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!
How can a mother rest content with this—

When such conditions exist as this?

There are thousands of children working in sweat-shops like the one in the picture. There are thousands of children working in mines and mills and factories. Thousands more are being wronged and cheated by Society in countless ways.

**IS NOT THIS YOUR BUSINESS?**

Intelligent citizens WHO CARED could change all this—providing always, of course, that they had the power of the ballot.

**DO YOU CARE?**

Mothers are responsible for the welfare of children. This duty as mothers requires that they should demand

**VOTES FOR WOMEN!**

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PUBLISHERS FOR THE
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY.
WHAT BREAKS UP THE HOME?

Unemployment for men.

Bad employment for women and children.

“The easiest way.”

WHAT WILL SAVE THE HOME?

The participation of the home-maker in all governmental control of these problems. For this reason we demand

VOTES FOR WOMEN

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc., Publishers for the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY
TO THE MALE CITIZEN

If this is womanly—

Why not this?

Housekeeping is woman's work—no man denies that. Government is public housekeeping—practically everybody agrees to that.

Isn't it foolish, then, to keep out of government the very people who have had most training for a large part of its functions?

Men have never regarded it as unwomanly for women to do the scrubbing and cleaning indoors—even in public places, like office buildings. Why, then, should they think it unwomanly for women to keep the streets clean?

Be logical and insist that women should no longer shirk their duty as housekeepers. You need their help.

DEMAND VOTES FOR WOMEN!

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
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NEW YORK CITY
WOMEN AND PUBLIC HOUSEKEEPING

By Jane Addams.

A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping. If American cities have failed in the first, partly because officeholders have carried with them the predatory instinct learned in competitive business, and cannot help "working a good thing" when they have an opportunity, may we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities? The men of the city have been carelessly indifferent to much of its civic housekeeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household. They have totally disregarded a candidate's capacity to keep the streets clean, preferring to consider him in relation to the national tariff or to the necessity for increasing the national navy, in a pure spirit of reversion to the traditional type of government, which had to do only with enemies and outsiders.

It is difficult to see what military prowess has to do with the multiform duties which, in a modern city, include the care of parks and libraries, superintendence of markets, sewers and bridges, the inspection of provisions and boilers, and the proper disposal of garbage. It has nothing to do with the building department, which the city maintains that it may see to it that the basements are dry, that the bedrooms are large enough to afford the required cubic feet of air, that the plumbing is sanitary, that the gas pipes do not leak, that the tenement house court is large enough to afford light and ventilation, that the stairways are fireproof. The ability to carry arms has nothing to do with the health department maintained by the city, which provides that children are vaccinated, that contagious diseases are isolated and placarded, that the spread of tuberculosis is curbed, that the water is free from typhoid infection. Certainly the military conception of society is remote from the functions of the school boards, whose concern it is that children are educated, that they are supplied with kindergartens, and are given a decent place in which to play. The very multifariousness and complexity of a city government demand the help of minds accustomed to detail and variety of work, to a sense of obligation for the health and welfare of young children, and to a responsibility for the cleanliness and comfort of other people.

Because all these things have traditionally been in the hands of women, if they take no part in them now they are not only missing the education which the natural participation in civic life would bring to them, but they are losing
what they have always had. From the beginning of tribal life, they have been held responsible for the health of the community, a function which is now represented by the health department. From the days of the cave dwellers, so far as the home was clean and wholesome, it was due to their efforts, which are now represented by the Bureau of Tenement House Inspection. From the period of the primitive village, the only public sweeping which was performed was what they undertook in their divers dooryards, that which is now represented by the Bureau of Street Cleaning. Most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman’s traditional activity; but, in spite of this, so soon as these old affairs were turned over to the city they slipped from woman’s hands, apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise—because the franchise had in the first instance been given to the man who could fight, because in the beginning he alone could vote who could carry a weapon, it was considered an improper thing for a woman to possess it.

Is it quite public spirited for woman to say, “We will take care of these affairs so long as they stay in our own houses, but if they go outside and concern so many people that they cannot be carried on without the mechanism of the vote, we will drop them; it is true that these activities which women have always had are not at present being carried on very well by the men in most of the great American cities, but, because we do not consider it ‘lady-like’ to vote, we will let them alone?”

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Woman’s Place

By MARY ALDEN HOPKINS

A woman keenly interested in the well-being of children, approached a legislator to ask his support of a bill concerning medical examination of school children. The delicate susceptability of the legislator was outraged by the unwomanliness of her “lobbying.” He rebuked her sternly for meddling in politics, ending with the impressive words: “Madame, a good woman stays at home to take care of her children.”

The woman withdrew, somewhat puzzled. The compulsory education law took her children out of her home to put them in a schoolroom, and too exalted idealism forbade her trying to influence school policies. As she thought about the matter, she decided that the puzzling contradiction lay in limiting “home” to the cubic space included between house walls, cellar and roof. It seemed to her that wherever her little children went she must go; that she must concern herself with all that touched her children’s interests; that her “home” was really the entire city—the state—the country—perhaps the whole world.

Here are two incidents that confirmed her in her decision:

The water supply of Fairholm was contaminated by the sewage from the towns up the river. Typhoid fever floated leisurely down with the current, pausing for its handful of lives from each town. The city council said decisively that the city could not build a filter plant without increased taxation. At the words “increased taxation” the majority of the men assured their wives that the best method was to boil the water. They squelched wisely discussion by remarks like, “My dear, if you want a new filter plant you must change our state constitution on the bonded indebtedness of third-class cities.”

That sounded more like politics than like woman’s concerns, and the housewives set to boiling. Mrs. Homer, among others, boiled water to drink, water for bathing “above the neck,” water for washing vegetables; and scalded her hands along with the dishes. She forbade the children’s tasting water outside the house. Disobedient Jimmy on the baseball field drank water from a tin bucket—without getting the fever; Janet sipped dubious drinks at the ice-cream emporium—likewise without harm; while little Josie, despite hours of conscientious thirst, got the fever from milk in her own blue china mug. The cow’s drinking water had not been boiled. The mothers of Fairholm had not attacked the source of danger, because of their narrow definition of “home.”
Mrs. Roscoe canceled her subscription to a certain magazine because it contained too many articles on tragic condition among city working women. Said Mrs. Roscoe: “If I bring up my own five children well in my own home I can be excused from worrying about sweatshops five hundred miles away.” But the dinky little winter coat she bought for Bobby had sewed into its well-finished seams some slivers of scarlet-fever skin. The manufacturer had found it cheaper to send his work out into tenements for “finishing,” and no city has adequate official inspection of tenement-house sweatshops.

Story after story could be told of food contaminated before it entered the house; bread handled warm by a scrofulous baker; shiny red apples sold to school children by a vender with a loathsome disease; food on which flies had tramped; and adulterated raw material. What does it profit a cook to fight vermin in her own cellar if the state inspection of slaughter houses is lax, the bakeshops unsanitary and street selling supervised?

It is a mother’s business to buy warm clothing, but the amount of wool in baby’s 25-cent shirt is determined by the tariff. Nursery hygiene is written in “Schedule K.”

More and more each year the initial processes of manufacturing food and clothes slip out of the hands of mothers into the hands of men whose first interest is money-making. From yeast and soap to Ray’s stockings and Dorothy’s bon-bons, articles come ready-made into the house. Yet the children’s welfare still depends upon the wholesomeness of their food and the warmth of their clothes.

What is the mother to do about it? Does her interest in the food begin only as it comes up the back steps? Has she no responsibility for fire-trap buildings, uncensored moving pictures, unkempt parks and dirty streets, because these matters have moved into “politics”—are even election issues whereby candidates stand or fall?

Some mothers say that, since a new method of production has come about, mothers must learn to understand that method. They say that municipal housekeeping is not so very different from family housekeeping. They say that, after all, the nation is simply an overgrown family, and that, just as a complete family group must have both father and mother, so the nation needs both father care and mother care.—From “Boundaries of Home,” in The Congregationalist.

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NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City.
A MOTHER'S SPHERE

By MADELINE MCDOWELL BRECKINRIDGE

There was a time when the children of the land were mainly taught at their mothers' knees; those mothers who could afford it supplied private governesses for their children, or sent them to private schools; the others giving their children such education as they themselves had.

This time is passed. The business of teaching the children of this country has been taken over by the public schools, and though the mother herself no longer does the actual teaching of her children, it is now as much the privilege and the duty of the mother to oversee the education of her children in the public schools as ever it was to guide it in our pioneer homes.

Now the management of public schools is comprehensively included in the word "politics." To realize this we must get rid of the ordinary conception of that misused word as something associated with corrupt elections, violence, graft—"dirty politics." When it has been asserted in the states not even allowing their women school suffrage that the effort to get this right for them was an effort "to get women into politics" meaning politics in its dirty sense—it was truly asserted on the other hand that on the contrary, it was an effort to get the schools out of politics. In the proper sense of the term not only is the management of the schools necessarily in politics, but it is high time that the mothers of school children were also in politics. Bernard Shaw has succinctly stated the case. "Politics," he says, "is not something apart from home and the babies. It is home and the babies."

THE STRENGTH OF NATURAL LAW.—It was not originally intended that women should teach in our public schools. It was not originally intended that women should vote in our school elections, but some way and some how, the women have gotten in; they are upholding the school system from within and from without. A large majority of the public school teachers in the land are women. Mothers of school children are more and more "meddling" in school affairs. They are finding out whether school houses are proper, whether school teachers are capable, whether school trustees are fit persons. They are exercising the divine prerogative of mothers to meddle in the education of their own children. Even in the dozen and a half states where man-made laws still attempt to write women out of any share in the management of the public schools, the women have gotten in. In many of these states through the School Improvement League, women have done a tremendous work for the material improvement of the school plant. In some of them, where over seventy-five per cent. of the teachers are also women, the anecdote of the small boy who was asked by the teacher who supported the world, seems applicable. "Atlas, ma'am," he answered. "But who," asked the teacher, "supports Atlas?" The boy thought a moment. "I don't know, ma'am," he said, "but I suppose it was his wife." The schools are nominally being managed and taught by men; but actually they are being supported both from the inside and the outside by the mother sex. Whom God hath joined together for the nurture and rearing of children it has proven impossible for men to put asunder.

A MOTHER'S RIGHT TO HER CHILD.—Children are not the exclusive creations of men. They are not the exclusive possessions of men—at least they are not in twenty-five of our states. In six states—under the laws of a supposedly civilized people—it is still true that a mother of legitimate children has no right to them; they belong exclusively to the father whether he be living or dead, and in fact he may will away his unborn child. In seventeen other states, so long as the father lives, the mother has no legal rights to her children. But even in these benighted states which have not as yet passed a co-guardianship law, no woman will acknowledge that she has not a moral right to her children, and a moral responsibility for their education and training.

WHERE IT LEADS THEM.—Now it is impossible for women to fulfill this responsibility without a participation in the carrying on of public business—without, in short, being in politics. How naturally the women of the land have come to a realization of their
responsibility for their children's education, and therefore, in the present day and generation, for the condition of the public schools, is well shown by the activities of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The education committee of the Federation some years back adopted a program of work which it recommended to all the clubs scattered throughout the country. The things recommended were as follows:

(1) More school houses—cleaner, better ventilated and better equipped school houses. (2) More and better equipped play grounds, with supervised play. (3) Medical inspection and school nurses. (4) Physical training and the teaching of personal hygiene. (5) The preparation of teachers in normal schools and state universities for the teaching of personal and sex hygiene.

You will note that these mothers of the Federated Clubs did not attempt to meddle with the professional side of the teaching job. They merely decided to do for their children in the public schools that which they were doing for the children in their own homes; to provide them a clean and healthful place in which to grow up. They had come to see that it was of no avail that their own homes should be spotless, their own gardens and play grounds beautiful; that these should be fit places in which a child or a flower might grow. But that it was further necessary that the school buildings and the school yards in which these same children were to spend very many years of their growing lives should also be clean and healthful, free from contagion, physical or moral.

A MOTHER'S SPHERE.—What does it profit a mother to have performed her duty within the limited sphere that used to be considered hers within the four walls of her own home, if the child has gone out from that home into conditions to which he has succumbed? What does it profit her when the child is brought home to her ill with diptheria or scarlet fever, or some of the many diseases to which childhood is subject—what does it profit her when he lies dead before her, or when he is brought back to her contaminated in body and soul, that she has done her duty as men saw it, or as a former generation conceived it? Does she not know then that her sphere did not end at her own front door, or her own front gate? Does she not know that it followed her child wherever her child went—into the school, into the town, into the state? And that so long as there remained in the community where his lot was cast one foul spot, one evil condition which she had done nothing to remedy, and because of this he had returned to her broken and degenerate, does she not know that she had failed to fulfill her mother's task?

No mother can fulfill her task, no father can fulfill his, who watches and guides and tries to influence the child within the home alone. In order really to protect him, in order really to influence him it is necessary that father and mother both should bear their proper part in the management of the schools, in the city housekeeping, moral and physical, and in all that great public business on which, as I have said, private life in the present day absolutely depends.

THE BEST TOOL NEEDED.—No mother can do this thing unless she is armed with the instrument men have found necessary in their attempts to do it, namely with the ballot. Nor will any woman lose her direct influence by guiding this direct power, any more than a man when he casts a ballot loses such influence as he has in addition as brother, father, friend, neighbor or respected citizen.

The mothers of our land are coming to realize how necessary, in the carrying out of their natural and womanly tasks, as for instance in the education and training of children, is this direct power to enable them to carry out these tasks properly. It is especially necessary when they with the divine courage that is perhaps vouchsafed to mothers alone, are heroically facing the sex problem—the social evil as it is called—the last great dragon that stands in the way of civilization. When they fully realize these things, they will undoubtedly realize also that they must have every aid and advantage that men have had, that they must be armed with every weapon that men have found necessary with which to fight the battles of civilization.
Woman Suffrage

ITS RELATION TO WORKING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

By FLORENCE KELLEY

Never before in the history of the human race have children and young women formed, as they do to-day, an important part of the working force of great industrial communities wholly apart from their parents and the family life.

In the telephone and telegraph service something like a revolution would be caused if suddenly all the young people under the age of twenty-one were withdrawn. In retail trade the cash children, bundle-girls, wrappers and junior clerks are an extremely important part of the whole working force.

Every improvement in machinery and in industrial organization tends to summon to the ranks of industry an increasing number of young recruits.

How long these young workers shall be employed in a day may be literally a matter of life and death for them. Within my own acquaintances more than one young girl has died of pneumonia, rheumatism, or tuberculosis, due directly to overtime work with the accompanying exhaustion and loss of power to resist disease.

Now the health, morals and intelligence of the rising generation are peculiarly objects of solicitude to women. To deprive women of an equal share of power to determine the laws for these young workers is to give cruelly unequal power to sordid employers.

In manufacture, older men form a larger part of the total working force than in retail trade. And the older men are voters. Factory laws are obtained, therefore, with greater ease than workable laws for safeguarding the health and welfare of children and young girls.

A sinister chapter to which too little attention has hitherto been paid is the failure of our legislatures and courts to afford to young girls protection from seduction, assault, and enslavement in infamous houses. The difficulty involved in obtaining the conviction of malefactors is known only to the few faithful souls who have attempted to obtain due punishment of these grave
offenses. Mothers in any community are more deeply stirred by these offenses than by any others, but judges and juries vary beyond belief in their treatment of criminals guilty of crimes against girls.

In one Western state a woman worked fourteen years to obtain the enactment of a workable statute to punish crimes against female minors. At last such a law was passed and vigorously enforced. Fourteen criminals were sent to the penitentiary. Then a young lawyer offered his services to one of the criminals to free him by showing that the law was unconstitutional, because the title should have read "to define and punish crimes against female minors"; whereas though in fact the two words "define and" were missing from the title, the necessary definition was contained in the body of the statute. Upon this frivolous ground the Supreme Court of the State held the statute invalid and nine of the fourteen criminals were forthwith freed. The remaining five were too poor or too ignorant to obtain counsel and remained in the penitentiary. The patient woman whose work was thus frustrated continued the agitation. The legislature, after great effort on her part, re-enacted the statute with the title complete. But the nine criminals could not again be tried for the same offense, and remained at liberty. It is hard to believe that such weary effort would be needed if the mothers and the teachers were a part of the voting constituency upon whom judges and legislators depend for their political career.

It is the children of the poor who form the working contingent in retail trade. It is the daughters of the poor who chiefly fall victims to the basest crimes. Poor, young, ignorant, unorganized, they depend for protection upon laws framed and enforced by persons older than themselves. Is it safe or sane to exclude from the full share of power and responsibility the mothers and teachers, the older women whose first care is for the welfare of the young?

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171 Madison Avenue, New York City.
Come, Teddy. Be good, like Bobbie and Champ and dear little Oscar. Take it like a little man.

I won't! I won't! I don't hafto! Give it to Bill! I'm a b-o-o-o-o-o-o-mark-o.

See here, young man! If you don't quit that kickin' an' howlin' I'll settle with you in the woodshed.

November.

He won't take his medicine.
Some Advantages of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

Some people say that it is impossible at the present time to enact the National Suffrage Amendment into law. "Even if you secure a two-thirds' vote in Congress," they say, "it would be impossible to get the amendment ratified by three-fourths of the State Legislatures. Thirty-six States at least must pass it, and only twelve at most may reject it. But we know in advance that fifteen States, those belonging to the Southern group, would absolutely reject it; and the amendment would have to be re-introduced in Congress, and a two-thirds' vote secured there all over again."

Fortunately this is not the case. The great advantages of federal work are:

1. **ONCE THE NATIONAL AMENDMENT IS SUBMITTED BY CONGRESS TO THE STATES, IT IS SUBMITTED FOR GOOD AND ALL, AND IS THEREAFTER BEFORE THE STATES FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION.**

2. **IF A STATE REJECTS THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT, THIS ACTION CAN BE RECONSIDERED, AND THE AMENDMENT ADOPTED LATER.**

3. **IF A STATE RATIFIES THE AMENDMENT, THIS ACTION IS FINAL, AND CANNOT BE LATER RESCINDED.**

Once our amendment has passed Congress, then, our task is limited to securing a single majority vote in one State Legislature after the other, each success narrowing our field of work and permitting us to concentrate our funds and forces on a smaller and smaller number of States with a view to securing a majority vote in thirty-six of them.

In twelve of these States, the eleven equal suffrage States and Illinois, it is safe to assume that the Federal amendment would be ratified at once. Fifteen of the remaining States have within the last few years submitted the question of woman suffrage to the voters, some by the act of the State Legislatures, some by initiative petition. A considerable number of these States would ratify the United States Constitutional Amendment. At a very cautious estimate, therefore, half the States would ratify a Federal amendment very promptly, and our work thereafter would consist in concentrating suffrage funds and energy on twelve out of the remaining twenty-four States.

These points of Federal amendment procedure are quite clear. All authorities agree that when Congress has once submitted an amendment for the consideration of the States, it has submitted it for good. Attempts which have been made to restrict the time during which Legislatures might consider and act on proposed constitutional amendments submitted by Congress, have always proved unsuccessful. A constitutional amendment remains subject to ratification by the States from the moment of its original submission until it becomes law. This is the position taken by James in his "Treatise on Constitutional Conventions," and by Ames in his "History of Proposed Amendments to the Constitution." Watson, in his "Treatise on the Constitution," also maintains that it does not prescribe the time during which the States may act on a proposed amendment. "Such a provision," he says, "might have been regarded as an attempt to force the States into a ratification, whereas it was the desire of the Convention that the action of the States should be deliberate and free from influence. . . . Who but the States can judge of what would be a reasonable time? It is for the State to ratify, and cannot the State
take its own time to do it? What branch of the government can tell a State when it must ratify an amendment, in the absence of any constitutional provision on the subject?"

The precedent that no State, having once ratified an amendment, can rescind its action, was established during the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

New Jersey and Ohio tried to withdraw their endorsement of the Fourteenth Amendment, before it had been ratified by the requisite number of States; on the assumption that such action was lawful before the Amendment had been incorporated into the Constitution. The Secretary of State, being in doubt as to the interpretation of the Constitution on this point, issued a certificate reciting the facts and declaring the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, provided that the ratification of the two States, which had then attempted to recall their consent, was valid. Congress immediately passed a concurrent resolution declaring that the endorsement of these States WAS valid; whereupon, on July 28th, 1868, the Secretary of State issued a second proclamation formally and finally declaring the Fourteenth Amendment adopted.

A similar case occurred when the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted; New York was proclaimed as one of the States which had ratified the amendment, although it had attempted to withdraw its ratification prior to the proclamation of the Secretary of State.

Equally clear is the precedent that the rejection of an amendment is not final, but is, on the other hand, continually subject to reconsideration. In the case of the Thirteenth Amendment, New Jersey, which had previously rejected this amendment, reconsidered its action and ratified it. New Jersey was then counted in the number of the ratifying States.

Four times a similar situation arose in connection with the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In the case of the Fourteenth Amendment, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia changed their votes from "nay" to "yea" prior to the proclamation of the Secretary of State, and were included in that proclamation. In the case of the Fifteenth Amendment, Ohio reversed its unfavorable vote to the proclamation and was included in it.

Ames, in his study of the Constitutional Amendment, during the first hundred years of our legislative history, says: "From the above it would seem that a State having once given its consent, the question is closed, and it cannot recall its action; but, on the other hand, that a State which has rejected an amendment can reconsider its action at any time previous to the incorporation of the amendment into the Constitution."

These decisions are wise and statesmanlike, in view of the existing difficulties in the way of amending the United States Constitution. When we remember that the Constitutional Amendment must secure a favorable vote of two-thirds of the Senators, representing the sovereign States, and two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives, representing the masses of the people, before it can be considered by the States at all, it is evident that it comes to the States with strong presumptions in favor of the wide-spread demand behind it.

The Federal Suffrage Amendment, drafted by Susan B. Anthony, remains the open and direct road to the national enfranchisement of women.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, National Headquarters, 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.
The Federal Suffrage Amendment
A Short Cut To The National Enfranchisement of Women

TEXT OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT:

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

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

STEPS NECESSARY FOR ITS PASSAGE:

1. The amendment must be passed in the United States Senate and House of Representatives by a two-thirds' vote of the members present, a quorum being present. There are 435 members of the House and 96 members of the Senate. If a bare quorum is present in the House (218) members, the amendment must secure 146 favorable votes; if the entire membership of the House is present, the amendment must secure 290 favorable votes. In the Senate the amendment must secure a minimum vote of 33 and a maximum vote of 64.

2. The amendment must then be ratified by a majority in three-fourths (36) of the State Legislatures.

FEDERAL ACTION IS MORE DIRECT THAN STATE ACTION, BECAUSE:

1. A STATE Constitutional Amendment must usually be passed by a two-thirds' vote of the State Legislature, sometimes twice over; and must then be submitted to a referendum of the male voters of the State. A UNITED STATES Constitutional Amendment, once passed by Congress, needs to secure only a single majority vote in three-fourths of the State Legislatures; and no referendum of the people is necessary.

2. The Federal Amendment thus saves twelve State campaigns. If the amendment is ratified by three-fourths of the States, it becomes a law for the whole nation.

3. A FEDERAL Amendment, once passed by Congress, is passed forever, and is thereafter before the State Legislatures for their consideration. If a State Legislature rejects the Federal Amendment, it can reconsider its action. If it ratifies the amendment, the ratification is final. A STATE constitutional amendment, if rejected by the male voters, must be reintroduced into the State Legislature and the work begun all over again from the very beginning.

4. FEDERAL work saves the expenditure of great sums of money in reaching individual voters scattered over vast areas. Work for the Federal amendment is centered on comparatively few members of Congress and of the State Legislatures—all responsible officials gathered together at National and State Capitals. Work for the STATE amendment must be scattered over the population and territory of thirty-seven States.

5. We have a tremendous leverage in Congress which does not exist in the Legislatures of the thirty-six unfree States. There are in the United States Senate and House, the representatives of millions of enfranchised women. One-fourth of the Senate, one-sixth of the House, and one-fifth of the electoral vote comes from States where women vote in National elections. Nearly 4,000,000 women can vote for President of the United States.
Votes for the Women of the United States

BY

The Federal Amendment — Quick and Democratic

WHAT IS THE CONSTITUENCY OF A CONGRESSMAN?

It includes the Western women voters, because Congress makes laws for all the States.

Women voters demand the passage of the "Susan B. Anthony" amendment THIS SESSION.

SOME CONGRESSMEN SAY:

"I cannot vote for the amendment, because my State has defeated Woman Suffrage, and my constituents are not in favor of it."

SUFFRAGISTS REPLY:

1—In Congress, a man makes laws for the whole United States, not merely for his own constituency; therefore, he should consider the question from the point of view of the welfare of the nation. This requires him to vote for the amendment, as a nation cannot exist "half slave, half free."

2—He should vote for it, because Western women voters, upon removal to the east, are now penalized by disfranchisement. Only national action can forbid such unjust, inter-state discrimination.

3—If their party demands it, Congressmen frequently subordinate their personal opinions, and the supposed wishes of their constituency, to the party welfare. The instances of this are too numerous to mention. For Party reasons they should vote for the amendment, because women voters have determined to penalize any party which does not pass it.

4—By voting for the amendment, a Congressman gives his constituents another chance to express their opinion. The voters elect the State Legislature which will ratify or reject the amendment.

5—Ours is a representative government. The question of suffrage should not be left entirely to the direct governmentalists.

6—There is no state or Congressional district known to be against woman suffrage. The PEOPLE have never voted on the question. The opinion of only one-half of the people has no moral sanction.

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CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE:
213 HALE BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA.
EARLY RATIFICATION BY THREE-FOURTHS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURES IS TO BE LOOKED FOR, BECAUSE:

1. The eleven equal suffrage States, and Illinois, which has Presidential and Municipal suffrage, would ratify the amendment at once. These States are:

   Arizona    Illinois    Oregon
   California Kansas    Utah
   Colorado Montana    Washington
   Idaho Nevada    Wyoming

2. Favorable action is to be hoped for in the States whose legislatures have recently voted to refer the question of woman suffrage to the voters, or where the voters by initiative petition have called for a referendum. There are fifteen such States:

   Arkansas    Nebraska    Pennsylvania
   Iowa        New Jersey    South Dakota
   Massachusetts New York    Tennessee
   Michigan    North Dakota    West Virginia
   Missouri    Ohio        Wisconsin

3. Out of the remaining twenty-one States, it will not be difficult to secure nine:

   Alabama    Louisiana    North Carolina
   Connecticut Maine    Oklahoma
   Delaware    Maryland    Rhode Island
   Florida    Minnesota    South Carolina
   Georgia    Mississippi    Texas
   Indiana    New Hampshire Vermont
   Kentucky    New Mexico    Virginia

4. It is to be remembered that in each State only a single majority vote of the State Legislature has to be secured.

   In every State where the amendment is passed, it is passed for good; in every State where the amendment is lost, it can be reconsidered.

THE HOPEFULNESS OF THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE SITUATION MUST BE ESTIMATED BY ITS RATE OF PROGRESS IN THE LAST CONGRESS (THE 63rd), WHEN FOR THE FIRST TIME IN RECENT YEARS AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN WAS WAGED IN ITS BEHALF.

In the 63rd Congress the amendment, which has been before Congress since 1878,
   Was debated for the first time since 1887;
   Received a favorable committee report in the Senate, for the first time since 1892;
   Was reported to the House of Representatives for the first time since 1894;
   Was voted upon in the Senate for the first time since 1887, receiving a majority of one and failing by only eleven of the necessary two-thirds’ vote;
   Was voted upon in the House for the first time in our history, receiving 174 votes and failing by only 78 of the necessary two-thirds.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, National Headquarters, 1429 F Street, Washington, D. C.
THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY

For Congress to get Rid of the Suffrage Amendment!
And that is — TO PASS IT

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

“The right of Citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.”

The amendment must pass Congress by a two-thirds vote of those present when there is a quorum. It must be ratified by three-quarters of the Legislatures of the States. It then becomes the law in all States.

SOME CONGRESSMEN SAY:

“I do not believe in forcing Woman Suffrage on unwilling States; which would be the case, if twelve States did not ratify the amendment.”

SUFFRAGISTS SAY:

1—The Constitution provides for this method of ratification. Women did not make this law.

2—“Don’t cross the bridge before you come to it.” There may be no unwilling States. Congressmen may safely leave this objection for the Legislatures of the States to deal with.

3—The same men say: “When you have thirty-six equal suffrage States, your amendment will pass.” In other words, when political pressure makes them do it, they will do it. Why, we ask, if it would be right to force the amendment on 12 States, is it not right to submit it NOW?

4—The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th amendments were imposed on unwilling States. It is absurd and illegal to suggest unanimous ratification by the States of any amendment.

5—This is an insincere objection: The men who make it, have often done the very thing they say they object to doing now. The 14th and 15th amendments were forced on unwilling States by the Republican Party.

The Income Tax amendment was forced on six States, and the Direct Election of Senators amendment on twelve States, by the Democratic Party.

6—When the welfare of their party demands it, Congressmen subordinate their personal opinions. It demands it NOW.

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY

Because, many thousands of women voters in the West have determined to make the freedom of women the PARAMOUNT ISSUE before Congress, and to penalize any party which does not pass the Anthony Amendment.

7—It is not imposing an untried experiment, but a well-tested and successful form of government in twelve of our own States, and Alaska.

Men and Women! Write your Senators and Congressmen to vote for the “Susan B. Anthony” amendment THIS SESSION.

NATIONAL LITERATURE HEADQUARTERS,
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE:
213 HALE BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA.
United States Senators and Representatives on Woman Suffrage

SENATOR LAFOLLETTE OF WISCONSIN: "That democracy is safest where its entire citizenship is most enlightened, most interested, most alert. As it is essential that we should have the cooperation of the women of the country in the development of home life, so we should have the cooperation of the women of the country in the legislation which underlies the home life, and is foundational to all our social relations."

SENATOR BRADY OF IDAHO: "Idaho has enjoyed the advantages and blessings of equal suffrage for 18 years, and can recommend it as a federal measure."

SENATOR JONES OF WASHINGTON: "Every time the Amendment is considered in the House or the Senate its strength will be increased and its ultimate success is sure."

SENATOR OWEN OF OKLAHOMA: "I will welcome the time when the ideals of women will be recognized in government."

SENATOR BRISTOW OF KANSAS: "Universal woman suffrage is sure to win. The quickest way is to keep continuously at it in the states."

SENATOR CHAMBERLAIN OF OREGON: "The battle for equal suffrage is more than half won."

SENATOR THOMPSON OF KANSAS: "None of the objections urged against woman suffrage have ever been experienced in actual practice. I have always stood for it, and always shall vote for it."

SENATOR SUTHERLAND OF UTAH: "I expect to live to see the day when an opponent of woman suffrage will be as great a curiosity as an advocate was 25 years ago."

MR. RUPLEY OF PENNSYLVANIA: "I believe the granting of woman suffrage will do more for the moral questions before the people than all the ministers in the pulpits have been able to do for the last two decades."

MR. FALCONER OF WASHINGTON: "This movement is the sign of an advanced civilization."

MR. KEATING OF COLORADO: "I have been for suffrage for 20 years and I grow stronger in the faith every year."
WOMEN IN THE COUNTRY

THE PRESERVATION OF HER HOME AND THE BETTERMENT AND CARE OF HER CHILDREN IS AS IMPORTANT TO THE WOMAN IN THE COUNTRY AS TO HER CITY SISTER. TO-DAY AS NEVER BEFORE ARE THE NEEDS OF CITY AND COUNTRY THE SAME, FOR BOTH SUFFER ALIKE FROM THE SAME EVILS, AND SHARE THE SAME BENEFITS. THEREFORE, AS WOMEN, TO CARE PROPERLY FOR OUR FAMILIES, WE MUST HELP TOWARD THE COMMON GOOD.

WE WANT

TO HELP make our State a true republic—a Government Of, For and By the WHOLE People. Women are one-half of the People. Is there any reason for disfranchising us in company with criminals, idiots and lunatics?

TO HELP secure representation for us women on the farm who may be left widows and orphans. No one knows better than the farmer how his wife HELPS him to earn and carry on the farm. When he dies, he leaves it without fear in her hands. But he leaves it henceforth UNPROTECTED BY A CITIZEN'S VOTE. She is considered a citizen when the taxes fall due—and her taxes are more likely to be raised than reduced, but on election day she may not say how these taxes shall be spent. TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY.

TO HELP get laws that will make us guardians of our own children equally with their fathers.

TO HELP get laws to raise the age of protection for girls.

TO HELP get more State money for country schools and also larger appropriations for township High Schools in order that our children may be educated AT HOME and may be given the practical education that we think they ought to have.

TO HELP get better markets, better transportation facilities, cheaper distribution, equal freight and express rates so that producer and consumer may be brought closer together and a larger share of the profits return to the farm.

TO HELP get more social life. This means better roads, better trolley service, more libraries and meeting halls; and the right to use those we have for social purposes. If wholesome amusements are not provided, our boys and girls will seek the other kind.

TO HELP protect our families from the contagion that lurks in ready-made clothing. Epidemics of measles, scarlet-fever, etc. in the country have been traced repeatedly to city sweat-shops where clothing is finished amid filth and disease.

Every one of these things is controlled by politics and men elected to office heed the voice of those who elect them. If we expect them to consider that which is near and dear to us, THE PROTECTION OF HOME AND CHILDREN, as seriously as they consider the chief interests of men, PROPERTY AND BUSINESS, we must have the opportunity TO HELP choose the men who make our laws. THIS IS SIMPLE JUSTICE. It means women must be allowed to vote.

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A Catholic Clergyman Approves Woman Suffrage

By REV. D. J. McMahon, of New York. (Reprinted from The Catholic News)

"The fundamental philosophical reason of the woman movement is briefly this: The social revolution, that has so completely changed her condition, has not been so swift in changing the framework of law that holds society together today. As a consequence, woman is in a false social position because that position is not recognized by the spirit of laws and constitutions enacted for other times, other conditions. Hence the need of legal changes, and enactments that shall be more in harmony with the de facto position of woman. I believe the need of some such proceeding is vaguely admitted by all. When it comes to the practical means of enforcing these changes, then there is evidently the widest divergence of opinion. * * * *

"Perhaps the strongest utterance as yet made in this country was that made last autumn by the Archbishop of San Francisco when, in a pastoral letter, fulfilling his episcopal office of teaching the faithful, he strongly urged the women of his flock to exercise their prerogative of voting. The testimony of Archbishop Redwood of Wellington, New Zealand, given in a newspaper interview in this country, while it has not the same sacrosanct character is, however, important and valuable. * * * *

"I take pleasure in quoting the interview in full: 'Women,' said the Archbishop to a reporter of the St. Louis Times, 'have had the vote in New Zealand for many years, and it has been proven that they use it wisely and judiciously, and for the greatest common good. I am heartily in sympathy with the movement in this country, and believe that the tide of equal suffrage cannot be stemmed. Not very long ago we had a woman as mayor of Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, and her administration, while not a phenomenal success, was a meritorious one in many respects. The greatest service of the women voters to New Zealand lies in the school, hospital and charitable departments, and in bringing about municipal beautification and improvement. The women of New Zealand have maintained the high standard of purity and womanhood, and, if anything, they are better wives and home-conservers.'

"Indeed, I am informed that in that wonderful antipodean land even the Catholic nuns vote, a fact, if it be a fact, that should rightfully give many of us an apoplectic seizure.

"But, seriously, why should women not have the right to vote? Let us examine that question, apart from all personal prejudice, predilection, apprehension—aside even from the consideration that, in the opinion of many, if not all those engaged in the feminist movement, it is the sole effective means of securing that betterment for which they are struggling.

"The right to vote can be denied to women either on the ground that suffrage is an inherent right of the men of any commonwealth, or that women are essentially unfitted for its exercise, or, from the Catholic point of view, that to grant it would be to break with a sacred tradition, or that its exercise would tend to degrade them.

"It is, of course, an absurdity to think that man have any inherent or essential right to the suffrage. That right is determined by the body politic, and is ultimately a matter of positive and mutable law. * * * *

"Restrict the suffrage if you will; enact any qualification you may desire, but do not be guilty of the absurdity and injustice of establishing sex as a barrier, when under actual conditions woman is so important a factor in every relation of modern life. Woman without the suffrage, and therefore without responsibility, has always exerted political influence. Her influence in affairs of state was so much the more dangerous since, incurring no responsibility, running no risk, she could allow herself to be guided by whim or passion. Place responsibility on her by giving her the right to vote, and at least you are in no worse position, but in all probability in a better one.

"Nor can it be truthfully said that woman is unfitted for the exercise of the suffrage. Who will claim, for instance, that a woman of education and affairs cannot better discharge that function than her ignorant furnace man, or the drunken corner loafer, or the low-browed drunkard, or the political healer?

"What sound argument can be advanced against the proposal to give women the right of suffrage? Surely the appeal to tradition, especially on the part of Catholics, is pointless and contradictory. For, first of all, we must remember that the political system of suffrage is
altogether of recent date, commencing practically with the establishment of these United States.

The protest in the name of traditional custom is about as sensible as a protest against automobiles or electricity. As a witty French woman puts it: ‘You might as well say that since the Romans did not make use of dynamos we have no right to use incandescent lamps. Parliamentary rule and universal suffrage are also novelties of the century, and it would be difficult to prove by legal tests or historic documents that the exercise of our right to vote was long ago an exclusively masculine appanage.’

On the contrary, and it is well for Catholics particularly to take note of this, as far as there is a tradition, it is in favor of woman suffrage.

In former times all governmental offices were filled by the sovereign or by right of inheritance or rank, and voting was a rarity. But wherever the right to vote did exist, in the great medieval corporations, for example, in cantonal, communal or municipal affairs, and especially in female as well as male religious communities, women as such were not excluded from voting.

There is on record, for instance, the details of an election in Montpelier in 1334, and 20 per cent of the voters were women. In almost every country women had the right to vote in communal affairs. In the Republics of the Middle Ages the officials of the Communes were designated by lot irrespective of sex, a usage that obtained in Tuscany until 1849, and in Lombardy until 1816.

In the Franche-Comte women who were landed proprietors assisted in the legislative councils, and the convocation writ of the famous States General of 1789 is a proof of the right of women to vote.

According to feudal law, a woman possessed of a fief acquired all seigniorial rights. She could administer and receive oaths, nominate officials, assist at deliberative and legislative assemblies. In many countries a married woman could administer her own property independently of her husband.

Laboulaye cites marriage contracts of that tenor from the tenth and eleventh centuries that not only endow women with property and administrative rights, but also with proprietary rights. Such rights included that of voting.

Those who appeal to tradition then to justify the refusal to women of the suffrage, are thereby convicted of ignorance. For Catholics such an appeal is an indication of abyssmal ignorance. The times of which we have been speaking were Catholic. In Catholic countries, the Code of St. Louis, which sanctioned these rights to women, continued in force until it was ruthlessly superseded by the Code of the Revolution. Catholics, therefore, who invoke tradition as opposed to the principle of woman suffrage, are embracing the unholy tradition of the French Revolution, and are innocently adopting the motto of Milton’s Satan, ‘Evil be thou my Good.’ Moreover, Catholics, above all, should not forget that today, even as in the Middle Ages, in religious communities women elect their superiors. The history of Abbesses in their Church should stop their protest against woman’s right to vote. Furthermore, it may be a surprise, but it is, nevertheless a fact, that even today in the great diocese of Turin, Italy, and in many of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, Catholic women as well as their men folk vote for the parish priest, and the Bishop is obliged to confirm the candidates so elected. The women as well as those of the men, unless he can find some canonical ground for his refusal, and then the election must be held again by identical the same electors.

If the Catholic Church allows women to vote for an office of such tremendous responsibility as that involving the cure of souls, who will presume to say that she is of necessity opposed to women voting for merely political officials?

Do not seek refuge in the hypocritical assertion that the casting of a ballot once a year in a ballot box in a polling place, protected by every known device, will degrade woman or be an indecent act. Before you descend to utter that, stop the crowding in our New York subway, elevated and surface cars, where every vestige of delicacy disappears in your treatment of women.

Purify your social life, but do not be guilty of the stupidity of saying that the exercise of the right to vote would degrade any virtuous woman in the world. As long as you send your daughters out into the busy market place with all its dangers, and expect them to avoid the pitfalls that are, alas, too common, please do not commit intellectual suicide by declaring that they cannot vote, because their modesty or reserve might suffer.

And to bring the matter a little closer, as long as at church bazaars, fairs, collections, card parties, receptions et hoc genus omne, you can engage the services of Catholic women, young or old, to meet friend and stranger alike, without any thought of danger, please do not conjure up imaginary dangers as lurking in a polling booth, protected by the laws of the land and the intelligent manhood that is at last awakening to its duty in the politics of their country.”
A Catholic's View of Suffrage

By the REV. J. ELLIOTT ROSS, C. S. P.

Perhaps I am expected to give you the Catholic view of woman suffrage. If that be all that you wish to know of, you may as well stop reading now. That can be stated in less than a dozen words. For the Catholic view of this question, to put it in an Irish way, is that there is no Catholic view. You might just as well speak of the Catholic view of the tariff, or the weather, or the corn crop. There is no Catholic view of woman suffrage, because it is not a Catholic question.

As was recently said editorially in the official organ of the Archdiocese of Chicago, the Church "has never taken any stand either for or against the proposal. True, individual members of the Church, and even members of the clergy and hierarchy, have expressed opinions pro and con in regard to it, but these are but individual opinions, and do not represent the attitude of the Church as a whole. There is no obligation placed upon Catholics by the Church binding them to oppose any more than to support the suffrage movement, simply because there is no intrinsic question of faith or morals involved in it."—(The New World, Oct. 18, 1913).

Therefore, when I speak to you on woman suffrage, I am not giving you the Catholic view. I am giving you my own view. I am speaking to you as a citizen, not a priest.

Personally, I am very much in favor of woman suffrage, and that for three reasons.
The first is that woman need the suffrage as much for their own highest spiritual and intellectual development as for protection.
The second is that men need women as helpmates in political as well as in domestic life.
And my third reason for suffrage is that there is no reason against it.

Women Need the Suffrage

In the first place women need the suffrage. They need it for their own spiritual and intellectual growth. You have heard it said, doubtless, that the suffrage is going to hurt women spiritually. These objectors take the lofty ground of looking out for woman's best interests, and profess to believe that she will be degraded by the foulness men have created in political life. But such persons underrate woman's influence for good. If we could conceive the home without a mother, family life would be worse than political life. And to extend woman's influence from the hearth to the machinery of government is not going to injure her, but purify and ennoble our politics.

How much a woman needs this life outside the home, this larger housekeeping for the State (as Miss McDowell calls it), is brought out very clearly in a recent book written by a Catholic and published by a Catholic firm. It is called "The Eighth Year" (by Philip Gibbs, New York: Devin-Adair Co.), because it deals with that period of married life. The title is taken from the fact that the statistics of the English divorce court show that more proceedings for dissolution of marriage are begun in that year than in any other.

According to the author, it is because for the first two years the couple are so in love that they do not see each other's faults. They are supremely happy in each other's company, and count that time lost which they must spend in other ways. The husband hurries home from business, the wife is always ready to meet him.

But after two years, they find each other out. They see that they have not married the ideal they thought they had, and make a working compromise to get the best out of a none too good bargain.

In two more years, they find themselves out. It is driven home upon them that they are not ideal either. Having tired of each other's society, they now begin to tire of their own. And during the seventh and eighth years, her own narrowness and selfishness become especially insufferable to the wife. The husband is absorbed in business. He has interests outside the home, and imagines that his duties are fulfilled by providing money for matinees and teas and operas. All the while, however, his wife is starving for something more really worth while. Morally and emotionally she is ready to snatch at anything that offers a few hours' excitement. The round of worthless, empty social functions cannot satisfy her. She is sick of the hollow selfishness of it all.
At this psychological crisis, the inevitable temptation enters. The man professing to be her soulmate urges her to disregard conventions, to seek with him the satisfaction of her consuming craving since she feels for some strong tonic. In this particular case, the woman was saved by finding elsewhere an outlet for the pent-up emotions of her being—she was arrested for smashing windows as a militant suffragette. As, however, had no sympathy for this one outburst she settles down into a peaceable advocate of women’s rights, an earnest worker for the good of others.

Women Need Wider Outlook

I believe there is a very real and important truth underlying this story. I believe that women, in order to fulfill their home duties, need to get out of the home into the wider life of the nation. To center our all interests in one family is to risk losing the big family, and all self-denial in man. As has been said, the history of civilization is the history of the enlarging concept of neighbor. At first confined to immediate blood relations, then to a village or tribe, then gradually growing into a realization of that sublime intuition of St. Paul, when there will be neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, white nor black, but one brotherhood of man united through the fatherhood of God.

Needs Vote for Protection

Also, women need the vote to protect herself. It is a trite saying, but its triteness does not rob it of its truth, that the unmarried woman who is paying taxes is being taxed without representation. And the fact that this has been going on so long does make it less tyranny than what our fathers fought against. Women who are going to pay the tax should have some voice in the matter; women who are going to pay the assessments should have some voice in deciding upon the improvements.

And the married woman’s rights in her own property and in that of her husband are as great as those of his husband and hers. There is absolutely no reason for any distinction favoring the man, except that men have made the laws. Yet in some States, the property relations between husband and wife are the same as those under the English law. As a matter of fact, they are the same as those of the Dower law of ancient Rome, as is said to have been the basis of what is called the “husbandman’s right.” The wife has no control over her husband’s property, real or personal. She cannot dispose of it without his consent and in any way; whereas, the management of his estate is entirely in his hands. Her personal property becomes his property; her real estate is managed by him. He can eject tenants (even his wife’s own mother), collect rents and use the income in any way he pleases. He may give his wife a part, but he is not bound to.

And when a man’s wife dies intestate, in some States, he receives one-half of his personal property, and a life interest in all her real estate. Indeed, in at least one State, unless I am mistaken, his wife cannot provide even by will for children by a previous marriage. The daughter of a re-married woman, if her mother die leaving only real property dependent upon the generosity of a step-father. She owns her mother’s estate, but can get none of the income until her step-father’s death.

In many States a man has a legal right to his own wages and they cannot be seized for any debt contracted by his wife without his consent, yet his wife’s wages can be seized for his debts, though she may have absolutely nothing to do with making them, and may have been seriously injured by such expenditure. A mistress was once about to pay her cook, when she was handed a perfectly legal document requiring her instead to pay the money to a certain saloonkeeper, because the cook’s husband had run a bill there. So this woman had no redress against the abuse and beating from her husband in his cups, actually had to pay by her hard work for the liquor which made a beast out of him.

The property relations of man and wife should be recognized as an equal partnership, even though in probably most women would not be getting what they are now, comparatively few women are supported by their husbands. The economic condition of the woman is usually equal fairly to that of the man as is found out when the mother dies. His wages are seldom sufficient then to provide the same services that his wife was giving. The tribulation in cooking, sewing, washing, caring for the children, forcing the income to go as far as possible, in making all that is meant by the word “home,” in the vast majority, is worth more than the man receives.

Again, in the question of right over the children, there is a discrimination against the woman. In some States she may not repair damages for the death of a son, unless the child be actually with her at the time. This condition is not imposed upon the man. Therefore, a mother who has raised a boy deserted by his father and her husband, could not recover damages for his death; or if she could she would go into a fund to be kept for her abandoning husband. When he returns and takes it all, she has lost it under the law. Of course, this is not the law in all States, but it should not be the law even in one.

Men Need Woman Suitage

I want equal suffrage for what it will do for men. We have halved society, as has been said, and the surgical operation has left the worst and weakest half to deal with political problems. Men have not been able to handle the increasing complication of the situation. There may be no ultimate solution to this, but I don’t see any, but, then, I am a mere man. Perhaps when women get the political power that men have, they will be able to show us some remedy.

But there may be no ultimate and universal route, there are certain crudely evident things that ought to be done, and which will be done when women get real chances.

For instance, all monopoly of certain resources and products ought to cease. Ten per cent. of the people of the United States ought to own 90 per cent. of the wealth. Half a million people, in a city like Chicago, ought not to be forced to live on the charity of a few others because a few others have monopolized the land; 30,000 men should not be killed and twenty times as many injured in mine and factory every year; our children should not be taken at four, six, eight years old to drudge unceasingly to make our finery; our meals should not be tainted, our bread mouldy, our fruits spoiled. All these things are unnecessary.

Yet men have faced these conditions helplessly. They have made the laws under which such crimes have been perpetrated; under which our railroad express companies, our gas and electric light companies, have consistently robbed us in order to pay dividends on watered stock; under which a small ring of money kings have throttled the nation and dictated their own terms.

What women have done without the suffrage and where they have had the suffrage without the vote. What women they will do when they have the vote. For instance, when a woman has not only put her own house in order, she has put her town in order. Women are the only people who know what cleanliness means. Go into the house of a religious order of men—there are kobweb as on the ceiling and dust on the floor and you could write your name on the tables, because there are on women there to keep it clean. But a religious community of women will keep their house spotless, because they cannot afford to be otherwise.

From coast to coast, women have put towns in order. They have gotten public parks and playgrounds, they have made war on billiards, ash heaps and leg- age cans; they have gotten drinking fountains for man and beast; they have shortened hours for women and eliminated children from industry; they have put seats behind for women and called it “shop early,” etc. Red Cross campaigns; women in the war on tuberculosis are the result of woman’s efforts; she has established day nurseries and public feeding stations; she has obtained medical inspection in the schools.

And where woman has the vote she is concentrating her attention upon such laws as those for a minimum wage, anti-child labor, mothers’ pensions, equal co-guardianship of children, vocational training in public schools and other State institutions.

Certainly men need woman’s help in governing this nation, more as in governing the State. As has been said, man has been injured so much, is capable of thinking in terms of property, whereas women by immemorial custom has been trained to think in terms of humanity—the home, husband, children. We cannot afford to have our laws made by any narrow, one-sided class as men have been and will continue to be. It is not only just and proper to give women the vote—it is a good policy. For we need the influx of their humanity in dealing with our problems.

No Solid Argument Against Suffrage

If you wish a third argument, it is that there is no argument against equal suffrage. When you carry the war into the enemy’s country and demand an argument against votes for women that does not equally apply to votes for men, you get the argument against suffrage.

It is sometimes said, for instance, that the exercise of the franchise will take a woman out of the home to the neglect of domestic duties. An advocate of votes for women should be willing to show that the man’s contribution is worth more than the man’s objection when she offered to answer questions. Some men from the audience asked with a delicious air of superiority, "What’s going to become of the babies who are going to be taken out of the homes to vote?"—"What becomes of them now when we go to market?" was the ready and sufficient reply.
In fact, one might just as reasonably urge that women should have no religion because church-going may interfere with their home obligations. Church-going does interfere with the domestic duties of some women. They spend entirely too much time in church and in learning the gossip of the parish.

And why is it not a mother's place to prepare her boy for full rounded citizenship? Why should a lad take his religion from his mother, but his politics from his father? Why should not her influence extend into the political sphere, too? Why should she not train him in political as well as in other righteousness? But she cannot do this effectively unless she has a personal interest through the suffrage. And so her domestic duties, instead of militating against the suffrage, argue for it. For she cannot fulfill her duties towards her children in the largest, completest sense without taking some part in political affairs.

**No Fear of Family Quarrels**

It is said, too, that for a wife to be able to vote will mean a constant source of quarreling between her and her husband. You cannot expect them to agree in politics, and, therefore, they will soon be breaking up the furniture. But we assume that we have reached that degree of civilization where two people even two who love one another and are united by one of God's sacraments, can differ without fighting about it. It is possible peaceably to agree or disagree. And if people can't do that on the question of politics, it will do little good to eliminate that particular question. They will find plenty of other things to quarrel over.

Others will tell you that women are governed too much by sentiment to use the suffrage intelligently. They are not so rational as men, they guess instead of reasoning, they jump at conclusions. But what's the harm of jumping at conclusions provided you arrive at the right one? Why go round Robin Hood's barn when you can go through? And men guess themselves. The difference between men and women in the matter is the difference between the North and the South, Northerners guess and Southerners reckon—but Southerners reckon better than Northerners guess. Men don't reason things out ordinarily. And fortunately so. For if our government was in the hands of educated men who reason to their conclusions, it would be the most egregious failure in the world. We who believe in democracy know that its success is based upon the fact—that the people, the great unwashed, uneducated people are, after all, better judges than a set of pedagogues.

What do the men who talk about sentiment and guess work know about the effects of a tariff? The great majority of them didn't have enough information on the subject to vote intelligently according to their own standard. These self-constituted arbiters of what is practicable and impracticable, advisable and inadvisable, always damned every progressive movement since the world began. They told us locomotives were useless because a horse beat the first one; they told us steam transatlantic navigation was impossible, because they had figured out, on rational grounds, that a ship couldn't carry all the coal she would need; they told Columbus he was a fool to try for a new route—and so on indefinitely.

"Be sure you're right, then go ahead." would be a good motto if you could ever be sure. But if you wait to be sure, you'll never get anywhere. You'll stay in the same place until doomsday. You will be like the scholastic donkey starving between two haystacks, because the reasons were equally good for eating either. A little recklessness, a little guessing, a little faith in Providence is necessary for progress. And because women have more faith than men they can use the suffrage better. For in some ways political faith is akin to divine faith—it is the substance of things hoped for, it is the evidence of things that appear not. (Hebr. 6-1).

Women have more hope, more optimism, more idealism, and therefore, they have greater ability to realize the substance of the things they hope for, greater power of creating the evidence of those things that appear not as yet to the more material vision of men.

And so, where women have not the suffrage, I would give it to them for these three reasons: (1) that they need it for their own spiritual and intellectual development, as well as for protection; (2) that men need that women should vote; (3) and the third reason is, that there is no reason against giving them the suffrage.

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Catholic Opinions

I.

There exists a widespread belief that the Catholic Church is officially opposed to Woman Suffrage. In a reply to a direct question concerning the Church's attitude, His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, under date of March 27, 1914, stated: "The Church has taken no official attitude on the subject, but leaves the matter to the good judgment of her children as to what they think best. The statement that the Church is opposed to the enfranchisement of women is incorrect."

II.

The late Most Rev. Patrick W. Riordan, Archbishop of San Francisco, Cal., in a letter to his pastors read in all the churches of his archdiocese, on Sunday, August 11th, 1912, said: "While our Catholic people, with the high ideals which the church holds before them, ought to be models of right living and exemplars of the highest Christian virtue, they should also possess a high degree of civic virtue. The enjoyment of the privileges and blessings of citizenship impose correlative duties and obligations which no citizen should ignore. Among these duties the chiefest is voting. . . . In California Woman's Suffrage is now an accomplished fact. Women ought not, therefore, to permit their traditional love for the virtues of the home, their innate dignity and becoming reserve to prevent them from discharging the chiefest of civic obligations. I wish, therefore, that you would take a seasonable opportunity of advising our new electors to register that they may be at all times prepared to give their services in making California a model state, and of handing down to their children that come after them a tradition of righteousness and of unselfish patriotism."

III.

Rt. Rev. Paul P. Rhode, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Ill., on hearing that many foreign women hesitated to register without the sanction of the church, issued the following letter, which was read in all the churches of Chicago, on Sunday, March 15th, 1914: "Catholic women of Illinois, in complete harmony with the teachings of the church, should all accept the new prerogative of their citizenship which they have been invested by the extension of suffrage to them by law. Conditions demand that they be not reluctant to exercise their right of voting, but, on the contrary, that they take a lively interest in the political life of the country. . . . Let the Catholic women remember the debt of gratitude to society and to the state for the benefits which they and all enjoy under its protection. When entering the polling place or voting booth no other motives should actuate them than the welfare of the state, the good of society and, above all, the protection of the family life of the nation and of sound principles."

IV.

Rev. Joseph H. McMahon, Ph.D., Rector of The Church of "Our Lady of Lourdes," New York, in a lecture delivered January 15th, 1913, said in part: "It is well for Catholics particularly to take note of this, as far as there is a tradition, it is in favor of Woman Suffrage. . . . To say that the exercise of the right to vote will mean that a woman must neglect her home duties is to utter a smug commonplace, that
shows how little given to reflection we are. ... Purity your social life, but do not be guilty of the stupidity of saying that the exercise of the right to vote would degrade any virtuous woman in the world. As long as you send your daughters out into the busy market place with all its dangers and expect them to escape the pitfalls, which are, alas, too common, please do not commit intellectual suicide by declaring that they cannot vote because their modesty or reserve might suffer.”

V.

Rev. J. E. Ross, C.S.P., of Chicago, Ill., author of “Consumers and Wage Earners,” said: “It is not only just and proper to give women the vote, it is good policy, for we need the influx of their humanity in dealing with our problems. Man has by long absorption in commerce been trained to think in terms of property, whereas woman by immemorial custom has been trained to think in terms of humanity, the home, husband, and children. I would give women suffrage for three reasons: that they need it for their own spiritual and intellectual development as well as for a protection against man-made laws, that men need that women should vote, and that there is no reason against giving them the suffrage.” (“New World,” Chicago, Ill., January 9, 1914.)

VI.

Rev. Geo. M. Searle, C.S.P., of San Francisco, Cal., under date of April 16th, 1914: “It is true that I am and have been all along in favor of woman suffrage. I regard the argument so commonly advanced about woman’s sphere being the home as simply and obviously absurd. One might as well say that the doctor’s sphere is his office or the hospital or his patients’ homes. The point is that no time needs to be taken from one’s regular duties in order to vote. It is quite plain that with regard to moral questions the interests of morality would be advanced by woman suffrage.”

VII.

Rev. John L. Belford of Brooklyn, N. Y.: “Experience teaches that wherever woman goes she feels her way with caution, and in the long run she succeeds. I believe that women are going to obtain the privilege they seek. I believe that if they do acquire it they will exercise the right not merely well, but nobly, and that there are certain evils which they will not brook.”

VIII.

Rev. John Talbot Smith of Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., Ex-President of the Catholic Summer School of America: “From the day suffrage entered the world it became inevitable that women should enjoy it as well as men. It is the only weapon of democracy, and democracy is no respecter of persons, sexes, conditions. If democracy is to succeed righteously its children must use and know how best to use the suffrage. Therefore, in due time, women will vote. And it has seemed to me latterly that Providence has taken up the matter and is ordering this agitation among women.”

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
505 Fifth Avenue, New York
Eminent Catholics Declare for Suffrage

REV. J. ELLIOTT ROSS, C. S. P., Chicago, Illinois, author of "Consumers and Wage Earners": —

"Personally I am very much in favor of woman suffrage, and that for three reasons.

"The first is that women need the suffrage as much for their own highest spiritual and intellectual development as for protection.

"The second is that men need women as helpmates in political as well as in domestic life.

"And my third reason for suffrage is that there is no reason against it."

REV. JOHN A. RYAN, St. Paul's Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, author of "The Living Wage": —

"Through the ballot women could protect themselves against many of the evils to which they are exposed by their new industrial tasks and surroundings. They could hasten the enactment of legislation for decent wages and for better conditions of employment generally."

HIS EMINENCE JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, Baltimore, Maryland: —

"The church has taken no official attitude on the subject, but leaves the matter to the good judgment of her children as to what they think best. The statement that the church is opposed to the enfranchisement of women is incorrect."
REV. JOSEPH H. McMAHON, Rector of the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes, New York:—

"Woman without the suffrage, and therefore without responsibility, has always exerted political influence. Her influence in affairs of state was so much the more dangerous since, incurring no responsibility, running no risk, she could allow herself to be guided by whim or passion. Place responsibility on her by giving her the right to vote, and at least you are in no worse position, but in all probability in a better one. ... Purify your social life, but do not be guilty of the stupidity of saying that the exercise of the right to vote would degrade any virtuous woman in the world."

REV. THOMAS SCULLY, late Rector of St. Mary's Church of the Annunciation, Cambridge, Massachusetts:—

"1. 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 prejudice, custom and the old cry of 'In-opportunity'. So it is with this. It is a battle,—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish notions. The cause is just. It may be defeated today but never conquered, and tomorrow it will be victorious.

"2. I know of no argument for refusing the suffrage to women that is not equally applicable to men. We are way behind other countries in this. Educated men and women of the Catholic laity are everywhere now to be found favorably disposed towards it."

HIS EMINENCE PATRICK FRANCIS MORAN, late Cardinal of Australia:—

"The woman who votes only avails herself of the privilege that democracy has gained for her. ... As a mother, she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. ... The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature."

ARCHBISHOP REDWOOD of Wellington, New Zealand:—

"Women have had the vote in New Zealand for many years, and it has been proven that they use it wisely and judiciously, and for the greatest common good. I am heartily in sympathy with the movement in this country, and believe that the tide of equal suffrage cannot be stemmed. ... The women of New Zealand have maintained the high standard of purity and womanhood, and, if anything, they are better wives and home-conservers."

REV. EDWARD McSWEENEY, Mt. St. Mary's, Maryland:—

"I hope that women will consent to vote, as they do elsewhere, for public officers."

REV. PETER C. YORK, Editor of the "Monitor," San Francisco:—

"Motherhood does not cease when the boy goes out to earn his living. Is it not as much the mother's right to watch over her boy on the street as when he is under her roof? Is it not her duty to see that he is kept from unnecessary temptation on his way to and from her home, as well as in her home itself? Is not this city her city, and who is the man who will say that she shall have no voice in ruling it?"
REV. JOSEPH M. GLEASON, Palo Alto, California:—
“There is no danger to the dignity of womanhood or motherhood to be feared from the ballot. I am looking at the question as a priest of the Catholic Church. We need the women to hold back the forces of corruption. She should be man's equal in the body politic.”

RIGHT REV. JOHN LANCASTER SPALDING, Archbishop of Peoria, Illinois:—
“The experiment (of woman suffrage) 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.”

RIGHT REV. PAUL P. RHODE, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, Illinois:—
“Catholic women of Illinois, in complete harmony with the teachings of the church, should all accept the new prerogative of their citizenship with which they have been invested by the extension of suffrage to them by law.”

REV. DANIEL F. HUDSON, C. S. C., Editor of “Ave Maria,” Notre Dame, Indiana:—
“The conviction grows stronger with me that when women have votes many evils, now regarded as irremediable, will be under easy control, and much good accomplished that at present is only desiderated. That woman suffrage is assured is a matter of rejoicing. Deo Gratias.”

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CATHOLIC PRELATE ENDORSES SUFFRAGE FOR IOWA WOMEN

BISHOP AUSTIN DOWLING
Of Des Moines

I, for one, contemplate the prospect of equal suffrage in Iowa with satisfaction, and unless all signs fail there is no doubt the verdict of the people will at last give it to women.

No vote, no influence, is almost an axiom in present politics. You get nothing unless you have influence; you have no influence unless you can vote.

Many of our clergy have been in favor of equal suffrage. I am told that the late Archbishop Reardon, of San Francisco, issued a pastoral to encourage women to vote. Archbishop Delaney, of Hobart, in Tasmania, in a letter, flouts the criticism of woman suffrage and wrote in the London Tablet, January 18, 1913, “I can speak for our Tasmanian women, both Catholic and Protestant, that to my knowledge, and I am in a position to know, not one has ever forgotten the dignity of her sex or her self-respect, or done any of the things that sometimes befall men on such occasions as political elections.”

Many prominent and influential members of the hierarchy, like late Cardinals Vaughn and Moran, and, I believe, all of the Bishops of Australia and some of our own country, are among the outspoken and confirmed upholders of Votes for Women. It is sure that no candidate has any chance of purchasing a woman's vote at the drink shop.

Men have so long spoken of the Fatherland, that they forget that under another personification it may very properly be spoken of as the Mother country, the government of which calls quite as much for the motherly qualities of women as for the administrative and deliberative powers of man.

IOWA EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
FLEMING BUILDING DES MOINES, IOWA
Some Catholic Opinions

Cardinal Moran, of Australia, in his official organ, the Catholic 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 a 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 of men, of playing their part at the practical business of life. They do not mind going to the box office of a theatre 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.”

Father Joseph M. Gleason, of Palo Alto, Cal., one of the most distinguished scholars of the Pacific Coast, said in his address to a great audience in a San Francisco theatre:

“There is widespread rottenness in our political affairs, but the awakening of the American conscience has begun. The newspapers, periodicals and reviews are a series of proofs that we are awakening to our plain, everyday duty as Americans. There are various remedies suggested, but one must appeal to every American. To reach the root of the difficulty, we must not merely take one-half of the populace, but we must take the whole populace into consultation.

“The Catholic Church teaches above all things reverence for women and veneration for motherhood, but there is no danger to the dignity of womanhood or motherhood to be feared from the ballot. The fact that a woman is the mother of sons and daughters will tend to make her more careful in voting for the government under which her children are to be reared.

“I am looking at the question as a priest of the Catholic Church. We need the women to hold back the forces of corruption and give decency and fair-mindedness a chance. She should be man’s equal, not alone in the home, but in the body politic, and she will. You might as well try to stop the torrents of Niagara as to stop the equal suffrage amendment in California.”

Rev. Thomas Scully, of Cambridgeport, said at a legislative hearing on woman suffrage in Massachusetts:

“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.

“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.”

It fills me with joy when I think of the many changes that will be brought about when women have the right of suffrage. They will defy the politicians, and vote as any Christian man should and would vote if he had the moral courage.—Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid.
I 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.—Rev. Edward McSweeney, Mt. St. Mary's, Md.

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

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Democracy must be Lived!

Louis XIV said, "I am the state." Does the American man say "I am the state"?

The dangers that beset a partial democracy are greater in this age and country than any that can assail a complete democracy.

The evils that are pointed out in our country today are not the evils of a democracy, but of an amorphous something which is afraid to be a democracy.

Whether the opposition to women's voting be honestly professed, or be concealed under chivalrous idolatry, distrust and skepticism are behind it!

These are negative forces, and cannot save us!

Courage and faith in human nature are far better things to instill into the future than are timidity and misgiving.

Justify the American ideal.
Enroll in the Woman Suffrage Party.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
Political Settlement Committee

A Political Settlement is a precinct, ward, or a district which is so organized, trained, and functioning in community politics that it illustrates what a democracy is, while, at the same time, it seeks to obtain a constitutional and actual democracy in state and nation. Its activities are focussed through a central headquarters, and radiate therefrom.

No. 5.
You may say that women are just as well off without the right to vote. SOME ARE; OTHERS ARE NOT. Many of the slaves in the South were better off, in material ways, before the Civil War than they were afterwards, but that did not make it right for the owners to hold them in slavery. Just so, the men of this country have no right to hold the women in POLITICAL slavery. And one of the worst things about slavery was the bad effect it had upon the masters. The political slavery of women is not uplifting to the masters.

This is the day of PROGRESS. A country must progress, or it will fall behind and another will take its place. A Democracy cannot progress unless its people is growing in intelligence and moral force. We that believe in Democracy claim that the use of the ballot is the chief means of developing in the citizens this intelligence and moral force. The women are deprived of this great means of development and therefore must fall behind. Can the race advance and develop as it should, when one-half hangs like a millstone about the neck of the other half?

Give women the vote, and LET THEM GROW WITH THE MEN.

You may say that women don’t want to vote. SOME DO NOT; OTHERS DO. And many of these others not only WANT to, but NEED to, for the protection of themselves and their children. IS IT RIGHT that those that do not want to should say to these others that NEED to, “We do not WANT to vote, so YOU SHALL NOT VOTE”?

Do you know what people are most against women’s voting? It is the women of means, in comfortable circumstances, who do not need it for the good of their bodies, and do not realize that they need it for the good of their souls, and who are AFRAID to let their working sisters have it. Why? Because they are afraid of the PEOPLE, afraid of the WORKINGMAN, afraid of DEMOCRACY. They think that the women’s vote will strengthen the workingmen’s vote—the popular vote—and they are AFRAID. And they may well be afraid, if they do not trust in the people, for the real people are going to WIN, and the day of their victory will be hastened when women can vote.
What is a Democracy

By SUSEN W. FITZGERALD

We call our country a democracy, and pride ourselves upon its being one. WHAT IS A DEMOCRACY? A democracy is a form of government where the final power rests in the people. Not a PART of the people; that makes an oligarchy or a monarchy; but where it rests in the WHOLE PEOPLE.

Are the MEN of this country the WHOLE people? No. Therefore, so long as the men alone are the source of power of the government, it is not a government OF the people, FOR the people and BY the people, IT IS NOT A DEMOCRACY. It is merely a country under class rule, the CLASS being MEN, who, after all, represent but half of the population: half of those that live under the laws they make.
Of especial value to persons interested in the industrial question are the following

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The Wage-Earner and the Ballot, by Maud Nathan.

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Women in the Home, by Susan W. Fitzgerald.

What is a Democracy? by Susan W. Fitzgerald.

Women and the Vote, by Mary Kenney O'Sullivan.

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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 more suffrage by doubting 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. Imputed 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 persons 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 quality as well as an improved quantity 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 23 states women are not the 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 most always been given by custom rather than by law, and the few that have been secured by law have not been within the equal suffrage states.

10. Because only through the suffrage can women acquire the right to hold those offices which require women's particular ability. The few million and a half that 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
Fundamental Beliefs of Suffrage

Suggested by "Fundamental Beliefs of Anti-Suffrage."

SUFFRAGISTS know that, apart from whether she desires or not, woman must share "the obligations time and custom have given man." They see the "father-right" and the "mother-right" supplementing each the other throughout the whole of life.

Knowing that the "world do move," suffragists believe that this "initial form of woman's influence as developed through the ages" must keep pace with man. As he has progressed from primitive conditions, woman, advancing with him, has shared the blessings of education and enlarging vision.

Suffragists see that political development has been logical, but is incomplete. The governing class, originally only chiefs, kings and priests, was extended to include knights and nobles. And then, as masses of men demanded it, further extended until now men are generally enfranchised.

Woman's life follows parallel lines. Absorbed in primitive industry within the home, she has been overtaken by modern industrialism that transforms her environment. Light, water, sewage, food, fuel, spinning, weaving, all have been commercialized. The home is subject to municipal regulation. Schools take over the teaching of the children. Last woman forfeit her heritage as wife and mother, she must follow these interests with her care and guidance into the larger life of the city which has absorbed them.

Gradually economic changes have forced approximately 8,000,000 women into bread-winning occupations. And mother-care is as necessary in the streets and council chambers as between the four walls of home. Women could not neglect these significant changes so the best among them have for many years been feeling their way to larger service.

Many tools have been ready to their purpose, character, personal influence, uniting effort. But politics has laid over-emphasis upon the means of living and underestimated the quality of life. Women find their tool chest incomplete. As much as man, they need this other implement, the ballot. It is no more, no less important to woman than to man. It does not take the place of any of her other tools, but it will re-enforce them, dignify and relate her work to the issues of the time.

Many men, also, have come to realize that democratic ideals demand that political development, to be a fair expression of humanity, must include woman. Should she alone be disfranchised, it will handicap her evolution and, through her, the evolution of the race.

Suffragists differ radically from the dictum that "patriotism is distinct from politics." Patriotism must inspire the whole of life; nowhere is it more urgently needed than in politics and government.

Suffragists believe responsibility will ennable woman as it has ennobled every class to whom it has been given. Believing in man, they believe, also, in woman.

The franchise for woman cannot correct all evils, but its influence, like that of the church, will be on the side of good. This is proven by experience in countries and states where it exists.

During the last half century the women most distinguished for social service have felt the need of the ballot and have left a strong suffrage literature.

The suffrage for women is primarily a question of right and justice. Under republican form of government every one should have a right to a voice in the laws they are forced to obey, irrespective of whether they desire to exercise that right or not.

Suffrage does not depend for its argument upon the vast number of women asking for it, though it is a rising wave and in spite of any quibbling, is recognized as a world movement, spiritual, significant and steadfast.

Neither can it be overlooked that approximately 4,000,000 women already have the ballot. Suffragists believe that Minnesota should not longer disfranchise Minnesota women who would be welcomed to effective citizenship in many other states of the Union.

The effort of women, both for and against suffrage, conclusively proves how vitally interested they are in public affairs and in itself is proof of their fitness to use the franchise.

And finally, suffragists hold that the voters of the state should decide this issue. And that, consequently, it is the manifest duty of the Legislature to submit it to them.

—From the St. Paul Pioneer Press.
"WELL, BOYS, WE SAVED THE HOME."

Reproduced by permission of N. Y. World.

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., Inc.
171 MADISON AVENUE  NEW YORK
HEAR!

MISS FLORENCE MONAHAN
a Minneapolis Lawyer, and

MRS. CHAS. F. MOLLER
Chairman of Congressional work for the
Minnesota Woman's Suffrage Association

Suffrage Speakers

Fosston Saturday, Oct. 21st
2:30 P.M.

In front of First National Bank
In case of bad weather at Lyceum Theatre

Rev. E. C. Parish Will Preside

Committee of Arrangements: Mrs. O. M. Brandt, Mrs.
E. H. Cormontan, Mrs. L. G. Mustain, Mrs. A. W. Foss,
Mrs. L. G. Hancock, Mrs. J. E. Campbell, Mrs. E. E.
Smith, Mrs. F. R. Campbell.

Everybody Come! Meeting Free!

WOMEN VOTE IN TWELVE STATES. WHY NOT IN THIS STATE?
Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

National Woman’s Party Convention
June 5, 6 and 7  Blackstone Theatre, Chicago

PROGRAM

Saturday, June 3 — 10:00 a. m. to 10:00 p. m.,
Michigan Blvd. Bldg.

Credentials Committee on duty.

Sunday, June 4 — 10:00 a. m. to 10:00 p. m.,
Michigan Blvd. Bldg.

Credentials Committee on duty.

Monday, June 5 — 9:00 a. m. to 7:00 p. m.,
Blackstone Theatre.

Credentials Committee on duty.

4:00 p. m. Art Room, Blackstone Hotel.
Reception to members and friends of convention.

8:00 p. m. Blackstone Theatre.
Convention called to order by Miss Maude Younger, Temporary Chairman.
Prayer—Dr. Rowena Morse Mann.
Reading of Call for Convention—
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Chairman Committee on organization of Suffrage States.
Report of Credentials Committee—
Mrs. Helen Hill Weed.
Election of officers of convention.
Appointment of committees on rules, platform, organization and nominations.

Appeal from the East to the West”—
Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch.

Party Government and Responsibility”—
Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, California.

“The Legislative Situation”—
Miss Lucy Burns, Washington.

Tuesday, June 6—10:00 a. m. Blackstone Theater, Conference of Committees.

2:00 p. m., Blackstone Theatre.
Prayer—Rev. Olympia Brown, Wis.
Report of Committees.

Tuesday, June 6—2:00 p. m., Blackstone Theatre.
Reports from Suffrage States.

“The Political Power of Women—
Mrs. Williams Kent, Cal.
Adoption of Platform of Woman’s Party.
Election of Campaign Committee of Woman’s Party.

8:00 p. m., Blackstone Theater.
Prayer—Rev. Celia Parker Wooley.
Reports of Committees, continued.
Representatives of all National Parties address Convention on claim of the their Party to the Support of the Women Voters.

For Democratic Party—Hon. Dudley Field Malone.
For Progressive Party—Gifford Pinchot.
For Prohibition Party—Governor Foss of Mass.
For Republican Party—Governor Osborne of Mich.
For Socialist Party—Allan Benson.

Wednesday, June 7—10:00 a. m. Blackstone Theater.
Meeting of Committees.

12:00 Noon, Auditorium Hotel.

“Suffrage First Luncheon”. Tickets $1.00.
Toastmistress—Mrs. W. I. Thomas.
Speakers—Miss Helen Keller, Inez Milholland Boissevain, Rheta Childe Dorr, Crystal Eastman.

Hearings before the Resolutions Committee of the National Republican and National Progressive Conventions.
Time to be announced later.
The Political Power of Women

By putting suffrage first and maintaining a non-partisan position, women can be the deciding factor in the next presidential election.

Over 4,000,000 women, citizens of 12 states, can now vote in national elections.

These states elect 1/4 of the Senate and 1/6 of the House. They cast 1/5 of the electoral vote and 1/3 of the votes necessary to elect a President.

The number of votes now held by women is more than 1/4 of the total popular vote cast in 1912.

In 1910 at the time the census was taken, there were 3,665,445 women of voting age in the 12 suffrage states. Based on the rates of increase since that time there are now 4,396,333 women over 21 years of age in these states. Leaving out of count all Indian and Oriental women, and all alien women in America who have resided here less than five years, there are still 4,108,514 women voters eligible to take part in the next presidential campaign.

THE "WOMEN FIRST" Political Voting Power in the Twelve Suffrage States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Female Population Over 21 Years in 1910</th>
<th>Estimated Increase 1910-1916</th>
<th>Estimated Female Population Over 21 Years in 1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>43,891</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>48,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>671,386</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>872,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>213,825</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>264,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>69,818</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>105,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>1,567,491</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>1,699,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>439,984</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>471,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>81,741</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>103,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>18,140</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>26,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>168,823</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>221,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>85,729</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>100,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>277,727</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>444,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>28,840</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>37,136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 3,665,445

Total estimated Indian and Oriental women over 21 years, plus all alien females in America less than five years in 1916: 4,396,333

Minimum estimate of women voters in 12 states: 4,108,514

By standing together, women can form a party strong enough to secure the immediate passage through Congress of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, enfranchising the women of the United States.

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
Michigan Boulevard Building, Chicago
Michigan Boulevard and Washington St.
JUDGE CHAS. S. WHITING
Presiding Judge of South Dakota Supreme Court Will Speak in Aberdeen

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 1st.
8:00 O’CLOCK P. M. SHARP!
DREAMLAND HALL
Over Williams-Cameron Hardware Company
ON
VOTES FOR WOMEN
From the League’s Point of View

Seats Free Everybody Come

Auspices of the
Men’s Equal Suffrage League

Every Political Party and every Presidential Candidate Endorses Equal Suffrage.

KEEP ABREAST OF YOUR TIMES
Vote “YES” on Amendment 6, November 7

Amer. Pig. Co.
You Are Invited to the CONFERENCE of Suffrage Workers PIPESTONE August 3 and 4

Distinguished Speakers and Leaders.

Open Air Mass Meeting—Aug. 3rd, 7:30 P. M.
Two Conference Sessions — August 4th.
Banquet—August 4, 6:30 p.m.

ALL MEETINGS FREE
Pass this Invitation on.

Preparedness
For the safety of the nation
Let the women have the vote
For the hand that rocks the cradle,
Will never rock the boat.
(Slogan carried in Chicago Suffrage parade.)
"Woman Suffrage Co-Equal With Man Suffrage."

(Quoted from the Platform of Principles of the American Federation of Labor.)

State Federations that Have Endorsed Woman Suffrage:

California  
Connecticut  
Colorado  
Iowa  
Illinois  
Indiana  
Kansas  
Maine  
Massachusetts  
Michigan  
Minnesota  
New Hampshire  
New York  
New Jersey  
Ohio  
Oklahoma  
Oregon  
Pennsylvania  
Tennessee  
Texas  
Washington  
West Virginia

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

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

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

JOHN MITCHELL

"I would advise all the Workers of America to work for Woman Suffrage.  
"My message to them is COURAGE.  
"I never make a speech on any subject without bringing in Woman Suffrage."

KEIR HARDIE.

There are 300,000 Working Women in New York, alone. Will not a vote be worth as much to them as to working men?

National American Woman Suffrage Association

Headquarters: 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
Mothers, Fathers and All Good Citizens

MOTHERS—our duty is to take care of the Home and the Child, BUT we cannot raise good children unless we can control the conditions surrounding the home.

The VOTE has to do with the COST OF LIVING, SANITATION, FOOD SUPPLY, EDUCATION and MORAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING OUR YOUNG PEOPLE. Big organizations are making vast profits from Commercialized Vice—we and our children are the victims. MOTHERS, beseech the men you know to give you the VOTE to protect the HOME.

FATHERS—remember your DAUGHTERS—they must make a living; conditions are hard for them—GIVE THE GIRL AS FAIR A SHOW AS THE BOY. Protect your daughters by giving them the Vote.

CITIZENS—Put it into the hands of the many for it is JUST and it is PROGRESSIVE. It doubles the power for good. Thousands of women desire and realize their need of it.

Published by the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, St. Paul.
Price 20 cents per 100.
MAN NEEDS WOMAN'S BALLOT
(Extract)
CLIFFORD HOWARD

Not alone from our knowledge of women, not merely as a matter of theory, but from the records of history as revealed in the states and commonwealths in which woman suffrage now exists we know that the woman will be guided always in the selection of a public official by the character and the worth of the man. Is he worthy? Is he honest? Can he be depended upon to enforce the laws in behalf of decency and purity and righteousness? Those are the determining considerations in the eyes of a woman. She may have her political affiliations, she may be a Democrat or a Republican or a Socialist, but in any case involving a moral issue, in any case involving the welfare of the child or the home—the foundation corners of the nation—she is above all else the Woman, the Mother. If, therefore, for no other reason than this, we need the woman's ballot, the woman's help. We need the feminine in our electorate. Every man of us who stands for honesty and decency and cleanliness needs the woman to help in the selection of good and worthy men. We need her judgment, her intuitions, her instinct. We cannot hope to attain our ideals without her.

Always the man of America has needed the help of the woman, and he has always had it in every national crisis. In the colonial days, when the fate of the future nation rested upon the grit and endurance and the intelligence of our pioneer ancestors, it was the women who upheld the faith and the courage of the men. They stood by their sides and shared equally with them the dangers and the trials and the hardships of those pregnant days; and in order that the man might have the full help and co-operation of the woman, he placed the musket in her hand, for he realized that he must give her every means at his command, that she might assist him in defending and preserving the home. And when he gave her the musket it was not with any fear that she would not know how to use it. He knew that she would handle it efficiently and heroically, and we know how fully she justified his faith in her.

Now, again, are we come upon pioneer days. We are standing today upon the frontier of a new social world, a new democracy, faced with new and menacing problems, with tasks and duties untried and unprecedented, and upon the proper performance of which depends the fate of our Republic. We are not threatened with external enemies—the savage Indian and the wild beast of the forest—but with enemies just as dangerous and far more to be dreaded—the internal foes of the social body, vice, corruption, disease, poverty. And would we succeed in any warfare against these evils we must have the full help and co-operation of the woman, even as our forefathers had the help of the woman in their troublous days. And even as they gave her the musket, the final and most efficient weapon at their command, so today must we give her the best within our gift, in order that she may be fully equipped to stand with us in our mutual struggle in behalf of the nation and the home. If, therefore, it be our wish that we shall endure and prosper we must, of necessity, give her the ballot.
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ENDORSED BY CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATIONS

Many State and local organizations, which are not suffrage societies, have officially endorsed woman suffrage in California. Formal resolutions have been passed unanimously by numerous associations in annual convention. Most of these are blanket resolutions in favor of the general movement for Votes for Women, and congratulate the women of California on recent progress.

Political Parties:
Democratic
Prohibition
Republican
Socialist
Union Labor

California State Farmers' Institute  
"  " Federation of Labor  
"  " Grange  
"  " League of Iroquois Clubs
San Francisco Labor Council
Almost every Improvement, Civic and Good Government Club in the State.

All these men will vote for Amendment No. 8. Number 4 on ballot, on October 10th. Will you?

Address all communications to Rose M. French, California Equal Suffrage Association, Campaign Headquarters, 243-7 Pacific Building, San Francisco.

"California Next"

Printed by California Equal Suffrage Association, Room 248, Pacific Building, San Francisco, Cal.
# VOTES FOR WOMEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEOPLE SAY:</th>
<th>WE SAY:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The majority of women don't want to vote.</td>
<td>The majority never wants progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women will not vote when they are given the right.</td>
<td>Official figures show women DO vote largely wherever they have the right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If women vote they ought to fight and do police duty.</td>
<td>Men who could not fight still vote; this is the age when RIGHT makes MIGHT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If women vote they must hold office.</td>
<td>A woman will have to be elected to office by the men and women together. Do the men all have to hold office?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women have enough to do without voting.</td>
<td>Voting takes but a few minutes and can be done on the way to market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would interfere with a woman's business, the care of the house.</td>
<td>Does it interfere with man's business in factory, store or office?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would double the ignorant vote.</td>
<td>1-3 more girls than boys attend the high schools and women will soon be the more educated class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would double the foreign vote.</td>
<td>There are in the United States over 12 times as many native born women as foreign born.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would double the criminal vote.</td>
<td>Only 1 in 20 of the criminals are women. It should add largely to the good vote and very slightly to the bad vote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would double the expense and trouble of election.</td>
<td>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?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women can change or make laws by indirect influence.</td>
<td>Why be indirect when we can be direct. Why waste time and strength in beating around the bush?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman's place is in the home.</td>
<td>She leaves it to go to market and why not to vote—it takes less time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are represented by men.</td>
<td>Would men let women represent them at the polls? 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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Twelve Reasons
Why Women Should Vote

1. **BECAUSE** those who obey the laws should help to choose those who make the laws.
2. **BECAUSE** laws affect women as much as men.
3. **BECAUSE** laws which affect WOMEN are now passed without consulting them.
4. **BECAUSE** laws affecting CHILDREN should include the woman’s point of view as well as the man’s.
5. **BECAUSE** laws affecting the HOME are voted on in every session of the Legislature.
6. **BECAUSE** women have experience which would be helpful to legislation.
7. **BECAUSE** to deprive women of the vote is to lower their position in common estimation.
8. **BECAUSE** having the vote would increase the sense of responsibility among women toward questions of public importance.
9. **BECAUSE** public spirited mothers make public spirited sons.
10. **BECAUSE** about 8,000,000 women in the United States are wage workers, and the conditions under which they work are controlled by law.
11. **BECAUSE** the objections against their having the vote are based on prejudice, not on reason.
12. **BECAUSE** to sum up all reasons in one—IT IS FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL.

**VOTES FOR WOMEN**

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City
Mr. Voter:

YOUR Candidate
for President believes in Votes for Women.

Your Party
has endorsed the principle of Votes for Women.

Your Representatives
to Congress and the Legislature with few exceptions, have said they would work to secure Votes for Women.

How About You?
Won’t you admit the justice of Votes for Women?

Votes for Women

NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City
ating millions for experts in the welfare of plants and animals! I have heard Secretary Wilson of the department of agriculture boast that he had at his command three thousand of the best experts in the world always ready for any duty that they may be called upon to do. Three thousand of the world's best experts on the welfare of hogs, bugs, etc., and one little $3,000 expert on the welfare of 20,000,000 children!

"A Nebraska woman says that her husband is raising hogs, and she is trying to raise a boy. If one of her husband's hogs gives him trouble all he has to do is to write to the government, and it will send him many publications on the welfare of hogs. The government will write him personal letters about his hog, and if the trouble with the porker is persistent the government will send a high-priced expert there to study the hog's welfare. This comes perilously near encroaching upon the State's right to look after the welfare of that hog, but the danger of encroachment on State rights does not interfere with an appropriation of $13,000,000 for the welfare of weevils, weeds, etc. This Nebraska woman says that when her boy causes her trouble, as he often does, and she does not know what to do with him any more than her husband knew what to do with his hog, and his welfare needs attention, the government has no single book or pamphlet to send her, has no specialist to write about her boy's needs, no expert to send out there to study his welfare. She says it may be as serious a matter for her boy to become a bad man as for her husband to lose his hog.

"The tragedy! In spite of the absurdity Congress refused even one little $3,000 expert on the welfare of children!

"Is this the United States? Limitless millions for the army and navy in times of
Pigs versus Boys

The Journal of Education has the following suggestive editorial:

"United States Commissioner Elmer Ellsworth Brown asked Congress for an appropriation of $3,000 for the employment of an expert in the welfare of children. Secretary Garfield endorsed this application, and emphasized the request as necessary to increase the efficiency of the bureau in dealing with a wide range of questions affecting school children.

"At the Congressional hearing, Secretary Garfield was asked if this does not ‘approach dangerously near the line of encroachment upon the rights of the States and municipalities?’

"Absurd! It was absurd to ask for so little as $3,000 when Congress is appropriate..."
peace, and too poor to appropriate $3,000 to study children's welfare!"

Is it likely that there would be this disproportion in the appropriations if half the voters of the United States were mothers?

These POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS (65 varieties) are published by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Headquarters, 505 Fifth Ave., New York.

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

Subscribe for THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL, official organ of the Association, edited by Alice Stone Blackwell and published weekly. It gives all up-to-date Suffrage news and describes Suffrage work 'all over the country.

You need it. Price $1.00 per year.
If You Are A Postman

You know how women watch for letters. They are watching in that way today with the same hope, the same trustfulness, the same belief. They have confidence that the men of this State will give them what they ask; for they are asking only for Justice. They pay taxes and they want their fair share in the government.

You know that you could count upon the great mass of women as your friends. Today they are counting upon you. When you go to the polls on Election Day, won't you stand by the women? Won't you cast your vote for woman suffrage? The National Association of Letter Carriers and the National Association of Post Office Clerks have already gone on record in favor of it.

Henry Bailey Stevens
Woman's Journal and Suffrage News
Boston, Massachusetts
N. B. If any written message in addition to sender's name and address appears, the postage is two cents.

VOTES FOR WOMEN
Votes for Women a Success

North America Proves It

White—Full Suffrage.
Gray—Partial Suffrage.
Dotted—Presidential Suffrage.
Black—No Suffrage.

The black States of this country now find their only parallel in Mexico, Central America, Newfoundland and the uninhabited Northwest territory, where there is no form of suffrage, even for men.

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENMARK</th>
<th>RUSSIA</th>
<th>NORWAY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEW ZEALAND</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
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<td>CANADA</td>
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<td>SCOTLAND</td>
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<tr>
<td>ENGLAND</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNITED STATES</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Why do not ALL WOMEN Vote under the flag of DEMOCRACY

GIVE WOMEN THE VOTE
LET AMERICA LEAD

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
To the 8,000,000 Working Women in the United States

Are you satisfied with your working conditions?
Are you satisfied with your living conditions?

What Is Wrong?

You want better food, better homes, better clothes.
You want shorter hours, bigger pay, safe and sanitary workshops.

How Can You Get What You Want?

By UNITING, in the industries, to force the bosses to better your conditions.
You can do this now.

By UNITING, as women, to secure laws that will protect you.
You cannot do this now, because

YOU HAVE NO VOTE

All working people should have every possible weapon to enable them to control the conditions under which they must live and work.
Men have one weapon that women lack. They have the vote.
Women should have every weapon that men have, but men deny them the vote.
Is this right?

DEMAND VOTES FOR WOMEN!

MAKE WORKING MEN DEMAND VOTES FOR WORKING WOMEN!

National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 Fifth Avenue
New York City
The Catholic Church not Opposed to Woman Suffrage

We often hear this priest or that layman quoted as being against Woman Suffrage. This is an expression of personal opinion and not an official expression for the church at large.

The Catholic Church is the most wonderfully organized institution in the world. Its clergy and its laity are the most devoted and loyal of people. Discipline and obedience are the great watch-words of the church.

If the church were officially opposed to suffrage some of the most distinguished of its prelates and clergy and the most faithful of its laity would not be found advocating this great reform and working within our ranks.

Some of the leading Catholic periodicals have published important articles and editorials for Woman Suffrage. The Ave Maria says: “It is a great moral reform.” The “Monitor” (Official organ of the Catholic Church) says:

“The solicitude of those who say they fear that woman will be unsexed if they are allowed to vote is sheer hypocrisy. All talk about “Woman’s Sphere” is utter cant. In America today woman is fully man’s equal in all the gifts and graces which go to make up life and she is infinitely man’s superior in all things which touch morality. Men have made an utter failure of carrying out the laws designed for the preservation of public decency.”

Many of the Catholic Societies, of both men and women, have invited suffrage speakers to address them. The Daughters of Isabella, in several different groups in greater New York, have recently listened to suffrage speeches.

Members of the bench like Judge Joseph F. Daly, a member of the Men’s League for Woman Suffrage and a speaker on many public platforms for that cause; Legislators, like Senator Timothy D. Sullivan, who never fails to vote in favor of the Amendment and who championed it in a glowing speech on the floor of the Assembly last Spring; great churchmen, like Bishop Bernard J. McQuaide, Rev. Edward McSweeney, Rev. Thomas Scully, and Bishop Spalding, have all been ardent champions in print and speech of this cause.

During suffrage campaigns in the West prominent churchmen have taken part, as for instance, did Rev. Father Gleason, when he made his great speech for Woman Suffrage at the Central Theatre, San Francisco, before the California election.

CATHOLIC CHURCH LEADS IN ITS ADVOCACY OF THE REFORM in every state and country where the women are enfranchised. The Sunday before the election for the recall of the corrupt Mayor of Seattle, all the Catholic priests of that city, by agreement in their morning sermons, exhorted the women to exercise their newly acquired franchise in the interests of reform.

Cardinal Archbishop Vaughan and Cardinal Moran are warm advocates of Woman Suffrage. Distinguished Catholic women have advocated Equal Suffrage from the days of the prominent Catholic, Margaret Brent of Maryland, who was the first woman in this country to demand suffrage in 1747, to our time when the heads of some of our suffrage organizations are Catholics, such as Miss Jane Campbell, President of the Philadelphia Woman Suffrage Association and Miss Sara McPike, Chairman of the Catholic Committee of the Woman Suffrage Party.

Many of our public men, prominent Catholics, are pledged to Woman Suffrage. “So far as I know the field of activity for women, industrial or political, has never been extended without substantial benefit to the body politic. That women have a moral right to the franchise, I think is beyond question.”—Hon. Bourke Cochran.

In every American city are priests who long to see this reform in the interest of moral betterment.

Many New York priests, whom we are not quoting, are for it.

Father Jos. H. McMahon, D.D., Rector of our Lady of Lourdes, says: “Frankly, I do not see why the whole matter of Woman Suffrage has not been settled long since by St. Paul, when he declared there was “neither Jew nor Gentile, bond or free, MALE OR FEMALE.”

You are a better and more loyal churchman or churchwoman if you are a good American and believe in true democracy: — a government of the people, for the people and by the people.

WOMEN ARE PEOPLE!

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Headquarters, 30 EAST 34TH STREET, Southwest Corner Madison Ave.
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.

National American Woman Suffrage Association
Headquarters: 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
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?

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 IRRESPONSIBLE 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.

National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc.
Publishers for the
National American Woman Suffrage Association
Headquarters: 505 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
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 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 widows to give her children the air that we are told is 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 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.

Oakland Suffrage Amendment League
HEADQUARTERS: 314 UNION SAVINGS BANK BUILDING, OAKLAND, CALIF.
have the ballot added to her equipment. And so of the “clinging vine” method. All that is really affectionate and useful in it not only survives woman suffrage but is purified and strengthened by the greater civic intelligence and keener sense of personal responsibility that is acquired by women with the ballot. The time has gone by for deploring the imposition of citizenship duties upon women. The man who does this is dishonoring womanhood with frou-frou flatteries of the drawing-room; the woman who does it is a civic shirk—unintentionally, no doubt, and without deserving harsh condemnation—but “shirk” is really the only word that fits. For women are citizens now. The ballot would impose upon them no new duties; it would only give them the means of better performing those duties of citizenship which they already owe. They must be excused for ill-performance of their civic duties while the ballot is denied them, but it is not so easy to excuse them for begging that its denial be continued in order to relieve them of civic duties. Women who try thus to shirk the feminine duties of citizenship may be good mothers, good wives, good daughters, good sweethearts, good Sunday School teachers, good bridge players, good dressers, good anything you please of a personal kind—and doubtless most of them really are in every way good women personally—but THEY ARE BAD CITIZENS. And those men are worse citizens, be they never so good personally, who take from such women their cue for condescendingly opposing woman suffrage.—The Public.

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505 Fifth Avenue, New York City
THE TRUTH ABOUT COLORADO

Catch an active adversary of woman suffrage in Colorado, and you've caught a prostitute of Privilege.

Woman suffrage in Colorado is condemned by the very interests and for the very reasons that ought to commend it to every true democrat in the land. The facts alleged against it are false; the interests that originate them are predatory and socially vicious; the periodicals and individuals that circulate them are of the depraved, the reactionary, or the dupe class. From every point of criticism woman suffrage in Colorado has BEEN A GREAT CIVIC SUCCESS.

Woman suffrage is a medium for the expression of that voice of the people which is the voice of God. And the voice of the people fully and fairly expressed is the voice of God; for in a full and fair expression of the voice of the people, conflicting selfishnesses neutralize one another and the human impulse for righteousness comes to the fore. But righteous impulses are feminine as well as masculine in their qualities and tendencies. To check or suppress the feminine influence is therefore to unbalance social order; and the civic result, consequently, is not a democracy but a bachelordom. Woman suffrage will make no paradise of human society in a day. No one expects it, no one has ever predicted it, no one but its enemies ever pretends that it has been expected or predicted. But it will help to make human society more tenderly human than masculine suffrage alone can make it. Without the cooperation of woman in the household, the household is not a home; without the co-operation of woman in government, government lacks all the qualities of a home which every government to be just and progressive must possess. And the only way in which woman can co-operate in government is through woman suffrage.

The "mother's knee" method—both kinds—may or may not be more than temporarily influential; but none of its influence will be lost if the mother
to the polls, as you say, "amid surroundings so disgusting to a refined woman." That is moonshine; for under woman suffrage, as we have seen in Colorado the voting booths are placed in most respectable quarters, largely in private houses, with surroundings that offer no opportunity for criticism.

Within the limits of a letter it is impossible to do more than express an opinion. It would be instructive to enumerate and examine at length the things accomplished in this state through woman suffrage, but that is impracticable here. Suffice it to say that, measured even by its deeds, woman suffrage has proved its right to exist as the permanent policy of Colorado.

The National American Woman Suffrage Headquarters, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, will send a sample set of Political Equality leaflets for 10c. in stamps. Leaflets in quantity, 15c. per 100.

Subscribe for "Progress," the National Suffrage monthly paper, published at 25c. a year, at Headquarters. We need your name. You need our news.

Subscriptions taken for the "Woman's Journal," published weekly at $1.50 a year, and for "Jus Suffragii," the international suffrage monthly, $1.00 a year.

More Testimony from Colorado

Prof. Harry E. Kelly, formerly of the Iowa State University, now practicing law in Denver, has addressed an open letter to State Senator A. H. Gale of Iowa, giving his observations on equal suffrage. Prof. Kelly says in part:

Since I came to Colorado, you have frequently requested me to state my opinion of woman suffrage. I came here with very little interest in the subject, and perhaps with very little respect for it. Having resided in Colorado nearly seven years, and having observed the political and social conditions here, I have rather unconsciously arrived at an opinion.

The great value in woman suffrage consists in this, that it gives dynamic force to a fresh and vital interest in the state. Women are not much concerned with mere partisan politics; and experience in the states where woman suffrage is in force clearly shows that their interest cannot be aroused in mere partisan strife. But they are interested in the questions which we may call more distinctly social. Their interests center around
questions affecting education, public cleanliness, public morality, civic beauty, charities and correction, public health, public libraries—and such subjects as more intimately affect home life, and conduce to the prosperity of the family. I do not say that men are not interested in such subjects, for that would be untrue; but I do say that such an interest is fundamental in the intellectual activity of women. Men lose sight of these important considerations in the scramble of partisan warfare for offices, but women will not see them obscured by anything.

One of the arguments against woman suffrage was that it would create discord in the family. Colorado has never heard of a case of family discord that was even alleged to have originated in woman suffrage. The members of a family are inclined to stand together upon political questions, much as they are upon religious questions; but this fact broadens the family interest in public affairs, because women, disregarding the mere scramble for office, direct the family interest along the line of social questions, in addition to the interest in partisan politics. So I would say that while woman suffrage increases the number of votes, it gives us an increased breadth of public interest in social welfare. Neither has woman suffrage rendered politics attractive to women as a vocation, nor has it had any other effect on their character than to multiply their social interests, and widen their intellectual horizon. Their right to vote has not made them less dutiful as mothers and wives. If any woman in Colorado is bold and brazen, she is not so on account of woman suffrage. In fact, women of that character may be found even in Iowa. And effeminate men are scattered around over the globe, irrespective of the extent or character of the suffrage.

It is contended that women do not wish to vote. The women in Colorado are not office-seekers, but they vote solidly when there is anything in a campaign that appeals to their interest; and in all elections their vote is large. Among them, of course, there are some bad women. But I apprehend that nobody has any scheme by which the suffrage can be so restricted as to exclude persons who are evil-minded. There is not a city in the world where the vote of evil women could be of enough consequence to be worthy of serious consideration in a controversy like this.

Do not mislead yourself into thinking that you dislike woman suffrage because you would not like to see your wife going
Illinois Laws Need Women's Votes

Our present CHILD LABOR LAW DOES NOT PROHIBIT the employment of CHILDREN WORKING AS THEIR OWN MERCHANTS upon the streets, and these little "Children of the Night" rapidly become familiar with every form of vice.

A State law should provide that THE SALE OF LIQUOR BE ELIMINATED FROM DANCE HALLS. In the season about 86,000 young people attend these dance halls in Chicago and a large number get into trouble because liquor is openly sold to minors. Women police officers should be in attendance at doubtful places where young girls congregate.

Our ADULT DELINQUENCY AND DEPENDENCY LAW SHOULD BE AMENDED SO THAT THE WIFE COULD TESTIFY against her husband, for in many cases the wife is the only person who has full knowledge of the family life and conditions.

BASTARDY IS NOT A CRIME AND IS NOT EXTRADITABLE. The present law provides that if an unmarried woman can prove the paternity of her child, the man must pay her $100 for the first year and $50 for each succeeding year until the child is ten years of age. If the child dies payment is withheld. If the child dies before it is born, and the mother conceals the fact, she can be punished by a year in jail.

THE AGE OF CONSENT IS 16. We do not give a girl the right to dispose of her property until she is 18, but two years earlier is the age when she may consent to her own ruin. In the states where women vote the age of consent is 18 or higher. In the majority of the states where women do not vote it is 14.

PUNISHMENT FOR RAPE MAY BE AS LOW AS IMPRISONMENT FOR ONE YEAR—the same punishment we may inflict for the theft of thirty dollars' worth of property.

SEDUCTION IS NOT A FELONY only a misdemeanor. In seduction or rape a marriage before conviction abates legal proceedings.
ABANDONMENT ACT SHOULD BE MADE a Non-Support statute, CRIMINAL IN NATURE AND EXTRADITABLE. Under our present law a man can be punished only once for non-support and may then spend the remainder of his life living off his wife’s earnings.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES ARE NOT WELL SUPERVISED and the practice of sending colored girls to disreputable places should be discontinued.

Loan agents may not legally charge more than 7 per cent interest. The only penalty for violating this law is the loss of interest. In consequence, LOAN SHARKS OFTEN CHARGE AS HIGH AS 120 PER CENT A YEAR interest and many women suffer thereby.

Special BAR PERMITS ISSUED TO CLUBS SHOULD NOT ALLOW THE SALE OF LIQUOR AFTER ONE A. M., the hour at which the saloons are obliged to close.

THERE SHOULD BE A STATE CENSORSHIP COMMITTEE TO CENSOR MOVING PICTURES, so that there could not be shown throughout the state the 113 miles of films discarded by the Chicago Censorship Committee as unfit to be shown in this city.

A MINIMUM WAGE LAW WOULD PREVENT MANY YOUNG WOMEN ENTERING A DISREPUTABLE LIFE in order to support themselves. Of the wage-earning women of the United States one-fifth earn less than $200 a year, three-fifths less than $325 a year and nine-tenths less than $500 a year.

EVERY MULTIPLE HOUSE AND HOUSE OF PROSTITUTION SHOULD HAVE THE NAME OF THE AGENT OR OWNER posted in the hallway.

Our State Law should require NOT ONLY A MARRIAGE LICENSE but a CERTIFICATE OF HEALTH, showing that the contracting parties are free from disease. Thousands of women and children would thus be protected from disease, suffering and death.

Louise de Koven Bowen
"What a Vote Will Not Do" is the title of an anti-suffrage document that has been widely distributed. The argument begins:

"It will not clean streets, provide schoolhouses, lighten dark tenements, prevent overcrowding, furnish pure milk, stop child labor. It cannot. Why? Because it is not a remedial agent. "Public opinion is the real remedial agent."

This is like saying, "A broom cannot clean the cobwebs off the ceiling. Why? Because it is not a remedial agent. The real remedial agent is the opinion that those cobwebs ought to come down." A broom will not clean off the cobwebs unless it is set in motion by the opinion that they ought to come down; but the house-
keeper's most emphatic opinion that they ought to come down will not bring them down without the use of a broom or its equivalent.

Suppose there were brooms in the house, but the mother of the family was forbidden to use one, and was told that she must wait until she could get her husband to do it. Suppose he admitted that the cobwebs ought to come down, but was too busy with his other work to attend to it; and suppose she had waited for many years and the cobwebs still hung in festoons from the ceiling and dropped into the children's food. Would she not begin to think that the taboo against a woman's touching a broom had as little basis in reason as the old taboo in Hawaii against a woman's eating a banana? And would not the spiders—if they had a voice in the matter—be as eager to persuade her that a broom in a woman's hand would not be a remedial agent as all the vicious interests are today to persuade women that a ballot in a woman's hand would be powerless for good?

As a sample of the fallacy of this whole line of anti-suffrage reasoning, let us take one concrete instance—the assertion that votes "will not provide schoolhouses." Several years ago there was great need of a new high school building in Madison, Wis. The old building had become rickety and a firetrap. The question of an appropriation for a new building was put to vote. The men's and women's votes were counted separately, owing to a doubt whether the women had a legal right to vote on the subject—a doubt that was afterwards decided in the women's favor. The result showed that on a vote of the men alone, the new high school building would have been defeated; on the vote of the men and women together, it was carried. The Nebraska State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in a letter to the editor of The Sunday Journal, said:

"In this State the women's school vote has had many good results. For example, in the voting of school bonds where better school buildings were an absolute necessity, the bonds could not have been carried without the votes of the good and intelligent women, including useful wives and consecrated mothers. The instances are too numerous to mention."

In all these cases there was plenty of public opinion in favor of the needed improvements, when all of it could be brought to bear; but if the women had been forbidden to vote, a considerable part of that public opinion would have been cut off from the mechanism whereby it could make itself efficient, and the school-houses would not have been built.

It is so with almost all the other things enumerated in this anti-suffrage leaflet as things which the vote will not do. Again and again, these things have been done when they were voted, and have failed to be done when they did not get votes enough.

The corrupt politician does not care a straw how much public opinion may grumble about his misdeeds, unless and until the popular indignation takes the form of votes. It has been well said that "the only Day of Judgment the average politician fears is election day." The spiders do not care how severely the housewife may frown upon them; but when the broom approaches their webs, they are thrown into commotion.

Published by the Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

For news of the suffrage movement all over the world read the National Suffrage paper, The Woman's Journal, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. $1.00 per year.
VOTING AND FIGHTING

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

It is said that, if women vote, they ought to fight and do police duty.

If no men were allowed to vote except those who are able and willing to do military and police duty, women might consistently be debarred for that reason. But so long as the old, the infirm, the halt, the lame and the blind are freely admitted to the ballot box, some better reason must be found for excluding women than the fact that they do not fight.

By a comic fatality, this objection is almost always urged by some man who could not fight himself—some peaceful, venerable old clergyman, or some corpulent, elderly physician who would expire under a forced march of five miles. I have even heard it used by a man who had been stone blind ever since he was three years old.

It is said that we have to legislate for classes, not for individuals; and that men as a class can fight, while women cannot. But there are large classes of men who are regarded as disqualified to fight, and are exempt from military service, yet they vote. All men over 45 years of age are exempt. So are all who are not physically robust. Of the young men who volunteered for the Spanish war, more than half were rejected as unfit for military service. Col. T. W. Higginson says:

"It appears by the record of United States military statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 975; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, though not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended."

Of unskilled laborers, on the other hand, only a small fraction were found physically disqualified. Since unskilled laborers as a class can render military service, and professional men as a class cannot, does it follow that suffrage ought to be taken away from professional men and limited to unskilled laborers?

As for police duty, men are not drafted, but out of those who volunteer, and who come up to the prescribed conditions of strength, weight, etc., a sufficient number are hired, and they are paid out of tax money which is levied on the property of men and women alike. Women contribute to the policing of the country in just the same way that the majority of the men do—i.e., they help to pay for it.
A Protest Against Military Drill in the Public Schools

Training schoolboys to shoot at a target on the school premises under the instruction of military men; training schoolboys to use army rifles; training them to wear cadet uniforms and to look upon themselves as possible recruits for the army; these are parts of the plan which is called military drill in the public schools. It is intended to include all boys from twelve years old upwards, beginning with voluntary drill, and going on to compulsory drill. It is promoted by those who are connected with the army, and by those who sell rifles, ammunition and supplies of like character, including equipment used in warfare as well as in drill.

Such drill presents wrong ideals, ideals which are opposed to ethical principles. It teaches false ideas of patriotism. Military drill in public schools is silly, and it is absurd unless we are ready to confess ourselves a war nation, rather than a peace nation. It is also a very serious matter, when we count the probable consequences of directly cultivating the military spirit of a generation.

Military drill is expensive, and must be paid for by taxation. Its cost will use the money that is needed for introducing and establishing manual and industrial education in all our schools.

Such drill is apt to make boys one-sided, and must be accompanied by gymnasium exercises designed to counteract its influence.

Military drill in schools does not result in the physical and moral good claimed for it by its advocates, but in contrary results. Most leading educators oppose its systematic introduction in the public schools.

Alice Park.

Military drill fosters war sentiments and boastfulness, bluster and vanities that pertain thereto. Let the physical exercises of “educational” institutions be such as shall help to keep military vainglory at the circumference of human activities.

Hans Ballin, State Normal School, Illinois.

The grace of the cadet is due to the gymnastics, not the drill. Much stress is placed upon “obedience to commands of superior officers.” Gymnastic training, under the German and Swedish system, gives fine opportunity for discipline in this direction. The actual benefits of the march, after being manipulated in large numbers, can be secured under a competent director, without handling arms, or suggesting, even remotely, the idea of carnage.

The idea of military training in our schools grows out of a fallacy. The boy studies the pages of American history and imbibes the idea that, somehow, war and patriotism bear synonymous relation. To root out this popular fallacy—that self-immolation at the cannon’s mouth and the point of the bayonet is the most sublime loyalty which a man can express to his country—rising generations must be taught that the type of patriotism which heaven records is the citizenship which seeks the greatest good of the nation in time of peace. This is citizenship and patriotism which will never flinch in the direst extremity of duty.

Frances W. Leiter.

The Effects of Military Drill on Boys

Dudley A. Sargent, M. D.

Director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

My principal objection to military drill as a physical exercise is that it does not to any extent meet the physiological demands of the body. . . It does not increase the respiration and quicken the circulation to a sufficient extent to secure the constitutional benefits that should accrue from exercise. . . I dislike to take from the drill one of the strongest attributes that has commended it to
Again, it must be remembered that it is women who furnish the soldiers. Mrs. Z. G. Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the state all its soldiers." Lady Henry Somerset says: "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms." Lucy Stone said: "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty beside his cradle. Later on she is his quartermaster, and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to be a man, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?' It is a coward's argument!" Mrs. Humphrey Ward's sister tells us that every year, in England alone, 3,000 women lose their lives in childbirth. This ought, in all fairness, to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render.

It is said that the laws could not be enforced if women voted. Suppose most men voted one way and most women the other, would not the men refuse to abide by the result?

Women have the school ballot in about half the states of the Union. Their votes occasionally turn the scale in a school election. Do the defeated candidates and their friends refuse to abide by the result? In England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Kansas, Norway, Sweden and elsewhere women have the municipal ballot, and their votes occasionally turn the scale at a municipal election. Has there ever been an armed uprising against the result? In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Finland, Norway, Australia and New Zealand women vote for all elective officers, including the highest. No trouble has ever resulted. The laws are as well enforced there as in adjoining states and countries, where women do not vote. What reason is there to suppose that our men are less civilized than the men of other countries or of other states?

Either the ability to fight is a necessary qualification for suffrage, or it is not. If it is, the men who lack it ought to be excluded. If it is not, the lack of it is no reason for excluding women. There is no escape from this conclusion.

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505 Fifth Avenue, New York City
parents and teachers, but unless I have been misled in my observations there is nothing in the drill itself that tends to make one erect or graceful. On the other hand, I am prepared to maintain that it tends to make him stiff and angular in his movements, as well as to droop and round his shoulders.

After taking the most favorable view possible of military drill as a physical exercise, we are led to conclude that its constrained positions, and closely localized movements do not afford the essential requisites for developing the muscles, and improving the respiration and circulation, and thereby improving the general health and condition of the system. We must further conclude that in case of any malformation, local weakness or constitutional debility, the drill tends by its strain upon the nerves and prolonged tension on the muscles to increase the defects rather than to relieve them.

Finally, if the ultimate object of the drill was to prepare young men for the life and duties of a soldier, we should be forced to conclude that the drill itself would still be defective as a means of developing the chief requisite for men in that profession.

This defect, we are pleased to state, is recognized by the great military nations of Europe, and measures are taken to give all the recruits from three to twelve months' gymnastic training to develop them as men before they are expected to conform to the requirements of the soldier.—Extract from article in Boston Medical and Surgical Journal.

“How about the physical benefits to be derived from the drill?”

“In Boston the effect of school drill has been to make boys round shouldered and narrow chested. I never saw a school company well set up in my life. Except a few of the larger ones the boys are overweighted by the musket they are obliged to carry.”

“Then you do not believe the drill adds much to the value of the boy as a subsequent military man?”

“The modern drill regulations are by no means adapted for work in schools under any circumstances. They need a man's brains and muscles. Every time I tell the truth about the matter I generally raise a storm from persons ill informed upon the subject, and from the boys, whose self conceit engendered by this drill, should be one of the greatest arguments against its further practice.”

Col. Thomas. F. Edmands.

Every careful student of human life knows that the ideals and thoughts which fill the horizon of childhood color all after life. If, during the formative period, the ideals which fill the child's mind be essentially noble and humane, if he be taught that his mission is to help subdue the savage in man, to transform swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks, or in other words, to become a saviour of life and a dispenser of happiness instead of a slayer of his brother and an angel of darkness, he will grow to manhood brave but gentle, manly but loving.

On the other hand the child who is drilled in the manual of arms has constantly before him the hour when he may draw the trigger which means death to a fellow-man; he comes to love the sound of the drum beat, and learns to long for a chance to shoulder the murderous gun. He turns to the lives of Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon; dreams of fame through slaughter, of power through devastation and destruction, fill his mind, and by coming to believe it is legitimate to kill his fellow-men when ordered to by a superior officer, the highest and finest elements in his mind are benumbed. And I may say here, what I most profoundly believe, that there can never be an approach to civilization so long as the child mind receives military drill, for the associations, ideals and dreams which necessarily follow in the wake of warlike instruction are so at variance with the ideals which alone can redeem the world from hate, greed and injustice, that until the children are taught to entertain a profound reverence for human life, human rights and for justice in its broadest sense, humanity will not know what true civilization is.

B. O. Flower.
BATTLESHIP and STATESMANSHIP

Pessimist. Let Uncle Sam look to his fleet if he wants safety from attack.

Optimist. He was Never yet Attacked. He always declared war first. Is it likely that, after 120 years of keeping hands off, any nation now dreams of attacking us! Let Uncle Sam look to Statesmanship and not battleship for protection.

Pessimist. There always has been war and there always will be.

Optimist. Fifty years ago millions of Americans said there always had been slavery and there always would be. War between nations will end just as surely in this century as slavery did in the last century.

Pessimist. Didn’t Washington say, “In time of peace, prepare for war?”

Optimist. He quoted that maxim, a common one, in his time. He would say to-day, “In time of peace, prepare for peace.” Since his time our armaments have increased in cost 250 times while the population has increased only about twenty times. Washington would have been horrified at our mad militarism.

Pessimist. This is a world of cruelty. Look at Russia, Armenia, the Congo, and at our American lynchings. We shall always need force.

Optimist. Don’t confound two opposite kinds of force — the police kind which takes criminals to court and aims to get Justice, and the army and navy force which settles questions by explosives, irrespective of justice.

Rival armies and navies must remain.

Pessimist. Nothing can take their place.

Optimist. An International Court of Justice, to which all the nations agreed in 1907, will be established before you are five years older, and a small armed International Police will replace rival armies and navies within a generation or two.

Pessimist. How could any Hague Court have prevented the Revolution or the Civil War?

Optimist. It could not. The Revolution was really a Civil War also. Civil war may possibly occur after war between nations is ended, but War between nations can end now.

Pessimist. You will have to change human nature to do it.

Optimist. It is not a question of human nature, but of world organization. Organize 47 nations so that a World Court settles their quarrels just as our Supreme Court settles the quarrels between our 47 states. A tiny fraction of the people on the globe can accomplish this. It is a work for statesmen of the four or five great powers.

Pessimist. You can never get people of different races, religions and languages to agree as our colonists did.

Optimist. They would not have to agree on most things, only on keeping the peace and on what they saw was for their own interest. If Uncle Sam led his English and German cousins to enter into a common-sense agreement with each other and us, which would let us all cut down our navies together, the whole world would gladly follow suit.

Pessimist. Nations will break their pledges when they choose,—that is, all except ours will.

Optimist. A strong nation might break a pledge with a weak nation, but it would never dare break faith with a World Court which it had gone to of its own accord.

In nearly 300 settlements between nations by arbitration up to date, not one nation has broken its pledge and gone to war. Said Justice Brewer, “The Hague Court will never need an army to enforce its decision.”

Pessimist. The Hague Conferences have not amounted to much, according to the reports.

Optimist. On the contrary, they have made a stupendous step in advance. The First Conference in 1899 established a Court of Arbitration to which over a dozen nations have taken cases. It prevented one war, ended another, and removed much cause for friction. The Second Conference made a regular World Parliament a foregone conclusion. It enlarged the code of International Law. It established a Prize Court. It got an agreement for a regular Court of Arbitral Justice in addition to the Arbitration Tribunal. It prevented wars to collect debts. It prevented bombardment of unfortified places and did much besides.

Pessimist. So you would have us disarm and wait unprotected until every one else gets ready to do the same?

Optimist. No; only let us, the safest nation in the world, Call a Halt and build no more battleships until we have asked the great nations to agree hereafter to settle All Differences with us without war. If they refuse, it will be time enough then to throw away over $20,000,000 for two more battleships every year.

L. A. M.

Issued by Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government, 585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

20 cents per hundred. Leadlet on “Why Congress Taxes us for more Battleships,” same price.
CONGRESS MUST FORBID

Inter-State Discrimination against the Rights of Women

HUMAN RIGHTS come before STATE RIGHTS

THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

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

DOES THIS INTERFERE WITH STATE RIGHTS?

NO

1—On the contrary, Congress, by not passing the amendment, is denying the States their sovereign right to decide the question.

2—There can be no violation of State Rights when each State has recognized the right of three-quarters of the States to amend the Constitution of the United States and make it binding on all States.

3—The States will have the same control over the qualifications for voters that they have now; the qualifications must apply to both sexes, but may be otherwise restricted, modified or enlarged by the States, as they wish.

4—It is a mistake to suppose that the States have unrestricted control of the question of suffrage.

The Federal government has created, controlled or sanctioned in some form, nine classes of voters.

The States have the right to regulate suffrage locally, SUBJECT to CERTAIN conditions; they have not the right to make suffrage impossible for human beings.

Race, color, previous condition of servitude, and SEX, are beyond human control. They are insuperable barriers to freedom, which the Federal government should forbid the States to erect.

This protection has been given to the rights of men; it is equally imperative that it should be given to women.

5—All political parties continuously and brazenly trample on every form of State rights, when it is to their interest to do so; therefore Congressmen cannot expect women to believe in their devotion to the doctrine of State Rights.

Write your Senators and Congressmen to Vote for the Suffrage Amendment.

NATIONAL LITERATURE HEADQUARTERS,
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE:
213 HALE BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA.
WHEREAS, The organization of members, desires to cooperate with the National American Woman Suffrage Association, through its Congressional Committee, for the purpose of securing the passage by Congress of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the United States Constitution, granting suffrage to women upon the same terms as men; and

WHEREAS, Reiterating the long established principle of nonpartisanship on the part of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with which our organization is affiliated, we ask for the support of all political parties in our efforts to secure the passage of this amendment in Congress and its ratification by the State Legislatures; and

WHEREAS, All of the National political parties except two have already declared their support of the principle of woman suffrage; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the that we hereby request the Hon. United States Senators from this State, and the Hon. Representative in Congress from the Congressional District of this State, to vote for this amendment and to use their fullest influence in its favor; and

RESOLVED FURTHER, That we hereby request the two political parties that have not declared in favor of Woman Suffrage—the Democratic and Republican parties—to include in their State and National platforms a declaration in favor of Woman Suffrage, and a promise to support legislation to that end.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That seven copies of this resolution be forwarded immediately to the Congressional Chairman representing the Suffragists of the Congressional District, who will arrange for their presentation.
Another Eminent Opinion of Woman Suffrage

The following extracts from a sermon delivered by the Rev. Charles Gordon Ames of Boston are found in a recently published book entitled, "Charles Gordon Ames, A Spiritual Autobiography."

Charles Gordon Ames was the successor of James Freeman Clarke in the pulpit of the Church of the Disciples, where his wonderful personality was felt for over twenty years. "He was a believer in everything in Education, in civil and political rights and in public service that helps a woman to possess herself."

"The ideal woman is in sight, though perhaps we see her most clearly when we shut our eyes. In the common mind and heart an image is forming itself, an image to which the actual woman does not wholly correspond, yet the actual woman is making the ideal woman possible.

"The air is disturbed by sounds not wholly musical. But so it is when the newborn infant cries. Such cries are more than music to the ear of the mother.

"If political freedom comes next, the last outward sign of social inferiority will disappear, and women will have a fair and equal field for development, hindered only by their own limitations. The more intelligent advocates of equal suffrage regard it as a movement for the defense and improvement of the family. They believe that complete enfranchisement will add to the dignity and self-respect of women by taking off the brand of inferiority; that it will enrich her culture of heart and mind with broader human interests; that it will thus help to make her a wiser guide for children and a more valuable associate of man in all their partnership interests. They believe also that it will arm her with power to protect the home against now legalized enemies, and give her a voice in the decision of educational and economic questions which concern her and those who are dear to her.

"Nobody supposes that the Kingdom of Heaven is to come out of the ballot box; but it will be clear gain if this last difficult step can be taken in the direction of equality of rights and unity of interests as between the sexes.

"Unless the security of home and family relations is provided for in woman’s own nature, all is lost. But there is no permanent cause for alarm. So long as her warm heart continues to beat with the passion of love, home and family will be her supreme interests.

"Is it too much to say that the last century has seen in Christendom a richer flowering-out of radiant, superb, and almost angelic womanhood than any five centuries that went before? Is it too much to say that no modern fact is so full of promise as the array of womanly forces now at work for good in the school and the church, the community and among the nations?"

Issued by the Equal Suffrage Association of Minneapolis
Mrs. Albert McMahon, state organizer for the Minnesota Suffrage Association, is still actively engaged in organizing the 9th district, Watonwan and Martin counties. Mrs. Frank A. Day is the leader in the last district. The towns around are having large and interesting meetings.

THE MELTING POT MEETING IN MINNEAPOLIS.

$400 in cash was realized at the meeting on the grounds of Mrs. H. G. Harrison of Minneapolis last week. This with the contents of the Melting Pot, which contained a quantity of old gold and silver will be sent to New Jersey, which is the next state to vote upon Woman Suffrage. At this meeting some of the famous cooks were unable to supply the demand for their pies and doughnuts.

The Melting Pot meeting of the Political Equality Club of St. Paul was held at the residence of Mrs. C. F. Boostrom. The interior of the house and decorations were arranged in Chinese style. Refreshments were on the same order; even the smallest Chinese fire crackers were used as is their custom to call up some departed spirits. The sum contributed goes to the New Jersey Fund.

The state board of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association at their last meeting July 10th adopted the following "Protest:" That the women who pay taxes and believe that they should have a voice in the government they help to support, will enclose a protest with their taxes, against the present unjust arrangement which compels them to contribute for purposes about which they have nothing to say.

I may have a vote in the corporation in which I own stock, but concerning the road that semicircles my mountain farm, I have no voice. I may, as I did in the Spring elections, stand in a polling booth and mark my ballot on several somewhat complicated propositions involving appropriations of money for which my town property is taxed, but I could not vote for any of the men who were to administer these appropriations.—Harriet Burton Laidlaw.

"In the innermost recesses of their minds, most people believe that women are going to get the vote," said Samuel Gompers, in his recent address before the National Women's Trade Union League. "If it is right, it should go through at once, to get it out of the way as soon as possible so that we can get at other questions." Mr. Gompers then made a strong appeal to the men in the audience to vote "yes" on the suffrage question next November, and told the women that he expected to see them voting.

Read "Are Women People?" and see if this is true.

INTRODUCTION.

Father, what is a Legislature?
A representative body, elected by the people of the State.
Are women people?
No, my son, criminals, lunatics and women are not people.
Do legislators legislate for nothing?
Oh, no; they are paid a salary.
By whom?
By the people.
Are women people?
Of course, my son, just as much as men are.

Sent out to newspaper publishers by Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer, press chairman of Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.
PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

On several occasions State Legislatures have passed regulations for the presidential election enabling persons to vote who, by the State Constitution, would have been debarred from voting; and the right of the State Legislatures to do this has always been upheld by the courts. Thus the Maine Legislature, on March 24, 1864, passed an act to enable soldiers who were absent in the field to vote for presidential electors; and the next day it submitted an amendment to the State Constitution to enable soldiers absent in the field to vote for State officers. The latter required a constitutional amendment; the
former did not. New Hampshire (see Public Laws of 1864) passed a Soldiers' Voting Act for presidential electors, the legality of which was unanimously upheld by the State Supreme Court (45 N. H. p. 607), although the act was in conflict with the State Constitution. The Supreme Court took the ground that the question as to how the presidential electors should be chosen "is governed wholly by the Constitution of the United States as the paramount law, and the Constitution of this State has no concern with the question." The Vermont Supreme Court gave an opinion to the same effect (37 Vermont Appendix).

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

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

(Price 1d. The Weekly Newspaper of the Women’s Social and Political Union).

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EDITED BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

To THE CIRCULATION MANAGER, “THE SUFFRAGETTE,” LINCOLN’S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C.

Please send each week for [one year] one copy of “THE SUFFRAGETTE,” to

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Address

for which I enclose 8. d.

When filled in, this form is to be posted, together with postal order, to The Circulation Manager, “The Suffragette,” Lincoln’s Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
50,000 WOMEN REGISTERED VOTERS IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The College Equal Suffrage League of Northern California has issued a statement to the effect that the 50,000 registered women voters in San Francisco are from the respectable districts only. The women include those from the wealthiest families and also those from the middle class families. Their second election in San Francisco, the women voters conducted a campaign and defeated a corrupt state senator, who had been returned to the Legislature for twenty years by the men of one of the best residential districts in the city, although it was well known that he represented the liquor and gambling interests in the legislature. He was replaced by Senator Edwin Grant, who introduced the Red Light Abatement and Injunction Measure, which was supported by women voters en masse all over the state and passed.

SULZER SIGNS SUFFRAGE PETITION.

Governor Sulzer of New York, upon signing the petition to the United States Senate, circulated by the National Woman Suffrage League, said: "I am now and always have been and always expect to be in favor of granting women the same political rights that the men possess. There should be no abridgment in the United States of the political rights of women just because they are women. In my judgment a woman can vote just as honestly and just as intelligently as a man. I hope the day will come when this view will be expressed in the Constitution of our country."

SOAP-BOX SCHOOL.

A course in soap-box oratory has been opened in Philadelphia with Mrs. Helen Hoy Greesley of New York as the chief instructor. Last summer Mrs. Greesley spoke on one street corner for 65 nights in succession. She has this year been most successful in instructing Brooklyn College Women in street speaking. The course includes suffrage history, facts concerning suffrage legislation, the answering of questions, and the proper method of dealing with those who make impertinent interruptions.

POLITICIANS FAVOR VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Five political parties were represented by State leaders, who spoke from one platform in Ocean Grove recently on behalf of Woman Suffrage in New Jersey. The occasion was the Men's League Convention which brought together 2,000 persons.

The International Men's League for Woman Suffrage met in Budapest and shared the Congress with the Alliance. There are no words which can appropriately express the gratitude of American suffragists for the effective aid the Men's Leagues are giving their cause.

CHIVALRY AND VOTES.

Members of the Men's League for woman suffrage have just adopted neat little blue buttons which they are pledged to wear every day. They have also passed a resolution pledging themselves to surrender their seats in crowded street cars and in other ways to defer to women on every possible occasion. The idea, of course, is to prove that there is no intrinsic discordance between chivalry and a vote, and that women need not choose between subway seats and votes. The women no doubt will feel that members of the Men's League are doing more than their share and prefer that if any tired business man must give up his seat for them, it should be an anti. However, the public may yet be made to see that a man's courtesy for a woman is based on something more than her vœtelessness, just as it may in time possibly learn that votes and babies are not incompatible. But, perhaps, this last is too much to hope.

WHY CHICAGO WOMEN ARE VOTERS.

Within the last few years Chicago women have done more to better civic conditions. To them is attributed the kindergarten in the public schools, the juvenile court and detention home, the school and playground movement, the vacation school, the school extension department, the establishment of a forestry department of the city government, the establishment of public comfort stations, the city welfare exhibit, the development of the Saturday half holiday, and the reformation of the Illinois Industrial School. And Illinois has not argued, as do the anti-suffragists, "because the women have done all these things without the vote they do not need the ballot." No, Illinois has said in effect: "Our done all this handicapped though they have been without political power. Therefore, we must enfranchise them and let them utilize their possibilities to the full."

SULTAN A SUFFRAGIST.

Mulu Hadji Sultan of Morocco, attended his first suffrage meeting the other day at the Teatro Argentina in Rome, and enrolled himself as a believer in the Cause. It seems that the Sultan and his two wives while automobiles were attracted by the flamboyant yellow handbills in front of the theatre. Sultan soon found out that it was a suffrage meeting, he told the courier to alight with him and ordered the chauffeur to drive the vehicle back to the hotel. The wives protested, but their lord and master, of course, had his way. When the women suffragists heard of this the howlers, they announced that they would insist upon having the two wives come to their next meeting.

Sent out to newspaper publishers by Mrs. Eugenia B. Farmer, press chairman of Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.
REPLY

TO

The Minneapolis Association
Opposed to the Further Extension
of Suffrage to Women

"The great advance of Women in the last century—moral, intellectual and economic—has been made without the vote. Therefore, we believe the vote is not needed for their further advancement."

Men made great advance without the vote. They believed and have proved that the vote was needed for their further advancement. Women should have the same opportunity for advancement.

"In the large sense, women now stand outside of politics and are therefore free to appeal to any party in matters of Municipal and State Welfare, including Charity and Reform, in a non-partisan spirit. However, women have the privilege of voting for the School Board and the Library Board. Last year, these two Boards received from taxes and bond issues the sum of $2,993,962.27, or about one-third of the city appropriation. As only about 6 per cent of the women voted on the administration of these funds, why give them further representation?"

Where a single issue is involved the vote of men is always light. At some special school elections the men’s vote has been less than 2 per cent. "Matters of Municipal and State Welfare, including Charity and Reform," are now for the most part non-partisan measures. The women’s vote in suffrage states is for the most part non-partisan. If it were true that those outside of politics had more freedom of appeal to parties, then groups of men, such as railroad men or laboring men, would seek disfranchisement in order to gain this added influence.

"The basis of Government is Force, its stability rests upon its physical power to enforce its laws. Therefore it is inexpedient to grant the vote to women who cannot so enforce the laws they may enact."

The basis of Government is not force but the consent of the governed. Its stability rests upon public opinion. Physical disability does not disfranchise men.

"Voting is only a small part of Government. The need of America is not an increased quantity but an improved quality of the vote. We consider the interests of the Community to be more important than those of the Individual."

Voting is the source of all governmental authority. The need of America is a broader basis of Government. Less than one-fifth of the population has the right to vote. The class which comprises all of the mothers and most of the teachers cannot fail to improve the quality of the vote.

"The vote is not a natural right, nor is it a right bestowed upon tax payers. It is not a question of right, but of expediency for the public welfare.

There is no such thing as a nature given right. Rights are granted by the state. The vote is a right which is no more natural nor artificial than any other right. Woman suffrage is expedient. Its adoption by neighboring states is the best evidence of its expediency.

"Woman’s suffrage is the demand of a minority of women. The majority of women are not asking for it. According to the last U. S. Census report obtainable, there are 24,535,754 women of voting age in the United States and the Suffrage Party claim three to four million of this number. Should the minority rule the majority?"

Four million women are already entitled to vote in the suffrage states. If these women did not wish the vote they could at any time elect to disfranchise themselves. They have not done so. Those who believe in it and are asking for it in other states have not been counted. The women who are organized to further the cause of equal suffrage outnumber more than fifty to one those who are organized against it. In addition to the suffrage organizations, which number more than one thousand, approximately six hundred organizations have endorsed woman suffrage. Among these are:

International Council of Women
World’s W. C. T. U.
National W. C. T. U.
Society of Friends
American Federation of Labor
National Consumers’ League
National Educational Association
National Federation of Women’s Clubs
National Women’s Trades Union League
National Grange
National Child Labor Committee
National Conference of Charities and Correction
"Woman's vote is not a factor in the Prohibition movement, because out of their eleven suffrage states, Kansas is the only one which has Prohibition and that state had Prohibition many years before women had the vote. Eight Non-Suffrage States are Prohibition States."

Local or County Option, and not Prohibition, is the form temperance legislation has taken in suffrage states. This is their record:

- Idaho and Wyoming, 90 per cent dry.
- Colorado with 50 out of 62 counties dry.
- Utah with 110 dry towns, 2 wet.
- Washington with 115 dry towns, 18 wet.
- California with 682 dry towns, where she had but 200 before women voted.
- Illinois with 1,000 saloons closed as the result of the first election in which women had a voice.

The liquor interests everywhere acknowledge woman suffrage as their enemy, and support liberally with their money movements against it.

"Wages depend upon the markets, upon labor competition, upon skill and permanency, upon quality of output; wages are determined by supply and demand, not by the ballot."

Wages can be and are modified by legislation. The minimum wage law is an example.

The late Carroll D. Wright, National Commissioner of Labor, said, "The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."

"Suffrage states do not show better laws governing Prostitution than non-suffrage states. The enforcement of these laws shows no improvement in suffrage states. Public Opinion is the real remedial agent. Women banded together, as disinterested and non-partisan workers for the public good, can mould public opinion better than voting women divided by party politics: just as men have organized non-partisan Clubs and Commissions for purposes of improvement and reform."

It is easier both to obtain and enforce laws against prostitution and similar evils in states where women vote. Five out of ten suffrage states have passed the Injunction and Abatement law, acknowledged the most effective weapon against commercialized vice. Only five of the thirty-eight non-suffrage states have such laws. Just as men have organized non-partisan clubs and commissions for purposes of improvement and reform, so voting women may and do. The majority of leaders among women engaged in civic work have agreed that Public Opinion backed by the power of the vote is much more effective than public opinion without that power.

Among these women are:

- Jane Addams
- Clara Barton
- Julia Lathrop, head of Children's Bureau
- Frances Willard
- Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Commission on Industrial Relations
- Katherine Bement Davis, Commissioner of Corrections of New York City
- Caroline Bartlett Crane
- Florence Kelley
- Mary McDowell
- Ella Flagg Young

The laws of suffrage states are among the most progressive in America. The Inter-Parliamentary Union pronounces Colorado's laws relating to the child to be "the sanest, most humane, most progressive and most scientific in the world."

"Please take the trouble to look up the laws of Minnesota governing Child Labor, Hours and Protection for Woman's Labor, High Saloon License, Restricted Saloon Districts, Factory Laws, Health Laws, Mothers' Pensions, Juvenile Court, Equal Guardianship Laws, Property Right and Inheritance Laws. You will find them in most instances superior to those in Suffrage States and in no instances discriminating against women."

Minnesota laws are not superior to those of suffrage states, and do, in some instances, discriminate against women. Many of Minnesota's good laws are laws which Minnesota's women have worked hard for years to obtain. Other equally good laws, for which they have worked equally hard, they have not been able to obtain.

"We do therefore, respectfully, protest against the granting of Votes for Women in our State. We believe that Political Equality will deprive women of special privileges hitherto accorded to her by law, and would be a menace to American Womanhood and to American Government.

Experience proves that Political Equality has not deprived women of special privileges and we do not believe that American Womanhood can be a menace to itself, nor the influence of daughters, wives and mothers be a menace to government.
The Truth

The following telegrams, letters and articles received from various public officials indicate the wisdom of white suffrage. It is a fixed policy of the State without the slightest danger of repeal. At all elections, including the recent local election, women have voted with rare discrimination and were not influenced by hysterical campaigns organized to attract their votes. (Signed) JAMES D. PHelan.

Telegram from U. S. Senator Phelan.

“Now question has been raised here by any responsible or well informed person about the wisdom of white suffrage. It is a fixed policy of the State without the slightest danger of repeal. At all elections, including the recent local election, women have voted with rare discrimination and were not influenced by hysterical campaigns organized to attract their votes.” (Signed) JAMES D. PHELAN.

(Mr. Phelan was formerly opposed to Suffrage.)

Telegram from Chief Justice of California.

“I have no hesitation in saying that equal suffrage in this state, since its adoption in 1911, has been thoroughly tested, with the result that it is now generally accepted as entirely satisfactory. Were the question to be submitted to the people of the state, the majority in its favor would be very large. Personally, I believe it has accomplished and will accomplish much of benefit to the State and to its people.” (Signed) F. M. ANGELOTTI, Chief Justice of California.

Telegram from San Francisco Chief of Police.

“The advent of women into the political life of California has had a marked effect in the operations of Police Departments. In San Francisco we have three women protective officers who have labored indefatigably and with marked success in the preservation of law and order. A high degree of sympathy in police work has been stimulated among the women of California as a result of suffrage and the particular effect of this will make especially important the work of protecting conditions of life for women and children and the safeguarding of their moral welfare.” (Signed) DAVID A. WHITE, Chief of Police.

(An appointed officer—not elected.)


“My attention to equal suffrage was limited to giving women the right to vote upon the general political questions of the state and nation and was based upon the fact that a large number of women among my acquaintances had declared that they were not interested in politics. In 1911, I have been brought to the conclusion that such women were given the right to vote they might not exercise that right, but be so indifferent and negligent as many of our business men are and leave that duty to be performed by those who have no stake in the country and no particular interest in the political or moral welfare of the people.

“In this latter view I now find that I was mistaken. I find that many women who did not desire to vote upon all questions, now that they have been given the right, are exercising it with a high sense of duty and that their exercise of the gift is having a beneficial influence on political affairs. I am, therefore, a warm convert to equal suffrage and I sincerely hope that the influx of women at the polls will continue for the benefit of law and order and in efficiency.” (Signed) I. R. MOORE.

(Conversed to Equal Suffrage.)

James Ralph, Jr., Mayor of San Francisco, Formerly Opposed to Suffrage, Contributes the Following:

“The women of San Francisco have been members of the city for years and have participated in numerous elections of public officials and in the determination of many matters of public policy. In the City of which I have been the mayor for the entire period since equal suffrage became effective, the interest of the women in all public questions has been exceptionally keen and their judgments have been of marked value to the commonwealth. Their participation in elections has been dignified and effective, and their voting and speaking have been in the big factors of the elections for sound principles of good judgment. I, as Mayor, can always count on them for support of all public improvements and conservative measures. It is true that the old rough and tumble genre of ward and cheap politics has been relegated to the days and memories of the past since women have a voice in the election of public officials, and the old word politicians is but ‘has been’ and of no influence since women have had the right vote.” (Not for Suffrage before its adoption.)

The California Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 22, Relative to Erroneous Reports Regarding California’s Experience Under Woman Suffrage, Filed with the Secretary of State May 12, 1915.

“Whereas, the issue of woman suffrage is pending in many states of the union; and

“Whereas, the report of the effects of the disfranchisement of women in California is being constantly misrepresented in many states and used as arguments in opposition to the granting of equal rights to women in other states; and

“Be it Resolved by the Senate of the 41st Session of the legislature of the state of California, The Senate of the State of California, by the aforesaid conditions, renounces the adoption of woman suffrage by the public in October, 1911; and be it further,

“Resolved that in consideration of the right of women to equal civic rights, it is the opinion of this state it would be re-enfranchised by an overwhelming majority; and be it further,

“Resolved, That Woman Suffrage by California’s standards is one of the important factors contributing to the marked political, social, and industrial advancement made by our people and has contributed in no small degree to the growth of Woman Suffrage attempted elsewhere on the ground that woman suffrage is not satisfactory to the state, has no equal in other states, and is disapproved by intelligent and lawfully possessed women voters; the following report being the result of our great political and industrial position at the polls.” (Signed) MEN’S EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF DUBUQUE, DUBUQUE EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
SUFFRAGE SONG
To be sung to the tune of
"AMERICA."

My country 'tis for thee,
To make your women free,
   This is our plea,
High have our hopes been raised
In these enlightened days
That for her justice, praised
   Our land might be.

My native country thee;
Grant us equality!
   Then shall we see
In this fair land of light
Justice and truth and right
Ruling, instead of might,
   Trust liberty!

Our fathers' God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
   To thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
   Great God, our King.

THERESA B. PEYTON, L. L. B., President
Minnesota Equal Franchise League
531 Selby Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.
Battle Hymn of the Republic
By Julia Ward Howe

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.
He is tramping out the vintage where the grapes of wrath
are stored;
He has loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift
sword;
    His truth is marching on.
I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling
camps;
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and
damps;
I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring
lamps;
    His day is marching on.
I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel;
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace
shall deal;
Let the Hero born of woman, crush the serpent with his
heel,
    Since God is marching on."
He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call
retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-
seat;
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!
    Our God is marching on.
In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men
free,
    While God is marching on.
FRANCHISE INSTITUTE
PROGRAM

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

Scripture Reading, Gen. 1:26-31.

I. Outline of National Government.
   a. Of whom is the Senate composed?
   b. Of whom is the House of Representatives composed?
   c. Define the duties of the President and Cabinet.

II. Outline of state and local government.
   a. How many officials? Name them.
   b. How are these officials elected?

III. What is Commission Government?

IV. Define the following:
    Alien
    Australian Ballot
    Ballot
    Caucus
    Citizen
    Habeas Corpus Writ
    Registration
    Veto
    Initiative and Referendum
    Lobby
    Mandamus
    Precinct
    Primary
    Recall
    Vote
V. Outline of the status of women in the United States.
   a. Laws of your state regarding woman's property rights.
   b. Disabilities of married women.
   c. The co-guardianship of children.

VI. Outline of the liquor laws of your state.

VII. General Discussion, “How the woman’s vote would help in affairs of government.”
PROGRAM FOR SUFFRAGE MEETING
Deborah Knox Livingston

SINGING: “The Advancing Host.”
SCRIPTURE READING: Gen. 1:26; Psalm 45.
PRAYER.
READING: “The Promised Land.”
SINGING: “Help Us Win the Vote.”

DISCUSSION:
- “Why Women Want the Ballot.”
- “What a Woman’s Vote Would Do.”

MAP DRILL: (Show the Suffrage States and tell when they were enfranchised).

READING: “The Real Opponent of Woman Suffrage.”
READING: “The Value of My Vote.”
SINGING: “They Vote for Prohibition.”

* * * * *

Price of this Program, 2 cents; per 100, 15 cents
Price of Program Package (containing one each of all leaflets mentioned), 10 cents

Issued by the National W. C. T. U. Department of Franchise
Send orders to
NATIONAL W. C. T. U. PUBLISHING HOUSE
Evanston, Illinois
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PROGRAM FOR SUFFRAGE MEETING
(No. 2)
Deborah Knox Livingston

SCRIPTURE READING: Psalm 45.
PRAYER.
READING: “Womanhood and Citizenship.”
READING: “Facts for Busy Women.”
DISCUSSION: “Why I Want the Ballot.”
(Each member gives her own personal reason.)
READING: “Woman Suffrage and Temperance.”
READING IN UNISON: “Suffrage Statements.”

(Hymns for this program found in The Temperance Songster)

Price of this Program, 2 cents; per 100, 15 cents
Price of Program Package (containing one each of all leaflets mentioned), 10 cents

Issued by the National W. C. T. U. Department of Franchise

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Evanston, Illinois
FRANCHISE SONGS

THE ADVANCING HOST
Deborah Knox Livingston

(Tune: Bringing in the Sheaves.)
See the host advancing! from the west they're marching,
Thousands of the women, armed with voting strength.
See a bow of promise! 'O'er the skies 'tis arching,
Read its glowing message, "Power has come at length."

CHORUS:
Women want the vote,
Women want the vote,
To bring in prohibition, women want the vote;
Women want the vote,
Women want the vote,
To make a sober nation, women want the vote.

Long have they been praying to the God of Heaven
For the weapon needed to aid them in their fight.
Now the answer cometh, and the boon is given,
They will have the ballot, to gird them for the right.

CHORUS:
Women want the vote,
Women want the vote,
To bring in prohibition, women want the vote,
Women want the vote,
Women want the vote,
To make a sober nation, women want the vote.

HELP US WIN THE VOTE
(Tune: Battle Hymn of the Republic.)
We have heard a song of triumph, it has rolled from shore to shore,
A song of joy and gladness which we'll sing for evermore.
"Woman Suffrage" sure is coming to the land which we adore.
Come help us win the Vote.

CHORUS:
Soon the women will be voting,
Soon the women will be voting,
Soon the women will be voting,
Come help us win the Vote.

Come, sisters of the sunny south, we need your help today,
Come, comrades of the eastern states, we know you're on the way.
Our western sisters join us, and they sing this happy lay,
"You soon will win the Vote."

There is much of wrong that we would right, there's work for each to do
The license shame we'll put to rout, and all that is untrue.
For prohibition is our goal, the challenge comes to you,
To help us win the Vote.
THEY VOTE FOR PROHIBITION

(Tune: Marching Through Georgia.)
Do you see the women of the golden sunset west,
Women who are strong and brave, the nation’s very best,
Marching to the ballot box? For with the vote they’re blest,
And they vote for prohibition.

CHORUS:
Hurrah! hurrah! we hail the coming day.
Hurrah! hurrah! prohibition soon will sway
From Pacific Ocean to Old Massachusetts Bay,
Women will vote for prohibition!

Do you hear them calling, “Help us make our country free,
From the curse of licensed drink and all its tyranny?”
Women of the Northland and the Southland need to be
Casting their votes for prohibition.

We will answer to their call, “We’re coming, comrades brave,
To help you from the drink curse our beloved land to save.
We’ll give our strength, we’ll give our might, as loyal comrades gave,
To help bring the day of prohibition.”
Why Women Want the Vote

Deborah Knox Livingston

LEGISLATION AFFECTS THE HOME
Cost of living, pure food, milk supply, water supply, sanitation, public health, schools, are all home problems, and can be solved only by the ballot.

LEGISLATION AFFECTS THE CHILD
The law says when a child may go to school, and when he may go to work, what books he shall study, what food he shall eat, what carefare he shall pay, and where he shall play.

LEGISLATION AFFECTS MORALS
Women are opposed to the liquor traffic, the brothel, the gambling house, the corrupt politician, and every evil that seeks protection by the vote. They want the ballot to combat these evils.

LEGISLATION AFFECTS WAGES
Women demand equal pay for equal work. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, National Commissioner of Labor, said: "The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."

LEGISLATION AFFECTS BUSINESS
The law determines how much shall be paid for labor, what hours employees shall work and what shall be the sanitary conditions under which they shall work.

LEGISLATION AFFECTS EVERY INTEREST OF WOMAN
The Home
The Child
Morals
Wages
Business

are but a few of the many interests of woman. She needs the vote to affect the legislation that surrounds and controls these interests; she needs the vote to elect the legislators who will give her the legislation that she needs.

WOMEN WANT THE VOTE FOR EVERY REASON THAT MEN HAVE IT

Issued by the Department of Franchise.

Send all orders to
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Evanston, Illinois

Price, 2 cts. each; per 50, 10 cts.; per 100, 15 cts.
FACTS FOR BUSY WOMEN

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

DO YOU KNOW
that there are 337,635 women teachers and professors in the United States?

DO YOU KNOW
that there are 7,399 women physicians and surgeons in the United States?

DO YOU KNOW
that there are 239,077 women clerks, accountants and stenographers in the United States?

DO YOU KNOW
that there are 7,395 women in the ministry in the United States?

DO YOU KNOW
that there are 1,010 women lawyers in the United States?

DO YOU KNOW
that there are 2,193 women journalists in the United States?

DO YOU KNOW
that there are 770,055 women engaged in agricultural pursuits in the United States?

DO YOU KNOW
that these women need the ballot in their professions and in their trades? Some of them have it but all of them need it.

DO YOU KNOW
that since women have had the ballot in Colorado, Arizona, Oregon and Washington these states have passed prohibitory constitutional amendments?

DO YOU KNOW
that in every state where women have the ballot they have raised the age of consent?

DO YOU KNOW
that the ballot is the most direct means to secure the reforms which society is seeking today in the abolition of the drink traffic, the traffic in women, the exploiting of children in industrial life, and the securing of equal pay for equal work?

DO YOU KNOW, Busy Woman, THAT YOU NEED THE BALLOT?

Issued by the Department of Franchise.

SEND ALL ORDERS TO
NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Price, 2 cts. each; per 50, 10 cts.; per 100, 15 cts.
FACTS FOR BUSY MEN
Deborah Knox Livingston

DO YOU KNOW
that women in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, and Alaska have full suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW
that Illinois women have Presidential and Municipal suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW
that the women in this state are asking for full suffrage?

DO YOU KNOW
that Judge Ben Lindsey said: "It is little short of a crime to deny women the same rights as men to participate in the government under which they live"?

DO YOU KNOW
that Theodore Roosevelt said: "It is the right of women to have the ballot; it is the duty of men to give it"?

DO YOU KNOW
that William J. Bryan said: "Politics will not suffer by woman's entrance into it. If the political world has grown more pure in spite of the evil influences that have operated to debase it, it will not be polluted by the presence and participation of women"?

DO YOU KNOW
that former Governor Hiram Johnson of California said: "Women have done more than change laws, they have made of government a common, ordinary, useful thing"?

DO YOU KNOW
that Harvey W. Wiley, the pure food expert, said: "The woman's organizations have always been on the right side of every public question. This is a good proof that their votes would be cast the same way"?

DO YOU KNOW
that Hon. Oswald West, former Governor of Oregon, said: "The women not only register and vote, but they vote for those men and those measures that make for decent government"?

DO YOU KNOW
that the greatest opponents to woman's suffrage are the liquor interests, the trafficker in women, the gambler and the exploiter of children?

DO YOU KNOW WHY?
Because wherever women have received the vote they have used it against these evils, and for clean legislators and clean legislation.

Issued by the Department of Franchise.
Send all orders to
NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
Evanston, Illinois
Price, 2 cts., each; per 50, 10 cts.; per 100, 15 cts.
FACTS FOR W. C. T. U. WOMEN

Deborah Knox Livingston

DO YOU KNOW
that the Department of Franchise was adopted by the National W. C. T. U. in 1882 with Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt of Boston as its Superintendent?

DO YOU KNOW
that in 1876 Miss Willard made her first speech in Philadelphia in favor of the ballot for woman "as a weapon of protection from the tyranny of drink?"

DO YOU KNOW
that at the National Convention held in Newark, New Jersey, in 1876, Miss Willard spoke on suffrage "against the tearful pleading of her friends that she should not do so."

DO YOU KNOW
that in 1883 the first resolution for the full ballot for women was passed by the National Convention which was held in Detroit, Michigan? This is the text of that resolution: "As the strength of the liquor traffic is in the law protecting it, and law is the result of sentiment expressed by the ballot, we, therefore, recognize it to be the Christian and patriotic duty of women to bend their energies toward securing the ballot to the end of crystallizing their sentiment into law that shall protect the home from the encroachment of its enemies."

DO YOU KNOW
that the National W. C. T. U. Convention has been passing similar resolutions every year since 1883?

DO YOU KNOW
that the greatest opposition to the granting of the ballot to women comes from the legalized liquor traffic?

DO YOU KNOW
that in every state where women have the vote they have reduced the saloons by the hundreds?

DO YOU KNOW
that the power of the ballot is not only a great responsibility, but gives the blessed opportunity to do those things which make for righteousness, joy and peace?

As a true white-ribboner you believe in the Declaration of Principles, of which one is: "We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and, therefore, we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women and in the equal right of all to hold opinions and to express the same with equal freedom."

In view of these facts, we appeal to every loyal W. C. T. U. woman to help in every way to secure the ballot for herself and for every other woman on equal terms with men.

Issued by the Department of Franchise.
SEND ALL ORDERS TO
NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS
Price, 2 cts. each; per 50, 10 cts.; per 100, 15 cts.

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<td>I. It would unsex women.</td>
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<td>II. Women equal in business, professional and industrial life with men.</td>
<td>II. Woman's place is in the home.</td>
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<td>III. Women have equal educational privileges.</td>
<td>III. Women have not been educated to use the vote.</td>
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<td>brothers or husbands.</td>
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<td>legislation.</td>
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<td>VI. Women if enfranchised would lose their influence and men their</td>
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<td>children. Prohibition of the liquor traffic and of other evils.</td>
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<td>VI. Woman's suffrage a proved success wherever granted. Name some of</td>
<td>VII. Women do not want it.</td>
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<td>the laws secured by woman's vote, as the raising the age of consent,</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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<td>VII. Some of the great women of the past and present who have</td>
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<td>advocated woman's suffrage: Lucy Stone, Mary A. Livermore, Susan</td>
<td></td>
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<td>B. Anthony, Frances E. Willard, Lillian M. N. Stevens, Anna</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Gordon, Carrie Chapman Catt, Anna Howard Shaw, Jane Addams,</td>
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<td>Mary E. Woolley, M. Carey Thomas.</td>
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**HELPs**

- **IN FAVOR**
  - Woman Suffrage, History, Arguments and Results. Price, 28 cents.
  - Package of assorted leaflets, price, 25 cents.

- **OPPOSED**
  - Package of assorted leaflets, price, 25 cents.

**Issued by the Department of Franchise.**

**SEND ALL ORDERS TO**

**NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION**

**Evanston, Illinois**

**Price, 2 cts. each; per 50, 15 cts.; per 100, 25 cts.**
Do You Think, Mr. Voter?

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

Do you think, Mr. Voter,
That the women of New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway, Iceland, Sweden and Denmark, are more intelligent than the women of the United States? The women vote in all these countries, why not in all the states of the United States?
Do you think, Mr. Voter,
That the women of this nation should be classed, as they are, with aliens, idiots, lunatics and criminals, as individuals unworthy to exercise the franchise?
Do you think, Mr. Voter,
That as ninety per cent of the teachers of this country are women, and the great bulk of the training of the future citizens devolves upon them, these women should be denied citizenship?
Do you think, Mr. Voter,
That as we are graduating more girls than boys from the grammar and high schools, these girls are not equally fitted for intelligent citizenship as the boys?
Do you think, Mr. Voter,
That as women have entered all professions and practically all trades on equal terms with men, there is any reason why they should not enter the realm of affairs pertaining to government?
Do you think, Mr. Voter,
Of any good reason why women should not have the ballot on equal terms with men?

Issued by the W. C. T. U. Department of Franchise.

SEND ALL ORDERS TO

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

Price, 2 cts. each; per 50, 15 cts.; per 100, 25 cts.
Mr. Voter, Is It Fair?

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

Mr. Voter:
Is it fair that women can vote in twelve States and in the Territory of Alaska, and the women of all the other states be denied the vote?

Mr. Voter:
Is it fair, when a woman removes from a State which has woman suffrage to a State which has not, that she should be deprived of her citizenship?

Mr. Voter:
Is it fair, if morality and education are the two requisites for citizenship, that women who are found in the largest numbers in the churches and schools, and in the smallest numbers in the jails and prisons should be deprived of the vote?

Mr. Voter:
Is it fair that women should bear the burdens of war, the devastation of drink, the ravages of disease, the weight of poverty, and have no voice or power in the government which tolerates these evils?

Mr. Voter:
Is it fair that women toil at the same bench, work the same number of hours as do men and yet do not receive equal pay for equal work?

Mr. Voter:
Is it fair that women who bear the citizens of the world should be denied the citizenship given their sons?

Mr. Voter:
Will you be fair to the women of your state and vote to give them equal political rights on the same terms as you possess them?

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Evanston, Illinois

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STATEMENTS OF STATESMEN

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON
Statements of Statesmen

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

President Lincoln:
In 1836 he declared that he believed in admitting to suffrage all citizens who possessed certain qualifications, "by no means excluding females."

President Garfield:
"Laugh at it as we may, put it aside as a jest if we will, woman suffrage is rising on the horizon larger than a man's hand, and some solution, ere long, that question must find."

President Roosevelt:
"I ask every decent self-respecting citizen who has the right to vote to join the movement to secure for women the suffrage now denied them. We have woman suffrage in the western states. I don't think that the East will permanently lag behind. Civilization is spreading."

President Wilson:
"I intend to vote for woman suffrage in New Jersey, because I believe that the time has come to extend that privilege and responsibility to the women of the state."

Vice-President Marshall:
"It is reasonable to infer that the demand of men and women voters can bring about better conditions than the vote of one sex alone."

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo:
"The right to vote may, and I hope will, strengthen the power of women to assist in bringing about many social and moral reforms, in which they are equally, if not more vitally, interested than men."

Secretary Wilson:
"I am for woman suffrage because I believe that every mature person of sound mind who is required to obey the laws of the country should have a voice in determining what the law should be."

Secretary of War Garrison:
"If you refrain from giving the ballot to women, you will always have a very large part of your population convinced that the state is losing the opportunity to obtain the great results which would come from permitting them to participate in elections."

Hon. John D. Long, of Massachusetts:
"Somebody says few women want to vote. Well it often happens in an election that more than half the men refuse to vote. But 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 want to exercise it?"

U. S. Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma:
"The effect of woman suffrage in the states which have adopted it has been grossly and maliciously misrepresented by
the liquor interests. For myself I would be for woman suffrage, if for no other reason, because of the enemies it has made."

Former Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan:

"Let me give you an argument for those who question the morality and justice of giving the ballot to women. More than ninety per cent of the inmates of the Nebraska penitentiary are men. You will find a majority of the women in the churches.

"If women are intelligent enough to keep out of the penitentiary and have morality enough to go to church, there is no question of their fitness for the ballot. I believe it is only a question of time until women will share governmental burdens with men.

"A man is known by the company he keeps, and I want to tell you now that the man who prefers the saloonkeeper's company to that of his wife will not be in the Democratic party long. If we are going to favor woman suffrage, we might as well go the whole hog and drive the saloon out of politics."

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Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, pure food expert:

"The greatest enemies of woman suffrage are the organized liquor dealers."

Mayor Thompson of Chicago:

"To my mind the most important accomplishment of woman suffrage has been the elevation of politics generally to a higher and broader plane."

Billy Sunday, noted evangelist:

"I want you to understand that I am not standing up for votes for women simply because it is popular. I was for it before it was popular. One of the principal reasons that I'm in favor of woman suffrage is because the opposition has crawled out of the saloons and breweries."

Dr. Marion LeRoy Burton, president of Smith College:

"I certainly do want women to have all their rights. What I look forward to is the day when no woman shall be at a disadvantage because of her sex, and when no woman shall be able to take an unfair advantage because of it."

John Philip Sousa, America's greatest bandmaster:

"I can't see any reason why women shouldn't vote. The woman without the ballot looks after the protection of her daughter. The woman with the ballot will look after the protection of her son."

MR. VOTER, these are the things SOME men SAY. What do YOU SAY?

Issued by the National W. C. T. U. Department of Franchise
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What Some Men Say

DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

Ex-Governor Hunt of Idaho:
“In Idaho the woman vote has compelled not only state conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.”

Governor Spry of Utah:
“Women state officials in Utah have been on the whole about 100 per cent better all round than the men.”

Governor George A. Carlson of Colorado:
“Take from the politics of our State and Nation the insidious influence of the liquor interests and nation-wide equal suffrage would prevail within a year’s time.”

Ex-Governor Bass of New Hampshire:
“We need to give women the vote for the sake of men and of children.”

Jacob A. Riis, New York:
“The effect of woman suffrage will be good upon the home, politics, morals and religion. For women have the moral end of it, and if it is not clear that that is what we need just now nothing is.”

Judge Ben Lindsay, Denver, Colorado:
“The big worth-while battles that have been won in Colorado against the powers of privilege have been due in large measure to the woman voter.”
AN APPEAL TO WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

TEN THOUGHTS FOR YOU

(By Emeline Burlingame-Cheney)

I. For about forty years Woman’s Missionary Societies have been planning and working to carry the blessings of Christianity to heathen lands. These efforts have been attended with worthy devotion and much self-sacrifice in time and money.

II. While this work has been going on, there have been coming to our shores in rapidly increasing numbers representatives of the peoples for whom we have been working. They have come with the right to expect that they shall find a people all of whose life is dominated by Christianity, just as in their own countries, their religions enter into the daily life of the people.

III. What have they found? An applied Christianity? The Golden Rule a living factor?
On the contrary, from the time they land on our shores, they are the prey of selfish greed, in the form of the liquor traffic, the white slave traffic, graft, political corruption and similar evils.

We deprecate the life of zenanas and harems. How much worse it is that in our large cities thousands of girls are being dragged into the life of the underworld by underpaid labor and other bad conditions.

IV. How do you feel about it, my sister? Are you not ashamed to have the people from so-called heathen lands study us as a representative Christian nation and go home to report?

Are we not saying to them “Our boasted Christianity is a failure so far as its application to these evils in National life is concerned?”

V. But the Woman’s Missionary Societies have faced too many difficulties to cower now. To see obstacles is to work for their removal. Everywhere among us there is an awakening to a new sense of responsibility. The question is being asked as never before, “How can we improve conditions, under a government that rests upon the people and whose laws and institutions depend upon the ballot?

VI. We naturally turn to our churches for help, but find the surprising fact that only about one-third of the members can vote, while the two-thirds membership of women have no direct voice in helping make our nation better.

We find also that all the forces of evil see the advantage which this gives them and they therefore oppose with all their united powers giving the ballot to women and thus placing in the hands of two-thirds of the church members the most potent power that can be used against them.

VII. After more than a century we find ourselves with present conditions; but it is not fair to too seriously blame our brothers, the one-third membership of the churches, for they have found it impossible to control ballots enough to crystallize into our national life the righteousness which exalteth a nation.

It would surely be a too serious reflection on our churches to say that the addition of the two-thirds membership to the voting force would not infuse a higher type of morality into our national life.

As our Woman’s Missionary Societies are composed almost entirely of women of voting age they ought to add more than a million votes to the ranks of those fighting for the right.

VIII. What greater present duty, then, have the Christian women of America than to secure the ballot and seek to make this nation an object lesson by embodying into its life the principles which we have been sending missionaries to teach.

God’s hour has struck for women to become a great moral force in our national life.
We are told that when women want the ballot they can have it. Let the cry go out from the women of our churches, especially from the women of our Woman’s Missionary Societies: “We want it. We must have it. Give it to us quickly, for evils are rampant that overthrow our efforts for good. We are our brother’s keepers, and our sister’s keepers too.”

IX. This is a year of united prayer for missions.

Yes, there cannot be too much of it; but let the prayers include one that God will open the eyes of the people in the churches to see how handicapped they are in securing an applied Christianity by having only one-third of their members able to touch with the power of the ballot the life of the world through an uplifted nation.

X. No pleading will lead our Father to do for us what we can do ourselves, but are unwilling to do.

2c each or 30c per hundred.
National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE
Deborah Knox Livingston, Superintendent

THE VALUE OF MY VOTE

In eleven of the states of this Republic suffrage has been granted to women on equal terms with men. In Illinois, the State Legislature granted to the women all the voting privileges the Legislature can bestow,—and in Alaska the women have been enfranchised by act of the Legislature. What this means cannot be estimated in figures nor can the results already accomplished in righteous legislation be tabulated. Much is being prophesied as to what shall yet be accomplished for the moral uplift of the nation by the extension of the franchise to women. The women of the suffrage states are not so much interested in the future possibilities of their suffrage as they are in the immediate use of it. “What is the value of my vote?” should be the first question each woman possessing the ballot, should ask herself. That the ballot is of inestimable value no one will gainsay. That it has a money value in many states is one of the shameless crimes of our modern politics. It is not this kind of value that we mean, but a value
that is priceless so far as money is concerned. The value of the ballot to man and woman alike is that it enables them to express at the ballot box their convictions as to what kind of legislation and what manner of legislators shall govern them. It is well for each woman voter to ask herself such questions as these:

"Will my vote mean a clean administration?"
"Will my vote help destroy the traffic in women?"
"Will my vote make easier the life of the wage earning woman?"
"Will my vote affect child labor in my state?"
"Will my vote hasten the abolishing of the saloon?"
"Will my vote count for the enforcement of law?"

These are but a few of the many questions that will arise when women begin to ask "what is the value of my vote?" The majority of women will want to know for a certainty that the candidates who are desirous of her vote will be such men as shall be on the right side of these questions, for there are no more vital questions being asked by the women of the United States today than just these questions that we have enumerated. Women believe them to be vital because they touch the very heart of the home life of our Nation.

The important thing is that the women voters must understand these questions in order that they may vote intelligently upon them as opportunity is afforded.

Some of the things that have been accomplished in the states where the ballot has been given to women are:

The raising of the age of consent.
The reduction of the hours of labor for women and children.
The establishing of schools for the feeble minded.
Making mothers joint guardians of the children with the fathers.
The abolishing of segregated vice.
The securing of more just taxation.
The enforcement of law, relating to the liquor traffic, gambling and the sale of cigarettes to minors.

In all these and in many other things the women have been a large factor in securing the results.

It is however in the obtaining of legislation for the prohibition of the liquor traffic in state and nation, that the women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are most desirous of using the ballot. We believe that with the saloon wiped out legally, we will have taken the first great step toward the solution of the traffic
in women, the elimination of children in industry, the reduction, to a large extent, of women in industrial life, and the removing of much of the crime, poverty and disease which necessitates so much of the organized philanthropy of our day. While there is some truth in the statement that poverty creates drunkenness, we know that there is no greater cause for poverty than drunkenness. This is equally true of crime and increasingly true of disease.

It therefore becomes the duty of every woman possessing the right of suffrage to exercise it against these great evils of modern society. She must realize that the "vote" is the only direct weapon that can be used for their overthrow. When the women fully appreciate this they will see with clear vision their duty and will show at the ballot box:

"The VALUE of My Vote"
"The Value of MY Vote"
"The Value of My VOTE"

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

Excerpts from the Annual Addresses of Mrs. Lillian M. N. Stevens

Compiled by
Deborah Knox Livingston

“True manliness and true womanliness will be permanently maintained not through the supremacy of either sex but by equality and justice to all, irrespective of sex. This is the keynote today of the woman suffrage movement.”

“All reforms are unpopular until people are educated concerning righteous principles and the fundamental truths they involve. No reform at first unpopular has ever come more rapidly into public favor than the movement to accord to woman her full rights ‘under the law and under the gospel.’ To realize the truth of this statement, we need to compare the conditions as they existed fifty years ago with today.”

“The time when the women of this country shall have the ballot on the same terms as men of like intelligence is being greatly hastened by the steady, persistent
effort that woman is herself making. This advance is not the result of her effort alone, but rather of the combined efforts of men and women, and the number of broad-minded men who recognize the great principle of justice and equality as applied to the treatment of woman is rapidly increasing."

"Woman was never more truly a homekeeper than she is today, but her concept of the sphere of home has broadened immeasurably. There is a recognized link between the good home and civic righteousness, good schools, good churches and good business houses, and there are manifold indications that in the movement to secure woman's influence in government and 'in the tangled business of the world' there is an accelerated progress."

"Is it love of country or love of home that leads the average woman, or at least the average W. C. T. U. woman, to desire the right of franchise? Is it not rather love for both and a desire to serve both, and are not the two interests closely intertwined? There are comparatively few men who serve in public offices; and many of these public official duties are not as arduous or restrictive as are the duties of many vocations in which women, in order to earn their daily bread, have to engage. The woman who can go to the polls and cast her ballot against the saloon finds it a far simpler and pleasanter task and one requiring much less time than the arduous task of ministering in her own home or in some other home or in some slum abode called a home, even for a day, to some degenerate victim of a saloon."

"On several notable occasions the weakness of the organized opposition to woman suffrage has been proved. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe has well said, 'The great obstacle to woman suffrage is in the inertia of conservatism added to the strenuous opposition of the liquor interest and all the vicious element.' Each year the world grows wider for women, and the barriers which have been built up by church and state are greatly and surely weakening or disappearing."

"The results of woman suffrage in New Zealand, Finland and other places where women vote prove that as a rule women cast their votes in favor of temperance measures and other moral reforms. It is a well known fact that the liquor trade is always opposed to woman suffrage. For this reason many conservative, thoughtful women, who never have taken an interest in the old question of 'woman's rights,' feel that it is desirable
and also right for women to have the privilege of voting for the protection of their homes."

"We might produce reams of testimony and of opinions in favor of woman’s ballot from statesmen, educators, philanthropists and reformers, but it is a significant fact that the great liquor trusts are ever and unalterably opposed to woman’s ballot, and in all the suffrage campaigns now waging they are our greatest foes. Wherever the question of licensing the liquor traffic is pending women should have the power to do their full part in fighting the fiercest enemy that imperils the home."

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Womanhood and Citizenship

BY DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON

The combination of these two words is a striking interpretation of the spirit of our day, a spirit that recognizes that women are citizens whether the rights of suffrage have been conferred upon them or not.

That in every community there are women who take an active part in all that pertains to its citizenship is a fact well known, and one that causes no comment, but is accepted as a necessity to the welfare of the community. Down through the centuries we see over and over again how women have interested themselves in the questions of state, and how they have sought to share in the responsibilities of government.

Women have ever recognized that citizenship does not mean merely rights, but that it means duties as well; not merely the development of the material prosperity of the community, but the development of the moral character of the citizens. It is in this latter aspect of citizenship that woman’s power has been more keenly felt.

In every effort for the uplift of the race physically, intellectually, socially and spiritually, women have been in the forefront. Today
women are a most important factor in business, in government and in religion. They seek to interpret these realms of their activity in relation to citizenship.

WOMAN IN BUSINESS

There is not a single problem connected with the working man that is not also a problem of the working woman. The wage question, hours of labor, sanitary conditions and cost of living are all alike problems of the working woman as well as of the working man.

It is natural, therefore, that when an effort is being made to better the conditions under which the laboring classes toil women should be interested in that effort. Side by side with man stands woman at the bench; day after day she works with him in the office, in the store and market, in the schoolroom; in every part of the great world of industry we see her, companion and co-laborer with her brother. She has come to see that while she is a citizen she does not possess the power to act in her own behalf as does her brother. To the great majority of working women in this country is given only the power of protest and petition, and not that of enactment. She sees the injustice of conditions about her, but can only cry out against them. Who will dispute that her cry has not been heard in every corner of the earth, and that as a result men have been forced to give her justice.

Equal pay for equal work has been one of the results, and today woman’s place in the industrial life of the community is defined as never before. This mixing together in the business world has broadened the vision of woman as it has that of man, and has helped us to get rid of class distinctions.

WOMAN IN GOVERNMENT

Splendid legislation has been passed by both State and Federal Governments in relation to child labor and the wage-earning woman. This legislation has been largely secured by the efforts of the women themselves. They have realized that government exists for the securing of public liberty and private rights; that while having no voice in the making of legislation they are amenable to all laws the same as men. They have learned that law to have value must be enforced, and that the interpretation of law is perhaps the most important, as that is what most directly affects them in their social relationships.

In every community are to be found, to a greater or less degree, the awful facts of disease, crime and poverty. Men and women alike suffer from these evils and they soon find that if they are to rid their community of their blighting effects, they must work together for their abolition. Women hold that as much of these evils are tolerated by the government, their eradication must be by the power of government.

The awakening of public sentiment against every form of injustice has been one of woman’s greatest contributions toward an ideal citizenship. She has worked for a citizenship that is based on the ethics of the Nazarene; she has believed that in proportion as the Golden Rule of Christ is lived out among men, the Golden Age of man will come. Women have looked with clear vision and have seen the highest tribunals controlled by unscrupulous combines of capitalists; vile men placed in many public offices, with courts and grand juries shielding the wrong-doer; jails for the man that steals bread and acquittal for the man who steals millions; government legalizing and protecting 250,000 saloons and sanctifying the shipping of liquors to foreign lands. Women have seen thousands and tens of thousands of their sisters lost every year in the greatest infancy of the ages, an unholy sacrifice to the lust of men—women of all classes have heard the cry of these perishing ones and demand that this thing cease. Women are the mothers of citizens. If women be exploited by labor or enslaved by lust, robbed of home and sustenance by the liquor traffic of this country, it will mean, it must mean, a degenerate citizenship. When the citizens of a community, a state or a nation become degenerate the day of its downfall is at hand. That has been the history of the nations of the past and must of necessity be the history of the Republic in which we dwell, unless men and
women together shall share the responsibilities of citizenship and share alike in the power of suffrage.

WOMAN IN RELIGION

Woman’s power has longer been recognized in the realm of religion than in business or government. Today she constitutes the greater proportion of church membership. In every activity of the church, at home and abroad, she has contributed of her time, strength and means for the furtherance of its propaganda. In her attempt to bring light and love, liberty and life to the world, she has seen that it could only be done as we were able to change the individual. For, after all, the government is only the accumulation of many individuals, and if we desire the nation to be a righteous one our emphasis must be placed on the individual. His environment, his education and his whole life is affected by the citizenship of the community, and, therefore, we women demand the right to make that citizenship the highest, cleanest and best that the world has ever known.

We hail the light of this twentieth century, as it shines into the hitherto dark places of the earth, revealing the greed, corruption, and sins of a people.

We know that same light will bring healing where now we find disease, gladness where sorrow reigns, prosperity for poverty, happiness for hate, understanding for misunderstanding, a citizenship that shall ensure to every man and woman the right to toil under the best conditions, to build their home and rear their family according to God’s plan; and in bringing this to pass women more than ever shall have a part. Recognized in business as an economic factor, welcomed in affairs of government as one who bears equally with man its responsibilities, known in the religious activities of the church as the most powerful agent for the propagation of Christianity, women will yet come into that larger field of service for which the centuries of the past have been preparing her. Then shall we see a Christian citizenship, such as the Master meant when He said, “The Kingdom of God is in your midst.”

2c each or 30c per hundred.

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THE REAL OPPONENT OF WOMAN’S SUFFRAGE

By Deborah Knox Livingston

It may be true that every woman who is in favor of suffrage is not in favor of temperance, (meaning total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors and the prohibition of the liquor traffic in the state and nation) but, surely, the day is past when there can be found any number of women who, believing in total abstinence and prohibition, are not believers also in the ballot for woman. If there is such a one, let her stop and ask herself this question: Who is the real opponent of the granting of the ballot to woman? Let the states who have fought and won answer this, and let the states that have fought and lost answer as well.

When Oregon made its first fight for the ballot for women and lost, they were defeated by the “Liquor Interests.” The same “Interests” defeated the suffrage amendment in Ohio, in Wisconsin, and twice defeated it in Michigan. In these states, every “wet” newspaper opposed suffrage, every liquor dealer’s association opposed suffrage, every saloon-keeper opposed suffrage.
The Detroit Journal of Michigan said in reference to the defeat in that state: “The fight was made throughout the state by the liquor interests. They are the only opponents of suffrage who have any object in making an intense campaign.”

The Kalamazoo Gazette said: “There is no doubt that thousands of dollars were sent into the state by outside liquor organizations, and it was this “barrel of slush” that, more than any other one thing, compassed the undoing of the suffragists.”

The Lansing State Journal said: “With unlimited means at their command, the liquor interests flooded Michigan with misleading literature, and under the cloak of the Anti-suffrage Association, comosed of well-known Michigan citizens, worked deadly harm.”

In the recent campaign in Illinois, which resulted in so glorious a victory for the women, the only opposition of any strength was the combined power of the “white slavers,” the employers of child labor and the liquor interests. The American Brewers’ Review says that “the granting of suffrage to Illinois women is perhaps the most important event of a political character capable of affecting the traffic in alcoholic beverages that has occurred since the passage of the Webb Law.” California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, and even prohibition Kansas all felt the tremendous strength of these combined forces of evil, but in spite of their unlimited financial resources and their political “pull” in every state legislature, they were defeated. And we see in these defeats the promise of that better and brighter day when this Republic will be freed from the tyranny and bondage which has so long held it because of its alliance with the liquor traffic.

There is no slogan of the Twentieth Century that is fraught with more meaning to the liquor interests of this country than “Votes for Women.” They recognize it as the death knell of their business.

We hear much of the so-called unrest among the women of our day as if this unrest were something strange and peculiar, but it is merely the expression of the organized womanhood of our nation against the corrupt social and political conditions of our time. It is not peculiar to our nation alone, for it may be found in the Orient, as well as in the Occident. It is not confined to any one class. The woman of culture and the woman of industrial life, the woman of large possessions and the woman of direst poverty are all seeking for that “something” which is to give them power to right the wrongs, heal the wounds and bind up the broken-hearted. Perhaps we find the answer to this problem of unrest among women, in the famous words of Frances E. Willard: “It is the women who have given the costliest hostages to fortune. Out into the battle-field of life they have sent their best beloved, with fearful odds against them. Oh, by the dangers they have dared; by the hours of patient watching over beds where helpless children lay; by the incense of ten thousand prayers wafted from their gentle lips, I charge
you give them the power to protect along life’s treacherous highway those whom they have so loved."

Hundreds of thousands of women in the suffrage states have now that power, and they are using it intelligently, to destroy the greed and lust that threatens the integrity of our homes and the safety of our nation. How much longer shall the disenfranchised women of our land wait for this power? You, my sister, must answer that question.

The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, the educators, the philanthropic workers, stand for the ballot in the hands of women, on equal terms with men. The saloon, the brewer, the trafficer in women, are making every effort by fair or foul means, and mostly by foul, to withhold the ballot from women. On which side do you stand? You are either for us or against us.

For the protection of your children, for the safeguarding of your property, for the uplift of your neighbor, for the welfare of your country, for the extension of the Kingdom of our Lord upon the earth, we urge you to demand the right and the power of the ballot, and to demand it NOW.

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Woman and the Church

Deborah Knox Livingston

The Church has one great object in the world, namely, to establish the kingdom of God. What is this kingdom for which we pray and work? The Apostle defines it thus: "The kingdom of God is righteousness, joy, peace in the Holy Ghost." If we are to find the kingdom of God, we must look, therefore, for these three fundamental qualities in society.

This is a big task that is given to the Church, one worthy of our best and most efficient endeavor, for it does not mean that we are to give to the individual alone these qualities, but they are to be built into society by the individual, until they become the basis of all the relationships of man with man, as well as man with God.

It is well for us to ask who is the Church of God to whom this task is given? Five out of every seven members of the Evangelical churches (Protestant) of the United States are women, and more than one-half of the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church are women. This would look as if the task of getting the kingdom of God established upon the earth was very much left to the women to accomplish.

The door of opportunity for women in religious activities swung open for her before
the doors of educational and industrial opportunities. How well she has seized these opportunities and achieved the purposes to which she set herself is familiar history.

Women have possessed peculiar qualities which have fitted them for this special task of establishing righteousness, joy and peace. It is generally conceded by the scientists of the past and present that women are more sympathetic and self-sacrificing than men; that they possess the ability to endure, because as a rule they possess a greater amount of energy. The training received in their homes, in the bearing and rearing of children, has been another potent asset. These qualities she has developed and by them attained some extraordinary results.

Less than one hundred years cover the period of time in which women have been organized into societies for the establishment of the kingdom of God. Their first efforts were along distinctive missionary lines. Little groups of women in the Methodist and Congregational denominations, later in the Baptist and others, organized themselves into "Female Cent Societies" for the propaganda of the Gospel in "distant parts." This meant, not only the lands beyond the seas, but the distant parts of our own North America. Their whole training had been individualistic. They had not been taught, as had men, the value of co-operation, but they soon learned the art of "togetherness" and "team work." It was in these societies, organized within the church, that women learned to conduct meetings, create constitutions, draft by-laws, appoint committees, nominate officers, etc., etc. It was in these societies they began to ask, how can we have righteousness in our communities when great social injustices exist that tear down the purity and integrity of a people? They realized that righteousness could not exist a nation which legalized the liquor traffic, permitted gambling, and did nothing to protect its womanhood from the slavery of prostitution. It was in these societies, and in the great organizations that followed them, like the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the General Federation of Woman's Clubs, etc., that they learned they could not bring joy to the people, as long as little children and women, as well as men, bore the grievous burdens of the economic world. It was in these societies that they learned what caused war and destroyed the peace of nations. They came to see that the lust of power and commercial greed were the enemies of peace.

How, then, were they to accomplish their task? They must first find the forces that opposed, and then the powers that helped, the kingdom of God. They were not satisfied in raising and sending money for schools in heathen lands when their own children were housed in school buildings that were dangerous to life because of her sanitary conditions. Inefficient equipment, underpaid teachers, and all the other problems which have been faced in order to make more efficient the public school system of the United States, they found were problems of the kingdom. They were not satisfied to equip ships with the food products of their own land and send to the starving millions of India when they realized that hundreds of thousands of women and children starved to death every year in the cities of their own country. They might not be able to determine the causes of the poverty of the Orient but they were determined to find out the causes of poverty in their own land. They could not be satisfied with helping build hospitals and sitting doctors and nurses to run these hospitals in "other lands" and be indifferent to the equal and fifth which make for disease in their own cities. They learned that these things ought to be done for the great heathen world, but they also learned that they must not leave undone the work at their own door.

They came to see that righteousness must first begin in the individual, that this regenerating force must work in society until it had leavened the whole. They learned that there could not be laws for the employer that made for the devastation of the employee. They came to see that labor was dependent on capital and steadily the laborer was dependent upon labor. It is no easy thing to secure justice for all, even in a land of democracy. The women in the church began to see this truth; they realized the magnitude of the task given them to establish their part of the kingdom of God; they came to appreciate something of the titanic problems that confronted them. Their investigations and study led them to see that somehow or other all the interests of the kingdom of God were tied up by the governments of earth, therefore they saw they must be able to affect government if they were to accomplish their task.

It was at this point that they realized they were political nonentities so far as government was concerned. They found that while they might agitate for the kingdom, and educate for it, they were denied the privilege of legislatively for it. And so these women in the church who had assumed this great undertaking of helping build the kingdom of God on earth, asked for the right to have a voice in legislation, asked to be given the power of the ballot, not that they might pray less, or pray less, but that plus
their praying and their paying they might vote for righteousness, joy and peace.

The women of the Church of God are asking for the ballot for the King's business in the King's kingdom. They do not think that they will revolutionize society with the ballot, but they see how it will help them in establishing socially, educationally and industrially a greater righteousness, a more common joy, a more universal peace than the world has yet known.

The Church cannot continue to teach concerning a citizenship in heaven and ignore the necessity for a clean, righteous citizenship on earth. It cannot teach longer of a citizenship in a world that is to be, and expect that women who form the larger part of its adherents shall be longer content without citizenship in the world that now is.

The day has passed when the only concern of the Church was the soul of man; today it concerns itself with his body, which is the temple of God. Whatever affects a man's body affects the community. Whatever affects the community affects the state and nation. The business of the Church—and that means both men and women—is to establish righteousness in the individual and in the nation; to create those conditions which make for joy to the individual and to the whole people; to give peace and prosperity to the individual, for upon that depends the peace of the nation.

The womanhood of the Church is a great power—a power which is real and must be reckoned with in the days to come as it has not been in the days of the past. The Church has trained women for service, and the women of the Church are asking for the help which they believe the ballot will give to them to meet the problems which they continually face in their field of service.

This field of service is a broad one. Home missionary activity includes all forms of social work. The gospel of righteousness and joy and peace must be carried to the factories, to the dwellers of the tenements, to the orphaned and dependent children housed in institutions. This gospel must lift the burdens of the women and the children, and it will if it but have its way in our midst. "Where there is no vision, the people perish." The women of the Church have had the vision. They are determined that the people shall not perish. "Open thou mine eyes that I may behold wondrous things," is the prayer of these women of vision in the Church. The Lord of Hosts has opened their eyes and they are beholding the fields white unto harvest. Shall they be denied the power which shall help them establish the kingdom? Let me repeat it, the women of the Church want the ballot for the King's business and for the King's kingdom.

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National Woman's Christian Temperance Union  
DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE  
DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON, Superintendent  

THE PROMISED LAND  

By Frances E. Willard  

The W. C. T. U. was originally founded by the inspiration given to some few brave women to take up arms against the drink. That is a splendid Genesis, to be sure, but it is only a Genesis. If you want to go on to the full Revelation you must not stop with Genesis. You must go on till you have the whole message; the complete Revelation, the Gospel itself. Now in our cause the movement against the saloon was the Genesis, and the first formation of that W. C. T. U. was the Exodus. But we did not cross the Jordan until we proclaimed the right of women to vote, and we shall not enter into the Promised Land to possess it until the full right of women to full citizenship is fully recognized in every State in our land and in the federal government. The more I reflect upon the world, and the way in which its affairs are managed, the more I see that the right to vote in a democratic age is an acknowledgment by the States of the value of an individual, a recognition by the States of the right of a citizen to have an opinion and a right to tender it for the guidance of her fellow citizens.
wherever occasion arises. The voteless adult is nowhere, whose rights, whose individuality, whose common nature, even, are all held by sufferance, permitted rather than recognized, and as a consequence, minimized beyond endurance. But we know that any thing that minimizes the self-respect of any class is an offense and injury to that class. Women are never treated as if they were citizens except in bearing liabilities, paying taxes, and suffering mischief which mismanagement brings upon the community. If we are ever to save the State, we must enfranchise the sex which at this moment has to bear the most painful burdens imposed by nature upon humanity, and which is much more acclimatized to self-sacrifice for others, than the sex which at present monopolizes the franchise. What lies at the root of everything? Give us the vote, that we may be recognized as if we were capable citizens. Give us the vote, in order that we may help in purifying politics, which at present can hardly be said to be so ideally pure that you can afford to refuse a helping hand. Give us the vote, in order that we may use it, and in using it exercise ourselves in the discharge of responsible duties, in the administration of affairs which form so large a part of the realms of most men. They accuse us of frivolity, but in the same breath deny us serious and responsible duties which we are eager to attempt. They sneer at us as unpractical and at the same time shut us out of the school, of practicability which is opened in every legislature, and then when they have endeavored to destroy in our minds the very conception of patriotism and enthusiasm, they marvel that the boys whom women bear and rear, do not dedicate themselves with enthusiasm to the unpaid service of their fellow men. For the mother is the level which measures the rise of the rate of progress of the race. What men make their mothers today they will make their sons tomorrow. If ever there was a sacred cause which strikes at the root of the secret sorrows of the world it is this which claims for women all the privileges and all the duties and all the rights of citizenship. We are not mere foolish women clamoring for they know not what, we are humble-minded but in dead earnest.

For our own sake we claim the suffrage as an indefeasible human right. We do not ask this with bated breath and whispering sycophancy—we claim it as our nature right. We are human, and we ought to be treated as such. And whenever human society finds out that all its affairs are really affairs of the family, it will learn that they should be managed not by one sex, but by two. The segregation of the sexes is an offense against nature's first law. The work of the coming century is the career open to all that are capable, even if they are women. We make no limitations other than those imposed by nature, which are too inexorable to need enforcing by man-made legislation. We do not
ask that women should do what they cannot do. If they cannot, that ends the controversy. But there must be no a priori masculine decision as to what woman can or cannot do.

We claim the Woman’s Ballot, as one of the most important objects for which we are working; indeed it includes prohibition and it includes everything else that is worth having. They are but corollaries and deductions from the right to vote. The woman’s vote is needed, first for the woman herself, for self-respect is permanently impaired when you tell any class of persons that they are, as it were, born under an irrevocable curse which renders their opinions valueless to the State. But it is needed, secondly, for man. It is not good for man to be alone in Church or in State, any more than in the family. Man deteriorates when deprived of the constant alliance and co-operation of woman.

It has been said that the best gauge of the civilization of any society is the estimate it has of its women. Hence the women’s vote which would instantly and automatically raise the value of every man in the Republic, would tend to raise the standard of our civilization, and so, if woman’s suffrage is a necessity for the woman and for the man, it is no less a necessity for the State as a whole. It is not enough that woman should be home-makers, but they must make the world itself, a larger home.
National Woman’s Christian Temperance Union
DEPARTMENT OF FRANCHISE

PLAN OF WORK

“True manliness and true womanliness will be permanently maintained, not through the supremacy of either sex, but by equality and justice to all, irrespective of sex. This is the keynote today of the woman suffrage movement.”
—LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS.

OBJECT
To secure the ballot for women on equal terms with men.
To educate women in relation to the laws that govern them.
To prepare women for the intelligent use of the ballot by a course of study in citizenship.
To secure the woman’s vote in equal suffrage states for the enactment of laws prohibiting the liquor traffic, and to secure the enforcement of such laws.

MEETINGS

LOCAL UNION MEETING. Each local union to hold at least quarterly franchise meetings, when the members can come together to study the following subjects:

1. The legal status of women in your state.
2. Has the granting of suffrage to women been an aid to the securing of temperance legislation?
4. In what states and countries do we find equal suffrage?

PUBLIC MEETINGS. The people in every community must be aroused to the necessity of the ballot for women. Secure a central place for the meeting, obtain the best speaker possible, have inspiring music, send out printed invitations, advertise in the public press, use the telephone and in every way possible try to have a large audience. There is always enthusiasm where there are numbers.

PARLOR MEETINGS. There are many women who can be reached by a parlor meeting who would never go to a public suffrage meeting. These meetings can be made most attractive.

FACTORY MEETINGS. Hold meetings at the noon hour. In campaign states, this is one of the best methods to reach the voters.

READY MADE MEETINGS. We mean meetings that are already made for us to which we can send speakers, such as the Fraternal Lodges, Federations of Labor, etc.

OTHER PLACES WHERE WE MAY PUSH OUR PROPAGANDA:

- State and County Fairs
- Farmers' Institutes
- Grange Meetings
- Home and Foreign Missionary Meetings
- Camp Meetings
- Food Fairs
- Teachers' Institutes
- Factory Noon Meetings
- Woman's Clubs
- Chautauqua Assemblies

SPECIAL EFFORT

The National W. C. T. U. has organized a campaign for National Constitutional Prohibition. Each department is asked to cooperate in this great effort.

This department must show:

a. The Woman's Ballot needed to secure National Constitutional Prohibition.
b. The Woman's Ballot needed to aid in the enforcement of law.
c. The Woman's Ballot needed for the election of clean legislators.
d. The Woman's Ballot a necessity to increase the Prosperity, Peace and Power of our Country.

METHODS

MEDAL CONTESTS. No. 14 of the series of Medal Contest books has been devoted to suffrage. There is no better way of bringing our arguments and facts before the general public than by the Medal Contest.

SUFFRAGE DEBATES. Wherever possible let the local union hold a debate, in which its members take part. Secure debates in high schools, preparatory schools, and in colleges. These young people should be trained for future citizenship.

ENROLLMENT. Make a canvass of every woman of voting age, and have her sign a card asking for the ballot.

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE. Distribute literature everywhere that you find people congregated. Do not exclude the men. We need to educate the men as well as the women to the necessity of woman's vote. Splendid opportunities are afforded for the distribution of literature at fairs, institutes, camp meetings and Chautauquas. Use the mails, send a personal note with the literature, use a two-cent stamp. This is an especially good method in rural localities.

REQUIREMENTS

A Local Superintendent in every local union.
A County Superintendent in every county union.
A State Superintendent who believes that without woman's vote there can be no solution of the problem of the liquor traffic, and who will work unceasingly in the interests of this department.

An appropriation by each local union for this department. Make it possible for your local superintendent to purchase the best and latest literature.

A fund in every county to carry on campaign work. The appropriation for the Franchise department by each state should be most generous. There is no more vital question before the people today than woman suffrage. Make it easy for your superintendent to enter every open door, to send out free literature, and to send speakers to the unorganized parts of your state.

PRESS WORK

Use the daily papers. They reach the largest audience in the world. Send the latest news concerning this great movement, and do not fail to show that among all the opposing forces the liquor traffic is the greatest fee to the granting of suffrage to women.

Remember, we ask the ballot for the same reason that other organizations ask for it, and with this added reason—that we believe it will hasten the day when this nation will be free from the blighting curse of the liquor traffic, and thus hasten the coming of the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Copies of this leaflet may be obtained of the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of the Department of Franchise, Mrs. Deborah Knox Livingston, 149 Cedar Street, Bangor, Maine, or of the National W. C. T. U. Publishing House, Evanston, Illinois. Sent for 2 cents postage.
What a Woman's Vote Would Do

HELP END WAR
The great majority of women are against war. They bear its burdens equally with men. Men go to battle but women stay at home and battle for bread for their children.

HELP BRING PEACE
There can never be universal peace until there is universal disarmament. Women's votes would hasten that day.

HELP END POVERTY
Women suffer equally with men from the ravages of poverty. Eighty per cent of the poverty in our land can be traced to the liquor traffic, and the only way to end the liquor traffic is by votes.

HELP BRING PROSPERITY
The liquor traffic has been voted out of Oregon, Colorado, Arizona and Washington as a prosperity measure.

HELP END DISEASE
Women more than men battle with disease. To exterminate disease we make laws for the safeguarding of health. Women need the vote to pass and enforce health laws.

HELP BRING HEALTH
Pure food, milk supply, water supply and sanitation all have to do with health. Women need the vote to secure legislation concerning these interests; they are all home interests.

HELP END INDUSTRIAL WRONGS
Women are a large factor in the industrial world. They face the same problems of wages, hours of labor, sanitary conditions, accidents, etc., as do men. They should have the same weapon of power with which to fight for their rights as have men, namely, the ballot.

HELP BRING BETTER ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, MORAL, POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Issued by the National W. C. T. U. Department of Franchise

Send orders to the
NATIONAL W. C. T. U. PUBLISHING HOUSE
Evanston, Illinois
Price, each 2 cents; per 50, 10 cents; per 100, 15 cents
The knot of White.

As members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union we love and wear it.
It is the symbol of our organization, heaven born, to promote a holy cause.
It is a blessed bond of fellowship among our members.
It is a privilege of which we are proud.
It is a plea for purity of life.
It is a pledge of total abstinence.
It preaches prohibition of the liquor traffic.
It proclaims the Gospel of Peace.
It is a prayer for home protection.
It predicts a safe path for children's feet.
It is emblem of patriotism.
It is a promise of hope to the tempted and help to the suffering.
It prophesies the coming of Christ's Kingdom in all hearts, all homes and all nations.
Let us wear the white ribbon and work out its meaning.

W. C. T. U. Methods

Organization, Preventive, Educational, Evangelistic, Social and Legal.

Time of Prayer—Noontide.
Watchword—Agitate, Educate, Organize.
Object—To unify throughout the world the world of women in temperance and social reform, and to work for the complete overthrow of the liquor traffic.
The Boy Scout Movement

BY MARY O'REILLY.

The Boy Scouts were first proposed by Baden-Powell of South African fame. The physical inefficiency of the British young men, as revealed during the South African war, was appalling. Leaders feared for British military supremacy. Something must be done to develop the youth of England physically, teach them the military spirit and prepare them to "take up the white man's burden."

Baden-Powell's plan for the organization of the Boy Scouts was proposed. The English press sounded its praises, capitalists and officials gave it support, and corps were organized in all parts of the empire. American business men took up the movement. Germany and Russia fell into line, and the Boy Scouts marched round the world.

A writer in the North American, Philadelphia, praising the Boy Scouts, says: "From out of a great and bloody war that, as Oom Paul said, staggered humanity, humiliated one nation and wiped another out of existence, has grown this Boy Scout movement. When Czar Nicholas of Russia heard of it he sent a special commissioner to Baden-Powell to find out all about it, and when he reported the czar issued an imperial edict to the effect that every boy in Russia over twelve years old must join the scouts. The Emperor William of Germany also sent a commission to get particulars, and will father the movement in Germany."

The American movement was started in New York, San Francisco and Chicago. Business men gave it substantial financial support, and the capitalist papers, especially those controlled by Hearst, were given over to a chorus of praise. President Taft and Theodore Roosevelt expressed their approval. Prominent officials, army men, business men and others were interviewed. I shall quote from some of the interviews published at the time.

Major-General E. C. Young, of the Illinois National Guard, said: "It will mean a great deal to the army. Nobody in this country knows much about military affairs or training except the trained soldier and a few volunteers who have seen service. I thoroughly approve of the Boy Scout movement. The beginning of the military man should start in the school. There is where it can get a firm grasp on the boy. He is inspired by drills and other features of the scout plan, and strives to get ahead. Added military spirit should be instilled in the boy through the training in the schools."
Colonel Chauncey Dewey, inspector-general of the Illinois National Guard, added his indorsement to that previously expressed by Major-General Frederick Dent Grant and General Nelson A. Miles.

Colonel Dewey says: “I understand that the principle of fealty is to be inculcated. Nothing better than to encourage honor among boys, and this will be coincident with the idea of fealty to parents, employers and superiors.”

Captain Edward H. White, a retired United States army officer, said: “It is but natural that an organization of boys for military educational work under our present form of government, military service being entirely voluntary, should succeed as a purely American institution. The ‘scout’ organization would be a ‘feeder’ for our National Guard, the bulwark of our army, and, when necessary, could feed the army itself.

EXPENSE IS NO HINDRANCE.

“The cost of equipment, accoutrements and maintenance to our government or private benefactors of such an organization, as compared to results to be obtained, would be hardly worthy of comparison.”

From all of these statements it will be seen that the original purpose of the Boy Scout movement was to give military training to boys, to develop a military idealism. Furthermore, the interviews show a desire on the part of the originators of the movement to bring this military training into the public schools. As a teacher having the welfare of the boys at heart, I feel that this would be a calamity. If our schools and our public institutions are to be used to teach the trade of killing to children, where is the truth in what we teach?

CHICAGO TEACHERS DENOUNCE BOY SCOUTS.

The Chicago Teachers’ Federation appointed a committee to investigate the Boy Scout movement and report. A meeting to organize the Boy Scouts was called together in the office of General Frederick Dent Grant. I went and asked permission to that meeting, but was refused. The organization was effected, details were planned and a future meeting was called. No delegates were called for from the labor unions. The representative of the Teachers’ Federation was refused admission which she requested. Thus the movement was placed in the hands of military and business men, and it was shown conclusively that their ideals were intended to prevail. I made this report to the Teachers’ Federation, which passed the following resolution:

“Whereas, The press reports that ‘Boy Scout corps’ are to be organized among the boys of the public schools; and

“Whereas, According to the plans of a self-appointed committee, military men and others having no professional training, teachers’ certificates nor authority to teach, are to be permitted to organize these bands of scouts, to teach and control them, putting guns into their hands and destructive ideals into their minds; and

“Whereas, The chairman of the committee of the Chicago Teachers’ Federation, appointed and instructed to investigate the ‘Boy Scout’ movement, was denied admission to the meeting by the self-appointed committee in charge; and

“Whereas, That committee includes no mothers nor any woman in its membership; therefore be it

“Resolved, That we are opposed to the organization of ‘Boy Scout’ corps of American children, and all effort to arrest their developing minds at a stage of development which belongs to a medieval, barbarous age;

“That we oppose the efforts of private individuals, military, commercial or others, to reach over the heads of the regularly constituted authorities and control the educational policy of our schools.

“That we are opposed to the efforts of any men to take into their own hands the decision of questions vitally interesting to women;

“That we stand with the constructive forces of society as teachers, as women and as members of the great working class for the ideals of industry and peace.”

I have tried to present the case of the Boy Scouts in a plain statement of facts without prejudice. I can come to but one conclusion from the evidence in hand. The organization of the Boy Scouts is a conscious effort on the part of capitalists and military men to control the education of children in their youth and develop a military-minded race, trained to “unquestioning obedience,” to do the will of the masters and uphold the tottering dominion of the capitalist class. Already they have been and are being used as scabs to break the strikes of wage-earning boys.

What shall we substitute for military training for boys? How shall we give to children the good which the Boy Scouts claim without the military spirit?

There is one good American institution which has been overlooked in the controversy; that is the public school system. It is the most complete and the most democratic organization of children ever attempted. Every good thing claimed by the Boy Scout movement has been done by the public schools for years. Nature study, woodcraft, outdoor exercise have been attempted.

It is interesting to compare the niggardly policy of the business man toward the schools with his generosity to the scouts. He robs the state of hundreds of thousands of dollars of school taxes, and cheerfully donates far more to promote a military organization which teaches “unquestioning obedience to EMPLOYERS and SUPERIORS.”
The scope of the schools should be widened until they can fulfill their purpose of service to the state. They should be permitted to lead the children to constructive ideals of industry and peace. A spirit of democracy and cooperation should prevail, and the education of children should be the care of the state.

A love like the love of the artist for his work is the right of every man. This artist spirit, a feeling of brotherhood, the discipline of industry and cooperation will produce a citizenship infinitely superior in strength and manliness to that of any military state.

Subscribe for "The Young Socialists' Magazine," for boys and girls. It teaches anti-militarism. It puts constructive, not destructive, ideas into the minds of the young. Fifty cents per year. Address, 15 Spruce St., New York City.

The Progressive Woman is a Socialist paper, devoted to the interest of the oppressed everywhere. It especially points out the slavery of women, its cause and cure. In bundles, 3 cents per copy. Yearly, 50 cents. In clubs of four or more, 40 cents. Send for sample. Published at 111 North Market street, Chicago.

Issued by the NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY,
111 North Market Street, Chicago.

Orders for the following and other Socialist literature should be sent to the same address:

War—What For? by George R. Kirkpatrick, $1.00.
The Socialists and the Sword, a leaflet the same size as this one, by George R. Kirkpatrick, $1.50 per 1,000; or $1.00 per 1,000 in lots of 10,000 or over.

Who Are the Peacemakers? a leaflet the same size as this one, by Morris Hillquit, $1.50 per 1,000; or $1.00 per 1,000 in lots of 10,000 or over.

Send for Price List.
FORWARD to mutilation and death!

MINOR in the New York Call

FOR YOUR BOY?

The Militarists are attempting to introduce military drill into the public High Schools. They want to make your boy go to a compulsory summer camp for military training. They are recruiting for the United States Boy Scouts, an organization which drills young boys with guns, and for the Junior American Guard.
We Object To Military Drill For Boys Under Eighteen

Because it is bad physical training

Dr. Sargent of Harvard University says that military drill is bad for perfectly healthy boys and that it brings out the defects in boys who are not quite strong.

Military drill develops the external muscles at the expense of the internal muscles which support the vital organs.

Military drill does not make boys graceful and quick. It makes them stiff and angular.

The Massachusetts Commission which studied the effect of military drill said that it made the boys round-shouldered and narrow-chested. Until a boy is 18 he is not strong enough to carry a gun.

*If you really want physical training give the boys gymnastics and sports.*

Because it is bad education

Military drill kills initiative and self-reliance. It develops only patience and slavish obedience. Do you want your boy to become a machine? Independence of thought and action are the foundations of democracy. Your boy will lose these if he is given military drill.

When a boy carries a gun he naturally begins to think about shooting somebody. Fear and Hate are the two things which make war inevitable. These are developed by military drill.

It is bad enough to teach adults the practices and principles of warfare—such as spying, eaves-dropping, hitting from behind, lying, forging letters, following up a beaten enemy and hammering at him until he is annihilated. But what a vicious moral effect thoughts like these must have upon the mind of a young boy!

Because it is a waste of money

How do people in New York City dare to propose this wasteful expenditure of money when our night schools and vocational schools are closed for lack of funds? When our recreation centers and social centers are shut down? When there are over 35,000 pupils on part-time? When 1,500 eligible teachers are refused promotion? When no new teachers were appointed last fall to take care of the 20,000 new pupils who came asking for an education?

Because it is more military than the military nations

Germany and Austria do not train boys under 18 to drill with rifles. Over 20 years ago France dropped military drill from the schools and the fighting strength of the French to-day proves that this was not a mistake. Dr. Angerstein, a high authority in German army circles, says that it would be a physiological crime to introduce military drill into the German schools. Are we going to be more military than the “Military Nations of Europe”?

Because modern warfare has made it useless

War is no longer a duel between individual men. It is a matter of machines that shoot bullets like rain. It is an affair of chlorine gas and barbed wire entanglements. All the rifle practice in the world will not help a boy against a machine gun or a barbed wire entanglement or a gas bomb.

Because the greatest American educators oppose it

John H. Finley, President of the University of the State of New York and State Commissioner of Education, says: “Military drill in schools would imply a perpetuation of international hatreds and brutish warfare.”

Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania, says: “Military drill in the public schools is organized insanity and, in so far as it is necessary for national defense, it should be postponed to the years when youth can see war as it really is—a hell on earth.”

Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, says: “I am, of course, opposed to the introduction of rifle practice into the public schools. The proposal is so absurd that it would hardly seem necessary to give any reason for opposing it.”

Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, says: “Military drill seems to me to be one of the poorest forms of bodily exercise, very inferior to gymnastics and to all free sports. I am opposed to rifle practice in the public schools because it seems to be unsuitable and untimely.”

John Dewey of Columbia University says: “It would be a long step backward in the traditions of the American people and of American education to introduce rifle practice into our public schools.... It is undemocratic, barbaric and scholastically wholly unwise.”

John W. Foster, Former Secretary of State, Washington, D. C., says: “The natural tendency of the youth of our country to military exercises is great enough already, and it is cruel to stimulate in them the art of killing their fellow-men.”
Many people think that the Boy Scouts are not being trained for war

But General McAlpin, President of the U. S. Boy Scouts and Chief Scout, said: "I accepted the position of Chief Scout with the purpose and intention of utilizing boyish enthusiasm for the military and naval service."

Be sure that the organization your boy belongs to has NO TAINT OF MILITARISM.

And when war comes, the Boy Scouts are used, although their mothers were promised beforehand that they would not be used:

"Of 40 Boy Scouts who joined the colors two months ago only 4 are left. They were in the front of an attack on the German lines during the Ypres fighting. Most all were killed and the next day the wounded that were lying between the lines were shot at by the enemy every time they moved."

—From a speech by Edward Digby of London.

"It has always happened that our wars have been fought by boys."—General O’Ryan

"Then the machine guns opened on them witheringly, they were falling in hundreds, but on they pressed in dense ranks. They came nearer and the British could hear them singing ‘The Watch on the Rhine’... thousands of voices, while hundreds carried the air on mouth organs. They were getting close. It was time for musketry. The English observed that only half of the approaching mass wore uniforms. ‘Shoot low,’ commanded the English officer, ‘they are only boys; aim at their legs.’"

—From a letter in the Yale Alumni Weekly.

IS YOUR BOY A MEMBER OF A RIFLE CLUB?
IS HE BEING DRILLED BY A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL GUARD?
WILL YOU LET HIM BE SENT TO A MILITARY CAMP?
THIS MEANS MILITARISM.
MILITARISM MEANS WAR.

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN THE SCHOOLS.
WOMAN’S PEACE PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY.
70 Fifth Avenue.

Two cents each; 100 for $1.25; 500 for $5; 1,000 for $8.50.
Why You Should Be a Socialist

BY THERESA S. MALKIEL.

You who live under a system of society, where a few revel in luxury and riches while the many struggle and labor in the sweat of their brow for a daily existence, must realize that things are not as they should be, that there is something wrong somewhere.

You, who are a working woman, do you realize how little you get for your hard labor? Do you consider the fact that between work and sleep there is very little time left for you to live in? Are you affected at all by the indignities you have to undergo before you get a job? You, personally, do not count. They want your muscle, and when that is gone and you are not good looking enough to find a provider—you are thrown out into the street.

You work hard and steady, while your employer robs you of the greatest part of your earnings, so that he may lead an idle life. He revels in luxury without working, while you lead a miserable existence in spite of your hard labor. He alone benefits by the numerous inventions of machinery which go to increase your hardships, for with every new invention hosts of workers are thrown out of their jobs, and some day it may affect you directly.

You, who do not get paid for your labor, who are the wife of a workingman, do you grasp the misery of your position? You work from early morning until late at night. You drudge day in and day out without reward in the present, without hope for the future.

And you who consider yourself better than the former two, you who are a middle-class woman, do you know that you are only a toy in the hands of those upon whom you depend for a living? Should they fail in the game of life you, too, would have to go. Do you realize that you have no individuality of your own, that you would find yourself tradeless and professionless and thus be compelled to sink below the standard of the working girl?

You, every individual woman who reads these lines, may think that whomever else these truths may concern they cannot affect you; then stop for a brief moment and consider the army of wage-earning women. A look at their pale, worn faces, their emaciated hands, and their story will speak for itself. And yet they are better off than those who want to earn an honest living, but cannot find work and are thus compelled to sell their bodies in order to avoid starvation.
You who have children of your own, do you ever think of the children who live and die in the gutter? They are all born innocent and pure, equal in everything to the prince or millionaire; why, then, should they face such a fate?

You who whirl and buzz through life, like a butterfly, without a single thought of all the world's injustice, beware, for you yourself may be hit some day. It will be too late to think then.

You may think that all this talk is only a waste of time, that the world has always gone on in this way, and there is no remedy for it. But you are wrong, my sister, utterly wrong. There is a way out of this human suffering. The world does not remain at a standstill, but keeps constantly changing, and it depends now upon the workers themselves, you included, to bring about the new change for the better.

This is the main reason WHY YOU SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST.

The Socialists have studied the history of the world and its gradual development from savagery into civilization. They have examined carefully the change from chattel to wage slavery, and have come to the conclusion that if the workers were the owners of the tools of production, they would then receive the full fruit of their labor.

In other words, under a co-operative system of government, or under Socialism, the workers would not have to give up a lion's share of their profits to their employers, which would mean a better and easier living for themselves. Instead of living to work, they would have to work but a few hours a day and enjoy the advantages of civilization the rest of the time. Every step of progress would then be made for all. Every new invention of machinery would tend to shorten the hours of labor and thus become a blessing instead of a curse to the working class.

You may think that the question of government does not concern you, for you are deprived of a vote on all political questions. But this is another good reason why you should be a Socialist. The Socialist party is the only political party that demands an equal standard of rights and morals for both men and women.

You may not be aware of the fact that it is to the advantage of every person to be a Socialist, and never think of the fact that women will benefit most under Socialism: that in no other system of society can woman hope to achieve the freedom she is bound to have under Socialism. Politically equal to and economically independent of man, woman will, for the first time in history, become mistress of her own destiny.

She will then be able to exercise her mental powers and choose her own occupation on such fields as are most suitable to her.

The hours of labor will be short and every woman, instead of being a burden to somebody, will be glad to do her share toward creating the world's wealth.

In the choice of love, woman, once relieved from dependence on man for an existence, as well as from being his acquired property, will be free to woo as well as to be wooed, and will marry for no other consideration except her personal inclination.

The final goal of woman's complete emancipation, her perfect equality with man, is possible only under a regime that will abolish the rule of man over man, which is the Socialist regime.

Socialism is bound to come. The day is not far off when the world will wake up to the realization that as long as a few own the tools with which the many have to work, so long will the many have to bow before the will of the few. And as soon as that happens, the citizens of this land will take over the ownership and management of all the tools of production from private hands and operate them for the benefit of all the people.

Thus will Socialism benefit pauper and prince alike. It will redeem the world from greed and graft. It will put an end to the wholesale slaughter for gain. It will save children from being robbed of their mother's care and accord them a real equality of opportunity and not a sham one as it exists today. It will put an end to the struggle for bread and thus give the people a chance to choose their occupation according to inclination and natural ability, perfecting and strengthening the character of the individual. And this is just the very reason why you should be a SOCIALIST.

Rise, sister, and join the ranks of the progressive working class, that the toilers of the world may come the sooner into their own. You will be welcomed into the Socialist party—your work is needed there. On you depends the ideals of our future generations, the last, but not the least, reason Why You Should Be a Socialist.

INGERSOLL'S VISION OF THE FUTURE.

"A vision of the future arises. . . . I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

"I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the subtle powers of the earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

"I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward, where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl, trying to win bread with a needle—the needle that has been called 'the asp for the breast of the poor'—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.
"I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

"I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function—and, as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope."

AMERICAN YEAR BOOK, CYCLOPEDIA AND ATLAS.

"No word has been more abused and misunderstood than the word 'Socialist.' The Socialist is not an anarchist; they are opposed in theory and practice. The Socialist does not propose to destroy the family, abolish religion or divide up property, nor does he seek to carry out his ideas by riot and bloodshed. In a single phrase Socialism means public ownership of the means of production and working-class control of the government, a chance to work for all who will, and to all workers the full value of their product. The typical Socialist is a rather quiet and thoughtful workingman, serene in time of trouble and self-contained in the day of victory. He realizes that the world will move on very well after he is dead, but remembers that while he lives it is his business to help the world to move. He considers himself an ally of eternal laws of nature and is proud to do his little part in the great cause."

The Progressive Woman is a Socialist paper devoted to the interest of the oppressed everywhere. It especially points out the slavery of woman, its cause and cure.

Yearly, 50 cents. In clubs of four or more, 40 cents. Send for sample. Published at 111 North Market street, Chicago.

Issued by the NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY,
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What's So and What Isn't, by John M. Work. Cloth, 50c; paper, 15c; $1.00 per dozen; $7.50 per 100.

H. G. ADAIR, PRINTING 30-114 LAKE ST., CHICAGO
Wimmin Ain’t Got No Kick
By Kate Richards O’Hare.

I spoke one night not long ago in a typical country town of two thousand, a town just like thousands of other towns, and after I had finished a man came up and spoke to me, a typical man, just like millions of other men. He said he liked my speech and thought most of it was true, but that my husband was evidently a poor specimen to allow me to gad about the country, and that I would better be home caring for the babies and, as a last crushing blow to my presumption, he declared: “Well, no matter how bad things are, wimmin ain’t got no kick.”

As I looked at the man’s rugged, honest face, saw the frankness with which his frank eyes looked into mine, my mind went back over all the days I had been studying the problems of the working woman and her sister, the fallen woman, and I thought “How long, O Lord, how long” will men insist on being so abjectly ignorant?

“Wimmin ain’t got no kick.” No, we women should not object that capitalism, the machine age, makes machines of us all. Three-fold machines; first machines for child bearing, machines to keep always the supply of child workers for the factory replenished. We should bow our heads in submission when Teddy the Terrible, he of the big stick and the big teeth, charges up and down the earth attending to everyone’s business but his own, reviles us and calls us all manner of vile names because we do not produce babies fast enough to suit his masters. We should be duly grateful when priest and minister, college professor and sycophant of every kind, parrot-like, mouth his vile cant phrases. What did God make women for but to bear children when the stateless maw of the factory yawns and the machines cry out for cheap workers to make wealth for their masters?

Capitalism honors us most highly; not only are we to be the child-bearing machines of the race, but wealth-making machines as well. Here in the United States there are six million women who have been forced out of the home, denied the God-given right to wife and motherhood and forced to be wealth-making machines in the industries of our nation.

Capitalism and its upholders are chivalrous also; they freely admit it themselves, good democrats and republicans place woman on a pedestal, exalt motherhood and praise virtue; but, nevertheless, they demand woman to become the machine to gratify their beastly passions and provide the machine of prostitution. In the United States we have seven hundred and twenty thousand known prostitutes to fill our brothels and add the crowning glory to our civilization.
Not that alone, but the life of a prostitute is so terrible, so unnatural, that the average life is less than five years. Every year out from the brothels and dives of our nation are carried one hundred and thirty thousand women to fill unknown graves in the potter's field and one hundred and thirty-five thousand young girls must walk that slippery, rock-strewn, blood-stained, briar-encircled path that leads to the brothel. Walk always down the path of destruction, pushed onward by the hand of want and poverty, dragged down by the hand of shame or snared by the white-slaver.

Nor is this all: the most pitiful, most revolting and soul-sickening feature of the debasement of womanhood by capitalism is never discussed, never understood, and always kept in the background.

The pulpit, the press, and the platform have for the last year been full of discussions of "the fallen woman"; we have ranted and canted over her, shed crocodile tears and wept in maudlin sympathy, but we have overlooked one fact. There are seven hundred and twenty thousand prostitutes, but they are prostitutes simply because they have been forced to work at wages that will not support them, and they must either sell their bodies or starve. Adding insult to injury in our attitude on this question, we have overlooked the fact that it takes twenty men to support one fallen woman and the parasites who prey on her, and there are just about twenty times as many fallen men as fallen women.

Who are the twenty times seven hundred and twenty thousand fallen men? Your sons, your nephews, your neighbor's sons, for the most part. Our ignorant boys, through whose veins the blood of youth flows warm, who know and harken to the age-long call of race preservation, but who know little or nothing of the black plague of the brothel.

Our sons go down to the brothel, and there in their warm, fresh youth contract the germs of the vilest disease known to medical science, the one incurable disease. The disease that strikes down not alone its own generation, but lies in wait for generations yet unborn. That loathsome, nameless horror that has killed more men than war, ruined more women's lives and blasted more babies than all other diseases combined.

Back to the palace, the cottage and the hovel comes this nameless horror, the fruit of prostitution; back to our innocent daughters, back to our unborn, back to curse and maim and slay, and we women it is who suffer most, must fill the brothel and feel the curse at home.

As a result of these things, medical statistics tell us that one child in twenty is born into the world cursed before ever it sees the light of day, that one wife in five must go on the surgeon's table or under the doctor's care, paying the penalty of the husband's transgression.

If all the voters had one pair of eyes and one pair of ears and I could force them to go with me as I have gone to the blind schools, where blind eyes will never see and hands grope in everlasting darkness; to the deaf and dumb institute, where deaf ears will never hear and dumb tongues never speak; the imbecile asylum, where the idiot and the imbecile mutter and mumble in their degradation; to the insane ward where the insane shriek and tear their hair or sit gazing out of vacant eyes into a vacant world.

"Wimmin ain't got no kick!" No, not if we are dolls stuffed with sawdust, satisfied with fine phrases, content with false chivalry, willing to be fed on flattery, we have not. We women who happen to have been lucky enough to have annexed a biped without feathers who can supply a meal ticket and a certain amount of hobble skirts and jute puffs, "we ain't got no kick."

But we happen to be women with brains and hearts and souls, women who have developed enough backbone not to be compelled to do the clinging vine act, women who are womanly enough to feel for all womankind, motherly enough to mother all childhood, we certainly feel that we have a right to protest against the abhorrent demands of capitalism.

Not to protest alone, but to use all the brains with which we are endowed, all the power of our womanhood and the compelling force of our motherhood to regulate capitalism to the dim limbo of the past and make sure and safe the birth of the new social order.

Extracts from the Report of the Vice Commission of Chicago.

Prostitution a Commercialized Business

The first truth that the Commission desires to impress upon the citizens of Chicago is the fact that prostitution in this city is a COMMERCIALIZED BUSINESS of large proportions, with tremendous profits of more than Fifteen Million Dollars per year, controlled largely by men, not women. Separate the male exploiter from the problem, and we minimize its extent and abate its flagrant outward expression. In addition we check an artificial stimulus which has been given the BUSINESS so that larger profits may be made by the men exploiters.

In juxtaposition with this group of professional male exploiters stand ostensibly respectable citizens, both men and women, who are openly renting and leasing property for exorbitant sums, and thus sharing, through immorality of investments, the profits from this BUSINESS. A business which demands a supply of five thousand souls from year to year to satisfy the lust and greed of men in this city alone. These statements may seem exaggerated and highly colored, but a careful, ultra conservative study of conditions in this municipality has put the Commission in possession of absolute facts upon which to base these conclusions.

Sources of Supply

Wherever there is a demand, artificial or otherwise, there must be a supply. In another part of this report the conservative estimate is made that there are at least five thousand professional prostitutes in Chicago.
Medical men affirm that the average life of these unfortunate women for service is from five to seven years. Thus it follows that fresh young girls must be continually supplied to take the place of those who die or are rendered useless by disease.

The Economic Side of the Question

The life of an unprotected girl who tries to make a living in a great city is full of torturing temptations. First, she faces the problem of living on an inadequate wage: Six dollars a week is the average in mercantile establishments. *

Hundreds, if not thousands, of girls from country towns, and those born in the city but who have been thrown on their own resources, are compelled to live in cheap boarding or rooming houses on the average wage of six dollars. How do they exist on this sum? It is impossible to figure it out on a mathematical basis. If the wage were eight dollars per week, and the girl paid two and a half dollars for her room, one dollar for laundry, and sixty cents for carfare, she would have less than fifty cents left at the end of the week. That is provided she ate ten cent breakfasts, fifteen cent luncheons and twenty-five cent dinners. But there is no doubt that many girls DO live on even six dollars and do it HONESTLY, but we can affirm that they DO NOT have nourishing food, or comfortable shelter, or warm clothes, or any amusement, except perhaps free public dances, without outside help, either from charity in the shape of girls' clubs, or friends in the country home. How can she possibly exist, to say nothing of live? *

Are flesh and blood so cheap, mental qualifications so common and honesty so little value, that the manager of one of our big department stores feels justified in paying a high school girl, who has served nearly one year as an inspector of sales, the beggarly wage of $4.00 per week? What is the natural result of such an industrial condition? Dishonesty and immorality, not from choice, but necessity—in order to live.

Issued by the NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY
Chicago.

Orders for the following books and other Socialist literature should be sent to the same address.

Common Sense and the Liquor Traffic, by Kate Richards O'Hare, 10c; $1.00 per dozen; $8.00 per 100.

Church and the Social Problem, by Kate Richards O'Hare, 10c; $1.00 per dozen; $6.00 per 100.

Law and the White Slaver, by Kate Richards O'Hare, 10c; $1.00 per dozen; $8.00 per 100.
Woman and Politics

By May Wood-Simons.

The Socialist party demands that, while the present system exists, women who have entered industry shall receive a living wage and work under healthful conditions. It goes yet further. It demands that the system of wage earning shall be abolished and that the working women with the working men shall have a part in the management of the socially owned industries.

This party declares that the great number of women who are still working in the home, performing the duties of mother, should not be obliged to struggle, as they do today, to make the small income of the father meet expenses, with the alternative of sending their young children into industry before they have received an education, thus destroying the strength and intelligence of the future generation.

The right of women to the suffrage has always been a demand of the Socialist party. "As soon as the Socialist party was born it adopted the demand of equal rights for man and woman in its political program." When future generations study the history of the present time it will be the wonder of that age that half of humanity, performing the most important function in society—mothering the race—had no part in the management of the state.

The Socialist party is the first political party to introduce a bill into the United States Congress demanding woman suffrage. It did not put this demand into its platform as a vote-catching plank. It did not make this demand when it believed that women's votes would put it into office. This demand has been a part of its principles from the beginning. Socialism can rest on nothing but a democratic foundation. But, unlike any other party, it makes the demand for both the political and economic freedom of woman.

Conditions have changed since the days of our grandmothers. If we were to look into the home of two generations ago we would find the mother carding, spinning and weaving cloth, knitting stockings, baking and preparing all the other things needed by the household. But the great machines came, and with them came new power, and these industries went to the factories. We are just passing through the pains of adjustment to the new conditions. The daughter of two generations ago could find work in the house of her mother until she went into her own home. She assisted in all the processes of preparing food and clothing. But today there is nothing for her to do in the home. There is no spinning, and even the bread making has gone to the baker. But the daughter of the working man must support herself before she is married. Now she seeks work in the factory, the shop, or as a stenographer, or teacher, this depending on the locality and whether the parents are able to have the girl educated or must send her without training to begin the work of earning her living.

There is almost no industry into which women have not entered today. There were 1,065,884 women wage earners in manufacturing industries alone in 1905, or 19 per cent of all employed in manufacturing industries were women over sixteen years of age. Women make up 34 per cent of those employed in manufacturing men's clothing, 62 per cent of those making women's clothing and 77 per cent of those engaged in shirt making. The recent report on "Woman and Child Labor in the United States," compiled under the direction of the commissioner of labor, puts the number of bread-winning women in the United States at considerably over 5,000,000.

Throughout the history of woman in industry, it is the story of long hours, low pay, over-work, unsanitary conditions and lack of proper training. Most women have looked at the wage-earning stage in their life as only a brief one between the time of leaving their father's home and marriage. They have not felt the need of perfecting themselves in any trade. Gradually, because more and more men are finding it difficult to earn a sum large enough to support a family, many women, especially in the better paid trades and professions, are deterred from marriage and large numbers of women are today continuing their work after marriage.

Many women who had been home workers at first became sweatshop workers. They took articles to the home to be finished. Gradually they have grown into factory workers. Subdivision of labor has rendered woman, like man, merely an automatic attachment to a machine that does only a small part in the production of an article. All individuality has gone out of work.
While men have suffered continuously from unemployment and seasonal work, women have been equally great sufferers. This is especially true in the sewing trades, where large numbers are employed. No amount of skill, energy, or character avails from being subject to the uncertainties of the precariousness of work, and no amount of thrift or industriousness can provide against it. In many trades the working time is but thirty weeks in the year, and the black season often comes at a time of the year when it is impossible to find supplementary work. In the census of 1900 it was shown that 23 per cent of all women engaged in gainful occupations were unemployed during some portion of the year.

The inequality of wages between men and women has long been recognized by all who have looked into the conditions of industry. But it was declared that women did not get one-fourth the wages that men did. Since that time, while the wages have increased in some cases and remained constant in others, there has been a great increase in speed and the strain of work has become the more exhausting on the woman.

In the textile industry, in the clothing and sewing trades, in domestic service and the selling of foods, women are not engaged in any new work, but only under new conditions. These are the lines of work that woman has always been occupied with, but where she formerly worked in the home and her product was consumed by the household, she is now producing for market at the direction of an employer. Women have also found employment in the industries that were formerly considered entirely man's field, such as trade and transportation and the manufacture of the chemicals and the drugs.

The average weekly earnings of all women employed in factories is $7.25. Of this the average cost for food and shelter, heat and light is $3.40 per week. Half of these factory workers must spend money for carfare to and from their work. Only 17 per cent of the women factory workers are spending any money on any form of amusement and few are attending the night schools.

The department store employees make up another group of women in industry. Their average earning is $8.01 per week, and the average cost of living is $4.17 per week. A typical case is reported by the commissioner of labor. It is that of a young American girl working $4 a week as an inspector in a mill. She boards in a room for $1.25 a week, usually ate no breakfast because she could not afford it, and at night made her clothing from material bought on a charge account, often falling asleep over her work.

The same report describes factory girls who state that "bread and coffee" make up their breakfast, "bread" their noon meal, and "bread and soup or meat" their supper. Most of these girls give up their vigor on such a diet. Their conditions have been described in the report of the commission as follows: "The working days are long and the work is hard. They are underexploited. Quite a large number of the workers, making up nearly 75 per cent of the workers in labor organizations such as shirtwaist and laundry workers, garment workers, and tobacco workers, belong to newer industries she makes up a very small part, among the printers, where she is but 3 per cent.

As a whole, it is found that 7 per cent of the women engaged in trades are in labor unions, and their interest in unions is less than that of men, because they do not believe they are to remain so many years in industry. It is just because they consider their work less permanent than men's that they are willing to accept low wages. Women's wages are at low rates, which they cannot and do not expect to maintain long. The great majority of the wage-earning women are under twenty-five years of age, while just the opposite is true of men. Women are more oppositional to industrialism than men that use them, it has become socially wrong for the things the workers use collectively to be private property any longer. The Socialist party believes that society can control the imperialist class that produces nothing and consumes so much that the workers produce.

The economic freedom of woman is the greatest of the demands that the Socialist party is trying to make up the next generation. In the state of Illinois the following account of a machine ironer in one of the laundries of the state will illustrate the effect of some forms of industry on women workers. This young woman, Miss Radway, ironed 500 shirt fronts a day. Holding the loose part of the shirt above her head, she placed it on a table which was machine operated. She would let the shirt rest on a machine operated with three heavy treads—by bearing all her weight on her right foot, stamping down on a pedal to the right, then by bearing all her weight on her left foot, stamping down on both pedals with a jump. The 500 shirt bosoms required 3,000 treads a day.

So far, mention has been made only of the women employed directly in industry. The report states that it is well recognized that every man and woman in the future must have a place in the great socialized work of society, but it is pointed out that today the work is done under terrible conditions, with low pay, and thus does not contribute to the profits for the employer. If these industries were socially owned the women would still be workers, but in clean sanitary places, at healthier hours, and receiving the full wages that men are paid with plenty of time to organize.

Today the life of the working woman is little more than the treadmill of a prison life. The amount of unremunerated home work performed by women is still considerably larger than the amount of gainful labor. For every woman who is an employer, there are five women working for employers. For every 10 over were breadwinners. The women living in the homes, the wives of working men, under the present system have no less a struggle than the factory and shop workers. In fact, today the housewife is in many ways a corvée more difficult than that of the woman engaged in industry. She is facing continuously the problem of making the income of the father meet the expense of the family. With the present high cost of living this is hard to do.

For some time there has been a constant increase in the cost of food and clothing. The woman who goes to the market today buys with $5 what last year she bought with $5, and what ten years ago she paid but $3 for. Unless the father has had proportionate increase in wages, which is not probable, the woman finds it hard to meet the necessities of the family. If there are children, the problem of educating them is every year becoming more difficult. But the high prices in the United States are not pertinent to the cost of living in any other country. The most startling condition that is becoming universal is producing these high prices. One cause is the increase in the price of the goods that are owner by private corporations and that are commonly produced. In the great majority of the goods, the control of the trade is in the hands of great monopolies that are owned by private corporations and that are commonly produced.

Moreover, the woman in the household is performing her work under the most antiquated conditions. While some of the improvements possible through the use of electricity have been introduced into the home, the work that has to be done by a woman's hands remains essentially the same.

The husband who pays the bill is required to do all the work that has to be done. The average working man's wife is doing her work with implements as old as the scythe would be on the farm, and the spinning wheel in the textile industries. The only machinery she has is the one that has been provided for her by the means sometimes suggested to girl employees by department store employers.

Women, like men, have found that it is impossible to maintain themselves in industry and bargain for their wages singly. The men in the labor unions have also found that it is not to their benefit to keep the women out of the unions, but is only to keep them from being able to work at the same rate. The proportion of women in unions varies in the various industries, according to the wage scale. In industries where she has made money, she makes up nearly 75 per cent of the workers in labor organizations such as shirtwaist and laundry workers, garment workers, and tobacco workers. But in newer industries she makes up only a very small part, among the printers, where she is but 3 per cent.

As a whole, it is found that 7 per cent of the women engaged in trades are in labor unions. Their interest in unions is less than that of men, because they do not believe they are to remain so many years in industry. It is just because they consider their work less permanent than men's that they are willing to accept low wages. Women's wages are at low rates, which they cannot and do not expect to maintain long.

The great majority of the wage-earning women are under twenty-five years of age, while just the opposite is true of men. Women are more oppositional to industrialism than men that use them, it has become socially wrong for the things the workers use collectively to be private property any longer. The Socialist party believes that society can control the imperialist class that produces nothing and consumes so much that the workers produce.
and one-half slave; that the fathers cannot be voters and the mothers not and have a true democracy. Therefore, it demands and works for the ballot for women.

All over the world the working women have for some time recognized that since they are now in industry on the same competitive field with men, that they must have the right to participate in the government. The mother in the household knows that she cannot be a good mother to her sons and daughters unless she is able to train them as citizens in the state, and this is impossible while she herself is not a voter. Everywhere women are recognizing the necessity for them to understand the great economic questions that are moving this age and the political forces that grow out of these economic conditions. But the working woman does not want the ballot as merely an abstract right, she wants it for what she can accomplish with it. And the numbers are steadily growing greater who believe that the ballot should be used to free the working class from the present industrial conditions.

The Socialist party differs from all other parties in this. While it recognizes the great concentration of property, while it was the first to point out the tendency of wealth to draw together, while it shows its effect on the working class, it would not destroy the great business organizations; it does not believe that the trusts can be regulated so that they will serve the people while private corporations own them. It is solely a question of ownership. The ownership of these great industries must be vested in the people; then, and then only, can they be controlled and managed for the people. All of these questions the working woman is now trying to understand, for she fully sees that they are not man's problems only.

If she is a teacher, she is in a work that is still highly competitive in character, and that is in the plainest manner affected by the political conditions. Often she is unable to secure equal pay with men for the same work, and within the past few years hundreds of teachers have begun to see that neither their condition nor that of the public school can be improved until society is removed from the control of the present great business interests.

If she is a factory girl she understands fully the helpless struggle of the worker under the system that exists today, and that she, like the cotton she weaves, is only a means in the great industrial process, helping to enrich an already powerful and wealthy class.

If she is a farmer's wife she is beginning to realize that, notwithstanding the fact that she and her children and the farmer rise at daylight and work uninterruptedly until dark, that they are making only a bare existence on the tenant or mortgaged farm they live on, with no hope of ever owning the land they use.

Why does the American woman believe in Socialism? Because it stands for the home. Even the beast in the field makes some sort of a home for its young. The working class is forced by the conditions of labor to live in homes and provide surroundings for its children that stunt both the body and mind of the young. The American woman believes, that the children of the race should be educated and have a chance to grow into strong, moral men and women. The present capitalist system is a failure in this. Then just because she believes in the home, a clean, healthful home, with a strong, capable mother, she is turning to Socialism.

The Socialist party believes that women should be a part of that organization. Women are admitted to the party with the same privileges and the same duties as the men. In every local of the Socialist party in this country and in Europe the women are increasing in numbers. They are coming into the organization with all the high ideals and all the intelligent desire to serve a great social cause that the men have.

The teacher, the clerk, the mother, the stenographer, the factory worker, the woman who today is engaged in any form of work and who has begun to look into the conditions around her, cannot disregard Socialism.

In the states where women can vote they cannot do better than to study the platform of the Socialist party, compare it with that of any other party, and then judge fairly which is nearer to solving the great questions of the day in such a way that relief will come to the working men, women, and children of the country.

In the states where women hope to secure the vote they cannot do better than to urge the men who have the vote to use it for the party that has for so many years stood for women's equality and for man's and woman's economic freedom.

Issued by the NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, 111 North Market Street, Chicago.
The Children of the Poor

By Eugene V. Debs.

[The following eloquent plea for "The Children of the Poor" is a worthy statement of the position of the Socialist Party as the defender of outraged childhood. The evils of poverty bear most heavily upon the children. The years of infancy are, physically, the most important years of life. Lack of adequate care and nourishment in these years mean physical weakness and failure in later life. No single fact in the Socialist indictment of capitalism is more terrible than the excessive mortality among children of the working class. In Boston, for example, the death rate of babies of the poor is nearly two and a half times the death rate of the babies of the rich. At least 100,000 babies thus needlessly perish each year in the United States. The children of the working class are driven to body and soul-destroying toil in factories, workshops and mines in order that the children of the rich parasites may play and enjoy the opportunities which a decent society would accord to every child born into the world.]

No fledgling feeds the father bird!
No chicken feeds the hen!
No kitten mouses for the cat—
This glory is for men.

We are the Wisest, Strongest Race—
Loud may our praise be sung!
The only animal alive
That lives upon its young.

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman

The wages of vast numbers of workingmen are so small that they and their families are reduced to the barest existence. Life means nothing to them but a hopeless struggle which ends only with death. Poverty is their lot, and misery their heritage. Their sad condition is irrevocably fixed. They toil, skimp, worry, suffer, despair and die. There is not much else in the simple annals of the poor."

The children of these workingmen, who are poverty-stricken only because they are exploited of what they produce, come into life in an environment and under conditions that almost inevitably predetermine their wretched fate. Poverty is their sole inheritance. The cottage in which they are born, unless it chances to be a tenement or a hovel, is limited to the necessities of existence. The walls are bare, the bedding scant, the furniture cheap, the food coarse,
and the clothing shabby. The most rigid economy is self-enforced. Life is hard and hopeless here in poverty’s breeding pen.

The father returns after his day’s exhausting toil to revitalize himself for the next day’s slavish task—that is all that home means to him. The mother—prisoner of poverty that she is—knows nothing of the joys of home, the ecstasies of motherhood. She is not a mother at all in the sense in which that term is breathed in reverence, but only “a female that gives birth to young.”

Love is not apt to dwell long in such a lair, if it enter here at all. And this is the unhappy lot of millions of laboring people who are doomed to such a bleak and barren existence, and from which there is no escape this side of the grave.

This condition of penury, want and social debasement is fixed and permanent in the existing industrial system, and no amount of maslin sympathy or patronizing philanthropy can materially alleviate its horrors, a fact our dilettante charity-ball reformers unwittingly confess in their favorite and oft-repeated scriptural injunction, “The poor ye have always with you.”

It is under these harsh and gloomy conditions that the children of the poor come into life and are joined to misery at its very threshold. Denied all that makes home the haven of love and the abode of joy, deprived of all the sweet influences that fill childhood with rapture, and which the memory treasures in after years as a vanished dream, these children of the poor are at their very birth fated to struggle and perish among “Les Misérables,” the world’s dispossessed millions who, robbed of their birthright, are despised for their infirmities and scourged as wantons to dishonored graves.

From the wretched habitations of the poor the children early seek escape instead of clinging fondly to their birthplace like fledglings to the parental nest. Under the cruel lash of poverty they are driven out into the world in their childhood. There is no time for health-giving and body-building recreation and no means for education, for culture, for mental training and moral enlightenment. They are but the children of the poor, fit only for menial service, which awaits them at the cradle and drags them in its relentless fetters to their graves.

What words can fitly describe the life tragedy of the children of the poor! Born to poverty, they walk in the darkness of ignorance, and is it strange that some go astray? Is it not a miracle that all do not become vicious and depraved?

Society’s doors are all closed against them. They are but outcasts when they are “respectable.” What a melancholy paradox! Those who rob the poor, despise them.

The pampered parasites hold in loathing and horror the deflowered victims whose ruddy life-drops glisten in their gaudy plumage.

These children of the poor find their way in increasing numbers to the haunts of vice and shame. The darkness of the hovel and the sweat-shop is relieved by the red light of the slums. The children of the poor are food for misery and crime. The vile groggeries for the boys and the house of horror for the girls. So do millions of the children of the poor pass through this “Vale of Tears.”

And so it will ever be while capitalism is suffered to rob the children of the poor of their inheritance. Deplore it as you may, these are the conditions as they are, and only a new social system can change them. Child labor laws, factory inspection laws and other remedial legislation may ameliorate in some degree the wrongs suffered by the children of the poor, but all such palliatives are powerless to end them. As long as labor is merchandise and production is carried on for profit, child labor will have preference and the children of the poor will be ground into luxuries for the children of the rich.

Socialism offers absolutely the only means for rescuing the children of the poor, and slowly but surely society is being pushed, by the underlying forces that move it, into the acceptance of its philosophy. The abolition of poverty is Socialism’s insistent demand and this demand proclaims the end of private property in the means of life.

The earth spreads out before us, rich in its resources beyond the power of the imagination. The inventive genius of man has captured the lightning, snatched the thunderbolts from the hand of Jove, and grasped all the forces of nature and converted them into titanic toilers for the children of men. The earth and its riotous abundance, and man with his miraculous productive power, scout the idea that poverty is forever to scourge the human race. The past, in the density of its ignorance and the night of its superstition, may be excused. But the living present with all its myriad available agencies for producing food, clothing, shelter, and for the education of the children and the diffusion of light and intelligence among the masses, can make no such plea.

There is absolutely no excuse for the widespread poverty that now sequesters mankind. It is an affront to human intelligence and an impeach- ment of civilization. Child labor is not only unnecessary in this age but a crime against both the children and society. Every child ought to have and in the triumph of Socialism will have, time enough for physical growth, for the joy of healthy childhood, for education, and for everything else required in a truly enlightened age for the scientific rearing of children, the progenitors of succeeding generations.

It is for this very reason that the poor and the children of the poor are turning toward Socialism in increasing numbers all over the world. It is in their movement, born of their travail and consecrated to their emancipation. Millions of them are already marching beneath its international banner and swelling with joyous strains the anthem of their coming deliverance. To them Socialism is beacon lighting the shipwrecked mariner to his destined port. It is their sunshine and shower, their meat and drink, their life and hope. It sheds its radiance in their dingy hovels and eases the ache in their numb and weary flesh.

The dispossessed of every race and clime are here at home. They are in
truth the people and to them of right belongs the earth.

Socialism is their gospel of economic freedom and social salvation. In the name of its commanding genius they unite in greater and greater numbers, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of them, keeping step to the same proletarian heart-beat, the heart-beat of the international revolution, animated by the same social spirit, held steadfast by the same social conscience, their radiant faces turned forever toward the sunrise.

These are the children of the poor who have made the earth rich and are now moving toward their eternal inheritance.

The love of comrades is in their hearts, the passion for freedom in their souls, and the light of victory in their eyes. The trials that beset their struggle but fit them for their coming freedom and for the infinitely higher life that lies beyond and holds out to them its eager, outstanding hands. They move steadily as gravitation in one direction—toward the light, the fulfillment of their historic destiny. The storms may beat upon them and the lightning smite them to the earth, but they will arise again undismayed, pressing on and on, with all the patience of fate and all the persistence of truth and justice.

No disappointment, however bitter, no defeat, however crushing, can dampen the ardor of their spirit, or quench the fire of their enthusiasm. All the forces of evil must yield to their unconquerable will. All the governments and all the armed forces of the world must recede and finally disappear before the march of these silent battalions—these intrepid soldiers of international peace, who bear not the arms of sanguinary conflict, but who, armored in the righteousness of their cause, proclaim to all the children of the poor the glad tidings of the coming Kingdom of Peace and Plenty over all the Earth.

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Issued by the NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY,
803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
Woman—Comrade and Equal

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

The London Saturday Review in a recent issue brutally said: "Man's superiority is shown by his ability to keep woman in subjection." Such a sentiment is enough to kindle the wrath of every man who loves his wife or reveres his mother. It is the voice of the wilderness, the snarl of the primitive. Measured by that standard, every tyrant has been a hero, and brutality is at once the acme of perfection and the glory of man.

Real men do not utter such sentiments. He who does so prostitutes his powers and links himself once more to the chattering ape that wrenches the neck of the cowering female, glorying as he does so in the brute force that is his.

Yet the sentiment is not confined to a moral degenerate, who writes lies for pay, or to sycophants who sell their souls for the crumbs that arrogant wealth doles out to its vassals. It is embodied and embedded in the cruel system under which we live, the criminal system which grinds children to profits in the mills, which in the sweatshops saps women of their power to mother a race of decent men, which traps the innocent and true-hearted, making them worse than slaves in worse than all that has been said of hell. It finds expression in premiers hiding from petticoated agitators, in presidents ignoring the pleading of the mothers of men, in the clubbing and jailing of suffragettes, in Wall street gamblers and brigands cackling from their piles of loot at the demands of justice. It is expressed in laws which rank mothers and daughters as idiots and criminals. It writes, beside the declaration that men should rebel against taxation without representation, that women must submit to taxation without representation. It makes property the god that men worship, and says that woman shall have no property rights. Instead of that, she herself is counted as property, living by suffrance of the man who doles out the pittance that she uses.

Woman is made the slave of a slave, and is reckoned fit only for companionship in lust. The hands and breasts that nursed all men to life are scorned as the forgetful brute proclaims his superior strength and plumes himself that he can subjugate the one who made him what he is, and would have made him better had customs and institutions permitted.

How differently is woman regarded by the truly wise and the really great! Paolo Lombroso, one of the deepest students of mind that time has ripened, says of her: "The most simple, most frivolous and thoughtless woman hides at the bottom of her soul a spark of heroism, which neither she herself nor anybody else suspects, which she never shows if her life runs its normal course, but which springs into evidence and manifests itself by actions of
devotion and self-sacrifice, if fate strikes her or those whom she loves. Then she does not wince, she does not complain nor give way to useless despair, but rushes into the breach. The woman who hesitates to put her feet into cold, placid water, throws herself into the perils of the roaring, surging maelstrom."

Sardou, the analytical novelist, declares: "I consider women superior to men in almost everything. They possess intuitive faculty to an extraordinary degree, and may almost always be trusted to do the right thing in the right place. They are full of noble instincts, and, though heavily handicapped by fate, come well out of every ordeal. You have only to turn to history to learn the truth of what I say."

Lester F. Ward, the economist, the subtle student of affairs, gives this testimony: "We have never concoction of the real amount of talent or of genius possessed by woman. It is probably not greatly inferior to that of man even now, and a few generations of enlightened opinion on the subject, if shared by both sexes, would perhaps show that the difference is qualitative only."

I am glad to align myself with a party that declares for absolute equality between the sexes. Anything less than this is too narrow for Twentieth century civilization, and too small for a man who has a right conception of manhood.

Let us grant that woman has not reached the full height which she might attain—when I think of her devotion to duty, her tender ministries, her gentle spirit that in the clash and struggle of passion has made her the savior of the world, the thought, so far from making me decry womanhood, gives me the vision of a race so superior as to cause me to wonder at its glory and beauty ineffable.

Man has not reached his best. He never will reach his best until he walks the upward way side by side with woman. Plato was right in his fancy that man and woman are merely halves of humanity, each requiring the qualities of the other in order to attain the highest character. Shakespeare understood it when he made his noblest women strong as men and his best men tender as women.

Under our brutal forms of existence, beating womanhood to dust, we have raged in passion for the individual woman, for use only. Some day we shall develop the social passion for womanhood, and then the gross will disappear in service and justice and companionship. Then we shall lift woman from the mire where our fists have struck her, and set her by our side as our comrade and equal, and that will be love indeed.

Man's superiority will be shown, not in the fact that he has enslaved his wife, but in that he has made her free.

Consider for a moment the beastly debasement to which womanhood is subjected in capitalist society. She is simply the property of man, to be governed by him as may suit his convenience. She does not vote, she has no voice and must bear silent witness to her legally ordained inferiority.

She has to compete with man in the factories and workshops and stores, and her inferiority is taken advantage of to make her work at still lower wages than the male slave gets who works at her side.

As an economic dependent she is compelled to sacrifice the innate refinement, the inherent purity and nobility of her sex, and for a pittance of straw she marries the man she does not love.

The debauching effect of the capitalist system upon womanhood is accurately registered in the divorce court and the house of shame.

In Socialism woman would stand forth the equal of man. All the avenues would be open to her and she would naturally find her fitting place and rise from the low plane or menial servility to the dignity of ideal womanhood.

(From "Debs; His Life, Writings and Speeches."

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.

In chains the heart of beauteous woman lay,
Subdued by man and robbed of half its power;
Love, that should spring up sweetly like a flower,
Aborted lived, midst blasting and decay.
Whose life broke free, she perished in dismay;
Who spake of freedom soon must sadly cower,
Seeing the brow of her taskmaster low,
His hand upraised to smite her or to slay.

Among those lives abject, one, brave, arose,
And cried, "Behold! This shall not always be:
Woman arise; only the bold are free!"
Nor insults, heavier bonds, nor bitter blows
Availed to still her, where midst daunted foes
She stood with voice that called futurity.

(From Tongues of Toil, by Wm. Francis Barnard.)

As a worker the married woman is “far more docile” than the unmarried one. Consideration for her children compels her to exert her strength to the utmost in order to earn what is needful for their livelihood, and she therefore quietly submits to much that the unmarried working woman would not submit to, far less so the working man. As a rule working women rarely combine with their fellow workers to obtain better working conditions. That also enhances their value in the eyes of the employers; sometimes they even are good means to subdue rebellious male workers. Women moreover are more patient, they possess greater nimbleness and a more developed taste, qualities that make them better suited to many kinds of work than men.

These womanly virtues the virtuous capitalist appreciates fully; and so, with the development of industry, the field of woman's work is extended each year, but—and this is the decisive factor—without materially improving her social condition. Where female labor power is employed, it frequently releases male labor power. But the displaced male workers must earn their living; so they offer their labor power at lower wages, and this offer again
depresses the wages of the female workers. The depression of wages becomes a screw set in motion by the constantly revolving process of developing industry, and as this process of revolution by labor saving devices also releases female workers, the supply of "hands" is increased still more. New branches of industry counteract this constant production of surplus labor power, but not sufficiently to create better conditions of labor. In the new branches of industry also, as for instance in the electrical, male workers are being displaced by female workers. In the motor factory of the General Electric Company most of the machines are tended by girls. Every increase in wages above a certain standard causes the employer to seek further improvement of his machinery, and to put the automatic machine in the place of human hands and human brains. In the beginning of the capatalistic era only male workers competed with one another on the labor market. Now sex is arrayed against sex, and age against age. Women displace men and women in turn are displaced by young people and children.

That is the "Moral Regime" of modern industry.

(From Woman and Socialism, by Bebel.)

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Send for samples of leaflets and price list.
The
Teacher and Socialism
BY CAROLINE A. LOWE.

There is a reason underlying the fact that the teachers throughout the United States are rapidly becoming aroused to the truth regarding Socialism. Some of our foremost educators, such as Professor Giddings of Columbia University, are avowed Socialists. The agitation has assumed such importance that all progressive periodicals are forced to open their pages to a fair and intelligent discussion of sociological problems and of Socialism. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, whose purpose it is to further the study of Socialism in schools and colleges, numbers among its members hundreds of teachers and students.

Professor Richard T. Ely of the University of Wisconsin, has written of Socialism thus: "It may be said, indeed, that nothing in the present day is so likely to awaken the conscience of the ordinary man or woman, or to increase the sense of responsibility, as a thorough course in Socialism. The study of Socialism has proved the turning point in thousands of lives and converted self-seeking men and women into self-sacrificing toilers for the masses." (Socialism and Social Reform, p. 145.)

Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York, speaking before the Harvard Political Club, Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 17, 1908, said: "Of all things, do not dishonor the education you receive here by being prejudiced or bigoted in politics through ignorance. It is a pitifully LITTLE man who will not look at both sides of a question. . . . For instance, meet the growing propaganda of the Socialists with argument and not with abuse and force."

The New York Tribune has said editorially: "Every sensible student of contemporary history, every thoughtful and broad-minded man . . . has by this time become convinced that Socialism . . . is here to stay, that it is a public issue which is bound in the natural course of events to become more and more important and absorbing as the years go by, that it cannot be evaded, and that it is as idle to dream of crushing it as was the endeavor of Don Quixote to stop the windmills."

Socialism appeals with peculiar force to the teacher, because it stands squarely for all that is best in education. Socialism is a movement for industrial democracy, a movement to promote the welfare of the masses, and therefore it must be based on universal education.

Every teacher, especially in working-class districts, knows how unfavorable conditions in the home retard the progress of her pupils. Frequently the parents have neither the time nor the money to give their children the equip-
ment and assistance necessary for schoolwork. In many cases the children are reared in poorly lighted and poorly ventilated homes—they are poorly clothed and poorly nourished—with the result that they are nervous, sickly and backward in their school work.

The Socialists believe that every one of these school children should have a fair start in life; that they should be reared in pleasant homes; that they should have adequate food and clothing. Moreover, the Socialists believe that the education of the child should not stop at the age of thirteen or fourteen—or earlier—as is so often the case at present, but that every child should be kept in school until he or she is well equipped for life.

On these points every educator and every conscientious teacher is in agreement with the Socialists. Therefore they should unite with the Socialists in transforming our social system so that every child will have an opportunity to secure the best there is in education.

Under the existing system of industry—the capitalist system—it is inevitable that the community should be divided into a small class of extremely rich on the one hand, and a great mass of propertyless wage workers and trust-ridden farmers on the other. So long as we allow a small class of capitalists to control our natural resources, our railroads, our factories and other instruments of production, upon the use of which the life and welfare of the whole nation depends—so long as we allow these great industries to be run for the private profit of the few instead of for the common welfare of the many, just so long will we have our multi-millionaires like Rockefeller, Morgan and Armour, living in palaces, and our vast army of workers living in cheap cottages and congested tenements.

The only way to put an end to this and to insure a favorable home environment for the child is to put an end to the capitalist system itself. When, as the Socialists desire, the natural resources and instruments of production are owned by the community and operated for the common welfare, and when the enormous amounts that now go to idle millionaires go to the useful workers, the extremes of luxury and poverty will be abolished. Then, and not until then, will the workers be able to provide proper homes, equipment and assistance for their children.

There is another standpoint from which the teacher is equally interested in putting an end to capitalist rule of industry, politics and education. The capitalists, as a rule, measure the success of everything in terms of dollars and cents. As they possess practically all the wealth in the community, they are the chief taxpayers, and they consider that city or town administration the most successful which has the lowest tax rate. They always oppose any measure that increases taxation, especially if they, the capitalists, are not directly benefited thereby. It is for this reason that the capitalists and the Republican and Democratic parties which they control, generally oppose liberal salaries for teachers, and liberal appropriations for school purposes. Capitalistic city councils and capitalist school boards acclaim piously about the “nobility” of the teaching profession, but when a resolution is introduced to increase the teachers’ salaries, they always vote against it.

The Socialist party believes that liberal appropriations for teachers’ salaries and for the development of our educational system is money well expended. Therefore, the Socialists will work and vote for such appropriations at every opportunity.

From the standpoint of the child, and from the standpoint of the teacher, the Socialist party stands for all that is progressive in education. Therefore every teacher should give the Socialist movement her enthusiastic support and unite with her fellow workers in making our country a true social democracy.

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM

CENTURY DICTIONARY: “Socialism is any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it co-operative action; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community.”

ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA: “Ethics of Socialism and the ethics of Christianity are identical. The general tendency is to regard as Socialistic any interference undertaken by society in behalf of the poor. In general, it may be described as that movement which seeks, by economic changes, to destroy the existing inequalities of the world’s social conditions.”

“Professor Lester F. Ward, one of the world’s greatest scholars, president of the American Sociological Society, writes as follows of the present industrial despotism under which the proletariat must struggle for existence at discouraging disadvantage:

“The test of governmental power is usually the manner in which it taxes the people * * * and a fourth part of any industry (seized as taxes) would justify a revolt. Yet today there are many commodities for which the people pay two and three times as much as would cover the cost of production, transportation and exchange at fair wages and fair profits. The monopolies in many lines actually tax the consumers (?) from 25 to 75 per cent of the real value of the goods. Imagine an excise tax that should approach these figures! * * * No (political) government in the world has now, or ever had, the power to enforce such extortion as this. It is a governing power in the interests of FAVORED INDIVIDUALS, which exceeds that of the most powerful monarch or despot that ever wielded a scepter. * * * THE INDIVIDUAL HAS REIGNED LONG ENOUGH. The day has come for society to take its affairs into its own hands and shape its own destinies.”—(Psychic Factors of Civilization, pp. 322-23.)

“Reflect for a moment.

“The words just quoted from Professor Ward merit close attention from all teachers, from all students, from thoughtful people in all classes. Those
words express the mature judgment of a man who has for a lifetime studied human society, a man regarded by many distinguished teachers as the world’s most profound and productive sociologist. Professor Ward has here done what many teachers desire should be done. He has nobly, fearlessly PROTESTED against the present industrial despotism, against the legalized grand larceny of opportunities by the favored few. Students would do well to reflect that very many teachers are NOT PERMITTED TO PROTEST. Many of them, however, proudly refuse to be bribed into sycophantic slavery and silence, even with pensions craftily provided by guilty industrial despots.

“Note especially:

“(1) That Dr. Ward protests—against the industrial despotism.
“(2) That he points out the vital failure of the present order—individualism.
“(3) That he suggests the solution, or cure—the socialization of industry.

“Individualism has gone to seed in industry, just as individualism has historically gone to seed repeatedly in politics.” (Taken from “The Educated Proletariat,” by George R. Kirkpatrick, author of “War—What For?”)

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The Educated Proletariat, by George R. Kirkpatrick, 5c; 25c per dozen; $2 per 100.
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To Wives of Toilers

BY META L. STERN.

"Men may work from sun to sun,
But woman’s work is never done."

You, wives of toilers, know the meaning of this proverb, for you live it day by day.

Long before the day’s work has begun in stores and offices and mills, you bend over a kitchen stove. Every morning during every day of your lives you bend over that kitchen stove, in the grey dawn of a chilly winter morn, and in the oppressive sultriness of a waking summer’s day. The changing seasons bring no change to you. To light the fire, to prepare the breakfast, to feed your family—that is the only meaning any morning has for you. Then you must wash and dress the children—with perhaps a baby to nurse and care for. You must wash and dry the dishes and sweep the floor and dust the room and make up the beds and do your marketing; and when all that is done, it is time to prepare another meal. After dinner there are some more dishes to be washed, and, when everybody else is resting, when your husband is reading or smoking in comfort, or is out with some friends, and the children are snugly asleep, you will be poring over your mending basket. Oh, that eternal mending basket! To many a woman it is like a nightmare; for, like the wonderful jar of the fairy tale, it keeps filling up, no matter how often it has been emptied.

Long ago, when you were a girl, and perhaps were working in some office, or store, or factory, you dreamt of the time when you would “not have to work any more,” and when you would have “your own home.” Today you know that you never worked harder than since you were married. You also know—if you think about those things at all—that you do not have your own home. For the few rooms that you call home are not yours. They belong to a landlord, to whom you must pay rent, and if illness or unemployment, or some other disaster in your family should cause your inability to pay the rent, his is the right to turn you out into the street.

You, wives of toilers, have no homes. You merely have temporary, insufficient shelter. You have no true marriages, either. You may love your
husbands, and they may love you. You may be good, devoted wives. But marriage means something more than merely living together and having children. It means that you should share your husband’s interests and aims and ideals as well as his cares. It means companionship. But you have no time to read and think and study; you are too tired to enter into serious conversations with him or with anyone else. The household drudgery saps your strength and your intelligence. Pots and pans, hot kitchen stoves and mending baskets are no inspiration to love, either, and too much hard work makes a woman age before her time.

You, wives of toilers, have no motherhood, either; no wholesome, healthy, happy motherhood, such as it ought to be. You bear and rear your children in sorrow, weighed down by the worry over how to provide for them. Each child means an additional burden, a new care. You can never fully enjoy your babies nor let them enjoy your love. Motherhood, too, means something more than washing and dressing and feeding your little ones. It, too, means companionship, the growing, joyous companionship between mother and child. You have no time to be a companion to your children.

Have you ever thought of it, that all this drudgery is unnecessary?

Has it ever entered your minds that your families might be clothed and fed and cared for without your wearing your lives away in endless toil?

There was a time when every man built the hut in which his family lived, and hunted the animals they needed for food. If he had not built his own hut and hunted his own food, he and his family would have been without food and shelter. Today no man builds his own hut or hunts his own food, because it is no longer necessary. Industry has been socialized. Houses are built, food and all the other necessities of life are provided, by the combined efforts of many. In the same way the important industry of housekeeping could be socialized. Many women working together in a systematic, orderly way for a few hours each day, could keep homes clean and neat, children well cared for, and food prepared better and more economically than any individual housekeeper could prepare it. Is this possible? Yes. It is possible even today, while industry is organized not for use, but for profit. It will be a matter of fact, an absolute certainty, when industry is so organized that working men and working women will no longer make things for the profit of the persons who own the machines, but will own these machines themselves.

You have heard of Socialism. Under Socialism, housekeeping, like every other industry, will be socialized and will be carried on, not for the benefit of a few, but for the common good. There will be no household drudges and there will be no servants. There will be only professional cooks and cleaners and seamstresses and nurses, such as rich people can employ even today. You, wives of toilers, instead of slaving away from morning till night, without even being paid for your work, as you do today, will then enter the ranks of the professional women. But you will not serve individuals; you will serve the community. The good cooks among you, those who like to cook and have studied how to cook, like any other profession must be studied, will help to prepare the meals for groups of families in large, clean kitchens, equipped with all modern appliances and labor-saving devices. Those among you who are skilled in making things look bright and clean and shiny will join the brigade of professional housecleaners. But you will not work with dustpans and old-fashioned brooms. You will use electrical vacuum cleaners and other useful, practical machinery that rich people can afford even today, but that are beyond the workingman’s purse. The nurses among you—for some women have an inborn talent for taking care of little children—will take regular college courses in child-study and will then be in charge of the ideal day nurseries, equipped with every desirable appliance that science and art can devise, where all the mothers will leave their little children during the time they are working at their professions.

Here you pause. Until now you liked this picture of the coming social order; but the last sentence startled you. A day nursery, where all the mothers will leave their little children? Why, that means that you will have to separate from your children. Horrible pictures of how Socialism is going to destroy the home and the family loom up before your mind’s eye. But wait—wait and think! Don’t you part with your children today? Don’t you send them away for five hours daily, five days out of seven, as soon as they are old enough to attend school or kindergarten, and don’t you feel that they are better taken care of there, among strangers, than in your own inadequate homes? And don’t those among you who have to work away from home for a living leave your little babies even, for eight or nine or ten hours a day, in institutions founded by private persons, who give you this little aid, not as a matter of justice, but as a gift of charity?

Under Socialism the workday will never last more than five or six hours. No man or woman will work longer, because there will be no idlers, but all will contribute their share of useful, productive toil—except the children, the aged and the infirm; a few hours of work each day will suffice to produce all the necessities as well as luxuries of life. So none of you will have to be parted from your children longer than five or six hours a day, about as long
as you are parted from them now while they are at school, and during that
time you will know them to be in good hands, their minds and bodies properly
cared for according to the best of human knowledge.

When you have performed your five or six hours of socially necessary
work the remaining eighteen or nineteen hours of the day will be yours; just
think of it—yours to employ as you see fit! You will have time to enjoy your
homes—pleasant, cheerful, pretty homes; time to love your children and to
romp and play with them; time to be healthful, merry, affectionate compan-
ions to your husbands; time to read and study, to visit theaters and concerts,
museums and art galleries; time to enjoy the beauties of nature; time to be
human beings!

When will these things be? In the future. In the distant future if you
continue to live on in silent and meek indifference. In the near future, if you
rebek against your unnecessary yoke and join the world-wide army of those
who are working to hasten the coming of the new order. Even if you cannot
live to see that better day, your children will, and their children will in turn.
You would give your lives for your children now. But you cannot serve them
in a better way than by working for Socialism, which means making the world
a better place for your children to live in.

The Progressive Woman is a Socialist paper devoted to the interest of the op-
pressed everywhere. It especially points out the slavery of women, its cause and cure.
In bundles, 3 cents a copy. Yearly, 50 cents. In clubs of four or more, 40 cents. Send
for sample. Published at 111 North Market street, Chicago, Ill.

Issued by the NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY,
111 North Market Street, Chicago.

Orders for the following and other Socialist literature should be sent to the same
address:
Woman and Labor, By Olive Schreiner, $1.50.
Woman and Economics, by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, $1.50.
A Woman's Place, by Robert H. Howe, 5c; 25c per dozen; $2.00 per 100.
Socialism and the Home, by May Walden, 5c; 25c per dozen; $2.00 per 100.
Send for Price List.

H. G. ADAIR, PRINTING   164 LAKE ST., CHICAGO
Motherhood and Suffrage

By EUGENE V. DEBS

The absolute justice of the demand for equal suffrage places the question beyond the pale of intellectual controversy.

The dismal forebodings of the opponents of woman’s enfranchisement have been silenced in every state and country on earth where equal suffrage prevails, the results achieved having put to shame the carping critics of the movement.

The home has not been broken up, children have not been abandoned, women have not been unsexed—the institutions of human society have not collapsed, and the only wrecks that dot the fair landscape in the suffrage states are the hopes, ambitions and doleful predictions of the opponents of equal suffrage.

True, woman’s enfranchisement in the states she has won has not brought the immediate and far-reaching social, political and economic changes which the over-enthusiastic among the advocates of equal suffrage hoped would follow its adoption, but this is no reflection upon the movement or its advocates, nor is it an argument against the justice of woman’s enfranchisement.

When woman has possessed the ballot as long as the men have had it in America it will be time to cast up results, and no advocate of equal suffrage need fear the comparison.

Every argument that supports manhood suffrage is multiplied in favor of woman’s enfranchisement.

As the mother of the race she is entitled to her full share in shaping the social, political and economic destiny of the world.

In their intellectual preparation for motherhood the women of America are entitled to that broader comprehension of human affairs which can only come through participation in those affairs; a race of freemen was never born of woman in economic and political bondage.

With more than eight million women workers in America engaged in cut-throat competition with their fathers, husbands and brothers for jobs upon the economic battlefield, their enfranchisement is a matter of the preservation of the political institutions of America.
Every male worker out of a job is a voter disfranchised and EVERY WOMAN EMPLOYED UNDER PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS MEANS ANOTHER MAN ADDED TO THE ARMY OF THE UNEMPLOYED. It is a vicious circle of unemployment and male disfranchisement which can only be broken by woman's political emancipation.

For every male voter disfranchised through unemployment we will hand the ballot to his mother, wife or sister, with full faith that she will discharge her duty on the political battlefield from which her husband, son or father has been driven, with the same fidelity to her loved ones that she has always shown through her enforced presence on the field of industry.

On to victory, oh, brother mine! Let us enfranchise those we love while yet we possess the scepter of political power. We know not what hour that scepter may be taken from us, but with universal suffrage we know that the cause of human emancipation can know no defeat, nor can the imps of injustice much longer degrade the womanhood and the motherhood of the race.

Issued by the
National Office of the Socialist Party
803 W. Madison Street
Chicago

Orders for the following and other Socialist literature should be sent to the same address.

"Women, a World to Win"
"A Working Woman to Working Men"
"You Women Who Vote" by Anna Agnes Malley.

75c per 1,000; 65c per 1,000 in lots of 5,000 or over.

Send for Price List.
IN JAIL NINETEEN MONTHS FOR WHAT?

Workers of America! Do you know that twenty or more innocent workingmen are now being slowly tortured to death in the Bastiles of Kansas? The men in question are those that have been held for 19 months without trial, on what is known as the Wichita indictment. The charges of conspiracy against these victims are so vague that to the average fair-minded individual, it seems incredible that such an injustice can be imposed. But the fact of the matter is that this group is undergoing the most vindictive persecution known in the history of American Labor annals. Never before has a group of men undergone such a rigid ordeal.

The despicable forces back of this damnable outrage, are determined to have the blood of these men. The scurrilous sheets, called newspapers, spout their venom with fury. The oligarchy of Kansas and Oklahoma are set upon
crushing out every semblance of unionism. That is the reason why they are so intolerably insistent in slowly murdering these men, so as to hold them up as example in scaring other workers into submission and keep them from organizing. The Right to Organize belongs to every man! Keep it!

The history of the Wichita case has been told to the public on numerous occasions. The only crime of these defendants was in upholding their inalienable right to organize for better working conditions in the oil fields of Kansas and Oklahoma. They are in jail because they stood by their class! They are in jail because they tried to make this a better world to live in! They fought for you, Mr. Workingman, not by force or violence, but by peaceful methods of education and organization.

What are you going to do about it? Are you going to sit idly by and see these innocent victims sent to oblivion by the blood-thirsty masters? For 19 months the Wichita defendants have gone through a Living Hell! They have been quartered in the filthiest and most unhealthful medieval dungeons that is known to mankind. One of the boys died last fall. Three others are mentally unbalanced, due to the long confinement. One of these has been examined twice for his sanity and ordered removed to a hospital for mental treatment but today he still lies in the filthy and vermin-infested Wyandotte County Jail at K. C., Kansas.

The health of the rest of these men is shattered, and they are but shells of their former selves. They are undergoing physical deterioration and grow weaker day by day. The few men at Lawrence, Kansas, are practically in Solitary Confinement. No exercise can be had there because the jail tanks are so small that only six normal steps can be taken one way. Several others are at Topeka, Kansas, incarcerated in a bastile so foul and filthy that it is a shame to call it a jail; and what is more, the place has been condemned! The rest of the men are undergoing the persecution at Hutchison, Kansas. Remember, all these defendants are being slowly murdered by the powers that be!

During this 19-months period these men have been held under excessive bail, with such conditions imposed that it was impossible to meet them. Recently, however, a very few of the men obtained bond reductions and are not all released yet. But why are not the rest of the men admitted to reasonable bonds? Why this petty persecution and discrimination? Have not the constitutional rights of the men been trampled upon? Can't you see that these inno-
cent victims are in the hands of the most vindictive frame-up gang that can be conceived of?

Workers of America! Wake up! Arise in all your splendid might! What the industrial tyrant are doing to these men today, they may do to you tomorrow, unless you protest! Assert yourselves like men in behalf of these victims! Publicity is needed, now! Don’t keep still until they are free! Shout it from the house-tops! **Demand** the immediate release of all Industrial and Political Prisoners! Now is the Time! Strike the Blow while the Iron is Hot!

**Industrial Workers of the World**

**1001 West Madison Street,**

**Chicago, Ill.**
TO THE THINKING WORKER

If you are a thinking worker, man or woman, the Socialist Party of Minnesota wants to talk to you.

We are going to talk to you face to face by word of mouth as far as we are able, but that will be only in a limited way, for we have neither speakers nor money enough to reach the entire working population of the state with the spoken word.

So we will also bring our message to you in form of short articles that you can read while you run and we hope to make the problems of your life so plain that you may understand them no matter how difficult they may seem to you. And we will also show you how to solve them.

To do this we have decided to print six consecutive articles in the form of six different leaflets. They will be about the size of this leaflet and will be in big type so you can read after your eyes are tired from work.

The fact is we have only one hope. That hope is in the intelligence of the working class.

For that reason we appeal to you as fellow workers to consider the facts we present to you. We care not to dazzle you with empty platitudes or high flown phrases. The old political parties will do that—if you let them. They will fool you if they can. They depend on the ignorance of the workers. We depend on their intelligence.

To tell you the truth, we do not care to bother with you if there isn’t anything to you. The other fellows can use you. They need you. They couldn’t use anything else.

But if there is something to you and you have grit and mind and will to stand like a giant in a big fight and stick to your class just because it is right and because right will finally win then come on and be welcome. It is for your own good and for the good of all the race.

With Europe in a horrible war and this country now falling headlong into the business of human butchery, there isn’t much left for this civilization to boast of. It is evident that capitalism has run its course, and that unless the working class takes hold and puts the world right, there won’t be much left in a short time.

The Socialist movement is now looked to by all right thinking, intelligent people to present a method by which this great world full of good things may be changed from a hideous slaughter house into a glorious garden of joy and happiness.

The Socialist Party of Minnesota, which is a part of the great Socialist movement of the world, enters into this year’s campaign early and with a serious purpose. This purpose is to reach every thinking worker with the message of freedom, justice, and brotherhood.

In our series of leaflets we will deal with the subjects as follows:

1. Resources of the World.
   Is there enough to go around?
2. Production—Methods and Possibilities.
3. Ownership—Who owns the Earth? Who should own it?
4. Government—Who Runs the Earth? Who should run it?
5. The Cry for Socialism. Its certain coming—the relief it will bring. Its Message of Peace and Good Will to all men.

These articles will not aim to be vote catchers. They will be educators. If after you have read them you think you can help yourself and your fellow-men by throwing your influence with the Socialists and want to vote the Socialist ticket, do so.

When you vote do not vote for the candidates that can make the most noise and hire the biggest brass bands.

Vote for principle.

It is better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don’t want and get it.

Vote for what you have reasoned out to be right.

The capitalist crowd has given you a vote—some of you—but they always choose the candidates they want you to vote for. When enough of the workers become wise enough to vote for principle and candidates who stand for the interest of the working class the masters will reduce your opportunity to vote.

Use your ballot now while you have a chance. Use it for your own good. The Socialist Party will elect many candidates this Fall. Every Socialist elected will mean an addition to the power of the workers. Every Capitalist elected will mean a greater power to the masters.

A big Socialist vote is the mightiest weapon to compel the capitalist class to come across and give you something at least while you are in the process of securing all your rights.

The Socialist movement is now recognized as the only power that will bring relief from the pains of poverty and wrong and in their place establish a system of plenty and a world of justice.

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Watch for the Next Leaflet

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF MINNESOTA.

424 Second Ave. So. Minneapolis, Minn.

P. S.—If you want a bundle of these leaflets to distribute send a postal card stating how many you can use. They are free.

State Candidates on Socialist Ticket—

J. O. Bentall, for Governor. Andrew Hanson, for Lieutenant Governor.
Published by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party. Address 205 W. Washington St., Chicago. Price, $1.00 per 1,000 in any quantity.

Why the Professional Woman Should Be a Socialist

BY MAY WOOD-SIMONS.

Women in great numbers have entered the professions. They have become doctors, journalists, actresses, artists, teachers and lawyers. To many women this has seemed an escape from the slavery of the housewife.

The professional woman has first been obliged to take a long and sometimes expensive course of education before she could enter her profession. This is especially true of the doctor and the teacher. When the professional woman begins her work she imagines that she will find in it some degree of liberty, that she is in a way removed from the class of the wage earning woman and has the power to make independent choice in her work.

Examination of facts shows that this is not true. The journalist must, first of all, just like the factory girl, find an employer. If she secures a place on the staff of a city paper or a magazine she finds that these papers are run in the interest of the great vested powers, that they are the organs of political machines, and that in order to retain her position she must write her articles and color them to please her employer. She starts with the belief that she can find expression for her individuality, only to discover that she must
force her eyes to see from the point of view only of her employer. She is not a household slave, but she is another sort of a slave just as truly as is the woman who works at the factory.

It has been difficult for the professional woman to feel that she is in the same class as the wage earning woman. She holds aloof from united action, believing that a salaried position places her on another plane. Take, for instance, the woman physician. Often her practice takes her among the well-to-do. She may feel that her employment depends on these people. She must bow to their will and accede to their demands. Is she independent? In no profession is the competition fiercer than in the medical profession. Perhaps such a woman physician has ideas of hygiene and public health, but she soon finds that she is handicapped at every turn in her efforts to put any of these into action. The doctor, more than almost any other class of professional women, must realize the effects of a system of society in which the few control the means of life of the many.

The actress believes, perhaps, that her profession is not on the same basis as that of the shop girl. But she cannot work unless she is able to secure a position through some agency. Unless she is a star, she must accept the salary her employer stipulates. She must please a fickle public, and, if the play is a failure, run the risk of finding herself out of work in a strange town. She begins her work with high ideals of wishing to interpret the best in life for the people, only to find that her work is confined to a narrow round of commonplaces. Wherein does she differ fundamentally from the factory worker?

The teachers make up another class of professional workers. They spend many years in preparation for their work. Then they find their profession already overcrowded and the wages below those of a good stenographer or janitor. They also work for an employer. They have absolutely nothing to say about their work, its course of study, and little about the methods used. They are put in charge of fifty or sixty children and eight years of the work leaves them almost as much nervous wrecks as are the housewives. As conducted, her work makes her narrow in her outlook, all because she has no power of self-expression, and is too worn with the work to be able to grow through outside study or contact with other phases of life.

Socialism would make it possible for women who do this kind of work, the teacher, artist, doctor, actress, journalist, to have the power of self-expression. They would not be merely echoes of those who employ them. They would be sure of a wage according to the merit of their work. They would be freed from competition in their professions that to-day destroys any possibility for anyone to do her best, and makes even the artist a commercialized worker meeting the demands of a freakish public.

There is a common interest between the working woman, whether wage earners or professional workers. Too long, because their patronage has depended on the capitalist class, our professional women have failed to recognize this common bond, although all have felt the oppression of the present system.

"Socialism stands for all that is best in science, in literature, in the social life, in the home life." These are the words uttered by a professor in one of our largest universities to his class of graduate students. The time has come for the professional women to investigate their truth.
INGERSOLL'S VISION OF THE FUTURE

"A vision of the future arises. . . . I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

"I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of the earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

"I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward, where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl, trying to win bread with a needle—the needle that has been called 'the asp for the breast of the poor'—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

"I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

"I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function, and as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope."

THE COST OF LIVING
AND THE BALLOT

By LIDA PARCE

Now look at this situation, my woman friend, and see if you
don't think it is your particular business.

The people who raise raw materials to-day do not make them
up into the forms in which they can use them. The people who
consume commodities do not produce them. We are all practi-
cally cut off from our source of supplies; and the people who
manufacture commodities hold the pass. They hold the pass, and
they charge more than we have to pay to let us get through. They
charge more than we have, and the only way we can get the price
they ask is by working for them. We work for them, and yet
they only give us a part of the price they demand for letting us
reach our source of supplies. Is it not plain that this system is
what is called the “strategic position” to starve the people out?

The difference between what they pay for our work and the
raw materials, and the price they charge for the commodities con-
stitutes their profits. They have no other way of making profits,
and the game is to make the largest profit possible. They invest
a certain sum of money in a manufacturing plant, buy their labor
and materials in a competitive market; that is, because there are
more willing people to work than there are jobs; the workers will
bid against each other for the work, and the employer gets the
benefit of their competition. Likewise, those who have raw materials to sell compete against each other for buyers, and here again the manufacturer gets the benefit. The theory is that the manufacturers compete with one another for a chance to buy, and this has a tendency to keep prices up; but the larger the establishments are and the fewer there are of them, the less competition there will be between them and the more the sellers are at their mercy. The report of the bureau of manufactures shows that the size of establishments is constantly increasing and the number of them is steadily diminishing in proportion to the population. So the conditions are constantly more favorable for reducing both the cost of raw materials and the cost of labor. Now, how about the prices of the products?

You see, prices of products would have a tendency to go down, too, if competition in the market was free. So means must be devised for preventing competition if profits are to be maintained. And really, it is not so difficult when the people who cast the ballots are “loaﬁng on the job.” There are two kinds of competition to be suppressed, foreign and domestic. The tariff is the means employed for keeping out the foreign, and this is the way it is worked: The interests nominate for Congress men who, when they go to Washington, will “take care of business.” The voters then obligingly cast the ballots (these voters who “represent the family”), and these men pass laws putting such a heavy duty on goods imported from foreign countries that the amount brought in is kept at a low ﬁgure. They can then raise the price of their own goods to almost the ﬁgure at which we could buy the imported articles, tariff and all. That is, they can if they can avoid competition among themselves. And here is where the use of the “trust” comes is. They get together and make agreements by which they avoid underbidding each other. This is managed by “dividing the territory,” by limiting the amount of goods pro-

duced, so that the entire product will be bought at high prices, or agreeing on prices between themselves.

In these ways wages and prices of materials are kept down, the prices of products are kept up, and proﬁts are increased. When the proﬁts on the original investment grow so large as to be ridiculously out of proportion, they issue stock. If they had $100,000 invested and have made a dividend of $60,000, or 60 per cent, you see that, on the face of it, it is indecent, and people might object to working so cheap and buying so dear. Then they “water” the stock. That is, they sell $500,000 worth of stock which, with the original investment, makes $600,000. After that they can look innocent and say that they are only making 10 per cent, and anyone who denounces them is a wicked and dangerous demagogue.

But all these enormous dividends and watered stock are only a part of the causes of the high cost of living. To them must be added the numerous handlings and transportings, the many buyings and sellings and storings to which goods are subject under the present system.

An abstract of statistics of manufactures, issued by the Bureau of the Census, shows that the average wage of wage workers in the United States is about $514 per year. But a distinguished professor of political economy has estimated that it costs $900 per year for a family of five persons to live in a state of physical health, without providing for mental or social improvement or the means of pursuing happiness, which would, of course, involve additional expense. So here we are, face to face with a grim deﬁcit of $386 in the income of all the workers in manufactures in this free and brave country. But don’t imagine that the landlord and the “business man” make up this deﬁcit by letting the
rent go and by sending around quantities of groceries and dry goods. No; the difference is made up by the women and children of the family, who go into the factories and workshops and there compete with the men for a chance to work.

There are about two million children now engaged in making up this deficit in the wages of the men—the sovereign voters.

In 1880 there were 2,353,988 women, or 16 per cent of all females over sixteen years of age, working for wages in the United States. In 1900 there were 4,833,630, or 20 per cent of all women over sixteen years old. At the present time there are over seven million women engaged in gainful occupations.

While the women engaged in industry, business and the professions are now in the minority, if this migration of women from one “sphere” to the other continues at the present accelerated rate, it will not be long before the majority of all women will be thus engaged.

These facts present a number of reasons why women must interest themselves in factory legislation, why the women in the homes must be placed on a different legal basis, and why the woman who bears the triple burden of factory worker, wife and mother and housewife must have relief from the tragic horrors of that situation. As for the second and the last classes, there is no reason to suppose that they will receive relief until women shall secure the ballot and come to the rescue.—From Woman’s Place in Politics: Its Basis, in The Progressive Woman.

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National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Price: 1c. each; 5c. a dozen; 25c. a hundred
It Is Constitutional

The woman suffrage bill before the Illinois legislature would extend the franchise to women for certain officers not mentioned in the constitution of Illinois and for certain propositions.

As these officers specified in the bill are not mentioned in the constitution, they need not be elected by the voters prescribed by the constitution. These officials are the creation of the legislature which also has power to describe whether they shall be appointed or elected and if elected, the qualifications of their electors.

The Supreme Courts of various states have decided that the legislature has unlimited power in prescribing restrictions on the right of franchise and in making extensions of this right in elections of statutory officers not named in the constitution. Belles v. Burr, 76 Mich. 1; Wheeler v. Brady, 15 Kan. 26; State v. Cones, 15 Neb. 444; Destine v. Dubuque, 7 Iowa, 286; State v. Board of Elections, 9 Ohio Cir. Ct. 134; Wood v. Quimby (R. I.) 40 Atl. 163; Hanna v. Young (Ml.), 35 Atl. 675; State v. Dillon, 32 Fla. 545-566; Morrison v. Springer, 15 Iowa, 342; Woodley v. Town Council of Clio, 44 S. C. 374; Wil-

The Illinois courts have also upheld such power of the legislature. People v. English, 139 Ill. 631; Plummer v. Yost, 144 Ill. 68; Ackerman v. Henck, 147 Ill. 514; Dorsey v. Brigham, 177 Ill. 256; Davenport v. Drainage Com., 25 Ill. App. 92; People v. Welsh, 70 Ill. App. 641; People v. Nelson, 133 Ill. 565.

These Illinois cases sustain the power of the legislature to extend the suffrage to women in the election of officers not named in the constitution.

Not only have our courts upheld such power of the legislature, but the legislature continues to exercise such power, and the persons named by the legislature continue to vote, without question, for such officials.

Some of the Illinois decisions refer to the extension of the limited school suffrage to Illinois women by the law of 1891. Others refer to the drainage acts of 1885 and 1889. The drainage act of 1885 provides that adult owners of land shall petition for the drainage district, and that every adult owner of land shall be a voter. Under this law women petition and vote; and bonds issued by these districts, organized by the help of women's votes, are held good in commercial circles and by our courts. Davenport v. Drainage Commissioners, 25 Ill. App. 92. The legislature, by the sanitary district act of 1889, provided a modified system of cumulative voting, whereby the elector must vote for five-ninths of the candidates for positions as sanitary district trustees. This method was not known to the Constitution. The validity of this act was established by our Supreme Court in Wilson v. Board of Trustees, 133 Ill. 443. The legality of such measures is therefore well settled in Illinois.

Among the twenty-five or more states where school suffrage is allowed to women they often also vote on propositions affecting schools.

Some states like Iowa, Michigan, Montana, Kansas and Louisiana allow women to vote on all matters relating to bond issues and taxes. Such rights have also been granted in New York towns and villages and in several municipalities of Delaware and South Carolina. Pennsylvania women by petitioning for or against local improvements have practically a voter's privilege. Kansas women also have municipal suffrage.
It is true that in many of the states complete suffrage for women can only be secured through the constitution. Thus it was that women in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Washington gained all the voting privileges accorded men. So although full suffrage can only come to Illinois women through the constitution, the present bill is within the power of the legislature.

When the Charter Convention of Chicago was asked to approve municipal suffrage for Chicago women, opinions were submitted by some of Chicago's leading lawyers and jurists stating that the legislature had such power. Among those making such statements were Philip Stein, John Barton Payne, Gwynn Garnett, S. S. Gregory, Wallace Heckman, Clarence S. Darrow, Eugene E. Prussing, John C. Richberg and Frank H. McCulloch.

The Law Committee, of which John P. Wilson was chairman, reported after argument that the legislature did have such power. So it seems rather wearing to be obliged to prove over and over again this point which probably no one really doubts.

Catharine Waugh McCulloch.
ENROLLMENT BLANK.

I, __________________________________________

of __________________________________________ Street

City, believing that women as well as men should vote, hereby join the

MINNESOTA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,

on a non-dues paying basis and with the understanding that it is non-partisan
in character.

Legislative District __________________________________________
Congressional Union
for
Woman Suffrage
1420 F STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Object—
Securing an amendment to the United States Constitution, enfranchising women.

Membership—
Open to all women who, believing that suffrage is fundamental to all democratic reform, consider suffrage the main issue in the field of National politics.

Dues—
Enterance fee of twenty-five cents. There are no other dues.
Alice Freeman Palmer on Women's Duties.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, former president of Wellesley College, wrote an interesting article for a pamphlet compiled by the College Equal Suffrage League, of Massachusetts, entitled, "Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered by College Women." Each college woman contributing to the symposium answered a separate objection. Mrs. Palmer replied to the argument that "women are already fully occupied with higher duties." She wrote:

What are the political duties?
What are the higher duties?
How far does the one kind obstruct or assist the other?

The political duties are: Informing one's self on the state of the country, on policies at issue, on candidates for office, and going to the polls and depositing a ballot.

The so-called higher duties of a woman are the bearing and rearing of children, and making a home for family and friends.

How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do class and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interests be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspaper and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more intelligently, and will give and receive
more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now.

The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women, and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what women only can do—and what, failed in, undermines society and government—no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine; they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and "higher" duties.

The objections to the political woman and to the educated woman present some instructive analogies. Fifty years ago it was seriously believed that knowing the classics would ruin her morals, philosophy her religion, and mathematics her health; in general, a college education would take away her desire to be a good wife and mother. To protect a being so frail, the colleges were carefully closed against her. Now, with the approval of wise men, more girls than boys are preparing for college, and this in the public interest. It may be found in politics, as in education, that the higher duties of women will be assisted, not hindered, by intelligent discipline in the lower.

MA CAN'T VOTE.

Ma's a graduate of college, and she's read most everything;
She can talk in French and German, she can paint and she can sing.
Beautiful? She's like a picture! When she talks she makes you think
Of the sweetest kind of music, and she doesn't smoke or drink.
Oh, I can't begin to tell you all the poems she can quote;
She knows more than half the lawyers do; but ma can't vote.

When my pa is writing letters, ma must always linger near
To assist him in his spelling and to make his meaning clear.
If he needs advice, her judgment, he admits, is always best;
Every day she gives him pointers, mostly at his own request.
She keeps track of legislation, and is taxed on bonds and stocks,
But she never gets a look-in at the sacred ballot box.

Ma is wiser than our coachman, for he's not a graduate,
And I doubt if he could tell you who is governing the State.
He has never studied grammar, and I'll bet he doesn't know
Whether Caesar lived a thousand or two thousand years ago.
He could never tell us how to keep the ship of state afloat,
For he doesn't know there's such a thing—but ma can't vote.

Once when Mr. Jones was calling, they got up a short debate
That was on the tariff question; he supposed he had it straight.
But before they'd finished talking, he threw up his hands and said
That he'd not read much about it, nor remembered what he'd read.
He's too badly rushed to study how to better human lives,
Still he looms up like a giant when election time arrives.

Mrs. Gookins does our washing, for she has to help along,
Taking care of her six children, though her husband's big and strong.
When he gets a job, he only holds it till he draws his pay,
Then he spends his cash for whiskey, or else gambles it away.
I suppose his brains' no bigger than the brain of any goat,
And he'd trade his ballot for a drink—but ma can't vote!

—Chicago Record-Herald.

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The Woman Voter and the Eugenic Ideal

By Dr. Anna E. Blount

The history of civilization is the history of the rise and development of its ideals.

Within a century we have seen the rise of some of the greatest ideals of all time. Democracy as an ideal of government has developed from 'a small cloud no bigger than a man's hand' something so big that it has quite overspread the zenith. But the greatest ideal of the century is the daring ideal of improvement of the human breed, of race culture, or eugenics.

About 1864, Sir Francis Galton launched this new thought in some magazine articles, but he promptly learned that the time was not ripe for his gospel, so he waited another quarter of a century. After the world had accepted Darwin and Mendel and DeVries, it was ready for Galton's great book, "Hereditary Genius."

The supremacy of man over the animal kingdom and the visible world has been marked by the increasing responsibility of parenthood, and the lengthening of the period of adolescence. Man is almost the only animal that cares for his young through many years of immaturity and dependence. Even with primitive man, fatherhood is relatively undeveloped. Paternal care is but little more in the savage than in the robin, the young are turned adrift when they can hunt their own food. In some tribes, even, the fatherhood of the individual child is unknown. The mother gives the child physical care for the time, but the education is scarcely more than what the rabbit or the woodcock gives her young. Civilization has been marked, however, by the ever-lengthening period of education for the young. Our grandfathers earned their living at twenty or before; our sons of the professional class do well if they are ready for life at thirty.

This growing responsibility for our children has been accompanied by an increased sense of responsibility to all the weak and unfortunate—the sick, the crippled, the feebleminded, the insane. We are caring for all of them, and now at last we are assuming responsibility not only for our children but for our grandchildren for unnumbered generations.

It seems the last sense of responsibility to develop the sense of responsibility for our children's children, for the race that shall inherit the earth when we shall have passed away. But it is coming. "To pass on the torch of life, not only undimmed, but ever brighter"—that is an inspiration that may touch the deepest wellsprings of virtue in the human heart; that may lead to effort or to renunciation hitherto unknown; that may arouse a zeal that is religious.

Let me quote the words of Galton: "I take Eugenics very seriously, feeling that its principles ought to become one of the dominant motives in a civilized nation, much as if they were one of its religious tenets. Man is gifted with pity and other kindly feelings; he has also the power of preventing many kinds of suffering. I conceive it to be within his power to replace natural selection by other processes that are more merciful, and not less effective."

"In brief, Eugenics is a virile creed full of hopefulness, and appealing to many of the noblest feelings of our nature."

The old attitude of mind is exemplified in the words of Napoleon: "Posterity? What has posterity done for me?"

The newer attitude of mind is expressed by George Meredith in the words: "For I think that all right use of life, and the one secret of life, is to pave ways for the firmer footing of those who shall succeed us."

Inheritance is biparental, that is, it is equal as between the two sexes. The studies on the physical basis of heredity have made this conclusion incontrovertible, for in the maturing
of both the reproductive cells, there is a reduction of inheritance carrying chromosomes to the nucleous at half the previous number. That is to say, every egg and every sperm has its inheritance reduced, and half their number thrown away, to be replaced by union with another cell reduced, and having perhaps an entirely different heredity.

This separation of the inheritance-bearing elements, the chromosomes (or perhaps their linear basis) according to the chance, explains why the children of the same parents are never exactly alike. A maternally related child would show that one human has only one chance on the average in some hundreds of millions to be exactly like another in the same family.

Mendel’s Law, worked out about the time when Darwin wrote the origin of species, is the greatest scientific gain yet made in the study of heredity. This shows how the strands of inheritance are woven and unraveled, how indeed they may be manipulated, and recombinated at will by the breeder or the horticulturist.

Galton showed by actual measurements, in the case of tall men, the deviation of a child from the average was, on the average, one-third of the deviation. This he called the law of filial regression. He also showed that we transmit not only the average trait which we inherit from our various ancestors. He makes out that our parents together furnish one-fourth, our grandparents together one-fourth, our great-grandparents one-eighth, and so on, the fractions diminishing toward a vanishing point.

Civilization has hitherto proven self-destructive. Assyria, Babylon, Greece, Rome, Spain, they have all passed away, but before they passed away as nations, each had begun to undergo race decline. Now as Jordan says, “No race of men, no nation, no tribe, however decayed, ever went out for any reason except the killing out of the strong, and the substitution of the weak breeding from the inferior stock.”

Nations, like individuals, do not die without an adequate cause morti. Why is it, then, that in the development of intellectual types of men, nature must continually breed them out of the brain from the French nation, by leaving to rot on many a European battlefield the finest sons of man?”

From Moscow to Egypt, and from the Danube to the sea, their bones bleached in the road. Those too feeble for war were left at home to marry and propagate the race.

No wonder the Greek race has never yet recovered. No wonder that the Southern states that lost most heavily from the Louisiana and Virginia and the Carolinas, have not arisen.

The Eugenics of the present has too little to do with the Eugenics in it. In matters concerning children, it is more and more a fact in civilized nations that man proposes and woman disposes. It has always appealed to my sense of humor that the French should appoint a huge congress of 250 or more delegates from all parts of the nation, to deliberate on the declining birth rate in France, and not a woman in it. Imagine it, 250 men gravely deliberating as to why the women are barren, and never asking a woman to tell them. And yet the women know their individual.

The Eugenics movement must not be like that congress. There is no reason why the Eugenics movement should not become the fashion, even to its utmost demand of individual eugenic association. Women are quick to appreciate those keen words of Darwin, “Except in the case of man himself, hardly anyone is so ignorant as to allow his worst animals to breed.”

They need only knowledge, and the inspiration that comes of concerted action among reforming asylums and almshouses in three generations.

The widespread practice in both England and America of persecuting or dismissing women teachers who marry or of persecuting such as have children is absolutely anti-social.

The N. Y. Board of Education have clearly segregated teachers, but the courts have decided that it can neither refuse them certificates nor deprive them of “committing marriage.”

When Mrs. Edgell, in New York, asked for her son’s leave of absence from school for care of a child, it was not the first time in the history of the New York schools that a teacher had taken a vacation for that purpose, but previously a leave had been accorded to those who were ill, in study, failing health or travel. But here was a woman believing in motherhood, and she was refused in cold blood, and her discussion in the boards was interesting. On the one hand were the people who objected to school maternity, and who thought that matrons might be beneficial to the school and the other those (women, like are found everywhere) who assume the responsibility of deciding that no woman can have a child of maternity together with a congenital, lucrative employment. It cannot even see why they do not begin their voluntary child-protection efforts with the children of women who have long hours at washing, cleaning, scrubbing spitoons, and sewing in sweatshops, but they never do. It is always the child of the relatively affluent business or professional woman who draws their fire.

It would seem to be the part of wisdom, when such rapid changes are occurring in the social status of woman, for boards and councils and legislatures to keep hands off, and let the women work out their own solution of these questions. But if they must interfere, why discourage a willing, a voluntary effort, and encourage the involuntary, the captive and the forced maternity.

An almost universal case was that of Miss Kodman, who kept her maiden name and title, though married, to avoid the ridicule of the board compelling women teachers to report their marriages to the school authorities and then humiliating them by refusing them promotion because married. Meantime, the least children may be presumed not to be produced from mothers who are the culs of our commercial selection, who perhaps marry because they are too dull for intellectual pursuits or to hold their own in the business world. The intellectual self-supporting woman must succeed in the long run, because her children will meet and surmount the rest of natural selection: The evolution of man is the evolution of brain, and brains are inherited from the head. The child of the teacher-mother should be equipped with a better than average heredity, and be
would be certain to win out in the struggle for existence; but to select one group of the brightest women and compel them to celibacy is stupidly to promote the deterioration of the human stock, and this is the real race suicide.

Chiefest among the race poisons is alcohol. Chiefest among the race diseases are the two loathsome diseases, known sometimes together as the great Black Plague.

You have but to follow the pedigrees of a large number of children in any insane asylum, or in any institution for feeble-minded, to convince yourself of that fact. Such pedigrees are furnished in abundance in the publications of the American Eugenics Society. I recommend especially the one on the heredity of feeble-mindedness, and the heredity of epilepsy and insanity.

If you as voters would take care in the best manner of the children of the future, you have a vast program before you. If you would promote the eugenic ideal, these are some of the things demanded:

The complete emancipation of women.

The abolition of war.

The protection of posterity from the great black plague, through—Health certificates for marriage.

Abolition of commercialized vice by making it a crime to keep a brothel.

Sex education for all the young.

Making venereal disease a ground for divorce.

Sterilizing or segregating the feeble-minded, epileptic and criminal.

The prevention of drunkenness by what means shall seem best.

Verily, "The chief peril of infant life, and one but rarely listed in books of hygiene and medicine, is the peril of parenthood."

In the splendid words of Whetham: "Hitherto the development of our race has been unconscious, and we have been allowed no responsibility for its right course. Now in the fullness of time we are treated as children no more, and the conscious fashioning of the human race is given into our hands. Let us face our responsibilities."
Some Common Questions Answered

By SARAH PLATT DECKER
Formerly President General Federation of Women's Clubs and of the Denver Woman's Club

So much has been said and written on the matter of the working of equal suffrage in Colorado that it is difficult to present it in any new phase. I shall attempt to give only an individual opinion upon the following much-disputed questions:

1. DO THE EARNEST, HIGH-MINDED WOMEN OF COLORADO VOTE? YES, most emphatically. I do not hesitate to say that the best women of Colorado have far more conscience in filling their responsibilities as voters than the men of the same class. It is also true that women of standing in the community have great influence with men who are not particularly interested in public affairs.

We are constantly asked by visitors to Colorado, "But how do prominent women, with their many duties and obligations, have time for politics?" To speak to one's grocer, butcher, stationer, to a conductor on the car or to a cabman, takes only one instant. Then this timid visitor asks, "How do you have time to vote?" as if voting was like eating or bathing. My dear Madame Behind-the-Times, it takes just about one hour in a year to cast all the ballots necessary and allowable.

2. DOES NOT THE VOTE OF THE DISREPUTABLE, LOW CLASS OF WOMEN COUNTERTALANCE THE BETTER ELEMENT? NO; the women of the half-world generally do not vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, names or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified. Occasionally some disreputable master compels these slaves to vote for his own purposes, but that is a rare occurrence.

3. IS IT NOT THE CASE THAT WOMEN GENERALLY VOTE AS THE MEN OF THEIR HOUSEHOLD DICTATE? NO. Such has not been my observation or experience. Among the laboring class, if the wife cannot vote as her husband desires, and he is not willing she should make her own choice, she refuses to vote at all. I have been surprised at the honest maintenance of opinion in this regard among the wives of laboring men. One of the most cultivated, beloved and influential women of the State was sitting as a delegate in one party convention, not long since, while her husband was at the same time addressing another assembly representing opposite party views. But the situation excited no comment. Suffrage makes women "individuals."
4. HAS THE WOMAN VOTE WHOLLY PURIFIED POLITICS, AND HAVE WE BANISHED SALOONS? NO, to both questions. It would be beyond reason to expect such a result. Women have been in churches and in society since the beginning of time, but there are still vicious minds and sinful deeds in both religious and social circles. The most we assert is that if we pour a clear stream into a muddy one, we shall have a "moving of the waters" for betterment. The presence of women at the polls as officers and voters has brought quiet and order, while party conventions are much freer from personal wranglers, profane language and vulgar allusions, because women are sitting as delegates.

All thinking women admit that we have made some mistakes since we have had the right of suffrage. But that has been the experience of all newly-enfranchised people. In the beginning of equal suffrage in Colorado, the woman voters had no guide except the traditions and advice of the men of their families and acquaintance. That teaching was the old one of party politics. We followed a blind lead; and to me it was a terrible awakening to discover that my party was just as bad as the other, and the other party fully as high-minded in its purposes as mine. But in spite of any mistakes, disappointments or discouragements, there is an indescribable uplift in the thought that one is no longer classed with "criminals, paupers, and idiots." There is a splendid womanly independence in being a voting citizen, and an absorbing interest in fulfilling the duty of citizenship; and there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings, nor as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

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The "Unanswerable Argument" Answered

By MRS. LIDA CALVERT OBENCHAIN.
(Eliza Calvert Hall)

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

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

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

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

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

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

But why go further in citing parallel cases? There are two classes of people in the world. In the women of one class, a keen sense of justice is developed. In the other class, the sense of justice is so undeveloped that women belonging to this do not object to a condition of disfranchisement that reduces them to the political level of the idiot, the lunatic, the felon, the minor and the illiterate negro of the South.

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

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That "Biological Argument"

By DR. WOODS HUTCHINSON.

From a biological point of view it is self-evident that not only will the proper and adequate rearing of children and care of her household not prevent a modern woman from entering public life and taking part in a wide range of activities outside the home, but, on the contrary, it will absolutely demand that she should do so. Just in proportion as the work of the home has been transferred to the world outside, so the interests and welfare of the home are affected by and bound up with conditions in the external world.

It is idle and worse than useless, for instance, for a mother to bear and rear healthy, intelligent children if, the moment they pass from under her care, they are worked ten or twelve hours a day in overcrowded, unsanitary deathtraps called factories; or, if, before they pass from under her care, they are obliged to spend the best part of their waking hours shut up in gloomy, ill-ventilated barracks called schoolhouses.

Similarly, though in an earlier day she could supervise the growth and preparation of almost every article of food that appeared upon her table, and know that it was sound and wholesome, to-day nine-tenths of the food of the family comes from all over the surrounding country and from every part of the inhabitable globe. The mother who wishes properly to protect the health of her children must actively take part in the agencies and movements which are engaged in the proper inspection and testing of food supplies; in the securing of clean milk and pure water, and the scrupulous cleanliness of shops and streets. A large share of the activities of municipal public life and so-called politics has become simply good housekeeping on a large scale—and it is even more emphatically woman’s business than it is man’s.

Any sanitarian or public-health officer of experience will cheerfully testify that the strongest force in the community for the protection of the public health is the influence and work of the women, especially of the at one time much scoffed at and good-naturedly ridiculed women’s clubs. Why on earth woman should not be given exactly the same voice as man in
determining how the food, water and other vital interests of her children should be kept pure and wholesome, and in personally seeing that they are so kept, is a question to which, from a biological point of view, there is no answer!

The same wholesome tendency is also showing itself in state and national politics. War and the currency and taxes are no longer the sole issues in the realm of politics. Questions can no longer be settled solely with eloquence and with clubs. Politicians are actually beginning to discuss questions which there is some prospect of their being able to understand and upon which definite and rational conclusions can be reached by the collection of facts and the use of scientific methods, instead of determining everything by whether it accords with ancient Republican principles or true Democratic doctrine.

And upon these new issues in politics woman is at least as well posted and as well equipped to judge as man; and, indeed, she couldn't very well know less about the currency and the tariff, for instance, than the average male voter does now. "Such an excess of stupidity is not in Nature," as Doctor Johnson pithily remarked. Woman in public life will simply be exercising on a larger scale and in a wider field those same noble qualities which have made her worshiped in the home, and extending over the welfare of the entire community that watchful care and that wise protection which she has always exercised over her children.—From an article in the Saturday Evening Post.

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THE DIRECT WAY

By Frances Squire Potter.

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

But that is not the worst. Besides being harder, it is less effective. It is humiliating. It is false to American principles. We educate our men and women alike and together; on the same terms they engage in business and bear the burdens of taxation. Shall we go back on this whole theory when it comes to its fundamental application? The suffrage issue should not be put off, but it should be placed first, as making the other issues easier and permanent.

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

This brings me to the other platitude. How often are we told, “When women want the suffrage it will be given to them.” That is to say, when an
The overwhelming majority of women want what they ought to have, then they can have it. Extension of suffrage never has been granted on those terms. No great reform has gone through on those terms. In an enlightened State, wanting is not considered a necessary condition to the granting of education or the extension of privilege. The enlightened State confers the privilege in order to create the desire. The unenlightened States, like Turkey and Russia, hold off until revolution compels a reluctant, niggardly, malevolent abdication of tyranny.

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

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

By ELIZA CALVERT OBENCHAIN

Marie Corelli, voicing a common opinion, opposes votes for women on the ground that "since woman has, as the natural heritage of her sex, the mystic power to persuade, enthrall and subjugate man, she has no need to come down from her throne to mingle in any of his political frays." She avers that she can direct fifty men's votes at any election in any way she chooses, but she says that that power would be destroyed if she had a vote of her own.

We are all familiar with the picture of the hen-pecked husband whose wife wants to vote, but will not some cartoonist show us these fifty hypnotized Englishmen meekly marching to the polls to execute the will of a woman who does not want to vote? Those who hold the doctrine that a woman should express her will at the polls indirectly instead of directly might learn from such a picture that woman's indirect influence means indeed the "subjugation of man." When Sir Roger de Coverley found himself "enthralled" and "subjugated" by that widow with "the finest hand in the county," he still retained enough common sense to realize his condition, and aptly described himself as a "captivated calf."

Think of Miss Corelli and her "captivated calves," and then think of a husband and wife in Colorado walking to the polls side by side, one voting the Democratic ticket, the other the Republican, and each respecting the other's rights.

Wouldn't you rather be the Colorado man than the captivated, subjugated English calf?

As a matter of fact, however, we think Miss Corelli is drawing on her imagination when she says there are fifty men whose votes she can direct. Woman-like, she over-estimates her "mystic power to enthrall and subjugate" men.

When Senator Zeb Vance was first married, he said to his wife:

"Now, my dear, I have only one request to make of you. Make me do just as I darn please!" It is very easy to subjugate a man to the point of making him do as he pleases, and this, probably is all Miss Corelli has done in the case of those rather mythical "fifty men."

Kentucky women understand the art of enthralling men, but I never knew one who could make a Democrat vote the Republican ticket, or vice versa.
Some years ago there was a very exciting election in Kentucky. One of the candidates was bitterly opposed by many women. One of these was lamenting to a friend that she could not get her husband to promise not to vote for the objectionable candidate.

"Lock up all his clothes on election day, so that he can't go to the polls," suggested the friend.

"Lock up all his clothes!" was the reply. "Why, he'd go to the polls naked!"

This man probably voted wrong, but at any rate he was not a "captivated calf."

The franchise is not given a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and as women are people, the wife, the sister and the maiden aunt should have the right to express their views without the preliminary performance of subjugating some weak man.

Miss Corelli, an anti-suffragist, argues for a woman's right to express her opinions through a man who gives up his own opinions in order to express the woman's. I, a suffragist, argue for a man's right to express his own opinions unsubjugated and unenthralled by any woman. Curious? Not at all. A woman who respects her own rights will always respect a man's rights, and a woman who boasts that she can direct fifty men's votes in any way she chooses, would be likely to make her husband wash the dishes and tend the baby while she wrote a "Romance of Two Worlds."

Theoretically, most men favor the idea of women exerting an indirect influence on politics, but if women should develop political opinions at variance with their husbands' and try to put the indirect influence idea into practice, there would be an immediate revolt in favor of direct voting.—Woman's Journal.

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Things To Think About
Things To Think About

A man inherits his religion and his politics. This is why he does not progress. If he thinks in all things like his father, he stands still or goes backward. What is politics? It is what a party says should be done. What is a party? It is a number of men who decree who shall be a candidate and shall have the power to rule. Who appoints the men who possess this power? They are self-appointed. Why do voters let this go on and call this a rule of the people? They have no time to attend to their share in the public interest or they do not care. Do they know all about it? When they talk, they seem to understand and talk about graft, but when they vote they do the same way again. What is graft? If a man steals a loaf of bread it is stealing, but if he steals public money it is simply graft. Do all
the men do this way? No, the majority do not vote at all in many cases. Why not? Some are too busy and say that they cannot help it or change things. Could they not do it if they would? Yes, if they would combine to do so. Why do they not? No man ever explained why. Do the women know all about this condition? It seems that just as many women as men do understand. Does any one teach the men anything about government? No, they are supposed to know it all at the age of twenty-one, but they are talking about teaching the women something about it.
Persuasion or Responsibility?

By FLORENCE KELLEY

For five and twenty years the writer has striven for legislation to protect wage earning women and children in our rapidly developing industries.

Freedom of speech and press, the right of public meetings and the right to petition, all these have been used to the uttermost.

The statute books of many States contain laws placed upon them by ceaseless effort covering a quarter of a century. But what is the net result?

According to the latest report of the Department of Education, the per cent of our population enrolled in the public schools has diminished during the past five years. The cotton fields of the South call for the black children. The cotton mills, wherever found, summon the white children. In the middle states, the sweatshops of the great cities, the glassworks and the Pennsylvania mines absorb the boys and girls.

Schools cost money, and boards of education are composed chiefly of business men, men eager to keep down the taxes and willing to have children work.

According to the census of the United States there were, in 1900, 579,947 illiterate children between the ages of 10 and 14 years. Of these, about 510,000 were in the
thirteen Southern states and about 70,000 were scattered throughout the other states. It may be a mere coincidence (but an interesting one) that illiteracy looms largest where women have least power, and grows less where they vote. Of the twenty states which have fewest illiterate children, women vote in eighteen.

Not only is the per cent of our population enrolled in schools, diminishing, not only have we a half-million illiterate children, we have also nearly two million children working for their living. In this, we rank with Russia, not with the enlightened states of Western Europe.

These general facts concerning the children and the Republic are disheartening. We are not gaining upon child labor, or upon child illiteracy. These grave evils are gaining upon us. There are more illiterates, more child laborers, a smaller per cent of the population upon the rolls of the schools.

Why are these things true? First, they are true because our industrial system calls for cheap labor. And to the employers, child labor seems cheap.

Second, they are true because the mothers, the teachers, the women fitted by nature and by training to guard the welfare of the children are prevented by law from electing the officers who enforce the laws.

For instance, the laws of New York are, in some respects, the most drastic and enlightened laws in the Republic. But the magistrates in New York City will not fine fathers who break the child labor law, and the compulsory education law. The head of the city truancy department excuses his own incompetence, and the futility of his subordinates, by pointing out the fact that the magistrates dismiss the few offenders whom he brings before them.

The Commissioner of Health makes no attempt to prosecute merchants and telegraph companies who employ children at night or without “working papers.” The present Commissioner of Police has not punished one parent for flagrant and wholesale violation of the “newsboy law,” which forbids boys to work after ten at night or before they are ten years old.

Finally, the notorious Judge Deuel, (unfavorably known in the Town Topics scandals), is one of the judges of the Juvenile Court. This judge was one of three who recently handed down a decision that the beneficent statute is unconstitutional, which has, for twenty years, protected women and minors under the age of 18 years from night work in factories.

If the mothers and teachers voted in New York City, none of these things would occur. The same eager interest which has placed the child labor law, the compulsory school attendance law, the newsboy law, and the juvenile court law upon the statute books, would elect a mayor pledged to the enforcement of those laws.

The same inference applies fairly to the whole country. Until women are enabled to perform their full duty in the selection of officials who enforce laws, their efforts to
persuade legislators must remain in large degree fruitless.

Today women (outside the four states, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho), are confined to persuasion and publicity as means of gaining protection for the weaker classes in the community. To this must be added full political responsibility.

Because women consider the government men's affair, and something which concerns itself with elections and alarms, they have become so confused in regard to their traditional business in life, the rearing of children, that they hear with complacency a statement made by the Nestor of sanitary reformers that one-half of the tiny lives which make up the city's death-rate each year might be saved by a more thorough application of sanitary science. Because it implies the use of the suffrage, they do not consider it women's business to save these lives. Are we going to lose ourselves in the old circle of convention and add to that sum of wrong-doing which is continually committed in the world, because we do not look at things as they really are? Old-fashioned ways, which no longer apply to changed conditions, are a snare in which the feet of women have always become readily entangled. We keep hold of a convention which no longer squares with our genuine insight into life, and we are slow to follow a clue which might enable us to solace and improve the life about us, because it shocks an obsolete ideal.—Jane Addams.

Political Equality leaflets, sample set 10c., published at National Suffrage headquarters, 505 Fifth, avenue, N. Y.
Li Po Ton was a little Chinese maiden, born in the inland province of Hupeh, in far-away China.

Her earliest recollection was of sitting, with her little twin brother, Chin Wah, in her grandfather's sunny garden, which ran close down to the big, blue Han River, and watching the boats of every imaginable color and size, as they floated down to the great Yangtse Kiang. The little maiden's grandfather, Chin Wah Ton, was known as a rich man, in those parts. He had two great rice fields, a tobacco plantation, an orchard of cherries, and a comfortable house, on the roof of which was a most wonderful garden, full of fat cabbages and fresh-smelling leeks. He was a man of much influence, and many came to seek his advice and instructions. At one time he had been a kuan, and ever since had carried an added prestige and dignity. His learning and piety were famed all through the province, even so far away as the great city of Wuchang, where he made a journey in his richly-upholstered palanquin twice every year to sell the products there the products of his lands.

In one particular only had he ever been unfortunate. He had three wives and many children; but, despite his piety, the children had all been girls, save one. Chin Wah Ton hated girls, and his whole affection was lavished upon this son. Upon him would depend not only the responsibility of maintaining the family name, but the more important duty of performing those annual ceremonials at the grave of his father, through which aid alone the soul of Chin Wah might hope to rest in peace.

The son grew and prospered; but alas! when he had been married but three years, he fell sick and died. The grief of the father was piteous to see; but in the midst of his sorrow there was one hope. The son had himself had a son, the little twin brother of Li Po Ton, who had been named after his grandfather, Chin Wah Ton. So it came about that the little Chin Wah became the light and joy of his grandfather's eyes—his one hope and happiness.

Two more contented children would be hard to find than these little twins of Hupeh. All the long, sunny days they flitted about like gay butterflies
among the garden plants; now picking up the red cherries which had fallen from the big trees; now sitting in a tub their little toy boats, all covered with bright streamers, exactly like those they saw on the great river and now climbing to the roof-top to look at the wonderful garden. To be sure, when one of the brilliant butterflies sailed temptingly through the air and Chin Wah rushed after it in gay pursuit, little Li Po Ton was left far behind in the chase, for her poor bound feet refused to carry her, and when she tried to run they ached piteously. There were many other games in which she found herself dis- tanced, but little Chin Wah was patient and good, and she was happy—innocent, sweet little Li Po Ton! Yet there was another grief which sometimes sent a quick, sharp pain through her little child heart; for she had not been slow to notice that her grandmother, the great Chin Wah, had plenty of caresses and words of affection for her twin brother, but paid no more attention to her than if she had been one of the cabbages in his garden. Why was it so? We shall see.

One day she missed little Chin Wah, and although she hunted all through the garden, he was nowhere to be found. At last he came running out of the house, his eyes shining and his face all aglow with excitement, but when he saw Li Po standing pleased and glad in the shadow of a rose-bush, he drew himself up in an affected attitude of superiority and looked scornfully at her.

“Oh, ho!” he exclaimed. “I can’t play with you any more. I have just had my first lesson in reading, and a man is coming every day to teach me more. I am going to be a great man, like grandfather, and ride in a palanquin, but you can’t learn to read. Grandfather said so. You are a girl.”

Poor little maid! For the first time she saw the barrier between them.

The next day, when she cautiously peeped through the door and saw Chin Wah standing straight and proud before a strange man, who was showing him curious figures on a strip of red paper, she seemed to realize at once that the happy playtime had gone forever. If there had been any hope left in her mind that the good times might return, it was effectual- ly dispelled when, a little later, on the day of the great annual festival, she saw little Chin Wah ready to go with his grandfather to see the cere- monies. Little girls, and big ones, too, for that matter, always stayed at home, but it was a grand gala day for the boys. After the manner of his countrymen, Chin Wah was clad in a suit entirely new. Very wonderful, Li Po Ton thought it. Indeed, with his wide trousers of bright green silk, his tunic of blue brocade, bound with white silk and covered with gold embroidery, his purple embroidered shoes, and the long skeins of red silk braided into his black queue, Chin Wah did cut a most remarkable figure and looked very like one of the pretty butterflies he was fond of chasing. He caught sight of his little sister and threw her another of his scornful glances. It was then she knew the barrier between them could never be crossed.

After that she passed her time curled up on a cushion by her moth- er’s side, learning to saw and to em- broder. Her only pleasure was the hour she walked in the garden. Al- though she had no companion, and her poor feet could only hobble, yet the bright skies, the familiar blue river and the old cherry trees were restful to her sight, and filled her mind with something akin to peace and contentment.

One day, when she was twelve years old, her grandmother sent for her. She found him sitting cross- legged on the floor opposite a strange man, who wore the most wonderful queue she had ever seen. As he sat on his cushion it lay on the floor like a great snake and seemed to reach half across the floor. Both were smoking long pipes, and neither seemed to see her as she entered. She stood before them motionless and with downcast eyes. Without speaking, Chin Wah motioned her to stand nearer his guest. She could not tell why, but somehow this stranger, with his fierce black eyes, filled her with terror, and she felt that his presence booted her no good. Cold chills ran up and down her back as he tapped her on the head, examined her feet, felt of her arms, shoulders and legs.

“Pretty girl; good girl,” grunted Chin Wah.

Indeed, she was a pretty sight, with her plump pink cheeks, soft black eyes, and delicate mouth filled with sharp white teeth; but she had never heard this before.

“Ugh!” exclaimed the stranger. “No good; too fat; too little.”

With another gesture from Chin Wah, Li Po Ton was sent from the room. What could it mean, this new mystery? She ran straight to her mother and told her what had hap- pened. But the mother knew nothing. She could guess, however. She knew how Chin Wah hated girls. She was familiar with his grasping disposition, and had heard his grumblings when he paid the marriage portion of each of his many daughters. It was not unlikely he thought to gain something from his granddaughter, who had always treated with contempt. Gently as she could, she told the maiden what she feared it might mean, and together they wept. Distraught herself from the mother’s arms, Li Po crept back to the door of the reception room, and cautiously peeped within. The stranger was
counting out a handful of money, and, as he did so, muttering between the puffs of his long pipe, “Too much, too much!” With her heart filled with terror, Li Po Ton flew back to her mother and fell at her feet in a spasm of agitated weeping.

Soon Chin Wah called her again, and, bidding her any good-bye to her mother, told her she was to go away with the stranger. Chinese children of both sexes are taught filial respect and obedience to a remarkable degree, and Li Po Ton had no thought to question whether she was going, or why. With a dull, heavy pain in her heart, she was placed in the palanquin by the side of the stranger man. All day long they traveled and the little girl sat as still as a mouse, speaking not a word. At night they went on board a boat. Li Po was put into a bank, where, with her head buried in the blankets, she quietly cried herself to sleep. In a day or two they came in sight of a great city; and the noise and confusion, so new to her, abstracted her attention to the exclusion of her own misery. Then they were carried to the biggest ship she had ever seen, and she was put to bed in a berth several feet from the floor. All around her were other passengers, and not a few girls near her own age, who seemed also to belong to the stranger. With these she might have found companionship, but soon the rocking of the ship sent them all to bed, and the dreadful seasickness made her forget all else. The time seemed interminable, with no one to comfort or say one word of cheer. She wondered in vain to what strange land she might be going, for the stranger guardian had never seen fit to give her any information as to her destination. Had she known how to pray she would have prayed for death. As it was, she looked through the round port-hole windows at the rolling, foam-capped waves, and longed to bury all her sorrows beneath them forever.

Well might she make this wish, for Li Po Ton was a slave. At last they came to land, and she was led down the gang-plank into a great crowd of shouting, noisy people. Some men with a strange dress of blue cloth and brass buttons hustled her away into a dark, gloomy room where there were many Chinamen and a few Chinese girls. There they stood, glaring timidly about them, with the same hunted look in their faces that she felt must be in her own. She longed to speak to them: perhaps they could tell her where they were; but she saw the fierce eyes of the stranger upon her and she dared not.

There was a great deal of talking in a strange language, a great many questions asked and answered, a showing of white tickets—all a mystery to her. Then she was hurried again into the street, and with all the other girls was seated in a queer vehicle, which whizzed along the streets and stopped for people to get on and off. It all interested, but it terrified her. At last they got off the car, the stranger leading, or rather driving them down a dark, narrow alley. Here she felt more at home, for the people were her own countrymen, although they stared at them in an uncomfortable manner. The stranger led them into a long low room, already crowded with Chinamen. No sooner were they inside than a big fat man, whom the others called Wah Lee, shouted: “Which is my girl?” “This is the girl I bought for you,” said the stranger, as he pointed to Li Po Ton. “Three hundred dollars is her price.”

After a thorough examination of her person, which satisfied him that she was sound and a good bargain, Wah Lee counted out the gold, and taking the little girl by the hand, led her down the street.

Through alley after alley they passed until they came to the door of a little tumble-down, dark-looking building. Wah Lee opened the door and thrust her inside, looking the door after her.

Here there were other women, her own Chin women. They came and took her by the hand, patted her on the back, smoothed her cheek, and looked into her eyes with sympathy. There were young girls like herself, and there was one woman who made her think of her own mother. The room was low and narrow. Bunks rested against the wall on one side. There was just room for three bunks from floor to ceiling, and just room for two tiers placed end to end. There was just room for three bunks between the bunks and the opposite wall was a space about three feet in width. The only furnituro was six blue-painted wooden stools. There was a door and one tiny square window, securely cross-barred with iron like the windows of a penitentiary. It was so pleasure to look out at this window, for there was nothing but the dark alley to look into, enlivened only by an occasional passing Chinaman. As these passers by never failed to stare through the iron bars to girls at them, there was no particular need of peering out for the sake of seeing them.

In response to the queries of these new friends, Li Po Ton related all the details of her journey, described her home and early life, and then plied them with the eager questions which for so long a time had been uppermost in her mind: “Why are we here? What does it mean?”

The women looked from one to another, and hesitated. Just then Wah Lee brought in their supper of boiled cabbage and rice. Li Po Ton was hunry, and ate heartily. When her appetite was satisfied the new mas-
ter bade her climb to the top berth. Soon she was sleeping the sleep of the innocent, so sweetly and so soundly that, whatever may have transpired in the little room that night, she knew nothing of it.

After breakfast, the next morning, the master locked the door, as usual, and went away. Seated upon their wooden stools again, there was nothing to do but talk. Little by little, the women acquainted the new-comer with her fate. They told her she would not be permitted to rest another night.

"Put," she said, "can we not run away."

"Run away?" one of the women replied. "The door is always locked: and there is no place to go. Besides, the master told us once of a woman who ran away, and when they found her they boiled her alive in hot lard."

All day the little maid sat stumped with horror.

Li Po Ton was one of the twelve hundred Chinese women slaves in the city of San Francisco. After supper that night, Wah Lee made her go to bed again, and she climbed up to her berth. Soon she returned, bringing with him a group of men. One placed a piece of money in his hand, and was bidden to climb up to her berth. When he had gone another came, and then another, until the poor girl had fainted. Night after night the experience was repeated. Sometimes she screamed; but Wah Lee only bound her mouth, and gave her no breakfast. And this was in the land that boasts Liberty to be the inalienable right of every individual.

Many weeks passed. The pink faded from her cheek. Her eyes had grown heavy and dull, and dark circles surrounded them. Wah Lee observed the change, and bade her eat more rice and cabbage.

One night, at a late hour, the room was deserted. Her sisters in misery were asleep. She could hear their heavy breathing. Wah Lee had gone, leaving the door slightly ajar. It had never happened before. Hastily slipping on her tunic, and bunching up the blankets to look as if they covered her sleeping form, she climbed down to the floor. Outside all was blackness, but voices could be heard at one end of the alley. Closing the door behind her, she stepped into the street, and in the shadow hurried away. On she went, she knew not and cared not where. Once her heart stood still, and a memory of the woman who had been boiled in lard fitted across her mind, as she found herself close to a group of Chinamen; but she sunk back into a dark corner and held her breath. They passed by, and as fast as her poor, deformed feet could carry her, she hurried on. Where could she go? What could she do? If only there might be some little dark corner, some forgotten spot, where no human being would ever look, she would hide there. To starve in peace was the boon she craved.

The darkness was lifting, and it would soon be morning. Not a moment must be lost. With feet racked with pain she turned a corner and entered what seemed to be another dark alley. Hurrying on, she stumbled, and fell prostrate to the ground. It was some time before she could rise, and when she did so the gray dawn of the coming day enabled her to see her surroundings. It was a rough enclosure, filled with all sorts of debris. Sitting on the ground, she spied a little hole which seemed to invite her to enter. This might do. Creeping on her hands and knees, she crawled inside. It was an angle made by a hoghead, the fence, and two ash-barrels. A wide board partially covered the opening through which she had crawled. She placed it so that the opening was entirely concealed. Oh, if she could only know she was safe! She unbend her aching feet, and rubbed them smartly with her hands, until they felt relieved. Then, lying down on the ground, with a block for a pillow, she fell asleep.

She was aroused once by voices near her hiding-place. Not a breath or movement betrayed her. How still she was, her eyes starting from her head, her cheek paled with fright! Poor hunted thing! Then voices came again. This time they had been preceded by the rumbling of a big wagon. It was the scavenger who had come to carry away the ashes. The barrels were moved. She was discovered lying there with her face buried in her hands. She had fainted.

When she recovered consciousness she was lying in a clean white bed, and a kindly-faced woman was bending anxiously over her. Fortunately, her feet had led her to the very door of the "Home for the Friendless," and if ever there was a creature who needed such protection, it was little Li Po Ton. The woman at her side was Mrs. Miller, the matron. But the little Chinese girl was afraid of Americans. She had suffered so cruelly in their land, she thought they must all be规范。She turned her face away, and wept bitterly. Food was brought, but she would not eat.

An Interpreter was sent for, a German, who had lived many years in China, and who was renowned among tourists as the best guide to the Chinese quarters in the city. He was supposed to know every Chinaman and China woman in San Francisco; but Li Po Ton was a new-comer, and he did not know her. It was a long time before she could place confidence enough in his friendship to tell him anything; but at last, in response to his kind and gentle questions, she told him the story of her life. Every
word was translated to Mrs. Miller, and Li Po Ton was assured she should have every care, and need suffer no fear of Wah Lee.

Somehow, a knowledge of her presence there leaked out. The Chinese master heard the rumor, and speedily a writ of habeas corpus was issued, to command Mrs. Miller to produce her charge in court the next morning. Here was a dilemma. A lawyer was consulted, but he could offer little consolation. Wah Lee, he said, would probably bring Chinese friends enough to prove that the girl was his wife, and the court would give her back to him.

The interpreter was sent for again, and, as gently as possible, Mrs. Miller tried to explain the court and the law, and the possible outcome. But what did Li Po Ton know of American courts and habeas corpus acts? She understood nothing of what was said, except that she would see Wah Lee the next day, and perhaps would have to go away with him again. She ate no supper, and went to bed at an early hour. Before retiring, the matron stepped into her room. She seemed to be sleeping soundly. The next morning she looked at her again. Something strange in her appearance made her touch the girl's cheek. It was cold. She turned down the blankets. The bed was saturated with blood, and a pen-knife, belonging to the matron, was plunged into her heart. Poor, hunted, wronged Li Po Ton! She had at last found liberty in death.
Disfranchised Men

The students of Yale were not allowed to vote by the New Haven selectmen. A number of them were very indignant, and a good deal was said in the New Haven papers. This led a suffragist to write the following lines of sympathy:

Gentlemen: Since, for the moment, your temporary condition is somewhat like my chronic condition—since you cannot vote because the selectmen wouldn’t let you, and I cannot vote because the men of Connecticut won’t let me—our cases are remotely parallel, and I venture, as a sincere sympathizer in your undeserved affliction, to submit a few of the consolations for not having the ballot that have been offered me.

In the first place, you probably think you have a right to vote. This is a mistake. Voting is a privilege, not a right—a privilege, at the disposal of the State. If this privilege is conferred upon you by the selectmen representing the State at this moment, with that impartial and unemotional justice found only in the bosom of men, well and good; if not, then you must go back and sit down in quiet resignation with minors, criminals, idiots and women—disfranchised. It would be extremely bad form to make a disturbance. You may occasionally murmur to each other under your breath that you would like to vote, but any outspoken protestation would be very ungentlemanly and conspicuous. Think how it would sound to say, “I want to vote!” in a loud unmanly voice! Who would get up to give you a seat in the car under the circumstances?

Secondly, if you should be allowed to vote, think of all the ignorant men that would vote, too! You may not immediately see the consolation in this fact. Many do not. That is a proof that you are emotional and easily influenced by your feelings, that you are lacking in the calm, dispassionate, even-handed justice naturally inherent in man, of which we have such notable examples in the board of selectmen, and, therefore, you are unqualified to vote.

Thirdly, you have the great consolation of knowing that you possess on election day, if not the ballot, something far higher and greater—so immeasurably better that the unselfish founders of our government gave it to those whom they disfranchised, and kept the inadequate ballot for themselves. I refer to “influence,” the “influence of a good man.”

Use your heaven-sent “influence,” dear brothers. On election day take the butcher and baker gently by the hand, and earnestly entreat them to
vote the way you would yourself if you could. Walk along with the postman. Tell him you are only a man, but you love your country and take a mild interest in her welfare, and won't he please vote the way you want him to? It would be extremely nice of him. Then this wonderful "influence" will begin to work, and the man will go off and vote just the way he pleases.

These are a few of the considerations I have always found eminently consoling, and I hope they will have the same soothing effect on you as on your

_Siamese Sister._

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**Men Should Read**

*Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot,* by Clifford Howard.
*Women Should Mind Their Own Business,* by Prof. Edward J. Ward.
*Woman Suffrage a Necessity for the Safety of the State,* by Hon. W. O. Howard.
*Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success,* by Prof. Thaddeus P. Thomas.
*A Common Sense View of Woman Suffrage,* by Jesse Lynch Williams.
*Have You Ever Thought, etc.?* by Katherine Houghton Hepburn.
*Votes for Woman a Success, as told by Mayors in Cities in Suffrage States.*
*Report of Commission on Universal Suffrage on Votes for Women to the French Chamber of Deputies.*
*For Young Men Only.*

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WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE

HENNEPIN COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

By Alice Stone Blackwell
408 ESSEX BLDG.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

1. Because it is right and fair that those who must obey the laws should have a voice in making them, and that those who must pay taxes should have a vote as to the size of the tax and the way it shall be spent.

2. Because the moral, educational, and humane legislation desired by women would be got more easily if women had votes. New York women have worked in vain for years to secure a legislative appropriation to found a State Industrial School for Girls. Colorado women worked in vain for one till they got the ballot; then the Legislature promptly granted it.

3. Because disfranchisement helps to keep wages down. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, formerly National Commissioner of Labor, said in an address delivered at Smith College: “The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women’s wages have been kept at a minimum.”

4. Because equal suffrage would increase the proportion of educated voters. The high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—often twice or three times as many. (Report of the Commissioner of Education.)

5. Because it would increase the proportion of native-born voters. According to the census of 1910, there are in the United States 129 men of foreign birth to every 100 women, while among Asians the men outnumber the women two to one.

6. Because it would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very much, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. Women form a minority of all the criminal and vicious classes, and a majority of all the classes working for human advancement.

7. Because it leads to fair treatment of women in the public service. In Massachusetts the average pay of a female teacher is about one-third of that of a male teacher, and in almost all of the states it is unequal. In Wyoming and Utah, the law provides that they shall receive equal pay for equal work. (Revised statutes of Wyoming, section 614. Revised statutes of Utah, section 1853.)

8. Because legislation for the protection of children would be secured more easily. Judge Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court, says: “We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any state in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of Woman Suffrage.”

9. Because it is the quietest, easiest, and most dignified and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs. It takes less expenditure of time, labor and personal presence to go to the ballot-box, drop in a slip of paper, and come away, than to persuade a multitude of miscellaneous voters to vote right.

10. Because woman’s ballot would make it harder for notoriously bad candidates to be nominated or elected. In the equal suffrage states, both parties have to put up men of respectable character or lose the women’s vote.

11. Because it would increase women’s influence. Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado says: “Instead of women’s influence being lessened by the ballot, it is greatly increased. Last year there were so many members of the Legislature with bills that they wanted the Club women to endorse that the Social Science department of the State Federation had to sit one day each week to confer with these legislators who were seeking our endorsement. Club women outside the suffrage States do not have this experience.”

Published by The Woman’s Journal and Suffrage News
385 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.
What Difference Does It Make to the Women

BY ELLIS MEREDITH.

There are millions of women who are wholly indifferent when it comes to voting; some of them are violently opposed to it. But there are no women at all who do not want certain rights which are matters of legislation. No matter how much a woman loves and respects her husband, so long as husbands are mortal, she wishes to be legal guardian of her children if she is left a widow.

The year that equal suffrage was pending in Colorado, a woman came into headquarters and told her story, in the hope that it might awaken other women to some of the limitations under which most women still labor. Briefly the facts were these: Her husband had died, leaving her three children and a large fortune. The Court decided that it was too large a fortune for a woman to manage and appointed a guardian. Soon after the mother took the children to Philadelphia and put them in school there. The guardian wrote her that the oldest girl, who was then sixteen, must return to his home in New Mexico. The mother objected and there were telegrams and letters; but the girl was finally sent West, her mother remaining with the youngest daughter, who was desperately ill. As soon as she could leave she went to New Mexico, where she found that her sixteen-year-old daughter had been married to the son of her guardian. The law was on his side.

About a year before this time a young couple came to Colorado in the quest of health for a husband. His wife nursed him devotedly; but he died. Three months later a baby was born, and when it was a few months old HIS people came to Denver and took the child home. The father had willfully away his unborn child and the mother was powerless.

These two instances of legal rights, so wrong as to outrage every human emotion, did much to enfranchise the women of Colorado. No bill was ever passed with such record speed as the one which made women coequal guardians of their children in Colorado. This is the law now in fifteen states and the District of Columbia. In Idaho and Utah the mother’s right is recognized. “In all the other states and territories,” says Ellen Spencer Mussey, Dean of the Washington College of Law, “the father is preferred as guardian. In eight states the father has the right to name guardian by will of minor child, even during the mother’s life. In some of these states, it is expressly provided that the unborn child can be so disposed of.”

Men are so much better than some of the laws they have made in the past, that it takes some glaring injustice to get those laws changed. The ducking stool was not abolished in New Jersey until 1889, and Massachusetts did not pass a coequal guardianship law until after the Naramore tragedy, when a distracted mother murdered her six children and attempted suicide after the father’s threat to take them from her. It took fifty-five years of effort and six murders to make Massachusetts enact a law that Colorado women saw put upon the statutes the first session of the legislature after their enfranchisement.

There are wide differences in the inheritance laws as they apply to men and women. In California, for example, “All earnings of husband and wife are community property; but the husband controls it as long as he lives and may will half of it away. The wife has nothing to say about it while he lives, cannot will it away, and only inherits half in the case of his death, whereas he inherits it all in the case of her death.”

In Colorado, when the probate laws were codified, parents were made equal heirs. Then the committee having the bill in charge went a step further. In the case of the death of a married daughter, her husband is the heir and under the old law, in case of
his death, the property would have reverted to HIS father. Now it is divided evenly between the four surviving parents. The women did not ask for this. I doubt if many of them have ever heard of it; but it serves to show that the rights of a constituent are safer with a legislator than are the rights of a wife or daughter.

The government is much concerned about the cotton-boll worm, chinch-bugs, codling moths, apple borers, maple scales, leaf rollers, hog cholera, various beetles, moths, locusts and grasshoppers. But when the United States Commissioner of Education asked for an appropriation of $3,000 to study certain conditions of child life, he was greeted with whatever is the Congressional equivalent of Homeric laughter, even while the appropriation committee handed over $15,000 to the Pearl Button makers for the scientific study of clams, the object being to teach clams to produce better shells for making pearl buttons. Under the circumstances, who wouldn't be a clam?

Twelve firms in Chicago were fined the minimum sum, five dollars, for breaking the child labor law, and the same day the same judge gave a man the minimum fine, fifteen dollars, for having in his possession a bottle of ginger ale with an illegal label.

Not long ago the Indiana legislature appropriated $15,000 at the request of the fruit growers and bee keepers, but refused $2,000 for the publication of circulars concerning the health of children.

In round numbers there are about 20,000,000 children in school in this country, about 17,000,000 of them being in the public schools, and twenty-five per cent of them are absent every day. By dividing 4,000,000 by 365, it may be demonstrated how a day may be as a thousand years in our sight.

Besides these children there are some 600,000 who are absolutely illiterate. When a cotton mill is opened in the South only white labor is employed; so the little white child goes to the factory and the colored child goes to school. Isn't it as important to send teachers to these children as to the head-hunters of the Philippines? To what end do we put the flag over the school, if the child is in the factory?

Women haven't devoted as much time as men to the study of pests and blights and creeping, crawling, flying enemies of all growing things; but they have discovered certain analogies between nature and human nature. The way to have sound apples is to kill the worm in the bud, and the way to have a bright and glorious manhood is to throw around children the sacredegis of governmental protection that is now extended to the pigsty and the hen-coop threatened with an epidemic of pip.

Having learned what are their "rights," women are learning that the right way to obtain them is that set forth by Webster—the direct way, not by influencing somebody else and arriving at the desired goal indirectly. Above all, the woman who has a broad and intelligent interest in public affairs is learning even before she gets the ballot, that citizenship is a pearl of great price, and like other pearls it must be worn; it must come in contact with human life if it is to retain luster.

—from The Struggle for Equal Rights, Pictorial Review.

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Address, NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 505 Fifth Ave., New York City
The Revolution in Women's Work Makes Votes for Women a Practical Necessity

During the past hundred years there has been a complete revolution in industrial and social conditions.

In consequence of this, the position of women and their conditions of work have undergone a change nothing short of revolutionary.

A hundred years ago women in their own homes spun the cloth, made the clothes for the family, cured the meat, preserved and canned the fruits and vegetables, baked the bread, made the butter, made the soap and candles, had charge of the entire education of girls and the early education of boys, and took care of the sick. Women then could protect their children from evil influences, their daughters from unhealthy and demoralizing conditions and their homes from infectious clothing and impure food.

To-day industrial conditions have completely changed. The cloth is now spun not in the home but in the factory. The clothes are made not in the home but in the sweat shop. The meat is cured not in the home but by the beef trust. The fruits and vegetables are canned not in the home but in the factory. The bread is baked not in the home but in the bake shop. The butter is made not in the home but in the creamery. The soap, candles, etc., are made not in the home but in the factory. The girls and boys are educated not in the home but in the public school. The sick are cared for not in the home but in the hospital.
As women's work has gone out of the home into the factory many women have been forced to follow their work into the factory, and there are to-day nearly eight million women in the United States working outside the home. The hours of labor of these women and their conditions of work, both moral and sanitary, depend upon the laws, and yet the women have no voice in the making or enforcing of the laws.

The women who are left in the home are trying to bring up their children and to keep their homes free from evil influences, both physical and moral. Under present day conditions, the homemakers are directly dependent upon the outside world for all the things which are necessary for the very life of their families, and yet women have no voice in the making or enforcing of the laws which regulate the conditions under which these things are produced.

Women in their work as homemakers and mothers are even more intimately touched by the influences which reach their children from the outside world. The playgrounds, the school, the saloon, public amusements, etc., all influence their powers to make their homes what they should be, and yet women have no voice in making the laws which for good or for evil so vitally affect their work.

A hundred years ago the government of this country was primarily concerned with establishing its independence from other nations.

To-day the government of this country is primarily concerned with social and industrial problems, which vitally affect the lives of women and children.

History proves that governments pay attention to the demands of the people who keep them in power and not to the demands of a disfranchised class.

For this reason Votes for Women is a natural and necessary result of present day conditions.

Women need Votes now in order to do the work which Women have always done.
Working conditions of 8,000,000 women
2,000,000 little children at work
Sweat shops
Adulterated and impure food
Unsanitary tenements
Demoralizing living conditions
The White Slave Traffic

DEMAND

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LIVING WAGES AND THE BALLOT

By DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN

Working women, do you want fair, living wages? If so, your big friends are the honestly and effectively conducted labor union and the army of earnest, progressive and enlightened women, and men, too, who are behind the Woman Suffrage movement. Unionism and Suffrage are your friends. The labor union insists upon equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex; the woman suffragist insists upon the individuality of woman, the principle upon which the equal wage argument depends. Besides with political power in your hands, you will be able to do much to improve labor conditions for yourself, for your sister workers, and even for your brother worker, for he is injured often by the unfair wages paid to you.

Many, if not most employers, do not care how or where you get enough to live on when your wage is $5 a week and it costs $10 to live. Some suggest, others force, their girl employees to live immoral, indecent lives in order to subsist. Other employers want girls who live at home, in order that the other $5 may come out of an overworked father or brother, or out of the poor mother who is forced to plan and worry and toil to make both ends meet.

Does any working woman wish either to live an immoral life or to be a burden on her family? In a labor union, well conducted and honestly led, the working woman finds power; in suffrage she will find more power. Unionism plus Suffrage will give her marked power. The Tammanly voter has power in his vote, but he has infinitely greater power in his vote plus his organization. The working woman can have the same kind of power. Through her union, voting at the polls, she will be able to regulate and secure labor legislation, she will be able to have appointed woman labor commis-
sioners and factory inspectors who will be compelled to work earnestly, faithfully and honestly in the interest of the working girl. In a Middle Western State recently the Commissioner of Labor, although a woman, refused to make public the conditions in that State affecting women workers. For political reasons, she refused to speak, to give to an awaiting public information upon which it can act to help the working girl. Alas, where are the political reasons to compel such public officers to make full publicity of their discoveries related to the employment conditions affecting women? Working women, you must supply such political reasons. A considerable public opinion sympathizes with your wrongs, but friendly public opinion needs such facts as you, through the ballot, will be able to force public officers to discover and to publish fully and freely. Can the working woman fail to see in Unionism and Suffrage her big opportunity for the power that will do most to right the wrongs, to give her fair wages, independence, and respectable living?

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The Working Girl’s Need of Suffrage

By Agnes Nestor

President of Women’s Trade Union League of Chicago

General Need.

Of all the groups of women asking for the ballot the working girl needs it and can benefit more by its power and use than any other group.

She needs it for every reason that the working man needs it and no one would want to imagine him being deprived of it in our day. To us it is not a question of equal rights but a question of equal needs.

We need the ballot to improve our conditions of labor, to secure proper laws for health and safety of women workers, not only through legislation but in matters of organization.

Health.

So much of our time is spent in our places of work that special attention must be given to the conditions there. Our places should be well lighted and ventilated. Crowding workshops should be prohibited. Seats should be provided and their use permitted at intervals, when the work allows, in stores, restaurants and other places where standing is required.

Long hours of labor sap the strength and vitality of the work-ers; and the poison of fatigue is a danger to our health.

Long hours are usually accompanied by low wages. Low wages deprive the worker of the means of proper food, clothing, housing, education and recreation. Low wages deprive one of all that gives the joy and fullness of life.

Safety.

All hazardous and dangerous machinery in factories and workshops should be properly guarded.

Fire laws not enforced, inspections neglected or inadequate provision for proper inspections, lack of fire laws for the prevention of fires and safety in case of fire, and fire trap places of work all spell hazard and disaster. The catastrophe where so many young lives were lost in the Newark factory fire, the Binghamton clothing factory fire and the memorable Triangle fire in the New York shirt waist factory are all fresh in our minds. And still conditions may be such that a similar disaster can happen in your city now.

Fire traps must be abolished, barred and blockaded passage
ways must be cleared, fire drills must be practiced, adequate fire escape must be provided, dark stairs must be lighted and made safe for exits, and every protection afforded the worker for his safety in case of fire.

Legislation.

This is all in the hands of our lawmakers to provide for in the way of legislation, inspection and enforcement.

What is the law in your State limiting the hours of work? How many inspectors are employed for its enforcement and how many of the inspectors are women?

These are matters to look into and inform yourself about. Inquire about the laws in the Western States where women have the vote; you will find that California, Washington and Colorado all have eight-hour laws for women. These States with Wisconsin, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Oregon and Utah passed minimum wage legislation for women. Illinois defeated the fifty-four hour week and all other proposed minimum wage legislation. Indiana defeated the eight hour bill for women, and all the other States provide a protection of not less than a fifty-four hour week laws with the nine and ten hour day.

Organization.

You may question how the power of the vote would help our organizations to obtain the improved changes of work when we have the strength of united efforts for collective to secure the desired conditions.

In reply to this let me say that even when it is necessary to resort to a strike to win our just demands we have other forces than the employer to fight. The police has been used on the side of the employer against the worker and the Courts are resorted to for injunctions and restraining orders against peaceful picketing—the method of informing persons of the issue in dispute.

Such practices result in attorney fees and court expenses and take our funds from relief work, and, oftentimes we have to go through the disagreeableness of trials resulting from unjust arrests.

In our Mississippi Valley States, excepting Illinois, the women have no voice in the selection of the officials who control the appointment of the men in charge of these departments of the city administration.

Use and Benefit.

To take active part in any movement tends to release the mind and broaden the view of people. It gives opportunity for expression and encourages initiative.

We should all face our industrial as well as our civic problems. When called into action, all women can meet their responsibilities in a much more intelligent and forceful way if they are armed with the ballot. A new spirit for work and an added sense of power to bring about justice will come to every woman through full enfranchisement.

The Vote.

The attitude of the lawmaker and the public official toward women is not intended to be that of indifference or neglect toward the interests of women. Their attitude is a natural consequence resulting from the feeling these men owe to those who have placed them in office. Public officials have just gotten into the habit of overlooking women's needs when women are not able to voice them for themselves.

For working women there will come the dawn of a brighter day when full suffrage is granted to them. It is true that "As ye sow, so shall ye reap," so also will it be true that "As you vote so shall you benefit."
Woman's Ballot to Protect the City Child

By Harriet Vittum

When the Suffrage Bill was passed by the Illinois Legislature last July, many women throughout the State were bitterly disappointed that they were not invited to participate in state and federal matters, at the same time they were given municipal suffrage. But as we approach more closely our first election, we believe that feeling is giving way to one of general appreciation of all that we have to learn to prepare for this first election and to a sense of gratitude that we are able this first time to concentrate on the one person whom we are electing.

The Large Registration

Whenever during the last few years we have asked for suffrage, we have been told that all of the women did not care for it, and to prove the point, men have pointed to the small number of women who participate in the election of university trustees. They have said that women would be no more interested in municipal affairs than they were in university affairs. The very large registration of both February and March, however, has silenced, forever, the argument that the women of Illinois were not ready to assume their new obligations and women all over the State have been convinced that nothing can be of greater importance to them than the people whom they elect to municipal office.

The City Hall and Home-keeping

Here in Chicago it has been demonstrated to women that every moment of their daily lives, every incident in their housekeeping careers and in their care of their families is linked with the city hall administration.

Times Have Changed

Men have argued always, and the "Antis" have argued, that if women looked after their houses and took care of their husbands and children that there were enough interests in their own homes to entirely occupy them, and it was unnecessary for them to go into politics in order to find sufficient occupation. Such arguments might have prevailed in the old days when all of the activities of the family-life were centered in the home itself, but times have changed. The boys no longer learn their trade from the father at home; the leather is no longer tanned at home; the shoes and the harness are not made at home. They are now made in the factories and the father and boys have had to go from the home into the factories to do that work. In the old days the yarn was spun at home; the cloth was woven at home; the garments were made at home and the girls learned these activities from the mother. Now all this work is done in factories and the girls have gone into the factories to do it. Children used to play at home, but now in our great congested city communities there is no chance to play at home and the children play in the public playgrounds. They no longer go to school at home but are sent out to the public,
The Larger Housekeeping

It is just as much a mother's responsibility to know about her children's schooling, what they learn and how they learn, now as it was when they were taught at home; so they must investigate the schools where they send their children and have a voice in their government. It is just as much the mother's responsibility to know that the food which she feeds her family is good food, of nourishing quality, well made under sanitary conditions, now as it was when the work was all done at home under her supervision. She must have a voice in the government which inspects the production of all foods. It is just as much the mother's responsibility to know under what conditions her children work at it was when they worked at home. So that the affairs of the city government are after all only a larger kind of housekeeping for which the Mothers of the City are unquestionably responsible.

The Milk

One of the very first acts of the daily housekeeping life of the women of Chicago links them with the City Hall. When the milk bottle is taken in in the morning, the question arises, is the milk good, is it fresh, does it abound in the proper qualities to make and keep the children well and strong, does it provide for their physical development, and if not, why? The people pay for good milk, and there is a city ordinance which gives to the Health Department the power to inspect all milk brought into Chicago, to endorse or to condemn it. If this work is not well done, the fault lies either in the fact that work of the Health Department is not under competent direction or that there is not sufficient funds allotted to it with which to work. In either case, the final answer must come from the Mayor and the City Council.

Street Cleaning and City Waste

The daily fight with dirt in a great city like Chicago is universally a mother's fight. They sweep and dust their houses one day and must repeat the process the next day, and the next, and the next. Why? One reason is that our air is filled with smoke. It blows into our houses and soils the clothes upon the line; it fills our lungs. The answer must be asked for in the Smoke Inspection Department of the City Hall. The gang of men employed by the Street Cleaning Department to sweep our streets work in armies day after day, paid by the taxpayers, and sweep the dirt into piles all along the street. Long before the wagons come along to remove these piles of dirt, the lake breezes have come and the dirt is scattered again along the streets, into the yards and into the houses. And the cycle of sweeping and distributing goes on day after day. There is either lack of management in the Street Cleaning Department or else it has not its share of the taxpayers' money with which to do its work. House-cleaning which concerns itself not only with the sweeping and the dusting of the front of the house, but must be carried through the house, from room to room, out into the back porch and down the yard into the alley, finally leads to the garbage pail. Someone has said that a modern garbage system is a galvanized pail, entirely surrounded by politics. Every housekeeper knows the sight: The galvanized pail surrounded by politics, by garbage and by flies. It stands in the alley overflowing day after day. Why is it not collected and disposed of? The answer must be sought in the City Council, and every alderman in Chicago is concerned in the answer.

The Board of Education

The sending of the children to school in the morning invariably brings up the question, are our schools all that they should be, all that is desired for our children? If not, the Board of Education must be responsible to us for they spend our money. But who appoints the Board of Education? The Mayor of Chicago and the appointments must be confirmed by the Common Council.

Playgrounds

When the children come home from school, they are entitled to their play time. Shall it be on the street? Case after case of records in the coroner's office testify to the danger of allowing our children to play on the streets. There is nobody so concerned in the problem of the children's play as the mothers. It is they who must demand and demand that the splendid playground system of Chicago is so enlarged and developed that every child has access to a playground under the most careful management.

Working Boys and Girls and Their Recreation

And what about the working boys and girls who must leave school at fourteen and go into factories? Every day an army of these boys and girls go uncomplainingly from tenement houses that are not worthy of the names of homes, are distributed through the factory life of Chicago where they spend their days in honest work. At night they pour back again into the tenements, but they too are entitled to their play time at night and will demand it and demand it. They accept the invitation which Chicago offers them to play. They accept the invitation of the public dance hall connected with a saloon where liquor is sold until three o'clock in the morning; they accept the invitation of the poolrooms where men old in experience, and often in crime, give them a training which leads them to the penitentiaries; they accept the offers of the saloons and the dug-outs and the places where the forces of evil are always on the watch, and while the good people of the city sleep, the working boys and girls are trained for shame and crime. Not until the mothers of Chicago speak through the ballot-box will the recreations of the working boys and girls cease to be exploited for the personal gain of those who would commercialize it. The ordinances which govern all these forms of recreation are made in the City Hall by the members of the Common Council. Not until the mothers help to send to that Council men who will protect the interests of the children will the recreational opportunities be safer.

Opportunities for Mothers

So it is that every phase of a woman's life, every interest of her home, is linked indissolubly with the action of the men in the City Council. It is, then, of the greatest importance that the women of Chicago sift out the candidates who get their votes and pledge them to the common interests of the people. No opportunity has ever come to the women of Chicago to make motherhood so real, so far-reaching in its care of its little children, so noble in its inspiration for all
children, as the opportunity that has come to the women of Chicago today.

**Futility of Indirect Influence**

For years the women of Chicago have been urging reforms. Many, which were at first said to be impossible ideals, have become practical, working institutions, but they have come slowly; they have come through incessant and repeated petitions and appeals! Over and over again, women, individually and in groups, have gone to the City Hall demanding that this condition or that condition of life be made better. They have presented at the Mayor's office their visiting cards; they have seen those cards filed away to be removed only when the desk was claimed for the next incumbent of the office. They have had their requests and appeals politely, but indefinitely, received; have felt themselves courteously bowed out and have heard nothing more on the subject until they went again to repeat the performance.

**The New Kind of Visiting Card—The Ballot**

Now they are endowed with a new kind of visiting card. They will not watch it filed away in the desk of the Mayor or alderman who represents them but they will take it with them on the 7th of April and will themselves see it deposited in the ballot-box through which it will speak in a voice so loud and so certain that it will reach to the innermost corners of the City Hall and will be the beginning of a municipal house-cleaning that will, one day, result in a bigger and better and safer Chicago for every man and woman and child who claims it as his home.

Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, 1320 Glenlake Ave., Chicago, Chairman of Literature for the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference, to meet the demand for inexpensive literature for free distribution suitable for any state, is bringing out some four-page leaflets six inches by nine. She sells them at just enough to cover cost—75 cents per hundred and $6.09 per thousand. The first are:

**Eliminating Vice from a Small City,** by Virginia Brooks-Washburn.

**The Farmer's Wife and the Ballot,** by Ella S. Stewart.

**The Working Girl's Need of Suffrage,** by Agnes Nestor.

**The Bible on Women Voting,** by Catharine W. McCulloch.

**Woman's Ballot to Protect the City Child,** by Harriet Vittum.

**Children and Enfranchisement,** by Dr. Anna E. Blount.

**A Suffrage Reading Course,** by Florence Bennett Peterson.

**Motherhood and Government,** by Florence Bennett Peterson.

**A Mother's Prayer,** by Catharine Waugh McCulloch.
The Justice and the Expediency of Woman Suffrage

By MAUD NATHAN.

This article won the $100 prize in the New York Herald Suffrage Contest.

I believe in equal suffrage because it is just and because it is expedient. In a democracy, where the people are supposed to govern themselves, the ballot is the direct method of self-expression. A government that denies expression to one-half the people cannot justly be termed a democracy. How can the men represent the women? A man casts one vote, representing his own views; if there are three women in his household, each with dissenting views, how can his one vote represent theirs? It is not the men alone who have built up this great republic. All women pay taxes, either directly or indirectly. Six million women are engaged in the industry and commerce of our nation. Legislation is enacted regulating and controlling their lives, and yet their point of view is not considered. Legislators defer to their constituents, who have the power to re-elect them to office or to defeat them.

The trend of modern activities makes it expedient to enfranchise women. One by one woman’s duties have been taken away from her and placed in charge of City or State officials, appointed by the Mayor or Governor, who are elected by the votes of men. Every department of a woman’s household is regulated or controlled by officials more or less involved in politics. To procure pure milk for the babies, pure drinking water, meat from non-tuberculous cattle, non-poisonous canned foods, the housekeeper must depend upon the efficiency and incorruptibility of the various commissioners. She also depends upon the Fire, Police and Street Cleaning departments to protect her home.

Her home is no longer isolated; it is part of the community. Whereas formerly her interests centered in her home they must now embrace the pub-
lic schools, the public hospitals, the public parks and playgrounds. The care
of the young, the feeble, the delinquent, the sick and the aged has always
been woman's function, but now that philanthropic activities have gradually
changed from private to public auspices, women find themselves excluded
from their management. Women formerly received little or no education;
to-day girls as well as boys are graduated from colleges with trained minds
and alert to the necessity of solving economic and civic problems.

The old-fashioned housewifely tasks are no longer pursued in the home;
even the clothing is purchased ready made. What, then, are the tasks which
prevent a housekeeper and mother from taking an intelligent and active
interest in civic and national questions, many of which touch her life very
closely? Bestowing upon women the responsibility of citizenship broadens
them, makes them more companionable as wives, enables them the better to
teach their sons and daughters, by example as well as precept, the true mean-
ing of patriotism and the duties incumbent upon citizens of a democracy.

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

By
GRACE WILBUR TROUT

Axiom 1. Let people do work in their own way, even though you think you could do it better. Perhaps you couldn't.

Axiom 2. Take everybody's advice. Advice is always harmless, and often helpful. Follow it if you deem it wise.

Axiom 3. Never be afraid to give other people plenty of credit. It doesn't hurt you, and it braces them up.

Axiom 4. Remember the cause is much bigger than any individual, even yourself. This is true, though at times it may seem painful.

Axiom 5. Don't bristle up at the sight of newspaper reporters. They are our best and most valuable friends. They educate thousands, while we reach only a few.

Axiom 6. Don't worry about other people's mistakes. It doesn't change the situation and it's wearing on the nerves.

Axiom 7. Watch yourself carefully. It will save unhappiness and indigestion later on.

Axiom 8. Never be afraid to use the words, "equal suffrage." People no longer fear them, but take to them kindly.

Axiom 9. Don't weep on the world's shoulder. It makes a damp spot and does no good.

Axiom 10. Remember that nearly everybody wants to do about right. Appearances to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Axiom 11. Active suffragists do not rest on a bed of roses, but who wants to? Roses have thorns.

Axiom 12. Do the best you can and don't lie awake nights over results. Results will take care of themselves.
The Ballot and the Schools

By MRS. HELEN L. GRENFELL,
Former State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Colorado.

Women have always had school suffrage in Colorado. The fact has acted as a preventive to the nomination of obnoxious persons. Judge Louis W. Cunningham, of Colorado City, writes:

"In Colorado City, from 1883 to 1893, there were six mayors who were saloonkeepers. During two or three years there were three saloonkeepers in the council, and for one year we had a mayor and three councilmen who lived on the woes of others. Since 1894, when women came to their own, there has never been a saloonkeeper elected to any office in Colorado City. Women have always had a vote at school elections in this State, and, as a consequence, while saloon men were on the city council, not one ever served on a school board in our town."

What is true of Colorado City is true, with hardly an exception, throughout the State. It is alleged that the voting woman forgets the welfare of her children. Statistics are not thrilling, but they are convincing. Nothing tells the location of our hearts more surely than the figures of the tax list. According to age and long establishment, the thirteen original Colonies should lead the United States in the educational procession. Let us consider the per capita expenditure of the total population for the education of their young folks in these States in the years 1901-1902:

Massachusetts, $4.96; New Hampshire, $2.79; Rhode Island, $3.79; Connecticut, $3.72; New York, $5.00; New Jersey, $3.51; Maryland, $2.12; Pennsylvania, $3.52; Virginia, $1.07; Delaware, $2.46; North Carolina, 66 cents; South Carolina, 71 cents; Georgia, 97 cents.

Over against these let us set the $5.08 spent by Colorado, the highest amount spent for educational purposes by any State in the Union. These figures are from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris, 1901-02.

But it may be urged that school suffrage is sufficient, and that full suffrage has not assisted the Colorado woman in extending the scope of her educational work. No one who is acquainted with the facts will say this. With the school franchise only, women found it uphill work to inaugurate reforms along educational lines. They formed associations and founded "free kindergartens," kept up by philanthropic people, fairs, bazaars and the various means used by women everywhere. In the Spring of 1893, the year when the vote was to be taken on the suffrage question in November, for the first time, the annual school election held in May became a burning question throughout the State. Thousands of votes were polled where there had
been tens and fifties. The women proved past a peradventure that they would vote. In Denver, they, for the first time, elected a woman (Mrs. Ione T. Hanna) to the school board. The issue was to make the kindergarten a part of the public school system. The powers that were bowed to the inevitable. To-day the kindergarten is firmly established in many districts throughout the State, and more are being started as rapidly as finances permit. The next progressive step was the erection of a Manual Training High School in Denver, and manual training departments have been added to a number of schools throughout the State.

Instead of thinking less of their homes, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these 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. Colorado's compulsory education laws are said to be the best in existence anywhere. There is no difference 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 a school board being elected because he belonged to this or that party. Generally, both parties are represented on the same board. Sometimes a board principally Democratic is found in Republican communities, and vice versa. Our teachers are free to vote according to their own consciences. I have seen or heard more party politics in school matters in one block in Albany, Buffalo, or Philadelphia, than in the 103,925 square miles of Colorado soil.

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Do Teachers Need the Ballot?

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

It is the general testimony of educators that the amount of money appropriated for schools is not nearly as large as it ought to be. Both pupils and teachers suffer from overcrowding, and from the necessity of giving each teacher too many pupils for the best educational results.

What is the reason for this lack of money for the schools? One reason is that the mothers and the teachers have no votes. Money can be found for purposes in which voters are interested. Hon. Frederic C. Howe says: "We spend millions for business purposes, for the promotion of industry. And yet, when any organization goes to the city hall for thousands for school purposes, it is met with the response that the city is too poor. We can spend millions for docks, but not thousands for playgrounds."

In New York there are so many more children of school age than there are accommodations for them that many hundred are always on half-time. This is an injustice both to the children and to the teacher. The children get only half the time in school to which they are entitled, and the teacher has her strength worn out by having to teach two relays of children daily.

In Philadelphia, in the very year that the Superintendent of Schools called attention to the fact that there were 20,000 fewer seats in the schools than there were children applying for admission; when thousands could not get in, and when for those who did get in, the accommodations were so poor that children were sitting on broken benches, on boards stretched across the aisles, on window sills and even on the floor—all this was for lack of money—the city fathers voted $50,000 of public money to entertain the Elks, and $10,000 more to entertain the Order of Patriotic Sons of America. This $60,000 came largely from women's taxes, but the women had no vote as to how it should be spent.

Almost everywhere the schools are pinched for money; but in the equal suffrage States this is not the case. The Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction said to me: "Some people in Colorado grumble about the size of the school tax, but our schools have money enough." Gen. Irving Hale, of Denver, says: "The extension of suffrage to women has made it easier to secure liberal appropriations for education." Colorado appropriates more money per capita for education than any of the Eastern States, which are so much older and richer.

Of the inadequate amount of money provided for school purposes, the
women teachers do not get their fair share. In Massachusetts the average pay of a woman teacher in the public schools is about one-third that of a man. In New York, the richest city in America, the women teachers for years used their "indirect influence" to the utmost before they finally succeeded in securing equal pay for equal work. In Wyoming, in Colorado and in all the States where women vote, men and women teachers get equal pay for equal work.

President Thomas, of Bryn Mawr College, says: "Experience proves that women as well as men need the ballot to protect them in their special interests and in their power to gain a livelihood. In Philadelphia no woman teacher receives the same salary as men teachers for the same work, and no women, however successful, are appointed to the best-paid and most influential positions in the schools. What is true of Philadelphia is true in the main of the public schools of most of the United States; but it is not true in the States where women have voted long enough to make their influence felt."

Another bane of the schools, and especially of the women teachers, is the influence of partisan politics. Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, who served three terms as State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado, and is highly esteemed by educators there, says:

"After twenty years' experience I can say that our school boards are absolutely non-political and party affiliation is never considered in the appointment of teachers. I have never heard of a member of a school board being elected because he belonged to this or that party. Generally both parties are represented on the same board. Sometimes a board 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 on the 103,925 square miles of Colorado soil."

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The Newspapers On The California Victory

In capturing the important State of California, the woman's suffrage movement has achieved its greatest victory so far. This movement, for years more active in debating societies than elsewhere, soon passed out of the realm of academic discussion into the realm of actual test. It is even now leaving that stage and becoming a real, vital issue in American life and politics. Its Californian victory has added greatly to its standing and prestige. It cannot longer be ignored by any thoughtful student of our institutions and the trend of their development. The result of the California election carries with it many lessons well worth study and reflection.—Atlanta Georgian.

Whatever one may think of the movement, there's no denying that it is gathering force. Next year at least half a million women will be qualified to vote for President. That is more than the usual presidential plurality, and if these women voted solidly they might decide the presidency. It is almost equal to the total vote for Andrew Jackson in 1824. It is as many women as there were in the whole thirteen original colonies at the time of the Revolution. The United States now has one-third of the women voters of the world, the remaining two-thirds being chiefly in Australia, New Zealand, Finland and Norway. And the fraction will probably grow pretty fast from now on, in spite of the efforts of scornful men and hostile women.—Boston Traveller.

San Francisco voted against woman suffrage because San Francisco at heart still is in bondage to the superstition that vice pays and a wide-open town "is good for business." San Francisco opposed the bestowal of the ballot upon women because of a fear that, if women were given the right to vote, women would insist on the expression in government of the decencies and moralities of life. . . . The prospect of the addition to the electorate of a great body of voters who would be guided by conscience and high beliefs at the polls frightened thousands of voters in San Francisco who would sacrifice progress for profit and principle for pelf every time.—Los Angeles Call.
President Taft delivered a parting address in San Bernardino, Cal., in which he exhorted the women to be faithful to the new trust imposed upon them. . . . Women have voted in Colorado, Wyoming and other States, and they have shown that they vote fully as understandingly as men. The effect on the whole has been good. They have taken hold of the many civic problems and have demonstrated that they are in favor of an honest and a clean government.—Peoria (Ill.) Star.

It assuredly will not be long before candidates for national offices will no longer dare flout suffrage sentiment, and this will be as true of the eastern as of the western man. Eastern States will presently begin to give way. Some breach will be made by the suffragists, and then they will overrun this section pell-mell.—Woonsocket (R. I.) Call.

California is the latest to raise the flag of universal suffrage. But she will not be the last. Massachusetts is beginning to primp for it, and if it were submitted in New York and Pennsylvania this Fall there would be a tremendous vote for it.—Pittsburgh Press.

The victory in California will undoubtedly promote their cause of woman suffrage as no other single occurrence has done. It may, indeed, become a sweeping movement.—Birmingham (Ala.) Herald.

Woman suffrage has become a reality in this country, and is spreading so rapidly it will soon become a factor to be reckoned with in national elections. Maternal government is coming on.—St. Louis Dispatch.

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THE COST OF LIVING AND THE BALLOT

By LIDA PARCE

Now look at this situation, my woman friend, and see if you don't think it is your particular business.

The people who raise raw materials to-day do not make them up into the forms in which they can use them. The people who consume commodities do not produce them. We are all practically cut off from our source of supplies; and the people who manufacture commodities hold the pass. They hold the pass, and they charge more than we have to pay to let us get through. They charge more than we have, and the only way we can get the price they ask is by working for them. We work for them, and yet they only give us a part of the price they demand for letting us reach our source of supplies. Is it not plain that this system is what is called the "strategic position" to starve the people out?

The difference between what they pay for our work and the raw materials, and the price they charge for the commodities constitutes their profits. They have no other way of making profits, and the game is to make the largest profit possible. They invest a certain sum of money in a manufacturing plant, buy their labor and materials in a competitive market; that is, because there are more willing people to work than there are jobs; the workers will bid against each other for the work, and the employer gets the
benefit of their competition. Likewise, those who have raw materials to sell compete against each other for buyers, and here again the manufacturer gets the benefit. The theory is that the manufacturers compete with one another for a chance to buy, and this has a tendency to keep prices up; but the larger the establishments are and the fewer there are of them, the less competition there will be between them and the more the sellers are at their mercy. The report of the bureau of manufactures shows that the size of establishments is constantly increasing and the number of them is steadily diminishing in proportion to the population. So the conditions are constantly more favorable for reducing both the cost of raw materials and the cost of labor. Now, how about the prices of the products?

You see, prices of products would have a tendency to go down, too, if competition in the market was free. So means must be devised for preventing competition if profits are to be maintained. And really, it is not so difficult when the people who cast the ballots are “loafing on the job.” There are two kinds of competition to be suppressed, foreign and domestic. The tariff is the means employed for keeping out the former, and this is the way it is worked: The interests nominate for Congress men who, when they go to Washington, will “take care of business.” The voters then obligingly cast the ballots (these voters who “represent the family”), and these men pass laws putting such a heavy duty on goods imported from foreign countries that the amount brought in is kept at a low figure. They can then raise the price of their own goods to almost the figure at which we could buy the imported articles, tariff and all. That is, they can if they can avoid competition among themselves. And here is where the use of the “trust” comes in. They get together and make agreements by which they avoid underbidding each other. This is managed by “dividing the territory,” by limiting the amount of goods produced, so that the entire product will be bought at high prices, or agreeing on prices between themselves.

In these ways wages and prices of materials are kept down, the prices of products are kept up, and profits are increased. When the profits on the original investment grow so large as to be ridiculously out of proportion, they issue stock. If they had $100,000 invested and have made a dividend of $60,000, or 60 per cent, you see that, on the face of it, it is indecent, and people might object to working so cheap and buying so dear. Then they “water” the stock. That is, they sell $500,000 worth of stock which, with the original investment, makes $600,000. After that they can look innocent and say that they are only making 10 per cent, and anyone who denounces them is a wicked and dangerous demagogue.

But all these enormous dividends and watered stock are only a part of the causes of the high cost of living. To them must be added the numerous handlings and transportings, the many buyings and sellings and storings to which goods are subject under the present system.

An abstract of statistics of manufactures, issued by the Bureau of the Census, shows that the average wage of wage workers in the United States is about $514 per year. But a distinguished professor of political economy has estimated that it costs $900 per year for a family of five persons to live in a state of physical health, without providing for mental or social improvement or the means of pursuing happiness, which would, of course, involve additional expense. So here we are, face to face with a grim deficit of $386 in the income of all the workers in manufactures in this free and brave country. But don't imagine that the landlord and the “business man” make up this deficit by letting the
rent go and by sending around quantities of groceries and dry goods. No; the difference is made up by the women and children of the family, who go into the factories and workshops and there compete with the men for a chance to work.

There are about two million children now engaged in making up this deficit in the wages of the men—the sovereign voters.

In 1880 there were 2,353,088 women, or 16 per cent of all females over sixteen years of age, working for wages in the United States. In 1900 there were 4,833,630, or 20 per cent of all women over sixteen years old. At the present time there are over seven million women engaged in gainful occupations.

While the women engaged in industry, business and the professions are now in the minority, if this migration of women from one "sphere" to the other continues at the present accelerated rate, it will not be long before the majority of all women will be thus engaged.

These facts present a number of reasons why women must interest themselves in factory legislation, why the women in the homes must be placed on a different legal basis, and why the woman who bears the triple burden of factory worker, wife and mother and housewife must have relief from the tragic horrors of that situation. As for the second and the last classes, there is no reason to suppose that they will receive relief until women shall secure the ballot and come to the rescue.—From Woman’s Place in Politics: Its Basis, in The Progressive Woman.

National American Woman Suffrage Association
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Price: 1c. each; 5c. a dozen; 25c. a hundred
Is Voting an Industry?

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Among the better class of opponents of woman suffrage, there is a growing tendency to drop the old argument that women have not intelligence enough to vote, and to base opposition mainly on the "division of labor."

We are told the progress of civilization is marked by a growing division of labor and specialization of industry; that it is in accordance with this to have men take charge of the political work and women of the domestic work; and that to admit women to the ballot would be a return toward barbarism.

It is true that the progress of civilization has been marked by a growing division of labor between man and man and woman and woman, but not between men and women. Thus in the early days, every man cut down trees and built his own house, raised animals and killed them for meat; and himself cured their hides. Now this work is divided up between the carpenter, the butcher and the tanner. In the old days, every housewife spun and wove cloth, dyed it, and made it up into garments for her family, and also made butter and cheese, soap and candles. Now this work is divided up among a dozen women and men. THE DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY INCREASING, BUT NOT THE DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES. There the trend of things has been just the other way.

A hundred years ago hardly any occupations were open to women except housework and sewing. Now, out of the hundreds of trades and professions followed by men, the only ones in which no women are found are the work of soldiers and sailors, and telegraph and telephone linemen. Nothing could be more untrue than to say that the progress of civilization is marked by a more and more rigid division of labor between the sexes.

Some people admit that the trend of the times has been to open more employments to women, but declare that it is a calamity for women to engage in wage-earning occupations outside their homes; and, by an odd confusion of ideas, they make this an argument against equal suffrage. But this is to mix up a political question with a purely economic one.
Whether it is right for a woman to vote is one thing; whether it is wise for her to work for money outside her home is quite another. There is no evidence that more women are wage-earners outside their homes in the States where women vote than in the States where they do not. Wyoming has had full woman suffrage ever since 1869; yet Wyoming has the smallest proportion of unmarried women to its population of any State in the Union, and, presumably, the smallest proportion of women who are obliged to engage in wage-earning occupations outside their homes. On the other hand, Massachusetts and New York, where women do not vote, have an enormous number of unmarried women wage-earners.

The "specialization of industry" has no bearing on the question. VOTING IS NOT AN INDUSTRY. The progress of civilization has not been to restrict the suffrage more and more narrowly, but to extend it to one class after another. The most advanced nations to-day are not those where all political power is concentrated in the hands of a single despot, but those in which it is most widely shared among the people. And the best government is found where the largest number of the people actively perform their political duties, not where they neglect to vote and leave public affairs to be managed by a small class of "professional politicians."

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THE WORTH OF A VOTE

By Alice Stone Blackwell

How much has the right to vote been worth to men? This is an aspect of the suffrage question which is often overlooked. In an article on “The Economic Importance of the Extension of the Suffrage,” C. C. Arbuthnot, Professor of Economics at the Western Reserve University, sets forth the solid benefits which the right to vote has brought to poor men, to working men, to the “plain people” of the United States.

In the early days of the republic the ballot was limited by a property qualification. Men without property were at a disadvantage before the law in a hundred ways. Prof. Arbuthnot, with a wealth of historical research, shows how the extension of the suffrage led to the redress of a whole series of grievances under which the poor had been the chief sufferers.

In the first place, it brought about the general establishment of free public schools. In Massachusetts, 200 years after its first settlement, most of the people were still dependent upon private schools for their elementary education. In Rhode Island it was not until 1828 that a law providing for free public schools was placed on the statute book to stay, and outside of Providence it remained a dead letter till after the extension of suffrage to poor men which followed “Dorr’s rebellion.” In New York City, in 1828, there were only 19,000 children in public schools, as against 17,500 in private schools and 24,000 not in school at all. An appeal for an increase of taxation was made on the ground that schools “should be open to all, not as a matter of charity, but of common right.” Pennsylvania long clung to the idea of making parents pay for their children’s education if they could, and furnishing free schooling only to the very poor. Hence a taint of pauperism attached to the free schools, and parents kept their children away rather than expose them to humiliation. A workingmen’s meeting in Philadelphia in 1829 declared: “No system of education which a free man can accept has yet been established for the poor, whilst thousands of dollars of public money have been appropriated for building colleges and academies for the rich.” In Delaware, Maryland and New Jersey, the situation was much the same. “At the end of the twenties practically every workingmen’s meeting from Albany to Charleston passed resolutions in which a demand for educational reform was given a prominent place.” Philanthropists helped, but “the force behind the demand for a democratic system of free public schools in this country has been the ballots in the hands of the class who felt in themselves the imperative need of an equal opportunity of education. The whole movement for popular education was so closely connected with the extension of the suffrage that the most cautious need have no hesitancy in describing their relation as cause and effect.”

The extension of suffrage to poor men brought about also the abolition of imprisonment for debt. “For the smallest
debt possible, though it were but a cent, the debtor could be cast into jail until the sum was paid. Here he was thrown among the worst criminals.” In prison he had to depend for his food and clothes upon his friends or upon charity. In 1816 in New York City 1894 imprisoned debtors would have starved to death but for the kindness of the Humane Society. “In Boston, between January, 1820, and April, 1822, 3492 persons were imprisoned for debt; 2000 of them owed less than $20. One woman owed $3.60, and for this sum had been dragged from her home and two children under three years of age.” In Philadelphia in 1831 a man was sent to prison for a debt of two cents.

Prof. Arbutnott shows also how the plain people by their votes got rid of an oppressive militia system which bore hard on the poor but allowed a rich man to buy himself off; how they secured liberal homestead laws, permitting actual settlers to take up land on easy terms; and how the workingmen protected themselves from being swindled by contractors and builders through the enactment of a mechanics’ lien law and other labor legislation.

“Under the title of labor legislation,” says Prof. Arbutnott, “is included a great mass of statutory enactments, creating labor bureaus, providing for factory inspection, for guards around dangerous machinery, for sanitation, for ventilation, for restriction of hours in dangerous trades, exempting wages from attachment, defining employers’ liability, providing for workmen’s compensation for injuries, and in a vast number of other ways giving advantages to the wage-earner. In gaining all these, the workingman with the ballot in his hands has been the substantial force. Legislators listen to the voice of the people when they are able to speak at the polls. No one can believe that the gains made by the workingmen through legislation would have come as fast or gone as far if they had not been given the suffrage.”

Anti-suffragists often claim that the ballot has done little or nothing for working men, and hence cannot be expected to do much for working women. Miss Heloise Hersey of Boston, in a public address against equal suffrage, went so far as to say that she thought working men in America would be better off if they had no votes, “because then their employers would feel a sense of chivalry toward them.” Prof. Arbutnott says:

“There is no way to remove abuses like putting power into the hands of those who suffer from them. The ballots of the enfranchised workers, combined with those of the reform element, were sufficient to secure for the workers much that was helpful. A similar result would follow the grant of votes to women. What the public-spirited men cannot get now for women would be brought into existence if these men’s votes were reinforced by women’s ballots. No lifetime of wheedling persuasion will have to be spent to gain what women need, and what the whole race needs because of its vital effect on women. There would be in the ballot a great power for the improvement of the general conditions for women, as there was for raising the standard for working men.”
"Gentlemen, your arguments have been very entertaining. Never has your cause been more eloquently presented. We women will assure you that in due course of time and when the matter is reached on our calendars we will give the question of man suffrage our most respectful consideration.

"I suppose you men want a little further extension of your present limited school suffrage privileges. What! Not the whole suffrage? Not the suffrage for all men? Why not take things more gradually? This is so sudden! Be satisfied to take small steps at the beginning of your suffrage career.

"Really, gentlemen, I have my doubts whether your sex as a whole has the intellectual strength necessary for voting. I once saw a man idiot. That, however, is not a universal condition. But taking your sex as a whole you never produced a Frances E. Willard, a Susan B. Anthony, a Jane Adams, an Ellen Terry, a Carrie Nation, a Madam Quo Vite or a Hetty Green. When you do this, it will be time for you to be begging the ballot.

"Do you object to being taxed without representation? Why, we women represent you. When I vote, I represent my brother, my father-in-law, my four brothers-in-law, my three sons and my one husband. Do you claim that men's interests will be neglected if women alone vote? Just trust us to legislate better for you than you could for yourselves. Think how we let you vote now, for school trustees. That is nice.

"Then you gentlemen must remember that you are not authorized to speak for all your sex. There is only a mere handful of you here demanding the ballot. The men who do not come to the legislature asking the suffrage are really opposed, or we count them opposed. Wait until all men everywhere untiely and constantly, day and night, clamor for it. We should not forcibly enfranchise the whole male sex while many are opposed or at least indifferent. Not indifferent, do you say? Let me prove it to you. Where the ballot has been granted to men they do not appreci-
quintuple, sextuple and decentuple it, for there are more criminals among men than among women.

"Here is a sad objection. Man suffrage might make family trouble and cause divorces if a husband would not vote for his wife's party. Better let the women do all the voting and stop the strife. Or it would double the vote with double expense and no change in results, for every husband would vote as his wife directed. What would be the use? You say that this is inconsistent with the last objection, about spouses voting different tickets?

"Oh, well, who cares for consistency when opposing extensions of suffrage?"

"There are a great many pairs of objections to man suffrage utterly inconsistent, but all time-honored.

"For example, men would pass blue laws and interfere with women's pet vices—gum chewing and hat pin wearing, and men would let women go their own evil way unmolested.

"Here is another pair: Men, now, without the ballot, have the greatest power over women through their sweet influence on us women, and men deserve no power, because the order of creation was in the ascending scale and the last created creatures were the most perfect and should rule over those first created. Woman was created last.

"Here is another pair: Men are now so absorbed in business and family cares they would have no time to vote and its opposite—men would become so frantic about voting and so crazy for office they would forget their families and race suicide would result.

"Then we fear for men's health if they undertake the heavier labor of voting. Too many baby andnegulous are born to 100 girls babies, but so few of the boys survive, that of centenarians there are only 70 men to 100 women. The sex which does all the heavy housework of the world and the bearing and rearing of children can do this serious labor of voting for you. Be content in your man's sphere with your newspapers, banks, etc., and do not bother your handsome heads about voting. You are sweeter and dearer as you are. We women could not respect and love you if you tried to vote and to be womanly. Nature or we women have fixed your God-given sphere just outside of politics.

"Well, I must yield somewhat and say that if men were like you who are here tonight—intelligent, refined, law-abiding, and above all, so handsome—(Aside: if we flatter them they may forget about their rights)—if other men were as well dressed as you and as attractive to us women who decide this question, we women would let you vote. But we dread the vote of the ignorant man, the bad man, and most horrible, the vote of the man who has no tact and who lacks that indefinable thing, the highest earthly attribute of man, that is called charm.

"What are books, clothes, intelligence, morality, manners, family? Nothing to us if a man lacks charm! So, as you men, or rather the other men, do not all have charm, no man should vote. Better think how you can be charming to us than to fritter away your time voting.

"Do you affirm that all these arguments against men voting are bosh? Well, that's what I suspected many years ago when they were used against me and my sister women. But if they were not good enough to have disfranchised women, why not to disfranchise men?

"But now, I will be serious. Do not feel so deeply, gripped, dear men; I was only teasing you. Come now let us reason together. Men can not be legislated for as wisely by women alone, as by men and women together. If only a few public-spirited men want to vote, those few ought to have the chance. You should not be reproached with having produced so Harriet Beecher Stowe or Florence Nightingale. You have had a Shakespeare, a John L. Sullivan and a Rockefeller, each eminent in his line. Even if you cannot be identical with woman and perform her every duty, you can at least be made politically equal. Identity and equality are not the same thing.

"You should not be governed without your consent, you should have a jury of your peers, not all women, and you should be represented if you are taxed. Then, when you men can vote as well as we women, we will have a government of the people, for the people and by the people."

CATHARINE WAUGH MCCULLOCH.
In raising my small voice to swell the cry for the privilege of equal suffrage, I trust you will pardon me if I begin with a modest confession of my own personal faith in the inherent justice of that for which we are all asking.

I define the right to vote as the right to express one’s own choice as to the kind of government we shall live under, and the sort of persons who shall administer our affairs for us or through us. I claim that the right belongs to all sane and mature persons regardless of sex, and I believe that the right belongs to women by natural right, first of all not because they are women, or in spite of the fact that they are women, but because they happen to be a part of the great human family, and constitutionally, because the framers of our constitution began it by proclaiming that the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness belonged to all human beings. It seems as though they had an instinct that the day would come when the disenfranchisement of one half the population of our country would have to disappear.

Sex Issue Irrelevant

As far as the “sex issue” is concerned, I believe I am at one with the greater number of my fellow women in disowning it, either for or against. I also believe that its importation into the question, whether by the plausible arguments of physiologists like Almroth Wright, or the scurrilous pen and pencil of writers and cartoonists who have never had time to grow up, is not so much a denial of justice as a wrong done to logic, and that when all is said or done, the question remains not whether women shall be enfranchised, but just how much longer the disenfranchisement of half the human race is to last.

Wants Vote as Actress

Basing my demand on such broad lines, it may seem like a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous to admit that, if I want the vote as a human being, I also ask it as an actress. But there are many reasons why the demand for the vote should come with personal conviction from a woman who has spent her life on the stage, and why a message of fellowship from an actress to her sisters in other walks of life should be one of especial cheer and helpfulness.

Stage is Conquered Country

In the first place, as far as responsibility, esteem and even material rewards go, the stage is already a conquered country for women. Like the spies of old who returned to their doubting comrades in the desert, loaded down with the spoil of the Promised Land, the message we have to bring seems to be that the good things are there, and that the giants have only to be faced stoutly to be overcome.
For there is no longer question of woman's rights on the stage. There is no question of her right to play the leading role, if she has the capacity to do so, or of her right to have plays written for her peculiar talent, or to draw the biggest salary, or choose her male support, not as a prop on which her feminine weakness shall lean, but as the background against which her role shall stand out. The success of women on the stage has ceased to be a paradox and has become a commonplace, so much a commonplace that I fear it is not used as it deserves to be in favor of the extension of her opportunities in other walks of life.

Women Once Forbidden Stage

Why is it that in this, the youngest of all the arts, the barrier should have been the first to give way? For the barrier was once there, though we rub our eyes when we think of it—just as forbidding, just as apparently insurmountable as those which now deny us access, in so many States, to the polling booth and the hall of legislation. So long ago as 1639, when a French company playing at Whitehall first showed real women in women's parts on the stage, crabbed writers like William Pryme shrieked together in a chorus of shocked disapproval, and prophesied unutterable things. "Shameless," "branded," "unsexed," were only a few of the epithets from men who saw nothing unsexing in the acting of Desdemona by a chubby-faced boy or the delay of a cue till Ophelia had finished shaving. Lurid pictures of the audience, flushed by wine, puffing out tobacco smoke, and shouting profane jests, which no modest woman would face for a moment, were held up before the eyes of the daring actresses who wanted to play the roles that Shakespeare himself died without hearing uttered in a feminine voice. So exactly similar in temper are those old warnings to those which do duty today as a discouragement against entering that terrible place, the polling booth, that the mere change of a word here and there would suffice to bring them up to date and make the finest "anti" literature possible of them. All honor to the brave women who refused to be frightened away, and who opened the door of the stage to women—the Barrys, Sandersons, Bracegirdles, Kitty Clives and Woffingtons—all honor just the same, even if their wings did not always escape the flame that was kept alight by evil conditions and the prejudice that made actor and actress social outcasts.

Women Have Elevated Theatre

For what has been the result? The theatre became a fit place for women to attend when it became a fit place for women to do the thing in. The change did not come all at once, but it was as inevitable as day after night. In the words of a great critic: "Woman has done more for the theatre than any single living force. She found it the home of plays that not only men alone could see—but of plays that men alone could act. She found it disgraced by nameless vices—the home of coarse jest and innuendo—of Wycherly and Rochester. She made it the theatre that we know today—the theatre of Mrs. Siddons, Helen Faucet and Ada Rehan."

Good Acting Means Hard Study

The full and unhindered development of woman's work on the stage, the one sphere in which she has had her own way, has not escaped the notice of critics hostile to her full development elsewhere, and they explain it by a theory cunningly twisted to suit their own argument. "Women find the theatre congenial," they say, "because it is an atmosphere of emotion and temperament, just the very atmosphere which we would dread to see reproduced where great issues were at stake." To use this argument seems to me, at least, wilful misunderstanding of what the theatre is and of what emotion is. Do they really believe that the best acting is done along the line of least resistance? Or that the creation of a role played so naturally that they only see it in a yielding to temperament, is possible without hours, days, and weeks of hard study and "fundamental brain work" and self-control? The answer to them is the same as Whistler's to the judge who asked him how long it had taken him to paint the picture for which he asked $5,000. "One hour, and all my life to learn how to do it in one hour," he replied.

Social Injustice Dreads Emotion

Nothing seems to be dreaded so much, I notice, by those who have social injustice to defend or old, outworn prejudices to bolster up, as "emotion." They seem to recognize in it a natural enemy. We are always hearing, when some tale of wrong or injustice—some exploitation of the defenseless, or oppression of the weak—lights up our indignation like a spark applied to tinder, that we must "wait and see"—that "all the facts are not in our possession," that women, somehow or other, lack the "judicial capacity" which alone justifies the ballot, and of which we see such shining examples in the torchlight processions of election night.
Reform Seeks Aid of Stage

This is why the fighters for better and fairer conditions of life between man and man, or man and woman, are turning today more and more to the stage, depending more and more on the ability which no one questions women possess to enforce their arguments on the public conscience; and this is why, to one actress at least, the denial of the mere mechanical ballot to women in whose hands so much power already is placed, seems incomprehensible.

Great Men Tender, Great Women Wise

Men are largely women, and women are largely men. Nature did not hand out the facilities in the same exact proportion as she handed out trousers and petticoats. No one can separate into arbitrary sex-elements the tenderness that filled the great heart of Lincoln when he penned his letter of comfort to Mrs. Bixbee, or the practical, effective thoroughness that lay under the vision of a Florence Nightingale. A great deal of the misery and misgovernment of the world today comes from the fact that men have governed by themselves too long. Centuries of unshared authority must carry disillusionment in their train, and to go on doing one’s work with all the loss of moral fibre that disillusionment brings, does not make for the happiness of governors or governed. That the extension of the ballot to an equal number of their fellow-beings is going to bring instant change for the better, is too much for optimism even to hint. But the mere thought that among these new partners of the task there should be so many thousand fresh minds, so many thousand unchilled ambitions, that such an ocean of eager usefulness is only asking a chance to be tested, is a thought inspirtualing as a bugle call.

It is because I have heard the call, and believe to the full in its promise for the future, that I am a suffragist.

Progress Cannot Turn Back

Till a very few years ago, woman’s one hope was marriage. It was a disgrace, and still is in the South, to be an “old maid,” and now that she has awakened to her ability to earn and still maintain respect, now that she has lifted herself to a state of independence, she is told that she may go so far but not further. It is against the law of the universe to stand still. We will not go back; we must go forward; and how glorious it is that the man and the woman may, from choice, join hands and together face the sun and climb to the state of mental and moral perfection, which, although we are now but at the threshold, we feel is the ultimate destiny of God’s highest creature!

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Women Should Mind Their Own Business

By EDWARD J. WARD
Adviser of the Civic and Social Center Development of the University of Wisconsin

Women should devote all their energies to the duties of their own sphere. Surely Mrs. Pankhurst and Colonel Roosevelt could agree on this proposition.

Women should not invade the realm of men's activities. That seems axiomatic.

Men should be willing to give up their own work to help bear the burdens which belong to women's realm. What gentleman will dissent from this?

In order to see clearly what the proper respective spheres of men and women are, we must turn back to the simple conditions of primitive living, among the American aborigines for instance. There we see two sorts of work fairly well divided. We can see woman engaged in her proper sphere, and man busy with his characteristic activities. And we can answer the question: What is woman's sphere? The woman is engaged in grinding corn or other grain, preparing food, plaiting baskets, molding pottery, preparing wool and weaving blankets, drawing and fetching water, caring for and educating the children, ordering the care of the camp or village, transporting the burdens when the camp is moved—in short, in all the useful industries and arts of the primitive Indian.

And what was man's characteristic sphere? War and killing other animals, with some minor avocations such as gambling between times—but mostly war.
Here we have the respective spheres of men and women, easily seen in the simple primitive division.

With the process of invention and discovery there have come great changes in the methods used to carry on the activities of women’s sphere. For instance, instead of the little stone hand mortar and pestle with which the primitive woman ground corn, we have the gigantic roller mills; instead of the earthen jar in which she carried water, we have the municipal water system; instead of the primitive method by which she, with or without the aid of a horse, transported the burdens, we have this work of hers done by means of freight and express trains and vans and automobiles, and so on through practically all of the lines of women’s sphere. There has been an equally great enlargement of the work which was hers in caring for, keeping well-ordered, clean and comfortable the camp or village. With the increasing aggregation of people into the modern city and State, this phase of woman’s work has grown tremendously.

And great changes have come also in the proper historic sphere of men’s activities. Instead of the simple bow and arrow or tomahawk with which the primitive man could hurt people, there have been developed artificial volcanoes and various forms of hardware and fireworks which are very much more harmful, expensive and noisy. Slaughter houses have been substituted for the hunt, except in the case of really dangerous wild beasts like the fly. Not much real improvement has, however, been made in his method of gambling.

Women should remain in their own sphere. They should devote themselves to useful civic, social, educational and industrial activities. For women to participate in carrying on the activities which belong to man’s particular province would mean for them to go to war, and when there isn’t a war on, to strut around with a band. This, it seems to me, they should not do.

On the other hand, men should continue to devote more and more of their thought and energy to the activities of woman’s proper sphere, the useful work of the world, the industries and the arts, the work of trans-rcation, the cleaning up and making comfortable of the living places. Men must be allowed to do this more and more, for though we still set apart from this useful service some of our number and support them to carry on the work of destruction and hurting strangers, yet this proper sphere of man’s activities for the majority of us isn’t what it used to be. The average male individual has given up wearing feathers and stovetops and tinware, and the average man no longer regards it as a sign of sanity to carry butcher-knives and other violent junk around with him in the hope of chopping his neighbor’s head open. That is, men have been turning away from their own particular vocation, and, if they didn’t enter women’s sphere of constructive service, there wouldn’t be much for them to do.

In the old days, when man’s sphere amounted to something, when practically all of them spent most of their time in war, government consisted of “councils of war” for devising methods of doing harm. Then government was man’s business and for women to participate in it would have been to take up the work of men. But as we have come away from barbarism, as this sphere of man’s activity has shrunken and fallen into disrepute, government has become more and more the organization and control of the means of human service, the promotion of human welfare. In other words, government has become more and more the organization of woman’s sphere.

Man should have a voice in this, for in spite of the age-old habit of selfishness and hostility, developed through thousands of years of practice in hurting people, which tends to make him carry on even the useful activities which belong to woman’s sphere with something of the war motive and manner, and with a good deal of the old gambling practice mixed in, and which makes it hard for him to think in terms of the common welfare, he is the child of his mother and he has in him a finer element, a latent capacity for constructive united service. Yes, men should have some voice in regulating and controlling the industries, the education of children and all the matters relating to the welfare of the camp, that is, of society.

But, of course, the fact that man participates does not limit the primary responsibility of woman in this sphere. She started this business of
human service. She can no more shirk her share in the ordering and control of society, in the mutual inter-service which we call government, without shirking her duty as a woman than in the old days she could shirk the duty of preparing the food and making the camp a pleasant, well-ordered, clean place in which to live.

Women then should mind their own business. That is, women should vote in the modern government, for this is their proper sphere, except in its destructive, anti-social, military expression, which has gone from local and city and State affairs and will be gone from national affairs as soon as we get sense enough to put through a few world bargains such as the neutralization of the Panama Canal, provided an international parliament with an international police force is established at The Hague.

And men ought also to vote in the modern government, in spite of the fact that this is women’s sphere, because—well, because any number of reasons—they pay taxes the same as women do and they should have a voice in saying how their money shall be spent; they have to submit to the laws just as women do, and they should have something to say in framing those laws; and anyway, it would not be honest for us to have a government by a sex when we pretend to have a democracy.

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MRS. DECKER ON EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, has lived for many years in Colorado. She writes of equal suffrage:

So much has been said and written, both pro and con, upon this subject, that it is difficult to present it in any new phase. I shall attempt to give only an individual opinion upon the following much-disputed questions:

1. Do the earnest, high-minded women of Colorado vote?

2. Does not the vote of the disreputable low class of women counterbalance the vote of the cultivated, thinking class?

3. Is it not the case that women generally vote as the men of their households dictate?

4. Has the woman vote purified politics, and have we banished saloons?

1. In answer to the first question. Yes, most emphatically. I do not hesitate to say that the best women of Colorado have far more conscience in filling their responsibilities as voters than the men of the same class. It is also true that women of standing in the community have great influence with men who are not particularly interested in public affairs.

We are constantly asked by visitors to Colorado, “But how do prominent women, with their many duties and obligations, have time for politics?” To speak to one's grocer, butcher,
stationer, to a conductor on the car or to a cabin-man, takes only one instant. Then this timid visitor asks, "How do you have time to vote?" as if voting was like eating or bathing. My dear Madame Behind-the-Times, it takes just about one hour in a year to cast all the ballots necessary and allowable.

2. Does not the vote of the disreputable, low class of women counterbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world generally do not vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, names or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified. Occasionally some disreputable master compels these slaves to vote for his own purposes, but that is a rare occurrence.

3. Is it not the case that women generally vote as the men of their households dictate? Such has not been my observation or experience. Among the laboring class, if the wife cannot vote as her husband desires, and he is not willing she should make her own choice, she refuses to vote at all. I have been surprised at the honest maintenance of opinion in this regard among the wives of laboring men. One of the most cultivated, beloved and influential women of the State was sitting as a delegate in one party convention, not long since, while her husband was at the same time addressing another assembly representing opposite party views. But the situation excited no comment. Suffrage makes women "individuals."

4. Has the woman vote wholly purified politics, and have we banished saloons? No, to both questions. It would be beyond reason to expect such a result. Women have been in churches and in society since the beginning of time, but there are still vicious minds and sinful deeds in both religious and social circles. The most we assert is that if we pour a clear stream into a muddy one, we shall have a "moving of the waters" for betterment. The presence of women at the polls as officers and voters has brought quiet and order, while party conventions are much freer from personal wrangles, profane language and vulgar allusions, because women are sitting as delegates.

All thinking women admit that we have made some mistakes since we have had the right of suffrage. But that has been the experience of all newly-enfranchised people. In the beginning of equal suffrage in Colorado, the woman voters had no guide except the traditions and advice of the men of their families and acquaintance. That teaching was the old one of party politics. We followed a blind lead; and to me it was a terrible awakening to discover that my party was just as bad as the other, and the other party fully as high-minded in its purposes as mine. But in spite of any mistakes, disappointments or discouragements, there is an indescribable uplift in the thought that one is no longer classed with "criminals, paupers, and idiots." There is a splendid womanly independence in being a voting citizen, and an absorbing interest in fulfilling the duty of citizenship; and there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men, who look upon their sisters not as play-things, nor as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.
Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, president of the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs, said in an address given at the National Suffrage Convention in Washington, D. C., on February 15, 1904:

I am to tell you what a Federation of Women's Clubs has been able to do in a free State where back of influence is the ballot. The ballot is like a key. The Colorado club member is a woman with keys at her griddle, and with these keys she gains entrance to prisons, and places where defectives are kept, and carries a sweetness and light, and a better administration of justice. Instead of woman's influence being lessened, it is greatly increased.

During the last Legislature, there were so many men with bills that they wanted endorsed by the club women that the social science department of the State Federation had to sit one day each week to confer with members of the Legislature who wanted the Federation to endorse their bills. Club women outside the suffrage States do not have this experience.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SUFFRAGE CAUSE EARNESTLY SOLICITED. SEND TO HEADQUARTERS.
Eliminating Vice from the Small City

By Virginia Brooks

Why Must Commercialized Vice Go?

Because:

1. It demoralizes the entire community.
2. It threatens young manhood and young womanhood with ruination.
3. Innocent children are forced to grow up on the outskirts of vice districts.
4. It debauches the owner of vice property because of the exorbitant rental he receives from the resort keeper.
5. The unfortunate inmate is placed under a system of brutal extortion.
6. It affords a ready market to the procurer.
7. Pickpockets, robbers, and degenerates of every description lurk about such a district, menacing the safety of the citizens.
8. The entire community is liable to the contamination which lays the hand of blight upon the rising generation.

The Strength of the Nation is the Morality of the Nation

and

The Nation is as Strong as Its Weakest Community.

Not the cities, but the small communities comprise the backbone of this nation. If we are to be a moral nation, these small communities must rid themselves of commercialized vice, at any cost, at any sacrifice.

The dimensions of the great vice trust are such that it will require the united effort of every agency of construction to kill this hydra-headed monster of evil.

To the average person, the vice system appears too formidable to attack. Fear of the habitues, the dislike of rubbing elbows with filth, and the lack of knowledge of how to begin work keeps them from fulfilling their public duty.

Few understand the extent of the relationship existing between resort keepers and the public officials in many of the municipalities. Few understand to what extent extortion is practised upon the poor unfortunate who are harbored in a district of ill repute.

Resort keepers are constantly paying money for the privilege of keeping open. It is established that some one is getting the graft. Do you know who it is in your community?

It is not impossible to break up commercialized vice! Here is a method which if perseveringly pursued will accomplish the desired end.

Drive Out the Segregated District.

Organize a civic league composed of organizations in the community working for civic uplift. Include all public spirited citizens who are interested in such a movement. The vice system is organized and you must organize to defeat it.

Elect the following officers: President, Vice President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer.

Elect the following chairmen of committees:

1. House to house canvass.
2. Meetings.
3. Police court.
4. Public officials.
5. Property holders.
7. Publicity.
8. Evidence.

The elected officers and chairmen of committees shall form an executive board, five members to constitute a quorum. The chairmen shall appoint the members of their committees subject to approval of executive board.

The number of committees appointed illustrates the divisions of work to be done. They can be merged to suit the conditions of the community.

Duties of the Committees.

1. It shall be the duty of the house to house committee to appoint a sufficient number of people to canvass the entire community. A card index to be used to tabulate the sentiment of every man and woman on the question of commercialized vice. Energy to be expended upon those not in favor. A canvass for membership to be made at the same time.
2. It shall be the duty of the Meetings Committee to secure speakers and to arrange for mass meetings, and neighborhood meetings in churches and public buildings.
3. It shall be the duty of the Police Court Committee to go through the books of the court to ascertain the amount of
fines and how many have been imposed 
upon the keepers or inmates of disorderly 
houses. To determine whether they are 
prosecuted or regularly persecuted.

4. It shall be the duty of the Public 
Officials Committee to call upon all pub-
lic officials interested in that department 
of government having jurisdiction over 
or the prosecution of, and have them ex-
press their sentiments for or against seg-
regated vice. This information to be 
used against them politically, and pub-
licly if they refuse to co-operate with the 
movement.

5. It shall be the duty of the Property 
Holders Committee to determine who 
owns the property rented for vice pur-
poses. Notices should be sent to the 
owner, with a request that he vacate the 
property. This notice should be backed 
with evidence of the fact. Should he 
refuse to co-operate, the list should be 
published.

6. It shall be the duty of the Welfare 
Committee to interview young girls, and 
to offer them shelter in a local refuge. 
To write outside welfare leagues in 
order to secure employment for them, or 
treatment, as the case may require. To 
visit the courts when anyone of this 
character is on trial. To be a friend to 
the distressed. This committee should 
be carefully selected according to their 
adaptability.

7. It shall be the duty of the Com-
mittee on Publicity to keep the public 
informed of the progress of the campaign, 
to send out letters, to distribute printed 
heralds, describing any one incident that 
is worthy of public notice and to line 
up the newspapers.

8. It shall be the duty of the Investi-
gation Committee to send two men or 
girls to get concrete evidence against 
questionable resorts. Sometimes it is 
well to employ detectives, though a citi-
zen with a clean record is the strongest 
detective in work of this character.

9. It shall be the duty of the Prosecut-
ing Committee (which should contain at 
least one attorney) to prosecute upon 
evidence obtained if after first requesting 
the public official under whose jurisdic-
tion the offense is punishable and he re-
fuses to do so.

PROCEDURE.

1. Complete the house to house canvass, 
that you may prove the public sentiment is with you.

2. Put down in black and white the 
result of the police court investigation.

3. Warn your property holders.

4. Have at least the evidence against 
five or six resorts.

5. Then hold a mass meeting.

6. Get some good sound speakers to 
argue against segregation.

7. Pass a resolution requesting offici-
als to close the district.

8. If they refuse—set the wheels of 
prosecution in motion.

9. Ask for a special grand jury. Give 
them your evidence.

10. If you succeed in putting down 
the district, don't stop working, but use 
your organization against everything in 
the community that is a pitfall for a 
boy or girl, from an improper postal up 
to a gambling den.

11. While you are eradicating all of 
the agencies for destruction, begin to de-
vote agencies for constructive recreation, 
that the play life of your boys and girls 
may be kept wholesome and pure.

12. Men are hampered in civic work 
by adhering too closely to political party 
lines. No good women will adhere to 
any political party lines that affect the 
spiritual welfare of her boy or girl, 
therefore, women are more successful in 
a fight against organized vice, because 
vice and politics go hand in hand.

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Women's Ballot to Protect the City Child, 
by Miss Harriet Vinton.

A Suffrage Reading Course, by Florence B. 
Petersen.

Children and Enfranchisement, by Dr. Anna 
E. Blount.
A MOTHER’S PRAYER

Oh Lord, I am a humble woman, a mother who has faithfully toiled to do everything a mother should. I have not aspired for recognition outside my home, nor have I sought any public honor. I have only cared for my home and my children.

I looked forward to the coming of my children with joy. I tried to prepare myself mentally, physically and spiritually to be a good mother. While I kept them in my arms, while they played about my knee, their interest was uppermost. Even while they slept I studied concerning their care, so that their training might be wisely given.

Now, oh Lord, I can say in good conscience I have never knowingly neglected them and they are as pure and healthy and normal as when Thou didst send them to me. If only I could keep them in the safe shelter of my arms then my heart would be freed from the great burden which now oppresses me.

But as they have grown in body and mind they now are obliged to leave this security for the unknown dangers of the school. I have done what I could. Who but Thou canst now protect them? Thou alone canst work the miracle which can save their souls and bodies.

Make the motormen on the swiftly moving cars be watchful when my little ones go by. Make the chauffeur, out on his joy ride, slacken up when my children cross the street. Momentarily blind the eyes of my little ones when they pass billboards covered with vulgar posters.

Close their ears to blasphemy and indecency; make safe for them, rotten sidewalks and sewerage filled ditches, so my darlings may pass along unharmed.

Oh, Father of all, follow my children into the ill-lighted, poorly ventilated, overcrowded school room; save their eyes from being injured as other children's are; direct some streams of fresh air to the needy lungs of my children. Keep their brains clear for study in the midst of others stupefied by lack of air. Save them from the contagious diseases and vermin brought to school by other children illly safeguarded. Why cannot there be medical inspection of all those who sit near or play with my own?
I have taught my children to be dainty and refined in all their personal habits. Do not let them be corrupted by vicious children. Let no one distribute indecent literature to them.

I dread, too, their danger to disease from foul expectorations in buildings and on sidewalks. Save them from tubercular infection.

I used to make their dainty white clothing, and knew it was sanitary, but now they need things prepared by more skillful fingers. Oh, Lord, watch over the sweatshops where my little ones’ coats are made. If poorly paid, diseased workers sew there, miraculously sterilize every garment which comes to me for my little ones. If wretched factory help make many other things, I pray that some divine alchemy may safeguard all which comes to my children.

They are yet so young and weak, they cannot resist the child abductor, and my heart is wrung with anguish for fear the mild punishments meted out to other child thieves may encourage one to steal mine. O keep these of mine.

I even fear now about their food. Other children eat adulterated food, poisonously colored candy, embalmed meats, poutine, poisoned canned goods, and cold storage foulsl; they drink water infected with typhoid germs; they breathe air from decaying garbage in alleys; are stung by disease-laden flies and mosquitoes, and they die. I ask divine help to make safe to mine all these unhealthy things.

I have great anxiety for the future. How can my daughter be saved from the white slave traffic; how can my son be kept from the corruption of the saloon, the gambling hell and the brothel? These evils are thick in many great cities. Send guardian angels by their side each hour, oh Lord, for I their mother can do so little; I can only pray.

I dread for my son the corruption of some kinds of business life; the grafters in politics and private immorality. I grieve over the possibility of my daughter’s marriage to a cruel, unfair, stingy, domineering, wicked or unchaste man.

No matter how old these children may grow, dear Lord, they will still be mine, and are they not Thine, Thine to be saved from all these imminent perils?

Miraculous divine power alone can now help them, for I cannot do more. Surely I ask but little, these two to be cared for, no great number among the many. I am not ambitious but for my own and their best welfare.

Grant me this boon. Will not the prayer of this importunate mother bring miraculous help? Thou hast promised that when I ask I shall receive. Can I not have an answer so that my agonized soul may find peace? Can I not find in Thy Holy Word some assurance of help? "The voice of Rachel weeping for her children," I remember, and is it possible there are other mothers praying this same prayer for protection, each for her own? "No man liveth to himself," I read, and does it mean that all children have their fate bound up with mine? Are others as dear to Thee? Thou wilt do no miracles for a few when human agencies can do for many?

How can I do this? All this means changing many unjust laws and ordinances, and then enforcing them. But with the matter of law I have no power. I am helpless. I am a woman.

What precious verse can guide me? Wilt Thou send no flash of light to illumine my sorrowing perplexity? When Moses was distracted with doubt and modesty, God asked him, "What is that in thy hand?" Is there some weapon near at hand for me which I can seize to safeguard all children, my own included? Is there a weapon for the hand of every other troubled mother? What but the ballot can do these things for all which I now have prayed Thee to do for mine?

Yes, Lord, I hear Thy voice. Thou wouldst save all through us Thy servants. Thou wouldst use our ballots to make safe conditions for all Thy little ones.

If the ballot is what we now need, give us the complete ballot. Put it into our hands in so startling and miraculous a manner that scoffers may understand.

I pray now for the ballot. I am a praying woman and ask this gift from Thee. Why does it not come quickly?

I read again, "Why criest Thou unto me? Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward." And does that mean that we must work for what we need instead of lazing praying to have blessings dropped into our effortless hands? We must work out our own salvation.

Forgive my laziness, my ignorance, my selfishness. We mothers must work as well as pray. I am no longer hopeless. Now indeed we are the daughters of God, if we may work with Thee. We rejoice that as we are getting the ballot Thou wilt make us women to be the guardian angels by the sides of our little ones; that Thou wilt call us, and dost call us, to safeguard street, alley, school, public building, food, water, air, society and business. Thou wilt send from the distant courts above, no angel with flaming sword to drive out evil, when it can be done by the votes of women who are right on the spot.

Thou wilt send no cherubim or seraphim with wings of mercy and healing, no chariots of fire, no miracle of fire, lightning or earthquake, when the still small voice of the mother’s ballot dropping into the ballot box can do Thy work.

Grant us Thy blessing as we women rise from our knees and go into the world to help Thee answer our own prayers.
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MRS. FLORENCE BENNETT PATERSON
Chairman Mississippi Valley Suffrage Literature Committee
1320 Glenlake Avenue
CHICAGO
The Political Duties of Mothers

By ANNE G. PORRITT

Judging from the objections brought forward by the opponents of woman suffrage, there are yet men and women who have not grasped the enormous change which has of recent years come over the movement for Votes for Women. In its inception, the demand for woman suffrage was based on a conception of woman's rights which most closely concerned the abnormal woman—the woman who, either by choice or through circumstances, was unmarried, and who consequently had to make her own way in the world—to care for her own property, to force her way into some profession, or to earn her daily bread by working for wages. The justice of the demand of the pioneers of the woman movement that such women should not be handicapped by being deprived of political power was conceded by many of the finest men and women who were their contemporaries. It is rare to find nowadays any dissent from the claim that such women should be admitted to the suffrage, and it is the justice of this claim that wrings an unwilling assent from such men as Mr. Roosevelt.

The women whose rights were chiefly in dispute were, however, in a small minority. Their condition to many of them seemed but a transition stage, and the general feeling was that it was not particularly desirable to encourage this type of women. The concession of the ballot, it was felt, would tend to make the normal woman discontented, and to elevate professional life or wage earning above the care of children and the life of the home. It was largely this feeling that, consciously or unconsciously, caused much of the hostility to woman suffrage, and there are still in the minds of some men and women lingering traces of this old feeling and this old view of the demand for Votes for Women.

The newer suffrage movement—the movement of the twentieth century as distinct from the suffrage movement of the nineteenth century—is a movement which has its origin in the home. It is the demand of the normal home-making woman for a chance to do her duty effectually and fully. It is not so much a demand for woman's rights as it is a demand for opportunity that she may perform her duty. It is not a demand put forward for the sake of exceptional or abnormal women; it is a demand of the mother, the wife, the home-maker—of the normal woman doing the work that throughout the ages has been held to be peculiarly the province of womanhood. It is true that modern suffrage movement, like the earlier movement, is a movement of discontent and dissatisfaction. It is an uprising of the women in the homes against conditions which degrade the home, and make the fulfillment of home duties extremely difficult and sometimes impossible. But it is not a movement of discontent with home life or with home duties in themselves. It does not represent any desire of women to desert the home, and it does not indicate any feeling of antagonism between women and men, or any desire of women to encroach on any department of life which is essentially masculine.

The modern suffragist is far more emphatic than her "anti"-sister in asserting that the place of the women is the home, and that the work and functions of men and women are different. It is upon these two facts that she bases her claim to a
vote. The home nowadays cannot be limited to the four walls that enclose the dwelling. A woman cannot be called an efficient home-maker who limits her intelligence and her activities to what goes on within these four walls. The duty of representation includes the number of people in possession of the suffrage, the more difficult it is for the unrepresented to make their voices heard over the din of the demands of the voters. The representative naturally listens first to those who vote him in his place and whose votes at the next election can cast him out. It is his duty to represent his constituents, and the wider the franchise the greater the tendency to limit the conception of his constituents to the actual voters.

Exactly the same is true of municipal government as of federal and state governments. The prosperity and life of the women who work in the cities have been continuously sacrificed to business interests. Cities have been run "wide open" with all the risk that such a municipal policy means to the health of the community. In some of the larger cities the property has been of more consequence in the eyes of the city fathers than the lives of the women. The property of the women, and their children, in their homes, has been of secondary consideration. The health of the children of the present, and yet the city is no place for a child! That sole statement in itself justifies the whole suffrage movement.

Voting in itself is not a special province or function, in the sense that the service in the army, in the navy or in the police force is a special function. It is merely a method of choosing the men who shall make and administer the laws under which men, women and children must live, and whenever these laws especially affect the lives of women, it is the province of women for men to pass or administer such laws without consultation, consent or authorization from the section of the community most affected.

It is not, however, the positive side of law-making and administration half so vitally necessary for the home,—that women are increasingly demanding the ballot. An unrepresented class is necessarily a neglected class, and more so in a democracy than in a country with a narrowly restricted electorate. The wider the basis of representation the greater the number of people in possession of the suffrage, the more difficult it is for the unrepresented to make their voices heard over the din of the demands of the voters. The representative naturally listens first to those who vote him in his place and whose votes at the next election can cast him out. It is his duty to represent his constituents, and the wider the franchise the greater the tendency to limit the conception of his constituents to the actual voters.

The mother's duty does not end with the care of her children while they are yet not yet old enough to help her. Her love and care for her children are a help in the workshop and the factory, and the mother is forced to look helplessly on at the enormous wastage of child life that characterizes the present generation. Americans are a wasteful nation, but in nothing more wasteful than in the nation's expenditure of girls and women.

The fact that nine-tenths of the working girls of this country do not earn a living-wage is the most appalling fact of modern civilization. Think of it! A girl with fair average intelligence, ability, good will and honesty may work ten or eleven hours a day, from Monday morning to Saturday night, and yet all this labor does not suffice to earn for her a wage that will keep her in physical efficiency. The lives of our girls may be devoid of amusement, and of any of the joy of life that belongs by right to the young. The girls may spend not one cent on pleasures, on the graces of life, and yet at the end of their labor the alternative faces them of a bare meager existence or of vice. "Economic law," says the business men. "The girl is a money-making machine and has brought to the factory, and the family is forced to look helplessly on at the enormous wastage of child life that characterizes the present generation. Americans are a wasteful nation, but in nothing more wasteful than in the nation's expenditure of girls and women.

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Fortunately for them, women have not been brought up with the economic view. It is life which concerns them—life which they have brought into the world and which they have nourished and cherished; and life is to them far more precious than commodities or export trade. "Very well," they would answer the economists and politicians, were they able to speak with authority in the councils of the nation, "the girl is not able to earn a sufficient livelihood, you say. What is to be done? The girls and women are the storehouse of the nation's life. Is it really economical to throw millions of them on the scrap heap—ruined for motherhood, either by physical debility, by nervous break-down, or by vice, before they have reached the age of marriage."

The girl is not worth a living wage. If this must be accepted as a fact, it must be fairly faced by all our legislators. It is, in fact, the supreme problem of government, whose first duty is—a duty enjoined in the opening lines of the United States Constitution—to promote the general welfare of the nation. Is the welfare of the nation promoted by wasting and destroying the lives of its future mothers? If girls are not economically worth their keep, no matter how diligently they labor, the nation, in self-defence, must ensure its own preservation by providing and caring for the girls. It must see that its girls and women are physically healthy, mentally and morally fit to bring forth a future generation of Americans—a generation that can grow up to be better and more efficient citizens than the Americans of the present. What shall it profit a nation, if it multiply commodities and fail to bring forth men and women, or what shall a nation give in exchange for its babies?

In this age of commercialism and industrialism, as never before in the world's history, government needs the mother's point of view, and no mother is really fulfilling her duty who is unwilling to turn her attention to this great national need. It is the conviction of this need, recognized by the men and burnt into the hearts and consciences of the women in all parts of the world, that is rallying men and women—fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, the family and the home—to the standard of Votes for Women.

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NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
Publishers for the
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
505 Fifth Avenue, New York City
WOMAN'S PLACE

By Mary Alden Hopkins.

Last Winter a woman, keenly interested in the well-being of children, approached a legislator to ask his support of a bill concerning medical examination of school children. The delicate susceptibility of the legislator was outraged by the unwomanliness of her "lobbying." He rebuked her sternly for meddling in politics, ending with the impressive words, "Madam, a good woman stays at home to take care of her children."

The woman withdrew, somewhat puzzled. The compulsory education law took her children out of her home to put them in a schoolroom, and too exalted idealism forbade her trying to influence school policies. As she thought about the matter, she decided that the puzzling contradiction lay in limiting "home" to the cubic space included between house walls, cellar and roof. It seemed to her that wherever her little children went she must go; that she must concern herself with all that touched her children's interests; that her "home" was really the entire city—the State—the country—perhaps the whole world.

Here are two incidents that confirmed her in her decision:

The water supply of Fairholm was contaminated by the sewage from the town up the river. Typhoid fever floated leisurely down with the current, pausing for its handful of lives from each town. The city council said decisively that the city could not build a filter plant without increased taxation. At the words "increased taxation," the majority of the men assured their wives that the best method was to boil the water. They squelched wisely discussion by remarks like, "My dear, if you want a new filter plant you must change our State constitution on the bonded indebtedness of third-class cities."

That sounded more like politics than like woman's concerns, and the housewives set to boiling. Mrs. Homer, among others, boiled water to drink, water for bathing "above the neck," water for washing vegetables; and scalded her hands along with the dishes. She forbade the children's tasting water outside the house. Disobedient Jimmy on the baseball field drank water from a tin bucket—without getting the fever; Janet sipped dubious drinks at the ice-cream emporium—likewise without harm; while little Josie, despite hours of conscientious thirst, got the fever from milk in her own blue China mug. The cow's drinking water had not been boiled. The mothers of Fairholm had not attacked the source of danger, because of their narrow definition of "home."

Mrs. Roscoe canceled her subscription to a certain magazine because it contained too many articles on tragic conditions among city working women. Said Mrs. Roscoe, "If I bring up my own five children well in my own home.
I can be excused from worrying about sweatshops five hundred miles away. But the dinky little winter coat she bought for Bobby had sewed into its well-finished seams some slivers of scarlet-fever skin. The manufacturer had found it cheaper to send his work out into tenements for “finishing,” and no city has adequate official inspection of tenement-house sweatshops.

Story after story could be told of food contaminated before it entered the house; bread handled warm by a scrofulous baker; shiny red apples sold to school children by a vendor with a loathsome disease; food on which flies had tramped; and adulterated raw material. What does it profit a cook to fight vermin in her own cellar if the State inspection of slaughter houses is lax, the bakeshops unsanitary and street selling unsupervised?

It is a mother’s business to buy warm clothing, but the amount of wool in baby’s 25-cent shirt is determined by the tariff. Nursery hygiene is written in “Schedule K.”

More and more each year the initial processes of manufacturing food and clothes slip out of the hands of mothers into the hands of men whose first interest is money-making. From yeast and soap to Ray’s stockings and Dorothy’s bon-bons, articles come ready-made into the house. Yet the children’s welfare still depends upon the wholesomeness of their food and the warmth of their clothes.

What is the mother to do about it? Does her interest in the food begin only as it comes up the back steps? Has she no responsibility for fire-trap buildings, uncensored moving pictures, unkempt parks and dirty streets, because these matters have moved into “politics”—are even election issues whereby candidates stand or fall?

Some mothers say that, since a new method of production has come about, mothers must learn to understand that method. They say that municipal housekeeping is not so very different from family housekeeping. They say that, after all, the nation is simply an overgrown family, and that, just as a complete family group must have both father and mother, so the nation needs both father care and mother care.—From “Boundaries of Home,” in The Congregationalist.

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Address
National American Woman Suffrage Association
505 Fifth Avenue New York City
1913
Another Eminent Opinion of Woman Suffrage

The following extracts from a sermon delivered by the Rev. Charles Gordon Ames of Boston are found in a recently published book entitled, "Charles Gordon Ames, A Spiritual Autobiography."

Charles Gordon Ames was the successor of James Freeman Clarke in the pulpit of the Church of the Disciples, where his wonderful personality was felt for over twenty years. "He was a believer in everything in Education, in civil and political rights and in public service that helps a woman to possess herself."

"The ideal woman is in sight, though perhaps we see her most clearly when we shut our eyes. In the common mind and heart an image is forming itself, an image to which the actual woman does not wholly correspond, yet the actual woman is making the ideal woman possible.

"The air is disturbed by sounds not wholly musical. But so it is when the newborn infant cries. Such cries are more than music to the ear of the mother.

"If political freedom comes next, the last outward sign of social inferiority will disappear, and women will have a fair and equal field for development, hindered only by their own limitations. The more intelligent advocates of equal suffrage regard it as a movement for the defense and improvement of the family. They believe that complete enfranchisement will add to the dignity and self-respect of women by taking off the brand of inferiority; that it will enrich her culture of heart and mind with broader human interests; that it will thus help to make her a wiser guide for children and a more valuable associate of man in all their partnership interests. They believe also that it will arm her with power to protect the home against now legalized enemies, and give her a voice in the decision of educational and economic questions which concern her and those who are dear to her.

"Nobody supposes that the Kingdom of Heaven is to come out of the ballot box; but it will be clear gain if this last difficult step can be taken in the direction of equality of rights and unity of interests as between the sexes.

"Unless the security of home and family relations is provided for in woman's own nature, all is lost. But there is no permanent cause for alarm. So long as her warm heart continues to beat with the passion of love, home and family will be her supreme interests.

"Is it too much to say that the last century has seen in Christendom a richer flowering-out of radiant, superb, and almost angelic womanhood than any five centuries that went before? Is it too much to say that no modern fact is so full of promise as the array of womanly forces now at work for good in the school and the church, the community and among the nations?"

Issued by the Equal Suffrage Association of Minneapolis
Ministers on Votes for Women
According to Mrs. Howe's Census of Clergymen in Equal Suffrage States

By ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, a short time before her death, sent a circular letter, asking whether the results of equal suffrage were good or bad, to all the Episcopal clergymen, and to the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist and Baptist ministers in the suffrage states; to all the Congregational Sunday school superintendents (the other denominations do not publish the names of the superintendents in their religious year-books), and to the editors of the newspapers. In all 624 answers were received. Of these, 62 were opposed, 46 in doubt, and 516 in favor.

The replies from the Episcopal clergymen were favorable, more than two to one; those of the Baptist ministers, seven to one; those of the Congregational ministers, about eight to one; of the Methodists, more than ten to one, and of the Presbyterians, more than eleven to one.

Of the Sunday school superintendents, one was opposed and one in doubt; all the rest were favorable.

The editors expressed themselves in favor, more than eight to one.

The ministers and editors are practically unanimous in saying that equal suffrage has made women more intelligent companions for their husbands and better able to instruct their children. Almost all are agreed that it has broadened women's minds and led them to take more interest in public questions.

A large number say that it has helped to obtain liberal appropriations for school purposes and for humanitarian objects, and has made it harder for notoriously corrupt candidates to be nominated or elected; that equal suffrage does not lead to divorces, and that women enjoy increased influence because of having the ballot. Most of the ministers emphatically deny that immoral women control the elections.

The testimony is practically the same from all four states and from all parts of those states. Some of the opinions are as follows:

REV. FROST CRAFT, Methodist Episcopal, Denver—Woman's influence is far stronger with the ballot than without it. Practical politicians are obliged to take her opinion into account. The great majority of the women go to the polls quietly, cast their votes and return at once to their homes. Women show a greater tendency than men to scratch bad candidates. The vast majority of women who vote are women of good character.

REV. LEON C. HILL, Presbyterian, Cheyenne, Wyo., former chaplain of the House of Representatives—Women are more independent voters than the men. Equal suffrage has been beneficial to the state in every way.

REV. ROBERT ROBINSON ADAMS, Methodist Episcopal, Pueblo,
Colo.—As a result of fifteen years' residence in Colorado, possibly with some prepossessions against woman suffrage due to a life in Philadelphia, I heartily endorse woman suffrage.

REV. C. E. HELMAN, Methodist Episcopal, Shoshone, Idaho—I was opposed to woman suffrage when I left Ohio. I have been in Idaho for fourteen years, and am convinced that it has been an excellent thing. No righteous cause or good person fears woman suffrage.

REV. CHARLES H. POWELL, Episcopal, Rock Springs, Wyo.—The fact that women vote in this state has helped to put politics on a higher level in many particulars.

REV. M. BRAMBLETT, Baptist, Moscow, Idaho—Woman suffrage has been a great blessing to our state in every sense of the word. Women do not vote for bad candidates if they know it.

REV. FRANK L. MOORE, Congregational, Cheyenne, Wyo.—It would be political suicide for any man or party to raise the question of repeal.

REV. J. G. COWDEN, Presbyterian, Caldwell, Idaho—None but politicians of the baser sort would think of doing away with woman suffrage.

REV. S. W. GRIFFIN, Presbyterian, Littleton, Colo.—The more I see of the results of woman suffrage the more I am convinced that the cleansing of politics demands that it should be nation-wide.

REV. ORRIN W. AUMAN, Methodist Episcopal, Pueblo, Colo.—In no case have I found a wife or mother who was less efficient in household duties because she was interested also in the public welfare and was privileged to cast her ballot. Much good legislation has been accomplished in Colorado from the initiative of women since they have had the ballot.

REV. J. C. ANDREWS, Baptist, Salt Lake City—Woman's influence for good is largely increased by the right to vote. I wish every state in the Union would give suffrage to women. I believe it would be a power for good.

REV. C. A. QUINN, Methodist Episcopal, Heyburn, Idaho—I cannot see any evil of any sort connected with woman suffrage. I long to see the day when women will vote in every state of the Union.

REV. G. M. DU BOIS, Episcopal, Canyon City, Colo.—The feeling in Colorado, so far as I can report it, is of satisfaction with woman suffrage and a conviction that it has come to stay.

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NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
171 Madison Avenue, New York City
The Women Know

By Frank E. Herrick

The women know
Who is the foe
Malign and fierce;
There is no guile
Or subtle wile
They cannot pierce!

They see it clear
In spite of tear
And grief-dimmed eyes
And all the maze
Of crafty ways
And hoary lies!

The sovereign vote
Is wall and moat
To guard the land,
Yet Drink denies
This priceless prize
To woman’s hand!

As he decrees
Old party knees
Bend to his will
Like broken reeds,
And party creeds
Are mute and still!

Ignoble slaves
And baser knaves
Their tribute bring
And bow and crawl
Like cringing thrall
Before this king!

While rum remains
Shall woman’s chains
Yet gall and burn,
And those now free
To slavery
Shall soon return!

To the Women’s National Prohibition Federation
Why Not Come to St. Paul?
You Will Receive
a Royal Welcome.

The Women's National Prohibition Federation, in behalf of the Prohibition National Committee, extends an invitation to the women of the Nation to attend a great "Get-together" political conference in St. Paul, Minnesota, on July 18th, to participate in the suffrage features of the Convention Parade on July 20th, and to attend the sessions, beginning July 19th, of the National Convention of the Prohibition party, which party has advocated Women's Suffrage, and many other vital issues, since 1872.

The St. Paul Association of Commerce call your attention to the following points of interest in and about their city: Como Park, Indian Mounds Park, Minnehaha Park, Zoological Garden, The Cathedral, and Fort Snelling.

For further information, entertainment reservations, etc., address Women's National Prohibition Federation, 106 N. La Salle St., Chicago. Phone Main 4975; or St. Paul Convention Headquarters, 311 Newton Building, St. Paul, Minnesota.