

Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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SUFFRAGE ADVANCE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

1917

GREAT BRITAIN Premier Lloyd George on behalf of the Liberal Party has pledged the parliamentary vote to British women (all other electoral rights were extended long ago) and by a vote of seven to one, the measure passed the House of Commons in June. It is expected that the bill will be through the House of Lords and receive the King's signature before the middle of February. Lloyd George said, "To give the women no voice would be an outrage, it would be unjust, inequitable. That is why the woman question has become largely a war question."

The Colonies of Australia and New Zealand already have full woman suffrage on equal terms with men.

CANADA Five provinces within the last two years have extended full suffrage to women by acts of their legislatures and in September a bill was passed by the Dominion Parliament giving the parliamentary vote to all women who are mothers, wives, widows, sisters or daughters of soldiers, making the parliamentary vote practically universal, except for those of alien, enemy birth, naturalized since 1902. Premier Robert Borden has pledged full suffrage.

IN MEXICO, in November 1917, the State of Guanajuato conferred the privilege of suffrage in all municipal matters upon women of reputable character.

FRANCE A suffrage commission appointed by the Chamber of Deputies has brought in a favorable report on woman suffrage declaring that women should have the vote "first of all as an act of delayed justice and secondly as a move dictated by public interests." The measure is now pending.

BOHEMIA The City of Prague has appointed a commission with instructions to bring in a new plan of franchise for the city, including woman suffrage.

HUNGARY The City of Budapest unanimously demanded of the Hungarian Parliament suffrage for men and for women and the Minister of Justice has pledged the party in power to grant the petition.

ITALY The Premier of Italy on behalf of the majority party, has pledged municipal suffrage for women.

SWEDEN All the Scandinavian countries, except Sweden, that is, Finland, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, have universal suffrage for both men and women. The King of Sweden has recommended full suffrage for women of that country, where they have long enjoyed municipal suffrage and the Premier of the Liberal Party now in power, has pledged his party to grant it.

BELGIUM The King of Belgium is reported to have said, that if ever his kingdom is restored to him, one of his first acts will be to see that the women are enfranchised, as a reward for the wonderful service they have rendered to their country in its time of stress.

GERMANY Woman suffrage was recently proposed in the Imperial Reichstag as a reward for the war service of the women and was debated.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 4818

January 4, 1917.

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Dear Friends:-

On account of the continued rise in the cost of paper, we have found it absolutely necessary to advance some of our prices, as the Picture Series- both sizes, and Foreign Fliers, which we are continuing on colored paper. A lso the revised 1917 edition of the Blue Book, which we have slightly increased in size.

Revised Prices

	Express Collect		
Picture Series (7x10) " (9x12) Foreign Rainbow Series	Per 1000 \$1.15 1.25 1.25 Exer	Per 5000 \$5.50 5.75 5.75 ess Collect	Per 10000 \$10.00 11.00 11.00
1917 Blue Book postpaid Stationery:	Hach \$.30 .34	Dozen \$3.00	Per 100 \$24.00
Correspondence cards-yellow bofdered Note paper-to match above	\$.50 .55	\$5.00 5.50	\$40.00 44.00

A corrected Catalogue, and October Bulletin are sent herewith which show other minor changes. Please see that these copies are substituted for the ones now on hand.

Yours very truly,

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

Manager.

DeB/D Enc.

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co 877

February 23, 1917.

New Price on "Baby Flier Series".

Per 1,000

Postpaid .82

Per 5,000 \$2,85

Exp. Col.

Per 10,000 85,20

Exp. Col.

These Fliers have always been sold at a minimum of profit and latterly at really less than cost. The continual advance in the price of news stock, wrapping paper, twine, etc. has compelled us to raise the price.

This valuable Series now has 21 titles of which the following new ones are on press:-

Colorado Speaks, California Speaks, Handicapped, Think It Over. What is the Ballot?

Very truly yours,

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.

(signed) Anna DeBaun,

Manager.

Women in the Home

The place of the Woman is in the Home. But merely to stay in the Home is not enough. She must care for the health and welfare moral as well as physical of her family.

SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of the house.

SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

SHE is responsible for the children's health.

SHE is responsible above all for their morals.

How far can the mother control these things?

She can clean her own rooms and care for her own plumbing and refuse, BUT if the building is unsanitary, the streets filthy, and the garbage allowed to accumulate, she cannot protect her children from the sickness that will result.

She can cook her food well, BUT if dealers are permitted to sell adulterated food, unclean milk or short weight, or measure, she cannot provide either wholesome or sufficient feeding for her family.

She can open her windows to give her children air, BUT if the air is laden with infection, she cannot protect her children from disease.

She can send her children out for exercise, BUT if the conditions on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot shield them from these dangers.

It is the government of the town or city that controls these things and the officials are controlled by the men who elect them.

Women do not elect these officials yet we hold the women responsible for the results of

Unclean Houses, Defective Sewerage, Unwholesome Food, Fire Risks, Danger of Infection, Immoral Influence on the Streets. If women are responsible for the results, let them have something to say as to what the conditions shall be. There is one simple way to do this. GIVE THEM THE VOTE.

Women are by nature and training housekeepers. Let them help in the city housekeeping. They will introduce an occasional spring cleaning.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue, New York City

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Printed March, 1916

Women Do Want the Vote These Women Have Said So

International Council of Women Representing over 7,000,000 women.

National Federation of Women's Clubs Representing over 1,600,000 women.

Every State Federation of Women's Clubs where women vote, and many where they do not vote.

National Women's Trade Union League.

National Order of Maccabees.

International Council of Nurses.

World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

American Nurses' Association.

Women Should Have the Vote These Men and Women Have Said So

National Educational Association.

National Grange (men and women engaged in farming).

American Federation of Labor.

National Miners' Federation.

National Purity Conference.

National Association of Letter Carriers.

National Association of Post Office Clerks.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Farmers' National Congress.

Grand Council of United Commercial Travellers.

THESE REPRESENT MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

On hand

Six Reasons Why Farmers' Wives Should Vote.

(AMELIA MACDONALD CUTLER)

- 1. Because the farmer's wife is the farmer's working partner and she ought to have an equal right to vote on questions affecting their business.
- 2. Because she is vitally affected by the laws under which inspectors from the city can investigate farm produce and drastically enforce farm laws.
- 3. Because she is deeply concerned in the laws governing her neighborhood. If the farm hands vote license it is the farmer's wife who suffers.
- 4. Because by her work on the farm she helps to pay road taxes, and she should be allowed to vote on where the roads are built.
- 5. Because experience in the granges has shown that women vote for farm interests.
- 6. Because the votes of the farm women would double the rural vote.

Farmers have less political influence than they had before the civil war.

Farmers need to get back their political power to protect their interests.

Farm interests concern the farmer's wife just as much as the farmer.

Farmers and their wives voting together would conserve farm interests.

FARMERS, YOUR BEST INTERESTS WOULD BE SERVED BY VOTES FOR YOUR WIVES.

What Every Woman Knows

That any work that needs doing is Woman's Work.

When the men are late coming home from market she does the chores.

When they are busy with the hay she milks the cows.

When an extra hand is needed with the harvest she helps in the field.

And she knows that her dignity does not suffer and that she loses none of her womanliness.

When the taxes are due she draws on her butter and egg money hidden away in the blue sugar bowl.

To help pay off the mortgage she spends long winter evenings putting patches on the boys' trousers.

Does this not prove that the farmer and his wife are partners?

They work together.

Why not vote together?

Let your husband know how you feel about it so that he will help you to get the vote.

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

FEDERAL AMENDMENT

An Amendment to the Federal Constitution must pass Congress by a two-thirds vote and be ratified by the legislature of three-fourths of the States.

The question of Woman Suffrage has been submitted to the voters in many States and the women have been distressed to find that thousands of the ignorant and vicious were lined up by hostile interests to vote against it, thus making the defeat unfair and un-American.

We ask the men of America to relieve women from this humiliating position and to give them the same opportunity men have had of appealing to an intelligent and select tribunal, the men of Congress and the Legislatures of the several States.

If you agree—

Vote for a Congressman who favors a Federal Amendment.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue



New York

TWO WAYS

There are two ways in which women may get the vote. One is by asking consent of all the men of the United States, rich or poor, native-born or naturalized, good or bad, intelligent or ignorant; the other is by a Federal Amendment.

All men born in other countries who become citizens of the United States are naturalized by the Federal Government. Indians are enfranchised by the Federal Government. Negroes were enfranchised by the Federal Government.

Women demand the vote by the same process which gave it to men. Isn't that fair play?

If you think so-

Vote for a Congressman who favors a Federal Amendment.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue



New York

MAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION

True Democracy

We Believe

That "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We Believe

That a democracy is "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

We Believe

That women are people and are governed.

We Believe

That no state can be a true democracy in which one-half the people are denied the right to vote.

We Believe

That women need the vote for the same reason that men need it.

We Believe

That because laws regulate a woman's life and the lives of her children, and because they tax her property and may even sentence her to death, she should have the right to share in the making of the laws.

We Believe

That democracy bids everyone stand up and be counted, and that on Election Day no one may be counted for more than one.

IF YOU BELIEVE THIS JOIN THE MOVEMENT FOR

VOTES FOR WOMEN

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC. 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

The Suffrage Planks

Democratic Suffrage Plank

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

Adopted at the Democratic Convention, St. Louis, July, 1916.

Progressive Suffrage Plank

We believe the women of the country, who share with men the burdens of government in time of peace and make equal sacrifice in time of war, should be given the full-political right of suffrage, both by Federal and State action.

Adopted at the Progressive Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.

Prohibition Suffrage Plank

The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendment to State and Federal constitutions. We condemn the Republican and Democratic Parties for their failure to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the national constitution. We remind the four million women voters that our party was the first to declare for their political rights, which it did in 1872. We invite their co-operation in electing the Prohibition Party to power.

Adopted at the Prohibition Convention, St. Paul, July, 1916.

Republican Suffrage Plank

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, but recognizes the right of each State to settle the question for itself.

Adopted at the Republican Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.

Socialist Suffrage Plank

Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

Adopted at the Socialist Convention, Indianapolis, May, 1912.

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

Threed this cres be rused again? Certainly hut failure of Ledual amendment

PLAIN FACTS FOR THE WORKING MAN

- You know that your vote helps you to get better working conditions. Why? Because it helps elect to office the men who can get you what you want.
- If you were to die to-morrow and your wife or daughters had to work, they would need the vote for the same reasons.
- You love your family, but you are away all day at work and your wife looks after the children and the home.
- Think what happens when the food supply has not been properly inspected, when there is cheating in weights and measures and in the quality of goods. Your earnings are wasted.
- Think what happens when there are not enough schools or playgrounds. Your children go without education and play in the crowded streets.
- Think what happens when housing laws are bad, and streets are filthy and milk isn't pure. Your babies sicken and die.
- Think what happens when dance halls and theatres are not decent, and when unlawful sale of "dope" is carried on. Your boys and girls are in danger of going wrong.
- Remember you haven't time to look after all these things, and your wife's compliants to the City departments that control them, do no good because she hasn't the vote.
- And don't forget there are more working people in this State than any other kind. When you let the women vote, you will double your power for getting what you need.

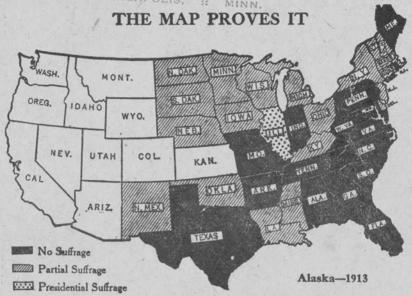
THINK IT OVER

and

VOTE for the WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, Nov. 7

South Dakota Universal Franchise League Rooms 13 and 14 Masonic Temple Huron, So. Dak.

Votes for Women a Success



WOMEN VOTE IN ALL THE WHITE STATES WHY NOT IN THIS STATE?

The Vote was given to Women in Wyoming 1869

Colorado 1893	Kansas 1912
Idaho 1896	Oregon 1912
Utah 1896	Alaska 1913
Washington1910	Illinois 1913
California 1911	Montana 1914
Arizona 1912	Nevada 1914

Nearly 4,000,000 women vote in the Equal Suffrage States. Total Number of Electoral Votes in Equal Suffrage States—91.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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AS MAN TO MAN

Between Ourselves

Can men represent women at the polls?

No man votes for another man or for any woman.

He votes for himself.

Between Ourselves

Do men represent women at the polls?

Men think chiefly of how elections will affect

business—women think chiefly of how elections

will affect the home.

Between Ourselves

Would men be satisfied if only Women chose the officials who were to regulate this business?

Between Ourselves

Is it a square deal to ask women to be satisfied when only men choose the officials who are to regulate their homes?

Between Ourselves

If we trust women with our children can't we trust them with the vote?

Between Ourselves

Let us admit that laws are made as Voters demand and that laws are enforced as Voters insist.

Between Ourselves

Let us give women the vote.

and

VOTE for the WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, Nov. 7

South Dakota Universal Franchise League Rooms 13 and 14 Masonic Temple Huron, So. Dak, Mrs - Brig

LOGIC FOR THE BUSINESS MAN

- Women have proved their business sense, their honesty, their ability in thousands and thousands of business positions—as owners, managers, and in office work.
- How many women cashiers have you known to run off with their employers' money?
- Aren't the women in your office as intelligent, as steady and as reliable as the men?
- Isn't it "good business" in your line of work to build up an experienced, honest, loyal force of experts?
- In the great business of legislating for women and children wouldn't it be "good business" to get the help and vote of women who are experts in these needs?
- As 85 per cent of those who buy are women, wouldn't it be "good business" to give women an interest in tariff legislation and in conditions that affect the making and the sale of goods?
- Would any business man endure being bound by contracts to which he was not a party? Isn't that what every woman is obliged to do who is taxed without representation?
- Do you have to take much time away from your business to prepare for voting, or to vote?
- Because you have the ballot, does it make you want to run for office, or neglect your duties or your home? You do not deny to women stockholders the right to protect their interests by a vote.

PLEASE BE LOGICAL

VOTE for the WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT, Nov. 7

South Dakota Universal Franchise League

Rooms 13 and 14 Masonic Temple Huron, So. Dak.

Who Represents Her?

- IF a woman is responsible for an accident, if she defaults on her contracts, if she slanders her neighbors, is any man arrested, sued, bound over to keep the peace?
- IF a woman steals from her employer, does her father, husband, brother or son serve out her term in prison?
- IF a woman kills somebody, what man represents her in the prisoner's dock during her trial? What man represents her in the electric chair if she is convicted?
- IF a widow or an unmarried woman fails to pay her taxes, is the property of a male relative or of the man next door sold to satisfy the debt to the State?
- IF a woman forges a check, does her father, her husband, her employer, go to jail for felony?

WHY is it that the only place in the world where man wants to represent woman is at the ballot box?

???

VOTES FOR WOMEN

To the Women of This State:

- Is your husband interested in an appropriation for good roads? Your vote joined to his would be a help.
- Do you believe that the rural schools should give your children the best educational advantages? The vote of all the women of the rural districts would be an influence that would help do this.
- Is the country town nearest your home, with its poolroom and saloon, a fit place of recreation for your boy? If the women of that town had the vote, they would make it a more wholesome place.
- When your girl leaves home to find work in the city, what of her health and safety? The women of that city are asking for the vote in order that they may offer her protection and better working conditions.
- The man who said women were too scatter-brained and unreliable to be trusted with the ballot wasn't a Farmer.
- The Farmer knows better. A farm that is run without a woman's help isn't much of a farm. And a government that is run without the advice of women is a one-sided government.
- It is because the farmers of our Western States and of the Provinces of Canada, knew this that they gave their women the vote.

How about the farmers of this state?

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Isn't It True?

Isn't It True

That a man's success in business depends not only on himself but on the men he helps elect to office?

Isn't It True

That housekeeping is woman's business and that her success depends not only on herself but on the way her town is governed?

Isn't It True

That the control of food, air, light, water, health, education, morals and all living conditions is to-day in the hands of the officials of the town?

Isn't It True

That it is only common justice and common sense to let the woman in the home share in electing the men on whom the comfort of the home depends?

Isn't It True

That a man does not neglect his business because he votes, and that a woman will not neglect her home because she votes?

Isn't It True

That the happiness of a home does not depend on the woman always being in it, but on the kind of woman she is?

Isn't It True

That in the right kind of a home BOTH the man's AND the woman's points of view are needed?

VOTES FOR WOMEN

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC. 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

On land

From already ordered

NOT AT HOME YOU WERE OUT TODAY!

Some say "WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME." We say:

YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN AT YOUR CHILDREN'S SCHOOL.

(POLITICS controls the Schools)

YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN BUYING YOUR DINNER.

(POLITICS controls Pure Food Laws and Market conditions)

YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN BUYING READY MADE CLOTHES.

(POLITICS controls the conditions under which they are made)

YOU MIGHT HAVE BEEN SEEKING A POSITION BY WHICH YOU CAN SUPPORT YOUR FATHERLESS CHILDREN.

(POLITICS controls the hours and conditions of Woman's Labor)

What CONTROLS POLITICS? THE BALLOT

Facts Worth Knowing

(In elseen States women have full suffrage; in Illinois—Presidential, Partial County and State, Municipal Suffrage.)

PROTECTION FOR THE YOUNG

In seven out of twelve suffrage states there is already the Eight-Hour-Day law for minors. Only fourteen of the thirty-six male suffrage states have this law.

EQUAL GUARDIANSHIP

In eleven out of twelve suffrage states, mothers and fathers have been made equal guardians of their children. In twenty-five male suffrage states the father is sole guardian. In six male suffrage states he can will or deed away the child without the mother's consent.

AGE OF CONSENT

In ten out of twelve suffrage states the age of consent has already been raised to eighteen years. In only eight male suffrage states is it unqualifiedly eighteen. In two it is as low as ten years.

COMMERCIALIZED VICE

In eight out of twelve suffrage states, the Red Light Abatement and Injunction Act already exists. In only thirteen of the thirty-six male suffrage states is this law—the most effective law against this great evil—yet on the statute books.

EIGHT-HOUR-DAY FOR WORKING WOMEN

In four out of twelve suffrage states, and in specified industries in two others, this law already exists. Not one male suffrage state has this law for women, although almost all have eight-hour laws for men in public service and in specified trades.

WIDOWED MOTHERS' PENSIONS

In all of the suffrage states these are already in force. In scarcely more than one third of the male suffrage states does this law exist.

Among the policies especially pushed by equal suffrage states are Welfare Commissions, Juvenile Courts, and the "Honor and Trust" system for prisoners.

Is it not significant that no attempt is being made in any equal suffrage state to take away the vote from women?

VOTES FOR WOMEN

Do store anything later

WOMEN WORKERS WANT VOTE

The National Women's Trade Union League in Convention (1913) adopted unanimously the following resolution:

THE WORKERS ARE THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY

WHEREAS, The most costly production of any nation, and its most valuable asset, is its output of men and women and the industrial conditions under which over 6,000,000 girls and women are forced to work are an individual and social menace and,

VOTELESS WOMEN UNABLE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES ARE USED TO CUT MEN'S WAGES

WHEREAS, Working women as an unenfranchised class are continually used to lower the wage standards of men and, as, during the recent uprising of working women to better their economic conditions it has been conclusively demonstrated that the political powers of the employers are persistently used so as to defeat the organized efforts of the unenfranchised class and.

IDLE AND IGNORANT WOMEN OPPOSE VOTES FOR WORKERS

WHEREAS, A group of women of leisure, who by accident of birth have led sheltered and protected lives and know nothing of the dangers and hardships confronting the working women, and who never through experience have had to face the misery that low wages and long hours produce, are carrying on an active campaign of propaganda to defeat the efforts of work-ing women to obtain this essential instrument of their industrial freedom and,

WHEREAS, Every thinking working woman realizes her individual and social responsibility toward controlling these conditions for herself, her fellow workers and the coming generation and wants the power the ballot will give her and her fellow workers, therefore be it

ORGANIZED WORKERS PROTEST AGAINST ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

RESOLVED, That the National Women's Trade Union League of America in Convention assembled, representing the organized working women of America, hereby solemnly protest against the active opposition of these women of leisure, who persist in selfishly obstructing the efforts of the organized working women to obtain full citizenship, thereby making the struggle for the protection of the working people's homes immeasurably more difficult; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to all anti-suffrage headquarters, the press, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, The Woman's Journal and the International Suffrage Alliance.

Presented by

EMMA STEPHAGEN, Chicago MARY E. DREIER, New York

AGNES NESTOR, Chicago ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN, New York

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY INC. PUBLISHERS FOR THE

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

505 Fifth Avenue

PUBLISHED FEBRUARY, 1914

New York City

Ou hand VOMEN IN THE HOME We are forever being told that the place for women is in the HOME. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she attends to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become. SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of her house. SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food. SHE is responsible for the children's health. SHE, above all, is responsible for their morals. How Far Can the Mother Control These Things? She can clean her own rooms, BUT if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad air and smells, or from being infested with vermin. She can cook her food well, BUT if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and refuse, BUT if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection resulting.

She can take every care to avoid fire, BUT if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are inadequate, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being

maimed or killed by fire.

She can open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, BUT if the air is laden with infection, with tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, BUT if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot protect them from

these dangers.

Alone, she cannot make these things right. Who or what can?

The city can do it—the city government that is elected by the people to take care of the interests of the people.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

FIRST, the officials of that government; and, SECOND, those who elect them.

Do the women elect them? NO, the men do. So it is the men and not the women who are really responsible for the

Unclean Houses Bad Plumbing
Unwholesome Food Danger of Fire
Risk of Tuberculosis and Other Diseases
Immoral Influences of the Street

In fact, MEN are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold WOMEN responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one simple way of doing this. Give them the same means that men have. LET THEM VOTE.

Women are, by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS FOR THE

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue
New York City

ABOUT VOTING

Who gave the MEN their right to Vote and when?

Can all men vote in the United States?

Yes, if they are over 21, and are native-born or naturalized. (In some States they must be able to read, also.)

Have ALL these men asked for the right to vote?

No, NOT ONE of them asked. The right is given to them by the law of the land.

When the laws were made did all the men ASK for the right to vote?

No, the representatives who made the laws were far-seeing enough to know that they could not found a republic out of the few citizens who were allowed to vote in Colonial times—those men who could qualify as to religion, birth and property—so all those qualifications were swept away, and the MAJORITY of men received the vote.

NOTICE, it was for political reasons and NOT because the men ASKED for the vote. The DESCENDANTS of these men have voted ever since.

Who will give WOMEN their right to Vote and when?

Can all women vote in the United States?

No, only those who live in the Equal Suffrage states.

Have ALL the women in the United States asked for the right to vote?

No, but the NUMBER OF WOMEN WHO HAVE ASKED to vote, is LARGER than the NUMBER OF MEN WHO HAVE EVER ASKED for ANYTHING in the whole history of our country.

Women are citizens of this country "whether officially recognized or not."

Women should receive their right to vote for the same POLITICAL REASONS that men received theirs, and not BECAUSE they ASK.

WHAT ARE the political reasons for giving the vote to women?

- 1. Women are people; no one would dare deny that. Abraham Lincoln defined an ideal republic as a "government of the people, by the people and for the people." but ours is a government OF the people by HALF the people.
- 2. We cannot make this an ideal republic if we leave half the people IRRESPON-SIBLE and UNPROTECTED.
 - 3. The country NEEDS the working power of ALL its citizens.
 - 4. Men and women need the chance to make good TOGETHER and on equal terms. WHO can give women their right to vote?

CONGRESS can do it by a National Amendment. STATE LEGISLATURES can do it by State Amendments.

WHEN will they do it? Ask their constituents.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN!

THE WOMAN'S REASON

BECAUSE

BECAUSE	women must obey the laws just as men do, They should vote equally with men.
BECAUSE	women pay taxes just as men do, thus supporting the government, They should vote equally with men.
BECAUSE	women suffer from bad government just as men do, They should vote equally with men.
BECAUSE	mothers want to make their children's surroundings better, They should vote equally with men.
BECAUSE	about 8,000,000 women in the United States are wage workers and their health and that of our future citizens are often endangered by evil working conditions that can only be remedied by legislation, They should vote equally with men.
BECAUSE	women of leisure who attempt to serve the public welfare should be able to support their advice by their votes, They should vote equally with men.
BECAUSE	
BECAUSE	women need to be trained to a higher sense of social and civic responsibility, and such sense develops by use, They should vote equally with men.
BECAUSE	그리다는 그리고 그는 그리고 그는 그리고 그는 그리고 그는 그리고 그는 그리고 그는 그리고
BECAUSE	women are citizens of a government OF the people, BY the people and FOR the people, AND WOMEN ARE PEOPLE,
	They should vote equally with men.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE FOR MEN AND WOMEN

WOMEN Need It.
MEN Need It.
The STATE Needs It.

-WHY?

BECAUSE-

Women Ought To GIVE Their Help. Men Ought To HAVE Their Help. The State Ought To USE Their Help.

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Why Women Want to Vote

WOMEN ARE CITIZENS

AND WISH TO DO THEIR CIVIC DUTY

- WORKING WOMEN need the ballot to regulate conditions under which they work.

 Do working MEN think they can protect themselves without the right to vote?
- HOUSEKEEPERS need the ballot to regulate the sanitary conditions under which they and their families must live.
 - Do MEN think they can get what is needed for their district unless they can vote for the men that will get it for them?
- MOTHERS need the ballot to regulate the moral conditions under which their children must be brought up.
 - Do MEN think they can fight against vicious conditions that are threatening their children unless they can vote for the men that run the district?
- **TEACHERS** need the ballot to secure just wages and to influence the management of the public schools.
 - Do MEN think they could secure better school conditions without a vote to elect the Mayor who nominates the Board of Education?
- BUSINESS WOMEN need the ballot to secure for themselves a fair opportunity in their business.
 - Do business MEN think they could protect themselves against adverse legislation without the right to vote?
- TAX PAYING WOMEN need the ballot to protect their property.

 Do not MEN know that "Taxation without representation" is tyranny?
- ALL WOMEN need the ballot because they are concerned equally with men in good and bad government; and equally responsible for civic righteousness.
- ALL MEN need women's help to build a better and juster government, and
- WOMEN need MEN to help them secure their right to fulfil their civic duties.

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The Woman's Protest

Women are citizens. No one denies that fact; for the constitution of the United States, the law which supersedes all law, declares them citizens. The Government of our Nation and of all the states recognizes women's responsibility and forces them to bear the burdens of citizenship.

No American Dreadnought is there upon the seas, no army camp on land, no police guarding our cities, no courts of law, no post offices, nor other part of the government's organized system of protection of our national peace and welfare, but has been made possible by the taxes paid by women.

Not only are our institutions maintained in large degree by women's taxes, but the peace, prosperity and progress of our land rests upon their law-abiding loyalty.

THE HOME, the woman citizen's especial sphere, is the acknowledged cornerstone of our Republic.

THE SCHOOL, maintained in large part by women citizens, is the acknowledged conservator of a self-governing nation. It is the "melting pot" wherein old world traditions are transformed into new world ideals. It is the protector of present liberties and the sole guarantor of future Americanism.

THE CHURCH, supported and upheld in large measure by women citizens, is the teacher of those moral ideals which are the acknowledged safeguard of our civilization.

Should these services go unperformed, our Republic would be precipitated to tottering ruin. Yet to these women who have so faithfully borne the burdens of citizenship our government denies its privileges and visits upon them an absurd oppressive wrong—that of disfranchisement in a nation of self-governing people.

The most flagrant crime known to nations is treason. When our government sought for a penalty commensurate with the heinousness of this offense, it found disfranchisement. When states searched for a suitable punishment for bribery and crime, they found disfranchisement. This penalty is put upon the enemies of civilization because they are moral or mental defectives.

Into this group minors are placed temporarily because they are supposed not to have attained their intellectual growth; but at 21 every boy automatically escapes and becomes a voter. Aliens are placed in this group temporarily, but after a brief residence of five years our National government provides for their citizenship, and the state constitutions automatically extend the vote.

Even the traitor, the criminal and the briber may be, and often are, pardoned and thus are restored to equal rights with other citizens; but for woman there is no open door to political liberty. For them alone is disfranchisement perpetual. No test of intelligence, wealth, virtue or service is permitted by means of which women may qualify for the vote.

Against this unpardonable tyranny, hundreds of thousands of women have protested in vain for more than a generation.

Once more we declare that government to be unjust which taxes and governs half its people without their consent. Others are disfranchised for incapacity; women without reason or excuse.

We declare that government to be inexcusably inconsistent which tolerates so preposterous a discrimination as that of putting a vote into the hands of male paupers and at the same time denying that privilege to at least one-third of its tax-payers; of counting the opinion of ignorant or even illiterate men, while denying that right to intelligent educated women; of permitting men of all lands to determine by a ballot's share, every policy of our nation after a five years' residence, while denying it to the daughters of the founders of the Republic.

We declare that government to be unsound which is obligated by its national constitution to promote the general welfare of the people, yet pays no heed to what half its people want.

We declare a Republic professing self-government to be guilty of deliberate oppression when it elevates half its people, regardless of qualifications, to sovereignty over the nation; and condemns the other half to political subjection. In such a nation self-government becomes a travesty and a farce.

We protest against the continuance of this wrong against women; and appeal to Congress for relief by the immediate submission to the legislatures of the several states of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, protecting women in the citizen's right to vote.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
171 Madison Avenue, New York City

The Truth About Colorado

BECAUSE various irresponsible persons, in no way representing the real spirit of Colorado, have circulated statements defamatory to the credit of the state and its womanhood, we believe the time has come when all such silly and slanderous stories should be repudiated by the intelligent and public-spirited men of the State of Colorado.

The demand for Colorado bonds is far greater than the supply. In per capita wealth, in expenditures for education, in the percentage of homes without incumbrance, in public improvements, in all matters affecting social welfare and the altruistic side of legislation, Colorado stands well to the front, as may be easily

verified by the reports of the United States Government.

In all efforts that have served to forward the health and prosperity of the state the women of Colorado have done their share. The enfranchisement of women is no longer a question here. Equal suffrage was granted by popular vote in 1893 and incorporated in the Constitution ten years later by a majority three times the size of that given the original referendum.

H. J. ALEXANDER, President First National Bank.

THATCHER, President Denver National Bank. GEORGE B. BERGER, President Colorado Na-

tional Bank. GODFREY SCHIRMER, President German Amer-

ican Trust Company. W. J. GALLIGAN, President City Bank and Trust

Company. N EVANS, President International Trust JOHN Company.

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CASS E. HERRINGTON, Legal Dept. Colorado

Fuel & Iron Co. O. E. LEFEVRE, ex-District Judge; retired capi-

CHARLES D. HAYT, Attorney, ex-Judge Supreme

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CHARLES M. DEARDORFF, Attorney.
J. B. GRANT, Attorney.
HENRY MAY, Attorney.
FRANK E. GOVE, Attorney.
A. N. PATTON, Attorney.
ALVA A. SWAIN, Pueblo Chieftain and Grand

Junction News.

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BORDEN P. KESSLER, Instructor Iliff School of

CHARLES O. THIBODEAU, Pastor Grace M. E. Church.

T. E. McGUIRE, Pastor Park Hill M. E. Church. JAMES THOMAS, Pastor Grant Avenue M. E. Church.

Church.

ORRIN W. AUMAN, District Supt. Denver District M. E. Churches.

H. R. A. O'MALLEY, Rector St. Stephen's Church.

S. R. S. GRAY, Vicar West Denver.

JAMES RAE ARNEILL, M.D.

O. D. WESCOTT, M.D.

EDW. WM. LAZELL, M.D.

(The City Federation, a delegate organization of the Associated Charities, Ministerial Alliance and more than forty altruistic societies of Denver, instructed its president and secretary to sign the foregoing statement.)

going statement.)
THE CITY FEDERATION, by Dr. Clinton G.
Hickey, President, and Walter C. Heckendorf, Secretary. Denver, Colo., May 10, 1916.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

171 Madison Avenue



New York City

MINNEAPOLIS. :: MINN.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

People Say:

We Say:

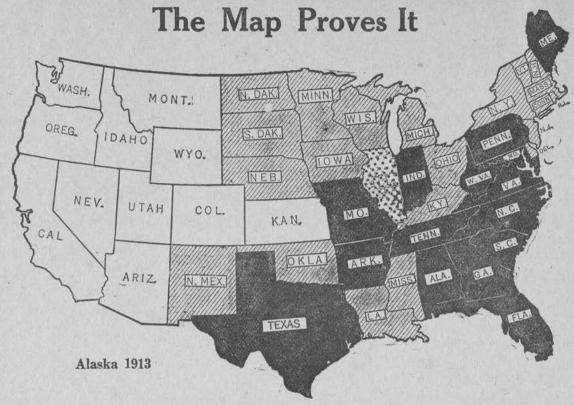
The majority of women don't want to vote.	The majority never wants progress.
Women will not vote when they are given the right.	Official figures show women DO vote largely wherever they have the right.
If women vote they ought to fight and do police duty.	Men who could not fight still vote; this is the age when RIGHT makes MIGHT.
If women vote they must hold office,	A woman will have to be elected to office by the men and women together. Do the men all have to hold office?
Women have enough to do without voting.	Voting takes but a few minutes and can be done on the way to market.
It would interfere with a woman's business, the care of the house.	Does it interfere with man's business in factory, store or office?
It would double the ignorant vote.	1/3 more girls than boys attend the high schools and women will soon be the more educated class.
It would double the foreign vote.	There are in the United States over 12 times as many native born women as foreign born.
It would double the criminal vote.	Only 1 in 20 of the criminals are women. It would add largely to the good vote and very slightly to the bad vote.
It would double the expense and trouble of election.	The safety of a democracy lies in giving the vote to all classes so that ALL are fairly represented, and the result will be a Fair Average opinion. Ought we to cut the present vote in half to save money?
Women can change or make laws by indirect influence.	Why be indirect when we can be direct? Why waste time and strength in beating around the bush?
A woman's place is in the home.	She leaves it to go to market and why not to vote—it takes less time.
Women are represented by	Would men let women represent them at the polls?
men.	Does a man with women to represent have more than one vote or does he cast his vote according to the majority vote of those he represents? No! Then he doesn't represent them.
	Is a man's vote given him to represent some one else's opinion or his own?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
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505 Fifth Avenue

New York City

Votes for Women a Success



WHITE STATES; Full Suffrage SHADED STATES: Taxation, Bond or School Suffrage
DOTTED STATE: Presidential, Partial County and State, Municipal Suffrage BLACK STATES: No Suffrage

SUFFRAGE GRANTED

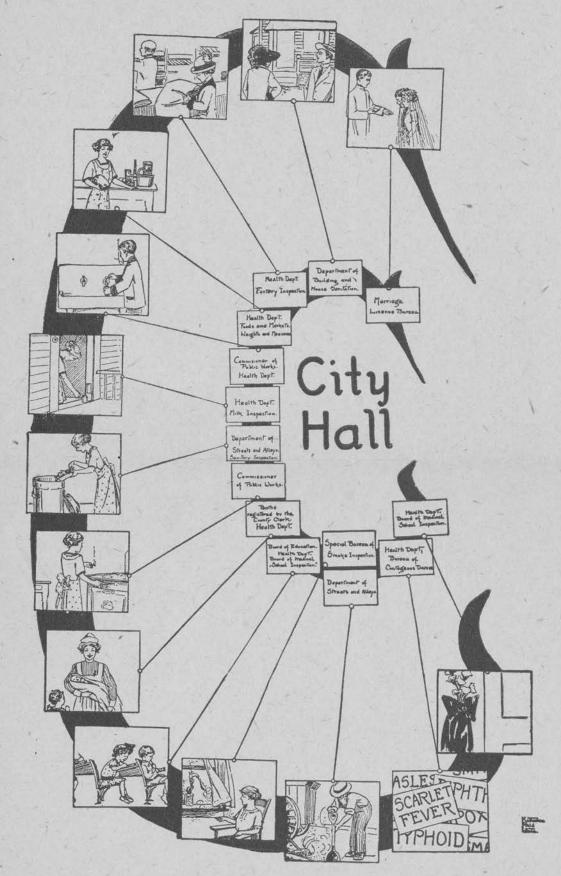
1869—WYOMING	1912—ARIZONA
1893—COLORADO	1912—KANSAS
1896—UTAH	1913—ILLINOIS
1896—IDAHO	1913—ALASKA
1910—WASHINGTON	1914—MONTANA
1911—CALIFORNIA	1914—NEVADA
1912 OPECON	

Would any of these States have adopted EQUAL SUFFRAGE if it had been a failure just across the Border?

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
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505 Fifth Avenue New York City

MADAM, WHO KEEPS YOUR HOUSE?



Who issues your license to marry?

Who gives you permission to build your home?

Who guarantees the quality of your furnishings, the purity of your food, your water—even your baby's milk?

Upon whom do you rely for the removal of your garbage? For your heat and fuel supply? For the protection of yourself and children from fire and contagious disease? For clean streets and unpolluted air?

Who is responsible if these matters are not properly looked after and disease or death results?

Read the answer in the picture.

Yet you say "you don't care to meddle with politics."

Madam, if you want your house well kept, you MUST meddle with politics, because politics has already meddled with you.

Be an efficient, modern housekeeper and demand

VOTES FOR WOMEN!

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION NEW YORK CITY

WOMEN IN THE HOME

We are forever being told that the place for women is in the home. Well, so be it. But what do we expect of her in the home? Merely to stay in the home is not enough. She is a failure unless she does certain things for the home. She must make the home minister, as far as her means allow, to the health and welfare, moral as well as physical, of her family, and especially of her children. She, more than anyone else, is held responsible for what they become.

SHE is responsible for the cleanliness of her house.

SHE is responsible for the wholesomeness of the food.

SHE is responsible for the children's health.

SHE, above all, is responsible for their morals, for their sense of truth, of honesty and decency, for what they turn out to be.

How Far Can the Mother Control These Things?

She can clean her own rooms, but if the neighbors are allowed to live in filth, she cannot keep her rooms from being filled with bad air and smells, or from being infested with vermin.

She can cook her food, but if the dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and the refuse of her own home, but if the plumbing in the rest of the house is unsanitary, if garbage accumulates and the halls and stairs are left dirty, she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection that these conditions bring.

She can take every care to avoid fire, but if the house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are insufficient or not fire-proof, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

She cannot open her windows to give her children the air that we are told is so necessary, but if the air is laden with infection, with tubercu-

losis and other contagious diseases, she cannot protect her children from this danger.

She can send her children out for air and exercise, but if the conditions that surround them on the streets are immoral and degrading, she cannot protect them from these dangers.

Alone, she cannot make these things right. Who or what can?

The city can do it—the city government that is elected by the voters, to take care of the interests of the people.

And who decides what the city government shall do?

First, the officials of that government; and,

Second, those who elect them.

Do the women elect them? No, the men do. So it is the men and not the women that are really responsible for the

Unclean houses

Bad plumbing

Unwholesome food

Danger of fire

Risk of tuberculosis and other diseases

Immoral influences of the street.

In fact, men are responsible for the conditions under which the children live, but we hold women responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be? There is one simple way of doing this; give them the same means that men have. Let them vote.

Women are, by nature and training, housekeepers. Let them have a hand in the city's housekeeping, even if they introduce an occasional house-cleaning.

* * * * * *

Wyoming Colorado Idaho Utah Washington California

VOTES FOR WOMEN

DO YOU KNOW?

By CARRIE CHAPMANINGATT .-

President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance of 21 Countries

Do you know what woman suffrage means? And do you know that the question of the right of women to self-government is one which is commanding the attention of the whole civilized world? That working women suffrage organizations of representative men and women exist in twenty-one countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Russia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United States?

Do you know that the women of New Zealand vote on equal terms with men? And so do the women of Australia, Norway and Finland.

Do you know that twenty-six women sat as members of the Finland Parliament of 1909?

Do you know that the women of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales may vote upon the same terms as men in all elections except for members of Parliament? And that the women of the Isle of Man have had full suffrage since 1880? That the women of England have had municipal suffrage since 1869? That women of Scotland since 1881? The women of Ireland since 1898?

Do you know that unmarried women taxpayers in Sweden may vote except for members of Parliament? And that all women of Denmark

and Iceland have the same privilege?

Do you know that the women of Wyoming have voted upon the same terms as men since 1869? The women of Colorado since 1893? The women of Utah and Idaho since 1896? The women of Washington since 1910? Do you know that in more than twenty other states the women have partial suffrage, municipal, school or taxpaying?

Do you know that more girls than boys are graduating from high schools all over the country every year? Woman suffrage does not

mean the addition of more ignorant voters.

Do you know that women will add a distinct moral element to the present vote? Is it not true that in every state the per cent. of women in jails and courts is extremely small as compared with the number of men criminals? Why then should their votes be feared? Senator Warren of Wyoming sums it up when he says: "Wyoming 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."

Do you know that woman suffrage would not increase the foreign vote? Do you know that two-thirds of the immigrants are men? Only

one-third are women.

Do you know that there is a steady increase in the per cent. of women wage earners and women in business? Why should not the woman

worker or woman manager have the protection of the vote?

Do you know why men are voters? The barons of England were the first voters, because they furnished the money that supported English wars. Later the barons and smaller nobles voted. Then the nobility and rich merchants voted. In many countries of the Old World women voted because they held property.

Do you know that in the colonies only taxpayers were voters? Then came the great revolution with its war cry, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." At that time very few women held property and paid taxes. The government of 1789 was called a republic, but it was in

reality an aristocracy of property.

Do you know that the tax paying qualification for voters has slowly but surely been left behind?

Do you know that the aristocracy of property was followed by an aristocracy of color? White men ruled black men, even though free. Later black men were given votes, then some of the Indians, and large numbers of aliens.

Do you know why women were not included among the voters when the government was based upon taxation? Because they were not taxpayers. When a woman married (and there were few unmarried women in those days) all her belongings passed to her husband's possession, and therefore he was recognized as the taxpayer, and often secured the right to a vote upon her property.

Do you know why women were not included among the voters when the taxpaying qualifications were removed? Because a married woman was not yet a taxpayer, and could not use her wages. The law did not recognize her as an independent unit of society, but as a servant of her husband. No wonder our statesmen did not include these women, who had no legal existence, among the voters.

Do you know that these conditions no longer exist and that husband and wife are now two? Married women may now own property. Women are taxpayers.

Do you say that the women of the United States do not want to vote? Hon. John D. Long, ex-Secretary of the Navy, has said: "If one man or woman wants to exercise the right to vote, what earthly reason is there for denying it because other men and women do not wish to exercise it? If I desire to breathe the fresh air of heaven, shall I not cross my threshold because the rest of the family group prefer the stale atmosphere indoors?

Do you know that the movement for woman suffrage is only one phase of the eternal warfare of all centuries for human liberty? Less than half the men qualified to vote, actually do vote. Should all men be disfranchised because some do not vote? Or should all women remain unenfranchised because some do not wish to vote?

Do you know that many women are as earnestly anxious to vote as any man in the land? Should not all men and women who are public-spirited and liberty-loving have the privilege of the ballot? Can we expect women to move in the interest of their own self-government, since no class of men has ever done so? Woman suffrage, like man suffrage, must come through the generous action of those who now possess the power to give it. In fact, more women, in proportion to their numbers, have asked for the ballot than have men of any disfranchised class in the history of the world.

Do you know the result of equal suffrage in the states where women vote? Hundreds of the most representative people, both men and women, have testified time and again in print, over their own names, that woman suffrage has brought none of the evils which the opponents fear, but instead has brought much positive good. It has enlarged the outlook of women, increased their intelligence and self-reliance, has rendered homes happier, because of more intellectual companionship, has ennobled men and dignified politics.

Do you know any reason why women should any longer be denied the rights and privileges of self-government?

(Condensed by permission of the author.)

Published by the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, St. Paul.

Price 20 cents per 100.



Opinions of Eminent Catholic Clergymen PATION

Rev. Thomas Scully, of Cambridgeport, says: .: MINN.

"There are no duties or obligations attached to our American franchise that women are not capable of performing. For citizenship they possess all the patriotism, virtue and intelligence

that the law requires, and a great deal more.

"Who, especially, are the women who demand for themselves and their sex this political equality? From my own observation, they are those whose standards of intelligence, morality and social position are the very highest. They are foremost in every good word for God and country, to help the orphan and widow, to aid the poor and comfort the sick. You will find such noble women, wives, mothers, daughters, in all our cities and towns, united and unceasing in their efforts for temperance, public decency and morality. I believe that the door of political freedom and equality, at which they are knocking louder and louder, should be opened to them. And why? In order that their special knowledge and practical experience in regard to their own sex and in regard to children may influence legislation for the physical, moral and social protection of girls, rich as well as poor, and for guarding the child's natural home from evils that

carry with them criminal poverty and disease.

"I know of no argument for refusing the suffrage to women that is not equally applicable to men. We are away behind other countries in this. These women have certain political rights, with results so satisfactory that many of the leading men in Church and State are now willing to grant them full citizenship. Cardinal Archbishop Vaughan has publicly stated that he is for it. Among the most learned ecclesiastics of our own country, not a few are pronounced in its favor. Educated men and women of the Catholic laity are everywhere now to be found favorably disposed toward it. It pleases me to say that Miss Jane Campbell, a Catholic, is president of the Philadelphia Woman Suffrage Association, the largest local suffrage society in the country. Again, something to be very proud of is the fact that the first woman on this side of the Atlantic who demanded the right to vote was a Catholic-Margaret Brent, of Maryland, on Jan. 21, 1747. The opposition to female suffrage is a matter of course. All great social and political reforms, as well as religious ones, have always been resisted by prejudices, customs and the old cry, 'Inopportune.' So it is with this. It is a battle-reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish motives. The cause is just. It may be defeated today, but never conquered, and tomorrow it will be victorious."

Cardinal Moran, of Australia, in his official organ, the Cath-

olic Press, of Sydney, says:

"What does voting mean to a woman? Does she sacrifice any dignity by going to the poll? The woman who votes only avails herself of a rightful privilege that democracy has gained for her. No longer a mere household chattel, she is recognized as man's fellow worker and helpmate, and credited with public

spirit and intelligence. As a mother, she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. She knows what is good for them just as much as the father, and the unselfishness of maternity should make her interest even keener. She should deem it one of the grandest privileges of her sex that she can now help to choose the men who will make the laws under which her children must live, and exert her purer influence upon the political atmosphere of her time. How can she sacrifice any dignity by putting on her bonnet and walking down to the polling booth? Women think nothing of transacting ordinary commercial business, of working alongside men, of playing their part in the practical business of life. They do not mind going to the box office of a theater to purchase tickets for the play. There is very little difference between doing that and putting their vote in a ballot box. The men about the booths show them every courtesy, the officials are anxious to make things easy for them, and the whole business of voting does not occupy more than five minutes. The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature."

Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid: "It fills me with joy when I think of the many changes that will be brought about when women have the right of suffrage. They will defy the politicians and vote as any Christian man should and would vote if he had

the moral courage."

Rev. Edward McSweeny, Mt. St. Mary's, Md.: "I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do in England, for public officers. For the life of me I never could see that Blanche of Castile, or Matilda of Canossa, or Victoria Guelph were less exemplary as women for their being all their lives mixed in politics; and I think that a great onward step in the progress of mankind will be made when every adult person shall take an active part in the government of our country."

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

Bishop Keane of Wyoming Diocese: "The women of Wyoming vote as intelligently, honestly and conscientiously as the men. They are not active politicians nor office-seekers. I have never known but one woman in Wyoming who made herself conspicuous in politics. Catholic women have not been drawn either out of the church or out of their homes, so that fear is groundless."



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WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION
403 ESSEX BLDG..

MEASURING UP RESULTS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO

By JUDGE BEN LINDSEY and GEORGE CREEL (Extracts from an article in the February, 1911, Delineator)

Colorado, better, perhaps, than any other State, affords an opportunity for a fair appraisal of equal suffrage's value, of its merits and demerits, its efficiency or its failure. This commonwealth is peculiarly suited for such an examination by reason of the typical Americanism that marks its people and its problems.

Equal suffrage has been one of the great bells that has aroused Colorado to the work of flushing filth from its politics, better economic conditions, mitigating the cruelties of industrialism, promoting equal and exact justice, and making for a more wholesome and ex-

pansive environment.

To these ends, in the short space of seventeen years, it has aided in placing a score of needed laws on the statute books. It has raised new standards of public service, of political morality and of official honesty. It has helped to lift the curse of corporation control from the government. It has gone far to bit and bridle the lawless "liquor interest." It has made for a fuller, finer participation in public affairs, and by the introduction of a distinctly independent element into partisan politics, it has compelled the adoption of progressive platforms and the nomination of better candidates than the "old way" ever knew.

If this reform were pinned down to a specific result, and discussion limited to one concrete outcome, equal suffrage could well afford to rest its case on the findings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. This globecircling organization of men and women, who play important parts in the public affairs of their various countries, is on record as declaring

that:

"Colorado has the sanest, the most humane, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute books in the world."

And of these laws which drew such praise from impartial sociologists, not one but has come into operation since Colorado's adoption of equal suffrage in 1893; not one but owes its inception of its success to the voting woman. Even in those cases where the law was not originated, not specifically championed by them, they elected the official responsible for the law, and whose candidacy had its base in revolt and reform.

The list is as long as splendid:

Laws establishing a State home for dependent children, three of the five members of the board to be women;

Making mothers joint guardians of their children with their fathers; Raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen years; Creating juvenile courts;

Making education compulsory for all children between the ages of eight and sixteen, except the ailing, those taught at home, those over fourteen who have completed the eighth grade, those who support themselves, or whose parents need their help and support;

Establishing truant or parental schools;

Forbidding the insuring of the lives of children under ten;

Making it a criminal offense for parents or other persons to contribute to the delinquency of children;

Forbidding children of sixteen or under to work more than eight hours a day in any mill, factory or store, or in any other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful;

Requiring that at least three of the six members of the Board of County Visitors be women;

Establishing a State Industrial home for girls, three of the five members of the Board of Control to be women;

Including instruction concerning the humane treatment of animals in the public school course;

Providing that any person employing a child under fourteen in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works, shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to fine;

Abolishing the binding out of industrial-home girls until twenty-one, and providing for parole;

Forbidding prosecuting and arresting officers from collecting fees in cases against children;

Providing that at least two thousand dollars of the estate of a deceased parent shall be paid to the child before creditors' claims are satisfied.

Equal suffrage did not become a law until 1903, but while there was vigorous championship in the meantime, advocacy was purely argumentative, and entirely unmarked by violent agitation. Equal suffrage's majority was six thousand. And research disclosed these reasons as chiefly contributory to the victory:

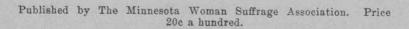
That women are equally subject to the law;

That the denial of justice to half the human race would be a detriment to the whole, as experience has proved that under a partially representative government the lives and interests of the unrepresented always suffer;

That it was peculiarly the province of the women to look after the home, and that the modern home could not be thoroughly looked after except through the law;

That men alone were as unfit to legislate for women as women alone would be unfit to legislate for men;

That it was both insulting and degrading to continue the classificaiton of women with "Indians, idiots, lunatics and paupers."





Wa All. women are having a hard time because the offragists appose har amendment.

Suffrage Amendment Success.

The Constitutional Amendment Committee of the Illinois Senate for the first time in many years has recommended that the Suffrage Amendment be submitted to the vote of the men electors in November, 1918. It is Senate Joint Resolution No. 2. It has a better chance of success than ever before.

This session the Suffrage Amendment is the only one before the Legislature. During many previous sessions, a number of constitutional amendments have contested for the honor of being the one and only amendment which might be submitted to the men voters. Now the Suffrage Amendment has no rivals, unless the twice defeated amendment to the amending clause be counted such.

FORMER SUCCESSFUL AMENDMENTS.

To secure a two-thirds vote in both Houses of the Legislature has been a difficult task for the friends of any amendment. Most of the Legislatures have submitted no amendment. The difficulty of securing amendments has been in the Legislature not at the polls. The men voters have done their duty at the polls and have carried eight of the eleven amendments submitted since 1870. Of the three which were defeated two were identical, the amendment of the amending clause. So that four-fifths of the different amendments submitted have been carried by the men voters.

These eight amendments do not all relate to property, tho a man would fight for property as readily as for anything; nor were these all uncontested. They related to Drainage, County Officers, Veto of Appropriation Items, Anti-Contract Convict Labor, World's Fair Bonds, Chicago Charter, Deep Waterway Bonds and Taxation.

PEOPLE INTERESTED.

No one of these amendments made as direct appeal to as many people as would the Suffrage Amendment. No former amendment had so many interested workers as would the Suffrage Amendment. Besides the hundreds of thousands of men already converted to suffrage, there are 876,700 women who voted for President and who have no conscientious scruples against voting for Governor, Judge and Constable.

Without counting the men already converted, if each of these women voters would convert one man before November 1918, there would be a majority of 218000 for the Suffrage Amendment if as many men voted as did in 1916. In no other state suffrage campaign has there been such a body of interested partial voters, who would be going to the polls anyway to vote their partial ballots.

VALUABLE EDUCATION.

However, even if there had been no such interested group, it would have been good policy to have submitted the Suffrage Amendment at any time during the last fifty years on account of its educational value. California, Colorado, Kansas, Oregon and Washington found increasing suffrage sentiment at each submission of the amendment. They climbed to final success upon their previous partial successes, called by some failures.

Other states which have not yet fully succeeded, count their amendment campaigns as their most valuable advance work. By means of the vote on their amendments they could tell just where they were weak and where their greatest efforts should be centered. If the Illinois Suffrage Amendment had been submitted four and eight and twelve years ago, there would be less guessing now.

FAVORABLE ILLINOIS CIRCUMSTANCES.

No other state at the time of submission had women judges and clerks of election or women watchers at the polls who would count the ballots. No other of these states had election laws as carefully guarded against fraud.

Our most generous majorities will probably come from outside the City of Chicago. Large cities often are unfriendly to suffrage. Already the opposition to the Suffrage Amendment comes almost entirely from Chicago. "Dangerous measure." were the stereotyped words in telegrams from certain Chicago Suffragists to Illinois Senators. Sev-

eral Senators gave these telegrams as interesting souvenirs, to officers of the Suffrage Amendment Alliance. It rarely happens that the same fear causes eight or ten women at the same time to telegraph the same words. Chicago officers of the Alliance do not share these fears but rather take counsel of their hopes. They see no danger to the home or school or society or business or to the state. The downstate members of the State Central Committee claim that their respective counties will give large majorities for the Suffrage Amendment and that it will be dangerous only for such interests as flourish on the vices of society.

AMENDMENT MAY HELP CONVENTION.

The greatly needed Constitutional Convention should not be counted as a rival to the Suffrage Amendment. Both may be submitted to the men voters in 1918. The only woman speaker for the Convention before the House Committee at Springfield was the Chairman of the Suffrage Amendment Alliance, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch. She urged the convention as a method of remedying other defects than the suffrage limitation. Women should vote for members of the convention and for the new constitution if it is ever submitted.

UNCERTAINTY OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS.

It is unwise to depend alone upon a Constitutional Convention for woman suffrage. In no other state have women secured suffrage in this way. In Illinois it has heretofore been impossible to secure enough votes in the Legislature, two-thirds of both Houses, to get it submitted. Even if it should be submitted, it is uncertain whether the men electors will vote for a convention. If they do, no one knows who may be elected members of the convention, when they may meet, how long they may work, when they may complete the new constitution, what they may recommend or whether "a majority of all voting at the election" in 1921 or 1922 or later may finally approve the Convention's work.

To secure suffrage by this method, women will need to work with two legislatures, one Constitutional Convention and to implore the voters at one primary and at three elections. Women would do it if this were the only way but suffrage would be a long time coming. More "enormous difficulties and expenses" would be involved in this method than by the Amendment method.

CANVASS AND PROCLAMATION.

Senator Morton D. Hull at the Senate Hearing, showed that it would be easier to get suffrage by the Suffrage Amendment in 1918 than by the convention method, because the Governor's proclamation following the canvass of the vote on the last amendment showed that an amendment need only receive a majority of all the votes cast for members of the General Assembly. The convention proposition needs a majority of all voting at the election. If the Suffrage Amendment and the convention proposition had the same number of votes in November, 1918, the first might succeed and the latter might be defeated.

DELIVERING WOMEN'S VOTES.

The number of Illinois women whose organizations have endorsed the Constitutional Convention has been estimated at 200.000, tho it is difficult to add up that number. However, none of these large organizations has by such an endorsement authorized any officer to deliver its votes against the Suffrage Amendment.

As only men may vote for Legislators or for the Suffrage Amendment, such an attempted delivery, even if authorized, would not be of votes, but merely of indirect influence.

If any suffragist believes in a slow and uncertain method of securing suffrage she could inspire more public confidence in this method by doing constructive work for this method instead of by doing destructive work against some other method which she claims will be defeated, but which evidently needs her help for its defeat.

ONE MISTAKE.

It has been rumored that the National Suffrage President Mrs. Carrie C. Catt, favored the Illinois Constitutional Convention as the best way of securing suffrage for Illinois women.

In a letter sent to the chairman of the Suffrage Amendment Alliance dated Feb. 7, 1917, she said: "I do not take sides in the matter and neither approve nor oppose any plan. I have neither endorsed nor condemned the proposal of full suffrage by new constitution in Illinois."

This is the proper attitude. When the National organization is not asked for money help, it should keep its hands off. Illinois is too rich a state to pass the hat among her sister states to secure full suffrage for Illinois women. If the National organization was asked for help it would pick out the most needy states. Illinois could hardly qualify.

LOYALTY TO ORGANIZATION OR TO PRINCIPLE

If an association organized for securing suffrage for women wanders after uncertain other methods, delaying its forward movement, those who are not born standpatters will follow the suffrage principle wherever it can be found. The Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for nearly fifty years has asked for the submission of a Suffrage Amendment and now without any vote of the members against the Suffrage Amendment some officers are opposing the Suffrage Amendment and did oppose it two years ago.

Arguments defending inaction would be inconclusive but arguments defending opposition to any suffrage measure give joy to antisuffragists. Minnie Bronson, the chief anti-suffrage speaker at the Indiana suffrage hearing Feb. 13, 1917, said that Illinois suffrage was such a failure that the President of an Illinois suffrage association was resisting the submission of the Amendment and was declaring that it could not be carried. This strong anti-suffrage argument is being carried all over the nation. It can only be answered by other Illinois women urging the submission of the Suffrage Amendment.

The members of the Suffrage Amendment Alliance are not "quitters."

INCONSISTENCY

Money solicited from suffragists through gifts, dues, bazaars, etc., "for suffrage," is being used to pay the expenses of fighting a Suffrage Amendment. Many organized suffragists who have not withdrawn their memberships are greatly distressed, while the unorganized 700,000 women voters, in no way allied with such opposition, are appalled.

It would be as inconsistent for a Republican or Democratic legislator to vote against the Suffrage Amendment, when he was elected on a suffrage platform. His national platform pledged him to get suffrage by the state method and he will have no excuse for dodging the issue.

Only one Illinois platform advised women to get suffrage through the slow uncertain convention and that was the Socialist platform. No Socialist was elected. No legislator of other parties should show such lack of political sagacity as to carry out a policy repudiated by the voters at the polls. Every real suffragist should urge his senator and three representatives to keep their respective party promises for complete woman suffrage and to vote for the Suffrage Amendment.

The recently organized Suffrage Amendment Alliance is in the field to work till victory comes. Victory could come in 1918, but if delayed, the Alliance will increase its organization. Thus far its expenses have been paid by members of its State Central Committee. An early victory will dissolve the Alliance.

GET TOGETHER POLICY

The Suffrage Amendment Alliance has got together. They approve and help every constructive effort for suffrage, the Susan B. Anthony amendment in Congress, the Constitutional Convention proposition in Illinois and the Illinois Suffrage Amendment, all of which should succeed. Now let the enemies of the Suffrage Amendment "Get Together" for the Amendment and once more we can be a happy suffrage sisterhood and together win the success desired by all.

C. W. M.

STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF

SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT ALLIANCE

112 W. Adams St., Chicago, Iff.

Florence Bennett Peterson S. Grace Nicholes Marion H. Drake Helen Hood Harriet Vittum Anna E. Blount Flo Jamieson Miller Lucy D. Watson Mary M. Bartelme Mrs. W. D. Washburn Estella H. Boot Celia Parker Woolley Annette D. Fitch Anna Nicholes Olive H. Rabe Ella S. Stewart Henrietta Krighel Gratia Shipman Erickson Iva G. Wooden Mary Louise Childs Ella Adams Moore Belle Goodman Inez Rodgers Deach Mrs. W. B. Owen Frances L. Richardson Louise C. Turner Clara M. Dunn Mary L. Brumbach Mrs. George Busey Fanny Kerr Rose Marion Boyland Elizabeth Swalm Gertrude Mason Garreta H. Busey Mary Barber Dr. Jennie C. Kibbie Ida M. Durin Mrs. Irving McDowell Mrs. Nathan B. Lewis Viola Greene Mrs. Conrad Hogensen Annie Sargent Bemis Mrs. T. S. Clawson Ada H. Kepley Mrs. J. W. Broughton Zerelda G. Tufts Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler Mrs. B. Frank Brown Mrs. Wm. E. Lane Fannie Bivans Mrs. Wm. H. Henkle Mary Ryan Gertrude Thomson

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Mrs. A. E. Bergland
Mrs. Wm. R. Vredenburg
Mrs. Mary E. Morrill
Mrs. Alonzo Larison



A Suffrage Answer to An Anti Platform

PLATFORM ADOPTED BY CERTAIN ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

We, American women, citizens of the State of Maryland, protest against the proposal to impose the obligation of the suffrage upon the women of the state, for the following, among other, reasons:

- 1. Because suffrage is to be regarded not as a privilege to be enjoyed, but a duty to be performed.
- 2. Because hitherto the women of this state have enjoyed exemption from this burdensome duty, and no adequate reason has been assigned for depriving them of that immunity.
- 3. Because conferring suffrage upon the women who claim it would impose suffrage upon many women who neither desire it as a privilege nor regard it as their-duty.
- 4. Because the need of America is not an increased quantity, but an improved quality of the vote, and there is no reason to believe that woman's suffrage by doubling the vote will improve its quality.
- 5. Because the household, not the individual, is the unit of the state, and the vast majority of women are represented by household suffrage.
- 6. Because the women not so represented suffer no practical injustice which giving the suffrage will remedy.
- 7. Because equality in character does not imply similarity in function, and the duties and life of the men and women are divinely ordered to be different in the state as in the home.
- 8. Because the energies of women are engrossed by their present duties and interests, from which men cannot relieve them, and it is better for the community that they devote their energies to the more efficient performance of their present work than divert them to new fields of activity.
- 9. Because political equality will deprive women of special privileges hitherto accorded them by the law.
- 10. Because suffrage logically involves the holding of public office, and office holding is inconsistent with the duties of most women.

PRINCIPLES FROM THE PLATFORM OF SUFFRAGISTS

We, American women, citizens of male suffrage states, demand that we, as well as the million and a half women of the six equal suffrage states, be admitted to the right of suffrage for the following, among innumerable other, reasons:

- 1. Because suffrage is a duty of such transcendent importance that it should not be shirked by any patriotic citizen, man or woman,
- 2. Because the conditions under which women might claim exemption from this duty have changed. Impure foods, sweat-shops, child labor, polluted water, inadequate schools, dark tenements, fire-traps, the spread of contagious disease, lack of parks and playgrounds, unequal pay—all these are adequate reasons for the use of direct political power by women. Most men do not find the duty of voting burdensome, and neither do women in equal suffrage states.
- 3. Because, while giving women the right to vote does not impose upon any one of them the obligation to vote, it does arouse in them a sense of civic responsibility and does make them desire the suffrage and regard it as a duty, as proved by experience in equal suffrage states.
- 4. Because the need of America is for an increased quantity as well as improved quality of the vote, since true democracy demands the participation of all the people, and actual experience proves that giving the vote to women raises the quality of the electorate.
- 5. Because it is impossible for men to represent women—even the women of their own families. The household is not the unit of the state. If it were, the father should cast a vote for his grown sons—who would then need no vote of their own, and a widow should cast a vote for herself and her children, and a bachelor should cast no vote at all. One man—one vote, is the rule of democracy.
- 6. Because there are 8,000,000 women in industry who are suffering from injustice that only the ballot can remedy. In 32 states, women are not legal guardians of their own children; in nearly all states, marriage and property laws are unfair to women. Nothing but law can correct this, and nothing but the ballot can elect law-makers.
- 7. Because experience proves that the interests of the state are best served when the special gifts of both men and women are brought to bear upon the business of the state as well as that of the home. Voting is a human function, not a sex-function.
- 8. Because the energies of women are required now, as in the past, for certain traditional duties, and unless they follow their work into the world and do it in the way made necessary by modern civilization, men will have to attempt the impossible task of doing it for them. Women can achieve the efficient performance of their present work only through the use of the best tool yet devised by society—the ballot. The ballot will not divert, but direct the energies of women,
- 9. Because women need the justice that is accorded from equals to equals, and will gladly resign the privileges accorded to them as dependents and inferiors. These have mostly been given by custom rather than by law, and the few that have been secured by law have not been withdrawn in the equal suffrage states.
- 10. Because only through the suffrage can women acquire the right to hold those offices which require women's particular abilities. The few who are fitted for office-holding are quite as able to adjust their duties to meet the occasion as are men, which is amply proved by the hundreds of women already holding office to their credit and the nation's betterment.

National American Woman Suffrage Association



505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

On Grand MENNEPIN COUNTY WOMAN SUFFRACE ASSOCIATION MINNEAFOLIS.

Christian Citizenship

Would the Extension of Suffrage to Women Raise the Standard of Christian Citizenship? If so, should not our Clergy and the Church Give their Support to this Reform Movement?

By

MARIE E. CRAIGIE

Chairman of the Church Work Committee

HE Twentieth Century religion," says a recent writer, "is undergoing a change as remarkable as that of the industrial world. Religious teachers are beginning to realize that the highest end of Christianity is to show men how to live in right and harmonious relations with their fellow men. The Golden Rule of religion is becoming the keynote of social conditions."

"To do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you" can surely be interpreted as a command for equal justice and equal rights. In this personal application of Christian principles to everyday life, we are outgrowing the idea of the Church as a mere form of public worship, centered in the persons who administer it in certain consecrated buildings!

We are learning to think of Christianity, not as an external element, introduced here and there into human affairs, but as a great redemptive force, generated for the uplifting of mankind, and our clergy are realizing, more and more, that they have a part to play in all those great movements that sway the thoughts and actions, and destiny of men and women!

The newer interpretation of Christianity recognizes that it must deal with the root of things; with the heart and life of the people whom it is seeking to uplift by its teachings.

The Church is learning to hold sacred the aspirations and the needs of both men and women, and to recognize the rights of the individual without regard to social distinctions, but as members of one universal brotherhood—the great human family!

Christian teachers in the past prayed earnestly and devoutly, "Thy Kingdom Come!" and thought they had discharged their full duty; but in the present day Christian teachers are also becoming Christian workers, and they are beginning to realize that they have a personal responsibility in doing their part to set up among men what Christ and His disciples called "The Kingdom of God."

Those words of Saint Paul, "Righteousness, Peace and Joy," find their parallel in the present day qualities, "Justice, Equality, Fraternity." Establish these on earth and there will result, "Righteousness, Peace and Joy" among men.

Paul further taught that for *Christians* there should be no discrimination because of race, condition, or sex, but that we are all members, one with another.

Thinking men are beginning to realize that the only power that can unify and harmonize the great cosmopolitan life of this country is the "Power of the Christian Religion."

"Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens, with the Saints and of the household of God; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy Temple in the Lord."

Under this conception of the power of Christianity, as a vitalizing, harmonizing force, in all human affairs, it becomes our duty to consider, not merely what is to be done, but what part we as Christians must take in helping to advance the

reign of righteousness and justice on earth!

In the light of such a broad conception of the power of Christianity, the Church can no longer be regarded as a separate body, the organ of a special faction, but becomes the moral leader of the whole human society, whether considered as a church, a community, a city, or a nation! Nothing, then, that pertains to the welfare of, and the righteousness of this great human family, or to the individual members of it, can be a matter of indifference to the true Christian who believes in the ideal of "One flock and one shepherd." He will find nothing to make him hesitate to give his support to any cause that is founded on truth and justice, for the underlying principle of God's Kingdom for which the Christian prays, and for which he should work, must be absolute justice and equality to all.

The whole agitation of the question of human rights which

has led to the emancipation of one class after another by the granting of the franchise has been but the evolution of justice, whereby each section of a community has in time come to recognize its responsibility, and to demand equal power to express its needs and to protect its rights.

Has the Church done its part in the past, in helping on this progress of human liberty? Has the Church and its followers taken a fair and just view of the long continued struggle women have made to secure their civil liberty? Has it been loyal to women and given to them its moral support in their efforts to secure their enfranchisement, or has it, in its indifference and persistence in clinging to senseless traditions of the past regarding women, fulfilled the prophecy of Scripture "Ye have made the commandments of God of non-effect by your traditions?"

Many earnest and consecrated ministers of the Gospel have declared their belief in the absolute "justice" of the cause of woman suffrage, and have publicly supported the movement, but many others are seemingly temporizing and fail to realize that no teacher of Christ's religion ever lowers his ideals, except when he temporizes with his conscience as to what is right, to accommodate the intellectual limitations, or the moral prejudices of those who he knows differ from him on the subject under discussion.

A prominent clergyman said not long ago: "If I was satisfied that this was a question of absolute right, I would willingly consider it!"

It is with a hope of inducing this good man and many others who, like him, are either indifferent to, or prejudiced on this subject, to consider the justice of the woman suffrage cause, and the duty of the Church toward it, that has led the writer to prepare this leaflet on the subject.

Regarding the "justice" of equal suffrage, I would not so disparage the moral perception of any minister of the Gospel as to assume that a man sufficiently intelligent to expound the doctrine and principles of the Christian religion could not recognize the absolute justice and right of the demands for political equality between men and women to-day. The conscientious minister needs, in searching for truth, to recall only the words, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice, and ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free!"

Truth to some persons is whatever is most profitable, most comfortable, to believe. It is not always recognized when it beckons and calls for support to that which is unpopular and uncomfortable to follow because it is unpopular. To bear witness to truth against those whose good opinion we wish to keep, to bear witness to truth when it means to oppose some of our dearest friends; this is the supreme test of Christian courage!

Unfortunately we have sometimes in the pulpit as well as in politics men who have not the courage of their convictions, who do not live up to what their consciences dictate. Such men mislead themselves and make it their business, either for peace, or for policy, to interpret their "truth" or "right" to conform to the views or the consciences of their constituents rather than to be true to their own convictions.

They are those "which say to the seer, see not! and to the prophets, prophecy not unto us right things; speak unto us smooth things. Prophesy deceits!"

There is needed to-day a courage of the pulpit as well as a courage of the Senate. There are times when our sole prayer should be, "Oh, God, let us thy servants dare thy truth in all its power to tell!" One of the prominent clergymen who has dared to advocate the right of equal suffrage is Dr. David Gregg, for many years pastor of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Writing on this subject, he has said: "There is no cause that has so many axioms in its creed, as the cause which demands equal opportunity for women, and the full privilege of the ballot for women as well as for men; I have no fear of the results; neither does the true Church, neither does true Christianity! Let the bogus Church fear and let bogus Christianity fear! Like the false everywhere, these are tyrants, and their tyranny and injustice to women is the meanest and most cruel part of their tyranny and injustice.

"The Woman's Missionary circles numbering hundreds of thousands of women are the deepest and fullest springs of civilization through modern missionary life.

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, numbering also hundreds of thousands of earnest women, have been for over half a century trying to fight the great 'liquor evil' without the proper weapon—the ballot.

"The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, with

its hundreds of thousands of young men and women, equalizes the influence of young men and women in a way the church has never before witnessed.

"They speak, vote, and hold office equally. It is the Church of the future, and it is only a step from the equality between man and woman in the Church to the equality between man and woman in the State!

"Equal opportunity for man and woman in all spheres of human life, that is the grand humanitarian doctrine that the Woman Suffrage Association gives to the Church, and I for one, as a part of the Church, accept the doctrine with gratitude and openly acknowledge that there is no grander humanitarian doctrine in all the creed of the Church!"

"In view of the terrible corruption of our politics, people ask—'Can we maintain universal suffrage?' I say no, not without the aid of the women."

-Bishop Gilbert Haven.

The ballot in the hands of men means what?

It means honest or dishonest government.

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It means honest or dishonest officials. It means just or unjust laws. It means the proper or improper administration of our educational, benevolent and reform institutions, and the betterment of general social conditions.

Have the women no interest in all these things?

Have they no right to some voice in saying what conditions shall be for themselves and their children?

It is impossible that any reasonable person should deny that the State exists for its women as well as for its men! But some claim, I know, that women are already represented in government by their fathers, husbands or sons, and that by this indirect influence they have as much power as they would have through the actual casting of the ballot.

That is all false argument. If men were given the power to cast as many votes as were represented by the women in their families, and would cast them according to the wishes of their women, there might be a show of justice in this method of indirect representation, but so long as a man casts only one vote, he votes for himself and for his own conscience, and represents no one by his franchise but himself!

On this question of the indirect influence of women, Henry Ward Beecher said:

"It is open direct applied force that abates evil or promotes good.

"The general influence of commerce never added much to any man's bank account, no more than the general influence of husbandry ever drained a swamp, or the general progress of health protective ideas ever cleaned a street! It is the theory of cultivation applied that brings our harvests, and sanitary theories, put into operation that cleans our streets!"

While we appreciate to the fullest the value of indirect personal influence in the great affairs of life and especially the influence of good women, we feel that in civic and political affairs it is a power that does not count; only votes count in the turning of the wheel that shapes the destiny of the nation.

"I believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put in the hands of women."—Bishop Hearst.

The woman with influence plus the ballot is a far greater power as a moral reformer than the woman without the ballot, and the wise woman, who wishes to make her influence felt in giving patriotic service to her country, must demand for herself the power to make her influence a direct and not an indirect and ineffective force.

In seeking to know their duty toward this great question our clergymen and Christian workers must ask regarding it.

First—Is what the women are asking just and right? And, if so, should we not support them in their struggle to secure their political rights?

Second—Will not the power of the Church be greatly advanced by the extension of the franchise to women? Will not the accession of millions of new voices raised for righteousness and civic betterment greatly aid in all those measures of reform now advocated by the churches?

Third—The saloon element on all occasions opposes woman suffrage. Is not something wrong when we join hands with the saloon against the women of our land?

Of all the questions that stand to-day in need of the support and approval of the churches, the woman suffrage question is the most vital in its relation not alone to women, but to the churches and to society! It is not a sociological or a political question, as many thoughtlessly claim it to be, but it is a great composite subject that includes within it many other moral and ethical questions. It is above all a question of human justice, and even the early pagan philosophers taught that what was just must be supported by religious teachers. "Stand fast to justice when you witness before God," they said.

At a recent meeting of the Federation of Church Clubs interested in civil betterment in New York City, over forty church clubs of that city were represented. On the subject of "The Church and Moralty in Public Life," one of the speakers said: "If the great Church of Christ cannot or will not aid in the awakening of the public conscience by throwing its influence on the side of public honesty and show the moral courage to stand for the right, it will, in my opinion, be untrue to itself."

The Rev. Charles Aked is one of those clergymen who for a quarter of a century has openly advocated the cause of woman's enfranchisement. He recently said in a sermon: "I have continuously from my pulpit urged my deep conviction that nothing since the coming of Christ has ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women."

This appeal for more practical efforts from Christians to work unitedly for the welfare of the community, comes not alone from women and those who are seeking to reform the evils of society, but many conscientious public officials are pointing out the need of a higher standard of Christian citizenship to support honest officials.

President Taft, in a recent speech in Augusta, Ga., before an assemblage of protestant clergymen, said: "In carrying on the burdens of government which with its increasing usefulness entails greater tasks, they who are charged with its execution need every assistance and sympathy.

"The moral awakening that is manifest all over the country is an indication of the healthful state of our civilization, and in such moral efforts our clergy should take an important part. It comes over me sometimes when I am charged with accomplishing some work for the betterment of humanity, how absolutely essential it is that we should have the Church and the influence of all Christian people behind all great reforms!"

Again, in another address on Christian Missions, President Taft said: "No one can study the progress of the times from an utterly impartial standpoint and not realize that Christianity and the spirit of Christianity is the only basis for the hope of modern civilization, and the growth of popular self-government.

"The spirit of Christianity is pure democracy.

"It is the equality of man before God. The equality of man before the law, which is the most God-like manifestation that man has been able to make."

Under the exclusive manhood suffrage only a small proportion of the constituency of the Church is the constituency of our lawmakers and governmental officials!

Women are to-day, and always have been, the mainstay and chief supporters of the churches, and the leaders in all great normal reforms, yet as a disfranchised class they are powerless to give any material aid in bringing about social and moral reforms that depend upon legislative or governmental action, because they have no power to elect their rulers and lawmakers and those whose duty it is to enforce the laws.

The Church is therefore deprived through the disfranchisement of women of more than half its power to help extend civic righteousness throughout our land!

May we not hope that when our clergymen come seriously to discuss this question and their responsibility toward it, that they will conscientiously admit that woman's influence has been for good in the home, in the church and in society, and cannot fail to be a power for good in the State, as well, and that they will be found willing to give their approval and support to this great moral reform that will result in doubling the forces for righteousness throughout our land, and in raising the standard of Christian citizenship.

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THE ADVANTAGES OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

BY

Mrs. Andreas Ueland

President, Minnesota Equal Suffrage Association Minneapolis, Minn.



Read before the MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES 1914.

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THE ADVANTAGES OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

By Mrs. Andreas Ueland

President, Minnesota Equal Suffrage Association, Minneapolis

One of the most impressive chapters in the development of the Anglo Saxon man is his emergence from a state of bondage and serfdom to a position of freedom, and, little by little, to the attainment of self government.

Not less impressive is the emergence, before our eyes, of woman from a state of ignorance and a position of dependence to the modern woman, who is just now taking the last step in her development—the demand for political independence. In answering the question—What are the advantages of equal suffrage?—we may call to mind the advantages of democracy.

Through a thousand years of struggle, men learned that their rights were protected, that their self-respect was conserved, that they received greater consideration from their neighbors, and that they had greater power and freedom in carrying out their creative instinct when they individually had some share in government. The hardest lesson in this one thousand years—and one not completely learned yet—is that it is not safe to leave government in the hands of one man or a group of men, and that one class can not judge wisely or decide fairly for the whole.

The ballot in the hands of a newly enfranchised citizen gives him first of all self-respect. He feels that he is a man among men, that he is worthy the respect of other men. It entitles him to as much consideration as his

neighbor. He is, and should be, proud to be a voting citizen. The vote is a symbol of the respect and confidence of government. A vote withheld is a sign that the government lacks such respect and confidence. The vote has always been considered as an honor. Only little by little have all men been considered worthy of this honor. Originally, the king was the only one so honored, then the nobles, then the men of property, then the men whose religious beliefs were satisfactory and, at last, only an educational qualification was demanded. To take a man's vote away, is the deepest disgrace and humiliation that can be visited upon him, and is reserved for criminals. In the recent election, the men of Hennepin and Ramsey Counties were filled with righteous indignation at the amendment which proposed to limit the power of their vote for state senators. That a fraction of a vote for one official should be taken from them made the blood of more than one freeborn American, in Hennepin County, boil.

Women, especially, need the self-respect and the respect and consideration from others that comes with an individual share in government. For ages, women have been considered inferior to men. It was not until late in the Middle Ages that it was decided in a council of men that women have souls; and that was by a majority of only one vote. Forced to subserviency and trained to find happiness only in self-effacement, the lives of women have been full of sadness. Milton made his Eve say to Adam:

"God is thy law, thou mine To know no more, Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise."

Rousseau, whom we are wont to consider the prophet of freedom and justice, says of women:

"To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate when young, and take care of us when grown up, to admire, to console, to render our lives easy and agreeable—these are the duties of women

at all times and what they should be taught in infancy."

Sentiments, such as these, have dwarfed and crippled the women of yesterday. Herbert Spencer says:

"In the history of humanity as written, the saddest part concerns the treatment of women; and had we, before us, its unwritten history, we should find this part still sadder. I say the saddest part because, though there have been many things more conspicuously dreadful—canniballism, the torturing of prisoners, the sacrificing of victims to ghosts and gods—these have been but occasional; whereas the brutal treatment of women has been universal and constant."

Too much cannot be said of the championship of the cause of woman's rights by such men as John Stewart Mill, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, and the many eminent writers and thinkers who are living today, nor of the just and fair attitude of thousands of men who have voted, or would like to vote, in favor of equal suffrage. Although the measure was defeated in Ohio, we must not forget that 386,000 men voted for it, more than ever before in one state; nevertheless, the sense of woman's inequality has by no means passed away and we believe that the ballot would hasten this passing. The ballot is as John Stewart Mill said, "An outward and visible sign of equality."

That girls are not so important in the minds of many people, women as well as men, hardly needs demonstration. It is easier to raise money for boys' educational institutions than for girls'. Men's colleges are better endowed than women's a hundredfold. Men's clubs and undertakings, generally, are more liberally supported than women's. We have, in Minneapolis, families who have come here from another civilization, in which the men look upon their wives and daughters as their property, who must do their bidding. They are surprised that anyone should object to their beating their wives, and

the wives consider it inevitable and necessary and are unwilling to have the men brought into court.

The women of the East are still "veiled and cloistered and silent" for no reason but that of sex. And it is not only this class of people who consider women as inferior. The case of Madame Curie is an example of the attitude of men "higher up." Madame Curie, the discoverer of the properties of radium, has as pupils the greatest scientists of Europe. At a Congress in Brussels, the standard measurement of radium was discussed, and the congress unanimously decided that Madame Curie was the only person living, capable of establishing the standard. She, therefore, was appointed, and consequently the unit of measurement of radium will be known as a Curie and the word will take its place with Ohm and Ampere and Volt to perpetuate names of geniuses of pure science. And yet Madame Curie could not be appointed to a vacancy in the French Academy, Department of Science, because she was a woman.

This sense of inferiority is depressing. No one can tell what the world has lost because of the idea that girls were inferior beings to their brothers. How many aspiring girls have been disheartened and discouraged by the public sentiment that they were not good enough or fine enough to do the things their immortal souls craved to do. In the old days it was only the girl children of heroic mold who were able to pierce the shadow of mistrust and unbelief. It is a thousand times better now, but it is needful that all women should feel and know that they have a direct part in the divine plan, and that it is not necessary for them to be always subsidiary and indirect. Having a share in government is a means of education, which women need and want.

Who ever votes intelligently must consider the needs of good citizenship. In the enfranchised states, the women are studying earnestly in order to become useful citiher child; better food, securer shelter, more education, more beauty, greater opportunity, a more abundant life.

This intensive concern for home should be expressed in government. The father is the provider; he is intensely concerned in business. Often it becomes an end and not a means with him. The mother does not consider business as all-important. These two forces should therefore balance each other in government. At present the things that pertain to business are over emphasized.

Women Wish to Vote.

All over the world, women are forming themselves into suffrage organizations. "From the land of the midnight sun, women wrapped in furs, above the polar circle, may be seen gliding over snow covered roads in sledges drawn by reindeer on their way to suffrage meetings. At the same moment other women, in the midsummer of the Southern Hemisphere, protected by fans and unbrellas and riding in 'rickshas' are doing the same thing under the tropical sun."

In five continents and twenty-five nations and in many islands of the sea, among them Java, Sumatra, the Philippines and Hawaii, women have organized clubs and are members of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. In America, one after another, the federated clubs of the different states are endorsing suffrage. Last month, the federated clubs of New York passed a resolution endorsing suffrage; shortly before that Pennsylvania passed a resolution; before that, Missouri; before that, North Dakota, and in June, the National Federation of Woman's Clubs, meeting in Chicago, passed; enthusiastically, an almost unanimous resolution. Other women's organizations favoring it are the World and National Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Educational

Association, the Society of Friends, The National Women's Trades Union League.

To those who see in this awakening of the women, only good, who see in it the unfolding of a divine plan, who see it as the fruition of the work of those few men and women to whom the vision was given, this march of the idea of the political freedom of women is full of majesty.

That all women do not wish to vote, is not a reason for withholding it from those who do. Voting is not compulsory. Not more than fifty per cent of the men of Minneapolis voted at the last election. No reform has waited until all or a majority were in favor. Not all of the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies were in favor of resisting England, or of adopting the Declaration of Independence.

When the custom of Suttee, in India, by which widows were burned on the funeral pyre of their husbands, was abolished by Great Britain, the women who would have been victims, protested most loudly. Many of the slaves of the South did not wish to be freed. It has not been shown that a majority of women do not wish to vote. In the recent campaign in Ohio, the women made a house to house canvass in sixteen counties. In all of these counties, they found that sixty per cent of the women, and more, were willing to sign cards indicating their belief in equal suffrage. In the suffrage states, a majority of the women do vote. That they have not chosen to disfranchise themselves is an indication that they do not find it a burden.

The greatest enemies of humanity and especially of women, are intemperance, prostitution and war. The suffragists believe that by their votes they can help in defeating these enemies. At every election, dry territory is increased by the help of the women. At the last election, three of the suffrage states—Colorado, Oregon and

zens. In Denver, more books on social economy were sold in the eight months after women were enfranchised than in twenty years before. Substantially the same thing is said in Seattle, Washington. In the suffrage states, women's civic leagues are formed, sometimes one in every precinct, for no other purpose than to study the needs of the neighborhoods and the states.

The Potential Power of the Vote.

The fact, that groups of people are voters, renders legislators conscious of their interests. It is not only to the interest of the legislator, but it is his duty to consider the wishes of the people who have votes. They are the ones he tries to satisfy. A legislator is the servant of the people who send him to office. He cannot consider a voteless group of people as earnestly as an enfranchised group. He respects chiefly those who send him to office. He is responsible to them. In the states in which women vote, the law makers inevitably pay more attention to the things women specially care for.

The potential power of the large group of women—four-fifths of the whole—who are home-makers, makes a legislator take a deep interest in such questions as housing, pure food laws, clean streets and the care of garbage. The potential power of that class who are wage earners, one-fifth of the whole, makes him attend to the questions of the hours of labor for women, and sanitary conditions of work. The potential power of the vote was strikingly illustrated in Chicago after the women of Illinois were given partial suffrage. For many years, the public spirited women there have asked for police women to be in attendance in their small parks and dance halls—places in which 86,000 young people find recreation. They were told that there was not money enough, that they needed many more policemen before they could

have policewomen. They were given the vote, July 1st. On July 15th, the mayor appointed fifteen policewomen. Before September, there were forty, and it is promised that by January 1st there will be one hundred. The women had done nothing. They had not voted. They had simply had the power to vote given them.

Another well known illustration of this power is the story of the garbage situation in Chicago. Miss Mary McDowell tried for fifteen years to have the garbage taken care of in a scientific manner. She had made herself an expert in knowledge of this kind, studying methods here and abroad. Her efforts to impress the Chicago council were unavailing until July 1st, 1913, when women were enfranchised. Then, almost immediately the city government appropriated \$10,000 to improve the system, and Miss McDowell was named on the committee to spend the money. The mayor now speaks proudly of her as Chicago's great garbage expert. This happened before any of the women had voted. The garbage disposal, before the new system was instituted, cost Chicago \$4,-000 a month. It is now said to pay expenses and yield a revenue of \$2,000 a month. This is a saving of \$6,000 a month.

The Mother's Point of View in Government.

In a true democracy, all phases of normal human life should have due consideration. It surely is not the part of wisdom to leave out, as we do, the mother's point of view. Mothers, from the beginning, have been the dynamic force that makes for better homes and thus for a higher civilization. In the early days, she was the first farmer, and the first industrial worker. She sacrificed her roaming instincts in order to make better conditions for her child. She is still doing this, still pushing silently and steadily all over the world for better conditions for

Arizona—voted for prohibition. Of the vote in Oregon, the Portland Oregonian says:

"All the counties in Oregon voted dry at the recent election, including Multnomah. It was an astounding change for Portland and Multnomah, which four years ago had gone wet two to one. The state, too, had registered a somewhat emphatic 'no' on the subject; but through the influence of the women voters and the changed views of many male voters, the measure was adopted, in 1914, by 35,000 or more votes. It was a veritable tidal wave which engulfed city and country alike."

In California, before women voted, there were 200 dry towns, now there are more than 680. In Illinois, the vote of the women, at the first election, closed 1,000 saloons. The liquor interests are working everywhere to defeat woman's suffrage.

Women are opposed to war. They care for life. They wish above all else to conserve life. In the budget of the United States, sixty-three cents of every dollar is used for war expenses. The influence of women would be against this expenditure.

A significant sign of the times is the conference of women representing fifteen nations, which met recently, in London, to consider the war situation. They declared they were not enemies one to another, that they did not hate each other, that they did not wish their sons to kill the sons of other mothers. They protested against this useless war, and appointed an envoy from their number to visit America, to appeal to all Americans to take steps to try to bring about peace with disarmament. Their message was also for the women of this country, to hasten the day when our women will have political rights, in order to prevent war. These women declare, that had the women of Europe possessed such power, this war would not have taken place.

At a recent meeting of the International Peace Congress at The Hague, a resolution was adopted unanimously, demanding that a resolution be placed on the regular order of business at the next Congress, calling upon various nations to consider the enfranchisement of women. This was urged with the view of hastening universal peace.

Women are opposed to prostitution and work against it. The women in San Francisco were instrumental in putting out of existence the infamous Barbary Coast. The red light district of Denver was abolished by the aid of the women's vote. The equal suffrage states are far in advance of the other states of the country in regard to the age of protection. Five of the suffrage states have passed the red light abatement law, admittedly the best law for the control of prostitution. Only five of the nonsuffrage states have passed this law. According to the National Vigilance Association every suffrage state has a good statute against white slavery.

The most careful and intensive study of the workings of equal suffrage that has yet been made, was undertaken by Miss Helen Summer in Colorado for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League. This investigation was made in a scientific manner, and aided by the advice and assistance of men well known for their contributions to science. It was made in 1907, when equal suffrage had been in practice in Colorado for fourteen years. The account is as unbiased as is humanly possible. Miss Summer went into the work with no formulated conclusions on the subject. She says: "Over the majority of women, it is already evident that equal suffrage has exercised a good influence and one which inevitably reacts on political life. It has tended to cultivate an intelligent public spirit among women. Comparatively few take part in public life, but thousands vote.

"As for loss of womanly characteristics, it is difficult to find any evidence, to show that voting affects this side of a woman's character. Families go to the polls together. They meet no rough and unfamiliar persons but their neighbors. In conventions, they exchange recipes and information about the baby as at other meetings. Whenever a Colorado woman makes a demand in which she may reasonably be supposed to have the silent backing of the great mass of women who do not talk but vote, she inevitably has far less difficulty in obtaining her object than her sisters of non-suffrage states. The ballot economizes for her both effort and time.

"Equal suffrage has increased the interest of women in politics and has a good effect upon their intelligence and public spirit. Measures, especially affecting children as offenders against law, Colorado has acquired, since women voted, the best legislation in the country. The custom of electing women to school boards is increasing. Women have served as presidents of boards and frequently treasurers and secretaries. Women have served on state boards of control, on boards of charities and corrections. A majority of the Board of the Girls Industrial School and Home for Dependent Children are women. Women have served on the Board of Agriculture, on the Board of Health and the Board of Horticulture.

The Record of Women in Office is High.

"There is no record of women defaulters, while men defaulters have been distressingly common. The record of women office holders on the score of honesty is considerably above men office holders. No woman has shown herself grossly inefficient in office and several have made brilliant records. Talents in women have been brought out and developed that otherwise would have remained dormant. The office of state superintendent of instruction is gen-

erally held by a woman. This office controls the management of funds and school bonds. The state superintendents have almost universally been honest and efficient. One hundred and twenty different women have been county superintendents with excellent records.

"Women of Colorado have taken great interest in the care of delinquent and defective children. They have been almost universally progressive, rather than conservative. They have been almost united in the support of measures designed for the protection of children and animals. Except in sale of liquor, the activities of women are for constructive rather than preventive measures. It is no longer possible to place men with known immoral lives into office. There is no support to the assertion that voting increases domestic discord. The women in better districts vote in greater numbers than from less prosperous and less respectable districts."

Mrs. Helen Grenfell, who has been, for several years, a superintendent of instruction for the State of Colorado and who has made a national name for herself as an educator, says:

"Instead of thinking less of their homes, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into their close corporations, something of the scientific spirit of the age. Chairs of Domestic Economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School, and the Professor of Domestic Economy in the former has been twice president of the Colorado Suffrage Association. The interest in the old-fashioned, womanly arts has increased, instead of diminished. There is hardly a State where the school population is increasing so rapidly. The compulsory education laws of Colorado are said to be the best in existence. No difference is made in teachers' salaries on account of sex. After twenty years' experience in school work, I can say that our school boards are absolutely non-political, and party affiliation is

never considered in the appointment of teachers. Whilst our teachers are citizens, taking part in public affairs, voting, and often attending primaries and conventions, I have never heard of a teacher being dismissed or appointed because she was a Republican or a Democrat, nor of a member of the school board being elected because he belonged to this or that party. Generally, both parties are represented on the same board. Sometimes a board that is principally Democratic is found in a Republican community, and vice versa. Our teachers are free to vote according to their own consciences. I have seen or heard of more party politics in school matters in one block in Albany, Buffalo, or Philadelphia, than in the 103,925 square miles of Colorado soil."

There can be no doubt that in many communities men of notoriously unclean lives and men connected with saloons have been dropped from politics since women voted. Colorado is producing an ever increasing number of able public spirited women citizens. It has made men and women more companionable.

The women of Illinois have made great progress in demonstrating that equal suffrage is a sound and helpful measure. Some of their achievements are: A reform in garbage disposal, success in having policewomen appointed, and a splendid temperance achievement. They now have a boy's court—a court for boys of seventeen and up, who are too old for the Juvenile Court but not yet full grown—in connection with which there is a psychopathic clinic. Through women's effort, the management of the county poorhouse was made efficient and humane. The young woman who was a candidate for alderman against Bathhouse John was defeated; she expected to be, but the situation in that ward and the methods that followed by this means obtained so much notoriety that Bathhouse John lost his prestige and the party, that he had represented, repudiated him.

Jane Addams said, that "Letting in the light upon the first ward was more than a local service. These ignoble methods had spread to other wards. Now they will never be allowed again in Chicago. You cannot have a ward of which the whole city is ashamed without its affecting the other wards." In seven wards in Chicago the women's votes actually turned the scale and defeated seven objectionable candidates. Of the Chicago women's vote, Graham Taylor says, "It tended decidedly toward non-partisanship."

Of the effect of women voting on the polling places, the leading election commissioner issued the following statement: "Their presence was like oil upon turbulent waters in every precinct of every ward, in which there were hitter clashes. In no precinct did the presence and activity of women in political contest make them mannish. There was less drunkenness around polling places than there had been in years, because practical politicians knew that drunken workers would drive away the vote of women for their candidates. Today's election really demonstrated that election and government have been brought closer to the home. Above all, women, in all walks of life and in all parties, proved that they are interested in and appreciate their duty."

The mainspring of this movement is not selfishness, but a love of justice and a desire to serve. The women who are contributing most to public life and who are furnishing new ideals of service, are the leaders of the movement for equal suffrage. Jane Addams, Florence Kelly, Katherine Bement Davis, Caroline Bartlett Crane, Clara Barton and Mrs. Raymond Robins, have declared that the power of the woman's vote is necessary to accomplish the results for which they are working. By this means, thousands of women that are now indifferent or ignorant of conditions will be brought into public work. The burdens of the days of our grandmothers have been lifted from the shoulders of modern women. They have a greater

margin of leisure. Many right minded women are not using their time wisely. There is ability, energy and enthusiasm going to waste. Much of this will be utilized for the benefit of the state. Having a share in the government does not take women from their homes. The women of Norway, of Finland, of Australia, of New Zealand and of the suffrage states in the United States are not leaving their homes. Australia has the highest birth rate, and in New Zealand is found the lowest rate of infant mortality. The women who vote are not less domestic, but have a broader vision. They are able to follow their children out into the world and make that a safer and a more beautiful place.

Loyalty of Women Toward Each Other.

In the difficult effort of getting the ballot, there has arisen, among women, a new understanding of and a lovalty toward all women. The northern women find that the women of the south are not very deeply interested in the doctrine of state rights, and that they care very little about the solidarity of the Democratic party, but that they do care that the southern states are lowest in the scale of education and in laws relating to women and children, so they are consecrating themselves to the task of improving such conditions. The women of America are learning that the women of Europe, also, have discarded the old ideal of physical, mental and moral dependence and have substituted the ideal of strength. No governmental method will change the underlying truth of human life that women care, first of all, for their families and their homes. The great silent majority are chiefly concerned in making their homes a safer, cleaner and more beautiful place and in giving their children opportunities for life and happiness. The women of America are asking the men of America to confer upon them this symbol of confidence and respect—the ballot—in order that they may use it to bring these things to pass.

CHIVALRY versus JUSTICE

Why the Women of the Nation Demand the Right to Vote

By GEORGE CREEL

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Chivalry versus Justice

THERE is no good quarrel with honest opposition to equal suffrage. Not only is the right to disagree guaranteed by the Constitution, but it is highly essential that every important political change should encounter antagonism in order to guard against hasty and ill-considered action.

The woman who has no need of the vote herself, and resists it as an added and unwelcome responsibility, may be selfish but she is frank. The man who holds that the opposite sex is not sufficiently intelligent to use the ballot wisely may be prejudiced but he is courageous. Men and women alike who feel that equal suffrage does not contain any effective remedy for admitted injustices and evils, may lack faith but they are sincere. Such as these are straightforward fighters who do not fear the open, and they are entitled to all the amenities of well-tempered debate.

There is neither frankness, courage nor sincerity, however, in those controversialists who deny that the American women is touched at any point by wrong, oppression or wretchedness, and whose implacable enmity to her enfranchisement is masked by glowing hyperboles that paint her as a peach-cheeked, rose-lipped queen buried to the dimpled chin in love and homage.

In America today there are about nine million women who work, many of them engaged in the pleasant professions and wholesome industries, to be sure, but the large majority engulfed in dismal and degrading drudgeries. In the face of this economic revolution that has leveled so many protective walls, how is it possible to grant good faith to the continued insistence that "woman's place is the home?"

The platitude, in effect, contends that these weary millions are not working from any real necessity, but possess homes in which they could remain did they but have the proper spirit and desire. According to its reasoning, the sea of bended backs is caused by nothing more vital than discontents and unrests.

Look where one will, women may be seen creeping across the icy floors of office buildings, night in, night out, scrubbing up the dirt of a man's day; toiling in mills and factories ten and twelve hours a day; plying swift needles in fire-traps; breathing the stifling air in steam laundries; making gewgaws in darksome tenements at an average wage of two cents an hour, or tearing fingers in the damp shucking sheds of the Gulf Coast States.

Does any one honestly believe that these driven souls are doing these things because they like it? Or that their presence in such employments is adequately explained by the assumption of "marital unrest," or "dissatisfaction with the humdrum of domestic life," or the "desire to obtain pinmoney for vanities?"

An equal measure of just resentment is aroused by the twin declaration that suffrage will entail "the disintegration of the American home." Here again there is the bland theory of vine-clad cottages and dense walls of fragrant honeysuckle behind which every right-thinking woman sits in security surrounded by her babes.

What of the squalid holes in the thirteen thousand licensed tenements, of New York City alone, where whole families and boarders often sleep, eat and work in a single room, toiling long, weary hours for incredible pittances? What of the old dog-houses, dilapidated carriage sheds and noisome barracks in which padrones herd the cannery workers of Delaware, Maryland, Louisiana and Mississippi? Or the ragged tents of miners on the bleak hillsides of the coal mining states? Or the sickening hovels of the coal and steel districts of Pennsylvania? Or the paperwalled shacks of the cotton mill towns where sleep waits on terrible exhaustion?

What greater "disintegration" can come to these "homes" where families rot in despair, and boys and girls grow to maturity stunted in mind and body?

There is no intent to cry down chivalry or desire to repress a single poetic impulse. It is well indeed that men should hold the mother sex in tender, reverent regard, and it is to be hoped that love will never lose its romance and idealism. It is asserted, however, that true chivalry must have justice as its firm foundation. The kind that ignores crying evils and patent

wrongs in favor of high-sounding periods is nothing more than veneered hypocrisy.

There can be no denial of the imperative nature of the equal suffrage issue. Eleven states and one territory have granted woman the ballot, and in all others it is the principal agitation and demand. Why, then, is it not a high duty to free the discussion of all falsities, smugnesses and obvious claptrap so that honest, sincere argument may have a clear field.

What is more fair, for instance, than the demand that men who grow maudlin in praise of the "American queen," must be prepared to show that, in their particular city and state, the women are treated fairly and decently? Or that those who insist that the "fair sex" does not need the vote be called upon to prove that the women in their sections are without grievance?

In plain words, let chivalry be arraigned and made to justify itself. Is it the thing of perfect honor and protective tenderness, deep-rooted in adequate laws, or only buncombe designed to cloak prejudice, sordid motives and evil privileges? There are many cases, the citation of which will not only make the point clear, but may also lead to a better understanding of the bitternesses and ugly resentments that are clouding and confusing the entire equal suffrage question.

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, for instance, bases his opposition upon the belief that the ballot will "mar the beauty and dim the luster of the glorious womanhood with which we have been familiar," and prefaces all of his attacks by the insistence that his "known reverence for good women" will prevent him from being understood.

The slightest inquiry into this beauty and luster, however, develops almost unspeakable conditions. In South Carolina women work sixty hours a week in the cotton mills, and there is no prohibition of night work for women or girls over 16. The father is the sole and despotic owner of the children, being able to deed them away from the mother if he wishes, and there are no laws that permit a wife to control her own earnings.

No matter how drunken, worthless or brutal a husband may become, divorce is practically impossible, and if the woman flees the roof that such conditions have made unbearable, the state regards her almost as a fugitive slave who may not be fed or sheltered.

South Carolina is one of the few commonwealths that still permit children of twelve to be worked ten hours a day (eleven hours may be worked in exceptional cases), and as if this did not give sufficient opportunity to the robbers of cradles, birth certificates are not required, and the entire appropriation for factory inspection is but three thousand, five hundred dollars a year.

It also stands almost alone in refusing to declare prostitution an outlaw industry, nor is the loathsome business of procuring frowned upon by an act of any kind. The one protection against lust is the Unwritten Law, which, says the state's foremost citizen, "is the best law to protect woman's virtue that I ever heard of."

Why bother about prevention when the guilty men may be "shot down like dogs?" There are, to be sure, many women without the necessary father or brother, but it is assumed that such as these would merely mention their needs to any chivalrous gentleman that happened to be passing. A simple matter, a trifling courtesy, since it has been loudly declared that the slayers would be acquitted "without the jury leaving the box."

Nor is this all that is done for the American queen in the "glorious state that smiles under the moral rays of God's blessed sunshine." Education is not permitted to unsettle her placid contemplation of the beauties of her special brand of chivalry, for all the efforts of the women have not been able to secure the passage of a compulsory school law. This, too, in defiance of statistics showing South Carolina to be the second most illiterate state in the Union, possessing two hundred and seventy-six thousand, nine hundred and eighty illiterates over ten.

Senator Martine of New Jersey is another statesman who seeks to establish a chivalric base for his open hostility to equal suffrage. These excerpts from a speech may serve as an example of his oratory:

"Personally, I am frank to say, with love and admiration for woman not surpassed by any man on God's footstool I believe it would not tend to enhance or advance the well-being of women, nor do I believe that it would accrue to the well-being of this loved land of ours. It makes me feel sad

when I hear this plea of women demanding their rights. I know of no country, and there is none, where woman has more of her rights than she has in free, democratic America."

There is no need of allusion to South Carolina; his own state will do as well. Every Autumn a bannerless army of women and children moves across

the cranberry bogs of New Jersey.

In California, by way of contrast, the voting women have forced laws that bear particularly upon seasonal employments, calling for housing inspection, decent sanitation, a proper working day, and the payment of wages in the presence of a commissioner in order that rascally contractors may be defeated. Senator Martine is challenged to show one single step that his state has made in the direction of such a wise protective measure.

In New Jersey, as in South Carolina, there is no state law against the

keeping of houses of prostitution.

Saddest thing and most savage of all, however, is the fact that in New Jersey, when Senator Martine made this speech, children born out of wedlock could not be legitimatized even though the parents are married afterward. A bill to lift this curse from the heads of innocents was passed only in 1915.

Mr. Lodge and Mr. Weeks, the senators from Massachusetts, are two others equally firm in the belief that woman has no need for the ballot owing to man's chivalrous willingness to grant her smallest wish. It took exactly forty years of begging for the mothers of Massachusetts to get a joint guardianship law, and even then it was secured only through the horrid compulsion of tragedy. A despairing wife, driven mad by the certainty that her worthless husband meant to scatter the six children in institutions and apprenticed employment, killed herself and the little ones. Then the legislators took action.

Massachusetts' boasted laws for the protection of working women are without teeth. Twenty-four inspectors are provided for five thousand manufacturing establishments, and although forty thousand of the toilers are

women and children, only four women have been made inspectors.

The state possesses a drastic eight-hour day for all men paid from the public treasury and all men employed by contractors doing work for the state, yet a nine-hour day is the best that the wage-earning woman has been able to win. Even this has a loophole that permits the women to be worked excessive hours, and does not apply to stenographers, or women in clerical work, chambermaids in hotels or domestic servants.

The penalty for violating the eight-hour law for men is a fine of one thousand dollars or six months' imprisonment or both, while the nine-hour law for women may be violated for one hundred dollars and no imprisonment.

Senator O'Gorman of New York is also one whose pinnacle of chivalry lifts him above the sordidness of facts. Almost at the very moment he declared against equal suffrage as unnecessary, a New York judge was fining a factory owner twenty dollars for locking in one hundred and fifty girls, the very act that caused the death of one hundred and forty-seven, one short year before.

It is also a fact that until 1915 the New York legislature had steadfastly refused the request of the women for a mothers' pension law, and that the shame of the tenement workers still rests as a blot on the commonwealth that loves to call itself the Empire state, while just recently one Supreme Court judge has decided that a wife has no right to whatever money she may have saved out of her household expenses, and another, that a husband is entitled to services and earnings of his wife.

Then there is Mr. Heflin, a member of Congress from Alabama. At a recent meeting in Birmingham, Mr. Isadore Shapiro challenged Heflin to point to the enactment of any piece of legislation, due to his efforts, that in any way tended toward the promotion of the welfare of Alabama's women, and

scourged him with these words:

"What has his flattery accomplished? Pretty phrases do not purchase meal tickets. Whitewash will not buy clothing. He boasts of our sun-kissed hills and fair-faced maidens, but what of the thousands of pale-faced toilers, both men and women, who are drudgingly eking out a one foot in the poorhouse existence in Alabama's mines and factories? What of the blushing illiteracy of Alabama's people? What has Heflin done to wipe out this blackness from the map of enlightenment? What of the weak-framed elves who sweat for a crumb a day in Alabama's cotton mills?"

Alabama possesses no joint guardianship law; has within its borders

three hundred and fifty-two thousand, seven hundred and ten illiterates over ten, and boasts of a so-called compulsory education law that requires only eight weeks of school attendance each year, of which only six weeks need be consecutive.

The elevation of property rights above human rights seems to be an inevitable accompaniment of the chivalry buncombe. Louisiana spends one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the protection of game birds and fish, yet the Gordon sisters, after years of effort, were only able to obtain an annual appropriation of nine hundred dollars for factory inspection. Mississippi—home of Senators Vardaman and Williams—can devote one hundred and sixty-two thousand dollars to replanting depleted oyster beds, but refused to provide one cent for inspection of the factories in which boys of twelve are permitted to labor.

Vice-President Marshall, who opposes equal suffrage on the ground that woman can have anything she wants—"God bless her"—resides in Indiana, a state that gives fifteen thousand dollars annually for better bees and fruits, but whose legislature voted down an appropriation of two thousand dollars

for better babies.

Congress, which rejected the request of the Commissioner of Education for three thousand dollars with which to investigate certain phases of child life, gave fifteen thousand dollars for the study of clam shells at the insistence of the pearl button makers. It is also the case that woman is discriminated against at every turn in the government service. Four women pass civil service examinations to three men; yet the appointments are at the ratio of two men to one woman. Men are also paid a much higher annual wage than women for identical work.

Sweeping as the assertion may seem, it is still easily demonstrable that practically every public man who insists that "lovely woman" does not need the ballot, hails from a state that persists in the outworn feudal attitude toward women. New Mexico, home of Senator Catron, names the father as sole guardian of the children, entitled to all their earnings during minority, and to all damages in event of death and disability. Between his declarations against the uselessness of equal suffrage, it is to be hoped that the Senator will find time to give his views on the following incident:

A deserted wife, armed only with the dauntless courage that flows from mother-love, took in washing, cooked, sewed, and successfully carried her brood to the point where the three boys could commence to help. The oldest, at the very outset of his wage-earning career, had both legs cut off

in a railroad accident.

The mother sued, and just when things looked bright for a verdict in her favor, the father appeared upon the scene and compromised the suit for three thousand dollars. The frantic woman killed herself; after a time the drunken father dynamited the house in which two of his sons were sleeping, and the remaining portion of the three thousand dollars came in quite handily as a defense fund.

Senator James A. Reed, an orator of the good old, histrionic type, and a formidable rival of Martine and Heffin in describing woman's beauty, charm and chastity, hails from Missouri, where the court records are full of verdicts based upon the same feudal denial of joint guardianship that ob-

tains in New Mexico and South Carolina.

In Maryland, the same legislature that refused to submit equal suffrage to the voters, lowered from twelve to ten the age at which children may work in the canneries. This action was taken over the protest of every woman in the state, and in the face of one of the most remarkable public meetings ever held in Baltimore.

The eight-hour law for working women is possessed by Colorado, California, Washington and Arizona; and Utah and Idaho, also equal suffrage states, have the nine-hour day. The best that Chivalry can show is the toothless nine-hour law in Massachusetts, won by the women after a twenty

years' battle.

Only in those commonwealths where Chivalry reigns is the mother regarded as a brood mare. All the equal suffrage states have joint guardianship laws, and all have statutes protecting the woman in her earnings and her property. Georgia, Florida, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Tennessee constitute the father the sole guardian of the children, and allow him to will them away from the mother if he so desires.

It is in the equal suffrage states that the most decisive victories are

being won in the campaign against Commercialized Vice and the ancient, horrible theory of "necessary evil." California, Washington, Utah, Kansas and Oregon have adopted the effective injunction and abatement law.

The two Carolinas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico and

New Jersey have no state law against disorderly houses.

Every equal suffrage state has an effective child labor law backed up by efficient inspection. It remains for Chivalry to rest material prosperity upon the backs of the little ones. Alabama, South Carolina, New Mexico and Mississippi permit children of twelve to work long hours for small wages, and in many another state, lack of factory inspection nullifies a seemingly good statute.

Colorado, Washington, Oregon, Utah, California and Kansas have enacted minimum wage legislation for women, while only four of the non-suffrage

states have done as much.

"Mothers' Pensions" is an admittedly admirable plan for taking poverty-stricken motherhood out of the list of crimes, for it continues the home in its natural relation, and does not rob the widow of incentive or children of love. Eleven of the equal suffrage states possess this law—Lilinois, Colorado, California, Idaho, Utah, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Kansas and Wyoming. In Arizona the law, adopted by the people at the polls, has been declared unconstitutional.

In such densely populated states as Connecticut and Indiana, the legislatures voted down "Mothers' Pensions," and in less than half of the thirty-

six non-suffrage states does the plan obtain.

It is in the vital matter of education, however, that there is opportunity for the most effective comparison between Chivalry and Justice. The eleven most illiterate states in the Union are Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky and West Virginia.

Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas are without compulsory education laws, and those of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana and Virginia are practically worthless. Alabama, for instance, demands eight weeks of school attendance in the year, only six of which need be consecutive.

There is no equal suffrage state without a compulsory education law. In seven, the percentage of illiteracy over ten is less than one per cent. and

in three from one to three per cent.

So runs the record in the great case of Chivalry vs. Justice. It is not meant, nor should it be inferred, that in this showing there is any indictment of the Amercan man on the charge of premeditated cruelty or even cold-blooded selfishness. More than the men of any other country in the world, those of the United States hold women dearest and highest, and are the most generous in every attitude of their relation to the mother sex. The equal suffragist who attacks them as a whole is guilty of injustice as well as unwisdom.

As a matter of fact, the trouble flows from a very understandable exaggeration of the protective impulse. The average man does not want women to do things for herself because of his intense willingness to do them for her, and out of this recognition of his own honest intent he feels that the demand for equal suffrage is in the nature of unjust criticism.

The sudden substitution of an industrial civilizaton for one largely agricultural, the concentration of the population in cities, the enforced influx of women and children into the world of work—these are changes that have taken place since the Civil War, and the vastness of them is still a matter of statistics rather than personal knowledge. The average man not only fails to grasp the new needs of the nine million women who are working, but he fails to grasp the fact that nine million women are working.

The home itself has undergone changes that still defy his comprehension. What were once personal matters are now communal matters. Granted that woman's place is the home, how can she look after the interests of that home and her children without the vote? It is at the polls that the questions are decided that affect education, morals, health and the social justice that, after all, is only motherhood on a large scale.

A huge percentage of feminine opposition to equal suffrage is based upon this selfsame lack of comprehension. No better illustration can be

had than the following speech made at an anti-suffrage club:

"We shall meet yelling with music, and parading with high-class entertainments. We mean to make this a place where may be found the fine

and beautiful, the things that suffragists are crowding out of life. We shall have exquisite music on the harp and stringed instruments. We shall have delicate French comedies and speakers of lofty ideas. Life is not all politics, you know. There are more important things to do than to clean streets and collect garbage. It does a woman more good to hear a nice harp concert than to listen to a discussion of white slavery. If women would pay more attention to the fine and noble things of life, the evil things would cease to exist."

Abolish slums with selections from Keats! Bring the eight-hour day with lectures on Etruscan pottery! Handel's "Largo" for mill women, factory drudges, stogy makers and scrubbers! When a factory catches on fire and all the doors are locked, a verse from Browning! If word comes that the wine-room and the cadet have snatched a daughter, make no outery against Commercialized Vice, but buy a harp! Should pestilential fevers strike down loved ones, do not complain about garbage or an infected water supply, but read a French comedy!

Such a person simply does not understand, that is all! Surely, though, for the facts stand so grim and plain, there will come a day when the loved and sheltered women will soften with comprehension of the despairs and injustices that burden their less fortunate sisters, and cease an opposition

that is at once so selfish and so cruel.

Honest men, too, coming to realize the changed environment of the home, and their inability to legislate wisely and protectively for the nine million women in industry, will surrender an antagonism that perpetuates unhappiness and gross inequalities. It is not with such as these, however—the honest ignorant—that the real struggle comes. More accurately than any other, Chief Justice Walter Clarke of North Carolina has segregated the deep, underlying causes of the bitter resistance to equal suffrage in these words:

"Women bear the burdens of bad government even more than men. Had they possessed the right of suffrage, the liquor traffic and cognate evils would long since have been abolished by law and the law enforced. With the aid of women's votes, we should have had a better educational system, laws against child labor, better sanitation and other enactments for the betterment of the conditions of the home and the more helpless part of society. It is certain that the main force which has opposed the adoption of equal suffrage has come from the whisky trust, the vice trust and the political machines."

It is the only possible explanation of the malignant and lavish expenditure that marks the fight against the spread of equal suffrage. Where does the money come from to pay for the costly literature with which the country is deluged? Why are the offensive pamphlets almost invariably anonymous?

It is inconceivable that decent men and women, even though bitterly prejudiced, would brand the leaders of the equal suffrage movement as 'masculine creatures" and "mistakes of Nature?" Or circulate the charge

that equal suffrage means free love and the abolition of marriage?

Think of the women smeared with these vile accusations! Mrs. Florence Kelley, that splendid champion of the woman and child wage-earner, Jane Addams of Hull House, Mrs. Raymond Robins of the National Women's Trades Union League, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the famous educator, Julia Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau, Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, Commissioner of Correction of New York City, Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson, motive power behind so many of California's humane laws, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado, the Gordon sisters who brought factory reform to Louisiana-these and every other woman doing the big and tender things in the United States today, are leaders in the equal suffrage movement!

The issue is clean cut. Here are nine million women, forced out of their homes into industry, and asking for a voice in the establishment of conditions under whch they work; a host of others who, through spinsterhood or widowhood, are the heads of families: thousands within homes who feel that those homes cannot be safeguarded without the vote, and, most selendid of all, a growing group of world mothers who are fighting to remove the ancient stones that block the upward climb to equal justice—one and all asking

for simple justice and fair play.

of Results

Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success

By THADDEUS P. THOMAS, Ph. D.

I address especially those who doubt the value of woman suffrage. I promise to deal honestly with you, falsifying nothing and exaggerating nothing. And I appeal to you to deal honestly with yourselves and unload prejudice from your scales before you weigh the evidence. Custom silently loads all our scales with prejudice and decides nine-tenths of our beliefs. I asked a Maryland girl twelve years old if women should vote, and she was shocked and said, "No! It is not woman's place to vote. I have never seen any women voting." She thought that was her own opinion, but it was only an echo of an echo, for she was imitating Mrs. Grundy; and Mrs. Grundy was following a bad custom. I asked a Goucher College graduate who lives in Wyoming (where they have had the good custom of equal suffrage for forty-six years), if she was not shocked when she saw her father and mother going to the polls together, and she replied that it seemed just as natural as to see them going to church together. She was shocked when she came to Maryland and found that in this state woman's opinions are not considered worth counting. And that is the whole question in a nutshell. Shall we count the opinions of women in regard to the laws which affect their pocketbooks, their health, their homes and their children? Custom says, "No! Praise them like angels and disfranchise them like idiots." Women as well as men are prisoners of prejudice. This is no contest of women against tyrannical men. The average man is not tyrannical, he is only prejudiced. This is a contest of the women and men who are ruled by reason against the women and men who are ruled by custom.

I want to place this discussion on a basis of facts and facts only. For many years I have been collecting evidence on both sides from the states, colonies, provinces, or nations where they have woman suffrage. I have talked repeatedly with men and women from those states and have questioned students who have been born and reared in equal suffrage homes. I have tried to reach sane and just conclusions. It is my opinion that equal suffrage has disappointed two classes of people. The first are those ultra-enthusiastic suffragists who expected it to bring in the millenium. It has not caused any overwhelming moral revolution, but has aided moral evolution in a number of quiet but effective ways. Here is a fair-minded testimonial from a trustworthy man, a personal friend of mine, Dr. Calvin Brown, who was formerly Professor of English in the University of Colorado:—

"As to woman suffrage in Colorado, I am pleased with its results in every way, and have been ever since my residence here several years ago. The in-

fluence of the woman's vote is good for politics and it is good for the woman herself. Of course, as you well know, Colorado has not been converted into a Paradise. It would be idle to expect great, sudden changes of a spectacular nature. Still it is good."

The second class who are disappointed by the practical workings of woman suffrage are the anti-suffragists. It has left their position pitiably weak. It has ruined their favorite arguments, which are made up of prophecies in the potential mood telling the evils which would be produced if woman suffrage should be adopted somewhere in the world. You can't talk with an anti-suffragist three minutes without hearing this phrase: "Woman suffrage would do so and so." I propose to tell you what it has done. I shall use the present perfect tense of the indicative mood, and base my arguments on historical facts. In one state there is one fact which half-way favors the anti-suffragists. Equal suffrage has been only half-way successful in conquering political corruption in Colorado, where conditions are exceptional. But the majority of the women there have shown themselves more willing than the majority of the men to abolish corruption, and have certainly diminished it, especially by checking those forms of graft which injure children and the home. This will be proved later. Counting this beneficial influence on politics as only half of a benefit, it can truly be said that woman suffrage has resulted in at least sixteen and a half benefits in the equal suffrage states, including Colorado. Let us first consider the least tangible benefits.

(1) Equal suffrage has benefited the cause of justice by abolishing taxation without representation.

(2) It has benefited democracy by abolishing an aristocracy of sex. In the eastern states the government is a government of half the people by half the people, and too often for half the people. It violates the fundamental principle of democracy, which is this: What concerns all should be decided by all who have sense enough to decide.

(3) It has increased woman's self-respect by removing her from the class composed of children, idiots, lunatics, and criminals. Children are disfranchised because they have not yet acquired sense, idiots because they can never acquire sense, lunatics because they have lost what sense they had acquired, criminals because they put their sense to a bad use, and women-why? Echo answers-"Why?" It is not because they lack sense. I have taught both men and women in colleges and have had ample opportunities to compare their abilities, and I assure you that the man who thinks that woman's brain is inferior has a weak spot in his own. There is no reason for disfranchising women except custom. Custom says: "You are too pure and exalted and ethereal to drop a piece of paper in a glass box." And many a woman replies: "I am content. If you will flatter us like goddesses you may ignore us like lunatics." But there is one blessed consolation about people who volunteer to be lunatics-they are capable of recovering their reason with surprising suddenness. They are dong just that thing at the present time. They are being converted to woman suffrage by thousands.

(4) It has improved the mind of woman by broadening her environment, stimulating her intellect and training her judgment. The minds of

men and women differ only slightly by nature. Their chief differences are due to training. The training of men, for instance, tends to make the average man conceited, and the training of women tends to make the average woman narrow-minded. I don't want to be misunderstood: I said the average man and the average woman; I am talking about majorities, not minorities. The training of boys tends to develop conceit. It shows itself at the Jack Horner stage of life:

"He stuck in his thumb And he pulled out a plum And he said, 'What a great boy am I!'"

The name of the plum is consciousness of future sovereignty. The growing boy learns that he belongs to the sovereign sex and that his mother and sisters belong to the subject sex, and while it does not diminish his love for them it does diminish his respect. He realizes that he is to be a civic unit while they will remain civic ciphers. He says to himself, in effect: "Mama is good but inexperienced. She knows practically nothing of the broad, real life that is found outside of the home, except what papa tells her. She knows enough to train my sisters but not enough to train me." In that hour the theory that "the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world" gives place in his mind to the theory that the hand that casts the ballot is the hand that rules the world. The young lord and master smiles complacently at the thought. It fosters his conceit and his domineering tendencies. It makes life harder for his sisters. As he grows to manhood he learns to render lip-homage to what he calls the "superior sex" in order to console them for occupying a really inferior position. He says he places women on a pedestal, but he himself does not wish to occupy the pedestal along with those who are political know-nothings and do-nothings. He modestly prefers freedom, power, intellectual stimulus, and a chance to train his judgment by deciding questions too large for his wife to grapple with. The average man loves his wife and makes her his companion, but not his comrade. He regards her as the eldest child in his family. He may be kind to her, but kindness is no substitute for justice. How I wish that men could realize the moral grandeur of a life where men and women are equal partners in the family and in the state! If men were not blinded by prejudice they would see that domination is morally bad even for the dominant sex.

And it is bad for the subject sex, for it tends to keep them narrow-minded. Development is conditioned by environment. Restrict women to child-like experiences and they will have child-like minds. Contract their mental horizon and they will learn to think that small things are great and great things small. The new city charter, the national income tax and international arbitration will seem trifling compared with fancy work, the latest novel, bridge whist, and spring bonnets. One man has confessed frankly that, while he loves his wife, most women bore him with the petty personalities of their conversation and their exaggeration of the importance of dress. But a wise American woman, referring to feminine follies, asks: "Who dares blame us for the childish curiosity which keeps us all a-shiver and a-shake along with a mob of other women

that we may see a few yards of tulle whisked from church-door to carriage-steps? Who dares blame us if we are ever ready to run down a bit of gossip or chase after a startling costume? Critics say it is woman's way. I say in all fairness that it is because of our limited opportunities for development."

Here is a bit of evidence from a student in Goucher College who has lived in Colorado since she was six years old. It shows the broadening influence of suffrage:—

"There was a contrast between two afternoon teas which I attended at the ages of fifteen and sixteen respectively. When I was fifteen I spent a few months in Ohio with relatives, and while there attended the afore-mentioned tea. Being of an exceedingly impressionable age, the conversation of the afternoon thoroughly disgusted me, as it was one continual chatter about fashions, functions and foolishness, spiced with the usual gossip. It was a gathering of the best women in the town. The other tea which I attended about six months later in Colorado was similar to the former as far as external circumstances went. I was still of an impressionable age, and it was at this time that my first fervent zeal for equal suffrage was noticeably felt. It is true that the conversation glided around and touched the fringes of the usual Ladies' Aid gossiping-bee, but the main drift was so very far above the trend of the other tea that it was an eye-opener in itself. Women do not gossip if they have bigger things to think about, and in the most natural way the conversation turned from a threatened discussion of Mrs. Jones' latest summer boarder to an interesting review of current events and matters of national concern, and I was proud of the women of Colorado."

It was said of a certain woman in an eastern state that she was nice but limited. She was bounded on the north by her servants, on the east by her children, on the south by her ailments and on the west by her wardrobe. That cannot be said of the enfranchised woman. Her husband is pleased at having a broad-minded wife, and her sons respect her as they never could have respected a political nobody. One splendid result of equal suffrage is that it checks that mental alienation which otherwise develops between mothers and their boys. Another is the new comradeship that springs up between husband and wife when the husband ceases to be an omniscient political oracle and the wife ceases to be a Dora Copperfield. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell says there has been a change in the men of the equal suffrage states, which reminds one suffragist of the remark of an English scrub-woman: "My man's that good to me he's more like a friend than a husband."

(5) It has improved the character of woman by developing justice, tolerance, the co-operative virtues and socialization. These things can be learned only by practice in a community of one's equals. They cannot be learned in the home because it is too small. The home is the dearest spot on earth, and its work is of fundamental importance; but it cannot socialize us. The average man has a better chance for socialization than the average woman because he is an active member of that great educational institution called the state, where each learns such lessons as he is capable of learning. Woman cannot learn these lessons in the home. The lessons learned there are holy lessons and make her sympathies deep and personal. But her sympathies need also to be broad and social. It is said that "women would long ago have worn off their eye-lids looking up to men if they had not restored the balance somewhat by looking down to their children." But what most women lack is the opportunity to look out

on their equals and to learn to supplement the domestic virtues by the civic virtues which come only to those who have learned how to co-operate with others in a large common cause. It is true that thousands of exceptional women become highly socialized without the ballot, but in all I say I am speaking of the average woman, not the exceptional one.

Woman's intellectual capacity equals man's; and her moral capacity, on account of the instincts of motherhood, service and sacrifice, is superior; but her opportunity for developing these capacities is inferior, and the result is a restricted development. What makes me indignant is the harsh injustice of sneering at the average woman's unsocialized views and then refusing her opportunity for socialization. Some men have declared that woman is unfit for the ballot because she is so unjust and intensely personal. These men forget that practice in deciding broad, impersonal questions develops justice. They forget that the way to learn to do things is to do them. They argue in this circle: "Her unfitness for the ballot necessitates her continuance in a narrow environment, which necessitates the continuance of her unfitness, which necessitates her continuance in a narrow environment." Here is another circle just like the first one: "Woman's inability to play golf when she has never been on the links necessitates her absence from the links, which necessitates continued inability, which necessitates continued absence." It reminds me of the negro who was asked why he didn't seek religion. He said: "Boss, I ain't fit." "Well, why don't you get fit?" His reply was, "Ah, boss, I ain't fit to get fit." Woman's condition is low indeed if she is not fit to get fit for the ballot. The facts in equal suffrage states refute the accusation.

I have dwelt longer on these subjective benefits than I shall dwell on any of the others because the subjective benefits by themselves are enough to win the case for equal suffrage. But, by way of good measure, I shall mention its objective benefits also.

(6) It has increased civic patriotism, because children are taught by mothers and teachers who have developed civic conscience. It is said that one cause of our lack of civic patriotism is the excess of women teachers in the schools. The remedy is not to dismiss the teachers but to change their idiotic political classification.

(7) It has benefited the home by giving the home-maker equal power with the bread-winner to elect the law-makers whose laws affect the home as well as business. Men have used the ballot to advance their business interests, women to protect the home. The women of the equal suffrage states have protected the health of the home by improved civic house-keeping, for which they have great aptitude. Some women are frightened at the word politics, but municipal politics is largely municipal house-keeping, and men are notoriously bad house-keepers, with an appalling indifference to dirt. Women, when once aroused, take a deep interest in such things as street-cleaning, garbage-removal, and sanitation. Bad sanitation means dead children. In our cemeteries there are thousands of graves of children slain by preventable diseases, and each little tombstone is a mute argument for giving the ballot to women, the natural defenders of childhood.

(8) It has benefited public forms of charity and philanthrophy whose interests politicians of the eastern states have subordinated to business interests because business men have ballots. In the equal suffrage states the women have made proper provision for those who, suffering from man's neglect, had become mistreated inmates of charitable institutions.

(9) It has improved the laws for the protection of children, because it has given mothers and teachers power in addition to influence. In the eastern states the child-labor laws and other laws for the protection of children are not so well enforced as in the equal suffrage states. This is because enfranchised women have the power to punish those who disregard the law. Let me ask you never to make the statement that influence is worth more than power. It is not only contrary to the facts but indicates careless thinking. The privilege of trying to persuade a politician is never worth as much as the power to command him.

(10) It has checked the growth of gambling and saloons, without abolishing either. I make no claim that law can by itself conquer immorality. It takes two things to do that—law and personal education. Either alone is only partly successful. What I do claim is that equal suffrage helps to check the spread of vice, though some eastern newspapers fail to record the fact. For instance, the Boston Post published an interview with a distinguished citizen of Denver who said equal suffrage had ruined Denver. This distinguished citizen was a prize-fighter and murderer whose gambling establishment had been closed by woman suffrage, which he therefore pronounced a failure. It all depends on the point of view. The saloon power has also been checked. In parts of the United States where conditions are specially unfavorable to local option the dry area has greatly increased on account of the votes of women.

(11) It has protected girls by checking the white slave traffic and raising the age of consent. It seems to me that the most infamous thing on this earth is an organization which exists for the purpose of capturing girls against their will and imprisoning them for life in houses of ill-fame. Listen to this strong appeal of a New York minister:—

"Why do not New York mothers arouse to the horrible seriousness of the crisis? They have an indefinite idea of what is going on; why do they not get a definite idea? I once said to a lady in this city: 'Why do you not study into the case and do something?' She commenced studying into the case, but gave it up after a little, saying: 'It is too horrible, I can't.' If the situation is a little too horrible to study into, isn't it a good deal too horrible for young souls to wade into and rot in? Mothers, why not move in the matter, and find out just what the perils are? Why not associate yourselves with other mothers, whose children are hanging between heaven and the pit, and come to the front and fling your concerted challenge to the official vultures that are growing fat on the bodies and souls of the boys and girls that have just as much natural right to be found at last in the company of the redeemed as you have?"

This is a noble appeal, but it sounds very much like asking a woman to help you when her right hand is tied behind her back. The right hand represents power, the left hand represents influence. The women of New York have only one, the women of Denver both. So the women of Denver give power to such men as Judge Lindsey, who, when he learned that a branch of this infamous organization had been established in Denver, pronounced upon some of its members the heaviest penalties of

the law, while the rest fled from Denver or went into hiding. Again, in suffrage states the age of consent is high, not less than eighteen years, and the testimony is that male offenders are landed in jail. How true is that saying of Frances Willard: "We need the mother heart in legislation."

(12) It has benefited working-women. One great curse of our civilization is the exploitation of their lives. In ancient Greece it was found profitable to work the quarry slaves to death quickly, for the supply was abundant. The same method is used unconsciously by many American employers, whose high-speed machinery, combined with long hours of labor, is sapping the vitality of working girls and women and sending them in ever increasing numbers to the brothel or the graveyard. But in all of the woman suffrage states there are special laws for the protection of women workers, and the laws are enforced.

(13) It has benefited the legal condition of mothers by giving both parents equal guardianship over their children. "It took fifty-five years to secure equal guardianship in Massachusetts, but the power of the ballot secured it in Colorado at the next meeting of the legislature after woman suffrage was granted."

(14) It has benefited education in various ways, particularly by the vigorous enforcement of compulsory education laws and the provision of enough seats for all pupils.

(15) It has benefited the quality of the electorate by decreasing the proportion of ignorant, criminal and vicious voters. Illiterate foreign immigrants are chiefly men; and, moreover, the girls and women of America are being educated more abundantly than the boys and men. Equal suffrage has decreased the proportion of criminal and vicious voters because women constitute about one-nineteenth of the convicts and two-thirds of the church members.

(16) It has benefited the quality of officials because women vote more independently than men and put moral considerations above all others. Everywhere in the equal suffrage states from Washington to New Zealand the politicians are afraid to nominate men of bad character for fear of the votes of the women.

We now reach benefit number sixteen and a half. It has half way purified politics, especially in those departments which affect children and the home. This is strikingly illustrated by the re-election of Judge Lindsey because he was a protector of the children. He angered the telegraph companies by refusing to let little messenger boys be sent with telegrams to houses of ill-fame, he angered the liquor interests by punishing the keepers of wine-rooms who allowed children to enter, he angered some influential Democrats and Republicans by putting them in jail; and the bosses of both parties refused to re-nominate him. But he was nominated on an independent ticket, and the women rallied to his support with amazing earnestness, and, with the aid of the good men of Denver, they triumphantly re-elected him. Rely on it that women will invariably defend children if you give them the power to do so. They may not be able to purify politics completely, but they will quickly sweep out of power those corrupt politicians who make money by selling the bodies and souls of children.

Woman suffrage has crippled several persistent enemies of the children. And this brings us to the most convincing argument of all. It is based on a famous dictum of Napoleon: "Find out what your enemy wants you to do and don't do it." What do the corrupt politicians, the gamblers, the keepers of immoral resorts and the saloon-keepers want you to do about Woman Suffrage? They want you to oppose it. In the equal suffrage states they are unanimous in cursing it. They desire that it shall never be victorious in another state. The enemies of the home say, "Down with woman suffrage!" What do you say? There's no doubt as to where the gamblers, libertines and liquor-sellers stand. Where do you stand-with them or against them? Those who think equal suffrage hurts the home are morally cross-eyed. A cross-eyed man once collided with another man on the street and became angry and said, "Why don't you look where you are going?" The other man smiled and said, "Why don't you go where you are looking?" The anti-suffragist is looking towards the protection of the home, but is not stepping that way. He is going in the direction which pleases the enemies of the home. O you mistaken anti-suffragists, why can't you see that woman suffrage does not mean the destruction of the home but the expansion of the home idea, so as to make our larger home, the community, more home-like, cleaner, healthier, a safer and more virtuous place in which to rear boys and girls! The fierce antagonism of the enemies of the home to woman suffrage ought to convince you of its solid benefits.

Now, finally, if you are convinced, let me urge you to speak your convictions. Defenceless children and mistreated women are calling to you to champion their cause. Whoever sees that a cause is just and is afraid to say so proves in that hour a traitor to conscience and humanity and sinks to the level of a slave.

"They are slaves who fear to speak For the fallen and the weak. They are slaves who dare not choose Hatred, scoffing and abuse Rather than in silence shrink From the truth they needs must think. They are slaves who dare not be In the right with two or three!"

But it is no longer a question of two or three, for already several million women have the right of suffrage and millions more are rapidly approaching enfranchisement. It is not in your power to stop this world-wide movement, it is only in your power to decide whether you will join the procession now or postpone acting till it is disgracefully late, and come creeping along at the rear after every wise, brave, progressive person has passed ahead of you. Why not break the bonds of custom today and become a leader instead of a laggard in the cause of truth and justice?

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me Ro citerature

Why Not?



New York State Woman Suffrage Party

303 Fifth Avenue



New York City

In the United States all men are allowed to vote.

WHY NOT women?

Women own property and are taxed the same as men are.

WHY NOT let them have representation?

Women make the home. They care more about it than men do because it is their business.

WHY NOT let them have something to say about laws which protect the home?

Women take care of the children. They are held responsible for their welfare.

WHY NOT let them have something to say about the laws which govern the food, clothing, schools and playgrounds for children? These things are largely questions of voting.

Over two million children are at work in mills, shops and factories.

WHY NOT let women have a vote about this?

THE HOME is the foundation of the nation.

WHY NOT give it better representation by letting the mothers vote as well as the fathers?

Many men have no home to represent, and care little about the needs of the home; yet these men all vote.

WHY NOT let women whose business is the home also have a vote?

Every woman hasn't a man to represent her.

WHY NOT let her represent herself?

There are more men than women in New York State; yet there are 1,086,000 women over 21 years of age who are unmarried or widowed.

WHY NOT let them have representation?

Many women have to go out to work in order to have any kind of a home.

WHY NOT let them vote, too?

They knit and sew, wash and iron and preserve, in factories.

WHY NOT let them vote as men do about their hours of work, their protection from fire, and decent sanitary conditions?

Over half a million men of New York State in 1915 voted their convictions that women know enough to vote.

Do your men think you do?

If not, why not?

Ask them—if you dare to!

Perhaps you don't care much about voting yourself.

Is that any reason to keep it from others who do care a great deal?

THEN, THINK IT OVER!!

There will be another vote taken on woman suffrage November 6, 1917.

Get your men to vote YES.

DO YOU USE A SEWING MACHINE



THE WOMAN WHO HAS "NO TIME TO LEARN"



THE WOMAN WHO LEARNS

Grandmother:

"I prefer a needle and thread. It takes too much time to wind a shuttle and then put a thread through six holes instead of one. Besides, my mother never used one, and she was so quiet and womanly.

"No, I am not interested in Votes for Women. I have no time to vote. The streets are so dirty and food is so high that I have no time for anything but my house-keeping."

Young Woman:

"But with this sewing machine I can make six dresses while you are making one, and when I and the other women can vote, housekeeping will be easier.

"It takes less time to vote for clean streets than to dust so often, and the government will do more to regulate the high cost of living when housekeepers are voters."

Votes for Women is a modern labor-saving machine for the home as much as the sewing machine is.

It pays to use a sewing machine.

It pays to get the vote in order to lighten your work.

Do you believe in using a sewing machine? Then of course you believe in women's voting.

Work for the Success of Woman Suffrage

Ask Your Men to Vote for Woman Suffrage

November 6th

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York, N. Y.

Printed by N. W. S. Pub. Co., Inc.

Do Any of These Men Count With YOU

President Wilson said Aug. 30, 1917:

"I hope that the voters of the State of New York will rally to the support of woman suffrage by a handsome majority. It would be a splendid vindication of the principle of the cause in which we all believe."

Colonel Roosevelt said Sept. 8, 1917:

"I do not ask the ballot for woman as a favor; I say that it should be given to her as a right. To deny the mother the vote seems to me so preposterous that our descendants will fail to understand how we could call ourselves self-governing and democratic."

Governor Whitman said Aug. 29, 1917:

"Even if it were not the right of woman, even if every phase of our economic and industrial life did not call for the giving to her of the right to vote, I should still say that it is our highest duty to bestow on her the suffrage—that we may add to the conscience of the vote at a time when democracy is fighting for its life."

The New York State Grange, report of W. N. Giles, Secretary, Feb., 1917:

"The right of women to vote is conceded by our Order; it being thus conceded, it is our duty, at all seasonable times and places, to secure that right in its fullest sense; it has always been a fundamental doctrine of the Grange, and we cannot consistently, with our past record, be indifferent or opposed to it."

FORTY-EIGHT OUT OF FIFTY-SEVEN MAYORS IN NEW YORK STATE ARE IN FAVOR OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Mayor Mitchel said on Aug. 29, 1917:

"You have convinced the people of the State that the womanhood of New York, practically as a whole, sincerely desires the vote. You have demonstrated that women, equally with men, rise to the great emergencies of life and can be trusted to exercise sound and balanced judgment upon public questions. I predict your victory by a substantial majority of the votes of the electors of the State."

The New York State Federation of Labor passed the following Resolution, Aug. 29, 1917:

The fifty-fourth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, in session here, unanimously recommends to all wage-earning voters of the State to vote and work for the adoption of the Woman Suffrage amendment at the coming election.

One Hundred and Four Other Important Organizations, National and State, Have Endorsed Woman Suffrage

See What Other States and Countries Have Done for Woman Suffrage Since the War Began.

UNITED STATES—Since January seven new states have given presidential suffrage to women: Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island and Arkansas. The women of nine-teen states can now vote for the next President.

CANADA—Five great provinces, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Ontario, have adopted Woman Suffrage.

women has passed its third reading in the House of Commons by a vote of 385 to 56. It is promised that there will not be another general election without the votes of women.

FRANCE—A bill is now before the Chamber of Deputies and has the support of the French Government to give the municipal vote to women.

RUSSIA—In Russia men and women are voting together.

<u>DENMARK</u>—Surrounded by war on all sides, Denmark in 1915, gave the full vote to women.

ITALY—A Municipal Suffrage bill is now before the Chamber of Deputies and has the support of the Prime Minister.

Vote Yes [X] on Woman Suffrage Nov. 6th.

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
303 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y.

Printed by N. W. S. Pub. Co., Inc.

It's Your Responsibility!



I realized that laws relating to prostitution discriminated against women and that men who were equal sharers in vice were not held equally responsible. I saw women sentenced to terms in prison for offenses far less serious than those for which men were discharged, or sent for six months to the workhouse. I realized that it was unfair to arrest and sentence women who were often victims of vice, when usually the men who were the real exploiters of vice went free.

In developing a more rational method of dealing with women offenders, women need to have direct and not merely indirect influence.

Over 75 per cent. of women arrested for offenses relating to prostitution in New York City are still sent to cells in the workhouse on Blackweil's Island.

There is absolutely no institution in New York State in which to care for the delinquent girls who are mentally deficient. Women recognize the need of changes in this system and yet have no power other than by indirect influence in securing legal provision for necessary changes and appropriations of city and state funds to provide for them. Yet women, through the payment of large taxes, help to create the funds from which such appropriations should be drawn.

Women need the power of the vote to secure the necessary moral safeguards for girls and women. We have come to see, during the last few years, that society is responsible for much of the moral wreckage because it has failed to protect and safeguard its youth. We must insure greater protection to wage-earning women and less exploitation through industry, better public provision for wholesome recreation and more adequate supervision of it, custodial care for the vast number of feeble-minded girls in order to prevent them from becoming delinquent and adding to the great burden of feeblemindedness.

To accomplish any of these measures or even to carry forward the necessary educational work which will ultimately result in greater moral protection, there is need of the combined work of men and women.

The consciences of women have been aroused to the necessity of lessening the evil of prostitution and securing more adequate moral protection for girls and women.

Because we will be able to do this more effectively with a voice in legislation and law enforcement, I am firmly convinced that it is only just that women, whether or not they welcome or object to the suffrage, should bear the burden of responsibility which comes through the power of the vote.

MAUDE MINER, Sec'y, N. Y. Probation & Protective Ass'n.

Reprinted from "The Evening Sun."

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

303 Fifth Avenue



New York City

DOORS AND WINDOWS

BY CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH

tional Government, which protected well those who were within its citadel. It was built by all the people, the sheltered ones within and the unsheltered close at hand.

The great front doors were the constitution and the federal laws presided over by congress, which devised the keys for opening these doors. These keys were called constitutional amendments and United States stat-

Tickets of admission through these great front doors into all the privileges and rights of the inner circle had been for many years granted to all white males of certain age and condition.

Men of foreign birth desiring admission were not immediately welcomed but were put on a five years' probation before the United States statute key would be turned. Then after the legal formalities, their final naturalization papers were their admission tickets into the great citadel and also into the splendid forty-eight rooms labelled Wyoming, New York, Maine, Texas etc.

Indian men who desired similar privileges needed a different sort of national key to unlock the front door which barred them from entrance. congress made a "renouncingtribal-relations" key, whereby every Indian who foreswore allegiance to his own tribe could become a "United States" citizen in the technical legal sense. To be sure, in a real and practical way all Indians were native-born citizens, even of a thousand or more years' residence. They were really more native born than most of the other inhabitants who had been on the continent only 200 or 300 years. But legally an Indian only became a United States citizen, entitled to enter the great front doors after congress had prescribed the legal method and he had complied with the conditions.

NCE upon a time there was a | ern people who voluntarily left the great fortress called Our Na- protection of this citadel over fifty years ago for that of another citadel labelled Southern Confederacy. When that failed them, congress made spe cial keys called "reconstruction acts," coaxed them to return home, assuring them that they would always find the latchstring out. So they, too, entered through the front door and enjoyed all the privileges granted the most favored residents of the forty-eight rooms.

> About this time it was discovered that there were millions of black people living and working near the citadel, ignorant, poverty stricken, resourceless and inefficient. It could not be said that they knocked at the front door. They scarcely knew enough. But the benevolent congress seeing how much they needed every powerful protection made keys called the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments which could also unlock the doors into every one of the forty-eight rooms. So entered the negro men through the wide-flung doors of the great front entrance.

There was a small group of other men who had been expelled and put into prisons because they broke the rules of the citadel. They were criminals. They wanted to return. the great ruler from within gave some of them a special key called "executive pardon." Such former criminals bearing this evidence of presidential clemency found also a safe entrance through the great front doors into full citizenship.

Then came a band of fresh-faced youth, the romping youngsters of yesterday, now grown 21, and the big doors, wide open, welcomed them to every privilege of their fathers They renounced nothing, they foreswore nothing, they were forgiven nothing. The glorious key of 21 years opened every door.

So the foreigners, the Indians, the confederates, the negroes, the par-There were great numbers of south- doned criminals and the boys of 21 lordly manner through the great front tack them. doors of our national citadel and today | The women answered back that they are enjoying all the rights, privileges had helped construct the citadel itand immunities of every one of the self, and even were part of the outforty-eight rooms. The moment any side bulwarks protecting the great one of these classes becomes a United fortress. Such protection as women States citizen of 21 years of age he received they deserved and more then by the rules of all the forty. Though they had sought shelter near eight rooms can demand every priv- the walls, they were not protected as ilege and right of a citizen.

other great groups begging an en of unjust laws often leating upon trance to this citadel of national pro-them fiercely, nor were they always tection, These were groups of wom. protected from judicial decisions en. These women knocked before the which dripped down upon them from negroes. They were told the slaves' the eaves and often thoroughly soaked condition was serious and that women them. The women said they were not ought to wait. The negroes' hour had protected from the gray wolves of struck. So the women waited and greed and graft, the rats and mice, even helped secure the negroes their of public inefficiency and wastefulness, abundant entrance. They were good the vultures of disease or the tigers of waiters. They were women, The law vice. The women made good arguof the sea, that chivalrous mandate, ments but the accompaniment of "Ladies first," had no recognition at yelps and squeaks and roars of those this entrance. The rule seemed to $b\epsilon$ who attacked them unceasingly seemed "Every sort of man before women." to drown their voices. The supreme Women asked to use the negroes | court members were old men and peramendment keys, but were told that this great front door was no "Ladies' further response than to keep the entrance." Then they asked for an doors shut. amendment key like the negroes', the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and for just men within the citadel who beforty years they were refused.

door through which they hoped to enter. It was labelled "Judicial construction." Women in Illinois, Michigan, Missouri and New York made separate attacks at this back door guarded by the United States suprem court. The women claimed that they had always belonged inside with other citizens and that it was only an inad vertence in judicial construction which had kept the entrance open only to males.

But the supreme court at the door though the parley continued. it guarded was as unyielding as the congress at the great front doors. The the men in one great room called judges claimed that mere citizenship Wyoming said, "If the women can't was not the only essential; that male enter the congressional front doors, ness was also an important requisite what's to hinder our pulling them up for entrance into the protective cita- through a Wyoming window?" Soon del. The supreme court said that a strong man shouted, "Hist there, women, being so near the walls, had sisters! Look up! See the rope! much protection already. No foreign Grab it! We will pull you into the

have been received in a dignified and | citadel dared send its members to at-

they should be from the winds of un-For many years there have been equal taxation, nor from the tempests haps asleep or busy and they made no

There were, however, generous and gan to understand these pleadings for Some of them at last found a back help and protection from without. Some descendants of the scriptural unjust judge were also there and, remembering the importunate widow, feared her ghost would walk. It was either the importunate widow's ghost or many of her direct descendants who continued to plead and insist until the men within woke up and began to argue for and against opening the sheltering doors. Thus far the just men and the generous were in the minority and the front doors, the congressional front doors, were still shut,

Along back nearly fifty years ago

Wyoming window." It was done and lever, were not idle. These heroic Wyoming women were sheltered with descendants of the importunate widow the brothers fairly and justly. All kept up the serenading of the inmates the women around the citadel rejoiced of the forty-four other rooms where over what the Wyoming men had they sat in monkish solitude at the done.

other rooms thought of something and sleet and the serenaders received pleasing for their dissatisfied women, little comfort from the bouquets the They decided to unlock for one day in men often threw out, for the flowers the year the little basement or school were the flowers of the lemon, such as suffrage windows under their re- "We keep you out for your own good." spective rooms and let the women climb in to repair the foundations. "It is too strenuous for you feeble This was much needed, quite fundamental and unremunerative. The women were on their mettle. They worked bravely at this important and modest task. In between times they were put out under the eaves. But the tigers when they neded the they found this small climb in and out safety of the great walls they had the school suffrage windows was helped to build. strengthening their political muscles and preparing them for longer and harder climbs.

The men in a few rooms decided to let the women in through a little bond or tax suffrage coal hole for a slight protection. That was nice. The opportunity to shovel in coal or taxes to keep the rooms above warm had advantages, but alas, this entrance into the tax suffrage coal hole gave the women no control over the coal, once they had shoveled it in, and so was not entirely satisfactory.

These little openings called school suffrage basement window fundamental work and bond suffrage coal for the opening of other great windows, like the great window in the Wyoming room.

their ropes and pulled up their sisters and with splendid talent at the great themselves enjoyed. The men in the appeals at all the windows and at the Kansas room made a little early ef | big front doors began to bring results. fort, however, in this direction when Other windows opened one by one and they let the women enjoy some muni- women laboriously climbed up the cipal suffrage spring cleaning with friendly ropes into seven more win-

no large window to any of the great sas, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada and rooms was opened. The women, how Montana, making a grand total of

forty-four other windows. Those were Then the men in twenty or more pitiful serenades outside in the cold "It is too filthy here for nice women." women to climb up here."

> The woman's chorus would then sing with emotion about the strenuosity of struggling unarmed with the gray wolves, the rats, the vultures and

The men's chorus would then respond:

We love weak women, we hate the strong;

If you want love, you stop that song." That did quiet some women but a juvenile chorus would chant this truthful refrain,

"The mothers who're strong Help us kids along, And that's no lie."

Sometimes the pleading sisterhood had visits from the favored women citizens from the four rooms with generous men. Even as Lazarus the beggar could go from his last abode of bliss to visit Dives in his heated quarters hole fuel work made the women long so the blissful sisters visited and recited their rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed equally with their brothers. These calls made the de-The Wyoming state amendment win- barred sisters even more insistent and dow idea at last had a few imitators their serenades continued near every when the men in the Colorado, Utah large window, every school suffrage and Idaho rooms bravely hung out basement window, every tax coal hole into the complete protection they front doors of congress. These fresh dows which opened into the rooms For fourteen long years after this labelled Washington, California, Kan-

the vultures of disease, and the tigers, whether or not Indiana women might have a look into the inside of the Illi- tional convention. nois room and occasionally open up Then appeared a foe from the tribe things for ventilation. This was of Suffering Taxpayers who opposed the presidential, municipal and prim- the Indianapolis women using the new ary suffrage sleeping porch. This was municipal suffrage porch because of a wonderful protection and soon such the expense to him of women's balporches became the fad, built after the lots. Suffering Taxpayer's personal Illinois plan.

Island, Michigan and Nebraska men less than thirty cents, yet such posbuilt similar porches in harmony with sible financial disaster caused huntheir own window architecture and dreds of pages of briefs and hours of their women are now this much nearer oral arguments, and the supreme court to protection in the great citadel. decided to save Suffering Taxpayer Arkansas did not plan one after the this heavy expense. Illinois idea entirely, as hers is only In Ohio the warlike Hivites and a primary vote porch. Upon investiga- Jebusites, known as "The Wets," filed tion, the women discovered that as Ar- referendum petitions against the kansas is practically a state of but one women and so did the workers of inparty and the primaries pick the win- iquity in Nebraska, while the Sanbalners, the partition between this and lots and Tobias of North Dakota as the full privileges of the big room are yet are only threatening the destrucnothing but long French windows with tion of the North Dakota presidential the glass out and so unlocked, that the elector sleeping porch. women may go in at will.

labelled "Vote for Delegates to the South Dakota, Iowa and Oklahoma, Constitutional Convention." These the guardians at the windows conand the Indiana room so that Indiana wanted their respective windows own full enfranchisement.

have wanted their rights they equipped maining great rooms would not even themselves with the womanly weapons do that much. They have refused to of doughnuts and coffee. But such allow the men inside their rooms to weapons the men swallowed as though decide whether the women may come they were sword eaters and there was in. In two of these, North Dakota nothing to show for it. For efficient and Iowa, more deliberation will yet service coffee and doughnuts would be needed before it is ordained that have been greatly surpassed by the their own men in North Dakota and Indiana hammer. It might not have lowa should be allowed to decide this comforted the inner man greatly but question. In the Maine room so many its coercive power would have been a good men were asleep that Wrong conthousand fold more effective.

This hammer was not left long in closed. the undisputed possession of Indiana In the great Empire room New York,

eleven great rooms truly democratic. women. Some sons of evil confeder-The Illinois window had stuck very ated to contest the legality of the contightly but some generous Illinois men stitutional convention law. The Inwanting to lift their sisters somewhat diana supreme court decided there away from the wolves of graft, the would be no convention at this time, rats of wastefulness and inefficiency, but left undecided the question of vice, constructed a fine sleeping use this hammer at some other time porch addition where women could for a properly constituted constitu-

share of the whole extra expense dur-North Dakota, Ohio, Indiana, Rhode ing his whole life would probably be

Windows to other rooms have Indiana, too, nad more than the been opening slightly to the beautiful porch. Her men gave each pleadings of the women. In woman on entering a stout hammer Maine, New York, North Dakota, hammers were guaranteed to knock cluded that they would allow the men down the partition between the porch in their rooms to decide whether they women could help themselves to their opened. That seemed simple enough and yet the men who control the con-In many struggles when the women stitutional window in many of the requered and their window remained

the window and the women's rejoic- cowards then, nor will they be in the ings resounded from ocean to ocean. horrors before them, More women have climbed up through the New York window into the full them, the "weakest." As in primitive protection of the great citadel than ages when men would only hunt or could have entered three or four of the fight, women were the agriculturists, ordinary windows.

inside of the citadel have discovered hold the plow, tend the spindles, mine that from the twelve rooms where the ore, feed and clothe the nation women have entered, much help is and its allies, nurse the wounded, bury coming to batter down the great front the dead and bring forth more sons door from the inside. The sisters from for soldiers and more daughters to the seven sleeping porches are also plow, and to nurse, to bury and to beg promising what they will do when for equal rights and fuller protection. they wake up in 1920 and vote for pletely open windows and those from every privilege, every immunity? the seven rooms with the sleeping will be easy.

portions of their windows controlled which needs no bloodshed or sacrifice, by separate groups. Columbus in the free opening to women of the great Ohio and a dozen other scattered front doors. groups allow women the municipal adcauses some ventilation for everything within which needs ventilating.

and honor has been so rebuffed and welcomed and urged to enter.

A new danger is here. A great war ential than formerly. is upon us. The mothers are the first | What the great government has not bulwark of the great citadel. In tor- yet done for women for the sake of ture and suffering each mother has simple justice it may now do to make borne a soldier. Even on the battle them more efficient helpers in the

the good men woke up, rushed to open | worse agony. The mothers were not

War's heavy burdens will fall on the weavers and the home defenders, The generous and just men on the so today the mothers must expect to

Shall those who control the citadel presidential electors. The citizens ask so much from its women and yet from the twelve rooms with com- refuse their prayers for every right,

The nations of the world beholding porches have figured that they control the great sacrifices of money, food, about 200 electoral votes and that if ships and human life offered for freeadditions keep on until 1920 a majority dom's sake, may well wonder why those who control do not speedily ac-Some of the forty-eight rooms have complish the one freedom at home

Women claim these rights for all the vantage of a single pane of glass. reasons they formerly gave and also Though the opening is small, it allows now for this reason, that their wishes the women a hurried look within and may be observed in the conduct of this war. They still behold in the tall, bronzed, stalwart soldiers, choice men How slowly and with what infinite of the nation, only their own little labor and patience have these changes sons who must be suitably clothed and come. No other class who desired to fed, and not with embalmed beef. enter the great front doors of privilege Women have demanded that proper arrangements must be made for health so delayed. No other class has been and sanitation. Women have insisted chased from front doors to back doors, that army camps must be surrounded to basement windows, to coal holes, to by "white zones." Mothers who are room windows, to porticoes or has risking their sons' lives protest against needed to climb up by ropes into risking their souls' salvation. Women safety and shelter. A generous and today are unitedly calling to those who hearty welcome has been given to control affairs, "Our sons must not be every class except the women who are corrupted. Foul diseases are worse physically least able to endure this than death." These cries of the mothcontinuous and arduous labor. The ers are being heard. The demands of mothers of the race should have been women in eighteen states where they may vote for president are more influ-

field this soldier may never know great war. Congress meets in regular

session in December. The hour may wide open front doors of a federal sufbe close at hand when women will not frage amendment. eight spacious rooms, through the we practice it."

be relegated to the precarious and So glorious and abundant an envaried window climbing methods, but trance for women will fling a message at last be welcomed into the great to all the countries of the world, "We governmental citadel and all its forty- not only believe in freedom for all, but

14 Points

Fourteen Points on the National American Woman Suffrage Association

- 1. What is the National American Woman Suffrage Association?

 A federation of all suffrage organizations in the United States except the Woman's Party.
- 2. When was it organized?

In 1869 the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association were organized; these twenty years later united under the name National American Woman Suffrage Association.

- 3. What is its membership?
 About two million.
- 4. How does it work?

Through education of public sentiment, the press, literature, public meetings and house to house visits.

5. Do its members "picket" the White House, burn the President's speeches, use offensive banners or fight any political party?

No, its methods are always constructive—The militant tactics are used by an impatient group of young women who think the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been needlessly slow in its accomplishments.

6. What has the National American Woman Suffrage Association accomplished for woman suffrage?

Through its affiliated branches it has secured the complete enfranchisement of women in 17 states; the right of women to vote for Presidential Electors in 8 additional states; full suffrage at Primary Elections in two; county, municipal, school and other forms of partial suffrage in 17; resolutions from a large number of Legislatures calling upon the United States Senate to submit the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

7. Who first had the Federal Suffrage Amendment introduced in Congress?

The National Woman Suffrage Association in 1878. This Association has had it introduced in every succeeding Congress and its representatives have spoken in its behalf before committees of every Congress.

8. What is the general policy of this association?

It is and always has been strictly non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-militant.

9. Has it ever taken part in election campaigns?

A State branch has done so occasionally under special provocation in State elections. As a national body it never has taken any part until the congressional campaign of 1918, when an effort was made to prevent the election of two U. S. Senators and the re-election of two, who were opposed to the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

A Democrat and a Republican were defeated for election and the majorities of the other two were greatly reduced.

10. What is the object of the National American Woman Suffrage Association?

Article II of its constitution says: "The object of this association shall be to secure protection in their right to vote to the women citizens of the United States by appropriate national and state legislation."

Although this is now its sole object, in the early years of its existence it devoted its energies also to amending the laws which denied married women the right to control their own property, collect their wages, have equal guardianship with the father over their children, etc. It has helped every effort toward the establishment of high schools for girls and colleges for women. Indeed the fair status of women under the law in many States is due principally to the activities of this association.

11. What did the National American Woman Suffrage Association do to support the war?

At a specially called National Executive meeting held at Washington, February 1917, the services and machinery of its organization were placed at the disposition of the government, if the country should enter the war, and this offer was officially accepted by the Secretary of War. Each member of the elected Board of eighteen officers engaged in some kind of war service. Three served on the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense, one on the National Board of the Woman's Land Army, one on the National Woman's Committee of the Liberty Loan and resigned in order to work in France, one served in France without resignation and one served on the State Food Administration of New York.

Many state suffrage presidents served on state committees and thousands of its members served in active capacity in every variety of civilian service, from ambulance drivers to writers and lecturers on war education, from munition workers to the secret service.

Not content with these services, the National American Woman Suffrage Association maintained three hospital units in France, a refugee hospital, a gas treatment hospital, and a military unit directly under the French Government.

12. Where are the Headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association?

The National maintains Headquarters at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, and at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, D. C.

13. What is the organ of the National?

The Woman Citizen a weekly magazine, devoted to the advancement of suffrage and other phases of the woman movement, published at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, New York.

14. Finally: The National American Woman Suffrage Association stands pledged to a continuance of the work, devoting resources and energy until all women of the United States are enfranchised.

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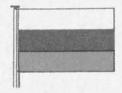
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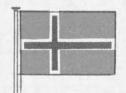
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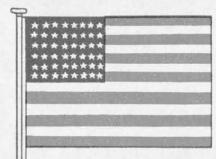
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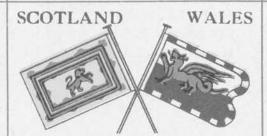
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woman.) Time, 30 minutes		nderella
Synopsis:—A charming poetic allegory representing the New Woman as a mo and the Old Woman as the sex parasite and the domestic drudge as the Wi	cked Si	sters.
†End of the Battle. By Jane Stone. For 3 women. Time,	.15	
25 minutesPostpaid	.17	
Synopsis:—On the eve of an anti-suffrage meeting a suffragist visits the anti-suffrage organization and makes such a stirring appeal for all women to that the anti-suffragist rushes off to her meeting to make a suffrage speech.		
†Election Day. By Emily Sargent Lewis. For 3 men, 5 women,	.15	\$2.50
r child. Time, 35 minutes	.17	
Synopsis:—Shows a prosperous and conventional anti appealing to the oth use their influence or to cast their votes against a woman suffrage amend with failure she turns about and declares her intention of going over to the	er chara ment.	Meeting
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woman.) Time, 30 minutes	
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†End of the Battle. By Jane Stone. For 3 women. Time, .15	
25 minutes	
Synopsis:—On the eve of an anti-suffrage meeting a suffragist visits the president anti-suffrage organization and makes such a stirring appeal for all women to stand to that the anti-suffragist rushes off to her meeting to make a suffrage speech.	
†Election Day. By Emily Sargent Lewis. For 3 men, 5 women, .15 i child. Time, 35 minutes	\$2.50
Synopsis:—Shows a prosperous and conventional anti appealing to the other charact use their influence or to cast their votes against a woman suffrage amendment. M with failure she turns about and declares her intention of going over to the popular s	eeting
•†Girl from Colorado. By Selina Solomons. For 5 men and .15	\$5.00
5 women. Time, 40 minutes	
Synopsis:—Written for the California campaign, but applicable elsewhere. The he from Colorado, visits her "anti" relatives and the play culminates in their conversion. love affairs are amusingly interwoven.	
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15 women and 12 men. Time, 20 minutesPostpaid .07	
Synopsis:—A delegation of men try to persuade a woman's legislative committee to manhood suffrage bill.	pass
*How the Vote Was Won. By Cicely Hamilton and Christopher .25	\$5.00
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†Jonathan's Nightshirt. By Ferdinanda Wesselhoef Reed25	55.00
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†Our Friends, the Anti-Suffragists. By Mary Shaw. For 12 or more women. Time, 45 minutes	Each .25	Fee \$5.00
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†Parrot's Cage. By Mary Shaw. For 6 women. Time, 45 minutes	.25	\$5.00
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†Something To Vote For. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. For 2 men and 7 women. Time, 50 minutes		\$5.00
 Synopsis:—The corrupt head of a milk trust tries to secure the support of the president of which he would like to marry. All the members are ant efforts are frustrated by a Colorado woman doctor aided by an honest mi 	f a woma i-suffrag	ists. His
†Suffrage Rummage Sale. By Mary Winsor. For 2 women and 2 men. Time, 20 minutes	.05	\$1.00
Synopsis:—Represents an auction in which the articles for sale typify of respect to woman. It is interrupted by Mrs. Grundy, Mrs. Partington and	d prejud the Ma	ices with d Hatter.
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