable in the home, she is equally so in the larger household of the community and the state. There are wrongs to be righted, crooked ways to be made straight, where not her influence alone, but her vote is an absolute necessity for achievement.

MRS. T. H. DAHL,
Minneapolis.

To me, the whole question resolves itself into a matter of simple justice. Whatever emphasis we may lay upon the family,—and we can not emphasize it too strongly,—the fact remains that, before the law, woman stands as individual. Her husband can neither keep nor break the law for her. It is a personal matter. He is in no sense her representative. Since this is the case, justice requires, in my judgment, that she should have some voice in determining and administering the laws to which she is amenable and in shaping the institutions among which she is to live. Those laws and institutions are finally decided by the ballot. This is the gist of the whole matter. Whether woman will always use the ballot rightly or not, is another question. We have no more right to demand of her such assurance in advance, than we have to demand it of the young man when he comes of age, or of the foreigner when he is naturalized. The right to the ballot, and the right use of the ballot, are questions entirely distinct and different. The one is a matter of justice, the other of education. The one is a matter of fundamental right, the other of experiment and experience. For my own part, I do not expect too much of the suffrage for woman, as I have ceased to expect too

much of the suffrage for man. The hopes of its advocates will not be realized at once; the fears of its opponents will at last prove groundless. The best elements in our citizenship, both men and women, will at last work out the problems of this nation, not alone by the ballot, but by that intelligence and conscience which must use the ballot for the common good.

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The tendency of government in a republic is irresistibly toward widening, rather than contracting, the privilege of participation. The government of America now suffers from the lack of intelligent, informed, active interest among the present electors. It is a practical impossibility to eliminate the unworthy men voters. The need is upon us, then, to improve the situation by the only means in our power—the enfranchisement of any available citizens possessing large intelligence, interest, moral principle and patriotism. The only such citizenship not now admitted to the franchise is that of women.

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Much good has been accomplished through the influence of American womanhood. More will be accomplished when women are given the right to vote. The suffrage movement will not injure any institution that stands for the betterment of the community. On the other hand, it will be the means of eliminating many of the evil influences in our social, political and industrial life. If for no other reason than this the movement in favor of women's suffrage is worthy the earnest and enthusiastic support of all who believe in progress along sane, intelligent and Christian lines.

Dr. Frank A. Nelson,
Pres. Minnesota College

There are two reasons why I believe in equal suffrage for men and women. Under a government which recognizes the principle of democracy the exclusion of women from the franchise cannot be defended upon any basis of principle, but seems arbitrary and irrational. Secondly, a government whose wisdom and efficiency rests upon the character of the electorate needs the contribution which women can make in virtue of their special point of view, in order to prevent an otherwise unavoidable one-sidedness in the electorate. This consideration assumes a special importance today in view of the fact that our government is assuming an increasingly large responsibility for the social welfare of the community, thus as it were, invading the sphere of the home in a way which naturally calls for the co-operation of women.

DAVID F. SWENSON,
Prof. Philosophy University of Minn.

There was a time in the history of every nation when there was no suffrage, no democracy—when the people were in bondage; and it must be admitted that prior to the enfranchisement of women anywhere manhood suffrage in a nation of established free institutions marked the highest evolution then attained by the people from slavery toward liberty. Between slavery and such a democracy might be found all degrees of political subjection with corresponding degrees of liberty. Therefore every movement for a wider, more complete enfranchisement of the people, the vesting in the people of the power which in the days of slavery was held by some kind of absolute monarch, is clearly enough a movement toward liberty.

It is simply ridiculous to say that any people without this political power is a free people. It is equally absurd to say that where the women of a nation or state are disfranchised they are free in the same sense that enfranchised men are free. They are like the men when they were subjected to a government imposed by others. The status of women in such a state is one of inferior liberty and of inferior citizenship.

To me the most important consideration with respect to woman suffrage is this: It marks another forward movement in the evolution of women from slavery toward liberty, from complete subjection to men towards equality and the full dignity of citizenship.

ALFRED H. BRIGHT,
Vice President and General Solicitor of the Soo Line.

[1915]

S. 4257. Int. by Sen. Owen.
United States Elections Bill

A measure to secure to women the right to vote for United States Senators and Representatives by Congressional legislation endorsed by the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference and the National American Woman Suffrage Association in their conventions of 1915. In advocacy of it Miss Laura Clay, of Kentucky, said in substance:

A United States Elections Bill would be essentially like this in form:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled: That women who are citizens of the United States and possess the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislatures of the states wherein they reside, shall be eligible to register and vote in all states of the Union in all elections for members of the House of Representatives and for Senators of the United States.

The argument is that in the Preamble and Article I, Section 2, of the Federal Constitution there is sufficient evidence that the Constitution includes women as an organic component part of "the People" upon whom it confers the power to choose Representatives and Senators; and that Congress can protect women in this right by appropriate legislation as it can protect all other rights created by and dependent upon the Constitution.

The Preamble declares: We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

In the sentence: We, the People of the United States, in order * *
* to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and OUR POSTERITY, we find there is implied in "the People" a descriptive attribute which is explanatory of the intended application of the word. There is an unavoidable implication that it means a community possessing within itself the potentiality of producing posterity and continuing the existence of the nation, and therefore consisting of two sexes. This organic duality of sex is not similar to the fact that nations may and do consist of citizens of different races and colors. Whilst this is a fact, it is clearly not indispensable to the existence of a nation that its citizens should be thus diversified. Therefore, an argument that it required an amendment to the Constitution to insure the exercise of suffrage to the resident races in the United States does not controvert the contention that women's right to vote for Representatives in Congress (and since Amendment XVII, for Senators) may be enforced by simple Congressional legislation. The dependence for National existence upon

two sexes in "the People" has no parallel in races or colors. It cannot be supposed that this fundamental truth was not in the mind of the framers of the Constitution when they chose a phrase necessarily requiring two sexes.

This duality of sex, then, is a descriptive characteristic of "the People" designated and must be considered an essential element in its definition wherever the term is employed in the instrument.

This interpretation is so entirely according to reason and the nature of things that it would seem it is not needed to be proved. Yet controversy centers exactly around the question whether duality of sex shall be considered an organic and required diversity in "the People" when used in the Constitution or whether sex may be designated as a qualification on one side and a disability on the other for receiving powers conferred by the Constitution upon "the People."

The next time the term "the People" is used is in the first clause of Sec. 2, Art. I, providing for the election of the House of Representatives. Originally, the Constitution gave to the Legislatures of the States the power to provide for the election of Senators; but Amendment XVII gives the election of Senators to "the People," with provisions the same as those for electing Representatives, so that since its adoption this clause is equally applicable to both elections for the purposes of this contention.

The first clause of Sec. 2, Art. I, is: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the People of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures."

Because this clause adopts for United States electors for members of Congress the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures, and because many of the states limit the right to suffrage to *male* citizens, it is argued by opponents that sex can be made a qualification for electors for members of Congress. But the right of voting for United States Representatives and Senators is derived from the Federal Constitution and not from the states. The states in prescribing the qualifications of voters for their own most numerous branch of the legislature do not do this with reference to the electors for members of Congress. They define what persons are to vote for the popular branch of their own legislatures and the Constitution of the United States adopts merely the qualifications of those persons as the qualifications of its own electors for members of Congress. For it is evident that since duality of sex is an essential and descriptive characteristic of "the People" upon whom the Constitution confers the power of choosing members of Congress, the adoption by the Constitution of qualifications prescribed by the several states for their own state electors does not include an extension to the states of the power to alter the intent of the word "People" as the term is used in the Constitution and to limit to citizens of one sex a right which the Constitution gave to a "People" of two sexes which possesses the potentiality for continuing the existence of the nation.

As a matter of fact, most of the states, if not all of them, do not attempt to deny that duality of sex is necessary in the meaning of the word "People" when used in constitutions; nor do they expressly deny

the right of suffrage to women; but as it is obvious that women equally with men should possess certain qualifications, such as age, residence, etc., for voting, they avoid the issue of the right of women to vote by prescribing qualifications for male citizens only; and the female citizens are disfranchised by the negative process of not providing qualifications for them.

But in our contention it matters not even if state constitutions may by their phraseology make sex a qualification; their phraseology does not affect that of the Federal Constitution nor alter the meaning of the word "People" as used in it. Their definitions apply to state suffrage only, and not to Federal Suffrage as granted by the Federal Constitution. State constitutions may have to be amended to qualify women for state suffrage; the Federal Constitution does not require to be amended to qualify them to vote for United States Representatives and Senators. It only requires Congress to exercise its powers to provide by law for the protection of women citizens of the United States in a Federal right conferred upon them by the Federal Constitution. We ask that Congress shall afford women this protection by itself providing qualifications for women to vote for members of Congress by adopting for women as well as men the qualifications prescribed by the several states for the electors of their most numerous branch of the legislature, though some of the states apply those qualifications only to men.

The first clause of Amendment XIV gives definitions of citizenship of the United States and citizenship of a state which are very helpful to keep in mind, in discussing this bill. The clause says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside."

The Supreme Court in its *Cruikshank* decision has said: "We have in our political system a government of the United States and a government of the several states. Each one of these is distinct from the others, and has citizens of its own who owe it allegiance, and whose rights within its jurisdiction it must protect. The same person may be at the same time a citizen of the United States and a citizen of a state; but his rights of citizenship under one of these governments will be different from those he has under the other."

And further: "In the formation of a government the people may confer upon it such powers as they choose. The government when so formed may, and when called upon, should, exercise all the powers it has for the protection of the rights of its citizens and the people within its jurisdiction, but it can exercise no other."

It is evident from these definitions and comments that it is as citizens of the United States that we appeal to Congress and that we call upon it to exercise its powers for the protection of our rights as citizens of the United States and not as citizens of the several states. At one and the same time we make it clear that we are in no way interfering with any right of the states, and we refute the objection which has been so much urged that we should look for relief from our disabilities to vote only to the states, and not at all to the United States.

The fact that Congress has not exercised this power is neither an argument against its having the power nor a forfeiture of it. There

are many instances in Congressional history where Congress has not for many years exercised power belonging to it either through deference to state action or because there seemed to be no need of overruling state laws. Two instances may suffice as examples. One is, that up to 1842 some states elected Representatives in Congress by what was called a general ticket, that is each voter cast as many votes as his state was entitled to representatives. But chiefly because it was seen that this method gave undue representation to the party which had a majority in the state, however small, Congress passed a law requiring the division of the states into Congressional districts of contiguous territory, and that each voter could cast a vote for but one member; thus in a measure actually taking away a part of the suffrage the state had given a voter. We see remnants of this general ticket in elections directly after the taking of a new census, when the state has its representation increased, and before the state is re-districted. Again, up to 1872 each state appointed its own date for the election of Representatives and Presidential electors; but in 1872 Congress exercised its power for what it conceived to be a better plan and passed the law that these officers should be uniformly elected in all the states on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, the law going into effect in 1876. Most, if not all the states for their own convenience have adopted this day for their state elections; but the fact remains that on that day there is held a Federal election under Federal authority whenever one of these officers is elected. It would be in this Federal election that women would vote, if this Bill is passed. They could do so without disturbance of the present order, as is seen where women have partial suffrage, as in Kentucky, where the tickets for school elections, in which women vote, are printed on separate ballots, the women casting one ballot and the men two; or the school ballots may be printed for women only, while the men have other ballots with all the tickets on them.

This Bill does not interfere in the slightest degree with state or local government, and it does not give to the Federal Government any more power than it now possesses, which are the two things adverse to the doctrines of states rights.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Legislative—Congress—From Bill to Law.

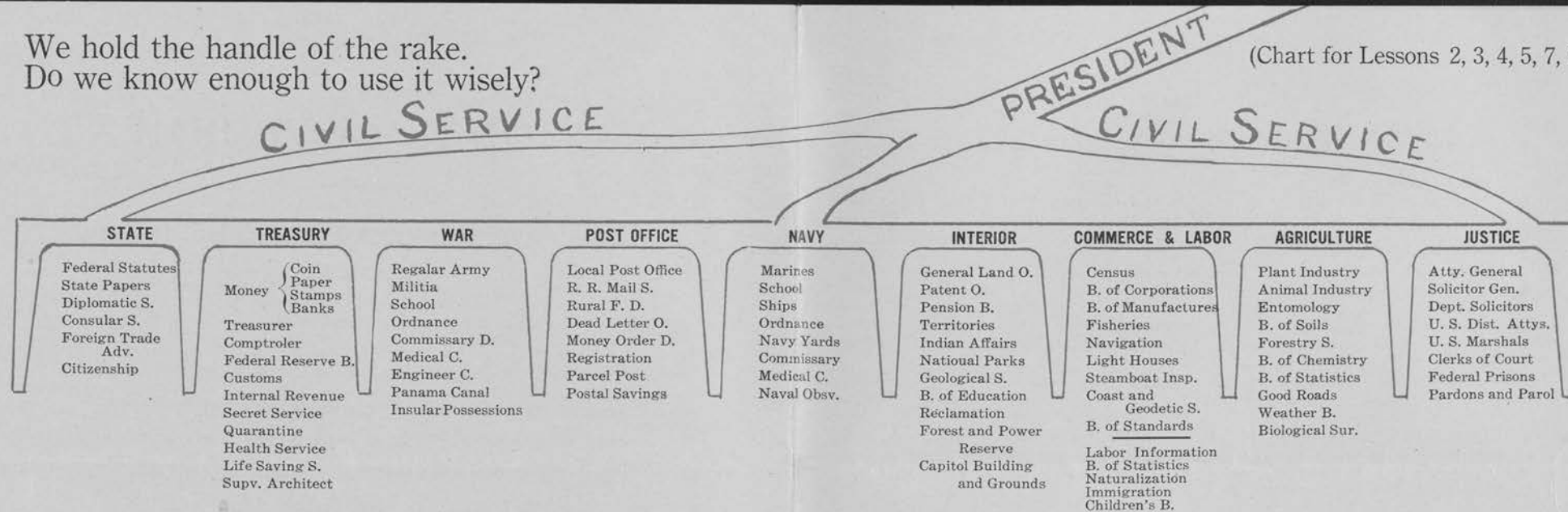
1. Placed in "Hopper" by member of House (or Senate).
2. Assigned to committee { public measures by speaker.
private ones marked by member.
3. Title and assignment read in session by clerk of House.
4. Recorded by journal clerk and others. (Now given to the papers.)
5. Printed (625 copies.)
6. Considered by committee { public hearings.
private committee meetings.
smother, amend, report.
7. Report received and placed on calendar { House.
union.
private.
unanimous consent.
8. Recorded again.
9. Printed again (1,000 copies).
10. Read in full by clerk and discussed by House { amend.
recommit.
table.
vote.
11. Recorded and printed again.
12. Clerk takes certified copy to Senate.
- 13 to 22. Nearly same steps in the Senate.
23. If Senate amends, discussion of amendment in House.
24. If amendment is not accepted, to conference committee.
25. Conference report voted on in House.
26. Conference report voted on in Senate.
27. Enrollment.
28. Signed by speaker of House.
29. Signed by the Vice-President.
30. Signed by the President.
- 31 and 32. If not signed by the President, a two-thirds vote in both House and Senate will pass it over his veto.

IT IS NOW A LAW.

(Chart for Lesson 1.)

We hold the handle of the rake.
Do we know enough to use it wisely?

(Chart for Lessons 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9)



OUR GOVERNMENT.

Our government deserves our closest attention and our best service. It is the method, the way, the tool with which we can, each one of us, work for the good of all, which is above and includes the good of each one of us. Every service one gives to the community or to the nation reflects back a good to one's own life.

Government is simply the plan and rules under which we live together. Since we cannot be Robinson Crusoes this plan and rules are of the utmost importance to us. The more we study them and improve them to serve our needs, the better for all of us. We cannot afford to leave this work to chance, or to the man with an ax to grind. We must do it ourselves. We cannot afford to depend for our information on self-interested newspapers and politicians nor to wait till a political campaign. We need to do this studying in the quiet of our homes and to get our information from reliable, disinterested sources.

Again, after the plan and the rules, comes the officials, the tools by which we carry out the plan and rules. We must use our knowledge in selecting and using our officials. We must select an official intelligently, not because he is a friend or we like him, but because he can give just the service we want. The people who elect an official should understand what to expect of him and be interested enough in his work to give him the active support he needs. Only thus can he do his best.

We do this through public utterances, collectively called public opinion. Each one of us counts in this, for it includes not only newspapers and magazines of all sorts, but resolutions, petitions, letters, telegrams, etc., published and sent to the right officials, as well as all sermons and speeches, big and little. Even silence enters into the sum of public opinion, but on the wrong side.

Women fail to use their power, partly from lack of information, and partly from failure to realize their responsibility. The man with the ax to grind, the rum seller, the grafter, always speak loudly for their rights and privileges. Shall not we learn the principles, the policies and the general details of our government and raise an intelligent and insistent voice for those things that are for the good of all? As Christian women? Shall we not strive to bring the kingdom of heaven into the affairs of our government? Is it not a service to fire the hearts and minds of all true womanhood?

Our government is constantly changing and this leaflet is but an imperfect, incomplete beginning, suited to the needs of beginners. It is hoped, however, that it may prove an inspiration to a life-long study and service.

Haskin's American Government is chosen for a basis because it is easy,

pleasant reading. Use also the World Almanac and the Encyclopedia of American Government and other up-to-date books found in all libraries. School text books are usually out of date.

LESSONS IN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(Basis, "Haskin's American Government.") *

1. Legislative:—Congress—
 - a—The Senate, how organized, officers, session, committees, rules. Members, how elected, term, salary, duties, etc. What powers, when legislative, when executive, when judicial.
 - b—The House, the same details.
 - c—How congress legislates (chart 1), order of business, quorum, budget, appropriation bills, committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Calendar Wednesday, speaker's power, discharge of a committee, unanimous consent, filibuster, the four calendars.
2. The Executive—
 - a—The President, how elected, term, salary, duties, etc. What duties legislative?
 - b—His cabinet, number (10), how chosen, term, salary, duties, etc.
 - c—Appointive power, civil service, classified service, patronage, political activity, civil service commission, examinations and boards of examiners.
3. Executive continued:—
 - a—The State department, ambassadors, ministers, consuls, etc. Trade advisers and other officials, how chosen, term, salary, duties, etc. Diplomacy, other activities and location of different branches of service.
 - b—The Treasury, the same details as above. (See chart 2).
4. Executive continued:—
 - a—War department, its various officials and work of its bureaus with details as in lesson 3.
 - b—When and how added, form of government and other particulars as to the Panama canal, insular and other possessions.
5. Executive continued:—
 - a—Post office, its various officials and bureaus. Details as in lesson 3.
 - b—The Navy, its officials and bureaus. Details as above.

* Found in any book store. Price \$1.00.

6. Executive continued:—
 - a—Department of the Interior, its officials and bureaus, with details as in previous lessons.
7. Executive continued:—
 - a—Department of Commerce, its officials and bureaus, with details as in previous lessons.
 - b—Department of Labor (now the 10th), its officials and bureaus, with details as the others.
8. Executive continued:—Independent activities.
 - a—Smithsonian Institute, its various activities.
 - b—Printing Bureau, its various activities.
 - c—Library of Congress, its various activities.
 - d—Interstate Commerce Commission, its various activities.
 - e—Alaskan Railroad Commission.
 - f—Commission on Industrial Relations (get their reports).
 - g—Perhaps others.
9. Executive continued:—
 - a—Department of Agriculture, its officials and bureaus, with details as in previous lessons.
 - b—Department of Justice, its officials and various activities, with details as in other lessons.
10. Judicial—
 - a—Federal courts—district courts, courts of appeals, supreme court, court of claims, court of customs appeals, (the commerce court is abolished). The following details for each court: where held, how organized, sessions, juries, judges, and other officials, how chosen, term, salary, duties, etc. Suits, injunctions, opinions, decisions, kinds and for whom.
 - b—The Constitution—when written, by whom, its parts, its amendments. Difference between Federal statutes and the Constitution.

NEEDLEWORK AND GOVERNMENT.

1. Parlor meetings every two weeks.
2. Hostess invite 25 outside union as guests.
3. Invite everybody to bring plain sewing or fancy work.
4. Begin at 2:30, opening service (hymn, scripture, prayer); 2:45, business; 3:05, lesson in government; 3:35, extra business or other departments of work; close at 4:00. Social hour before and after program.
5. Have time-keeper who will give one minute warning and stop each number on schedule time.
6. Keep record of attendance and answer roll call with temperance items from the papers.
7. At close of each lesson divide the next one to two or more women to look up and give in short talks (see course and chart). *Encourage everyone to read the papers for items about our government to give in class.
8. At beginning of lesson give each one this leaflet and review by question and answer from the charts for three minutes. (Let each one pay three cents for this leaflet but take them up at the close of the lesson.) Discussion and quiz at proper times.
9. Graduate all who attended every lesson and also all who read the book through (Haskin's American Government). This gives a credit to the busy woman.
10. Put on the Honor Roll all who stand over 60 per cent in the test. This gives an extra credit to the student.
11. Make a great event of graduation. Send for instructions as to test and program.
12. Report all work to this department.

* If this plan is not possible, read the book through chapter by chapter, stopping at the end of each subject for discussion and additional information.

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[1915]

Woman Suffrage and Prohibition

BY DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

Wyoming

women were enfranchised in 1869; a law was passed in 1895 prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to persons under 16, and 90 per cent of the state is now dry territory.

Colorado

women were enfranchised in 1893. State-wide prohibition obtained in 1914.

Idaho

women were enfranchised in 1896; statutory prohibition secured in 1915; constitutional prohibition to be voted on November, 1916.

Utah

women received full suffrage in 1896. Ninety per cent of the state is dry.

Washington

granted woman suffrage in 1910. State-wide prohibition enacted in 1914.

California

granted woman suffrage in 1911. Eighteen counties outside of incorporated cities entirely dry; only ten entirely wet. State-wide prohibition to be voted on November, 1916.

Kansas

for thirty-five years a prohibition state. Full suffrage granted to women in 1912.

Oregon

women enfranchised in 1912. State-wide prohibition adopted in 1914.

Arizona

women enfranchised in 1912. State-wide prohibition adopted in 1914.

Illinois

women granted partial suffrage in 1913; fifty-three dry counties.

Montana and Nevada

granted woman suffrage in 1914. Both states working for state-wide prohibition.

Alaska

granted woman suffrage in 1913. Working for territorial prohibition.

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Department of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar Street, Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U. Publishing House, Evanston, Illinois.

Price 2 cents each; per 50, 10 cents;
per 100, 15 cents

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

By

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Revised 1915

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Publishers for the

National American Woman Suffrage Association

505 Fifth Avenue

New York

Objections Answered

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Why Should Women Vote?

THE reasons why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote—the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. It is fair and right that the people who must obey the laws should have a voice in choosing the law-makers, and that those who must pay the taxes should have a voice as to the amount of the tax, and the way in which the money shall be spent.

Roughly stated, the fundamental principle of a republic is this: In deciding what is to be done, we take everybody's opinion, and then go according to the wish of the majority. As we cannot suit everybody, we do what will suit the greatest number. That seems to be, on the whole, the fairest way. A vote is simply a written expression of opinion.

In thus taking a vote to get at the wish of the majority, certain classes of persons are passed over, whose opinions for one reason or another are thought not to be worth counting. In most of our states,

these classes are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and women. There are good and obvious reasons for making all these exceptions but the last. Of course no account ought to be taken of the opinions of children, insane persons, or criminals. Is there any equally good reason why no account should be taken of the opinions of women? Let us consider the reasons commonly given, and see if they are sound.

Are Women Represented?

Women are represented already by their husbands, fathers and brothers.

This so-called representation bears no proportion to numbers. Here is a man who has a wife, widowed mother, four or five unmarried sisters, and half a dozen unmarried daughters. His vote represents himself and all these women, and it counts one; while the vote of his bachelor neighbor next door, without a female relative in the world, counts for just as much. Since the object of taking a vote is to get at the wish of the majority, it is clear that the only fair and accurate way is for each grown person to have one vote, and cast it to represent himself or herself.

American men are the best in the world, and if it were possible for any men to

represent women, through kindness and good will to them, American men would do it. But a man is by nature too different from a woman to be able to represent her. The two creatures are unlike. Whatever his good will, he cannot fully put himself in a woman's place, and look at things exactly from her point of view. To say this is no more a reflection upon his mental or moral ability than it would be a reflection upon his musical ability to say that he cannot sing both soprano and bass. Unless men and women should ever become alike (which would be regrettable and monotonous), women must either go unrepresented or represent themselves.

Another proof that women's opinions are not now fully represented is the lack in many states of humane and protective legislation and the poor enforcement of such legislation where it exists; the inadequate appropriations for schools; the permission of child labor in factories; and in general the imperfect legal safe-guarding of the moral, educational and humanitarian interests that women have most at heart. In many of our states, the property laws are more or less unequal as between men and women. A hundred years ago, before the equal rights movement began, they were almost incredibly unequal. Yet our grandfathers loved their wives and daughters as much as men do to-day.

Is "Influence" Enough?

If the laws are unjust, they can be corrected by women's indirect influence.

Yes, but the indirect method is needlessly long and hard. If women were forbidden to use the direct route by rail across the continent and complained of the injustice it would be no answer to tell them that it is possible to get from New York to San Francisco by going around Cape Horn.

The slowness with which some of the worst inequalities in the laws are corrected shows the unsatisfactoriness of the indirect way. In most states, a married mother has literally no legal rights over her own children, so long as she and her husband live together. Here is a case which actually happened, and which might happen to-day, in most of the states of the Union: A Chinaman had married a respectable Irish woman. When their first baby was three days old, the husband gave it to his brother to be taken to China and brought up there. The mother, through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, appealed to the courts. But the judge promptly decided that the husband was within his rights. He was the sole legal owner of the baby; he had the sole legal right to say what should be done with it. For more

than half a century, the suffragists of the United States have been trying to secure legislation making the father and mother joint guardians of their children by law, as they are by nature; but thus far the equal guardianship law has been obtained in only a minority of the states. Massachusetts got it in 1902, after 55 years of effort by Massachusetts women. In Colorado and in California, after women were given the right to vote, the very next Legislature passed an equal guardianship law.

In Massachusetts, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Relief Corps, the State W. C. T. U., the Children's Friend Society and 65 other associations united in asking for the bill. The only society of women that has ever ranged itself definitely on the wrong side of this question is the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women." It circulated for years, under its official imprint, a leaflet in defense of the old law which gave the husband the sole control of the children.

In Massachusetts, in 1902, the laws of inheritance between husband and wife were made equal; but it had taken more than half a century of work to secure this self-evidently just measure. The experience in many other states has been similar. The roundabout way is almost always long and slow.

The Ignorant Vote

It would double the ignorant vote.

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys — some of them twice and three times as many. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education.

The Foreign Vote

It would double the foreign vote.

Less than one-third of the immigrants coming to this country are women. According to the latest census, there are in the United States nearly three times as many native-born women as all the foreign-born men and foreign-born women put together.

The foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are often very valuable citizens. On the other hand, the ignorant foreign immigrants who come here are fully imbued, both men and women, with all the Old World ideas as

to the inferiority and subjection of women. It is not until they have become pretty thoroughly Americanized that they can tolerate the idea of women's voting. The husbands are not willing that their wives should vote, and the wives ridicule the suggestion. Experience shows that until they have become Americanized, the foreign women will not vote. And, after they have become Americanized, why should they not vote, as well as anyone else?

The Criminal Vote

To the vote of every criminal man, you would add the vote of a criminal woman.

The vicious and criminal class is comparatively small among women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offences, women constitute only five and one-half per cent of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. This is a matter not of conjecture but of statistics.

The Bad Women's Vote

The bad women would outvote the good ones.

In America the bad women are so few, compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120."

The late Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, at one time President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and also of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, wrote:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, name or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren, of Wyoming, sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

Don't Understand Business

A municipality is a great business corporation. Men, by the nature of their occupations, know more about business than women, and hence are better fitted to run a city or a state.

Women have a vote in every other corporation in which they are shareholders. George William Curtis said: "A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other; but, if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for."

Moreover, it is not true that a man's experience in his own business teaches him how to carry on the business of a city. Some years ago, a fashionable caterer was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, and was appointed a member of the committee on filling up the South Boston flats. Another member said to him scornfully, "What do you know about filling up flats, anyway?" The caterer answered quietly, "That has been my business for twenty years." The answer was good, as a joke; but as a matter of fact, what had his experience of planning dinners taught him about the way to turn tide-mud into solid

ground? What does the butcher learn from his business about the best way to pave a street, or the baker about the best way to build a sewer, or the candle-stick maker about the best way to lay out a park, or to choose school teachers or policemen, or to run a city hospital? Does a minister learn from his profession how to keep the streets clean, or a lawyer how to conduct a public school, or a doctor how to put out a fire? A man's business, at best, gives him special knowledge only in regard to one or two departments of city affairs. Women's business, as mothers and housekeepers, also gives them special knowledge in regard to some important departments of public work, those relating to children, schools, playgrounds, the protection of the weak and young, morals, the care of the poor, etc. For what lies outside the scope of their own experience, men and women alike must rely upon experts. All they need, as voters, is sense enough and conscience enough to elect honest and capable persons to have charge of these things.

Division of Labor

The growth of civilization is marked by an increasing specialization and division of labor. Woman suffrage would therefore be a step backward.

The growth of civilization increases the division of labor as between individuals, but lessens it as between the sexes. One woman no longer spins and weaves and manufactures the clothing for the men of her family, at the same time carrying on all the housework and in addition making butter, cheese and candles, as our great-grandmothers did. This work is now subdivided among a number of specialists. On the other hand, in the old times women were excluded from almost all the occupations of men. Housework and sewing were practically the only ways open to them to earn a living. To-day, out of more than 300 trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four.

But this objection about the sub-division of labor is really irrelevant. Voting is not labor in the sense of a trade or a profession. The tendency of civilization has been to a greater and greater specialization of labor, but not to a closer and closer restriction of the suffrage. On the contrary, that has been steadily extended. The best results are found, not where public affairs are left in the hands of a small class of "professional politicians," but where the largest proportion of the people take a keen interest and an active part in their own government.

Would Lose Their Influence

Women would lose their influence.

What gives a woman influence? Beauty, goodness, tact, talent, pleasant manners, money, social position, etc. A woman who has any of these means of influence now would still have them if she had a vote and she would have this other potent means of influence besides. There is a story of a prisoner who had been shut up for many years in a dungeon, getting sunlight only through a chink in the wall. He grew much attached to that chink. At last his friends came and offered to tear down the wall. His mind had become weakened and he begged them not to do it. If they destroyed the wall, he said, they would also destroy the chink through which he got his sunlight, and he would be left in total darkness. If he had had his wits he would have seen that he would have all the sunlight he had before, and a great deal more besides. A woman after enfranchisement would have all the personal influence she has now, and political influence in addition. One thing is certain. Every vicious interest in this country, to which women are hostile, would rather continue to contend with women's "indirect influence" than try to cope with women's vote.

Cease to Be Respected

Women would cease to be respected.

Jane Addams and other prominent Chicago women testify to the marked increase of respect that came to the women of Illinois with the granting of the ballot.

Dr. Margaret Long of Denver, daughter of the former Secretary of the Navy, writes: "It seems to me impossible that anyone can live in Colorado long enough to get into touch with the life here, and not realize that women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment."

The late Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, wrote: "Under equal suffrage there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens."

Mrs. K. A. Shepard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, says: "Since women have become electors, their views have become important and command respect. Men listen to and are influenced by the opinions of women to a far greater degree than formerly. A young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that

must be kept within a prescribed sphere, but as a human being, clothed with the dignity of all those rights and powers which he hopes to enjoy within a few years. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened and measured by truer standards is in itself an incalculable benefit."

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

* Woman's Journal, Feb. 13, 1904.

Would Make Women Partisans

Women can do more good now than if they had a vote, because now they are non-partisan. If they became voters, their non-partisan influence would be lost.

Women continue to be non-partisan after they have the ballot, and it gives them more power to secure the good things which the women of all parties want.

Prof. Henry E. Kelly, formerly of the Iowa State University, now practicing law in Denver, says in an open letter to State Senator A. H. Gale, of Iowa, that he went to Colorado opposed to equal suffrage, but has been converted by what he has seen of it. Prof. Kelly adds:

"Experience clearly shows that women's interest cannot be aroused in mere partisan strife. Their interests center around questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries—and such subjects as more intimately affect home life, and conduce to the prosperity of the family. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble of partisan warfare for office, but women will not see them obscured by anything."

Ellis Meredith, of Denver, writes:

"There has never been a party measure

espoused by women in the Colorado Legislature. The women of all parties want the same things, and have worked for them together, in perfect harmony. They wanted a pure-food law, and secured one from their Legislature, in line with the national legislation. They wanted civil service reform, and have obtained that, so far as the officers of the state institutions are concerned. In a recent Legislature, an attempt was made to take the control of the State Bureau of Child and Animal Protection away from the Colorado Humane Society, and to create a political board. Every federated woman's club in the state besieged its senators and representatives to vote against the bill, and the vice-chairmen of the state central committees of the two chief political parties (both of them women) went together to different members of the Legislature to enter their protest. Men understand that in legislative matters when they oppose the women, they are opposing practically all the women, and the great independent vote of the state."*

Opposition of Women

Women in large numbers are organizing against suffrage. The majority are opposed to it and the majority ought to rule.

The organized opposition among women

* Woman's Journal, Aug. 21, 1907.

to suffrage is very small compared with the organized movement of women in its favor. Out of forty-eight states only 22 have anti-suffrage organizations of any kind. There are suffrage associations in 47.

In New York, at the time of the last constitutional convention, the suffragists secured more than 300,000 signatures to their petitions; the anti-suffragists, only 15,000. In Chicago, 104 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 10,000 women, petitioned for a woman suffrage clause in the city charter, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. In Maine, in Iowa, in short, in every state where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them 50 or 100 to one. On the only occasion when the government took an official referendum among women on the subject (in Massachusetts, in 1895), the women's vote was in favor of suffrage more than 25 to one. Less than one-sixth of one per cent. of the women in the State voted against it.

Julia Ward Howe said: "Most women are as yet indifferent on the suffrage question; but, of those who take any lively interest in it either way, the great majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated

wherever the matter has been brought to a test."*

Every constitutional amendment that has ever been carried in New York or Massachusetts would have been set down as defeated if all the men too indifferent to vote upon it either way had been counted as opposed. In New York, a successful amendment seldom gets more than 25 per cent of the popular vote. The remaining 75 per cent are "either indifferent or opposed," but, if less than 25 per cent are actually opposed, the amendment is carried.

In Massachusetts the Anti-Suffrage Association has been collecting signatures of women against suffrage since 1895, and in 19 years it has not succeeded in getting the names of 3 per cent of the women of the State. In the country at large, despite urgent and widely published appeals from the Antis, only about one per cent of the women have ever expressed any objection to suffrage. Why should the one per cent who protest claim to carry any more weight than the 99 per cent who either want the ballot or do not object to it?

Already Over-Burdened

Women are already over-burdened. A woman would not have time to perform her political duties without neglecting higher duties.

* Woman's Journal, Aug. 1, 1908.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer wrote:

"How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do class, and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interests be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently and will give and receive more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now. The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what only women can do—and what, failed in, undermines society and government—no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valu-

able members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine; they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and higher duties."*

Women and Office-Holding

If women vote, they must hold office.

When we say that women would be eligible to hold office, what do we mean? Simply that if a majority of the people in any place would rather have a woman to hold a certain position than any one else, and if she is willing to serve, they shall be allowed to elect her. Women are serving as officials already; some of the women most prominent in opposing equal suffrage have been holders of public office. The late president of the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women" (Mrs. J. Elliot Cabot) was for years a member of the school board of Brookline, and also Overseer of the Poor. Yet that association, in its published documents, objects to equal suffrage on the ground that "suffrage involves the holding of office, and office-holding is incompatible with the duties of most women." Suffrage does not involve office-holding by the majority of women, but only by a few; and

* Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered by College Women.

there are always some women of character and ability who could give the necessary time. Women, as a class, have more leisure than men.

In the enfranchised states there has been no rush of women into office, and the offices that women do hold are mainly educational and charitable.

Ballots and Bullets

If women vote, they ought to fight and do police duty.

If no men were allowed to vote except those who were able and willing to do military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred for that reason. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight. All men over forty-five are exempt from military service, yet they vote. Col. T. W. Higginson says: "It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544.*"

* Medical statistics of the Provost General's Bureau quoted by Col. T. W. Higginson in "Common Sense About Women," page 365.

"Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, although not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended."

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

Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the State all its soldiers." This ought in all fairness be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render. As Lady Henry Somerset says, "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms."

Can Laws Be Enforced?

Laws could not be enforced unless the majority of legal voters represented the majority of possible fighters.

But thousands of male non-combatants are already admitted to the ballot box, and there is no certainty at any election that the majority of voters represent a majority of possible fighters. No trouble of this kind has resulted from equal suffrage in practice. The laws are as well enforced in the enfranchised states as in adjoining states where women have no vote.

Where women have school suffrage their votes occasionally turn the scale, but there is never any attempt to install the defeated candidates by force. Where women have the full ballot they have often defeated bad candidates for higher offices, but no riotous uprising has ever followed. This particular objection is a libel on our American manhood.

Will It Increase Divorce?

It will lead to family quarrels and increase divorce.

Full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming in 1869. During the twenty years from 1870 to 1890, divorce in the United States at large increased about three times as fast as the population. In the group of western states, omitting Wyoming, it has increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about half as fast as the popu-

lation. "An ounce of experiment is worth a ton of theory."

Rev. Francis Miner Moody, Secretary of the California Commission working to secure a uniform divorce law throughout the United States, published in the *Woman Voter* of February, 1913, an article showing by actual statistics that every state which has had equal suffrage for a considerable number of years has declined markedly in its divorce rate as compared with the rest of the country. He points out that in Colorado the drop was so great as to be "astounding."

Just before Colorado granted equal suffrage, in 1891 and 1892, its average number of divorces per year was 937. For three years immediately following the bestowal of equal suffrage—1894, 1895 and 1896—the average number of divorces per year was only 517.

A father sometimes turns his son out of doors for voting the wrong ticket, but among American men this is rare. Where such a case does arise, it is to be met by educating the domestic despot, not by disfranchising all the members of the family but one. A couple who are sensible and good-tempered will not quarrel if they are once in a while unable to think alike about politics. A couple who are not sensible and good-tempered are sure to quarrel anyway

—if not about politics, then about something else.

The Question of Chivalry

It will destroy chivalry.

Justice would be worth more to women than chivalry, if they could not have both. A working girl put the case in a nutshell when she said: "I would gladly stand for twenty minutes in the street car going home if by doing so I could get the same pay that a man would have had for doing my day's work." But women do not have to stand in the street cars half as often in Denver as in Boston or in New York. Justice and chivalry are not in the least incompatible. Women have more freedom and equality in America than in Europe, yet American men are the most chivalrous in the world.

Known by Its Enemies

It would increase the corruption of politics.

Those who thrive upon the corruption of politics do not think so. The ignorant, vicious and criminal vote is always cast solidly against equal rights for women.

Too Emotional

Women are too emotional and sentimental to be trusted with the ballot.

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs, read a paper, in which she said:

"You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment.

"Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? Is it shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like the death-trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do not men like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did, but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friend, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The

sense of honor is pure sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable, or a vote a non-salable commodity.

"Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply."

What Is the Unit?

The political unit is the family.

The childless widower, the unmarried boy of 21, and the confirmed old bachelor of 90 have votes; the widow with minor children has none. Under our laws the political unit is not the family, but the male individual. The unequal number of grown persons in different families would make it impossible to treat the family as the political unit.

Women's Small School Vote

The smallness of women's school vote shows that they would not use the full ballot.

The size of men's vote is just in proportion to the size of the election. At presidential elections it is very large, at state elections much smaller, at a municipal election smaller still, and at school elections, wherever these are held separately, only a fraction of the men turn out to vote. The smallness of the woman's school vote is re-

grettable, but it is only a new proof of the truth of Mrs. Poyser's immortal saying: "I am not denying that women are foolish; God Almighty made them to match the men!"

In Kansas women were given school suffrage in 1861. Their vote was small. In 1887 they were given municipal suffrage. Their vote at once became much larger, and has increased at successive elections. In 1912 they were given the full ballot, and their vote increased much more.

In Colorado women were given school suffrage in 1876. Their vote was small. In 1893 they were given the full ballot, and on January 31, 1899, the Colorado Legislature declared, by a practically unanimous vote of both Houses, that "during this time (the preceding five years) women have exercised the privilege as generally as men."

In the states of Oregon and Washington, women had the school ballot for many years, and their vote was small. Now that they have gained full suffrage it has become large.

The women's school vote has completely disproved the fear that the bad women would be the first to rush to the polls. In answer to the prediction that the best women will not vote, Col. Higginson says:* "In Massachusetts, under school suffrage, the

* The Nonsense of It, by T. W. Higginson.

complaint has been that **only** the best women vote."

Will Women Vote?

Women will not vote, or will cease to vote after the novelty has worn off.

Women to-day have the right to vote in many different parts of the civilized world. They not only have it, but use it.

In the presidential election of 1912 there were 24,773,583 men over 21 years of age in the non-suffrage states of the Union. Of these, 13,521,899 voted, or 54.5 per cent. In the six suffrage states, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington and California—the only states where women could vote for President in 1912—there were 3,253,443 men and women over 21 years of age. Of these 1,514,643 voted, or 46.6 per cent. Between the proportion of men voting in the male suffrage states and the proportion of all adults voting in the equal suffrage states there was a difference of less than 8 per cent. Either the women voted almost as generally as the men, or the men in the suffrage states voted much more generally than the men in the non-suffrage states. There is no escape from this conclusion. The figures are taken from wholly impartial sources—the United States census and the New York World Almanac.

A committee of Southern California women had the statistics of the men's and women's vote compiled in the offices of the city and county clerks from the official records in many cities and towns. As the vote of men and women is not tabulated separately, it was necessary to make a count of the entire vote from the roster. In case of any doubt about signatures, the benefit was given to the men. Thus if a voter was entered as J. Smith, it was assumed that J. stood for John and not for Jane. The result of the investigation is published in the *Woman's Bulletin* of Monrovia, California, for December, 1913. Men outnumber women in California, and the publishers of the report state that where the women voters equal 80 per cent of the men it indicates about the same degree of interest.

In Los Angeles, the vote stood, men, 52,731; women, 37,100; in San Diego, men, 9,961; women, 6,017; in Santa Ana, men, 2,144; women, 1,394; Redondo Beach, men, 590; women, 376; Berkeley, men, 4,874; women, 3,702; San Buena Ventura, men, 801; women, 587; Sierra Madre, men, 219; women 175; Pasadena, men, 5,872; women, 5,202; South Pasadena, men, 994; women, 922; Santa Monica, men, 1,511; women, 1,134; San Gabriel, men, 238; women, 151; Santa Barbara, men, 2,404; women, 1,999. It is clear that women cast a substantial vote.

The committee of women who sent out this report include the President of the College Equal Suffrage League, the President of the California Woman's Democratic League, a special agent of the State Bureau of Labor, a member of the State Immigration Committee, and others whose official position gives weight to their words.

In Wyoming women have had full suffrage since 1869. The Wyoming Secretary of State, in a letter to Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, of Boston, says that 90 per cent of them vote.*

The Colorado Secretary of State, in a letter to Mrs. Charles Park, of Boston, says that 80 per cent of Colorado women register, and about 72 per cent vote.†

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

In Australia, in the first elections after the women were enfranchised, which took place in 1903, 359,315 women voted; in 1906, 431,033; and in 1910, 601,946.

When woman suffrage was granted in New Zealand in 1893, the estimated number of women in the country was 139,915. Of these, 109,461 registered to vote; and

* *Woman's Journal*, May 6, 1905.

† *Woman's Journal*, Aug. 20, 1908.

the number of women voting has increased at each triennial Parliamentary election since. In 1893, 90,290 women voted; in 1896, 108,783; in 1899, 119,550; in 1902, 138,565; in 1905, 175,046; in 1908, 190,114. (New Zealand Year Book.) Mrs. K. A. Shepard, president of the New Zealand Council of Women, writes that in the elections of 1911, 221,858 women voted.

The majority of the women had never asked for suffrage in any of these places.

A Growing Cause

Opposition to woman suffrage is growing.

In Colorado, when woman suffrage was submitted the first time, it was defeated; the second time, it was carried by a majority of 6,387. In 1901, after the women had been voting for eight years, the matter was virtually resubmitted to the people and passed by a majority of 17,000.

In Kansas, the first time it was submitted it got only 9,100 votes; the second time it got 95,302; the third time it got 175,376, and carried.

In the State of Washington, the first time, the majority against it was 19,386; the second time it was only 9,882, and it was finally carried in 1910 by a majority of 22,623.

In California, in 1895, the vote stood

110,355 for and 137,099 against—an adverse majority of 26,744. In 1911, the amendment carried by a majority of 3,587.

In 1912, three states of the Union, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon, gave suffrage to women, a larger number than ever did so in one year before. In 1913, Illinois and Alaska followed suit, and in 1914 Nevada and Montana did likewise.

The Test of Experiment

It works badly in practice.

Women in this country now have the full ballot in Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada and Montana and in the territory of Alaska, while in Illinois they can vote for all municipal officers, some county and some state officers and Presidential electors. Abroad, they have full Parliamentary suffrage in New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Iceland, and Norway; while in the Isle of Man and in Bosnia, women property owners can vote for members of the local Parliament. They have municipal suffrage throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, nine of the provinces of Canada, Sweden and Denmark, and even in Burma and some parts of India. In some of these countries they have had it for generations.

In all these places put together, the opponents thus far have not found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results.

This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that active anti-suffrage associations in New York and Massachusetts have been for years diligently gathering all the adverse testimony they could find.

Miss Annie Bock of California Worked for Suffrage, but Now Says She Would Be Glad to See It Repealed.

Miss Bock is the only suffragist in California who has announced this change of mind, and she has adopted reactionary views all along the line. In her address at the Congressional hearing in December, 1913, she denounced not only woman suffrage, but the peace movement, workmen's compensation, teachers' pensions and the use of school houses for civic centres, declaring that all these things merely played into the hands of Socialism; and she asserted that settlement work and welfare work were "either a fad or graft." Miss Bock, therefore, is not a person whose judgment should carry much weight.

A vast number of people in California who were formerly opposed to suffrage now favor it. The suffrage amendment in 1911

carried only by a small majority. An initiative petition was started to repeal it at the election of November, 1912. There were more than 1,500,000 men and women of voting age in California, yet it was found impossible to secure the 32,000 signatures needed to resubmit the question.

Mrs. Anna Kelley, of Colorado, in a Recent Interview Says That Woman Suffrage Has Worked Badly.

In the *Denver Post* of November 23, 1913, Mrs. Kelley disclaimed the alleged interview, and said her remarks had been "greatly misrepresented."

On the other hand, scores of the most highly esteemed men and women in the equal suffrage states testify that the results are good.

In Wyoming women have had the full ballot for nearly half a century. For the last 25 years, the advocates of equal suffrage have had a standing challenge, inviting its opponents to find, in all Wyoming, two respectable men who will assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results whatever. The opponents have thus far failed to respond.

Doubling the Vote

It would only double the vote without changing the result.

If letting women sing in church merely doubled the volume of sound, it would still be a good thing, because it would double the number of persons who had the lung exercise and the inspiration of joining in a good hymn and it would make the chorus stronger. If equal suffrage merely doubled the number of votes it would still do good, because to take an interest in public affairs would give women mental stimulus and greater breadth of view; and it would also bring to bear on public problems the minds of an increased number of intelligent and patriotic citizens. But the great advantage of women in music is that they add the soprano and alto to the tenor and bass. If women were exactly like men, equal suffrage would merely double the vote. But women are different from men; and women's voices in the State, like women's voices in the choir, would be the introduction of a new element. This is recognized even by opponents, when they express the fear that equal suffrage would lead to "sentimental legislation."

Men are superior to women along certain lines, and women superior to men along certain others. The points of weakness in American politics at present are precisely the points where women are strong. There is no lack in our politics of business ability, executive talent, or "smartness" of any kind. There is a dangerous lack of con-

science and humanity. The business interests, which appeal more especially to men, are well and shrewdly looked after; the moral and humanitarian interests, which appeal more especially to women, are apt to be neglected.

Not a Natural Right

Suffrage is not a natural right.

It is hard to define just what a "natural right" is. Dr. James Freeman Clarke said: "If all women were forbidden to use the sidewalk, and they complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it was not a natural or inherent right, but one given by society, and which society might therefore control as it saw fit. A great many rights are given by society, of which, however, it would be manifestly unjust to deprive either sex."

Too Many Voters

We have too many voters already.

This only means that we have too many voters of the wrong kind. If to increase the number of voters were an evil in itself, every woman who becomes the mother of half a dozen sons would have done harm to her country. But if all six grow up to be good voters she has conferred a benefit

on her country. So she has, if five of them become good voters, and only one a bad voter. Woman suffrage would bring in at least five good voters to one bad one.

It is often said that we have too many immigrants. We mean too many immigrants of an undesirable kind. We all rejoice when we hear of a large influx from Finland or some other country whose people are considered especially desirable immigrants. We want them to offset those of less virtuous and law-abiding races. The governor of one of the enfranchised states writes of woman suffrage: "The effect of this increase in the vote is the same as if a large and eminently respectable class of citizens had immigrated here."

Would Unsex Women

It will turn women into men.

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 natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries and our own equal suffrage states are not

perceptibly different in looks or manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

All Socialists Are Suffragists, and Suffrage Means Socialism

All Socialists are believers in international peace and arbitration, but it does not follow that all non-Socialists ought to fight the peace societies.

If it is meant that equal suffrage will hasten the coming of Socialism, the Socialists themselves do not think so, and the results in the enfranchised States do not bear out the belief.

Between the presidential elections of 1908 and 1912, the Socialist vote increased in every State of the Union. In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—the only States that have had equal suffrage long enough to compare presidential election with presidential election—the rate of increase was below the average. In the country at large, the growth of the Socialist vote was 112 per cent. In Wyoming it was 61 per cent, in Utah 84, in Idaho 87 and in Colorado 106 per cent. In many non-suffrage States the growth was much more rapid. Thus in Delaware it was 132 per cent, in Illinois (where women had not then gained the right to vote for President) 134 per cent, in Pennsylvania 147, in Ohio 166, in Indi-

ana 174, in Kentucky 178, in North Dakota 188, in Nebraska 190, in North Carolina 197, in Tennessee 216, in Virginia 222 and in West Virginia 317 per cent.

The Socialist party admits women to membership on equal terms with men, but not nearly so many women as men have joined it. In Massachusetts the proportion is said to be about one woman to ten men. All Socialists have a woman suffrage plank in their theoretical platform, but many say that they do not want woman suffrage to come until Socialism arrives, for fear that the greater conservatism of women will delay the advent of Socialism.

Women Do Not Want It

Whenever the majority of women ask for suffrage, they will get it.

Every improvement in the condition of women thus far has been secured not by a general demand from the majority of women, but by the arguments, entreaties and "continual coming" of a persistent few. In each case the advocates of progress have had to contend not merely with the conservatism of men, but with the indifference of women, and often with active opposition from some of them.

When a man in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him on

the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone began to try to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine, women at her boarding house refused to speak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. It is a matter of history with what ridicule and opposition Mary Lyon's first efforts for the higher education of women were received, not only by the mass of men, but by the mass of women as well.

In eastern countries, where women are shut up in zenanas and forbidden to walk the streets unveiled, the women themselves are often the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her political disabilities. Pundita Ramabai tells us that the idea of education for girls is so unpopular with the majority of Hindoo women that when a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, it is not uncommon for the women of his family to threaten to drown themselves.

All this merely shows that human nature is conservative, and that it is fully as conservative in women as in men. The persons

who take a strong interest in any reform are generally few, whether among men or women, and they are habitually regarded with disfavor, even by those whom the proposed reform is to benefit.

Many changes for the better have been made during the last half century in the laws, written and unwritten, relating to women. Everybody approves of these changes now, because they have become accomplished facts. But not one of them would have been made to this day, if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it. The change now under discussion is to be judged on its merits. • In the light of history, the indifference of most women and the opposition of a few must be taken as a matter of course. It has no more rational significance now than it has had in regard to each previous step of women's progress.

THE FORERUNNER

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Written, Edited, Owned and Published by

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

"The Woman Movement would have a tougher intellectual fiber, and a more widely and deeply conscious scope, would be more of sustaining inspiration, if the multitude of women who think they know what that movement means, were to know Charlotte Perkins Gilman and her **FORERUNNER**. All forward-looking women should know them both."

The **FORERUNNER** carries Mrs. Gilman's best and newest work, her social philosophy, her verse, satire, fiction, ethical teaching, humor and comment. It stands for Humanness in Women and in Men; for better methods in Child-Culture; for the home that is no Workshop; for the New Ethics, the New Economics, the New World we are to make—are making.

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In the light of her interpretation, human ethics becomes a practical science; economics is no longer dismal, but full of hope and safety; education is a lifelong joy; the sex question is quietly settled, and a conscious motherhood is shown, capable of regenerating the world.

In this treatment it is wonderful to see how many of "the riddles of life" of all the social problems, large and small, which vex our souls to-day, become no longer hopeless "enigmas," but merely "examples," such as are set the child in school, quite easily within our power to solve.

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[January, 1915]

Voters--Save for Reference

Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

(Known as the Bristow-Mondell Resolution)

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

“Article.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

“SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.”

You will observe—

1st. That—this amendment does not directly give the franchise to women. It merely forbids any state to disfranchise because of sex, as the 15th amendment forbade disfranchisement because of race, color, etc.

It is the logical and inevitable extension of democracy.

2nd. That—the passage of this, the Bristow-Mondell Resolution by both branches of Congress does not make it operative until further ratified by a majority vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of all the states.

This is the careful and conservative method provided by the Framers of the Constitution for its adaptation to the growing needs of the people.

3rd. That—this provision of the Constitution for its own amendment has been subscribed and agreed to by each and every state at entry into the Union.

4th. That—after this amendment is passed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures it then becomes the privilege and the duty of each state legislature to fix and define the terms upon which the women of its commonwealth may exercise the franchise.

This ensures the conformity of woman suffrage to local issues and conditions, precisely in the way that manhood suffrage is regulated, now, to that end.

5th. And that, finally, the widespread, earnest and long-continued demand for this constitutional amendment entitles the people through their respective legislatures to a voice in its consideration and decision.

MINNESOTA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

POLITICAL EQUALITY CLUB OF ST. PAUL.

POLITICAL EQUALITY CLUB OF MINNEAPOLIS.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, Minneapolis.

WOMAN'S WELFARE LEAGUE, St. Paul.

SCANDINAVIAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CLUB, Minneapolis.

FOURTH DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

This Resolution is on the Calendars of the United States Congress and is set for consideration by the House on January 10th. **If you believe in the justice of Woman's Suffrage or even in the right of the people to vote on the question, please, at once, write or telegraph your Congressman, asking him to vote for this Resolution.**

[January, 1915]

Woman Suffrage Federal Amendment

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“Article.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

“SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.”

The Bristow-Mondell Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women is now on the calendar of the Senate and House of the U. S. Congress. Jan. 10th is the date set for the vote on the measure in the House. If you believe in the **RIGHT of the PEOPLE TO RULE** and that **WOMEN ARE PEOPLE**, write or telegraph your Congressman at once to vote for House Resolution I.

You will observe—

1st. That—this amendment does not directly give the franchise to women. It merely forbids any state to disfranchise because of sex, as the 15th amendment forbade disfranchisement because of race, color, etc.

It is the logical and inevitable extension of democracy.

2nd. That—the passage of this, the Bristow-Mondell Resolution by both branches of Congress does not make it operative until further ratified by a majority vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of all the states.

This is the careful and conservative method provided by the Framers of the Constitution for its adaptation to the growing needs of the people.

3rd. That—this provision of the Constitution for its own amendment has been subscribed and agreed to by each and every state at entry into the Union.

4th. That—after this amendment is passed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures it then becomes the privilege and the duty of each state legislature to fix and define the terms upon which the women of its commonwealth may exercise the franchise.

This ensures the conformity of woman suffrage to local issues and conditions, precisely in the way that manhood suffrage is regulated, now, to that end.

5th. And that, finally, the widespread, earnest and long-continued demand for this constitutional amendment entitles the people through their respective legislatures to a voice in its consideration and decision.

MINNESOTA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

POLITICAL EQUALITY CLUB OF ST. PAUL.

POLITICAL EQUALITY CLUB OF MINNEAPOLIS.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, Minneapolis.

WOMAN'S WELFARE LEAGUE, St. Paul.

SCANDINAVIAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CLUB, Minneapolis.

FOURTH DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

[post-Jan 12, 1915]

Which Amendment Shall We Support?

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
Works Only for the
Susan B. Anthony Amendment

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
National Headquarters: 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.



THERE are, at the present time, two amendments to the United States Constitution before Congress, both of which aim to give political equality to the men and women of the United States,—The Susan B. Anthony Amendment, which has been before Congress since 1875, and the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment, introduced in the 63rd Congress, in 1914.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

(Known in the 63rd Congress as the Bristow-Mondell Amendment.)

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"Article —, Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

The Shafroth-Palmer Amendment

RESOLVED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"Article —, Section 1. Whenever any number of legal voters of any State to a number exceeding eight per centum of the number of legal voters voting at the last preceding general election held in such State shall petition for the submission to the legal voters of said State of the question whether women shall have equal rights with men in respect to voting at all elections to be held in such State, such question shall be so submitted; and if upon such submission a majority of the legal voters of the State voting on the question shall vote in favor of granting to women such equal rights, the same shall thereupon be deemed established, anything to the contrary in the Constitution or laws of such State notwithstanding."

PROCEDURE IN CONGRESS

Must be

Passed by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress.

Must be

Passed by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress.

PROCEDURE IN THE STATES

Must then be

Ratified by a majority vote of both Houses of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

Must then be

Ratified by a majority vote of both Houses of the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

STATE REFERENDUMS

There must then be

Thirty-seven initiative petitions in the thirty-seven unenfranchised States to secure the signatures of at least eight per cent. of the voters at the last election.

There must then be

The submission of the question to the voters of the State (the legal method for enforcing this submission is not provided in the amendment).

And finally there must be

Thirty-seven separate referendum campaigns in the unenfranchised States. As each State succeeds in its referendum campaign the women of that State will be enfranchised under the terms of the bill submitted in that State.

WHEN THE THIRTY-SEVEN CAMPAIGNS HAVE BEEN WON THE WOMEN OF THE COUNTRY WILL BE ENFRANCHISED.

THE procedure in Congress is the same with either amendment. It must pass both the Senate and House by a two-thirds majority at any session at which a quorum is present. There are 96 members of the U. S. Senate, and 435 Members of the House of Representatives.

In the Senate the bill must pass by a minimum of 32 votes, or a maximum of 64 votes. In other words, if a bare quorum of 49 Senators were present we would need but 33 votes to pass our bill, but if a full house of 96 Senators were present we would need 64 votes in order to pass it.

In the House we would need a maximum of 290 and a minimum of 146 votes; that is, if a full attendance of the House were present we would need 290 votes to pass our bill, but if only a bare quorum were present we would need but 146 votes. The Amendment would then go to the State Legislatures for ratification.

In the State Legislatures the procedure is identical to secure the ratification of either amendment. The Legislatures of three-fourths of the States must ratify the amendment by a majority vote of both houses at any regular session. It does not have to go before the individual voters at a general election.

When the above steps have been taken, in the case of either amendment, the measure is ratified and, upon proclamation by the Secretary of State, it becomes a part of the Constitution of the United States.

With the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, *the work would then be done forever*. No State thereafter could disfranchise women on the sole ground of sex, but every State would have to apply its electoral qualifications impartially to its men and women citizens. *The struggle for political liberty for women would then be over*.

But with the Shafroth-Palmer Amendment written into the Constitution *the work would be but just begun, for this bill provides, not the thing itself, but only a means for securing it!*

We would then have to go out into 37 separate States and carry suffrage in each State by a referendum to the voters in that State. To win one State would not mean a gain for any other State, for, under the State referendum plan, each State must be won separately.

The procedure in the States would be as follows: First, an Initiative Petition Campaign would have to be carried on, in which it would be necessary to secure the signatures of the requisite number of men, who voted at the last election, to a petition saying that they wish to have the question submitted to the men voters for a decision. The Shafroth-Palmer bill now gives eight per cent. as the required number, but there is little doubt but that this proportion

would be materially raised if the bill ever passed. When the required number of signatures had been gathered it would then be necessary to have the question submitted to the voters. No method is provided for this step and no official is ordered to do it, so that a hitch at this point is quite within human probability. Granting that the question would be submitted to the electorate by some responsible official, it then becomes necessary to carry on thirty-seven separate referendum campaigns in the thirty-seven unenfranchised States, and to win the support of a majority of men voters of each State, in order to secure political equality for the women citizens of each State.

This entire procedure in the States, after the ratification of the Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution is, on the other hand, done away with, for political equality itself, not the method of securing it, is gained by its passage.

The economy of time, strength, energy and money, in working for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, *the thing itself*, rather than using the same expenditure merely *to secure a method of work*, must appeal to all. Imagine a referendum in every one of the 37 unenfranchised States of the Union! There are over 27,000,000 males over 21 years of age in the United States, every one of whom must be regarded as a possible voter. In New York State alone there are about 3,000,000 men of voting age, in New Jersey about 800,000, in Pennsylvania 2,500,000, in Massachusetts 1,100,000, in Indiana 850,000, in Texas 1,100,000, in Georgia 650,000. The passage of the Shafroth-Palmer bill will enforce upon the women of these States the staggering task of converting to a belief in the desirability of equal suffrage more than half this vast number of men, a task so enormous in extent, so expensive in the organization it would require, and so bewildering in its methods of accomplishment that the mind is appalled by the mere thought of it. The geographical, financial and spiritual problems involved in reaching the individual voters over so tremendous an area, compared with the simple task of reaching and converting 531 members of Congress and a majority in three-fourths of the Legislatures (which must be done in any event for both bills) must convince everyone that the only sane, practical and speedy way is the one settled upon in 1875 by Susan B. Anthony. Identically the same effort and energy must be expended under the Shafroth-Palmer bill to secure a method with which to work as would be necessary to secure the thing itself, under the Bristow-Mondell bill.

It is folly moreover to believe that Congress, if it amended the Federal Constitution in order to give us another method whereby to secure equal suffrage through the State Constitutions, would ever again grant another Federal Suffrage Amendment. We must take our choice, either to press for the thing itself or else for another method by which to secure it through the States.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony,
in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon.
A. A. Sargent, in the United States
Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

- 1878, Adverse majority.
- 1879, Favorable minority.
- 1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
- 1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
- 1886, Favorable majority.
- 1890, Favorable majority.
- 1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
- 1896, Adverse majority.
- 1913, Favorable majority.
- 1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

- 1883, Favorable majority.
- 1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
- 1886, Favorable minority.
- 1890, Favorable majority.
- 1894, Adverse majority.
- 1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon,

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator Geo. E. Chamberlain of Oregon.

In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.

In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913; favorable report.

In the House: May 5, 1914; reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913; twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.

September 18, 1913; Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington demanded immediate action.

On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914. Debated almost continuously from March 2 to March 19.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, 1914; thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House: January 12, 1915; 174 in favor, 204 opposed; failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, 1914; favorable report.

Where Women Vote

Editors

FRANCES M. BJÖRKMAN

AND

ANNIE G. PORRITT

Revised 1915

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1915

Where Women Vote

BY FRANCES M. BJÖRKMAN
AND ANNIE G. PORRITT

SCANDINAVIA

Throughout the five countries inhabited by the Scandinavian people women have some measure of electoral rights, and it is likely that the Scandinavians will be the first of the world's great racial divisions to adopt full political equality for men and women. At the present time in Finland, Norway and Iceland, all women have the full Parliamentary vote on the same terms as men; in Sweden all women have the municipal or communal suffrage on the same terms as men, and in Denmark women who pay taxes or whose husbands pay taxes have the municipal vote. In all five countries women are eligible for all the offices for which they vote. In Sweden and Denmark there is a strong movement for the removal of such political disabilities as still remain, and sentiment in its favor is so strong that it will undoubtedly succeed in the near future.

NORWAY

Municipal franchise granted tax-paying
women

1901

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Full franchise granted tax-paying women | 1907 |
| Municipal franchise extended to all women | 1910 |
| Full Parliamentary franchise extended to all women..... | 1913 |
| Approximate number of women having the full franchise | 500,000 |
| Percentage of women eligible who vote | 20 to 55 |
| Population Total | 2,391,782 |
| Men | 1,155,773 |
| Women | 1,236,009 |

History.

NORWAY was the first wholly free and independent nation to give full suffrage to even a part of its women.

In 1901 the municipal franchise was granted to women who, either in their own persons or with their husbands, paid taxes on an income amounting to about \$100 a year or on approximately \$100 worth of property—in number about 300,000. In 1905 the question of the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway was submitted to the voters, and the women, although legally disqualified from expressing their opinion, took an informal ballot on the question and submitted it to the Storting. Three hundred thousand women, as against the 400,000 men who cast their formal ballots, took advantage of this opportunity to declare themselves, albeit informally, for national independence.

This manifestation of public spirit produced a profound impression upon the men of the country, and in 1907 the Storting entertained two different measures for extending full political rights—one to all women, and the other to those women who already possessed the municipal franchise.

The Conservatives, who were interested in keeping the balance of power in the hands of the propertied classes, defeated the more democratic measure, but the other passed by a vote of 96 to 25.

In 1910, largely through pressure brought to bear upon the Storting by the women voters, the tax-paying qualification was removed from the municipal franchise, and in 1911 a bill providing for its removal from the Parliamentary, came within five votes of the necessary two-thirds majority of passing. In 1913 it did pass without a dissenting voice.

*Extent of Woman Vote.**

Norwegian women have exercised their privilege in four municipal elections, taking place in 1901, 1904, 1907, 1910 and 1913;

* For a more complete analysis of the extent of the Norwegian women's vote see Report of Fru F. M. Qvam for Norway in the Report of the Sixth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, pp. 117-127, and "Woman Suffrage in Practice," by Chrystal MacMillan, Marie Stritt and Maria Verone, pp. 68-69.

and in two Parliamentary elections, taking place in 1909 and 1912.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to Parliament and to all other elective offices. In each municipal election since women have been eligible, a number have been elected to city and county councils. In 1907, 20 women were elected members of municipal councils, and 96 women, alternates. In 1910, this number was more than doubled, 44 women having been elected members, and 178, alternates. No woman has as yet been elected to Parliament. In 1909 one woman, Miss Anna Rogstad, a teacher, was elected alternate, and in the absence of her primary, took his seat and discharged the duties of the office with dignity and efficiency. In the speech in which he welcomed this, the first woman in the Norwegian Parliament, the Speaker of the House said that he regarded the day as one of the most important in the history of Norway, and that he believed that posterity would look upon it as one bringing honor and credit to the country.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The possession of political power by women has already noticeably increased the amount of consideration given by the Government to the welfare of women and chil-

dren. Various posts, formerly closed, have been opened to women, and a number of the worst inequalities and injustices in the legal position of women have been removed. A number of the measures introduced into the present Parliament clearly show the influence of a female electorate. Both political parties have shown themselves particularly active in efforts to improve the conditions of industry for women.

FINLAND

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in country districts..... | 1863 |
| Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women in city districts..... | 1872 |
| Full franchise granted all women.... | 1906 |
| Number of women having the franchise | 707,000 |
| Percentage of women eligible who vote | 54 to 60 |
| Population Total | 3,059,324 |
| Men | 1,520,810 |
| Women | 1,538,514 |

History.

FINLAND, whose men and women have together struggled for years against a foreign oppressor, extended the municipal franchise to tax-paying women living in the country in 1863, and to tax-paying women living in the cities in 1872. In 1906, after a great uprising of the people, a new constitution was granted by the Russian Czar, and the full Parliamentary suffrage

for women was granted by the first Diet that convened thereafter.

Office Holding.

Since women became eligible, there has not been an election in which a number have not been elected to the Diet, the fewest being 16 and the highest 25. There are 21 in the present Diet, chosen in the elections of August, 1913.

The women legislators have come from all classes of society. Among them have been teachers, writers, editors, seamstresses, doctors of philosophy, state officials, social workers, and wives of peasants, mechanics and professional men. Most of them have been over forty, and most of them have been married women. Three have had husbands sitting in the Diet with them.

J. N. Reuter, of Finland, writes: "I hear from my friends in the House—hardened and level-headed business men among them—that the women acquit themselves very creditably of their task, not only in debate but also in committee work, where their special experience often is very valuable, as concerning female labor, child legislation, education, and so on. Not only does everybody agree that it has done no harm to the community whatever, but most people decidedly believe that the work of legislation derives great benefit from the presence in the House of women members."

Effect Upon Legislation.

Vera Hjelt makes an abstract from the legislation of the years 1907-1911 of the questions dealt with in the bills introduced by the women members of the Diet. They are:*

The raising of the marriageable age of women; the relations regarding property between husband and wife; the abolition of the guardianship exercised by a man over his wife; the right of mothers with regard to their children; the endowment of motherhood; the right of women to enter every kind of Government service; the improvement of the condition of illegitimate children; the erection of homes for destitute mothers and children; increased penalties for prostitution; provision for instruction in household management; the obligation on every commune to maintain a midwife; the abolition of certain enactments concerning servants; prison reform; the establishment of rural colonies; instruction in a trade in prison; the support of various educational institutions from the public funds; grants for the promotion of public morality with especial regard to the abolition of regulated vice; the appointment of women health inspectors; the intervention of the commune in labor disputes; the establishment of a central so-

* "Woman Suffrage in Practice," p. 60.

cial bureau; the construction of new railways; the acceleration of the reform of the laws concerning the treatment of Jews; compulsory education; total prohibition of the sale of alcohol; State reformatories for inebriates; the transformation of the department of justice in the Senate into an independent Supreme Court; laws concerning associations.

However, as the Russian Imperial Council reserves the right to veto all legislation initiated by the Finns themselves, few of these measures have become operative. The women members, with, in fact, all the women of the country, have won the hearty esteem of the men by the energetic, efficient and selfless manner in which they have co-operated in all efforts to preserve Finnish autonomy against the aggressions of Russian despotism.

ICELAND

| | |
|---|----------|
| Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying widows and spinsters..... | 1882 |
| Municipal suffrage extended to all women | 1909 |
| Full suffrage extended to all women... | 1914 |
| Approximate number of women eligible | 11,000 |
| Estimated percentage of women eligible who vote..... | 50 to 80 |
| Population Total | 85,188 |
| Women | 41,083 |
| Men | 44,105 |

History.

As was the case in Finland and Norway, public sentiment in Iceland was rendered particularly favorable to granting suffrage to women because of the active part taken by women in a general movement for national independence. In 1874, the struggle of the Icelandic people to achieve at least a measure of independence of Danish rule ended in the granting of a separate Icelandic Parliament; and in 1882 this Parliament took the first steps toward the enfranchisement of the women of the country by granting the municipal or communal franchise to tax-paying widows and spinsters. In 1909, this was widened to include all women. In 1911, a measure granting universal suffrage—that is, removing all the restrictions from the vote for both men and women of voting age—passed both Houses in Parliament. As the Constitution provides that measures requiring an amendment to the Constitution must pass two sessions, the bill was re-introduced in 1913, and passed by the Althing August 12, 1914. It fixes the voting age for women at forty years, but this is to be gradually decreased until it is the same as that of men.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the first elections after the women got the full municipal vote, for the town

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

council of Reykjavik in 1908, women cast 1,220 of the total 2,850 votes recorded—an extraordinarily high percentage. In the election of 1912 for town council of Reykjavik about 50 per cent of the qualified women cast their votes.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible for all offices. In the elections of 1908, four were elected to the town council of Reykjavik, and in the elections of 1912, two were returned and one new candidate elected. Women have also been elected to the councils of other communities.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Through the use of the municipal franchise women have been able to force a marked degree of consideration of their special needs and problems in their own communities, the establishment of the municipal gas plant in Reykjavik being always attributed to their work. They have furthermore achieved official recognition of the unfair conditions of women wage-workers, thereby making an opening for future remedial legislation.

SWEDEN

| | |
|--|------|
| Municipal franchise granted tax-paying widows and spinsters..... | 1862 |
| Municipal franchise granted all women on the same terms as men | 1909 |

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Approximate number of women having the municipal franchise..... | 1,400,000 |
| Percentage of women eligible who vote | 15.2 to 32.9 |
| Population Total | 5,521,939 |
| Men | 2,698,975 |
| Women | 2,822,968 |

History.

SWEDEN was the first country in the world to extend to women any measure of suffrage whatever. For more than a century Swedish women have had some measure of communal franchise rights, and as early as 1862 unmarried women who paid taxes were given the full municipal vote. At that time the franchise for men was so heavily encumbered with restrictions that not one-tenth of the male population was qualified to exercise it. In 1909, however, a new electoral law was enacted, removing most of the restrictions from the franchise for men and extending the municipal franchise to all women. In 1909 a bill to extend the full franchise to women was passed unanimously by the Lower House of the Riksdag, but was defeated in the Upper, which, of course, is always composed of the conservative element. In 1911 the women made a special effort to secure the election of members of the Liberal and Socialist parties, both of which had included woman suffrage in their platforms. The Conservatives were driven out of power, a strong majority of members

pledged to woman suffrage elected to both Houses, and a Liberal Ministry installed.

At the opening of Parliament in 1912, the new Liberal Prime Minister, who had always been a supporter of the women's movement, mentioned the necessity for this reform in his first speech to the new Liberal Cabinet, and the King, in his speech from the throne, announced that a government measure would be brought in giving women the right to vote and to be elected for all political offices. The bill passed the Lower House, but was again thrown out in the Upper. A Government Bill passed the Lower House again in 1914, but on the outbreak of the war it was laid aside by the Senate—an action that makes possible its adoption as soon as normal conditions return.

*Extent of Woman Vote.**

Until the year 1909 when the general electoral reform law removed most of the restrictions from the vote of men and gave women the communal franchise on the same terms as men, the women had apparently placed little value on their small measure of suffrage as very few took the trouble to go to the polls and record their votes. Since 1909, however, the woman vote has increased steadily, rising from 15.2 per cent in 1908 to 32.9 per cent in 1912.

* "Woman Suffrage in Practice," p. 74.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible for all offices for which they vote. In the first election in which they were eligible to stand for office, in the Autumn of 1910, thirty-five were elected to town councils. In 1912, eighteen more women were elected, so that with those already holding office, Sweden has now more than sixty women town councilors.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Women have exerted a very decided influence upon municipal affairs, especially for the betterment of local conditions affecting the home, educational and philanthropic institutions, women's industrial conditions and the welfare of children; but lacking the Parliamentary vote they have so far been unable to influence national legislation to any considerable extent.

DENMARK

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Municipal franchise granted tax-paying women and wives of men who pay taxes | 1908 |
| Number of women enfranchised | 422,999 |
| Percentage of women eligible who vote | 38 to 70 |
| Population Total | 2,757,076 |
| Men | 1,337,900 |
| Women | 1,419,176 |

History.

DENMARK did not give the municipal vote until 1908. The preceding year, 1907, it took its first step by giving women the right to vote for and to serve on boards of public charities. Between 1908 and 1914 Parliament twice entertained a measure to extend the full suffrage. Both times the bill passed in the Lower House, but was blocked in the Upper. In 1914 woman suffrage was made part of a general electoral reform measure, consideration of which was postponed on account of the war.

*Extent of Woman Vote.**

In the elections of 1909, 50 per cent of the eligible women voted, as compared with 76.5 per cent of the men. As always, it was the vote of the country districts, where women cannot always leave home to get to the polls, that pulled down the average. In Copenhagen nearly 70 per cent of the eligible women cast their ballots, and in the other cities the vote of the women ranged from 66 per cent to 70 per cent, whereas in some of the country districts it fell as low as 38 per cent. The actual number of

* Figures for 1909 furnished by J. Clan, Consul General for Denmark in New York City. Figures for 1912 from Report for Denmark of Elsie Hansen in the Report of the Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, p. 114.

women voting in all districts was 199,239, as against 328,315 men. In 1912, there was a special election in Copenhagen, in which 68.7 per cent of the eligible women voted, as compared with 80.8 per cent of the eligible men.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to all the offices for which they vote, and in 1909, 127 were elected to town councils, seven to the Council of Copenhagen. One woman has been appointed a police officer, and two, municipal treasurers. In 1913 in Copenhagen 13 women were elected and one was made Vice-President of the Council.

Effect Upon Legislation.

So far, the women's influence upon legislation has been almost wholly confined to municipal affairs. Women have, however, succeeded in getting through Parliament a bill that provides for the omission of the word "obey" from the marriage service, and have also secured some concessions in the matter of property rights. The two large woman suffrage associations are carrying on a work of political education that it fitting the women of Denmark to make a very effective use of their Parliamentary franchise when they get it.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In the BRITISH EMPIRE the principle of woman suffrage has received some degree of recognition. In Australia, New Zealand and the Isle of Man, women have full Parliamentary suffrage; in England, Ireland, and Scotland, they have municipal suffrage on similar terms with men; in eight provinces of Canada, tax-paying widows and spinsters have the municipal franchise, while in Nova Scotia married women whose husbands are not voters are included. The Parliament of the Union of South Africa granted municipal suffrage to women in 1914. In some cities of British India, and in Rangoon in Burma, women share the small measure of municipal voting rights possessed by men.

NEW ZEALAND

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Municipal suffrage granted all women | 1886 |
| Full suffrage granted all women | 1893 |
| Approximate number of women eligible | 300,000 |
| Percentage of women eligible who vote | 74 to 85 |
| Population Total | 1,008,468 |
| Males | 531,910 |
| Females | 476,558 |

History.

NEW ZEALAND was the first country to give full suffrage to all women. This colony made good its title as "the most

progressive state in the world" by granting the school vote to women in 1877, the municipal vote in 1886, and the full Parliamentary vote in 1893. There are 50,000 Maoris in the islands, and the Maori women possess and exercise the right to vote equally with the white women. Four Maori men sit in the lower House of the Legislature; but no woman can yet be a member of either House.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the first elections, which took place only a few weeks after the measure went into effect, 85 per cent of the qualified women cast their ballots, as against 69 per cent of the men. In no election since has the vote of the women fallen below 74 per cent of the total number qualified, while the vote of the men has risen steadily until now it averages 75 per cent to 80 per cent of those qualified; whereas, before the women got the vote it frequently fell below 60 per cent.

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to all elective offices, except membership in Parliament, but as yet, owing to the unsettled conditions of the country that tend to keep the women occupied with the work of their homes,

they have not, to any great extent, taken advantage of this fact.

Effect Upon Legislation.

A striking tribute to the work of the New Zealand women was paid in 1914 in a publication issued by the Children's Bureau at Washington. New Zealand methods of caring for the health of women and children are cited as models for the world. The infant death rate of New Zealand is 51 per 1000, less than half that of the United States.

Since women got the vote Legislative measures have been enacted making women eligible to practice at the bar; giving equal educational opportunities and honors to both sexes in common schools, high schools and universities; establishing old age pensions; providing for the licensing of servants' employment bureaus in order to protect girls from the white slave traffic; providing measures for the protection of adopted and boarded-out children; providing for the maintenance of destitute persons by their relatives; regulating property succession so as to insure provision for testator's wife, husband, or family—a fair division, regardless of sex—and the maintenance of defective and invalid children; making compulsory the maintenance of wife and family upon men, and providing that wages be paid to prisoners for the sup-

port of wife and family; creating and regulating industrial and technical schools; providing state aid for expectant mothers; preventing a deserting husband or putative father of an illegitimate child from leaving the country; providing punishment for sexual offenses; providing for humane and reformatory methods of dealing with prisoners; instituting the probation system; suppressing indecent pictures and immoral literature and plays; creating a juvenile court; making conditions of divorce equal for both sexes; providing for compensation to women for slander; legitimatizing and giving equal property rights to children born before the marriage of parents; providing equal pay for equal work; insuring healthy conditions and a minimum wage for working women; instituting regulations against the employment of children; instituting temperance regulations; repealing the contagious disease act, under which prostitutes had to submit to medical inspection, which was found useless to minimize the evils of prostitution and humiliated the women while letting the men go free.

AUSTRALIA

| | |
|---|------|
| State suffrage granted in South Australia | 1895 |
| State suffrage granted in West Australia | 1900 |
| State suffrage granted in New South Wales | 1902 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| State suffrage granted in Tasmania... | 1903 |
| State suffrage granted in Queensland | 1905 |
| State suffrage granted in Victoria... | 1908 |
| Full suffrage granted throughout Federated Australia | 1902 |
| Number of women having franchise in Federated Australia | 1,100,000 |
| Percentage of women eligible who vote | 40 to 60 |
| Population Total | 4,455,005 |
| Females | 2,313,035 |
| Males | 2,141,970 |

History.

In AUSTRALIA an anomalous condition existed for several years because of the fact that the Federation had given full Parliamentary suffrage to women, whereas at the time the measure passed, only two of the states had granted the State franchise.

The six states united in a federation in 1902. Two, South and West Australia, had already given votes to women—South Australia in 1895 and West Australia in 1900—so that when the new Federal Parliament convened for the first time it already contained a contingent favorable to the extension of suffrage to women, and a measure granting women the right to vote for members of the Federal Parliament went through at the first session. New South Wales immediately extended the state franchise, and Tasmania followed in the next year. Queensland put the measure through in 1905, and Victoria in 1908.

*Extent of Woman Vote.**

Official election figures show that the percentage of eligible women who actually cast their ballots is only very little lower than the percentage of eligible men who vote; and the percentage of the women's votes in the federal elections of 1910 stands at a higher figure than the percentage of men voting either in 1903 or 1906 for every State except Tasmania. It is a significant fact that, since the women got the full Parliamentary vote, the percentages for both men and women have risen in each election. The exact figures for the vote for members of the Senate are herewith given. The vote for the members of the House of Representatives is practically the same, since it has exactly the same electorate, the only difference being that all the votes for members of the Senate must appear in the official returns, since each election for the Senate must be contested, whereas in the case of the House many elections go uncontested, and do not, therefore, appear in the returns.

MEN

| Year | Electors enrolled | Number voting | Percentage enrolled who voted |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 1903..... | 994,484 | 527,997 | 53.09 |
| 1906..... | 1,114,187 | 628,135 | 56.38 |

* Complete table of the election figures for 1903, 1906 and 1910 in "Woman Suffrage in Practice," p. 11.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

| Year | Electors enrolled | Number voting | Percentage enrolled who voted |
|-----------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1910..... | 1,186,783 | 820,030 | 67.58 |
| 1913..... | ..... | ..... | 78.22 |

WOMEN

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 1903..... | 899,102 | 359,315 | 39.96 |
| 1906..... | 995,375 | 431,033 | 43.30 |
| 1910..... | 1,071,699 | 601,946 | 56.17 |
| 1913..... | ..... | ..... | 71.54 |

Office Holding.

Women are eligible to both the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Federal Commonwealth Parliament, but so far only South Australia and Queensland have made them eligible to the State Legislative bodies. In none of the states are they eligible to Municipal Councils. No woman has as yet been elected to the Federal Parliament or to either of the two State Assemblies to which they are eligible; but in 1903 and again in 1910, Miss Vida Goldstein stood for the Federal Senate and both times polled a very large vote.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The effect of the woman vote upon legislation has, however, been marked. Since getting the franchise they have backed and helped secure measures providing for equal pay for equal work; equal naturalization laws; protection of juvenile immigrants; regulation of the food and milk supplies;

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

protection of infant life; appointment of police matrons; provision for deserted wives, and maintenance of wives of prisoners out of prisoners' earnings; establishment of juvenile courts; state support for free kindergartens and playgrounds; establishment of old age pensions and maternity grants of £5 (\$25) in respect of each child born; establishment of eight-hour day for women; state boards for the fixing of a minimum wage scale, and hours and conditions for working women; raising the age of consent for girls; and allowing women who have married foreigners to retain their own nationality.

In 1910 both Houses of the Federal Parliament passed the following resolutions:

1. That this House testifies to the facts that after sixteen years' experience of woman suffrage in various parts of Australasia, and nine years' experience in the Commonwealth, the reform has justified the hopes of its supporters and falsified all the fears and prophecies of disaster voiced by its opponents.

2. That as foreseen by its advocates, its effects have been (a) to gradually educate women to a sense of their responsibility in public affairs; (b) to give more prominence to social and domestic legislation.

3. That Australian experience convinces this House that to adopt woman suffrage is simply to apply to the political sphere that

principle of government that secures the best results in the domestic sphere—the mutual co-operation of men and women for the individual and general welfare.

ENGLAND AND WALES

| | |
|--|------------|
| Municipal suffrage granted to unmarried women and widows who were householders | 1869 |
| Women made eligible to city and county councils | 1907 |
| Population (1911) Total | 36,075,269 |
| Males | 17,448,476 |
| Females | 18,626,793 |

In England qualified women may vote for county councils, town councils, urban district councils, rural district councils, boards of guardians for the relief of the poor, and parish councils. They cannot vote for members of the House of Commons, nor in elections for the City of London. Married women are also debarred from voting for county councils (except the London County Council) and town councils; but married women properly qualified may vote for the London borough councils. To be qualified a woman must be over twenty-one and must be the occupier, in her own name, as owner or tenant, of a house or part of a house, or of business premises worth at least £10 (\$50) a year. There is an ownership qualification for the municipal franchise for men and also a service franchise, but these are not ex-

tended to women. Until 1902 women had also the right to vote for members of school boards, but these boards were swept away in 1902 and committees of the town or county councils substituted.

The first elections of women in England were to the school boards created by Act of Parliament in 1870. In 1875 a woman was elected a poor-law guardian and for twenty-five years the best work done by women was in humanizing the care of the poor. There are about 1320 women now serving as poor-law guardians in England and Wales. Women have only been elected to town councils since 1907 and in 1914 there were twenty-one women councilors. Between 1907 and 1914 several women were chosen by the councils to the mayoralty—the first being Mrs. Lees of Oldham. In 1914, when the woman suffrage bill was before Parliament, it was estimated that there were 1,000,000 women qualified as municipal voters in England and Wales.

SCOTLAND

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Municipal suffrage granted women on the same terms as men | 1881 |
| Women made eligible to city and county councils | 1901 |
| Population (1911) Total | 4,759,445 |
| Males | 2,307,603 |
| Females | 2,451,842 |

The franchise for women in Scotland is

rather wider than in England. Women can vote for and be members of school boards, county councils, town councils and parish councils. To qualify a woman must own or occupy real property to the value of £4 (\$20) a year, or be a householder of a house or rooms of any value. Women may also vote on a service franchise—occupying property in virtue of service; as owners of property without occupation; or as lodgers. No woman in Scotland is disqualified by marriage, but she cannot qualify on the same property as her husband.

IRELAND

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Municipal suffrage granted women on the same terms as men..... | 1898 |
| Women made eligible to city and county councils | 1911 |
| Population (1911) Total | 4,381,951 |
| Males | 2,186,804 |
| Females | 2,195,147 |

In Ireland the franchise for women is practically the same as in Scotland.

ISLE OF MAN

| | |
|---|--------|
| Full Parliamentary suffrage granted to women property-owners..... | 1881 |
| Full Parliamentary suffrage extended to women tax-payers | 1892 |
| Population (1911) Total | 52,034 |
| Males | 23,953 |
| Females | 28,081 |

CANADA.

Municipal suffrage granted property-owning widows and spinsters

| | |
|--|------|
| Ontario | 1884 |
| British Columbia | 1888 |
| Northwest Territory (now Alberta and Saskatchewan) | 1888 |
| Prince Edward Island | 1888 |
| Quebec | 1892 |

Municipal suffrage granted tax-paying widows and spinsters

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Manitoba | 1888 |
| New Brunswick | 1886 |

Municipal suffrage granted to all property-owning women, including married women, whose husbands are not voters

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Nova Scotia | 1887 |
|-------------------|------|

In all the Provinces of Canada women have some measure of school suffrage. In Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan, women property-holders or tax-payers, either married or single, are entitled to vote for School Boards, and in British Columbia, the wives of school voters may also vote whether they own independent property or not. In all the other Provinces, widows and spinsters who are property-holders or tax-payers have the school suffrage.

Women may not hold municipal offices even though they may vote for them, but women who can vote for school trustees may also be elected as school trustees.

THE UNITED STATES.

School suffrage granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions:

| | |
|---------------|------|
| Kentucky | 1838 |
| Kansas | 1861 |
| Michigan | 1875 |
| Minnesota | 1875 |
| Colorado | 1876 |
| New Hampshire | 1878 |
| Oregon | 1878 |
| Massachusetts | 1879 |
| Vermont | 1880 |
| New York | 1880 |
| Mississippi | 1880 |
| Nebraska | 1883 |
| Montana | 1887 |
| New Jersey | 1887 |
| North Dakota | 1887 |
| South Dakota | 1887 |
| Arizona | 1887 |
| Oklahoma | 1890 |
| Connecticut | 1893 |
| Ohio | 1894 |
| Delaware | 1898 |
| Wisconsin | 1900 |

Suffrage on taxation and bonding propositions granted certain classes of women subject to various restrictions:

| | |
|-----------|------|
| Montana | 1887 |
| Iowa | 1894 |
| Louisiana | 1898 |
| New York | 1901 |
| Kansas | 1903 |
| Michigan | 1908 |

Municipal suffrage granted all women:

| | |
|--------|------|
| Kansas | 1887 |
|--------|------|

Vote for Presidential Electors, for certain county and certain state officers and for all municipal officers granted all women:

| | |
|----------|------|
| Illinois | 1913 |
|----------|------|

Full suffrage granted all women:

| | |
|------------|------|
| Wyoming | 1869 |
| Colorado | 1893 |
| Utah | 1896 |
| Idaho | 1896 |
| Washington | 1910 |
| California | 1911 |
| Kansas | 1912 |
| Oregon | 1912 |
| Arizona | 1912 |
| Alaska | 1913 |
| Montana | 1914 |
| Nevada | 1914 |

WYOMING *

| | |
|---|----------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1869 |
| Number of women eligible† | 28,840 |
| Estimated per cent of women registered who vote | 80 to 90 |
| Population (1910) Total | 145,965 |
| Males | 91,670 |
| Females | 54,295 |

History.

WYOMING is the pioneer equal suffrage State in America, full political equality having been the basis of its government as long

* "Wyoming—the Pioneer," by Lewis Edwin Theiss, in the Pictorial Review for Oct. 1913.

† Bulletin U. S. Census for 1910.

as it has had a government at all. Very significantly, the words "equal rights" form the motto on its State seal. The very first legislative council, after its organization as a territory, passed, in 1869, a bill providing that women should have the same rights as men to vote and hold office, and when it was admitted as a State in 1890, before any other State had given women the vote, equal suffrage was made a part of its Constitution.

During the early days of woman's enfranchisement in Wyoming several ineffectual attempts were made to secure a repeal, but for nearly half a century now the status of the women of Wyoming has been unquestioned in their own State. At the time statehood was applied for, a determined opposition was made in Congress to the admission of a territory with a woman suffrage clause in its Constitution. So violent was the feeling, that the territorial delegate in Congress, Joseph M. Carey, now Governor of the State, telegraphed the Legislature that he feared statehood would not be granted if the suffrage clause were not abandoned. The Legislature, which was then in session, telegraphed back: "We will remain out of the Union a hundred years, rather than come in without woman suffrage."

During the forty-five years that the measure has been in effect, every Governor

has testified to its good effects, including the territorial Governors, who are appointed by the President, and are not, therefore, dependent upon votes.

In 1900 a petition was circulated in the State asking Congress to submit to the Legislatures of the various States a woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. This was signed by the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Auditor, State Superintendent of Schools, State Engineer, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the United States District Attorney, the United States Surveyor-General, the Director and the Observer of the United States Weather Bureau, the Mayor of Cheyenne, and a long list of editors, ministers, lawyers, physicians, bankers, and the most prominent women of the State.

In 1893, and again in 1899, the House of Representatives adopted resolutions declaring that woman suffrage had been an unmixed advantage to the State. In 1901 the Legislature as a whole unanimously adopted similar resolutions and added an appeal to other States to adopt the measure as one tending toward the amelioration of all evil social conditions.

Extent of the Woman Vote.

In no one of the equal suffrage States of America—unlike the equal suffrage countries of Europe—have separate figures been

kept for the number of women registering and voting. It is impossible, therefore, to give anything more than loose estimates of the proportion of eligible women in each State who actually go to the polls. Public officials, when asked for statistics on this point, almost invariably reply that women vote "in equal numbers with men," or "in nearly equal numbers with men." In a letter to Alice Stone Blackwell, published in *The Woman's Journal*, May 6, 1905, Fenimore Chatterton, Secretary of State for Wyoming, stated that ninety per cent of the women vote, casting in all one-third of the total number of ballots polled, women forming a minority of the population. In an interview, Hon. Joseph M. Carey, Governor of the State, said that "from eighty to ninety per cent of the women vote."

Office Holding.

Though eligible to all offices, Wyoming women have not been office holders to the same extent as women in some of the other suffrage States. Practically all the adult women in the State are married and the heads of households; the greater number of them live on ranches where the housework is hard and exacting; and the consequence is that few are free to take office. Until 1910, when Mrs. Mary Godat Belamy, a former County Superintendent of

Instruction, was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the Legislature, no woman had ever served in that capacity. In 1912, two women—Mrs. Anna B. Miller of Laramie and Miss Nettie Truax of Sundance—were elected Representatives. The former is the mother of six children and one of her sons served in the Legislature the year preceding Mrs. Miller's election. Miss Truax was formerly a County Superintendent of Instruction. As in all the equal suffrage States, the office of County Superintendent of Instruction is urged upon the women, and frequently women are elected to other county offices, such as clerk, recorder, treasurer, etc. None of the State offices have as yet been given to women. Two women, Mrs. Esther Morris and Mrs. M. A. Garrett, have made extraordinary records as Justices of the Peace. The town of Dayton has had a woman Mayor, Mrs. Susan Wissler. In the early days, women served on juries to excellent effect, their presence serving very materially to wipe out the particular types of lawlessness characteristic of a frontier settlement; but in 1890, the Supreme Court of the State ruled that the right to vote did not carry with it the right to do jury service.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Despite the lack of effective organiza-

tion, due to frontier conditions of life, the women have been able to exert considerable influence upon legislation. They have helped to secure measures making gambling illegal; giving women absolute rights over their own property; providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay for equal work; raising the age of protection of young girls to 18; providing penalties for child neglect, abuse or cruelty; forbidding the employment of children in certain industries; making it unlawful to give or sell liquor or tobacco to children; establishing kindergartens and a State industrial school; providing for the care of dependent children and infirm, indigent or incompetent persons; making State pure food regulations conform with the national law; and providing for the initiative and referendum, the commission form of government, direct primaries, accounting for campaign expenses on the part of candidates for political offices, and the headless ballot.

COLORADO

| | |
|---|----------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1893 |
| Number of women eligible* | 213,425 |
| Estimated percentage of women registered who vote | 75 to 85 |

* Bulletin U. S. Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of Voting Age For Certain States."

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| Population (1910) Total | 799,024 |
| Males | 430,697 |
| Females | 368,227 |

History.

COLORADO conferred suffrage upon women in 1893 by enactment of a law which was submitted to the voters and carried by a majority of only a little over 6,000. In 1901, after women had been exercising the privilege for eight years, the measure carried by implication as a clause of a constitutional amendment by a majority of 18,000.†

No attempt at repeal has ever been made. On the contrary, practically every public man of importance in the State has at one time or another placed himself on record as commending the participation of Colorado women in public affairs, while not six men of standing have been induced to assert over their own signatures that woman suffrage has brought about one single evil, or even that it has failed to effect improvements.

Owing to the fact that conditions are more like those in the typical American commonwealth than conditions in any of the other States that have enfranchised women—with the exception of Washington and California, in which the measure

† It has been incorrectly stated that the majority for equal suffrage was, on this occasion, 30,000.

is still very young—Colorado has been chosen for most of the investigations that have been made into the workings of equal suffrage. The few unfavorable reports that have appeared—all, it must be said, in publications of known anti-suffrage tendencies—have called forth an avalanche of indignant refutation from the most representative men of the State.

In 1898, as a result of certain misrepresentations, a statement approving equal suffrage was issued, signed by the Governor, three ex-Governors, both United States Senators, two ex-Senators, two Representatives in Congress, the Chief Justice and two Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, three Judges of the Court of Appeals, four Judges of the District Court, the Secretary of State, the State Treasurer, the State Auditor, the Attorney-General, the Mayor of Denver, the president of the State University, the president of Colorado College and the presidents and officers of numerous women's clubs.

In 1899 the Colorado Legislature passed, by a vote of 45 to 3 in the House and 30 to 1 in the Senate, a resolution declaring that during the time that equal suffrage had been in operation women had used the vote as generally as men, with the result that better candidates had been selected for office, election methods had been purified, the character of legislation improved, civic

intelligence increased and womanhood developed; and recommending the adoption of the measure by all the States and Territories of the Union.

In 1911, as the result of an attack upon the workings of equal suffrage, the Colorado Equal Suffrage Aid Association, whose officers are among the most prominent men of the State, was formed for the purpose of supplying the accurate information and of correcting any further misrepresentation.

Extent of Woman Vote.

While no accurate figures are available, it is probable—judging from estimates furnished by various State and County officials—that seventy-five to eighty-five per cent of the eligible women actually cast their ballots. The number of women voting varies with the importance of the election or with the special interest to women in the issues involved. Helen L. Sumner, in her book, "Equal Suffrage,"* gives a careful summary of all the information available on this point in the years 1906 and 1907 when she made her investigation; and she concludes that a much larger proportion of the

*"Equal Suffrage," by Helen L. Sumner, Ph.D. The results of an investigation made in Colorado for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State. Harper and Brothers, New York.

women than of the men who were entitled to the ballot appear to have availed themselves of their privilege in the early elections, and that between seventy-five and eighty per cent of the women of the State probably voted in 1894 and in 1896. There is every reason to believe that their interest has increased rather than decreased.

Office Holding.†

Women have held office more extensively in Colorado than in any of the other suffrage States. Since they became eligible, one or more women have been elected to the House of Representatives of the Legislature every year except during a period of six years reaching from 1903 to 1909. Four served in the session of 1911. In 1912 a woman was elected to the Senate of the Legislature for the first time, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson of Denver, who had long been prominent, not only in public affairs, but in all the cultural activities of the city. With her were elected two women Representatives, Mrs. Agnes Riddle and Mrs. Frances S. Lee. In 1914 Senator

† See "Equal Suffrage," by Helen L. Sumner; "Equal Suffrage in Colorado," by Lewis Edwin and Mary Bartol Theiss, *Pictorial Review*, September, 1913, and "Miss Senator, Mrs. Commissioner and Ladies of the Jury," by Mary Holland Kinkaid, *The Delineator*, September, 1913.

Robinson was re-elected and Mrs. Evangeline Hartz was elected to the Lower House.

Since the adoption of equal suffrage, the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has always gone to a woman, most of the incumbents serving more than one term. Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell was twice re-elected, and was then appointed as one of the three State Prison Commissioners under whose administration a number of modern prison reforms have been introduced. The present incumbent, Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, who was re-elected in 1914, has been identified for years with a wide variety of movements making for the improvement of conditions in the State. No other State office has, as yet, gone to a woman; but women very generally hold county and city offices. In 1912, Mrs. George M. Lee was elected Presidential elector. Mrs. Ellis Meredith has been president of Denver's Board of Election Commissioners for a number of years. At a special election in February, 1914, there were 540 election judges, of whom 267 were women. Women are eligible to sit on juries, but it is not customary to impanel them except in special cases. Recently, however, since women in the newer equal suffrage States have shown capacity to sit on juries, the more public-spirited of the Colorado women have begun to protest

against their exemption from this obligation of citizenship.

*Effect Upon Legislation.**

One striking effect of woman suffrage has been the provision of clean, well-lighted and well-warmed places for polling booths, usually in private houses, churches, fire stations, guild halls or stores—never in saloons.

The statutes of Colorado present a most imposing array of laws affecting the welfare of women, children and the home. A large number of these must unquestionably be attributed to the work of women. In this State, where the sexes are more evenly distributed than in any of the other older suffrage States, the women voters have used their political power to influence legislation more consciously and deliberately and over a longer period of time than anywhere else. Women have introduced many of these laws into the Legislature, where, in most sessions, they had the advantage of women members to look after them. Every woman's club has its legislative committee, which scrutinizes every bill introduced and makes

* For a detailed list of laws attributable to the influence of women in Colorado, see Senate Document No. 722, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, Speech of Hon. Edward T. Taylor, delivered in the House of Representatives, April 24, 1912.

recommendations as to whether it should be supported or opposed. Among the laws most easily traceable to women's influence are measures making mothers joint guardians with the fathers over their children; raising the age of protection of young girls to 18; establishing a juvenile court; making parents responsible for the offenses of delinquent children, when they have by neglect or any other cause contributed to such delinquency; forbidding the employment of children in certain industries; making the wife the head of the family in cases where she provides the principal support; providing for supervision of lying-in hospitals and maternity homes conducted by private individuals; compelling men to support their families and making wife-desertion a felony; providing penalties for the punishment of male and female procurers; making it a felony for any person under 18 to work as a servant or employee in any house of ill-fame; making immoral solicitation a felony; imposing heavy penalties upon men for living upon the earnings of immoral women; forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten years; establishing State parental schools; establishing a State home for dependent children, two of the five members of the board to be women; requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women; establishing a

State industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the board to be women; requiring one woman physician on the board of the insane asylum; providing for the care of the feeble-minded; making father and mother joint heirs of a deceased child; establishing a State traveling library commission, to consist of five women from the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs, to be appointed by the Governor; prohibiting the gift or sale of cigarettes to children; prohibiting the sale of opium; making employers liable for industrial accidents; removing the emblems from the Australian ballot (an approach to an educational qualification for voting); establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners; making the Colorado Humane Society a State bureau of child and animal protection; providing for the teaching of humanity to animals in the public schools; establishing mothers' pensions; creating a minimum wage board to determine minimum wage for women; establishing an eight-hour law for women; providing for the initiative, referendum, recall, and for direct primaries. Before the franchise was granted women's property rights had already been fairly well secured, and now the last discriminations have been removed, so that, with respect to property, women are on a basis of perfect equality with men, the old laws of dower and courtesy having been replaced

with measures even more favorable to women.

UTAH*

| | |
|--|----------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1896 |
| Number of women eligible†..... | 85,729 |
| Estimated percentage of women registered who vote..... | 85 to 90 |
| Population (1910) Total | 373,351 |
| Males | 196,863 |
| Females | 176,488 |

History.

In 1870, before UTAH was admitted as a State, the territorial Legislature passed a measure adopting equal suffrage, and for seventeen years women voted at all elections and acted as delegates to political conventions and members of territorial and county committees, but they were not eligible to office. In 1887 Congress passed a bill taking away the rights granted by the territorial Legislature, and during the remaining nine years of the territorial period Utah women were without the vote. In 1896, however when statehood was conferred, equal suffrage was included in the Constitution. Since then women have been unquestioningly accepted on an equal political footing with men in all respects.

* "Equal Suffrage in the State of Utah," by Edwin Lewis and Mary Bartol Theiss, *Pictorial Review*, June, 1913.

† Bulletin U. S. Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of Voting Age For Certain States."

Extent of Woman Vote.

In a letter to the author, January 17, 1912, H. T. Haines, Commissioner of the State Bureau of Statistics, said that women vote in as large or larger numbers than men—from 85 per cent to 90 per cent of those eligible casting their ballots.

Office Holding.

During the second and third sessions of the Legislature after women were permanently enfranchised in Utah, Mrs. Martha Hughes Cannon sat in the Senate, the first woman in the United States to be elected to the upper chamber of a legislative body. A number of women have been elected to the House of Representatives at various times—four in 1912. In 1912, also, Mrs. Margaret Zane Witcher was elected a Presidential Elector. No woman has been elected to a State office other than as a member of the Legislature, but large numbers are filling—and have filled for years—various county and city offices.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Since their enfranchisement women have aided in, securing measures providing for equal pay for equal work for teachers; raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; establishing free public libraries in cities and towns; requiring in all schools

and educational institutions supported wholly or partly by public funds, systematic instruction in physiology and hygiene, including the effects of stimulants and narcotics; providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene and nursing; providing for a curfew bell at 9 P. M. to keep children off the streets at night; making it a misdemeanor for any minor to buy, accept or have in his possession, cigarettes, tobacco, opium or any other narcotic; providing for the protection of dependent, neglected or ill-treated children, and for the punishment of the persons responsible; requiring the establishment of kindergartens in towns of a specified size; prohibiting traffic in women; giving cities the power to suppress and prohibit disorderly houses; prohibiting pandering; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; prohibiting the employment of women more than nine hours a day or fifty-four hours a week; providing for medical examination of school children; authorizing boards of health to take certain steps to protect the public against venereal disease; providing for sanitary inspection of slaughter houses and other places where foodstuffs are prepared; creating a juvenile court commission; creating a minimum wage for women; requiring that seats shall be furnished where women are employed; providing for

mothers' pensions; making mothers equal guardians with the fathers over their children; compelling wife-deserters to pay a specified amount for the support of their families; giving local option on the liquor question. Women have practically the same rights over their independent property as men, the old laws of dower and curtesy having been superseded by more modern statutes.

IDAHO*

| | |
|---|----------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1896 |
| Number of women eligible† | 69,828 |
| Percentage of women registered who vote | 75 to 85 |
| Population (1910) Total | 325,594 |
| Males | 185,546 |
| Females | 140,048 |

History.

In 1895 the IDAHO Legislature voted unanimously in the Senate and 33 to 2 in the House, to submit a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution, and

* "Woman's Relation to Political Life" in "Woman in Modern Society," by Earl Barnes, pp. 173-206, W. B. Huebsch, New York, and "How the Women of Idaho Conduct Their Political Campaigns," by Edwin Lewis and Mary Bartol Theiss, The Pictorial Review for May, 1913.

† Bulletin U. S. Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of Voting Age For Certain States."

in 1896 the measure carried by a majority of 5,844.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Despite the unsettled state of the country, which makes it difficult for women to get to the polls, women in Idaho have exercised their rights as fully as men, and sometimes in considerably larger numbers, the percentage of eligible women who vote ranging from 75 per cent to 85 per cent.

Office Holding.

Three women were elected to the Lower House of the first Legislature after the women got the vote in Idaho, and in 1908 one woman was returned. No woman has ever been elected to the Senate. As in Colorado, the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has been held by a woman ever since women became eligible, each incumbent holding it for two terms of two years each. The educational system of Idaho is notable for its excellence and progressiveness. Women have not been elected to any other State offices, but—though not in as large numbers as in other equal suffrage States—they have frequently been placed in county and city positions. In 1900 the Legislature passed a bill exempting women from jury service, but this was vetoed by the Governor, in response to a

protest from the women themselves. It is not customary for women to serve, however, except in special cases.

Effect Upon Legislation.

In the first session of the Legislature after they got the vote, women aided materially in getting through a measure of the utmost importance to the young State, namely, an anti-gambling law. In the six sessions since then they have helped to secure measures raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; creating a juvenile court; creating a State humane society; increasing the control of married women over their independent property; establishing libraries and reading rooms and a State library commission, consisting of the president of the State University, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General; providing for a department of domestic science in the State University and for a course of lectures on the subject in the Academy of Idaho, establishing an industrial school; providing for the inspection and regulation of places where foods and drugs are prepared; providing for the commission form of government; providing anti-trust regulations; establishing measures for the control of the sale of liquor; prohibiting

persons of lewd lives, both men and women, from voting; establishing a nine-hour law for women; creating mothers' pensions; prohibiting traffic in women; giving cities and villages the power to regulate and suppress prostitution.

WASHINGTON*

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1910 |
| Number of women eligible† | 277,727 |
| Percentage of women registered who vote | 85 to 95 |
| Population (1910) Total | 1,141,990 |
| Males | 658,663 |
| Females | 483,327 |

History.

In 1883 the territorial Legislature passed a bill adopting equal suffrage, and for four years the women of WASHINGTON voted in as large, or larger, numbers than the men—to such good effect as to call forth glowing ecomiums from the State press. In 1886 some question of constitutionality having arisen, the Legislature strengthened the act. Nevertheless, in 1887, certain

* "How Equal Suffrage Was Regained in Washington State," by Lewis Edwin and Mary Bartol Theiss, Pictorial Review for July, 1913; and "How Washington Women Are Using Their Franchise," by Lewis Edwin and Mary Bartol Theiss, Pictorial Review for August, 1913.

† Bulletin U. S. Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of Voting Age For Certain States."

vicious elements that had suffered through the woman vote, succeeded in having the bill declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, on the grounds that it was improperly titled. The following year the Legislature re-enacted it—this time perfect in every respect. In 1889 the same elements that had secured the first reversal succeeded in getting the Supreme Court to disfranchise women on the grounds that territorial legislatures had no power to extend suffrage.

When statehood was applied for, the women tried to get the measure incorporated into the new constitution, but they were unable to do more than secure the submission of the question as an amendment. It was defeated by a majority of 19,000. In 1898 they again secured a submission of the question as a constitutional amendment, and this time it was defeated by a majority of 10,000. In 1910 the amendment was submitted for the third time, and won by a majority of 20,000—two to one in every election district.

The granting of the vote to women in Washington was generally regarded as the most important victory in the suffrage movement up to that time; for the reason that the feminine population is larger, the general population denser, the cities larger and more numerous, and the industries and all other conditions of life more like those

of the typical American commonwealth.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Shortly after Washington women got the vote, an initiative petition was circulated for the recall of Mayor Hiram C. Gill of Seattle because of his policy with respect to commercialized vice. The referendum on this petition—which, it is generally admitted, could never have received the requisite number of signatures but for the women voters—brought out a record woman vote. Out of the 72,000 voters registering 23,000 were women, although in Seattle men greatly outnumber women; and of the 23,000 registered 22,000 actually cast their ballots. Gill, who had been elected by a majority of 4,000, was recalled by a majority of 6,000. In the next city election, he presented himself as a candidate for the mayoralty, and received the nomination, but was defeated—again by women's votes. In 1914, secure of Mr. Gill's defeat, the interests put in the field a man whose election they particularly desired. Mayor Gill, in his manifesto acknowledged his conversion, promised a clean government and was elected by the help of the women's vote. After election he adhered strictly to his promises. Women are also credited with having brought about the recall of the Mayor and city commissioners of Tacoma for the same reasons

that they had opposed Mayor Gill. In the State elections of 1912, women polled a large vote and are credited with having elected the gubernatorial candidate of their choice, Ernest Lister, although he was not a member of the dominant party, which overwhelmingly carried the rest of the State ticket.

Office Holding.

In the first State election after women got the vote in Washington, which took place in 1912, two women—Dr. Nena Jolidon Croake of Tacoma and Mrs. Frances C. Axtell of Bellingham—were elected to the Lower House of the Legislature; Mrs. Helen J. Scott of Tacoma was chosen as a Presidential Elector; and Mrs. Josephine C. Preston, State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Numbers of women were elected to county and city offices. The first women drawn for jury duty after the adoption of equal suffrage accepted and served quite as a matter of course, and women have been serving on juries ever since.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Since women were enfranchised, they have made an excellent record. Among the measures which they introduced or to which they gave special support, the following were successful: Creating an eight-

hour law for women; establishing an industrial welfare commission to fix hours of employment, standard conditions of labor and minimum wage for women; providing for workman's compensation; creating a teachers' retirement fund; creating mothers' pensions; adopting the model Iowa Red Light Injunction and Abatement Act for the suppression of disorderly houses; regulating the milk industry; providing for juvenile courts; providing for penalties for child desertion; creating a State school for delinquent girls; introducing improvements into the public school system and establishing free kindergartens; providing that school buildings may be used as social centers; abolishing the death penalty; and adopting the initiative and referendum.

CALIFORNIA*

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1911 |
| Number of women eligible† | 671,386 |
| Estimated percentage of women registered who vote..... | 85 to 99 |
| Population (1910) Total | 2,377,549 |
| Males | 1,322,978 |
| Females | 1,054,571 |

* "What California's Women Did With Their Ballots," by Lewis Edwin and Mary Bartol Theiss, *Pictorial Review* for March, 1913; and "How the Women of California Are Preparing for Citizenship," by Lewis Edwin and Mary Bartol Theiss, *Pictorial Review* for April, 1913.

† Bulletin U. S. Census Bureau, 1910, "Females of Voting Age for Certain States."

History.

In 1896 a woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution was submitted to the voters by the CALIFORNIA Legislature, and defeated by a vote of 26,744. In 1911 the amendment was submitted for the second time and carried by a majority of 4,000.

This was an even greater victory than the one preceding, as conditions in California are even more typical of American civilization in its most advanced stage than those in Washington. It doubled the number of women voters, and added to the number of Presidential Electors elected by the votes of both men and women as many as Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming or of Washington and Colorado put together.

Extent of Woman Vote.

Never in the history of American politics has there been such a registration of voters as that immediately following the enfranchisement of the California women. In Los Angeles, where the first city election was held, practically all women of voting age hastened to place their names upon the rolls, and from 95 per cent to 99 per cent of those registered actually cast their ballots, outnumbering the men in almost every district.

In 1913 the College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California undertook an investigation to secure accurate data as

to the numbers of women registered and voting. Returns were secured from thirty-seven of the fifty-eight counties. The results indicate that about 251,847 women voted (Secretary of State Frank C. Jordan puts the figure at 313,883). This is an average for the thirty-seven counties, taken at random, of 61.3 per cent of the registered women voting. For the whole state of California the average of registered men voting was 56.4 per cent.

Office Holding.

In November, 1914, Mrs. Estelle L. Lindsay of Los Angeles was elected to the Assembly—the first woman to be elected to the State Legislature. Women in large numbers have been appointed members of various important boards and commissions, some of them involving the administration of large public funds.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The women's first care after their enfranchisement was to put through a most extraordinary legislative program, which, while it was probably not designed, except incidentally, to demonstrate the fact that they know how to use their political power, actually did serve that end most admirably. The list of laws passed in this one session is as follows:

The Mothers' Pension Law, granting aid to needy parents in order to keep the children at home rather than have them committed to institutions.

The Health Certificate Law, requiring a certificate of freedom from venereal diseases of all men before obtaining marriage licenses.

The Minimum Wage Law, creating a commission to investigate the conditions of industry of women and children, with power to invoke a minimum wage in industries paying less than a living wage.

The Red Light Abatement and Injunction Law, placing the responsibility of disorderly houses upon the owners and lessees rather than upon the inmates, and forbidding such houses.

The Joint Guardianship Law, giving mothers equal rights over their minor children.

The Juvenile Court Law, separating dependent from delinquent children.

The extension of the Eight-Hour Law for Women to include workers in apartment houses and nurses in training.

The Age of Consent Law, raising the age from 16 to 18.

The State Training School for Girls, providing a separate institution for girls, with the most approved correctional methods and thorough vocational training.

The Teachers' Pension Law, granting

pensions of \$500 a year to all teachers who have been in service thirty years.

The Net Container Law, specifying that packages shall show the amount of net contents.

The Weights and Measures Law, providing for a complete standard of weights and measures and regular inspection of dealers.

The Roberts bill, forbidding the destruction of any foodstuff fit for human consumption.

The State Civil Service Law, bringing practically all State employees under the merit service.

The creation of a State Housing and Immigration Commission to prepare for the coming of immigrants with the opening of the Panama Canal.

Prison Reform; all sentences except for murder are made indeterminate; strait-jackets and cold showers are prohibited, and arrangements are made for the payment of wages to State's prison convicts and for assistance to discharged prisoners.

The Milk Inspection Law, providing for strict regulation of dairies.

The White Slave Law, prohibiting traffic in women between counties.

The Tuberculosis Law, providing for the reporting of all such cases.

Amendment to the liquor laws, forbidding the sale of liquor between 2 and 6 A. M.

The creation of a commission to investigate the question of old-age pensions.

The Workman's Compensation Law, requiring compulsory compensation for injuries, and establishing a system of State industrial insurance.

The Water Conservation Law, establishing a Water Commission with authority over all water in the State. Conservation is a subject in which the women in California have taken keen interest.

The Psychopathic Parole Law, providing for the parole of persons mentally abnormal, but not dangerously insane, under the custody of psychopathic parole officers.

The Billboard Law, limiting billboards to ten feet in height and prohibiting spite fences of more than that height.

The Bastardy Law, requiring fathers to help support illegitimate children.

A law providing for the sterilization of inmates of insane asylums and certain convicts.

The creation of mosquito control districts.

The requirement of the wife's signature to legalize the assignment of a man's wages.

The amendment to the Child Labor Law raising the age limit of child workers from twelve to fifteen.

KANSAS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Municipal suffrage granted | 1887 |
| Full suffrage granted | 1912 |
| Estimated number of women eligible. | 439,000 |
| Estimated percentage of women registered who vote..... | 60 to 80 |
| Population (1910) Total | 1,690,949 |
| Males | 885,912 |
| Females | 805,037 |

History.

In 1861, when KANSAS was admitted to statehood, it came into the Union with school suffrage for women in its State Constitution. This was the first recognition ever given in this country to the principle of political rights for women, except for a small measure of school suffrage granted to widows with children of school age in Kentucky in 1838. In 1887, municipal suffrage was granted. In 1894, a constitutional amendment to give women full suffrage was submitted to the voters, but defeated. In 1903, the right to vote on the issuance of bonds was granted. In 1912, the amendment was again submitted and this time won by a majority of over 16,000.

Extent of Woman Vote.

In the election of 1914—the first general State election following the enfranchisement of Kansas women, it was estimated

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

that women cast 40 per cent of the vote. Out of a total of 87,220 ballots, 37,378 were cast by women, and 49,902 by men. In 1912, which was a presidential year, the vote of the men was 50,904.

Office Holding.

Women have held municipal offices in Kansas—especially in the smaller towns and in rural districts—to a considerable extent ever since they became eligible, more than a score having served successfully as mayors. They have served extensively on juries and made an excellent record.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The first move of the women after their enfranchisement was to turn their State suffrage organization into a Good Citizenship League, the chief object of which is to provide facilities for the study of government and civics among women.

Previous to 1912, however, the laws of Kansas showed a very high degree of fairness to women. The first Constitution, adopted in 1859, provided that "the legislature shall provide for the protection of the rights of women in acquiring and possessing property, real, personal or mixed, separate and apart from the husband, and shall also provide for their equal rights in the possession of their children." In 1868,

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

women were given full control of their property and their wages. The age of consent for girls is eighteen.

The measures passed in the legislative session of 1912-1913, which no doubt reflect the influence of women, are: Providing that the wages of prisoners shall be given to their families; providing for the censorship of moving pictures; creating a Department of Labor and Industry with at least one woman factory inspector; providing for workman's compensation; prohibiting traffic in women; providing penalties for the sale of immoral postcards, etc.; restricting the sale of injurious drugs; providing for the sterilization of idiots, insane, epileptics and certain classes of criminals.

OREGON

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1912 |
| Estimated number of women eligible. | 168,300 |
| Percentage of women registered who vote | No figures available |
| Population (1910) Total | 672,765 |
| Males | 384,265 |
| Females | 288,500 |

History.

The granting of full suffrage to women in OREGON in 1912 ended the longest continuous organized struggle for enfranchisement ever made in this country. There the amendment was submitted six times, the first in 1884, when it was defeated by a

vote of 28,186 to 11,223, almost three to one. In 1912, it won by a vote of 61,265 to 57,104, a majority of 4,161. School suffrage was granted in 1878.

Office Holding.

In the elections of November, 1914, Miss Marian Towne was elected to the House of Representatives of the State. Women have also been elected mayors, and have served quite largely on juries.

Effect Upon Legislation.

During the legislative session of 1912-1913, Oregon papers frequently commented upon the ease with which certain bills, which had previously met with violent opposition, passed through their various stages and became laws. This they unquestioningly attributed to the possession of political power on the part of women. Among them were measures providing for an industrial commission to fix hours of labor, standard conditions of labor, and a minimum wage for women and children; establishing a State Industrial School for Girls; providing for the industrial training of dependent girls in the public school system; making it a felony to refuse to support wife and minor children; providing for the care of children of marriages declared void; providing for teachers' pensions; providing

for mothers' pensions; adopting the model Iowa Red Light Abatement and Injunction Act for the suppression of disorderly houses; making it a felony for a man to live upon the earnings of a prostitute; requiring a medical certificate for men for marriage; creating a Live Stock Sanitary Board; regulating the sale of dairy products, and providing against the spread of tuberculosis.

ARIZONA

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1912 |
| Estimated number of women eligible | 43,891 |
| Percentage of women registered who vote | No figures available |
| Population (1910) Total | 204,354 |
| Males | 118,574 |
| Females | 85,780 |

History.

For nearly fifteen years ARIZONA women worked without avail to get their Territorial Legislature to exercise its right to confer full suffrage upon them without the referendum to the voters necessary in a state, although they secured school suffrage in 1887. Nor were they successful in their efforts to get a woman suffrage clause included in the Constitution when Arizona was admitted to statehood. A bill asking for a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution was introduced into the first Legislature of the new State, and was lost

by one vote in the Senate, although it passed in the House. The women then turned to the people, and in less than two months' time succeeded in getting twenty-five per cent more than the required number of signatures to an Initiative Petition. The measure went to the voters in the regular November elections and won by a majority of 7,240.

Extent of Woman Vote.

It is reported that women have taken a lively interest in the one State and all the local elections which have taken place in Arizona since their enfranchisement, the percentage of eligible women voting about equalling the percentage of eligible men.

Office Holding.

Mrs. Frances Willard Munds was elected a member of the Senate of Arizona State Legislature in the elections of 1914.

Effect Upon Legislation.

In the legislative session of 1912-1913, certain measures in which women had been interested for years, but with respect to which little progress had been made, received conspicuously favorable attention from their Representatives. An eight-hour law for women in certain industries was passed.

ALASKA

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Full suffrage granted | 1913 |
| Estimated number of women eligible | No figures available |
| Percentage of women registered who vote | No figures available |
| Population (1910) Total | 64,356 |

History.

In 1912, a territorial legislature for ALASKA was convened, and the first bill to be introduced, and the first bill to pass, was one enfranchising women. There was not a dissenting voice in either house.

Effect Upon Legislation.

The mere fact that women *were to be* on a basis of political equality with men, caused the Legislature to place them on a basis of perfect equality in every other way as far as this lay within its power. Section 495 of the Compiled Laws of Alaska reads: "All laws which impose or recognize civil disability in a wife which are not imposed or recognized as existing as to the husband, are hereby repealed; and for any unjust usurpation of her property or natural rights she shall have the same right to appeal in her own name alone to all courts for redress that the husband has."

ILLINOIS

Suffrage for Presidential Electors, for
some county and some State officials
and for all municipal officers granted
to women

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Estimated number of women eligible | 1913 1,567,401 |
| Percentage of women registered who vote | No figures available |
| Population (1910) Total | 5,638,591 |
| Males | 2,911,674 |
| Females | 2,726,917 |

History.

The difficulties of obtaining an amendment to the Constitution in ILLINOIS caused the women to turn their attention to an attempt to secure by legislative enactment the large measure of suffrage which the Legislature, under the Constitution, had the power to extend. In this they were successful in the summer of 1913. The enactment of this law gives them the right to vote for Presidential Electors, for State board of equalization, clerk of the appellate court, county collector, county surveyor, board of assessors, board of review, sanitary district trustees, and for all municipal offices except Justices of the Peace—all the offices not created by the State Constitution. They may also vote on all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of the municipalities or other political divisions of the State. The possession of this

political power will greatly assist them in their efforts to secure a constitutional amendment completing their enfranchisement.

Extent of Woman Vote.

The vote of the women in the elections that have taken place since they became eligible has been of record size. No figures are available, but reports agree that the number of women registering and voting has been in all cases equal, or in excess, of the number of men. Women had little part in the elections of November 3, 1914, as they are not entitled to vote for United States Senators or Congressmen, or for Governor or State Senators or representatives.

Office Holding.

Women in Illinois have taken an active part in public affairs for many years, especially in Chicago, where, even before their enfranchisement, they served on numerous boards and commissions, as factory inspectors, and in various positions connected with educational, philanthropic, correctional or sanitary work. Immediately after the passage of the measure, a commission to provide for the installation of a municipal garbage reduction plant—for which women had fought

for years—was appointed, and the women who had been most active in the movement placed at its head.

Effect Upon Legislation.

Even without the vote, Illinois women have been active in their efforts to secure from the Legislature measures in which they were particularly interested, but in most instances they had to work for many years and against great discouragements. Now that they have some measure of political power—even though it does not include the right to vote for members of the Legislature—they hope to be able to accomplish much, and to accomplish in a very short time what formerly took years of efforts crowned with small gains.

MONTANA

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Full suffrage granted..... | 1914 |
| Number of women eligible..... | 81,741 |
| Percentage of women registered who vote..... | No figures available |
| Population (1910), Total..... | 376,053 |
| Males | 226,872 |
| Females | 149,181 |

History.

School suffrage was granted in Montana in 1913, and the same Legislature passed the bill for submitting a woman suffrage

amendment to the State Constitution to the electors by a vote in the House of 75 to 2 and in the Senate of 15 to 2. The popular vote which was taken on November 3, 1914, gave a majority of about 4000 for the amendment.

NEVADA

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Full suffrage granted..... | 1914 |
| Number of women eligible..... | 18,140 |
| Estimated percentage of registered women who vote..... | No figures available |
| Population (1910), Total..... | 81,875 |
| Males | 52,551 |
| Females | 29,324 |

History.

Although completely surrounded by equal suffrage States, Nevada had no form of woman suffrage before the full enfranchisement of its women by the popular vote of November, 1914. The growing sentiment in favor of woman suffrage was shown by the fact that the constitutional amendment to be submitted to the voters was passed by the House of Representatives by 49 to 3, and in the Senate by 19 to 3. When the popular vote was taken on November 3, 1914, every county but one gave a majority in favor of woman suffrage.

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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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[January 15, 1915]

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419 Munsey Building,
Washington, D. C.,

To the Editor:

This analysis of the vote in the House of Representatives on the Bristow-Mondell suffrage resolution is respectfully submitted to you for your information and that of your readers. We shall welcome your comment upon it.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Medill McCormick,
Chairman Congressional Committee,
National Woman Suffrage Association.

STATES RIGHTS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 15.—The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has given out a statement analyzing the House vote on woman suffrage last Tuesday with reference to the states rights issue involved.

The suffrage resolution, says the statement, like the Hobson resolution for national prohibition which was voted upon December 22, proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and the chief argument of the opposition in each case was that the amendment violated state sovereignty. The committee therefore watched with especial interest the course of those members of Congress, who, within three short weeks, were found facing both ways on the states rights question.

Of the 204 votes against the woman suffrage resolution, 72 were cast by members who had voted for the national prohibition amendment. Of this 72 members, 63 were Democrats. Of those 63 Democrats, 58 were from the South—the very citadel of states rights. Some of these latter, speaking in favor of the prohibition amendment, had argued the states rights doctrine practically out of existence. Take, for example, Representative Saunders, of Virginia, on the subject of a national prohibition amendment. He says:

"How then can this resolution be critically assailed as an invasion in any proper sense of States rights when it is a proceeding under the Constitution, by virtue of the Constitution, and in conformity with the Constitution to amend the Constitution, conformably to a reserved right contained in that very instrument?"

"We talk as if some outrageous thing was being done today, as if the States were to be robbed of some precious rights, in defiance of the law. Why, we are proceeding in conformity with one of the rights of the states, namely, the right to approach this body and call upon us to exercise our constitutional function by affording to the States of this Union the opportunity to determine whether or not they will amend the organic law. That is the proposition with which we are dealing today."

Mr. Saunders was paired against the suffrage amendment. Why did he not apply his previous argument and vote for it?

Representative Howard, of Georgia, pleads ardently for national prohibition. He says:

"It is a question, pure and simple: Are we, as representatives of American people, so cowardly as to refuse to submit the question to them, that they may through their regularly elected legislatures express the will of a majority as to this great national problem?"

Why did not Mr. Howard apply this argument to the suffrage amendment?

Mr. Stephens, of Mississippi, devoted a large part of his speech on prohibition to an exposition of the states rights doctrine:

"Even though an amendment shall have the effect of depriving a state of some right that it now possesses," says Mr. Stephens, "the state has no grounds of complaint, and there is no infringement of the doctrine of states rights if such amendment is adopted in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. * * * I contend, Mr. Speaker, that this is not an invasion of states rights. Three-fourths of the states are given the right to amend the Constitution, and it is the denial of a constitutional right granted that number of states if we assert that an amendment shall not be made to the Constitution because some state opposes the amendment."

Why did not Mr. Stephens apply this argument to the suffrage amendment?

And Mr. Tribble, of Georgia, spoke as follows on the subject of national prohibition:

"Mr. Speaker, I shall not arbitrarily shut the door on my constituents who should also be granted the privilege of expressing their wishes. * * * If two-thirds of the States desire this amendment, then the one-third should not complain, but the people not agreeing with me would have a right to complain if I should force my personal views on them."

Mr. Tribble, apparently not counting the women of his district as constituents, nor some of the men, was not able to see that he was forcing his personal views upon many who do not agree with him on the suffrage question.

THE HOUSE VOTE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 15.—The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has given out the following statement and analysis of the vote on the Mondell woman suffrage amendment in the House last Tuesday:

"The favorable vote exceeded by four the most sanguine advance count of the Congressional Committee, based upon the records of its lobby work, and must have surprised many suffragists as well as anti-suffragists. It was easy to assume that the chief suffrage support would come from the equal suffrage states, of which there are now eleven. These states, however (Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Kansas), have a total representation in Congress of only 40. Illinois, where women have partial suffrage, but do not vote for members of Congress, has 27 representatives. Including these, there would be a possible 67 votes, of which 3 adverse, a vacancy and 5 paired reduced the actual number cast on Tuesday to 58. The total vote in favor of the resolution being 174, of which the suffrage states gave 58, the remaining 116 votes, of course, came from non-suffrage states.

"This means that, not counting Illinois, 79 per cent, or, with Illinois, 66 per cent of the vote in favor of the suffrage resolution came from states in which women do not yet vote. And 23 of the favorable votes came from Southern states: Alabama, 1; Virginia, 1; Maryland, 1; West Virginia, 4; Tennessee, 4; Kentucky, 1, and Missouri, 11.

Following is a complete statement of the vote by political parties and states:

Analysis of the Vote on the Mondell Woman Suffrage Resolution in the House of Representatives January 12, 1915.

| AYES. | | NAYS. | |
|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| Democrats | 86 | Democrats | 170 |
| Republicans | 76 | Republicans | 34 |
| Progressives | 11 | | |
| Independent | 1 | | |
| Total | 174 | Total | 204 |

| NOT VOTING. | |
|--------------------|----|
| Democrats | 26 |
| Republicans | 16 |
| Progressives | 4 |
| Total | 46 |

Of the 46 not voting 12 were paired in favor with 6 against (proportion two to one because of two-thirds majority required.)

| | | |
|--------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Alabama— | Aye.... 1 (dem.) | No.... 9 (dem.) |
| Arizona— | Aye.... 1 (dem.) | |
| Arkansas— | Aye.... none | No.... 7 (dem.) |
| California— | Aye.... 11 (6 rep., 3 dem., 1 pro., 1 ind.) | |
| Colorado— | Aye.... 3 (dem.) | No.... 1 (dem.) |
| Connecticut— | Aye.... 1 (dem.) | No.... 4 (dem.) |
| Delaware— | Aye.... none | No.... 1 (dem.) |
| Florida— | Aye.... none | No.... 2 (dem.) (2 not voting.) |
| Georgia— | Aye.... none | No.... 11 (dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| Idaho— | Aye.... 2 (rep.) | No.... none |
| Illinois— | Aye.... 22 (16 dem., 5 rep., 1 pro.) | No.... 2 (dem.) (2 not voting.) |
| Indiana— | Aye.... 5 (dem.) | No.... 8 (dem.) |
| Iowa— | Aye.... 7 (6 rep., 1 dem.) | No.... 2 (dem.) (2 not voting.) |
| Kansas— | Aye.... 8 (2 rep., 5 dem., 1 pro.) | No.... none |
| Kentucky— | Aye.... 1 (rep.) | No.... 8 (dem.) (2 not voting.) |

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Louisiana— | Aye.... none | No.... 7 (dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| Maine— | Aye.... 1 (rep.) | No.... 2 (1 dem., 1 rep.) (1 not voting.) |
| Maryland— | Aye.... 1 (dem.) | No.... 5 (dem.) |
| Massachusetts— | Aye.... 8 (5 dem., 3 rep.) | No.... 6 (5 rep., 1 dem.) |
| Michigan— | Aye.... 9 (8 rep., 1 pro.) | No.... 2 (dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| Minnesota— | Aye.... 5 (rep.) | No.... 3 (rep.) (1 not voting.) |
| Mississippi— | Aye.... none | No.... 8 (dem.) |
| Missouri— | Aye.... 11 (dem.) | No.... 3 (1 rep., 2 dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| Montana— | Aye.... 2 (dem.) | |
| Nebraska— | Aye.... 1 (rep.) | No.... 4 (3 dem., 1 rep.) (1 not voting.) |
| Nevada— | Aye.... none | No.... none (1 not voting.) |
| New Hampshire— | Aye.... 1 (dem.) | No.... 1 (dem.) |
| New Jersey— | Aye.... 7 (6 dem., 1 rep.) | No.... 4 (2 dem., 2 rep.) (1 not voting.) |
| New Mexico— | Aye.... 1 (dem.) | |
| New York— | Aye.... 9 (7 dem., 1 rep., 1 pro.) | No.... 20 (13 dem., 7 rep.) (12 not voting.) |
| North Carolina— | Aye.... none | No.... 9 (dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| North Dakota— | Aye.... 3 (rep.) | |
| Ohio— | Aye.... 5 (1 rep., 4 dem.) | No.... 12 (1 rep., 11 dem.) (2 not voting.) |
| Oklahoma— | Aye.... 5 (2 rep., 3 dem.) | No.... 3 (dem.) |
| Oregon— | Aye.... 3 (rep.) | |
| Pennsylvania— | Aye.... 20 (10 rep., 5 dem., 5 pro.) | No.... 9 (5 dem., 4 rep.) (7 not voting.) |
| Rhode Island— | Aye.... 1 (dem.) | No.... 1 (dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| South Carolina— | Aye.... none | No.... 7 (dem.) |
| South Dakota— | Aye.... 2 (rep.) | No.... 1 (rep.) |
| Tennessee— | Aye.... 4 (2 dem., 2 rep.) | No.... 5 (dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| Texas— | Aye.... none | No.... 18 (dem.) |
| Utah— | Aye.... 1 (rep.) | No.... none (1 not voting.) |
| Vermont— | Aye.... none | No.... 2 (rep.) |
| Virginia— | Aye.... 1 (rep.) | No.... 7 (dem.) (2 not voting.) |
| Washington— | Aye.... 4 (1 pro., 3 rep.) | No.... none (1 not voting.) |
| West Virginia— | Aye.... 4 (1 dem., 3 rep.) | No.... 1 (dem.) (1 not voting.) |
| Wisconsin— | Aye.... 2 (rep.) | No.... 9 (6 rep., 3 dem.) |
| Wyoming— | Aye.... 1 (rep.) | No.... none |

[January 15, 1915]

Wanted: Aggressive Pacificism

By Louis P. Lochner



THE CHICAGO PEACE SOCIETY
116 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO

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Wanted: Aggressive Pacifism

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER



The other day the president of a large university said to me, "This is not the time to talk peace; we shall make ourselves ridiculous." Curiously enough this same president, who thinks it ridiculous for anyone to expound peace dogma in war time, has for the last ten years with the soberest mien and with evident satisfaction reviewed the annual dress parade of the corps of cadets of his institution, never once realizing that for him to cast admiring glances at his brass buttoned, gold-braided warriors in time of profound peace, and with medals and other prizes to encourage them to study the art of man killing, was possibly no less incongruous than for us in time of a world calamity to ask ourselves, what can we do to make the recurrence of a frightful catastrophe like the present impossible.

If ever there was a time for examining into the merits of the pacifist program, this is the time. We have just seen the militarist insurance scheme for peace collapse. Armed peace, which rests upon the assumption that the best way to curb man's primal instinct to fight is to put a revolver in his hand; alliances, which calmly ignore that while one group of powers is aiming to preserve peace

by being stronger than the rival group, the latter is meanwhile likewise aiming at being stronger than the first, thus provoking a mathematical impossibility; secret diplomacy, which enables a few on top to involve millions of human beings in a carnival of carnage; the ultimatum, which, as Dr. Jordan has put it, offers a nation twenty-four hours' time to choose whether it wishes to be swallowed whole or masticated first—these four bulwarks of militarism have been utterly unable to repel the invasion of the Demon War.

But while militarism has failed, it is also true that pacificism has not asserted itself sufficiently to avert the catastrophe. Shall we blame the few who have year in, year out, heroically espoused an unpopular cause, and who even in the countries now at war stood out to the last against this mad orgy of bloodshed? That would be like blaming the doctor for the patient's failure to obey instructions and his consequent failure to recuperate.

Is it not rather true that the peace movement needs much more consecrated effort on the part of the many than it has received in the past and is receiving even now? I have little patience with those who say in a half bored way, "I simply cannot stand to think about the war; it is too awful"—and who then immediately plunge into their social diversions, amusements and frivolities as though nothing had happened. It is our duty to think about the war; to think about it constructively, so that the world mind may be definitely focused in the direction of better world organization.

Too long have we indulged in a policy of muddling through, of calmly assuming that somehow America, though a heavy contributor to the

conditions which have produced the European war, will escape miraculously. Though the peace problem is unquestionably one of the most fundamental problems of human relationships, we American people have been content, broadly speaking, to have one lecturer a year give a nice "uplift talk" on the beauties of peace (which, incidentally, no sane person denies) in our club or society or church; on the 18th of May we have recalled that there is an artistic edifice at The Hague called the Peace Palace; several times a year we have rounded up our converts at a peace luncheon in rapt mutual admiration of each other—and meanwhile Congress has voted away billions of dollars for dreadnaughts which in turn inspired the Reichstag or Parliament or the Chamber of Deputies to add to their enormous war budgets and construct additional dreadnaughts on their part, which in turn the next season served as conclusive evidence for our statesmen at Washington to start the vicious circle all over again.

Cheerfully and gladly the world has voted two thousand five hundred million dollars a year for engines of destruction; but the constructive work of organizing the world on a pacific basis is begrudged the sum of fifteen million dollars (most of it the gift of one man) with which it is endowed. Many sincere believers in the desirability of peace contribute liberally to the Navy League because they think that an adequate navy will keep us out of war; yet it has never once occurred to them that they ought to make their support conditional upon the Navy League's getting together with the Navy Leagues of other countries for de-

termining some reasonable basis to check the insane rivalry that provoked the war abroad.

Thousands upon thousands were willing to fall on their knees on October 4 to pray God to put a stop to the shocking things that our kinsmen in Europe are perpetrating, but when some of us dare to suggest that one good token of our sincerity would be for us to take the courageous step of beginning the reformation of the world at our own doors, by calling a halt to armaments, by forbidding the exportation of auto trucks, food supplies, ammunitions, clothing to belligerents, by discountenancing the loaning of money we are called ultra-pacifists, visionaries, men of weak morals and intellect, and other endearing terms.

We read about the innumerable diplomatic difficulties that are confronting our nation at this critical time with a bored confidence that these are the affairs of the Department of State, and with a calm conviction that in thanking God for Wilson on October 4 we have rendered inestimable service to the cause of peace. If we become worried about the situation at all, we prefer to let the military expert, whose "expertness" naturally consists in devising more armaments, and the war trader, whose patriotism is synonymous with dividends, provide additional "protection", additional "defensive" equipment rather than profit by the lessons of this war and devise some other insurance scheme. The testimony of the military expert is accepted as gospel truth without question; any scheme that pacifists may suggest is labeled as visionary.

In short, then, we have not as a people awakened to the tremendous problem of better world organ-

ization. We must embark upon a campaign of education which shall reach every hamlet and village, which shall make every man and woman think upon this commanding problem. We must organize public opinion, first of all to think internationally, and then to think pacifically.

How shall we go about it? Well, Norman Angell has ably pointed out how the militarist goes about it: "When Admiral Tirpitz decided that Germany was to have a great navy, he knew that the first thing to do was to create a public opinion, and he promptly started the German Navy League, saw that it was subsidized, inspired patriotic writers, entertained professors, made friends with the newspaper men, had the Krupps buy up a newspaper or two, so that in less than ten years German opinion had formulated its demand for a great navy, and, of course, the Government had to be guided by so definitely expressed a national demand. When orders are slack at Krupp's, there is no difficulty in arranging that the French agents of that enterprising firm shall circulate in French newspapers statements as to the impending increase of French armaments, which are promptly reproduced (with a new coat of paint) in the German Press. In England we have not one Navy League, but at least two. When our great soldiers want Conscription, they do not wait for public opinion—they make it. Lord Roberts—Earl and Field Marshal—takes the stump, addressing great popular audiences, is most efficiently stage-managed, and for ten years the organization which he patronizes has been industriously at work."

One needs but to read our daily newspapers to

see something of the activities of the militarists to organize public opinion in their favor. Witness this news item under date of November 27:

As a result of the national agitation of the Navy League of the United States, 110 neighborhood and civic clubs in Wisconsin will debate this fall on the question of a larger sea force.

In Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa and other middle western states Rear Admiral Albert Ross, U. S. N., retired, who built the great lakes naval training station near Lake Bluff, and Congressman-Elect George Edmund Foss will be among the speakers.

This program was announced yesterday by William Mather Lewis of Lake Forest, field secretary of the Navy League, with headquarters at 1734 First National Bank Building. Chicago members number more than 100.

The time has come when those who stand for a better order of things must throw all conventionality to the wind and start out upon aggressive lines. When an editor indulges in loose talk about preparedness, vital interests, national honor and the like, when he makes misstatements of fact with reference to international matters, let us not be content to shake our heads and say "how silly." Write the editor; show him his errors; protest against jingoism. If the pacifists are but half as vigilant as the militarists, the editor will soon change his attitude (assuming, of course, that he attempts honestly to reflect public opinion).

When an aspirant for office asks to be sent to Congress, the Navy League is pretty quick to find out how he stands on the armament question. Somehow the pacifists have considered it undignified to inform themselves similarly. The time has come when peace people must serve notice upon any man who places his trust for peace in huge

armaments, that he is unfit to hold public office.

The peace loving people in this country far outweigh the militarists, but they softly blow the flute or the oboe or the clarinet, while the militarist rattles the drum. Let him continue to rattle it, if he must, but let us at least exchange our instruments for the trombone or the bass horn.

But in addition to organized, aggressive and coordinated activity there must be intelligent understanding of the fundamental principles of civilism and militarism. I would therefore have those who care sufficiently about the future of this world of ours face this fact open mindedly and without prejudice: Europe wanted peace and she got war. What is to be the mechanism by which men in the future can get what they want?

With this commanding fact in mind, I would have them examine the philosophies of a Bernhardt, a Mahan and a Roosevelt on the one hand, and of a Norman Angell or a David Starr Jordan or a Novicow on the other. I would have them investigate, what is the relation of military power to national advantage? Does a nation's commerce depend upon its armed forces? I would have them review the history of wars and see what the arbitrament of the sword has accomplished, and then study the history of pacifism and see what the arbitrament of reason and law has wrought. With this study I would couple an investigation into the activities of the war traders and the armaments rings.

As our international problems come up from time to time let each man weigh in his mind, where does our duty lie, having due regard for the viewpoint of the other fellow? How did it

look to other nations when we sent our fleet around the world during the Roosevelt regime? Is it a coincidence that Brazil's and Argentine's military expansion began immediately after the visit of our fleet? How will it affect our widely heralded profession of desiring to lead the world in peace if we improve this time of international unrest, when all other great nations are exploding their powder and sinking their warships, when they are crippling every industry except that of the manufacture of armaments, when they are running themselves into virtual financial bankruptcy, when they are deluging their respective countries with an avalanche of heartache and misery and poverty—if, I say, we improve this time for hanging the millstone of militarism around our necks, even though it be in the name of defense?

I would also have the student of international affairs look into the work of The Hague and determine whether possibly there is some connection between the fact that the delegates to The Hague Conferences were preponderantly military men and international law experts—men to whom a “peace” conference connoted a conference for adopting rules of the ring, so to speak—and the fact that relatively little was done along the lines of examining into the conditions that have produced war and evolving a positive substitute for it, but much in the direction of drawing up regulations concerning dum dum bullets, explosives, bombardment of unfortified towns, and the like? (Incidentally, does not the unceremoniousness with which dum dum bullets are used, and bombs

dropped from the sky, and asphyxiating gases diffused, show how futile it is to expect these rules of the game to be observed when the very laws of humanity have been outraged?

I am indicating but a few problems at random each of which merits careful study.

Can the American public rouse itself from its state of lethargy, of tacit acceptance of old standards without examining into the new?

This is the challenge of pacifism.

Jan. 26, 1915

"I should like to say that for women to work against the woman's vote seems to me entirely unnecessary. If Suffrage is granted, no wrong is done the women who do not wish to vote—nothing will compel them to do so. But it is only fair that the women who wish to express themselves on social, moral and political questions should have an opportunity so to do."

CYRUS NORTHROP,

President Emeritus, University of Minnesota

IN MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE, JAN 26, 1915




Post Card.



PLACE THE
POSTAGE STAMP
HERE

[February 22, 1915]

 Read and hand to some intelligent friend, with request to read and pass it on.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

ADDRESS OF

CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK
OF THE NORTH CAROLINA SUPREME COURT

BEFORE THE

EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

GREENSBORO, N. C., 22 FEBRUARY, 1915

Ladies and Fellow Citizens:

It will not be long before it shall be sufficient in North Carolina, as well as elsewhere, to say simply, "fellow citizens." It is a pleasure, always, to come to Greensboro. Your people are progressive and open-minded. You are willing to hear both sides of any proposition and then give your voice to the side that seems to be the better cause. You stand for the betterment of conditions, and form your opinions only after hearing what can be said for and against any measure. In short, this town is not fossilized. Its people belong to the Twentieth Century. One of the leaders down at Raleigh in the fight to confer equal and just rights upon women is a distinguished son of your town—Senator Hoggood. He had the courage to stand for the right, and will be heard from, in the years to come, as a leader.

We have heard much of the "submerged tenth." I am here to say a word for justice to the "disfranchised half." When our Constitution was formed at Halifax in 1776 and at Philadelphia in 1787 representative government was new. For thousands of years, down to that time, the people had not governed themselves, but they had been governed by whatever power held the sword. Only a partial experiment had been made in a few cities like Athens and Rome, where corruption and military violence had dominated, and for three or four centuries the landed interests in Great Britain had some voice in the Government—checked, however, by corruption and intrigue.

They are poor students of history who think that in 1776 we reached a democratic form of government, as we now understand popular government. Our State Constitution at Halifax allowed the manhood of the State to vote only for the lower house of the Legislature. The Senate was chosen only by voters who owned 50 acres of land or more. The judges were elected by the Legislature for life, and the Governor and the other State officers were also elected by the General Assembly, which body chose the magistrates, who in turn chose the sheriff and other county officers except the clerk of the court, who was appointed by the judges for life. Property was evidently afraid of manhood suffrage, and checked it on all sides so as to make it merely a delusion. It was 60 years before the people were allowed to vote for Governor; nearly 80 years passed before they were allowed to vote for State Senators, and 92 years before they were allowed to vote for judges.

In the Federal Constitution formed at Philadelphia there was the same discrimination. The people were entrusted with the election of only one-sixth of

the Government, *i. e.*, with one-half of the legislative department—the lower house of Congress—while the Senate was made elective at second hand through State legislatures, and it took us 115 years to acquire for the people the right to elect United States Senators. Last year was the first time the people of North Carolina ever had that privilege. The President was made elective at third hand by electors to be chosen by the State legislatures. But after the lapse of 40 or 50 years the people, without any constitutional amendment, forced the choice of electors to be made at the ballot box, with the result that they became mere figureheads, and we thus achieved practically the election of the President by the people—contrary to the evident intention of the Constitution. The third department of the Government—the judges—were made appointive at fourth hand by the President, who was intended to be chosen at third hand by the electors selected by the legislatures and subject to confirmation by a Senate chosen at second hand, and they were given life tenures, to be beyond any consideration of the popular will. This last matter still remains in that archaic state. The United States judges are not yet made elective by the people, and still hold for life, though Mr. Jefferson one hundred years ago contended that they should be made elective and serve for a term of years.

I have thus instanced the growth of manhood suffrage, first to point out to you that this movement for suffrage to the women is the logical outgrowth of this great democratic movement to place the Government in the hands of the people, and, secondly, to point out that while men have been slow in achieving their own emancipation, and that manhood suffrage is still denied as to one-third of the Federal Government—the choice of the judiciary—this movement for the enfranchisement of the women has progressed far more rapidly. Beginning some 40 years ago and practically becoming active only in the last 15 years, it has already become a part of the Constitution in twelve great States of this country and one Territory, and covers 49 per cent of the area of the continental United States. Already one-fourth of the United States Senators, one-sixth of the House of Representatives, and one-fifth of the presidential electors are chosen by States in which women have equal suffrage with the men.

MOVEMENT ACQUIRES SPEED.

In the last thirty days the movement has acquired accelerated speed. A constitutional amendment to confer equal suffrage has passed the New York Legislature by a unanimous vote in both houses. One man spoke against it, but there his obstinacy failed and he voted for the measure. The equal suffrage amendment has passed also by overwhelming majorities in the legislatures of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Iowa, South Dakota, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas. It passed one house in Maine, but lacked one vote of the necessary two-thirds in the other house, and in Texas. It is pending in several other States. All this has happened in the last thirty days. North Carolina's is the only Legislature this year that so far has refused to allow the people to vote upon the question.

Besides the above progress, there are some twenty other States in the Union, in addition to the twelve that have full suffrage, in which the women have municipal suffrage or vote for school officers and on local tax assessments.

The movement, too, is world-wide. The women have equal suffrage with the men in Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Finland in the north of Europe, and in the Union of Australia and in all its states and in New Zealand. In addition, the women have municipal suffrage in all the provinces of Canada (a country territorially as large as the United States) and in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Indeed, in the British Isles the women vote for everything,

and are eligible for every office, except member of Parliament, and they are sure to get that at the first parliament held after the war closes. This is practically agreed upon.

NO MERE FAD.

A movement that is thus world-wide in its scope and which is moving onward with accelerated speed is no mere fad, but has its foundation in the justice of the demand and in the need for the suffrage based on economic causes. It has been proven beneficial in the countries and States which have adopted it.

Though formerly suffrage was based upon property and other considerations, the present Constitution of North Carolina recognizes that all adults, native born or naturalized, are entitled to it except those who are mentally or morally deficient. Let us examine the clause in our Constitution on suffrage. It admits to the ballot all adults who are native born or naturalized, except four classes. What are these classes that are disqualified? They are: (1) Idiots and lunatics—because they are mentally defective. (2) Convicts—because they are moral defectives. (3) Illiterates—unless their grandfathers could vote—because, as a class, negroes are deemed mentally and morally unfit; and (4) Women.

Are the mothers, the wives, sisters, and daughters of the white men of North Carolina disfranchised because they are morally defective or because they are mentally defective? Unless they are, they have as much right to vote as the men, and are as competent to exercise the right of suffrage. They cannot be deemed morally defective, for the records of our courts, our jails, and State prisons show that there are some twenty to thirty times as many men tried and convicted of crime as women. Are they mentally defective? That is the only remaining ground which can be urged. Judging by the evasive and often illogical objections urged against equal suffrage by speakers who bestow exaggerated compliments while denying the women their rights, this must be the belief of many of the opponents. I have never heard but one man who stated the objection squarely. I was passing through Caswell County in an automobile and stopped at a country store one Saturday afternoon, where there were several men, some of whom knew me, and the subject of equal suffrage was mentioned. A rather dilapidated specimen of a man, who was whittling a dry-goods box, spoke up and said: "Weemen ain't fitten to vote. They ain't got no sinse. I knows 'em." I told him he was entitled to the credit of having the courage of his convictions, and if his statement was correct, the women ought not to vote; that he was the only man I had ever heard give a reason for opposing equal suffrage; but that when he said women had no sense he reminded me of a man from the "dark corner of Wake" (as we call it), who came down to Raleigh to see Ringling's circus. It was the first one he had seen, and with round-eyed wonder he looked at the camels, elephants, lions, and tigers. But he did not notice one animal lying down in the corner chewing some hay. Presently the giraffe began to get up and unfold himself until his head touched the tent pole. The countryman staggered back and said: "They ain't no sich animal!" And I told him that when a man said that the women did not have at least as much sense as the men, I would say to him, "They ain't no sich animal!"

THE ELEMENTS IN OPPOSITION.

The elements that really oppose woman's suffrage are: (1) The liquor interests, who know that women are in earnest in opposing their business. Votes of the women at the last election carried the only four States that voted for prohibition, and every one knows that in all the other States that have prohibition their indirect influence has been the great motive power for prohibition.

If they had had the ballot they would have voted liquor out of all the States long since. (2) The political machines are opposed to equal suffrage, for where they have the men rounded up they fear to lose their control, for they know that they cannot fool the women as readily. Then there is the vice trust and those who make their profit by handling child labor and by oppressing the women in sweat shops, and all those who are opposed to a cleaning up of the community morally and physically.

I do not mean to say, by any means, that all who are opposed to woman's suffrage belong to one or more of these classes. This would be untrue and unjust. The largest number of those who oppose the suffrage do not belong to these classes; but the classes I name are those pecuniarily interested in opposing the admission of women to the suffrage.

SOME OF THE OBJECTIONS.

I will mention briefly some of the objections that are made to this movement:

First. It is said that it is a fad and a mere temporary delusion. The sketch that I have given of what equal suffrage has achieved in the last fifteen years throughout the world and the marvelous progress that has been made in the last thirty days is a sufficient answer to this. No movement unless based upon the fundamental economic needs of the age could make such world-wide and irresistible progress. If it were a fad, it would be repealed when experience had demonstrated that it was injurious or needless. But it has not been repealed anywhere, and, on the contrary, wherever it has been tried it has spread to the adjoining States.

Second. It is said that women are too emotional for the ballot. When Mr. Bryan put Wilson in nomination at Baltimore the demonstration lasted for nearly an hour before any one could be heard, and the tramping and marching and shouting resembled that of a lunatic asylum. When Roosevelt was put in nomination at Chicago this record was more than surpassed. I might mention many other instances. I am not condemning the enthusiasm of the men on these occasions. But I wish to say that the women have never equaled such emotional displays as those.

Third. It has been said seriously that if women are allowed to vote they will vote for the handsomest man. I now understand why some politicians are opposed to women voting.

Fourth. It is urged that the vote is not necessary for women, because they vote through their husbands. But do the husbands always vote the views of their wives? If they did, we would have a cleaner government and cleaner towns everywhere. We would have had prohibition long ago—and have had it enforced. We would have seen other evils disappear which are now tolerated, though forbidden by law. Who casts the vote that expresses the views of the drunkard's wife? Then there are in the United States 8,000,000 of adult women who have not chosen to marry. What man casts the ballot expressing the views of those 8,000,000? Then there are several millions of men who have no wives. What woman's views do they vote?

Fifth. Then it is said that ballots are a substitute for muskets, and therefore women have no right to vote. More than one-half of the men who have a right to vote would be rejected by any recruiting office in the world. And, on the other hand, one-half of the men who fight are under 21 and have no right to vote. So those who carry muskets and those who vote are by no means the same element. Besides, if the women do not bear arms, they raise the soldiers who do carry the muskets, and should have a voice in saying whether there should be war or not. If the women vote, they will soon abolish war and its villainies as they are abolishing liquor and child labor and other iniquities.

Sixth. It is said that woman's sphere is her home, and that she cannot leave the children to vote. It will not take on an average more than half an hour once in two years for a woman to cast her ballot, and if she is so overwhelmed by her duties that she cannot get that much leisure, she certainly needs the ballot badly. We might as well say that a man's sphere is his store, his office, his workshop, and following the plow, and that he cannot neglect these things to cast a ballot. That was the argument in old times, and the class with leisure and wealth assumed the control of the Government and opposed manhood suffrage upon the identical ground now urged against woman's suffrage—that the masses had to make a living and were not competent to aid in governing.

Seventh. It is said that women have had no experience in politics. Their brothers when they become 21 have had no experience, but they are at once admitted to the ballot. Girls when they become 21 are in exactly the same state of preparation for taking a part in the government which is to tax them and their property and to pass laws governing their conduct.

Eighth. It is said that there is too much filth and mire in politics, and women should not be exposed to it. If there is filth and mire in politics, the men put it there, for they alone have been running the business. And it is high time we gave the women a chance at housecleaning. This is exactly what has happened in suffrage States. The women have caused the polling places to be removed from the barrooms and placed in decent surroundings, and then they have proceeded to remove the barrooms themselves out of the community.

Ninth. A very popular opposition argument at one time in the South was that to permit the women to vote would be to allow the negro women to vote. As the grandfather clause would apply to negro women equally with negro men, there is no reason to believe that the "chivalry" will be less able to keep the negro cooks from the polls than they have been in keeping the husbands of the negro cooks from voting. They cannot be chivalrous if they can do less for their wives and daughters than they have done for themselves. Besides, there are only some 125,000 adult negro women in North Carolina, and 275,000 adult white women. The votes of the white women, therefore, will be 25,000 more than those of the negro women and of the negro men combined, if the latter should be readmitted to the suffrage by a decision of the United States Supreme Court under the grandfather clause. Indeed, if the latter event should happen, the votes of the white women will be necessary to maintain white supremacy. I do not say that all the white women will vote the Democratic ticket. Equal suffrage has never proceeded along party lines, and the women would scorn the suffrage if they were not free to vote for what measures and parties they saw fit. But I do say that the vote of the white women will be solid as one woman in maintenance of the integrity of the white race and of the right of their children to control this country.

Tenth. It is said that if the women vote some bad women will vote. Men have never been disfranchised because there are some bad men who will vote. And the proportion of bad men is very far greater than that of bad women. The records of your courts and jails demonstrate that.

Eleventh. There are those who say that women do not want to vote. The best proof of this is that they have already achieved the ballot in so many States and countries and have made such wonderful progress as I have told you, in the last thirty days. In the States and countries where they vote about the same percentage of men and women vote. In some States equal suffrage was carried on the first trial at the ballot box. In some States it was voted on twice before they got it. In others three times, and in Oregon it was only carried when it was submitted to the ballot box for the sixth time, for you will

remember that only the men vote on the matter. Wherever the measure has been beaten, the next morning the women have reorganized their lines and started a new campaign. After the recent defeat of the measure in Ohio at the last election a New York newspaper said that the measure had been overwhelmingly defeated in Ohio. The editor of the *Springfield Republican* in Massachusetts, with more experience, said that that was impossible, because if an earthquake had shaken Ohio up so that no more ground was left than the size of a cart-wheel the women would be organizing on it the next morning for equal suffrage. When a man volunteers to say that the women do not want the suffrage it reminds me of an instance that took place down here in Pamlico at a wedding. When the preacher got to that part where he asked the woman "Will you take this man to be your wedded husband?" etc., the response came in a deep masculine voice, "I will." Thinking that there was some mistake, he repeated the question, and there was the same response in bass. Thereupon a little fellow in front, seeing the embarrassment, shouted to the preacher, "Parson, she is deaf, and I am answering for her." These men seem to think that the women are deaf and deficient.

Twelfth. It is said that politics will degrade women. It has not had that effect in any State, county, or town that has ever tried it. If it had, the movement would not continue to grow. Suffrage has not degraded the men, but it has elevated and broadened them. It will have exactly the same effect on the women—with this addition, that the women will broaden and elevate politics.

SOME REASONS WHY.

Only a few words now as to why suffrage for women is just and is needed.

1. We fought the Revolutionary War upon the principle that there should be no taxation without representation. Our Government is founded upon that proposition. The women in North Carolina own probably one-third of its property. Whatever share they own, be it little or more, is taxed; yet they are denied the right of any voice in saying how much should be taken from them for taxes and for what purposes it should be spent. Mr. Jefferson said that it was "incomprehensible that Government should refuse the ballot to the most intelligent women while giving it to the most besotted and ignorant men."

2. The women bear the burdens of government even more than the men. If there is lack of sanitation, their children suffer and die. If public morals are not guarded, the evils fall upon their sons. If wars consume the youth of the land, they suffer more than the fathers. They have even more interest in good government and in preventing bad government than the men. They are as intelligent and as patriotic as the men. It will add to the stability of the Government to give them a share in its control.

3. Mr. Lincoln in his celebrated Gettysburg speech said that this is a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The United States Supreme Court has solemnly decided that women are people. We knew it before the court told us so. Yet we have a government of all the people, for all the people, but by half the people. No wonder Mr. Lincoln said that it was unjust to exclude the women from the suffrage.

4. There are those who are afraid that the women will seek office and thereby crowd out the men. But that has not been the experience where equal suffrage obtains. As a rule, they do not seek office. They have more sense than men in this regard, as well as in some others. Their interest is more in obtaining good government and seeing that the men run it right. They remind me of an instance that I observed when I was in Kansas. There was a fine field of wheat of some 80 acres near Topeka, and a gentleman told me that a man and his wife had raised the crop and harvested it. I told him I had seen

the man on the reaper, but I had not seen the woman taking any hand. He said that she had done so all the same; that she had always sat at the door and whenever the man sat down to rest she had shaken the broomstick at him. That is the vocation of the woman, as a rule, where they vote.

It does not follow because the women are not office-seekers that they are incompetent to fill office. We know that in scripture times Deborah was "judge over all Israel." Besides many other female rulers, the best two sovereigns that England has ever known were Victoria and Elizabeth. The greatest sovereign of Russia was Catherine the Great; in Austria Maria Theresa, and in Spain Isabella, to whom the world owes the discovery of America by the aid she gave to Columbus.

A LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.

5. Equal suffrage is not only a development of democracy which has gradually extended the suffrage to all men and is now extending it to women, but it is also a logical development of the movement which has elevated women to the rights of human beings. Up to about one hundred years ago, as a rule, they were not educated. When the first college for women was established some eighty or ninety years ago its dangerous tendency was denounced even more than suffrage is now. After education was acquired, then the movement began to give them property rights. Up to 1868 in this State, upon marriage all a woman's personal property became absolutely that of her husband, and her real estate became his for life. When it was proposed to change this, there was a howl all along the line that if women owned their own property every couple would become divorced. But that movement succeeded. Up to 1874 the Supreme Court of this State held that if a man thrashed his wife with a switch no larger than his thumb and did not permanently injure her, that the courts would not protect her. In that year, just forty-one years ago, Judge Settle of this city conferred lasting honor upon himself and upon the Supreme Court of this State by holding that we have "at last advanced from that barbarism," and denied the right of husbands to flog their wives any longer. In the last few years the Court has held that if a woman acquired any property by her needle or otherwise it became the property of her husband, and that if, like Mrs. Price, of Charlotte, she lost a limb in a railroad accident her husband and not herself was entitled to pay for her physical injury and suffering and loss of time. The Legislature has since changed this and many other unjust things which would never have existed if the women had had the right of suffrage.

I will not take the time to mention numerous discriminations in the law against women, which have obtained because they had no voice in choosing legislators and judges. The shadow cast by the coming era of equal suffrage has already caused some of these discriminations to be repealed. At this session of your Legislature they have already permitted women to add to their means of livelihood the fees of the vocation of notary public, and they have enacted (reversing the decision in *Gill v. Commissioners*, 160 N. C., 175) that on all propositions to lay a local tax upon realty where a petition of "freeholders" is a prerequisite, that women shall be deemed freeholders. They have also radically changed the statutes by which property, real and personal, has heretofore all gone to the father instead of equally to the father and mother upon the death of children. When women vote for judges and legislators there comes a change in the attitude of courts and legislatures.

One of the greatest discriminations in the law, aside from that of the custody of children, is the effect that a lack of equal suffrage has upon the pay of women. Justice demands the rule of equal pay for equal services. Tho in Oregon and Washington and other suffrage States, the teachers of both sexes

are paid the same compensation for the same services, the rule in North Carolina is, I am told, that female teachers get about one-third of the pay that is given the men for the same work.

INEVITABLE.

Finally, we might as well recognize the inevitable. This world-wide movement is irresistible because it is founded upon justice and the economic demands of the times. If the friends of equal suffrage shall organize and urge the movement methodically as it has been done in other States, I prophesy now and here that the very next Legislature that sits in Raleigh will pass the bill to submit equal suffrage to the people by a two-thirds vote with promptness and cheerfulness, and that at the succeeding election it will be carried at the ballot box. Like Davy Crockett's coon, the opponents of the measure might as well "come down." Some years ago I was at Atlantic City. Those of you who have been there will remember that they have placards on each side of the walkways on which there are inscriptions, amusing or instructive. One of them reads thus: "God made the world, and rested. He then made man, and he rested. He then made woman, and neither God nor man has had any rest since." I will say to the unconverted that they will have no rest until this question is settled, and settled right.

I had not intended to talk more than thirty minutes. I have been led on by the subtle flattery of the attention of this audience. It reminds me of what my friend, Major Hale, now our distinguished minister plenipotentiary to Costa Rica, told me happened to him on the subway in London. They call it there the "Tuppenny Tube," because the fare is 2 pence. Some of you have been on it, and will remember that the car doors are on the side of the coach and the seats are crossways the track. He said that once when nearing Charing Cross station a lady in the little compartment seemed quite excited. It is not the custom there to speak to any one without being introduced, but she seemed so much alarmed that, like a true Southern gentleman, he asked if he could be of any service. She said, "Sir, I wish to go to Trafalgar Square and need to get off at Charing Cross station." He said to her, "What prevents it?" "Why," said she, "you see I am a bit stout, and when I get off, I get out backwards, and the guard (they call the conductor the guard over there) 'e sees me and thinks I am getting h'on. He rushes up and shoves me h'on and slams the door, and I have passed my stopping place three times already." I fear that I am like the good lady. I have passed my stopping place several times.

I thank you for your attention.

criticism which would have been unnecessary had more care been used in gathering the information, situations more analogous selected for comparison, and a little more scrutiny given to the sources.

Take his very first paragraph, for example. So simple and easily ascertained a question of fact as the position of Mr. Burleson's predecessors on "postalization" is disposed of with "His predecessors for 50 years have given like counsel." Predecessors of Mr. Burleson have used the strongest kind of language condemning "postalization." Said Postmaster-General W. Q. Gresham, in his Report for the year 1883 (pp. 35-36):

An increase of patronage beyond what is indispensable to the public service is to be deprecated and avoided, and it is one of the dangers which threaten the purity and duration of our institutions. . . . In seasons of political excitement, and, to some extent at other times, is there not ground for serious apprehension that the telegraph, under the exclusive control of the dominant party, might be abused to promote partisan purposes and perpetuate the power of the administration?

And Postmaster-General W. S. Bissell, in his Report for the year 1894 (pp. 48-49):

While I have considered the subject from a purely business and postal standpoint, still I may add the remark that if the Government were to establish such a system there would be limitless difficulty in determining the character, quality, and amount of service that should be accorded to the various sections of the country, productive of wrangling and jealousy which might profitably be avoided unless some advantage could be attained greater than any that is ever likely to result from the establishment of a governmental telegraph.

Postmaster-General William Dennison objected to "postalization" because of its "questionable feasibility under our political

system." Postmaster-General Thomas L. James expressed himself with equal force against the proposition, and a majority of the other postmasters-general, including Jewell, Tyner, Hatton, Vilas, Wilson, Gary, Smith, Payne, Wynne and Meyer, did not even regard the question as worthy of serious consideration. Had Mr. Lewis been willing to weigh the evidence *as evidence*—to ponder, for instance, the simple fact that the United States, with but 5 per cent. of the world's population, has 65 per cent. of the world's telephones, it is doubtful if he could have found that only those countries which "have already postalized these agencies" are capable of rendering service "to all the people."

Viewed in the light of these general observations, a brief survey of Mr. Lewis' various claims will be interesting. As will be seen, every specific proposition advanced by Mr. Lewis reveals the same general characteristics: inaccuracy in statistical matter; looseness in statistical method; unfairness in statistical deduction.

TELEGRAPH RATES.

In a dozen lines of print, we find a complete comparison of the world's telegraph rates—and not a word of qualification. Anyone who has even superficially examined foreign telegraph rate schedules knows that unless a number of very important considerations are taken into account, such comparisons are as worthless as comparisons of butter and buttercups. For example, the address and signature on telegrams are charged for abroad, in addition to the regular rate quoted; they are free in this country. The average number of such words per telegram is ten. Again,

[March 4, 1915]

"The Postalization of the Telephone"

A Memorandum by

A. LINCOLN LAVINE

American Telephone & Telegraph Company

*Based on the Remarks of Hon. David J. Lewis of
Maryland, in the House of Representatives,
Thursday, March 4, 1915*

On a question so large as that of ownership and operation by the government of our telephone and telegraph systems, reasonable men, after impartial, painstaking and scientific study, may reasonably differ. But that such a study must be impartial, painstaking and scientific, can hardly be ground for reasonable dispute; and when one remembers the old adage that "it is easier to compile a library of misinformation, than a page of information," one will be inclined to pay more heed to the *quality* rather than the *quantity* of statistics compiled on the subject of "postalization."

These remarks are made apropos of a study of this subject, replete with statistics, which has been attempted by the Hon. David J. Lewis, Congressman from Maryland. The statistics used by Mr. Lewis have been frequently altered since they were originally prepared; but in their present form, as recently presented to members of Congress and to the public in the shape of an eight-page leaflet, they embody objections just as serious as those originally pointed out to Mr. Lewis, which caused him to alter his original data. They still betray an unfortunate zeal in making facts conform to conclusions which taints their accuracy from beginning to end: a

there are two kinds of telegrams abroad—"urgent," which corresponds to our regular telegraph messages, and "ordinary," a deferred service which must wait upon the "urgent." Rates for "urgent" telegrams are three times the "ordinary" rates. Mr. Lewis quotes only "ordinary" rates in comparing them with American telegraph rates. There are numerous other differences, by omitting which Mr. Lewis has penalized American telegraph rates; but if we make an allowance for the difference as to address and signature alone, we find that, for comparable distances, foreign "ordinary" rates in many cases approximate the American rates, and foreign "urgent" rates are in most cases much higher, and in several instances, as, for example, Germany, Italy, Denmark and Austria, from two to three times as high.

Having constructed a cause—"high" telegraph rates—Mr. Lewis constructs a result—under-development (nine telegrams per capita in New Zealand as against one in the United States). This result is obtained by the simple expedient of using a figure for New Zealand which (according to advice from the New Zealand Telephone Administration) includes telephone conversations in addition to telegrams. To this statistical sin of commission are added two statistical sins of omission: first, Failure to note that New Zealand consists of two islands cut off from each other telephonically, and thus necessitating an excessive use of the telegraph; and, second, Failure to note that a low telephone development is apt to force an abnormally high telegraph development, and that New Zealand has, compared with the United States, less than half the number of tele-

phones per hundred population—in actual numbers, less telephones than there are in the single city of Milwaukee, Wis.

TELEPHONE TOLL RATES.

Mr. Lewis has altered his telephone toll rate statistics so frequently, in his different speeches, that it has been difficult to check up all the mathematical processes by which he arrived at his averages. But the same criticisms of method, which caused him to alter his original statistics, still apply.

In a word, Mr. Lewis has here again compared unlikes. American rates include "particular person" rates (no charge for long-distance calls unless you get your party); foreign rates are for "two-number" service (*i. e.*, you are charged whether you get your party or not). There are numerous other "kinks," of which the following is a sample:

Abroad they have two kinds of long-distance service, "preferred" and "deferred," the latter costing about one-third the former. *Mr. Lewis carefully selected the "deferred" rates and then contrasted them with ours.*

This "deferred" service in foreign countries is interesting. Say you live in Germany. You want to talk to an out-of-town business man. You get an "assignment." They tell you you can have the connection at ten o'clock—perhaps the same day, perhaps the next day, if the appointments are all taken up. The connection is put up for you at ten. If you are not there you are charged. If you are there you must finish your conversation within a stipulated period. If you do not finish in the given period you are cut off and you cannot talk again until your turn comes

around again—which may not be until the next day.

Now the *fact* is that, for the shorter distances, within which four-fifths of the traffic falls, American toll rates—even on a nominal basis, and not considering that a dollar here often corresponds to a half or quarter of a dollar abroad—are *lower* than in foreign countries for regular messages; and if we take foreign international messages, which Mr. Lewis completely ignored, we find they are from three to four times as high as our rates for corresponding distances.

As for the longer distances, the foreign service is rarely commercial. Official complaints in the German Reichstag amply testify to this. Or, take Chambéry, in France, as an example. The Chamber of Commerce complains that it cannot get connection with Paris (280 miles) until *the day after the call is filed*. Before the European war began, Aviator Gilbert flew from Paris to Rheims (100 miles) in 55 minutes, arriving at his destination before the news of his departure could be telephoned! (The average time, if the called party is available, for connecting New York and Philadelphia—93 miles—is 70 seconds.)

One of the best examples of Mr. Lewis' statistical method is to be found in his "sensational statement" that "It costs the American as much to ship his long distance conversations over the wires, mile for mile, as it costs him to ship a ton of freight over the rails." Even the layman can readily perceive that the means of transmitting speech and transporting freight are so fundamentally different, that the cost of the one service can have no possible bearing on the cost of

the other. Not only are the two services physically unrelated, but the traffic problems are entirely different. A ton of freight travels with numerous other tons of freight. A telephone talk ties up the entire line until it is finished or "delivered." What would it cost to transport a ton of hay over a mile of line on which all other traffic was prohibited until that particular ton of hay was delivered?

SOCIAL RESULTS.

The errors of fact and method in the statistics cited by Mr. Lewis under this head are too numerous to be described here in detail. One error of method alone is enough to upset the entire calculation, *i. e.*, that the traffic for foreign countries has been heavily "padded," in the following manner: Most European countries are small in area, so that a very considerable amount of telegraph traffic is international. In the statistics Mr. Lewis has used, an international message is counted at least twice, once in the country where it originates, and again in the country where it terminates; and if the message passes through two or three countries, it is counted in each country through which it passes. The true value of Mr. Lewis' telegraph traffic statistics may be judged from the fact that they are thus, in some cases, inflated by as much as 100 per cent.

This was not enough, however, to give Mr. Lewis the comparison he desired. So he arbitrarily cut the American telephone traffic in two—demolishing with one blow the results of the United States Census by the simple statement that they are not backed up by "the opinion of a competent telephone student."

Perhaps the most eloquent single comparison that can be made, on the score of "Social Results," is furnished by the fact that approximately two-thirds of all communications in Europe are by mail, and one-third by the government managed wire, while in the United States, approximately two-thirds of the communications are by wire (privately managed), as against one-third by mail.*

LOCAL TELEPHONE RATES.

Mr. Lewis finds that in "local" (exchange) rates "We rank twenty-ninth, or the highest but two" in a list of thirty-one countries. Looking at the table of statistics he has prepared on which he bases this statement, we find, among the "countries" listed, such worldly empires as Sakhalin, Manchuria, Formosa, Chosen, Bosnia, etc. And to help matters along, Australia is chopped up into six parts, each listed as a "country."

Then Mr. Lewis proceeds to demonstrate, by "actual" rate comparisons, that American telephone rates are "the scandal of public-service rates the world over." To illustrate the kind of comparisons which were made we might take the following example:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Cost of automobile in Paris | \$7,500.00 |
| Cost of automobile in New York City | 500.00 |
| Cost of telephones in Paris | 77.20 |
| Cost of telephones in New York City | 205.20 |

Not to mention, in the first comparison, that the Mercedes car was taken for Paris, and the Ford for New York, is just as serious an omission as not to mention that in Paris

you buy your own telephone instrument; that the Paris telephone exchange is one-fifth as large as, and hence far less expensive to operate, than the New York exchange; that less than 1 per cent. of New York telephone subscribers pay the rate quoted, \$205.20, although the rate quoted for Paris is the only rate available in Paris, etc.

Of course, to get anywhere in such comparisons, you must take into account not only the size of the exchange, but the number of subscribers using the service at the rate quoted, and, above all, the *average rate paid*. For instance, Budapest has the same size exchange as St. Paul, Minn. Ninety-four per cent. of the St. Paul subscribers pay less than the lowest possible rate in Budapest. Similar results may be shown for such comparative exchanges as The Hague and San Antonio, Tex.; Tokyo and Omaha, Neb.; Amsterdam, Holland, and Rochester, N. Y.; Rotterdam and St. Joseph, Mo., etc. Even taking Paris, whose exchange is only one-fifth the size of the New York exchange, we find that 79 per cent. of the subscribers in New York City pay less than the Paris rate (which is a fixed and rigid government charge of \$77.20—telephone instrument extra—irrespective of the kind of service you want). Ninety per cent. of the Philadelphia subscribers and 91 per cent. of the Chicago subscribers pay less than the Paris rate.

It can be demonstrated, on a *clearly average* basis,—such as, for instance, a comparison of gross earnings per telephone (exchange service),—that European charges for telephone service, in actual money value, are considerably in excess of the corresponding American charge. Indeed, when one gets

*The exact figures are: Europe, telephone conversations and telegrams, 29 per cent.; mail, 71 per cent. United States, telephone conversations and telegrams, 61 per cent.; mail, 39 per cent.

down to the smaller places, it is found that foreign rates are so much higher that they are virtually prohibitive, especially in the rural districts. This goes a long way to explain why the British Postmaster-General recently prided himself on a total of 2,300 farmers' telephones in the entire country!

But, after all, what good are rate comparisons, unless it is considered what one gets for the rate? Not to speak of the quality of foreign service—which, as every one who has traveled abroad knows is far inferior to the American—take the simple matter of the *quantity* of service; the hours during which the telephone service is open to the public. In Switzerland, for example, (quoting from their Official Report), 96 per cent. of the telephone exchanges close at 9 o'clock P.M.; forty-six per cent. operate from 7 A.M. to noon, then close two hours for lunch, open again until 6 P.M., close two hours for tea, then open at 8 P.M., stay open till 8.30 P.M., and put up the shutters for the night. This is a sample of the kind of service you get throughout the length and breadth of Europe, and yet rate comparisons are made in all seriousness, and absolute conclusions drawn therefrom and presented without a single qualification to the American public.

ECONOMY.

Do government wire systems pay? asks Mr. Lewis. Yes, he proceeds to show,—by lumping together a large number of figures for *combined* postal, telephone and telegraph earnings and expenses. A study of all available reports and official information on the combined governmental operations of postal, telephone and telegraph systems shows that,

while the postal branch is in some cases operated at a profit, the wire services are without exception operated at a loss. The most striking instance is that of the British Government Telegraph, whose loss, to date, is estimated by the British Post Office, in a recently issued publication, at \$110,000,000, exclusive of interest and other fixed charges. If everything is taken into account, the total loss on this experiment in "postalization" is in the neighborhood of \$200,000,000.

In this argument of Mr. Lewis', we find history has merely repeated itself; for Mr. Scudamore, who was chiefly responsible for the British Telegraph experiment, also compiled an elaborate array of statistics, showing just as "conclusively" as Mr. Lewis that "there is no question it can be made to pay."

"Superimposing the telegraphic function on the telephone wires"—and there you have the simple solution to "postalization" economy! Immediately "all the expenses of a telegraphic system except the operator and messenger would be eliminated." The mere statement of this proposition, plausible though it may sound to the layman, is almost laughable to one acquainted with the vast and costly problem involved in superimposing the telegraph on the telephone, in equipping the circuits with telegraph instruments, in taking over the interurban and long-distance lines and divorcing them as to common control from the exchange system, in putting them into post offices and equipping them to do all the telegraph business. Of course there are possibilities of economy in joint telephone-telegraph use of certain existing telephone toll and long-distance lines; but no one on the slightest speaking terms with the

technical details of joint telephone-telegraph circuits would be so bold as to claim that such economies would enable "cutting telegraph rates in half." For one thing, the majority of interurban toll lines, and the exchange trunk lines and their equipments are necessarily so interwoven and used so interchangeably that it would be next to impossible to segregate them, and if the task were attempted, its cost would prove prohibitive, even if its consummation were possible. What is more, recent improvements in high-speed machine telegraphy (the product, by the way, of private not government operation), while greatly increasing the capacity of telegraph wires as such, have at the same time greatly diminished the possibilities of economy to be attained by joint use of wires for telephone-telegraph purposes. The simple serenity which inspired so boundless a claim for wholesale economy in this direction furnishes a striking instance of the tempting ease with which laymen unfamiliar with a technical problem may derive therefrom generalities which, while exceedingly attractive, may be seriously misleading.

Another simple source of economy discovered by Mr. Lewis is in the elimination, through the postage stamp, of fifty out of seventy-four alleged processes involved in sending a telegram. Many of these alleged processes are, in fact, fictitious. It has been clearly demonstrated, as to the others, that none of them could be eliminated without rendering the service incomplete. For instance, under the present system of sending a telegram, the operator puts down the time of sending and his initials, and the time of receiving and his initials. In fact, this

operation is required by law in some States under severe penalty. This is one of the operations that, according to Mr. Lewis, can be cut out to save cost and remedy the "reeking inefficiency" of the telegraph. Think of it! Getting efficiency without knowing when your telegram has been sent, when it has been received, who sent it, in case of delay, and who received it. Functionally and physically, letters and telegrams are diametrically different. Letters are tangible things, conveyed from office to office in bags. If wrongly routed or otherwise misplaced, there is little danger, unless they are destroyed, of their ultimate loss, for they bear on their face a complete story of their source, destination, and failure to reach their destination. Telegrams are intangible things. Once a telegram is misplaced, there is nothing tangible to indicate its whereabouts: it is lost—dissipated into the air. A stamp on the original copy might prove that the message had been paid for; but unless a record is kept, there would be no way of knowing whether it had been sent rightly, or sent at all. Omit one of the necessary steps in sending your telegraph message, and its character as a telegraph message is gone. It is a strange type of efficiency indeed which Mr. Lewis would inject into the telegraph service by treating telegrams as letters.

Mr. Lewis' figures on operating costs are marked by the same sort of dashing comparison, with equally striking incongruities. For instance, "The American telegram cost for handling is 48 cents." But, consulting Mr. Lewis' statement before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (p. 36 of

Report on Hearing) we find "the American telegram costs 50 (49.76) cents, without including interest or taxes." And turning to page 11 of the same document, we find the average *receipt* per American telegram is less than 48 cents. In other words, it *costs* our telegraph companies, according to Mr. Lewis, an average of 50 cents (also of 48 cents), to furnish telegraph service, whereas they *collect* only an average of less than 48 cents for such service. In addition to this, they have to pay interest and taxes, to say nothing of dividends! Where in the whole range of public endeavor can Mr. Lewis find an enterprise more highly endowed with the "public-service motive," which he so warmly claims for government ownership?

EFFICIENCY.

To base the efficiency of the postal, telegraph or telephone services upon the number of "pieces," telegrams or telephone calls per employee, is like basing the efficiency of a barber shop upon the number of shaves per barber; for if a law could be passed compelling all patrons in a town to patronize but one barber shop, and to stand in line and wait their turn, "efficiency" could be continually increased by continually cutting down the hours during which the shop is open, or cutting down the number of barbers, and lengthening the line of patrons. This may be illustrated by the efficiency comparison made by Mr. Lewis between the United States and New Zealand: 94 per cent. of the telegraph offices in New Zealand are open (week days) only from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., or less; no office is open for business after midnight or before 8 A.M.; 97 per cent. are closed

on Sundays and holidays. A similar situation exists in New Zealand with reference to the telephone service. All that would be necessary, to increase New Zealand's "efficiency," would be to close down the services still further!

If we *must* demonstrate statistically that private employees are more efficient than holders of government jobs, a significant comparison would be the plant cost per telephone, under public and under private ownership, for the more money you spend in doing a given amount of work, the less your efficiency. The plant of the Bell System, including long-distance lines, stands at \$153 per station. The corresponding official figures for foreign countries are as follows: Australia, \$10 higher; Germany, \$25 higher; Switzerland, \$39 higher; Hungary, \$40 higher; Austria, \$60 higher; France, \$100 higher, and Belgium, \$125 higher.

It is difficult to understand how Mr. Lewis could have attempted a measurement of Post Office efficiency on the basis of the "average mail piece per employee," when we recall that the Joint Congressional Commission on Business Methods in the Post Office, one of whose members was the Hon. John A. Moon, Chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, was forced, after thorough investigation by the most expert accountants in the country, to admit that the Department's inefficiency was so appalling, that "Under such a system a large railroad, commercial or industrial business would inevitably go into bankruptcy, and the Post Office Department has averted that fate only because the United States Treasury has been available to meet deficiencies."

omy which Mr. Lewis holds out for "postalization"?

"RELIEF, POSTAL TELEPHONES."

Mr. Lewis' figures as to the increase in parcel post business that might have gone to the express if the latter had charged proper rates, even assuming their accuracy, are not significant for the purpose intended, because it is generally recognized that the parcel post represents, largely, a type of service distinct from that sought by the express companies. The accuracy of the figures quoted, however, may be judged from the fact that no systematic count of such parcels has ever been attempted by the Post Office Department, and the Postmaster-General himself has admitted that he has had to "estimate" results by more or less haphazard counts at infrequent intervals. And as to parcel post costs, the Joint Committee to Investigate the General Parcel Post, which submitted its Report on December 1, 1914 (Senate Document No. 944, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session), found (p. 5): "It is impossible to determine the cost of the parcel post service or the revenue that is derived from it. Any estimate is merely a guess."

A "FARM TO KITCHEN RATE."

The promises made in this direction have a familiar ring. They were precisely the promises which were made in connection with the parcel post, concerning which the Report of the Joint Committee above referred to has this to say (p. 7):

The failure of the parcel post thus far to justify the predictions made for it as a means of direct transportation from the farm to the consumer of

farm products is, in fact, clearly indicated by the reports from New York City and Chicago showing the great disparity between incoming and outgoing fourth-class mail, and also by the amount of business done by the offices located in the farming communities throughout the Nation. Of the 37,745 reporting, but 419 of them were of the first class, while 37,326 were of the second, third and fourth classes. The 419 first-class offices dispatched in round numbers 70,000,000 packages, while the entire 37,326 of the other grades dispatched only 7,000,000.

And again (p. 5.):

The reports demonstrate to a striking degree the fact that the great bulk of parcel post business originates with shippers in a few large cities, and that the extent to which the system is being utilized by farmers, residents of small towns, and the average citizen not engaged in a mail-order business is very slight.

"REGULATION NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR POSTAL MOTIVE."

Regulation, says Mr. Lewis, has proved a failure. In support of this assertion, he cites the superior advantage in borrowing credit possessed by the United States Government, and a peculiar comparison between a nameless city and non-existent averages of telephone earnings, etc., in this country.

It is undoubtedly true that United States Government credit is high. There are two reasons for this. First, the United States, among the world's nations, has been remarkable for borrowing so little and spending so much out of current income. Second, the market for its bonds has been, to a large extent, a forced, and not a natural one. Banks, for example, have been required by law to keep Government bonds on deposit as collateral for note issues. But does any one

PUBLIC-SERVICE MOTIVE.

Mr. Lewis borrows his ideas as to the "public-service motive" from utterances by Professor Adams made a generation ago, and directed against *completely unregulated monopoly*. They were pronounced in a day when the extent to which public and public utility depend upon each other for mutual welfare was scarcely appreciated. Yet they have been adopted by Mr. Lewis as government ownership doctrine, notwithstanding that Professor Adams was especially careful to disclaim a conclusion in favor of government ownership.

Of course the "public-service motive," to mean anything, must be an effective motive, just as a good intention, to mean anything, must be an effective intention; and in this sense, the "public-service motive" necessarily governs privately operated utilities to a far greater extent than government utilities, since the former, to succeed, must faithfully study and satisfy the wants of the public, whereas the latter can afford to ignore them, in that the right to tax makes the cultivation of good will unnecessary. The test of this theory, in the last analysis, is the degree to which the public need is actually met, as measured by development. The United States, with one-fifth the population of Europe, has two and one-half times the number of telephones. Denmark, whose telephones are mostly under private operation, has twice as many telephones per inhabitant as Germany, two and one-half times as many as Great Britain, three times as many as The Netherlands, five times as many as Belgium, and six times as many as France. Sweden

and Norway, ranking next after Denmark in the proportion of private to State operation, rank next after Denmark in the proportionate use of telephones by the public.

Or, to borrow another illustration of the "public-service motive" in operation: Last August, Mr. Burleson appeared before the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads to urge that a large part of the rural delivery service be handed over to private operation under lease. By so doing, said Mr. Burleson, "I have not the slightest doubt that I could effect a saving to the Government, to be moderate and conservative, of \$10,000,000 and may be \$18,000,000 a year."

"Senator Bristow: And render just as good service?"

"Mr. Burleson: And render just as good service."

"Senator Bristow: And you can extend it to the city delivery and make contracts in the cities and make the same saving and render the same service?"

"Mr. Burleson: Gentlemen, you will understand that I do not bring forward this voluntarily. I am compelled to bring this forward as a matter of self-defense, for the defense of the revenue of the Postal Service." (Hearings before the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, on H. R. 17042, August 18, 1914, page 25.)

In urging "as a matter of self-defense," and not "voluntarily," the substitution of private for public operation to effect postal economy, was Mr. Burleson acting in response to the "public-service motive"? And in rejecting this opportunity to effect an annual economy of millions, was Congress demonstrating the vast possibilities of econ-

suppose that if the Government attempted to double its National Debt for the purchase of a telephone-telegraph system, it would secure an interest rate sufficiently low to offset the losses which would be entailed, by subjecting a system so vast as the telephone and telegraph to all the well known incidents involved in our appropriations for post offices, public roads, rivers and harbors?

If government regulation is a failure to-day, what reason have we to believe it would be a success under government ownership? When we note the elaborate system of accounts—perhaps the most exact in the whole range of scientific accounting—which has been prescribed by the Interstate Commerce Commission for our telephone and telegraph companies and rigorously enforced in every minute detail; when we contrast this with the notoriously loose and chaotic condition of accounting which obtains in the various departments of government; when we consider how vastly better equipped the government is for regulating and checking abuses of private corporations than for regulating and checking its own—are we not led irresistibly to the conclusion that “if government regulation is a failure, government ownership will be a failure, and if government regulation is a success, the reason for government ownership is eliminated”?

post. Mon. 30/9/15



Woman's Journal and Suffrage News

A weekly paper devoted to the interests of Woman, to her educational, industrial, legal and political equality, and especially to her right of Suffrage.

Founded in 1870 by
Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell

Editor-in-Chief
Alice Stone Blackwell

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Publication Office: 585 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts

The Big Four

By Agnes E. Ryan

From the up-to-date story of suffrage progress it is apparent that the woman's movement in America is approaching the high water mark. This is conclusively shown by the campaigns under way in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey this year, and in those already launched for 1916 in Iowa, West Virginia and South Dakota. From one glance backward and another forward it is demonstrated that equal suffrage is coming fast.

To those who see the movement whole it is clear that the time to strike a decisive blow and really put equal suffrage over the line is at hand. Can it be done? How can it be done? Shall we all pull together to do it?

The great combination necessary for success in each state is what we shall call The Big Four—Efficient Suffragists, Money, Working Equipment, and Enthusiasm.

Is there a way by which each state can command The Big Four? We think so. In other words, we offer The Big Four to the states.

I. Equipment

We will present to each State Association which joins in our plan a Traveling Campaign Kit consisting of:

1. Outlines on
Press Work and Publicity.
Speeches and Speakers Bureau.
Programs, Meetings, and Debates.
2. Collected Answers to Antis.
3. Telling Facts and Figures Convincingly Arranged.
4. Leaflets on
How to Organize.
How to Raise Money.
5. A book of value to Suffrage Workers.
6. A Set of Attractive Posters.
7. A Set of the Best Suffrage Literature.
8. A Bound Volume of The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News.
9. A large, New-Style Suffrage Map.
10. Twenty-five Six Month Subscriptions to The Woman's Journal and Suffrage News to be distributed among Newspapers, Libraries, Colleges, Ministers, Legislators or others selected by each State Association.

As a token of our faith that each association will give us its full co-operation, the Campaign Kit will be presented to your State Association in order that the suffragists may

have the use of it even before they have won it.

It is designed that the Campaign Kit shall benefit the whole state, and to this end we plan that each State Association shall have the use of it for a few weeks and then circulate it among its local leagues.

II. Money

Suffragists need money. Money is wanted at every turn. "Money" describes the big chasm that yawns continually between opportunity to win and accomplishment. How many opportunities are lost because the treasury is empty! The Woman's Journal offers \$300 to every State Association which joins The Big Four Campaign.

The plan is to ask each State Association to get one thousand (1000) new subscriptions to the Woman's Journal and Suffrage News by August 13. The subscriptions are to be \$1 each. Thirty cents out of every dollar for a subscription is to be retained by the Association obtaining the subscription. The remaining seventy cents should be forwarded to the Woman's Journal office with name and address of the new subscriber. Each State Association will have definite, efficient, prompt help in getting its 1000 subscriptions and winning its \$300.

To win the \$300 and the Traveling Campaign Kit it will be the part of each State

Association to give the plan definite, hearty co-operation.

1. By spreading the news of the plan broadcast.

2. By showing their faith in *The Woman's Journal* and *Suffrage News* as a means of propaganda.

3. By setting in motion all of your State Association machinery in behalf of the plan at once.

Remember that we are printing the news from all the states now and that *The Journal* is more valuable than ever in its history. It is out to win full suffrage soon.

III. Efficient Suffragists

Discriminating suffragists from practically every state in the Union are united on one thing at least besides wanting full enfranchisement: They wish *The Woman's Journal* and *Suffrage News* could be put into the hands of every woman and man in their state. (We receive hosts of letters in which this is the burden.) It takes only a moment's reflection to realize the educational returns obtainable from having one thousand additional *Journals* read each week in your state.

Besides the benefit each state will receive from the publicity of this campaign, one thousand people in the state will become efficient suffragists by reading *The Woman's Journal*

and *Suffrage News* and having at hand the necessary information for efficient converting—whether by conversation with neighbors, by letters to the papers, or to friends, by speeches or by campaigning.

Will you join our plan to make 1000 additional efficient suffragists in your state? As a worker, you can see it will pay!

IV. Enthusiasm

Enthusiasm for a great ideal is the characteristic of suffrage workers the world over. The movement is built on it. Enthusiasm is the last but by no means the least of The Big Four. Victory, in the last analysis, is dependent on it. How much enthusiasm have we?

"Each State 1000 subscriptions by August 13." That is our slogan. Why? August 13 is the ninety-seventh anniversary of the birth of Lucy Stone.

We want to celebrate this anniversary this year in a way that will do the best possible honor through service to the woman who means so much to the suffrage cause through *The Woman's Journal*.

Busy suffragists, however, cannot spend time and energy merely to celebrate. Everything they do must count large toward winning suffrage. Any widespread celebration by suffragists must be such as will help win!

No one who has the welfare of her state at heart can fail to realize the advantage of this plan. It presents to suffrage organizations a means of making money. It furnishes equipment. It makes efficient workers. It stirs enthusiasm. And equipment, money, efficient workers, enthusiasm are essential to victory.

Shall we celebrate on the Big Four Plan?

Are We Asking Too Much?

Do you think that in asking each state to co-operate with us and obtain 1000 new subscriptions for The Journal we are expecting altogether too much?

When suffrage was in its cradle days, Lucy Stone (later to be the founder of The Woman's Journal) travelled alone through a large part of the country speaking for Equal Rights. The obstacles and indignities she encountered are almost beyond belief. Notices, tacked up by her own hands, were immediately torn down. Mobs, disgusted that a woman should presume to raise her voice in public, hooted derisively and frequently pelted her, once even with hymn books. One night she was deluged with ice-cold water; undaunted, she put on her shawl and continued speaking.

Today our workers have motors for use in their campaign tours. They speak to good-natured, respectful audiences. They enjoy

the comradeship of many co-workers, and the diversions of suffrage bazars, lectures, teas, and banquets. Most important of all they work with the stimulus of success in the air!

Compared with Lucy Stone's task how easy and agreeable our work is. It would have been a joy for her to be one of several hundred suffragists in each state to work among friends, neighbors, and fellow-suffragists for four or five subscriptions.

No, we do not think The Journal is asking too much. If our women of to-day have the belief and loyalty of the pioneers—and they have proved many times they have—we are asking too little.

The First Response

Galveston Equal Suffrage Association

Galveston, Texas,

March 30, 1915

Miss Agnes E. Ryan,
The Woman's Journal.

My dear Miss Ryan:

I have just read "A Woman's Journal Story" in the Journal of the 27th. Won't you please send me details of the plan? It is possible that Galveston [alone] can undertake to get a thousand new subscribers to the Journal.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Minnie Fisher Cunningham,
(Pres.)

Directions

For Getting Subscriptions For The Woman's Journal

1. Consider every suffragist a possible subscriber. Call attention to the fact that the Journal is a weekly and costs less than two cents per week. If any one says she cannot afford a year's subscription, tell her she can get a six months' or a four months' subscription. If any one says that she has not the money with her, say that you will take the order for the paper and have it sent with the bill as a reminder, and that she can thus send the money from home. Give a blank and a sample copy to any one who is not willing to subscribe on the spot.

2. Take advantage of every suffrage meeting to get subscriptions as follows:

(a). Explain from the platform about The Big Four and The Campaign Kit.

(b). Make it clear that every suffragist needs The Woman's Journal, and that you will take an order from any one who wishes to subscribe.

(c). Ask all who do not subscribe to raise their hands. Ask them to see you at the door after the meeting.

(d). Do not let any one leave the meet-

ing without having had an invitation to subscribe.

(e). If the meeting promises to be a large one, so that you can not take all of the subscriptions alone, arrange to have as many helpers as you need.

3. The price of The Journal is \$1.00 per year, 50c. for six months, 25c. for four months on trial. Two 50c. subscriptions or four 25c. trial subscriptions count as one yearly subscription. Renewals do not count in this plan.

4. Each subscription blank must bear the name of the State Association for which you are working, in order that each subscription may go to your State Association's credit.

5. Keep 30c. out of every dollar for your local treasury. Send 70c. with each subscription order. Money should be sent by check, money order, or express order.

6. Subscriptions should be sent in every week, so that the subscriber may not be kept waiting for her paper.

7. We shall be glad to have you write at once about any thing that is not clear.

8. Order blanks, receipt blanks and sample copies will be furnished to all workers. Remember you do not have to get one hundred subscriptions or twenty-five or six in order to be counted a worker. If you send one or two, you will be on our Roll of Honor.



Alice Stone Blackwell

Ten Questions

A characteristic editorial by
Miss Blackwell

1. If equal suffrage is a bad thing why has it spread from the State that first adopted it to ten neighboring States, all adjoining one another?

2. If the majority of the people anywhere are dissatisfied with it, why is there no move to repeal it?

3. If it leads mothers to neglect their children, why is the lowest infant death rate in the world found in New Zealand?

4. If it increases divorce, why did Colorado grant 935 divorces the year before

women were given the ballot and only 597 the year after?

5. If it is demoralizing, why did only 62 out of 624 ministers and editors in the suffrage States replying to Julia Ward Howe's letter of inquiry give an unfavorable opinion?

6. If the majority of women are opposed, why have only about one per cent. of the women in the United States joined the widely-advertised National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, according to that association's own figures?

7. If the majority of women are opposed in Massachusetts, where an active Anti-Suffrage Association has been gathering signatures of women against suffrage ever since 1895, why has it succeeded in twenty years in accumulating the names of only about three per cent. of the women of the State?

8. Among the millions of citizens in the enfranchised States, why have the opponents of equal suffrage thus far failed to find a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results?

9. From the largest Chamber of Commerce to the smallest sewing circle, why has no organization of any kind in a Suffrage State ever passed a resolution condemning it?

10. Unless most people like it after they have experience of it, why do opponents warn us that, once granted, it can never be recalled?



A Suffrage Allegory

Mr. Voter. Huh! I see Nevada, one of your suffrage States, just passed that "easy divorce" bill.

Just a Suffragist. Oh dear! Why DID they do it?

Efficient Suffragist. Because the Nevada Legislature was elected entirely by men.

Mr. Voter. (complacently). Oh, well, it would have passed all the same if the women HAD voted.

Efficient Suffragist. Indeed it wouldn't. In Wyoming where women helped elect the legislators and had a woman representative, a similar bill was defeated!

Mr. Voter. (startled). You don't say?

Efficient Suffragist. After that can you very well claim women won't use the ballot effectively?

Mr. Voter. Looks as though they might.

Efficient Suffragist. Then will you vote for Equal Suffrage in this State?

Mr. Voter. Sure, I will. I always thought women ought to vote anyway. (Exit Mr. Voter.)

Just a Suffragist. Splendid! You've made a convert. But how did you know about those divorce bills?

Efficient Suffragist. I read the Woman's Journal every week.

**Moral—It Pays to Be
an Efficient Suffragist.**

HENNEPIN COUNTY [April, 1915] 54
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG.,
MINNEAPOLIS, :: MINN.

PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

By
MAUD NATHAN



NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Inc.
505 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

April, 1915.

PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Of all the many advances that have been made in the movement for equal suffrage since the summer of 1914, the most significant is that shown by the debate and vote in the House of Representatives in Washington, on January 12th, 1915, when the members debated ten and a half hours on the question of amending the federal constitution in favor of Equal Suffrage.

One hundred and seventy-four members voted in favor and two hundred and four against it. Seventy-eight more votes would have given the amendment the necessary two-thirds that would have carried it.

Of the two hundred and four adverse votes, seventy-two were cast by members who had voted for the NATIONAL PROHIBITION amendment. Of these seventy-two, sixty-three were democrats and fifty-eight of these were from the South—the very citadel of states rights. Some of these fifty-eight when speaking on the FEDERAL PROHIBITION AMENDMENT, had argued the states rights doctrine out of existence. This proves the inconsistency of our representatives who on the one hand, claim that prohibition may be forced on the states through federal legislation, and on the other hand declare that Equal Suffrage (which is the only fundamentally just and fair proposition for a democracy) should be a matter for each state to adopt separately. When we consider, however, that only one representative from a suffrage state voted against the amendment, and that twenty-three of the favorable votes came from representatives of conservative Southern States, we realize what a great advance the cause has made.

Mr. Mondell of Wyoming, the author of the resolution, made one of the strong speeches of the day. He said in part: "Our experience of forty-five years, has demonstrated *beyond controversy*, how *utterly* without foundation are each and all of the stock arguments against the exercise of the elective franchise by women. Our people would as soon think of surrendering their charter of statehood, as of depriving their women of the ballot. . . . The stupid and threadbare argument that the exercise of the elective franchise will have an unfavorable effect upon the character of women, expose them to undesirable contact, destroy the finer fibre of the sex, and put in jeopardy their natural charm has been *utterly refuted* by the experience of *every* state and nation which has enfranchised its women. If *some* fortunate women are so happily

content under present conditions that they do not desire the ballot, *that* fact does not constitute an argument against allowing those women to vote, who desire so to do."

The New York *Tribune* commenting on the matter said: "It was a considerable accomplishment to poll one hundred and seventy-four votes in the popular branch of Congress for a suffrage amendment to the Constitution. That was a demonstration well worth while, as a piece of political strategy."

Dr. Anna Shaw's comment was: "Nothing was more significant of the strength of suffrage, than the fact that a large number of men who voted against the amendment, declared themselves in favor of the enfranchisement of women, but opposed to the granting of the right except by the individual states."

Two more states have been added to the suffrage map since the summer of 1914: Nevada and Montana, making eleven states and one territory where women are fully enfranchised, and one state—Illinois—where they have the presidential and municipal suffrage. When the suffrage was granted in Montana, two prominent anti-suffragists were the first women to register.

The addition of Nevada and Montana puts all the western states on the WHITE LIST—as can be seen at a glance (see cover) and proves that Equal Suffrage is a success. It is a notable fact that no state or country that has ever enfranchised its women has ever made a serious attempt to repeal its action. Equal suffrage gains new states, but it cannot be said to lose any states when in our present struggle, it fails to secure a majority of votes, since it cannot lose what it never has had. Forty-nine and one-half per cent. of the entire territory in the United States has now been won for Equal Suffrage. At the present time, nearly four million women are permitted to cast their votes for the President of the United States and women help elect one-fifth of the United States Senate, and one-sixth of the House of Representatives.

Certain classes of women, subject to various restrictions, have the school suffrage in seventeen states and vote on taxation and bonding propositions in four states. Utah was the first state to elect a woman to the State Senate and in 1912, it elected four women to its House of Representatives. In Wyoming, two women have made extraordinary records as Justices of the Peace and one woman has been mayor. In 1912, two women were elected in Wyoming to serve in the House of Representatives. Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams of San Francisco, was in October, 1914, appointed Assistant United States Attorney, the first woman in the United States, to occupy such a position. Representative Raker of California, declared that he considered the appointment a recognition of woman suffrage. In the past year, Colorado and Arizona

each elected a woman to the State Senate, and Oregon and California each sent a woman to its House of Representatives.

To show the ability of women to help solve municipal housekeeping problems, it is interesting to consider what the women have accomplished in Chicago. Before they had the vote, they were unable after fifteen years effort, to prevail upon the mayor to appoint a commission to look into the question of garbage disposal. After they became political factors, the mayor acted upon their suggestion and named Miss Mary McDowell to serve on the commission, stating that she was "Chicago's greatest garbage expert." She had gone to Europe and had studied the best systems. The result is that while Chicago used to spend \$4,000 a month to have the work done unsatisfactorily, a contractor now pays the city \$2,000 a month, and the work is better done at a saving of the \$4,000, and a profit of \$2,000, making an actual gain of \$6,000 a month for the city. No wonder that Miss McDowell defined an ash can as a cast iron receptacle entirely surrounded by politics.

In Finland there are twenty-one women in the present Diet, elected in 1913. In Iceland, the women, who formerly had only the municipal vote, have had the franchise extended as the measure was passed for the second time (Constitutional amendments requiring to be passed at two sessions of the Althing) in August, 1914. It fixes the voting age for women at forty years, but this is to be gradually decreased until it is the same as that of men.

In Sweden, where women have the municipal vote, a Government bill extending their franchise so that they could vote for members of parliament and be elected to all political offices, was passed in the Lower House in 1914 for the second time; but on the outbreak of the war, it was laid aside by the Senate.

In Denmark too, where women have the municipal vote, a general electoral reform was deferred during the past year, the war being given as the reason for postponing its consideration.

Lethbridge in Alberta, Canada, has also adopted Equal Suffrage and a commission form of government, elected on property qualification for the franchise. More than six hundred women registered. A woman was made City Clerk, the first to hold this office in a Canadian city.

For the first time in Natal, women who possess the same qualifications required of men, have been entered upon the burgess roll and are thereby entitled to vote.

In Victoria, Australia, women have been made eligible for municipal office, on the same terms as men. The measures met with no opposition from the Legislature in either the Lower or the Upper House. In New Zealand, the Legislative Council Bill has been amended so that women may qualify for election to the Council. The amendment was carried by a majority of nearly 3 to 1.

Equal Suffrage planks were adopted in more party platforms in 1914 than ever before. Republicans recommended the submission of a constitutional amendment to voters in five states, and in four states declared for Equal Suffrage. Democrats recommended submission of a constitutional amendment in six states, and favored the principle in three states.

In several Equal Suffrage States, Republicans and Democrats adopted planks calling for nation-wide Equal Suffrage amendments to the United States Constitution. The Governors of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania recommended equal suffrage in their messages.

The campaign states for 1915 are New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York. In the New Jersey Assembly, the Equal Suffrage resolution was passed on February 1st, 1915, by the unanimous vote of the fifty-eight members present; in the Senate it passed by a vote of 17 to 4. It goes to the electors in September, 1915.

In Pennsylvania the resolution to submit to the voters the woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution passed in the House by a vote of 130 to 71, and in the Senate by a vote of 37 to 11. It goes to the electors in November, 1915.

The Massachusetts Legislature voted in 1914, for the first time in its history, in favor of referring the question of Equal Suffrage to the voters. The vote in the Assembly was 168 to 39; and the measure had already passed in the Senate, 34 voting in favor and 2 against. In 1915 the amendment again passed the House by a vote of 196 to 33, and the Senate by 33 to 3. It also goes to the electors in November.

The West Virginia Legislature voted in 1915 to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the electors—House, 76 to 8. Senate, 28 to 1. The popular vote will be taken in 1916.

An equal suffrage amendment passed both House and Senate in Arkansas in 1915. House, 51 to 18; Senate, 23 to 12. It is prevented from going to the voters at the next election, because three other amendments have precedence and not more than three can be submitted at one time.

An equal suffrage amendment has been passed by the Legislature of Tennessee, but must be passed again next session before going to the voters.

In New York State, the amendment was passed February 3rd unanimously in the Assembly, and on the following day, unanimously in the Senate. Since the question has now been voted on favorably by two legislatures, it will come before the voters next November and the men of New York State will have an opportunity of showing that they believe in the same principle of justice as do their western brothers, and that they have just as much confidence and faith in the women of their state as the men have shown in the enfranchised states. All of the counties through the state have organizers; and two thousand administrators and five hundred speakers have been giving their time, most of them without any salary, during the past year, to bring the facts pertaining to

Equal Suffrage before the voters. To give some slight idea of the activity of the Woman Suffrage Party alone, the membership has increased by 45,000 during the past year, nearly 3,000 meetings have been held by this one society which has now about 152,000 members enrolled, and yet Mrs. Dodge, the leader of the Anti-suffragists, claims that only 200,000 women in this entire country believe in Equal Suffrage.

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Dodge's point of view in regard to Equal Suffrage differs from that of Mr. Clarence P. Dodge, who is reputed to be her nephew. He has lived in Colorado and has been editor of the *Colorado Springs Gazette*. He writes: "From my experience as a member of the State Legislature, I personally believe Woman Suffrage has helped Colorado tremendously." (*Woman's Journal*, February 28, 1914).

This is in line with a statement of Senator Smith of Nevada, who says "Those who live West and have seen the practical results of Equal Suffrage at close range endorse it. Those who live East and know nothing about it are the ones who object to it." It is true, however, that the Liquor Dealer's Association in Montana went on record as objecting to Equal Suffrage; that association and the Union League Club of New York are the only two men's organizations, other than the Men's League Opposed to the Further Extension of the Suffrage to Women, who have, so far as can be ascertained, placed themselves publicly on record in regard to this question. Governor Johnson of California says: "Women are responsible for the new philosophy of government—the philosophy which sets human above material things."

The Vermont Senate, in 1915, passed, without debate, a bill extending the franchise to women at town and city elections and for Presidential Electors. The bill failed in the House by a vote of 100 to 129.

Equal Suffrage has been endorsed by the following National Associations:

- American Federation of Labor.
- National Grange, Patrons of Husbandry.
- National Educational Association.
- International Council of Women.
- National Women's Trade Union League.
- World's Women Christian Temperance Union.
- National Woman's Single Tax League
- National Purity Conference.
- National Association of Letter Carriers.
- National Association of Post Office Clerks.
- Grand Council of United Commercial Travelers.
- The Great Hive, Ladies of the Modern Maccabees.
- National Miners' Federation.
- General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The New York State Federation of Women's Clubs has endorsed Equal Suffrage by a vote of 227 delegates in favor and 73 against. Of the

thirty-seven suffrage clubs in the Federation, only thirteen were represented and of these there were only twenty-seven representatives. Forty delegates did not vote at all, as they had not been instructed. Mrs. Dodge had sent out letters widely beforehand, urging anti-suffragists to attend as delegates, and yet there were at the Convention more than three times as many delegates in favor of Equal Suffrage as opposed to it.

Among the other State Federations to endorse Equal Suffrage are those of West Virginia, New Mexico, Missouri and Pennsylvania. The New York State Grange endorsed it, and also the Massachusetts and Missouri State Branches of the Federation of Labor.

Now why do so many organizations urge Equal Suffrage? Can it be that they do so without having studied facts and results? Is it not rather because they know for instance, that in New Zealand, since women have voted the infant death rate has been reduced until it is now fifty-one per thousand, less than half that of the United States; that in the State of Washington—an Equal Suffrage State where there are many women food inspectors and a woman on the State Board of Health—we have the lowest death rate of any state in our union, that the only states that have an eight-hour law for working women are Equal Suffrage States, that the majority of the states that have passed widows' pension laws are Equal Suffrage States; that according to the National Vigilance Association, every Equal Suffrage State has a good law against the white slave traffic, that in all of the Equal Suffrage States except one the age of consent is 18, and in this one—the newly enfranchised State, Nevada—it is 16: whereas in several non-suffrage states, it falls as low as 10, 12 and 14. Is it not because they know that laws relating to the welfare of women and children and therefore to the welfare of all humanity, are passed far more quickly when women are the constituents of the legislators—laws which women before enfranchisement have been unable to get passed?

Is it not because these associations know that there are 8,000,000 women wage earners in the United States and that these women should have a voice in the selection of the legislators who make the laws controlling and governing the conditions under which they work? Is it not that they realize that there are in our country three times as many American women as there are foreigners, men and women added together, and yet these American women have to plead for a share in their government, not only with men of their own race, but also with nearly 2,300,000 colored voters, nearly 3,500,000 voters born of foreign parents and nearly 5,000,000 foreign born voters.

As for the organized opposition to Equal Suffrage—how can we take it seriously when we know that there has never been any effort to secure any reform without some opposition being met. When a Bill was introduced in New York in 1899 to require that there should be at least one woman on every school board, the Albany Anti-Suffrage Association sent to all the members of the Cities Committee in the Legislature, a letter

protesting against it as legislation "that threatens the home, threatens the sacredness of the marriage tie, threatens the church and undermines the foundation of our great republic."

For many years the Anti-suffragists have been circulating a leaflet giving one of the reasons against Equal Suffrage: "Because if women vote they must hold office and office-holding is incompatible with the duties of most women." Yet they acclaimed the appointment of Miss Katharine Davis as Commissioner of Corrections, as a victory for them and a cause for rejoicing.

The year 1914 brought us world-wide misery and distress through an atrocious, cruel war. Hundreds of thousands of brave men have been maimed and massacred (to give birth to whom their mothers went down into the valley of the shadow of death). Women have been mutilated, violated, their homes burned and sacked, while their natural protectors had been sent away to destroy other homes. All this is the result of abiding by the principle that kings and emperors rule by divine right and have absolute control over the lives of their people. As Professor Giddings of Columbia University well said in a recently delivered address: "In order to attain Universal Peace, all Kings must go—good Kings as well as bad Kings and Universal Democracy must be established. In order to have Universal Democracy, we must give up the idea that MEN rule by divine right and can control the lives of women. We must establish not an alleged Democracy—not a SHAM Democracy, but a REAL Democracy, where women as well as men will be considered people and will help to govern themselves.

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

April, 1915

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TEN EXTEMPORE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

By

DOCTOR ANNA HOWARD SHAW



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INTRODUCTION

It is ever a hazardous undertaking to attempt to capture and preserve on the printed page the winged words of the impassioned speaker, for in the transference "their hearts turn cold and they drop their wings." Yet all who have taken delight in those shafts of truth winged with wit wherewith Dr. Anna Howard Shaw is wont to pierce the armour of her opponents, must regret that her speeches and her answers to objections should have remained so long unrecorded.

As a first step towards remedying this defect, however inadequately, the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc., offers to the public this brief selection of extempore replies of Dr. Shaw to questions from her audience. They are, however, sharply conscious how colorless a character such a record must bear, bereft as it is of all the fire, the power, the eloquence of a speaker surely to be reckoned among the great orators of our time and our country.

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

I

Question: "Would not giving women the vote simply double the expense of election, with no proportionate benefit?"

Answer: I should say no to both questions. First, it would not double the expense of election. You have your polling booth; that is there. You have your election officers and all the rest of it; they are all there. There is no doubling the expense of these things. You would have to print a few more ballots, and it would take longer to count the vote than it would if there were fewer votes cast. Everybody knows this would add only a very trifling expense to the election. So that it could not possibly be assumed, as I have heard our anti friends say over and over again, that the expense of election would be doubled.

But think what an injustice it is to tax women year after year to pay for the counting of votes for men, while begrudging them a little of their own money to pay for counting their own votes! If you call that justice I don't know what justice is!

And second, as to the proportionate benefit. We should get a proportionate benefit, even if women voted in the same way as men; for, to give women the vote is to tie the interest of the women to the general welfare of the community, which is a "proportionate benefit." And the additional cost of the election would be so infinitesimal, compared to the proportion of benefit, that it would turn out to be one of the best investments the taxpayers could make for their money.

II

Question: "If women are allowed to vote, will not the bad women's vote be a great danger?"

Answer: No, because this vote would be so small as compared to the bad men's vote. But, in any case, I never could see the real justice of keeping a good woman from voting because a bad woman might vote.

And, personally, my fear is that the bad women will not vote, as indeed they do not, where women have the opportunity to vote. I think that nothing would help to clear up the bad conditions that prevail where bad women are, or help to free them from their slavery, as would the votes of the women themselves.

And, is it not strange that there should be so many people who know so much about bad women and nothing about good women? Everybody knows that there are ten good women in every community to every woman who is not good. And surely the ten good women may be trusted to take care of the one bad woman. I will tell you what we women will do. If the men will take care of the bad men's votes, we will take care of the bad women's votes.

III

Question: "Would it not be unfair to give women the vote when the majority of them don't want it?"

Answer: I am not sure that the majority do not want it. But there would be nothing unfair about it, if the majority did not want it. If the majority do not want it, they need not have it. The vote is not a thing that anyone has to have, if she does not want it. No man votes unless he wants to. I once heard an anti-suffragist declare that, while it is all very well for the suffragists to say this, the anti-suffragists, if they had the vote, would feel obliged to use it. According to her, anti-suffragists are conscientious, and with the opportunity to vote, with that duty laid upon them, these conscientious anti-suffragists would vote even though they did not wish to do so. And the same lady also said that in the State of Massachusetts, where the women have school suffrage, only two per cent. of the women vote. Now, one of two things: either it is not true that the anti-suffragists are in the majority, or else it is not true that, when they have the opportunity to vote, they do so. If all the conscientious anti-suffragists vote, and only two per cent. of the women of Massachusetts vote, it simply shows that, even if no suffragists voted at all, only two per cent. of the women of Massachusetts are anti-suffragists, or else the conscientious anti-suffragists do not vote. So that the vote will not be thrust upon anti-suffragists. Nobody would thrust it on me if I did not want to vote. I should not vote, that is all.

"But," you may ask, "is not such an attitude in itself a menace?" No. If you are so lacking in patriotism and in loyalty to your community, if you care so little about your community that you don't want to do anything to make it better, you would not benefit the community by voting.

IV

Question: "Would not the right to vote destroy woman's greatest power in political life, that of non-partisanship?"

Answer: That is a beautiful theory—"Woman's power in political life."

If women have this great strength, I should think the men would stop voting and use their non-partisanship; but I never heard of a man's trying to get a measure through the Legislature by hunting around for men that do not vote,—because they are not naturalized or for any other reason,—and getting them to use their non-partisan influence.

If I wanted a measure to go through this or any other legislative body, I should prefer to pick out a hundred men to get it through instead of a hundred women; a hundred men with the votes and with the power they have back of them in the electorate, rather than a hundred women without the votes and the power they haven't got in the electorate.

This theory of non-partisanship—and, incidentally voters need not be partisan; I would not be, I should be a mug-wump—this theory that woman's political power lies in being non-partisan is a fancy. I saw some working girls before a legislative body not very long ago, and I saw their employers there at the same time. One group was partisan and the other was non-partisan, and the non-partisan group went home ignored.

V

Question: "Is it not true that women should not vote because sex is a distinction imposed by nature, which prevents men and women from doing similar work equally well?"

Answer. It is true that men and women cannot do every thing equally well, but voting is not one of these things. Some jobs they *can* do equally well. I doubt if a man could take care of a baby quite as well

as a woman. I do not think a woman could climb a church steeple and paint it quite as easily as a man. But voting is neither taking care of a baby nor climbing a church steeple.

Then there are certain functions which belong to certain groups of men which women could never perform, and there are certain functions which belong to certain groups of women which men could never perform; they are the functions of father and mother. There are certain functions and obligations pertaining to the man who is a father that a woman could never perform; and certain functions and obligations pertaining to the woman who is a mother that a man could never perform. These functions can never be performed by either one for the other.

But, lying between these two functions of father and mother, is the great plane of human functions which belongs equally to both men and women, and in that plane the ballot is included. And both men and women can use it equally well. The difference in sex imposed by nature does not prevent a woman from paying her taxes. And it is a very similar process to voting,—I have tried both. And I did not find it any more difficult to vote than it was to pay my taxes. It was far more difficult to raise the money to pay my taxes than it was to vote! And if I had been able to vote before, I should not have had to raise so much money to pay my taxes.

VI

Question: "Can a man use his vote to get work?"

Answer: I have seen them do it. Did you ever notice how much the streets need to be cleaned and repaved, just about six weeks before election? I have noticed ours in Philadelphia. We are just getting a lot of men busy. They vote this spring.

VII

Question: "Can a man use his vote to raise his wages?"

Answer: He can. Did you ever read a political partisan speech, or go and hear a partisan speaker? Read the Republican papers just now: "Why have we so many unemployed? Because of the Democratic tariff. How shall we set all our smokestacks belching smoke and our

furnaces roaring with flames? Elect a Republican next year." Why do our political speakers waltz up and down the platform every campaign? Why does one political party tell us death and destruction will follow in the wake of the election of the other political party, and that "the only way you can get a full dinner pail and a full coal hod is to vote for us?"

VIII

Question: "Do women have to sit on the jury if they vote?"

Answer: Not necessarily, but I have seen a lot of juries who needed to have some one sit on them and I have known women who have had to stand up at most difficult and disagreeable employments who would be glad to sit on a jury for a vacation at double the price they could get by standing. And these men and women who prey upon the virtue of girlhood and boyhood would rather face Satan, himself, than a jury of mothers. Yes, we need women on some juries.

IX

Question: "Is it not true that the women in the States where women are enfranchised do not vote?"

Answer: That is said over and over again. I think it is said by nearly every anti-speaker before a Legislature. But let me give you some figures that were given by the Attorneys General of several equal suffrage States.

At the presidential election in Arizona in November, 1912, when women could not vote, the total vote cast was 23,722. At the gubernatorial election in 1914 when women did vote, the vote cast was 51,007. Now, one of two things is true; either the women in Arizona voted, or else the men did not vote at the first election.

In Kansas in 1912 the presidential vote—when, of course, the biggest vote was drawn out—was 365,444, and in 1914, at the gubernatorial election, when not nearly as many people would naturally vote as at a presidential election, it was 530,206, when men and women voted. So again you see they nearly doubled the vote. And it was either that

twice as many men voted at that election, or that men and women voted together.

In Oregon in 1912 the vote cast was 137,040, in 1914 it was 210,566. At the gubernatorial election of 1910 in California, the last general election at which men alone voted, the vote was 385,652; in 1914, at the gubernatorial election, with women voting, it was 926,754. And they tell us women don't vote in California; And the increase was from 385,652 at the presidential election to 926,754 at the State election, almost three times as many votes as at the presidential election. In Washington, in the 1908 election, the vote for the governor was 176,141. Women were enfranchised in 1911, and the vote for governor in 1912 was 318,357.

I have cited the last five states in which women have had an opportunity to vote at a general election. The difference between the vote before and after equal suffrage should put an end to all argument, that women do not use the vote when they have the opportunity.

Notwithstanding all those figures, if you will go to the next anti-suffrage meeting you will hear that the women do not vote—and notwithstanding all those figures and notwithstanding the anti-suffragists, own statements that women do not vote, you will hear how many bad laws have been enacted by the votes of women!

X.

Question: "Would it not contaminate women to mingle with men at the polls?"

Answer: Why should it? The men we meet at the polls are the men with whom we associate, and among whom we live all the rest of the year. I never could understand why men whom we esteem and without whom life would be very dreary immediately on election morning become such terrors that it would contaminate us to go near them at the polls. Let us not forget, each woman votes in her own neighborhood among her own neighbors.

[April 16, 1915]

A Speech by Doctor Anna Howard Shaw*

(President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association)

There are two classes of people here this afternoon—saints and sinners; the sinners are the people who do not agree with us, and the saints are the people who do. We want the sinners to be seated. I am a Methodist, and having been a Methodist for years, I know that, if you want to convert a man, he must be physically comfortable while you are attempting it, so, if any sinner here is uncomfortable, let him come and take my seat.

In the old Methodist meetings, the old-fashioned Methodist always began his speech with, "I am glad to be here." I want to say that this afternoon, for I remember that when I was here years ago, I was forbidden to speak on woman suffrage; today I should be forbidden to speak on anything else. Yet today one man is politically still worth one thousand women; two years hence, when Alabama's women are free, one woman will be politically equal to one man.

I am very glad that I am speaking on Sunday. I am glad to speak on the day of the week when men and women have leisure to listen to the problems which concern their lives; and I know of no better service for Sunday afternoon than for men and women to discuss the fundamental principles of the government under which they live. No man is fitted to become a citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven who is not a good citizen on this earth. No man who thinks this earth and its problems unworthy of consideration understands the moving of the Divine Spirit; and anyone who thinks that woman suffrage is not a proper subject for discussion on Sunday afternoon, does not comprehend the profound, sublime and divine principles of democracy.

Democracy is not merely a form of government; it is a great spiritual force emanating from the heart of the Infinite, permeating the universe and transforming the lives of men until the day comes when it shall take possession of them, and shall govern their lives. Then will men be fitted to lift their faces to the Source from whence the spirit of democracy flows, and answer back in the spirit, in their recognition of that fundamental principle of democracy: "One is our father, even God, and we are members one of another." And as soon as the spirit of democracy takes possession of us, we shall not quibble as to whether it is male or female, bond or free, Jew or Greek; we shall recognize only that every child has an equal right with every other human child of God, in the things that belong to God. Liberty, justice, freedom, belong alike to God's human children.

The fundamental reason for the prejudice that the average man brings to the discussion of woman suffrage today is not that he is living unchaste, or that he does not want to be fair towards women; it is that he has not yet grasped the fact that women are human. Men are usually very fair to other men. The average man will say of himself: "Being

*This speech was delivered at Birmingham, Ala., April 16, 1915. Stenographically reported.

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do not use into Place

a human being. I have a right to everything which in any way benefits me as a human being; and the government is under obligation to confer upon me such political powers as shall enable me to control and regulate the conditions under which I live and labor"; and then he looks into the face of his brother-man and says: "Whatever is fair and just for me, is fair and just for him." The average man is perfectly just in considering this problem in regard to other men; it is when he is considering women, instead of men, that the average man becomes so sentimental that he immediately forgets the fundamental principles of justice and righteousness and freedom, and flies off at a tangent with: "My wife! My mother! My sister! My daughter!" He does not think of women as human, but merely as related to human beings. We are related to human beings. We do not want to be anything else, but we are also human. Every political right conferred upon man belongs to him not because he is male but because he is human, and to women not because she is female but because she too is human. If a man has no right to self-government because he is a man and has a right to self-government because he is human, the woman also has no right to self-government because she is a woman, but she has, today, a right to self-government because she is human. It is this fundamental principle of democracy which underlies the whole woman suffrage movement.

Men recognize this fact—that humanity is the only real basis of democracy, in their political writings and declarations, and in the sentiments which they utter. Read the utterances of men about democracy; how splendid, how thrilling they are! Should they not apply to all alike when they declare that, "under God, the people rule"? Yet the men who declare this prevent one-half of the people from having anything to do with ruling! Men will extol the Declaration of Independence with its fundamental principle of democracy which declares that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and will then proceed to govern women without giving them any chance of consenting to any law which men compel them to obey. On the Fourth of July and other great patriotic occasions, orators declare that the voice of the people is the voice of God, yet forget that, in the compass of the human voice there is a soprano as well as a bass. If the voice of the people is the voice of God, we shall never hear the voice of God in government until soprano and bass mingle together, the result of which may be divine harmony. That time will never come so long as we are content to listen to a bass solo!

In our Methodist Love Feast we always give our experiences. I want to give my experiences this afternoon and tell you—not why I am a suffragist, that is because, thank Heaven, I was born with intelligence!—but why I gave up everything else in the world to work for woman suffrage. When I was a young girl, I had, as you all have had, my ideal of the kind of human being I should like to become; I had an ideal of the kind of character which, to me, is the noblest character in the world; and I had no faith in the usual allotment to women of certain particularly virtuous characteristics and the reservation to men alone of certain other honorable qualities. I believed that the most perfect human being in the world is the one who possesses those characteristics which we call the most desirable in woman, blended with the characteristics which we call most desirable in men. When I was a young preacher on Cape Cod, I delivered a series of sermons, and, among others, a sermon on "Jesus

Christ, the ideal man," and the next Sunday another on "Jesus Christ, the ideal woman"; and I said that all desirable womanly traits could be found in Him, and all desirable manly traits were also found in Him. In Him, the Man, were blended perfectly the ideal characteristics of man and woman. In my youth, He was too exalted an ideal for me; therefore I selected from the Scriptures two characters who, to my mind, stood as the highest type of man and the highest type of woman, and I thought that the blending of these two would make a perfect character, an ideal character, if one dared aspire to it. For the woman, I took one about whom I had never heard a minister preach, Vashti, one of the noblest characters in all history; a woman who so respected herself and the dignity of her birthright as the daughter of a king—who held her virtue in such high honor—that, rather than debase herself before her husband's drunken guests, she was ready to leave home and throne and husband and country, to give up everything for the dignity of her womanhood. And the man I selected was Caleb. The Bible does not say much of him; it has no need to. You may have to read sixteen or eighteen volumes to find out who George Washington was, but the Bible does not need eighteen or twenty volumes to set forth the characteristics of a man. In the few sentences it devotes to Caleb its readers may see the man as he was—so he stands out to this day. Caleb did not say much. He was sent out as an emissary through the promised land, just as we suffragists are sent out. He came back with the other spies and told exactly the same story as they, but to a different end. The others said: "We are not able to go up against the people to occupy the land, for they are stronger than we; the cities are walled and very great." "All the people that we saw in the land are men of great stature, and there we saw the giants, and were in our own sight as grasshoppers and so we were in their sight." "We cannot go up and take the land." But Caleb said: "Let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it." "In the strength of Jehovah, we will go forth, notwithstanding that the cities are vast and the walls high and the men giants. In the strength of Jehovah we can go up and possess the land." Reading of Vashti and Caleb I said to myself: "Here are dignity of character, courage and womanly virtue on the one hand, and undaunted faith and courage on the other. The blending of these will make an ideal character. Such a combination of qualities, I thought, is exactly what all reformers need, for their's is a most difficult task—a task which especially confronts the women who stand for the movement represented by this audience today. Could there be anything more discouraging, more full of despairing anguish than the task of the women who inaugurated this great movement? Yet their faith, their undaunted courage, their perseverance, and their belief in the dignity of womanhood and in the eternal triumph of justice, led them and still leads them on today.

When I started out in life, having before me the ideals of which I have told you, I made up my mind that I would become a missionary and would go to the women who, more than others, need friends and yet suffer the greatest abuses. So I studied theology and, when I graduated, thinking I knew something about what I had undertaken, I attempted to help the homeless and the forsaken and the betrayed women of that community. In a little while I found that I had nothing to give that they wanted, and I also found out that, although I knew some things about theology, I knew very little about human beings; and I learned something

there that I had not learned at any school. I learned to understand why the Master taught us to say: "Give us this day our daily bread" before He said: "Forgive us our sins"; for I learned that it is useless to talk virtue to a starving girl. The cry of this human body of ours is so much louder, so much more gross, so much more exacting in its demands than is the cry of the soul, that we cannot hear the still small voice until after the other voice is silenced. I looked around to see what was needed and found that I could do practically little. "But," I thought, "there is one woman who does do something, and that is a doctor; for a woman-doctor can go to these women when they are sick and suffering, and minister to them and bring them some sort of relief and comfort." So I went back to school and studied medicine and took my degree, and again went down into the by-ways to live and to work and unceasingly tried to do something to be helpful. At the end of three years I gave it up in utter despair. The same desperate problems that had faced all other workers in such lines faced me also. I felt like one waiting with an ambulance at the foot of a precipice for the certain fall of a living body over the brink; waiting merely to take up the remains and give them a decent burial, instead of being at the top of the precipice to prevent the unwary from falling over. And I said, "This is no place for me. What is needed first of all for these poor girls is some rational satisfaction for their human nature; what they need is employment under conditions which shall not crush out and atrophy all their natural human demands; what is needed is a fair chance for each—a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." It was not that I did not believe in women's working; I believe so much in women's working, that I think no woman has a right to occupy space in this world who does not give valuable service in return for the space she occupies. Something, either of brain, of brawn, or of heart, something the world needs, something a woman must give, either inside the home or outside the home, wherever duty calls her; and she is to be the judge of her call to duty. I believed, then, in work, but under conditions that left the worker human after the day's toil was done, in work which, instead of crushing out the vital energies of a young woman and leaving her with stooped shoulders, atrophied heart and downcast eyes, would leave her capable of feeling in her soul the joy of living, of lifting her eyes to the sky and knowing that the blue was for her, the flowers of the field and the sun of comfort were for her, the laughter of little children, the love of husband and home and the joys of comradeship were for her. I believed that working women should have in life this human satisfaction, which we all need, of friendship, love, home and comradeship. That is why, then as now, I wanted to do my share to see that other toilers got an equal day's pay for an equal day's work regardless of whether they were men or women. But, lo! I found that women are a branded sex—and no matter whether of a branded sex or a branded race, no group of people who bear the seal of inferiority ever have a fair and equal chance anywhere in this world!—and I saw that, so long as women are branded as the inferior sex, and men are distinguished as the superior sex, there is no hope in the market of the world of an equal day's pay for an equal day's work; there is no hope of a fair chance of opportunity for rising; there is even no hope that, under the government, the one who can pass the examination will get the government position; there is no fair chance anywhere, until that stigma is removed which declares women an inferior sex in the business of life.

It is no use to deny that women *are* branded as the inferior sex; it is no use any longer to talk poetry to us. That was all very well in the time of Elizabeth before women began to read. It is no use to talk chivalry; it is no use to talk anything but common sense, to women today. To know whether women are reckoned an inferior sex or not, we have but to listen to the conversation of men and women about us. What do you say if you want to touch a man to the quick with the most contemptuous name? If he is an elderly man you call him an "old woman"; if he is a young man, of the namby pamby good-for-nothing sort, you call him a "sissy," or "Miss Nancy." If you ask a little boy to do the task which is ordinarily done by his sister, he says that it is "girls' work"—an inferior job! Not long ago a gentleman introduced me to an audience, and, after having said a great many pleasant things about me, most of which were not true, he said, wishing to conclude with the most flattering thing possible: "I now have the pleasure of introducing to you a woman with the brains of a man!" What more could a man say of a woman? He thought that he had heaped upon me the highest possible praise—"a woman with the brains of a man!" I never answer back when people say things about me personally, but when they say things about my sex, it becomes my business to answer them, so, when I got over my surprise, I said, "I really don't know how to take my introduction, whether to take it as a reflection upon my sex or as a compliment to my intelligence. If the gentleman intends it as a compliment to my intelligence to say that I have the brains of a man, before I feel duly proud over it—I should like to see the man whose brains I have got! There is a lot of difference in brains among men as well as among women." Are we to be censured when we ask why we are branded as inferior? We are indeed not men, but is it not astonishing that men so superior should have such inferior mothers? We are, of all God's creation, the only species in which an inferior mother can produce a superior son. I do not pretend that women know more than men, I know that men know a great deal more than women about many things; but I also know that women know a great deal more than men about many other things; and I know that men and women together know all there is to know about everything!

Such knowledge is what we want at the ballot box—the fullness of all the knowledge there is is needed for the government of the people; and we shall never get it in this government until men and women vote it there together. It is absurd to make sex-distinctions in government. Of all the foolish things in the world, nothing was ever more foolish than is the assumption of sex-superiority. Over in the old world they are fighting to the death a fetish which has possessed the old world for centuries. It is the assumption of the divine right of kings. And it will receive its death blow before this fierce struggle is over. The time will come when men will refuse to die at the behest of a king! While men in Europe are fighting to the death the ancient fetish of the divine right of kings, women, all over the United States, are fighting to the death a similar fetish, and that is the divine right of sex. Years ago, when the Emperor William ascended the throne of Germany he claimed that he ruled Germany by divine right, and I remember how the assumption of this young man was ridiculed; but I could not understand why it was any more absurd for the Emperor William to assume that he ruled Germany by divine right, than it is for men in this country to assume that they rule women by divine right.

Men, what have you been doing? Read your own history and see what your consistent course has been! One remarkable characteristic of men is their consistency in their inconsistency; from the beginning of our life as a people on this continent to the present hour, this consistency in inconsistency has been marked. From the beginning, we have called ours a great, free country, we have called it the land of the free and the home of the brave; and we have never really believed this! We have called ourselves a Republic and yet we are not a Republic today. We get into the habit of repeating things one after another like magpies; and so we speak of this great Republic of the United States, whereas, in reality, the United States has never been a Republic. Take your lexicon and read the definition of a "Republic!" You will find that a Republic is a form of government in which the laws are enacted by representatives elected by the people. When have the people in this country, save in States where women are enfranchised, ever elected their representatives? Never in our whole history! *Men* have elected their representatives, and men are indeed people, excellent people so far as they go, but they are only half the people, there is still another half of the people who have *not* elected their representatives. Yet who ever read a definition of a Republic as a government in which one half of the people elected representatives to govern the whole of the people! That is not a Republic, that is aristocracy. In this country we have an aristocracy of sex! We are, however, trying to evolve a Republic; that is all we have been doing from the beginning of our life as a nation. We have been seeking to evolve a Republic out of a Monarchy but we are not yet fully evolved.

You should read the history of our country. Men have not always ruled in this country because they were men; they have ruled because they were some particular kind of men. The first men who voted in this country, after the Pilgrims had settled here, were church-members; a man did not then vote because he was a male, he voted because he was a particular kind of male. He had to be a member of some church. After the Revolutionary War, when the State Constitutions were framed, the word "Tax-payer" was written before the word "male," so that, if a man were not a church member he could yet vote, provided that he had some property and paid taxes. And the evolutionary process continued until that great Democrat appeared who saw that rapidly increasing wealth in the hands of a few people would endanger the liberty of the masses, unless the working men had the power to protect themselves by the only weapon known to a republican form of government—the ballot. And under the leadership of that great statesman, Thomas Jefferson, the right of suffrage was extended to the laboring men of the country, and the word "Tax-payer" was stricken out of the Constitution, but the word "white" was still written in, and they sang of "the land of the free and the home of the brave," and talked beautifully of motherhood, while at the same time they sold mother's babies by the pound on the auction block. Then another political party arose and said: "A man is not a good citizen because he is white; he is a good citizen because he is a man." So they rubbed out the word "white," and they left that little word "male" standing alone, by itself. They could not think of another qualifying word to write before it. There was no man left out, they were all in—black and white, rich and poor, wise and otherwise, drunk and sober, all men were in, and for the first time the little word "male" stood all alone. And yet God said in the beginning: "It is not good for man to stand alone!"

Now, all that is meant by the woman-suffrage movement lies in that first divine utterance to man: "It is not good for man to stand alone"—either in the home, or the state, or even in the Garden of Eden. Therefore, we women are asking that the word "male" be stricken out of our State and National Constitutions, and that these shall read as they ought to have read in the beginning: Every citizen twenty-one years of age, possessing the necessary qualifications may cast one vote at every election and have that vote counted. That is all suffragists are asking. And yet, by the opposition with which we are met and the horror of anti-suffragists, one might suppose that we were seeking to up-root the foundations of the government, that we were asking that women should leave their homes and forsake their children, should cease to love their husbands, and should become so absorbed in politics that they would never again think of anything else in the world; whereas all we are asking of men is to be true to the fundamental principles of democracy, and to take, in their day, the step that belongs to their time, as their ancestors in their day took the steps which belonged to their time, in the evolution of a republic out of a monarchy. We are not yet fully evolved; there is one step still to be taken; and no State as a part nor the United States as a whole can become a republic until the word "male" is stricken out of their respective constitutions and the word "citizen" incorporated; until all citizens are alike free.

Whenever a government, calling itself a republic, prescribes qualifications for voters, these qualifications must be such as apply equally to all citizens of the republic. When the government says that the citizen, in order to vote, shall be twenty-one years of age, that could apply to men and women alike. When it says that the voter must have been a resident of the State for a certain length of time, that too applies to both alike. When, again, the government says that the voter must be either native-born or naturalized, men and women could equally meet the condition imposed. The government might even go further and say that, in order to vote, a citizen must be able to read the ballot and know for whom he or she is voting, and that also might apply fairly to all. Nor would women object to such a qualification, for there are more women than men in the United States who could read their votes. The government, however, has never imposed upon its citizens a hardship so great as that; the government has been very careful to protect male ignorance. What an exciting debate there was in Congress when they tried to pass the Immigration Bill! What remarkable speeches were made against the literacy test! Yet the bill was carried; it was sent to the President, and the President then vetoed it. I was especially interested in the language used by our President in vetoing the bill on account of its literacy clause. That clause, he said, would keep out of our country "a large body of very desirable people." I wondered why we make it so easy for male ignorance to enter our country or to gain political power, and are so fearful at the very thought of injecting a little female ignorance into our electorate that we withhold the ballot from the large body of intelligent American women. I fail to understand why female ignorance is so much more deadly than the male ignorance which has been imposed upon us in this country.

When I was a girl we occasionally had elections in the community in which I lived. We never knew just how these were coming out, because we had the old-fashioned tissue ballots, and the number of ballots cast

depended upon the size of the ballot-box and had little relation to the number of electors. Men were desirous of finding a ballot that would be both safe and secret but could not devise one. At last they heard of the ballot used in Australia (a country where women vote) and our Statesmen sent for the Australian ballot. They found it safe and secret, but not adapted to our electors, because in Australia voters must be able to read the ballot. But how could we impose a hardship of that kind on male citizens? However, politicians hit upon the plan of putting at the head of the column of each political party a symbol, like a rooster, or an eagle, or a star, or a man with a hammer in his hand, to stand for the different political parties, so that, if a man has intelligence enough to know the difference between a rooster and an eagle, he knows which party to vote for. The people who do not want women to vote for fear of their ignorance so arrange our ballots in the United States to adapt them to male illiteracy! I think women could vote a ballot carefully prepared like that, especially if the eagle were taken out and a hen put in! I am quite sure we could vote the ticket! When men make it so easy to bring to the polls all the male ignorance of the country, it ill becomes them to say that women may not vote because they are not intelligent. But we are outgrowing these symbols now. Where women vote, as they do in Colorado and in Washington, and some other states, they are pleading that the symbols may be removed, so as to make it necessary for the American citizen to be able to read his vote. In Wyoming, the first state to enfranchise women, they never used them.

When the government says that, in order to vote, a citizen shall be a male, that is not a qualification, that is an insuperable barrier between one half of the people and their rights as citizens. And no government calling itself a republic may erect an insuperable barrier between one half its citizens and their rights and privileges, and remain a republic. A government which does that is not a republic; it is an aristocracy, and the poorest kind of aristocracy on earth, an aristocracy of sex.

However, in our country, all men are not allowed to vote. I listened this winter to the debate upon woman suffrage in Congress. For forty-three years suffragists have had a bill in Congress asking for a National Constitutional Amendment enfranchising women citizens. We never got that bill out of committee in all the forty-three years until this winter; but this winter it was brought before the House and during that whole debate nothing was more amusing than the reasons men gave for not wishing women to vote. Those opposed to suffrage were also opposed to dragging women from the pedestal men had put them on down into the dirty pool of politics. It always impresses me greatly that men should be so willing to remain in that dirty pool themselves. How chivalrous they are and how proud of not wanting us to get our skirts soiled in the pool which they know they themselves made so unfit! If they made the pool so undesirable that we cannot go near it, it is about time that, for the health of the nation, women should help men to clean it up. While these congressmen were giving their reasons for disenfranchising women, among others man's high regard for women, I wondered if that was the reason they disenfranchise certain classes of men—because of their high regard for them. When they spoke of women as being on a pedestal, and of not wanting them to come down, I wondered if they had in mind the other people of their own sex who are up on that pedestal of disenfranchisement with women. All the male idiots, insane men, male

criminals (those inside the penitentiary), all the male children and all aliens. They talk about our honored position on that pedestal; if there is any woman who wishes to stand on a pedestal with that group, she ought to do so—she belongs there; but I for my part do not! I want to come down; I want to get into the place where opinions are crystallized into laws which are made to govern me and to govern the lives of other women who are out in the world fighting life's battle; I want to stand beside the men who are warring today against the forces of evil and vice and ignorance and poverty; to strike such blows as can be struck by free men and women only against the injustices which are dragging us downward as a Nation! I want to be in this fight with men and women worthy to fight such battles; and the pedestal is no place for a warrior until after he is dead.

I am going to say something which some of you men may not like to hear; but by tomorrow, after going home and thinking about it, you will know that I told the truth. In no other nation in the world—I am going to say it slowly—in no other nation in the world have the women of that nation been reduced to the humiliating political position occupied by the women of these United States today. In Germany, German women are governed by German men; it may not be fair, but one takes a certain pride in one's own countrymen, one may not feel it a degradation to live under the laws of one's native countrymen; at least the men of one's own blood and one's own country have more right to govern than the men of some other race. In France, Frenchwomen are governed by Frenchmen; British women in Great Britain by British men; but, in these United States, American women are governed by every kind of man under the light of the sun. There is not a color from black to white, from red to yellow, there is not a race, there is not a nation, which has not contributed men to be our sovereign rulers. Read the history of the world, and you will see that no nation has ever made its women the subjects of their former slaves save this our nation where we sing of the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave. And so I say that the most humiliating political position that the women of any nation have ever occupied is that which American women occupy today. If any man thinks it is not, I should like to ask him how he would like it himself. No man shall talk "poetry" or "pedestals" to me, while American women are governed by every and any class of men under the sun! I was in New York, not long ago, while foreigners were being made full-fledged citizens in order to vote at the last election, and men were there who had been primed day after day by their own political parties with a view to answering a few questions; and one even of these did not know that Charles Murphy, the head of Tammany Hall, was not the President of the United States! Yet these men govern New York women, New York native-born women who have given everything for their country; and I claim that this is a form of degradation which burns into the heart of any patriotic woman—which burns into the heart of any self-respecting woman, and that no woman with self-respect can timidly sit under such conditions when she realizes them.

It is time that American men should think where American women stand politically; it is time that American men should begin to think what American women are becoming industrially. It is time for us all to think that, if we are to save America's womanhood, if we do not wish to see it overwhelmed by external forces, we must give American women the power

to save themselves. I am not opposed to foreigners, I am one myself; I do not object to enfranchising any man under the light of the sun who is an alleged citizen, with the qualifications necessary for citizenship. I do not object that a man happens not to be born here, when he comes here to live and build his home, and rear his children and educate them in our public schools, and start them out in life with our public school ideals. I do not know why, if he gives his brawn and brain to the development of the country, he should be denied a voice in his children's education because he happens not to be born here. It is right that he should have just the same rights as if he had been born here. What women object to is that men who are not Americans, who are not of our race, should have the power to deprive American women of their right to a voice in their own government.

And what objections confront such an appeal as this? They may be expressed in beautiful poetical phrases about "the sturdy oak, and the clinging vine"; but we know that they who observe more closely the sturdy oak about which the ivy clings, find it dead at the top. The truth is that there has been too much of the clinging vine and too much of the sturdy oak theory in the world.

And are there no sensible anti-suffrage arguments? Well! the other arguments, such as they are, generally come in pairs. The anti-suffragists have the happy faculty of answering their own arguments. I don't know what we should have done for argument if it had not been for our opponents since they positively refuse to meet us on fundamental principles. When women tell me that there is no anti-suffrage organization in their State, I reply: "You are to be pitied; the only States that are really happy are those that have anti-suffragists, for without them there is no argument." One may assert that two and two make four, but to argue the point there must be objections to answer. When I was in the campaigns last year, I was followed from place to place by an anti-suffrage speaker from New Jersey. She was a very agreeable young woman who had left her husband and home and gone forth to tell women that their place is at home, that they have not time to vote, and that they must not go out in public because it is unwomanly! One of her arguments was that it is useless to give women the ballot, because if they had it they would not use it. If women would not use it, what harm could there be in giving it to them? In that case, you men need only give women the vote to be completely rid of them. They could never blame you for anything which goes wrong politically; you could sit back and say: "We told you so, we told you so!" No! I do not see why you should not grant suffrage if women would not use it! But to return to the young anti-suffragist: "What," she asked, "will become of the home if you give women the ballot?" Women will neglect their homes; they will forsake their children, they will cease to love their husbands. Women are hysterical, and if they should once get into politics, they would become so enamoured of the life that once at the polls men could never get them home again. They would want to do nothing at all but vote.

On the other hand, anti-suffragists say that it would be useless to give women the vote as they would vote exactly as their husbands do, and that it would only double the vote. Is a man so ashamed of his vote that he would not like his wife to vote in the same way as himself? I only wish that the anti-suffragists could make men believe that women would vote as they wish them to. They would give women the ballot at

once. Do you suppose that, if men believed this, women would have to hold another suffrage meeting? No! they would *have* to vote, whether they wished to do so or not. And, of course, spinsters would be as welcome to the ballot as married women, because any woman who had no husband would probably vote as he would if she had one! But suppose that two persons should vote alike. Has nothing been done but to double the number of the votes in the ballot-box? Does it not imply that two persons have been reading, two have been thinking, two have been discussing, and two have deposited the result of all this in their ballots which crystallize their will into law? Does it not mean that two persons have been bound by their ballots to the interests of the community, instead of one being so bound while the other remains an irresponsible citizen who cannot be held by the country responsible for the influence she exerts, although the country must endure its results? If there were a hundred people who all voted alike, it would be better for the community and better for the people themselves that each should vote than that one should cast the vote for all.

Our opponents, however, who urge that wives will vote as their husbands do, will, nevertheless declare on other occasions that they will not vote as they are directed to, and they draw a most woeful picture of the discord, the quarrels, the disorganization of the family, the divorce, that will ensue, until one shudders to think about it! A man told me once that he and his wife had lived together for twenty years without a difference in opinion in all those years. He was going to vote against woman suffrage he said, for fear that he and his wife might differ. And, while he talked, I could not help wondering which of the two was the greater idiot; for I knew very well that no two intelligent minds could think on parallel lines for twenty years. I wondered as I looked at that great big man, how a man like that could stand being followed about by a little woman all these twenty years, saying: "Me, too! Me too! Me too!" I should not want to live in the house even twenty hours with another human being who agreed to everything I said. The stagnation of a frog pond would be hilarious in comparison. Think of the absurdity of it; think what a libel it is on men! Anti-suffragists say that suffragists hate men. It is they who have a poor opinion of men, and not we. We think that the average American man is an agreeable sort of human being and that it would be quite possible to live in the house with him, even without always agreeing with him.

Again they tell us that if we women should vote, we should have to mingle at the polls with horrid men—the same horrid men with whom we live the rest of the year. In my precinct, the men who vote in the polling booth where I would vote are my neighbors who come to my home; men who sit by me or by whom I stand in the street cars. I do not know why men so decent that women would not like to live without their society for three hundred and sixty-four days of the year should, on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day, be such ruffians that women cannot go near them without contamination. Even if men are, as our opponents claim, dangerously unworthy, the securest possible place for a woman would be at the polls, since the law forbids any interference with an elector within fifty or, in some states, one hundred feet of the voting booth. The polls, compared to a New York subway, for example, is the safest place imaginable.

We hear, again, that women have no time and are burdened with too

many responsibilities and cares to vote. One might suppose that it took all day or even a week to vote! They tell us that women would have to neglect their children because they would be occupied by politics. A lady in one of the campaign States whose guest I was, held up her baby and said: "Is this not my job?" "It certainly is," I replied, "and any woman who has that kind of a job has a job that she ought to attend to." Then she exclaimed: "How can I go to the polls and vote?" I said: "Your husband who is the president of a bank also has a job that requires his closest attention, yet he told me that he intended to vote for this amendment." "Oh yes," she cried, "he is very keen about it." Then I said: "See what an advantage you have over your husband. He has to leave *his* job to go and vote, while you may take your job with you." It is a strange thing that nobody worries about a woman's baby except on election day! They know that, if a woman who has a baby goes to church, she probably either takes it with her or finds someone to take care of it; that if she spends one afternoon of every week of the season at a bridge-whist party, she probably provides somebody to take care of the baby; that if she goes to the opera or to a dance, or to a play, she sees that somebody takes care of the baby. The only time they think that a woman has not enough interest to take care of a baby is on election day! I have often wondered why, if voting is a mere question of using up time, we do not, since men are paid a third to a half more for their time than are women, use the cheap time of women rather than the dear time of men for that purpose. That an argument against woman's suffrage! And again the very women who tell you that women have not the time to vote will also tell you that women form the leisure class.

The most amusing argument against suffrage is in regard to Prohibition. Last year, when we were campaigning in the West, which, as you know, is divided on the prohibition question, our anti-suffrage opponents declared, according to circumstances, either that suffragists were not for prohibition or that they were. In North Dakota, which is one of the strong prohibition States, in which they are "dry" because they want to be "dry," the anti-suffrage speakers naturally tried to prove that, if women were allowed to vote, they would vote North Dakota "wet." They produced statistics to show it. Women, they asserted, had not voted Los Angeles "dry," nor San Francisco "dry," nor Portland "dry," nor Chicago "dry." (As a matter of fact, women had not voted on the question in Chicago, but that did not affect anti-suffrage statistics.) Therefore, they would vote North Dakota "wet." In Montana, on the other hand, which is "wet" and very "wet," any argument that could prove that women, if enfranchised, would keep Montana "wet" would not serve their purpose, so they got out their other set of statistics to prove that if women were allowed to vote in Montana they would vote Montana "dry." They showed that, in less than two years, women had in Illinois voted ninety-six towns dry. How long, at that rate, they asked, would it take to vote Montana dry? Afterwards, I went to Nebraska and, soon as I arrived, a reporter asked me: "How will women vote on the prohibition question in this State?" I said, "I really don't know. I know how they will vote in North Dakota, they will vote wet; and I know how they will vote in Montana, they will vote 'dry,' but how they will vote in Nebraska I cannot tell, but I will let you know just as soon as the anti-suffrage lady from New Jersey arrives." And so the temperance forces are against woman suffrage for fear women will vote "wet," and the liquor interests

for fear they will vote "dry." They grind us between the upper and the nether mill stone.

There is another argument urged by some men and women, namely, that it would not be ladylike to vote. Some women who belong to the Federation of Clubs think that. They do not think it would be ladylike to go to the polls and cast their ballot to elect a man to the Legislature who will do the things that ought to be done for the community in which they live; but they do think it perfectly lady-like to go to the Legislature themselves and lobby, to send their cards to members and to buttonhole and way-lay them until they hate the sight of women, trying to persuade them to vote for the things that they were elected not to vote for. Of all the unladylike things that a lady ever did, the most unladylike is to go the Legislature and lobby. We have done it over and over again. It is the only way that is left to women to secure favorable legislation—and then we usually can't get it! How much more ladylike it would be to go to the polls and deposit a ballot to elect a man who desires to do the things women want to have done. Why, in comparison to lobbying, voting is so ladylike that I almost wonder a man is willing to do it!

Then, again, there are the sentimental arguments. Men are so sentimental about women! I once heard one say: "I am opposed to woman suffrage, and so are all men"; and the reason he gave for the opposition is that "men fear the loss of woman's subtle charm, of that bloom of womanhood which is one of her greatest treasures and which has made man her slave through all centuries." "If you rub the bloom from the cheek of the peach, no power in the world can restore it; and so it is with women. If they are dragged down into the political pool, the bloom would be rubbed from their cheek, and no power on earth could restore it. It is the loss of the bloom we fear." And then he sat down and I got up and said: "I am glad to be here; it has always been the joy of women to be the comforters of men, and I am glad to be able to assure the gentleman that, if it is true that if you rub the bloom from the cheek of the peach no power can ever restore it, then, there is a difference between the peach and the woman; for, give the woman five minutes and the opportunity, and the bloom will be restored just as it was before." The bloom that rubs off so easily is as easily restored. But there is a bloom of womanhood which will enable a woman to go anywhere, to do anything circumstances demand; which will glow with a beauty more wonderful as the years go by. It is not the bloom that rubs off from without, it is the bloom which glows forth from within. It is the power of character which enables a woman to give help in the world's great need. Yes, I would trust the mothers of men with the power to protect their children. I am not afraid of the fadeless bloom of womanhood. God has not done his work so badly, nor have women done their work in the world so badly, that we need fear that women will ever forget their womanhood!

I will deal with one further so-called objection. "If women vote they must go to war." In the last campaign I was speaking in North Dakota to a great group of men, gathered out of doors. One of them, who sat on a dry-goods box whittling a stick in defense of his country all the time I was talking, said, when I had finished: "Well, if we give women the vote, will they go to Germany and fight the Germans?" "No sir," I replied, "why should we?" Then he said: "If the Germans came over here would the women fight?" I said, "No sir, why should we?"

Does this make it
unavailable now?

If German *men* come over here to fight, *men* must fight them, but if Germany should send an army of women to fight, then we will show what we will do. We will go to New York Harbor and meet them, and we will say: "Come on, let us go to the Metropolitan Opera House and talk this thing over." Nobody would be killed; it might be wearisome, but it would not be fatal!

Women did that very thing last summer in regard to war. In the International Council of Women we settled this whole war question without any slaughter. For two weeks the women delegates from twenty-eight nations were assembled in the city of Rome, discussing great international problems. There were women of all forms of the Protestant faith and of both the Greek and Roman Catholic faith. There were Jews and women of many other religious beliefs; there were women differing politically: conservatives, radicals, democrats, republicans, socialists, prohibitionists, all were there. They discussed problems which were international, of equal interest to every nation. The discussions were conducted with great forbearance. Many resolutions were passed, two of them unanimously. One was presented by myself, as chairman of the Committee on Suffrage and Rights of Citizenship, calling upon all civilized nations of the world to grant to women-citizens equal political rights with men; the resolution was passed without a single dissenting vote from any of the nations. The other was a resolution on behalf of peace. Most women believed then, as they do now, that preparation for war is an incentive to war, and that war will never cease until the nations of the world cease to prepare for war. We passed unanimously the resolution calling upon the nations of the world systematically and gradually to disarm, both on land and sea, in order that there might be no incentive for nations to fight. A few days afterwards, we attended a reception given by the American Ambassador, and, among others whom I met, was a prominent Italian Diplomat, who, with a little touch of sarcasm, said: "I understand that you have been having a most profitable convention; that the German Delegation presented a resolution on peace, that the French women seconded it, and that a British woman put it to the body, and that it was carried unanimously." I said, "No, that was not exactly the process, but the conclusion is correct; we carried it unanimously." And he said, "Remarkable, very remarkable." And our Ambassador remarked later, "It is very remarkable that the only body of people of different religious faiths and organized for different objects, who can come together internationally and discuss different problems for two weeks without a drawn sword in their hands, are the women of the world, while men, even when they come together at the Hague to talk of peace, come with a sword buckled at their side." As we read of the deeds perpetrated by men today, of the slaughter of men, women and children under the direction of Christian Rulers, instigated by their hatred and fear of each other and their greed for gain, we too wonder why men cannot discuss their problems without hatred and war.

But, to return to the man in North Dakota,—as I was about to leave he called out again: "Well, what does a woman know about war anyhow?" I had read the paper that morning. I knew what the headlines were and, seeing a man with a paper in his pocket, I said to him: "I wish you would hold up that paper." The glaring headline read: "250,000 men killed since the war began." (Alas, what would it be today?) I said: "Two hundred and fifty thousand dead men! No woman can comprehend

the meaning of such horrible slaughter! The horror of it alone would drive her mad. It means that two hundred and fifty thousand strong splendid men lie dead; there are miles of dead men, choking the rivers with their dead bodies, filling the trenches with the dead and dying; their blood mingling with the waters of rivers turns them to crimson. I for one cannot comprehend the horror of such slaughter. But, if you were to tell me that one man lay dead, and if I were to look into the upturned face of one dead soldier and see its pallor, I should know what one woman knows about war. I should know that years before, a woman, whose heart beat in sympathy with her love and her desire for motherhood, had walked day by day with her face to an open grave with a courage which no man has ever surpassed, that she might become the mother of a child. And I should know that if she did not fill the grave as thousands upon thousands do, if she lived, and a tiny little bit of helpless humanity was laid in her arms, there went out from that woman's heart a cry so deep, so sacred, so full of hope, that it laid hold on the Infinite Himself. I should know that that cry was not for herself, but for the tiny helpless being that laid in her arms, that her boy might be worthy, and that she might know as the years went on, that he would live a life of usefulness. She did what all mothers must do, and what men have failed to understand as the real significance and price of motherhood. Men have failed to realize that women are human, that they have the same human ambitions and hopes and aspirations and desires as have men, that they desire to reach out and grasp the problems of life and solve them as do men, that they long for intellectual development and power as men do. Men have not yet learned that women are human, hence they as yet do not realize that the mother lays all these ambitions aside for herself, but she never lays them aside for her boy. In her joy of motherhood, she forgets her nights of sleeplessness and her days of fatiguing toil year after year until at last he has grown to be a man, and she looking up into his eyes, beholds him bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh, aye and life of her life, for she has carved out twenty years and more of her life and built them into the making of a man. In him she beholds the most marvelous work of God, for in all the universe there is nothing more wonderful than a noble human being, clean of brain, and clean of heart, strong of limb, ambitious in his purpose to lay hold of life and to master it. How wonderful he is!—but it took the life, toil and joyous sacrifice of a woman to develop him. And then his country calls him, and in an hour that wonderful being is dead—dead. And in his death there died the life, toil, and hope of the mother who gave him birth. Looking out into the darkness of the lonely and desolate years, she knows that a woman died too, for merely to breathe is not life. Multiply that mother's loss by hundreds of thousands and even, God pity them! by millions, and, I ask, what does a man know about war in face of the tragedy of motherhood? Did you read in your paper this morning that letter from Russia? Did you read what the women of Russia know about war? Did you read what the women of Galicia, the women in Poland and all those mountainous countries, know about war? Did you read the price that women are paying? But no! you could not read it, for they dare not print it. You cannot tell it, for it is unspeakable! You cannot even think of it, for it is unthinkable! While the world lasts let no one ever again ask: "What do women know about war?"

Or again, read what war costs,—\$30,000,000 a day, for what? To

buy the material to slaughter the manhood of the world. Did you read about the one hundred and twenty men that belonged to no country, though born in Germany?—for when God sends forth a great scientist into the world he belongs to no one nation. More than one hundred and twenty of those men lie dead already since the war began, and the whole world is robbed of God's rich gift of men who had given their life to the study of saving and prolonging the life of the race. This is not the loss of Germany alone but of the whole world. Thirty million dollars a day, paid for the material to destroy the brains, the learning and the manhood of the world, putting a mortgage on the unborn, on every thought of their brain, on every effort of their brawn, on every throb of their heart, to pay the debt Europe is today making for the sake of slaughtering the civilization of the world. And that is not the worst; the worst of war is the crime against the unborn. The warring nations are calling their men from seventeen to fifty years of age and upward, the very flower of their people, to be food for cannon! And they are leaving behind the defective, the diseased, the degenerate, the criminal, the unfit, to become the fathers of the children of the future. The crime of crimes in war is the crime against the unborn children, in robbing them of virile fathers, and against women in robbing them of fit mates to be the fathers of their children; yet you ask what women know about war! They are learning more every day, and what they learn leads them to demand the ballot, not that they may fight, but that they may help men to keep from fighting.

Oh men! forget your sentimentality and think of women as human; as human factors in the world's progress. Think of their devotion to you and to their families, and then never again say that a woman should have no voice in the things that so vitally concern herself, her family and her country. Whether in war or in peace, the man is not complete without the woman; and as it is impossible to conceive of an ideal home without the man, so it is equally impossible to conceive of an ideal Republic without the woman.

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Report of the
**International
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of
Women

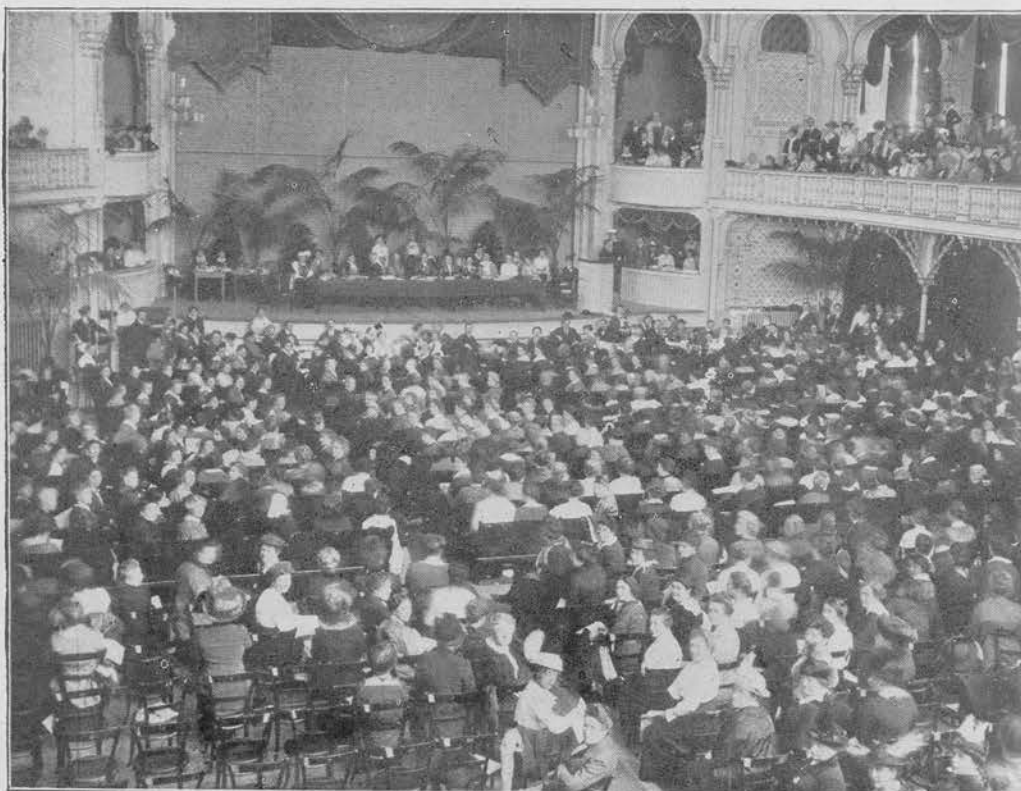
The Hague -- The Netherlands
April 28th to May 1st, 1915



President's Address
Resolutions Adopted
Report of Committees Visiting
European Capitals



SPEAKERS' TABLE, INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN. THE HAGUE (APRIL 28th TO MAY 1st, 1915)



BUSINESS SESSION IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE DIJENTHUM—THE HAGUE

International Congress of Women

*The Hague--The Netherlands
April 28th to May 1st, 1915*

A committee of Dutch women, headed by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, who met in Amsterdam last February with a group of women from Germany, Belgium and Holland issued a Call for an International Congress of Women. They all believed in the solidarity of the Woman's Movement and were confident that even in war times a meeting might be organised to discuss the principles of constructive peace.

Invitations to take part in the Congress were sent to womens' organisations and mixed organisations as well as to individual women all over the world. Each organisation was invited to appoint two delegates.

Women who became members of the Congress were required to express themselves in general agreement with the resolutions on the preliminary programme. This general agreement was interpreted to imply the conviction

- (a) That international disputes should be settled by pacific means.
- (b) That the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women.

The expenses of the Congress were guaranteed by British, Dutch and German women present who all agreed to raise one-third of the sum required; although eventually the amount was defrayed by the generous subscription of the women representing twelve different countries.

The response to the Call of the Congress was very remarkable. In Norway and Denmark as well as America, women had already issued manifestos on the terms of permanent peace, but womens' organisations in other neutral countries and also in the belligerent nations appointed delegates. In those cases where the women's organisations were either divided in opinion or opposed to the Congress the women who came did so as individuals, although even then they represented a considerable body of public opinion.

The countries responding were: The United States of America, which sent 47 members; Sweden, which sent 12; Norway, 12; Netherlands, 1,000; Italy, 1; Hungary, 9; Germany, 28; Denmark, 6; Canada, 2; Belgium, 5; Austria, 6, and Great Britain 3, although 180 others from there were prevented from sailing owing to the closing of the North Sea for military reasons.

The International Congress of Women opened at The Hague on Wednesday, April 28th, in the Great Hall of the Dierentuin, where some 1500 people were present. It had been originally intended to assemble in the Peace Palace, but it had become clear many weeks before that the accommodation would be insufficient.

Resolutions drafted at the preliminary meeting had been widely distributed by the Dutch Committee and a Resolutions Committee, consisting of two representatives from each country sending members to the Congress, continued its sittings throughout the proceedings, and also for a week afterwards, when the resolutions finally adopted were arranged in order and put into final form. This procedure proved very satisfactory for at International Congresses the difficulties of language are great, and it is necessary to find expressions for resolutions, which contain the same idea for every country. The official languages of the Hague Congress were English, French and German, and everything said in one of these was translated into the other two.

The conditions of debate were as follows: That discussions on the relative responsibility for, and conduct of the present war and resolutions dealing with the rules under which war should be in future carried on should be outside

the scope of the Congress. Speakers, other than movers or seconders of resolutions might not speak for more than five minutes.

The Congress, which was attended by a large number of visitors as well as by members was extremely successful. Although the proceedings were conducted with the greatest goodwill throughout, there was a moment of intense feeling when it became known that the Belgium delegates had arrived. They had received a permit to come from the German Governor in Belgium, but had to travel the last portion of the Esschen-Roosendaal route on foot. As they ascended the platform the whole Congress rose in token of respect and cheered heartily.

EVENING MEETINGS OF THE CONGRESS

A series of brilliant evening meetings were held during the Congress, at which the chair was taken respectively by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, of Holland, Dr. Anita Augspurg, of Germany, and Miss Chrystal Macmillan of England.

On the first evening, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the President of the Dutch Executive Committee, in welcoming the members of the Congress, expressed her appreciation of the courage shown by those women who had braved all the dangers, risks and difficulties of travelling in war time from one country to another.

"With mourning hearts we stand united here," she said. "We grieve for many brave young men who have lost their lives on the battlefield before attaining their full manhood; we mourn with the poor mothers bereft of their sons; with the thousands of young widows and fatherless children, and we feel that we can no longer endure in this twentieth century of civilisation that governments should tolerate brute force as the only solution of international disputes."

Dr. Jacobs proceeded to explain why the Congress had been called in the midst of the war instead of postponing it until the days of peace, and indicated how many more difficulties such an international gathering would present if it had to include representatives of both victorious and conquered nations.

"Although our efforts may not shorten the present war," she exclaimed, "there is no doubt that this pacific assemblage of so many nations will have its moral effect upon the belligerent countries. * * * * Those of us who have convened this Congress, however, have never called it a PEACE CONGRESS, but an International Congress of Women assembled to protest against war, and to suggest steps which may lead to warfare becoming an impossibility."

The meeting was further addressed by Miss Lindhagen, a town councilor of Stockholm, Sweden, Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence of Great Britain and others.

At the public meeting of the second evening of the Congress, there was not a vacant seat in the large hall. The meeting was addressed by Miss Holbrook, of Chicago, on the resolution which was passed at the preceeding meeting as to the education of children, by Mrs. De jong Van Beek en Donk of The Hague, who showed herself master of the subject, Arbitration and Conciliation; and by Mme. Rosika Schwimmer who gave one of her most stirring addresses.

On the third evening the meeting was addressed by Miss Thora Dugaard of Denmark, Miss Kathleen Courtney of England, Miss Leonora O'Reilly of New York, representing the National Woman's Trade Union League, and others including Frau Lecher of Austria, who made one of the most touching speeches of the Congress. She had been in the very midst of the miseries of war for months in her own country, working in the hospitals, where she had seen the most intense suffering bourne without complaint; but what was the use of healing wounds if they were to be torn open again.

At each of the evening meetings greetings were read from individuals and organisations, in many countries, including Bulgaria, Iceland, Portugal, Poland, Turkey, and from such women as Olive Schreiner, Helen Key and Mrs. Chapman Catt. More than three hundred of such formal greetings were received, of which only a small portion could be read. About thirty protests were also received.

The president's address, delivered the last evening of the Congress is by request reprinted in full:

"The President wishes first to express her sincere admiration for the women who have come here from the belligerent nations. They have come from home at a moment when the national consciousness is so welling up from each heart and overflowing into the

consciousness of others that the individual loses not only all concern for his personal welfare but for his convictions as well, and gladly merges all he has into his country's existence.

It is a precious moment in human experience; war is too great a price to pay for it, but is worth almost anything else. I therefore venture to call the journey of these women, many of them heartsick and sorrowful, to this Congress little short of an act of heroism. Even to appear to differ from those she loves in the hour of their affliction or exaltation has ever been the supreme test of woman's conscience.

For the women coming from neutral nations there have also been supreme difficulties. In some of these countries woman has a large measure of political responsibility, and in all of them women for long months have been sensitive to the complicated political conditions which may so-easily compromise a neutral nation and jeopardise the peace and safety of its people. At a Congress such as this an exaggerated word may easily be spoken or reported as spoken which would make a difficult situation still more difficult, but these women have bravely taken that risk and made the moral venture. We from the United States who have made the longest journey and are therefore freest from these entanglements—although no nation in the civilized world is free—can speak out our admiration for these fine women from the neutral as well as from the fighting nations.

Why, then, were women from both the warring and the neutral nations ready to come to this Congress to the number of 1,500? By what profound and spiritual forces were they impelled, at this moment when the spirit of internationalism is apparently broken down, to believe that the solidarity of women would hold fast, and that through it, as through a precious instrument, they would be able to declare the reality of those basic human experiences ever perpetuating and cherishing the race and courageously to set them over against the superficial and hot impulses which have so often led to warfare?

Those great underlying forces in response to which so many women have come here belong to the human race as a whole, and constitute a spiritual internationalism which surrounds and completes our national life, even as our national life itself surrounds and completes our family life; they do not conflict with patriotism on one side any more than family devotion conflicts with it upon the other.

We have come to this International Congress of Women not only to protest from our hearts, and with the utmost patience we can command, unaffrighted even by the 'difficult and technical' to study this complicated modern world of ours now so sadly at war with itself, but furthermore we would fain suggest a way by which this large internationalism may find itself and dig new channels through which it may flow.

At moments it appears as if the excessive nationalistic feeling expressing itself during these last fateful months through the exaltation of warfare in so many of the great nations is due to the accumulation within their own borders of those higher human affections which should have had an outlet into the larger life of the world but could not, because no international devices had been provided for such expression. No great central authority could deal with this sum of human goodwill as a scientist deals with the body of knowledge in his subject irrespective of its national origins, and the nations themselves became congested, as it were, and inevitably grew confused between what was legitimate patriotism and those universal emotions which have nothing to do with national frontiers.

* * * * *

This totally unnecessary conflict between the great issues of internationalism and of patriotism rages all about us even in our own minds but these two great affections should never have been set one against the other—it is too late in the day for war. For decades the lives of all the peoples of the world have been revealed to us through the products of commerce, through the news agencies, through popular songs and novels, through photographs and cinematographs, and last of all through the interpretations of the poets and artists. Suddenly all of these wonderful agencies are applied to the hideous business of uncovering the details of warfare. Never before has the world known so fearfully and so minutely what war means to the soldier himself, to women and children, to that civilisation which is the common heritage of all mankind. In the shadow of this intolerable knowledge, we, the women of this International Congress, have come together to make our solemn protest against that of which we know.

Our protest may be feeble, but the world progresses, in the slow and halting manner in which it does progress, only in proportion to the moral energy exerted by the men and women living in it; social advance must be pushed forward by the human will and understanding united for conscious ends. The slow progress towards juster international relations may be traced to the distinguished jurist of the Netherlands, Grotius; to the great German, Immanuel Kant, who lifted the subject of 'Eternal Peace' high above controversy; to Count Tolstoy of Russia, who so trenchantly set it forth in our own day, and so on throughout the nations.

Each in his own time because he placed law above force was called a dreamer and a coward, but each did his utmost to express clearly the truth that was in him, and beyond that human effort cannot go. These mighty names are but the outstanding witnesses among the host of men and women who have made their obscure contributions to the same great end. Conscious of our own shortcomings and not without a sense of complicity in the present war, we women have met in earnestness and in sorrow to add what we may to this swelling tide of endeavor.

It is possible that the appeals for the organisation of the world upon peaceful lines have been made too exclusively to man's reason and sense of justice (quite as the eighteenth century enthusiasm for humanity was prematurely founded on intellectual sentiment). Reason is only a part of the human endowment; emotion and deep-set racial impulses must be utilised as well—those primitive human urgings to foster life and to protect the helpless, of which women were the earliest custodians, and even the social and gregarious instincts that we share with the animals themselves. These universal desires must be given opportunities to expand, and the most highly trained intellects must serve them rather than the technique of war and diplomacy.

They tell us that wounded lads lying in helpless pain and waiting too long for the field ambulance call out constantly for their mothers, impotently beseeching them for help. During this Congress we have been told of soldiers who say to their hospital nurses: "We can do nothing for ourselves but go back to the trenches again and again so long as we are able. Cannot the women do something about this war? "Are you kind to us only when we are wounded?" There is no one else to whom they dare so speak, revealing the heart of the little child which each man carries within his own even when it beats under a uniform.

The time may come when the exhausted survivors of the war may well reproach women for their inaction during this terrible time. It is possible they will then say that when devotion to the ideals of patriotism drove thousands of men into international warfare, the women refused to accept the challenge, and in that moment of terror failed to assert clearly and courageously the sanctity of human life, the reality of the things of the spirit. For three days we have met together, so conscious of the bloodshed and desolation surrounding us, that all irrelevant and temporary matters fell away, and we spoke solemnly to each other of the great and eternal issues as do those who meet around the bedside of the dying. We have formulated our message and give it to the world to heed when it will, confident that at last the great Court of International Opinion will pass righteous judgment upon all human affairs."

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE OFFICERS OF THE CONGRESS:

PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS: JANE ADDAMS.

International Committee of the Congress:

| | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| LEOPOLDA KULKA, OLGA MISAR, | } | Austria. |
| EUGENIE HAMER, MARGUERITE SARTEN, | } | Belgium. |
| THORA DAUGAARD, CLARA TYBJERG, | } | Denmark. |
| DR. ANITA AUGSPURG, LIDA GUSTAVA HEYMANN, <i>Secretary & Interpreter,</i> | } | Germany. |
| CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, <i>Secretary</i> KATHLEEN COURTNEY, <i>Interpreter,</i> | } | Great Britain and Ireland. |
| VILMA GLÜCKLICH, ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, | } | Hungary. |
| ROSE GENONI, Italy. | | |
| DR. ALETTA JACOBS, HANNA VAN BIEMA-HYMANS, <i>Secretary,</i> DR. MIA BOISSEVAIN, | } | Netherlands. |
| DR. EMILY ARNESEN, LOUISA KEILHAU, | } | Norway. |
| ANNA KLEMAN, EMMA HASSON, | } | Sweden. |
| JANE ADDAMS, <i>President,</i> FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, | } | United States of America. |

THE ACCOMPANYING RESOLUTIONS WERE ADOPTED AT THE BUSINESS SESSIONS:

I. WOMEN AND WAR.

1. Protest.

We women, in International Congress assembled, protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and the destruction of so much that humanity has laboured through centuries to build up.

2. Women's Sufferings in War.

This International Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, and especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war.

II. ACTION TOWARDS PEACE.

3. The Peace Settlement.

This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds and parties is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or labouring under the burden of war.

Since the mass of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors but in self-defence and for their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable differences between them, and their common ideals afford a basis upon which a magnanimous and honourable peace might be established. The Congress therefore urges the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed, and to begin peace negotiations. It demands that the peace which follows shall be permanent and therefore based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions¹ adopted by this Congress, namely:

¹NOTE. The Resolutions in full are Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

That no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognized.

That autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

That the Governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms.

That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control.

That women should be granted equal political rights with men.

4. Continuous Mediation.

This International Congress of Women resolves to ask the neutral countries to take immediate steps to create a conference of neutral nations which shall without delay offer continuous mediation. The Conference shall invite suggestions for settlement from each of the belligerent nations and in any case shall submit to all of them simultaneously, reasonable proposals as a basis of peace.

III. PRINCIPLES OF A PERMANENT PEACE.

5. Respect for Nationality.

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of the people to self-government, affirms that there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women residing therein, and urges that autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

6. Arbitration and Conciliation.

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of progress and civilisation, urges the governments of all nations to come to an

¹NOTE. The Congress declared by vote that it interpreted no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women in it to imply that the right of conquest was not to be recognized.

agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration and conciliation.

7. International Pressure.

This International Congress of Women urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to unite in bringing social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country, which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

8. Democratic Control of Foreign Policy.

Since war is commonly brought about not by the mass of the people, who do not desire it, but by groups representing particular interests, this International Congress of Women urges that Foreign Politics shall be subject to Democratic Control; and declares that it can only recognise as democratic a system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

9. The Enfranchisement of Women.

Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility and effective influence when they have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.

IV. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

10. Third Hague Conference.

This International Congress of Women urges that a third Hague Conference be convened immediately after the war.

11. International Organization.

This International Congress of Women urges that the organization of the Society of Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace, and that it should include:

a. As a development of the Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Court of Justice to settle questions or differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.

b. As a development of the constructive work of the Hague Conference, a permanent International Conference holding regular meetings in which women should take part, to deal not with the rules of warfare but with practical proposals for further International Cooperation among the States. This Conference should be so constituted that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized and the interests and rights not only of the great Powers and small nations but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion.

This International Conference shall appoint:

A permanent Council of Conciliation and Investigation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards.

12. General Disarmament.

The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realizing that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.

13. Commerce and Investments.

a. The International Congress of Women urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce, that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations.

b. Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government.

14. National Foreign Policy.

a. This International Congress of Women demands that all secret treaties shall be void and that for the ratification of future treaties, the participation of at least the legislature of every government shall be necessary.

b. This International Congress of Women recommends that National Commissions be created, and International Conferences convened for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace, which might contribute to the development of an International Federation.

These Commissions and Conferences should be recognized by the Governments and should include women in their deliberations.

15. Women in National and International Politics.

This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men.

V. THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

16. This International Congress of Women urges the necessity of so directing the education of children that their thoughts and desires may be directed towards the ideal of constructive peace.

VI. WOMEN and the PEACE SETTLEMENT CONFERENCE.

17. This International Congress of Women urges, that in the interests of lasting peace and civilisation the Conference which shall frame the Peace settlement after the war should pass a resolution affirming the need in all countries of extending the parliamentary franchise to women.
18. This International Congress of Women urges that representatives of the people should take part in the conference that shall frame the peace settlement after the war, and claims that amongst them women should be included.

VII. ACTION TO BE TAKEN.

19. Women's Voice in the Peace Settlement.

This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place and at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the war for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference.

20. Envoys to the Governments.

In order to urge the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and to establish a just and lasting peace, this International Congress of Women delegates envoys to carry the message expressed in the Congress Resolutions to the rulers of

the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States.

These Envoys shall be women of both neutral and belligerent nations, appointed by the International Committee of this Congress. They shall report the result of their missions to the International Women's Committee for Constructive Peace as a basis for further action.

At the last session of the Conference, after a long and animated debate, it was voted to send delegates to the different capitols of both belligerent and neutral nations in order to place before the civil governments the resolutions voted by the Congress. Two Committees were appointed—a committee of women from the neutral nations, to visit, primarily, the belligerent countries, consisting of Miss Jane Addams of America, and Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland, accompanied by Dr. Alice Hamilton of Chicago, and Frau Palthe from Amsterdam. A second committee, consisting of Madame Schwimmer of Hungary, Miss Macmillan of Great Britain, Mrs. Ramondt of Holland, and Miss Emily Balch of America, was to visit the Scandinavian countries, and the three latter also went to Russia. Visits were made by the first committee at the following capitols:

The Hague, where they saw Minister of Foreign Affairs for Holland, Mr. Loudon. Prime Minister of Holland, Cort von der Linden.

London—Minister of Foreign Affairs for Great Britain, Sir Edward Grey, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Asquith.

Berlin—Minister of Foreign Affairs for Germany, Graf von Jagow. Chancellor of Germany, von Bettmann-Hollweg.

Vienna—Prime Minister of Austria, Graf Sturghk. Minister of Foreign Affairs for Austria-Hungary, Baron Buriren.

Budapest—Prime Minister of Hungary, Count Tisza.

Berne—Minister of Political Affairs for Switzerland, Dr. Hoffman. President of the Swiss Confederation, Signor Mutta.

Rome—Minister of Foreign Affairs for Italy, Baron Sonnino. Prime Minister of Italy, Prof. Salandra.

Rome—Secretary to the Pope, Cardinal Gaspari. Pope Benedict XV.

Paris—Minister of Foreign Affairs for France, M. Delcasse. President de Conseil, Dr. Viviani.

Havre—Minister of Foreign Affairs for Belgium, M. d'Avignon.

The northern committee visited:

Copenhagen—Prime Minister of Denmark, Mr. Zahle. Minister of Foreign Affairs for Denmark, Mr. Scabenius.

Christiania—The King of Norway. Prime Minister of Norway, Mr. Knudsen. Minister of Foreign Affairs for Norway, Mr. Ihlen. The Four Presidents of the Norwegian Storting.

Stockholm—Minister of Foreign Affairs for Sweden, Mr. Wallenberg.

Petrograd—Minister of Foreign Affairs for Russia, Mr. Sazonow.

Although the members of the committees experienced some inconveniences of travel—the Northern Committee, for example, unable to cross the Baltic, were obliged to make a long journey by land—they met everywhere with uniform courtesy, and often encountered open sympathy with their mission.

In every country which the delegates visited, public meetings were arranged for them, either by the women's organizations or by the groups of women who had attended the Conference at The Hague. The largest meetings were held in London, and Budapest, in Stockholm and Berne; in some of the others the meetings were held in club rooms and the delegates addressed invited audiences.

Everywhere there was a great eagerness to hear about the Congress and a response on the part of hundreds of sympathetic women in the belligerent and the neutral nations.

The women were received in all places with the greatest courtesy and consideration by the Ministers, who often expressed their approval that the women should have undertaken this mission. They agreed that such an errand would be impossible for men, for efforts at peace would lay possible combatants open to the charge of cowardice, which could not be brought against women. In a half-hour interview with the Pope, His Holiness deplored the injury to religion caused by the present unhappy war, and expressed his approval of the action of the women. Although a copy of the Resolutions and Miss Wales' pamphlet on Continuous Mediation was left in the hands of each of the Ministers, the conversations were largely confined to the necessity of substituting negotiations for warfare. Upon their return to America both Miss Addams and Miss Balch each reported personally to the President of the United States. The result of their European visits has been summed up by a New York journal as follows:

I. That the Women from The Hague actually got through to the men in the state departments of the Great Powers, not merely to drop a tract and be bowed out, but to sit down and talk the issues through. They were not accused anywhere of being "peace-at-any-price" people. Nor was peace their slogan—but some method of approach to a settlement other than the military method which is costing so heavily and is getting nowhere.

II. That these statesmen were for the most part representative of what might be called the civil group in each country; a group which is standing out for victory no less strongly than the military group, but which nonetheless is apprehensive that under the shadow of the war, long-fought-for civil rights are being invaded; that the longer the war goes on, the less the civil parties will have to say as to its terms of settlement; and that if the military parties of the different nations settle the terms of peace it will mean to clamp militarism upon Europe for a generation.

III. That with the military forces dead-locked along the concrete trenches, the civil leaders would welcome an opportunity to end the war and stay the carnage, but they are themselves bound hand and foot by the feeling that if they even talk terms of peace their position in their own country and before the world will be weakened; that they would welcome therefore, action by the neutrals which would open a way for negotiation with honor, and that the United States with its mixed peoples is pre-eminently the country looked upon to take the initiative in this emergency.

IV. That while offers of mediation by the United States to the belligerents would be rejected, and while no belligerent could ask for meditation, a continuous convention of neutrals would create a channel through which some opportunity might lead to peace; that such a conference should not be made up purely of governmental representatives—who would think and act along rigid nationalistic lines—but should if possible be drawn by some more democratic process from commercial labor and scientific fields which have genuine international experience.

“THE Women’s International Congress does not claim to have invented a new means of preventing war; it does not claim to have put forward any startling or original theory. It does claim to have been a gathering of women of many countries, which proved that, even in time of war, the solidarity of women will hold fast; it does claim to have shown that women of different countries can still hold out the hand of friendship to each other in spite of the hatred and bloodshed under which most international ties seem submerged. It claims too, to have shown that, while women have a special point of view on the subject of war, and while its wastefulness of human life must appeal to them with particular emphasis, they can, at the same time, make their own contribution to the work and ideals of constructive peace.”

[post. May 8, 1915]

The Voice of Colorado

A Statement by Judge Ben B. Lindsey of the Juvenile Court

A reprint from Harper's Weekly of May 8, 1915

Never at any time, either in private or public speech or spoken word, have I said that which could be honestly construed as an attack upon the principle of equal suffrage or its operation in those states where women vote. I cannot deny too earnestly the continued distortions and downright misstatements of those enemies of democracy who are opposing the enfranchisement of the mothers of the nation.

I have always insisted that the vote was not a privilege to be conferred but a right that it was tyrannical to withhold. Even were this not so, the voting record of the male is certainly not such as to justify him in passing on the "intelligence" of the feminine vote before he permits it to be cast. Long years of corruption and stupidity in municipal government, legislative incompetencies and scandals and senatorial investigations, should make man a trifle humble in the matter of honesty and intelligence.

It is a fact, however, that the case for equal suffrage could well afford to rest on the record made by the voting women. In no single state have they failed to bring a better, cleaner and more independent note into politics, and there is not a statute book on which women have written that does not contain more humane laws as a result. In every state where women vote, men are in a majority, yet in not one is there even a movement on foot to take away the right conferred.

It is true that there has been dissatisfaction, and I am ashamed to confess that I myself felt it here in Colorado. There was a general expectation that equal suffrage would usher in the millennial dawn. Out of recognition of his own failures, the average man felt that the women would achieve instant success, and when they failed to bring about every desired reform in the twinkling of an eye, he groaned dismally.

Every criticism of equal suffrage has its base in this feeling. It is not that the voting woman hasn't worked wonders but that she has not worked **every** wonder. In many ways and many things she has many of the stupidities of the man, and for this we have criticized her. It is absurd when one thinks about it seriously, yet it is true. In all the laws that I have proposed, the reforms I have suggested, I have looked to the women of Colorado, and when defeat has been the portion of these measures, it never occurred to me to blame the men, for we have fallen into the habit of expecting little of them, I suppose.

Take the case of the Colorado coal strike. According to the opponents of equal suffrage, the women of the state are not only to blame for its commencement, but for its continuance. As a matter of fact, it was a man's war, and upon men only rests the responsibility for the rejection of conferences and the subsequent wretchedness. Yet it was women, and women alone, who gathered in mass meetings after Ludlow, and forced the governor to ask for federal troops in order that bloodshed might end.

Like every state in the Union practically, Colorado is without political machinery for the adjustment of industrial disputes caused by private control of natural resources and absentee landlordism. The voting men of Michigan and West Virginia and New Jersey and Massachusetts are not blamed for industrial war, but by some peculiar process of reasoning, the voting women of Colorado are expected to end every strike.

Women live in the same world with men and are exposed to the same influences of environment. It is idle to assume that they will spring into the political arena with all the civic virtues and excellences. There is this to say, however: They **are** more independent, they **do** look upon municipal government as municipal housekeeping, and they **will** strike much of the cruelty out of laws and put a finer justice in.

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New York City.

[July, 1915]

WHAT
STATE LAWS
AND THE
FEDERAL CENSUS
SAY ABOUT
CHILD LABOR

National Child Labor Committee
INCORPORATED

105 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

The Work of the Committee is Entirely
Supported by Voluntary Gifts.

"Help us to secure a Federal Law!"

Pamphlet No. 248

July, 1915

Don't throw this pamphlet away when
you have finished. Give it to someone else
to read. It may win another friend for the
cause.

TABLE I.

STATES HAVING STANDARD PROVISIONS WITHOUT EXEMPTIONS

a. 14-year limit in factories and canneries

| | | |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Alabama | Maine | New Jersey |
| Arizona | Massachusetts | New York |
| Arkansas | Michigan (15 years; | North Dakota |
| Connecticut | 14, canneries) | Ohio (16, girls; |
| Florida | Minnesota | 15, boys) |
| Illinois | Missouri | Oklahoma |
| Iowa | Montana | Oregon |
| Kansas | (16 years) | Pennsylvania |
| Kentucky | Nebraska | Rhode Island |
| Louisiana | New Hampshire | Wisconsin |

b. 16-year limit for night work in factories and canneries

All states listed under I. a. except Maine; and in addition

| | | |
|------------|----------------|----------------|
| California | Idaho | South Carolina |
| Delaware | Indiana | Vermont |
| District | North Carolina | |

c. 8-hour day under 16 in factories and canneries

| | | |
|------------|---------------|--------------|
| Arizona | Kentucky | New Jersey |
| Arkansas | Massachusetts | New York |
| California | Minnesota | North Dakota |
| District | Missouri | Ohio |
| Illinois | Nebraska | Oklahoma |
| Iowa | Nevada | Wisconsin |
| Kansas | | |

(Note: Montana forbids the employment of children under 16 in factories)

d. 16-year limit in mines and quarries

| | | |
|-------------|----------|-----------|
| Alabama | Kentucky | Oklahoma |
| Arizona | Maryland | Tennessee |
| Arkansas | Nevada | Texas |
| California | New York | Wisconsin |
| Connecticut | Ohio | |

e. 16-year limit in mines but not in quarries

| | | |
|----------|--------------|------------|
| Colorado | Montana | Washington |
| Illinois | Pennsylvania | |

TABLE II.

STATES WEAKENING OR NULLIFYING STANDARD PROVISIONS BY EXEMPTIONS

a. 14-year limit in factories with exemptions specified

California, weekly school holidays and vacation
 Colorado, vacation
 Delaware, (1) canneries; (2) poverty
 District, poverty
 Georgia, poverty
 Idaho, vacation
 Indiana, canneries
 Maryland, canneries
 Mississippi, 14-year limit applies only to girls in cotton and knitting mills
 Nevada, special permit
 South Dakota, poverty
 Tennessee, canneries
 Texas, 15-year limit applies only to factories with "dangerous machinery"
 Utah, 14-year limit applies only to factories making goods for immoral purposes and tobacco
 Vermont, exempts places employing less than ten persons
 Virginia, (1) canneries; (2) special permit
 Washington, poverty
 West Virginia, special permit

b. 16-year limit for night work in factories with exemptions specified

Colorado, (1) vacation; (2) special permit
 Maine, "perishable products"
 Mississippi, 16-year limit applies only to girls in cotton and knitting mills
 Tennessee, canneries
 Virginia, (1) canneries; (2) special permit

c. 8-hour day under 16 in factories with exemptions specified

Colorado, (1) vacation; (2) special permit
 Indiana, consent of parents
 Mississippi, applies only to girls in cotton and knitting mills
 Washington, applies only to girls

d. 16-year limit in mines with exemptions specified

Iowa, vacation
 Vermont, (1) outside of school hours; (2) completed elementary school
 West Virginia, vacation

TABLE III.

STATES WITHOUT STANDARD PROVISIONS

a. No 14-year limit in factories

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------|
| New Mexico | South Carolina | Wyoming |
| North Carolina | | |

b. No 16-year limit for night work in factories

| | | |
|------------|--------------|---------------|
| Georgia | South Dakota | Washington |
| Maryland | Texas | West Virginia |
| Nevada | Utah | Wyoming |
| New Mexico | | |

c. No 8-hour day under 16 in factories

| | | |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| Alabama | Michigan | South Dakota |
| Connecticut | New Hampshire | Tennessee |
| Delaware | New Mexico | Texas |
| Florida | North Carolina | Utah |
| Georgia | Oregon | Vermont |
| Idaho | Pennsylvania | Virginia |
| Louisiana | Rhode Island | West Virginia |
| Maine | South Carolina | Wyoming |
| Maryland | | |

d. No 16-year limit in mines or quarries

| | | |
|------------|----------------|----------------|
| Delaware | Massachusetts* | North Carolina |
| District | Michigan* | North Dakota |
| Florida* | Minnesota* | Oregon |
| Georgia* | Mississippi | Rhode Island |
| Indiana* | Missouri* | South Carolina |
| Idaho* | Nebraska | South Dakota* |
| Kansas* | New Hampshire | Utah* |
| Louisiana* | New Jersey* | Virginia* |
| Maine | New Mexico* | Wyoming* |

Note: States marked * were reported by the Census of 1910 as having mine products valued at \$2,500,000 a year or over.

TABLE IV.
THE LATEST OFFICIAL FIGURES ON CHILD LABOR
(Compiled from United States Census of Occupations, 1910)

| | ALL GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS | | MANUFACTURING AND MECHANICAL (specified occupations) | | EXTRACTION OF MINERALS (specified occupations) | | AGRICULTURE (specified occupations) | | ALL OTHER OCCUPATIONS | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------|--|----------------|--|----------------|--|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| | 10-13 years | 14-15 years | 10-13 years | 14-15 years | 10-13 years | 14-15 years | 10-13 years | 14-15 years | 10-13 years | 14-15 years |
| TOTAL..... | 895,976 | 1,094,249 | 27,005 | 176,137 | 2,266 | 15,401 | 799,551 | 621,445 | 67,154 | 281,266 |
| ALABAMA..... | 93,594 | 61,118 | 2,003 | 3,141 | 486 | 933 | 87,856 | 42,355 | 3,249 | 14,689 |
| ARIZONA..... | 620 | 1,053 | 5 | 45 | 3 | 28 | 466 | 519 | 146 | 461 |
| ARKANSAS..... | 55,079 | 37,371 | 324 | 654 | 11 | 73 | 53,418 | 34,067 | 1,326 | 2,577 |
| CALIFORNIA..... | 1,937 | 9,314 | 81 | 1,581 | 4 | 43 | 827 | 1,986 | 1,025 | 5,704 |
| COLORADO..... | 1,817 | 4,047 | 29 | 380 | 33 | 178 | 1,375 | 1,804 | 380 | 1,685 |
| CONNECTICUT..... | 679 | 10,689 | 43 | 4,246 | ..... | 7 | 148 | 721 | 488 | 5,715 |
| DELAWARE..... | 1,294 | 2,362 | 34 | 373 | ..... | 1 | 1,029 | 1,146 | 231 | 842 |
| DISTRICT..... | 247 | 1,098 | 3 | 102 | ..... | ..... | 19 | 28 | 225 | 968 |
| FLORIDA..... | 13,465 | 11,459 | 668 | 1,520 | 53 | 69 | 11,374 | 7,706 | 1,370 | 2,164 |
| GEORGIA..... | 93,098 | 68,491 | 2,784 | 4,338 | 35 | 78 | 85,852 | 56,694 | 4,427 | 7,381 |
| IDAHO..... | 1,028 | 1,670 | 10 | 74 | ..... | ..... | 912 | 1,252 | 106 | 344 |
| ILLINOIS..... | 10,551 | 45,959 | 398 | 9,992 | 26 | 215 | 8,060 | 15,273 | 2,067 | 20,479 |
| INDIANA..... | 8,954 | 24,739 | 289 | 4,743 | 28 | 557 | 6,763 | 11,211 | 1,874 | 8,228 |
| IOWA..... | 6,493 | 17,892 | 128 | 1,473 | 29 | 311 | 5,364 | 11,312 | 972 | 4,796 |
| KANSAS..... | 6,857 | 11,873 | 66 | 572 | 17 | 167 | 6,120 | 8,665 | 654 | 2,469 |
| KENTUCKY..... | 31,392 | 33,300 | 488 | 2,483 | 168 | 522 | 28,655 | 24,496 | 2,081 | 5,799 |
| LOUISIANA..... | 29,943 | 29,789 | 449 | 1,736 | 2 | 1 | 27,092 | 22,268 | 2,400 | 5,784 |
| MAINE..... | 856 | 4,570 | 154 | 1,996 | 2 | 9 | 428 | 1,170 | 272 | 1,395 |
| MARYLAND..... | 7,366 | 16,801 | 849 | 4,028 | 45 | 242 | 4,034 | 4,995 | 2,438 | 7,536 |
| MASSACHUSETTS..... | 1,683 | 31,062 | 279 | 18,275 | ..... | 25 | 172 | 942 | 1,232 | 11,820 |
| MICHIGAN..... | 3,690 | 15,603 | 103 | 3,258 | ..... | 75 | 2,332 | 5,934 | 1,255 | 6,336 |
| MINNESOTA..... | 5,706 | 12,658 | 85 | 843 | 3 | 19 | 4,909 | 8,442 | 709 | 3,354 |
| MISSISSIPPI..... | 83,969 | 54,561 | 456 | 1,069 | ..... | ..... | 81,403 | 50,571 | 2,010 | 2,921 |
| MISSOURI..... | 18,175 | 34,527 | 389 | 5,255 | 14 | 249 | 16,050 | 19,019 | 1,722 | 10,004 |
| MONTANA..... | 524 | 1,240 | 8 | 78 | ..... | 9 | 392 | 657 | 124 | 496 |
| NEBRASKA..... | 4,192 | 8,112 | 31 | 313 | 1 | 9 | 3,783 | 6,150 | 377 | 1,640 |
| NEVADA..... | 82 | 204 | ..... | 2 | 3 | 4 | 27 | 82 | 52 | 116 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE..... | 317 | 3,442 | 63 | 2,067 | ..... | 9 | 110 | 429 | 144 | 937 |
| NEW JERSEY..... | 2,183 | 23,609 | 259 | 10,020 | 3 | 26 | 806 | 1,706 | 1,115 | 11,857 |
| NEW MEXICO..... | 2,692 | 3,114 | 29 | 90 | 10 | 42 | 2,401 | 2,347 | 252 | 635 |
| NEW YORK..... | 4,852 | 60,242 | 518 | 18,502 | 3 | 47 | 1,566 | 5,034 | 2,765 | 36,659 |
| NORTH CAROLINA..... | 84,279 | 60,353 | 6,344 | 8,475 | 15 | 27 | 74,080 | 46,727 | 3,840 | 5,124 |
| NORTH DAKOTA..... | 2,856 | 4,496 | 11 | 53 | ..... | ..... | 2,635 | 3,641 | 210 | 802 |
| OHIO..... | 8,800 | 34,046 | 370 | 8,763 | 47 | 793 | 5,219 | 10,101 | 3,164 | 14,389 |
| OKLAHOMA..... | 24,608 | 21,503 | 70 | 359 | 9 | 47 | 23,759 | 19,280 | 770 | 1,817 |
| OREGON..... | 930 | 2,575 | 29 | 256 | ..... | 1 | 643 | 1,349 | 258 | 969 |
| PENNSYLVANIA..... | 14,770 | 82,125 | 1,272 | 30,688 | 529 | 7,695 | 7,899 | 12,341 | 5,070 | 31,401 |
| RHODE ISLAND..... | 334 | 7,742 | 81 | 4,712 | ..... | 4 | 33 | 188 | 220 | 2,838 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA..... | 69,232 | 48,020 | 4,154 | 5,506 | ..... | ..... | 62,721 | 39,343 | 2,357 | 3,171 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA..... | 3,363 | 4,846 | 1 | 72 | ..... | 6 | 3,091 | 3,987 | 271 | 781 |
| TENNESSEE..... | 44,535 | 39,421 | 1,029 | 2,289 | 188 | 663 | 40,132 | 30,504 | 3,186 | 5,965 |
| TEXAS..... | 102,064 | 72,316 | 734 | 2,204 | 20 | 87 | 98,323 | 63,263 | 2,987 | 6,762 |
| UTAH..... | 1,130 | 2,101 | ..... | 94 | 3 | 18 | 948 | 1,212 | 179 | 777 |
| VERMONT..... | 521 | 2,044 | 18 | 259 | 2 | 36 | 325 | 975 | 176 | 774 |
| VIRGINIA..... | 29,234 | 32,645 | 1,337 | 3,568 | 152 | 469 | 23,220 | 21,020 | 4,525 | 7,588 |
| WASHINGTON..... | 1,285 | 4,181 | 51 | 586 | 1 | 31 | 727 | 1,515 | 506 | 2,049 |
| WEST VIRGINIA..... | 10,132 | 13,670 | 298 | 1,317 | 318 | 1,521 | 8,402 | 8,153 | 1,114 | 2,679 |
| WISCONSIN..... | 4,260 | 19,638 | 81 | 3,670 | 2 | 16 | 3,383 | 8,537 | 794 | 7,415 |
| WYOMING..... | 308 | 558 | ..... | 17 | 1 | 39 | 268 | 328 | 39 | 174 |