



Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records.

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The Philosophy of Anti-Suffrage

BY MISS TESSIE JONES



Minneapolis Association Opposed
to the Further Extension of
Suffrage to Women



N attempting to explain the philosophy of anti-suffrage,—or rather, to suggest to you, its explanation, there is, in mind, one particular object. Too generally, the question of anti-suffrage is one of opposition and negation only, until the fact calls for emphasis that its underlying philosophy is affirmative, and that those who uphold its tenets can say, "I believe," rather than, "I deny." If I shall refer not so much to facts, as to principles, it is for one compelling reason. To those of us, yet students, whose knowledge of life lies in the vision and hope of accomplishment, rather than in fulfillment, the problems of our time, of life, itself, seem complex and bewildering. Intellectual subtleties are spun round us like webs; theories are made to assume the aspect of facts; facts, the aspect of truth. Especially in relation to the suffrage question is there ignorance and misunderstanding of words themselves. One is reminded of a conversation Alice in Wonderland had with Humpty Dumpty. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."

You have heard of the anti-suffragist as a woman of leisure, knowing nothing of industrial problems, little of the ills of society, and caring less. You have heard of her as a selfish individualist, who, because she does not want to vote, desires to keep other women from the vote. Espousing a retrogressive cause, she is a slave to the tyranny of convention, a parasite in the existing economic order, and a menace to society and democracy.

Before calling more names, however, I wish to emphasize the background of the suffrage question. The signs of the times are its indicator, for the times *are* the background. Then will you more clearly see that suffrage is not an isolated phenomenon, but a natural phase of contemporary life.

On the one hand we are witnessing the growing dominance of the material world. Art, industry, discovery and invention are becoming every day more illustrious through the power of man. He is controlling more and more the forces of nature. Humanitarian and remedial enterprises are the work of the hour. Progress and efficiency have brought "man's day." "For the deliverance of humanity from its wretchedness, sorrow, pain, misery, disease and vice," we are to depend upon "science, education, civilization, legislation, sanitation, and medication."—In a word, the age-movement is one of reform. Now reform is of the essence of suffrage.

Opposed to this movement is a force, not of this age alone, for it is of every age and outside world systems. It does not aim

"to make the world better," but "to convince the world of sin." It is regenerative in nature, making complete our dependence upon God, making complete our independence of the world. In these two opposing forces is the spiritual conflict of our time. And involved is the philosophy of the suffrage question.

For suffrage, as part of the age spirit, would apply the external remedy. Anti-suffrage, measuring growth by another process, demands change of heart. The one works from the outside in; the other works from the inside out. However much this may sound like recourse to an old theology, it is still the very key to the difference of methods between suffrage and anti-suffrage.

Now as regards the fundamental difference of belief towards life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Nothing can strike home to the youth of our time with greater force than the contemporary attitude towards the permanence of immutable things. Youth, itself, is largely concerned in breaking off the past. The battle cry of the extreme modernist—and he is mostly a young modernist—is "Destroy!" Moreover, there is no strong evidence that he wishes to build again what he would destroy.

In all times, and under all circumstances, customs, laws, and institutions have had their successive rise and fall; but, from the days of barbarism, through the evolution of mankind, the relative position of man and woman has remained the same. This permanence is significant to the anti-suffragist of the essential nature of things. Francis Parkman says: "Women have great special tasks assigned them in the work of life and men have not. To these tasks their whole nature, moral and physical, is adjusted. There is scarcely a distinctive quality of women that has not a direct or indirect bearing upon them. Everything else in their existence is subordinated to the indispensable functions of continuing and rearing the human race." If this has proved to be an inexorable law of nature, it is also, as the anti-suffragist believes, a divine law, upon which depends the preservation of human life.

As Margaret Bisland has said, only "through her motherhood and her domesticity, does woman safeguard the whole nation, its ideals and its social organization. Then, and only then, is she absolutely on a plane of equality with the man." Because of the recognition of this fundamental law, continues the same writer, the Roman woman of the Republic remains in history as "the finest flower of femininity produced by any civilization preceding the Christian era." And only when Rome came to disregard the menace of the non-domestic woman, did the disintegrating influences set in which led to decay. It is worthy of note that the period of decay for Rome was brilliant; and women were emancipated. In speaking of their emancipation, Mommsen says, that "they also acted as politicians, appeared in party conferences, and took part with their money and their intrigues in the wild coterie-doings of the time."

Inge remarks in this connection:

"It has been pointed out by more than one moralist, that in times of national corruption, the women are generally more vicious than the men." And "the economic and the moral systems are inseparable," and "morals are the work of women." "Consequently," says de Toqueville, "whatever effects the condition of women, their habits and their opinions, has great political importance in my eyes."

Neither the Spartan nor the Athenian civilization equalled that of Rome in influence for no other reason than their failure to comprehend the true power of women. "Woman's mission is a striking illustration of the truth that happiness consists in doing the work for which they are naturally (by nature) fitted. Their mission is always the same; it is summed up in one word—Love. It is the only work in which there can never be too many workers; it grows by co-operation; it has nothing to fear from competition. Women are charged with the education of sympathy, the source of real human unity; and their highest happiness is reached when they have the full consciousness of their vocation, and are free to follow it."

Upon the fall of the Roman Empire, the European woman returned to her earlier domestic life; and men and women were inspired, through the relation of the Nativity, to a new ideal of "the worship and protection of a pure motherhood," to which ideal Europe owes the conservation of her women. . . . In fact, it would be difficult to over-emphasize the influence of Christianity upon the position of woman; and this influence was reflected in practical legislation as well as in the domain of ethics and morals, and in the more mystical character of religion. To quote the historian again: "Independently of all legal enactments, the simple change of the ideal type by bringing specially feminine virtues into the fore-front was sufficient to elevate and ennoble the sex." Even "their instinct and genius of charity had never before the dawn of Christianity obtained full scope for action."

Ferrerro has recently shown the many points of contact between the Roman civilization and ours. It is hinted, by other authorities, that signs of the same decay are at work in our civilization. Even the superficial among us must mark the effect of "Americanization" upon too many women. They have grown restless; desirous of living their own lives in their own way, to be free from many of the restraints society has put upon them; to be independent, economically.

But they cannot acquire absolute economic independence without affecting the social unit of the family. Here, again, the suffragist and the anti-suffragist disagree. To the suffragist, the individual is the unit of the social organization; to the anti-suffragist, the family. As an individual, the suffragist disclaims the increasing differentiation of service which civilization has brought about. With man, she has equal rights, to engage in the

same pursuits, in the same way. To have similar, but not the same rights, seems to her a form of degradation.

So, in the demand for the ballot, the suffragist wants it for its own sake, and because man has it. The anti-suffragist fails to make the connection. Nor can the anti-suffragist, believing in her God-given rights, no less than in her God-given limitations, assent to the theory, that the ballot is a natural right at all. Government is not a question of generalities or of abstract rights. Its object is the accomplishment of the greatest good to the governed. Suffrage, in that light, becomes, then, a means to the end, and a practical question, not one of inherent right. With the advance of civilization, the historian tells us, has come an increased social power to women, but a diminishing political power. Has this fact no significance for the student of history?

Now the suffragist, with a mistaken idea of progress, is asking to go back to the old; to enter, as fully as possible, into the work which men, by nature, by training, and by experience have shown themselves better fitted for. In brief, she is in rebellion against the fundamental laws of nature. What will be the result to women, first of all; to society; and to democracy?

Already there is an answer astir, the might of which is but dimly felt by the suffragists themselves, and by those who regard practically any demand from the modern woman as just and evolutionary in principle. This answer is in Feminism, of which Carrie Chapman Catt says, "Suffrage is a phase." There are many suffragists to whom the alliance with Feminism (and with Socialism), is painful; but the evidence of the alliance is certain. Says the feminist, "She will be a woman on condition that she is guaranteed economic freedom, opportunity for self-expressive work, political recognition. What this amounts to is that she does not see in the woman's life a satisfying and permanent end." As one remedy, it is suggested that motherhood be paid; and following this theory to its conclusion, one sees not only the emphasis put upon the individual rather than upon the family, but the absolute breaking up of the home. Involved are the permanent interests of mankind.

The anti-suffragist, in opposing this idea of "equal rights," economic independence for women, and larger opportunity to develop free of restraint, is standing within her *natural* right. She has seemed to learn, through the slow progress of the ages, that life, itself, develops the individual; and that, with the greater ideal of service, on her part, has come the greater good to society, and her own greater freedom. In fact, it is the simple restating of an old truth, "Whosoever shall lose his life shall save it." And men, together with women, have been learning the same truth through the ages.

With the characteristic hurry of the times, the suffragist desires revolutionary growth. Changes shall be affected over night; in a few months; in a few years. The ballot shall, in

woman's hands, purify party-politics; stop abuses; put an end to legal injustices and social evils; make war impossible.

Now, if there is one characteristic of growth which has impressed itself on the anti-suffragist, it is the slowness of the process. It is not revolutionary, but evolutionary, in principle. As Drummond reminds us, there is the element of mystery about it, which no man can explain away. "The wind bloweth where it listeth. Thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth."

But what is the relation of this quality to the machinery of government, and to partizanship in public affairs? And how is the act of voting, of engaging in political controversies, of following, freely, one's unrestrained desires, to solve the urgent problem of the woman in industry; of the child, in bondage to "system"? Are wages to be raised by women in politics, when men, in politics, have never been able to advance them through the same medium? Is it possible to legislate away unjust demands and laws,—to vote away, as it were, the ills of society, which so afflict the modern world? Or is there involved the philosophy of morals, which regulate public opinion, the great remedial agent at all times? Whether she will or no, woman is the supreme force behind public opinion, extending her influence in the free, mysterious, manifold agencies constituting growth, and without which there can be no true democracy. Lecky well says, that "He who will seriously reflect upon our clear perceptions of the difference between purity and impurity, upon the laws that govern our affections, and upon the interests of the children who are born, may easily convince himself that in this, as in all other spheres, there are certain eternal moral landmarks which never can be removed."

A little while ago I stood in Washington Square, in New York, watching, among the Sunday holiday-seekers, an old woman at her contemplation. She might have served for the Rembrandt in the gallery, so poignantly did she embody the beauty and pathos of old age: the ripeness of decay. She had known disappointment and hardship; she had lived with poverty and toil; but she sat there, serene, among the passersby, as she had found life, in peace, after its storm. And I thought how little conscious we are, suffragist and anti-suffragist alike, in the pride and power of our plans, of that Divine Mercy, which gives to an old woman, sunning in a public square, a devotion to duty, a love of earth's common things, and a contentment, denied to far mightier seekers after truth—and simple gain. Nor is this thought meant for poetic theorizing. Neither is it an anti-suffragist's plea for indifference, where the needs of the poor and the oppressed are concerned. Instead, it is one of widest *practical* application, and it has been a silent force in those obscure lives which have been lived, rather than told, to a world not too sure of its realities.

No, the American woman,—and especially the American girl

—needs no “rights” which have not been hers, inherently, from the beginning of time, however far from perfect is her full use and enjoyment of them. What she does need is a new consciousness, not of her independence, but of her dependence, as a citizen and a patriot to the state and to the republic. Then will she say, like the Psalmist of old, “He brought me forth also into a large place.”

If the suffragist wonders at the relevancy of these suggestions; if she asks, in all sincerity, what relation they bear to the question of suffrage, and, in particular, to the pressing needs of the hour in legislation and in social problems; if she honestly doubts the right of any “inexperienced” woman to dream dreams for the liberation of the race—far less to prescribe a remedy for its evils—the anti-suffragist can make but one answer.

In the first place “experience,” for her, does not necessarily imply identity of work, as it does too often for the suffragist. The discipline of life is such, that sympathy may always match sympathy. And it is neither dissimilarity of work or of position, nor diversity of talent which keeps the needy one from her helper.

Rather, let the American woman think on the pride, the hypocrisies, the hardness of heart, the jealousies, the selfish dominion of the stronger over the weaker, the love of purely material things which still flourish in society at large. Let her think on the relation of these sins to the lives of men and women, struggling under oppression; to the lives of countless little children, born under the shadow of parental neglect and selfishness. Let her think, also, on her own God-given potentialities, which, more than the combined forces of the world, can transform the world. Sacrifice, you say; and must there for liberty, as for truth, be paid a price? . . .

In “spiritual travail,” as Swinburne finely puts it, is the way to a woman’s true freedom—an *understanding heart*. This has been, is, and will be her glory.

Lecky:

Mrs. Howard Bixby [undet.]
1017 Portland Ave
St Paul

SHOULD WOMEN VOTE?

BY
JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE

ISSUED BY

The National Association Opposed to
Woman Suffrage

29 WEST 39TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY



Should Women Vote?

Joseph Gilpin Pyle



The question whether or not the franchise shall be extended to women has been so befogged with false issues that any fair discussion of it must begin with clearing the ground of some of this foreign growth. Before considering what is involved in the proposition of "votes for women," it will be well to understand definitely what is not.

First of all, it is in no sense a question of equality. Any true comparison between the mental and moral capacity of the two sexes, just as between their physical constitutions, shows a relation not of superiority and inferiority, but of difference. On this difference, as will presently appear,—a difference which has made our civilization and determines the very existence of the race—rests the fundamental objection to woman suffrage. But the idea of inequality is not involved. It is possible that the business of government might be turned over entirely to women, and such occupations as cooking and dress-making, in which men have already shown great expertness, might be committed altogether to men, and in a few centuries, after the necessary adaptations had been made and facility acquired, society would be as well served as now. But even if the hypothesis were proved, society would still have suffered for nothing the inconvenience and retardation of a transition period.

The point to be emphasized here, however, is the absolute falsity of the assumption that possession of the right to vote argues higher quality in the possessor; that non-voters are stamped with some brand of in-

feriority. At bottom, the position of the antisuffragist is that women should not be required to undergo the onerous duty of voting, not because they are inferior to men, but because they are superior. Equality in the broad and general sense, in which alone the word has any meaning at all as applied to classes so distinct in many ways as the sexes, is explicitly admitted and affirmed.

The argument that women should vote because there ought to be "no taxation without representation" is mere juggling with words. The phrase has hardly a shred of meaning left. It belongs with such assertions as "All men are born equal"; the offspring of an age of abstract reasoning and rhetorical expression that does not stand analysis. That there should be no taxation without representation was a vital principle "in good old colony days, when we lived under the king." It had force then, wherever the people, struggling to preserve their simplest rights against the arbitrary exactions of monarchy, insisted that royalty should not take their property at and for its pleasures without some measure of their own consent. The principle today has about the same standing in a democracy that the theory of kingship "by divine right" has in a monarchy.

In practical government there is no fixed relation whatever between taxation and representation. It may be pointed out, to begin with, that the great body of women are represented in the law-making body, through husbands, fathers, sons and brothers. It is a real and effective representation. But those isolated women who are not so represented suffer no peculiar hardship. The men of the District of Columbia have no representation politically. When it comes to taxation, which our outworn adage makes the Siamese twin of representation, the connection vanishes. Taxation and representation, in modern democracy, are divorced. There is no property qualification for the franchise. The man without a dollar imposes taxes on the man with millions. The amount of money to be expended is determined by a majority vote of the electors.

It is a good rule. To have the owners of property alone decide what taxes should be levied and how the money should be spent would be as intolerable as the political ideas of the Stuarts. The facts are stated here not with a view to any criticism of the existing system, but as an illustration of the present complete independence of taxation and representation. The foreigner who pays taxes on real estate owned in this country does not vote. Taxation and representation are no longer connected in theory or fact except in the loosest and most general way. And just as taxation is held to be spread over the whole body of the people who vote, though some pay and many do not, so suffrage is diffused over the whole body by the tremendously powerful influence not only possessed but exercised by women through the votes of men.

A striking proof of this is the change that has come over the laws of this country in the last fifty years. The first agitation for women suffrage did not call itself by that name. It was a movement for "women's rights." The vote was to be but a means towards the necessary end. For at that time men and women were utterly unequal before the law. A woman had few legal rights in her property, her earnings, her children. It was a real grievance which those early reformers set out to remedy; and they were not to be blamed for believing that the only effective means would be the vote. Yet, without the franchise, all and far more than was then contemplated has been accomplished.

There is complete and absolute legal equality between men and women today. Search the statutes of a State like Minnesota, and you will not find a single particular where the property right of the woman is not identical with that of the man. All that was sought originally has been won without the ballot for women. That must seek some other justification. The advocates of "the closed shop" in labor circles claim that, without it, the whole fabric of trade unionism would disintegrate and fall to ruins; forgetting that it was all built up, against opposition whose bitterness and ruthlessness can scarcely

be understood now, from nothing, without the aid of the "closed shop" idea. So those who urge that women must have the ballot in order to secure equal rights with men, and to be represented in legislation as fully as they are taxed, blink the fact that, without the ballot, both of these ends have been accomplished.

As with every cause that enlists the support of large numbers of women, the inspiration of the suffrage movement is largely ethical. Most of those who have been drawn into it are really convinced that, with the aid of women's votes, society will be elevated, politics cleansed from corruption, abuses done away with, and both the individual and the state brought under the influence of a universal moral uplift. This explains the enthusiasm of thousands of strong, true-hearted, noble women who, in many cases putting aside their personal predilections, are laboring for the ballot for their sex as a step toward better things. Never was any similar number of people so pitifully mistaken, so piteously self-deceived.

In so far as public and private morals are concerned, there is reason to believe that the immediate national enfranchisement of woman would make absolutely no difference in the practical conduct of public affairs, unless it were to increase the number of unenforced and unenforcible laws; the source of all graft, the old political derelict always drifting across the course of good government. This assertion should be tried not by the logic of argument but by the logic of fact. Woman suffrage exists in many States. In some it was granted many years ago. How has it worked out? The answer given by facts should be final. And that answer is that it has made no perceptible difference. According to local circumstances there has been good government or bad government, progress or reaction, as the case might be. The closest scrutiny discloses no great or permanent changes to be credited to the votes of women.

Colorado, for example, has been held up all over the country as an ideal example of what woman suffrage has done in a State where it has been established for twenty years. Now, let all the claims made in behalf

of progress in Colorado be granted. Admit the improvement in legislation, the cleaning up of the city of Denver, the humaner trend of political interest and action. When all is said and done, we find nothing to be set down to the women's vote, in the sense that without it the same results could not have been achieved. These improvements in States and cities, these so-called "reform waves," are as familiar a feature of political as revival meetings are of religious life. They have been neither more nor less frequent, neither more nor less effective in States where women have never possessed the ballot than in Colorado. There, although women have voted for two decades, it has to be remembered that only since the last election has the halo disappeared from the brows of the Guggenheims; and even now there is shrewd suspicion in many quarters that it has not been melted down into bullion, but is carefully kept in storage for an expected reappearance. The conditions whose correction in Denver is made an argument in favor of woman suffrage are equally an argument against it as a remedy for male indifference and inefficiency when it is remembered that, through most of these twenty years, they were permitted to remain undisturbed in a community where women had equal political rights with men.

There are other tests. Consider a few comparisons between States where the two systems are on trial. There is one State many of whose laws today are generally recognized by men of advanced political ideas as models for the others. As a whole its legislation is more humane, more directed toward the establishment of equal justice for all, more enlightened and intelligent than that of almost any other State. Yet Wisconsin has never had woman suffrage. Its people do not seem to be interested in that matter at all. So that all which Colorado has been struggling toward, with the aid of the women's votes—to which all of its success has been attributed by representatives of the suffrage cause—has been done earlier, better, more thoroughly, apparently more permanently, by a State where suffrage is neither

on trial nor greatly desired. The two States, as illustrations with power to prove anything, simply cancel each other and disappear, like equal quantities standing on opposite sides of an equation.

Turn the argument around and look at it from the other side. Last year two States of the Union stood rock-ribbed for all that was reactionary. If there is a commonwealth in the Union where the new ideas are at a standstill, it is Utah, one of these two. It has a United States senator who, in ability, in the faith of the stand-patter, in devotion to the bad old régime, is a worthy heir to the mantle of Aldrich. It stands immovable by reason of the woman vote. If there is one idea, one system, against which the women of this country are arrayed in solid column, it is Mormonism. Utah is the obedient servitor of the Mormon church. Its government is a hierarchy. No outside power can overthrow or even seriously disturb it. Men of independent judgment who have gone deep into the Utah situation declare without exception that this system, unique among American commonwealths in its un-Americanism, hateful to women as it is by virtue of the burden and the stigma it has placed on womanhood, rests on the support of the women voters of Utah.

The Mormon church votes solid, and according to direction. There are enough Mormon women in Utah to hold the balance of power. Whatever Colorado proves, Utah disproves. Again the argument for great public reforms to come through votes for women cancels out and vanishes. Fact establishes just what clear thinking would lead us to expect in the first place; that in the matter of practical results, woman suffrage in the broad, general aspect, changes nothing. Whatever it might cost, whatever sacrifices it involves, would be given in vain. Things would go on, as these illustrations prove they have gone on, precisely as they do under exclusive manhood suffrage.

Certain undesirable results of the extension of the suffrage to women can be foreseen clearly. From two sources spring nearly all the political ills that afflict our

country or any part of it today. Get rid of them, and more would be accomplished than by all the constitutional amendments or new devices that ever entered the mind of man. One is the stay-at-home vote. The other is the unenforced law. Behind these are entrenched the grafter, the boodler, the men and women who prey on vice while they fertilize and cultivate it, all that tends to make civilization hideous and life, as the tormented poet called it, one "long disease." Both theory and practice go to show that each of these obstacles, not only to progress but to social health, would be built higher—unintentionally and with the purest motives, but still built higher—by the granting of the ballot to women.

As to the increase of non-voting voters, more must be said of this a little later. It is enough to remark here that every authority on municipal government in this country acknowledges it to be a powerful support of municipal abuses. Get out the full vote, and you are reasonably sure of good results. Increase the percentage of those who stay at home on election day—and it is increasing now so rapidly that a penalty for failing to vote has been seriously proposed in several States—and you prepare a smooth way for the combine, the gang, the boss. There can be no successful self-government, with difficulty any that might be called even decent, where any considerable portion of those entitled to vote do not at every election cast their ballot, and put their intelligence and conscience behind the act. What this involves, in connection with votes for women, we shall presently see.

The unenforced law is the product of sentimentalism, inexperience, "pandering to the moral sense of the community," as Fernando Wood called it, and sometimes of personal vindictiveness. It is mostly a consequence of our modern vicious habit of legislating to cover the exception, not the rule. A law which does not relate to acts like murder, robbery or arson, immemorably accepted as crimes in themselves; a law relating to conduct, in a civilized state, should deal only with facts and

conditions fairly general throughout the whole community. What do we see? A man gets drunk and abuses and neglects to support his family. Forthwith there is a demand for prohibitory laws, which a wide experience has shown cannot be enforced. A member of some legislature takes a room at a hotel and, either because of the shortness of the clothes or the size of his lower extremities, finds his feet uncovered and cold in the morning. Forthwith he posts to his place in the capitol and brings in a bill compelling every hotel-keeper in the State to provide sheets not less than nine feet long.

This is an extreme type of proposed law-making with which our legislatures are already overrun. It is largely a product of inexperience. By her inexperience and by her accessibility to the appeal of sentiment, of the emotions, woman is peculiarly open to this error. The very qualities that give charm to womanhood impair the efficiency of the voting machine. For a good many years after the franchise goes to women, law enforcement will be a difficult or impossible task. Yet on the enforcement, much more than on the enactment, of laws must not only the character but perhaps the very perpetuity of our political institutions depend.

Why all this wasted effort? There is a far better way. What women have done for their property rights they can do for the other objects in which they are most vitally interested, better without the ballot than with it. No delegation of men is received or listened to with as much deference as one of women by a legislative committee or an executive officer. Their demands are not always granted. Neither are those of men. But there is ground for asserting seriously that, if women brought to bear the same thoroughness of organization, the same concerted attack upon public opinion in behalf of those public measures in which they are most interested, they could secure all that they desire in half the time and with twice the certainty that they can by devoting their energies to a demand for the elective franchise. Indeed

there are causes to make the heart ache which await just this disinterested and effective support.

Child labor is a terrible evil, and the women say they want to make laws against it. But it is a trifle compared with the disappearance of the home, the education on the street of the boys and girls of nearly all ranks in nearly all communities. If the good women will go on the streets of any city between nine o'clock and midnight of any evening, they will see evils that it is women's work to correct; that the law cannot remedy; that can be cured only by the repair and restoration of the home. Suppose, instead of trying to get more laws for the relief of the working girl, they should organize to curtail the number of girls who work in shops and offices; to help keep in the home those who are not in need; to frown upon the course of hundreds of thousands who leave a home that is perfectly able to support them, in order to win pin money by lowering the wages of the whole body of workers.

What might be done to check the horrible white slave traffic, to support the assaulted integrity of the family, to reduce and reform manners which appear in the younger generation as an absolute disregard for authority and a taste for amusements of which neither the origin, the character nor the effect will bear investigation? There is so much of what is properly woman's work, of what can be done best by women or only by them, that all their clubs and other organizations might find occupation in that field for the next generation, without remembering that there is such a thing as a polling booth. And they can do it more effectively and more quickly if they never see the inside of that coveted shrine.

The fundamental and conclusive objection to the assumption by women of an equal share with men in the conduct of public affairs is that it is contrary to the laws and processes of nature, as modern science has revealed them. The way of nature is a way of differentiation in function. That is the essence of the long story of the ages. Not the mingling of activities in a hopeless jumble;

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not the assumption of multiple powers by a combination of agencies; but separation, ever greater delicacy of function, the assignment of different offices to the different organs best fitted, in the progress of evolution, to fill and perform them,—this is the law of life as science announces it. We have conformed to it, and advanced by conforming. Specialization has been a watchword and a way to the highest efficiency. The professions, the trades, the very organization of the whole mercantile world have conformed. There can be, so far as we may learn from the history of human society, from organic life itself, from the development of the intelligence, no other way of evolution. To set oneself across this well-marked path is like trying to turn the planets from their orbits with a parasol.

All progress in organic life has been through the differentiation and specialization of function. The line dividing the lowest organisms from the inorganic is insecurely drawn. The amoeba propagates by dividing its simple cell tissue into two parts, each becoming a complete whole. And there is no visible difference. Grade by grade on the upward march, every advance is marked by growing complexity of organization, meaning and requiring a division of activity; the assignment to the individual, the organ, the impalpable essence even, of that work in the world which it is best fitted to perform and for which it came into being.

There is, perhaps, no other law so plain, so helpful, so immutable. To deny, to violate, to interfere with its operation is not progress, it is retrogression. It is a step downward toward the lower things from which we came. It is a harking backward toward the realms of Chaos and Old Night. We are free agents, and we can do these things. But let us see them plainly and know what we are doing. Let us not attempt to retrace an evolutionary step and call it progress. And let us not deceive ourselves by forgetting that, no matter what we poor creatures of a day may decide to do, the law of the universe will not be baffled, set aside or modified. The method of human growth and of social advancement has

been determined by forces beyond the permanent control of human hands or minds. We can vary the event, hasten or retard the consummation; but we cannot affect by one little tremor the permanence of the law which runs through and governs all things,—call it Fate or Necessity or God as you will.

Now, certainly one of the most important differentiations of nature is that of sex. The low organisms of which mention has just been made are sexless. The fact and the function of sex emerge only after uncounted centuries. They are curiously jumbled in the beginning. Odd plants present the phenomenon of parthogenesis; a birth without the co-operation of male and female elements. It is in the highest form of development yet reached, in man, that the differentiation of sex and its reaction upon both mind and body become most complete. This is not meaningless. It indicates a supreme function. It lays down a law to which humanity must conform, whatever it thinks of it. It is the greatest specialization that nature has yet achieved. And its purpose is not merely the perpetuation of the race—which could have been achieved in other and obscurer ways, as lowlier forms of life have taught us—but the creation of qualities, the stamping of them upon character, the transmission of them to endless generations, all that we sum up in one of our greatest words upon which the innovators are teaching us to look with less than our immemorial reverence—motherhood.

Woman is not less than man, perhaps she is greater than man; but above all things she is different from man, because she bears the child. That controlling fact no device of ours can affect. And it has far-reaching implications. Its influence in the wonderful force that attracts each sex to the other is a mere trifle in comparison with its other human affiliations. The physical and mental quality of that child will be affected by the interests and preoccupations of the mother for long months before it sees the light. They will be even more powerfully affected by the interests and preoccupations of the mother, by the atmosphere of the home, for many long

years before adolescence begins. No language can state the import of these well-known facts, which rampant agitators are now trying to thrust into the discard. We realize them only as each man of us pronounces the word "mother," and then stops to meditate upon its personal content to him. High as heaven or deep as hell are the consequences of the performance of this function of motherhood. No one need waste time on any shallow creature who pretends that this occupation is not enough to call for the highest, the best, the whole of any woman. "By their fruits shall ye know them."

There is no time here to enlarge upon this central fact, not only of the present argument but of human life and its destiny. Miss Tarbell, in her book, "The Business of Being a Woman," has stated the unchangeable truth with rare clearness and force. Motherhood and its duties are the true business of a woman; her predestined law, provided since the dawn of life upon this planet, most to be desired and least to be escaped. And it is just as impossible for her to do this work with the desired thoroughness and care, the devotion of mind and heart to the exclusion of other matters, while she is busied with matters political, running conventions, voting, holding office, acquiring the knowledge and practical expertness that are essential to any kind of good work in the world, as it is for the man to be in his business office and at home taking care of the baby at the same time. Without too much exaggeration it might be said that it is just as impossible as it would be for him to bear the child himself in the first place. *ridiculous*

It is true that there are unmarried women, childless wives, women who are not in harmony with the ultimate demand of their being and purpose of their existence. The world is open to them. No limitations are now set to their education, their enjoyments, their occupation. If these or any others find that they have time for other things, let them not make that an excuse for burdening the whole sex with duties foreign to their nature and hostile to their inmost desire. The demand of these for the ballot is simply another instance of that fatal habit,

already referred to, of legislating for or trying to conform society to the exceptional.

For those who, whether by choice or accident, have missed the highest privilege of womanhood, there can be no word or thought of reproach. But the man who has lost an arm does not ask that every other man shall have one arm cut off or tied behind him, so as to restore equality. And for the idle plea of idle hands and brains that modern industrial changes have so transformed the work of woman that she has useless time to be spent in some way there should be no mercy. One child is an occupation. A husband may be an occupation. Go into the homes of the very rich or the very poor as you please, get at the heart of the home life, discover how much obedience, reverence, aspiration, effort toward the highest things are hourly enforced, and you will lend no ear to silly and insincere prating about the need of employment for woman's activities. The garden of the new generation is marred by many a noxious weed because of that flippant and foolish falsehood.

Not least among the unfortunate consequences of this unhappy agitation for the ballot is the sure creation of an instinct of sex hostility. You see these things in their crudest and most impressive form only in those extreme manifestations which American suffragists hasten to disown. But they are types and forerunners. It is not without significance that the movement goes faster and further with every impulse given to it; that in England it not only adopts the torch and the bomb, but openly assails the marriage tie and the family. Superficially, it is a demand to cast a ballot. Actually, it is a proposition to dissociate interests heretofore identical; a proclamation of sex freedom; the raising of a separate standard about which a class shall rally not only because they want to vote, but because they are women as distinguished from men. It needs no prophet to tell that this leads to the death of the closest and dearest relations; to partnership on stipulated terms rather than identity; to a nascent warfare that must permeate other relations and irritate continually when it does not blaze into open dis-

cord. It could not be otherwise. You cannot split a nerve lengthwise without protest from the separated halves and from the whole body. You cannot secure from either half or from both combined the co-ordinated and perfect service that the original unit gave.

One of the most monstrous propositions connected with this whole movement is announced from every platform; forms, necessarily, the keynote of its demand. This is that the women who do not want to vote have no right to deny the ballot to those who do; that they have no right to be counted at all; that legislators must decide to grant or withhold without reference to them. Some advocates have gone so far as to state publicly that, if only two per cent. of the women of a State want the ballot, it should be given. On the contrary, no State has a right to enact an equal suffrage law, no State has a right so much as to submit the question to its voters, until it has first provided for a State-wide election at which none but women shall vote, and at which they shall declare their preference in this matter alone. If every injustice that law ever did to woman still existed, it could not compare with the crowning injustice—should it not rather be called crime—proposed by the suffrage advocates against the women who protest against having the ballot thrust upon them. It is these, more than all others, who need a spokesman and an audience now. The right not to vote is a very sacred thing.

Get the matter straight to begin with. The right to vote is not an ornament, like a new feather to be stuck in a cap or left out of it as you please; it is not intrinsically a "right" at all, and it is not a privilege. It is a very grievous burden which the State must impose upon certain of its citizens, as it levies taxes, because the State must live. Once laid upon the people, there is no escape for the conscientious. Oh, say the suffragists, the women who do not want to vote do not have to. There is need of no other evidence than that assertion to prove how little they comprehend the first principles of the business which they are so eager to undertake. Consider the two salient

facts: voting is a burden; to abstain from voting after the State has made you a voter is a crime.

No man who loves his country and means to do his duty by her will deny the onerous nature of the suffrage. The State says to him, I will hold you responsible to the extent of your ballot, which may conceivably be decisive, for the men that manage me, and for the policies that I am to represent. This means inquiry into facts, conditions, records, characters of men, to which almost every day must contribute something. It means reading, study, anxious conference with others. It means deliberation and decision. The duty is not always so performed, but it ought to be; and surely the highest model is none too good to set before the prospective new woman voter. It means going to the polls. Too much has been made of the soiling associations of city politics as we know them. They are not likely to touch good women closely. But many millions of women live in the country; and the city agitator may be assured that their lives are now full enough. For such it means a journey, often of from three to six or seven miles, to the polls. The weather is usually inclement at our voting times. Under the initiative, referendum and recall, it is likely to have to be made very often. It means mastering—should I say mistressing—the intricacies of several ballots three or four feet long at times. It means the return to a household which has stood still during a half or the whole day. And to what end? That there may be added to the electorate a number of units that will rarely have a perceptible effect upon the result. For most men vote after talking things over with their wives; while in the cities the bad women will not stay away from the polls. *Harvey*

By what right can those who want the vote, unless they are in a decided majority, ask that all this labor, a labor co-existent, if well performed, with every day in the year and with the whole of life, be forced upon those who are either listless or hostile? The fundamental and biological arguments against votes for women would always remain intact, even though they asked and received

legal consent. But no argument should have to be made, no consideration whatever should be given to the demand, until there has been a plebiscite of the women of that community, large or small, within which it is proposed so to extend the suffrage, and a majority of their votes has been cast in its favor.

Let it not be forgotten that the person who has the right to vote and does not vote is on a level with the man who deserts from the army in time of war. Every election is a battle. No soldier can be spared. No conscientious voter is willing to be spared. Democracy itself, self-government demands the sacrifice. It has already been mentioned that nearly all bad government rests largely on the indifference of the absentee voter. The country cannot afford to enlarge the class. The country has no right to put before its women the choice between taking up an arduous labor which is distasteful to them, and which they believe foreign to their true work in the world, and committing a treason against the State.

The airy gesture with which the suffrage advocates dismiss these harassed women, whose wishes should receive first consideration, is like their answer to the question whether women will be willing to serve on juries and perform other unpleasant public duties. Oh, they say, women will not ask to do these things, and men will not require or wish them to. What, then, is this citizenship to which women are to be admitted? Is it a shop window, out of which they may pick what pleases their fancy, leaving the remainder behind? Do they ask for its agreeable side only, that which involves power and some pleasing amount of publicity? Have they thought about it at all? For citizenship is a fairly definite thing; and its duties are just as imperative as its privileges. Either women must suffer by the ballot, or the whole quality of the electorate must deteriorate through the impairment of the patriotic conception behind that term, "citizenship," which must be the watchword of every free and enduring State.

The request for the ballot should be denied, finally, because, little though those who ask for it may understand

or believe the assertion, it is really a movement for the degradation of woman. Let us take one more glance beyond the surface of things, and try to sense some of the dim and potent forces that work always toward the elevation of mankind. Nothing in all that wondrous realm is more enlightening and at the same time more awesome than the story of woman in the last two thousand years. There is in it one influence which he who leaves out will find that he has reckoned ill. Look at the world and woman's place in it near the beginning of our era. There were a few great women on thrones, a few at the head of families of wealth and influence, a few who swayed states and policies by the mere fact of a sex that they disgraced. Where were the others? Following with the dogs behind the tent poles, and sharing with the dogs both food and kicks. Doing the drudgery of miserable huts whose masters held them level with the cattle for which they were bought and sold.

But there came into the world a new example and a new thought. Men served with the lips; but to woman's whole nature appealed that life of self-sacrifice, of love, of willing service that has created a new heaven and a new earth. From the foot of the cross there arose and went out into the world a womanhood that did not demand or claim or threaten or arrogate; a womanhood renouncing, yielding, loving and therefore conquering. For twenty centuries that has been the law of woman's life. It is sneered at and rejected today by the clamorous; but it has made of woman what we now find her. You see it in your mothers, your daughters, your wives. Do you wish to have that ideal changed? Woman has become, to man, not only a companion but an inspiration. Out of the crucible of these centuries has come what we not only love but adore; before which, in certain hours, we bow with a reverence that links us consciously with the divine. It is Christian civilization that is in the balance.

What has this woman, by this method, without violence, without wrangling, by the law of love and along the via dolorosa of the cross, made of man? Two thousand

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years ago, with only little oases of education and culture, man was a wild beast who roamed the earth preying as he went. His three attributes were cruelty, gluttony and lust. He smote, burned, ravaged, killed not only as a livelihood but for his delight. Out of that ferocious savage have come the men of today; men intelligent, charitable, kind, trying to be just, with a care for the welfare of the earth and at least an occasional thought of heaven. And in this miraculous transformation, the human influence potent above all others combined has been that of woman. It is she who has tamed the wild beast and changed it into man: and she was able to do this because she loved instead of hated; gave instead of asking; embodied in herself as few men can ever do the life that was and is and must be the Light of the World.

It is the old choice, with a change only of accident and circumstances, that is offered to us today. It is the conflict between saving one's life and losing it. Demands like that which is considered here are only the sparks that fly upward; but their direction betrays the tendency, and behind them is some central fire. It is the civilization of Nietzsche confronting and contending for mastery with the civilization of Christ.

Of course no one need fear the ultimate outcome. The earth, as a whole, cannot move backward. But a nation, a race, a civilization can. That is what we have to heed and fear. No such momentous, revolutionary change as that which proposes to take woman from the high place she now holds and where men love to leave her, and put her brawling in the market-place, can ever succeed. No overturning that should reduce to a secondary place her function as the mother and fashioner of the race can be permanent. No substitution of any other interest for that can avail. Our purpose is to save from a gigantic, perhaps a fatal blunder, the state, society, so much of all that we hold dear.

Whether tried on a more or less extensive scale, this experiment will always eventually fail. Out of it will come waters sweet and bitter. After it must come a difficult and dangerous reorganization; and who knows what

may be left behind, what perish, in the rectification of a mistake? But no one who looks at facts in the light of time and science and the changeless truth need feel his soul disquieted. All experiment that tends to confuse and disturb, except in negligible details, the place and relation of men and women in this world of ours must come to nothing. There is a double assurance.

On one side Nature stands guard. Her plans are made, her edicts issued, her hand is sure. She may be flouted, defied, at a price, but she cannot be baffled or bullied or turned from her course. She has differentiated woman for high and holy purposes, and she will take care that they are fulfilled.

On the other hand stands that influence and example by following which woman has done more than any other human factor to regenerate and reform a world. That, too, is changeless. She has not followed the path of the bleeding feet and torn hands for so many centuries to turn aside from it now. She has not incorporated in her nature those qualities as mystical and as holy as the life which she transmits to the world, she has not become an inspiration and the very savor of our life, in order that she may turn traitor to herself and her ideal for a paltry bit of paper, and the boast that, from being man's superior, she has now become his equal. The ideal will persist. And whether in this or some other civilization, it matters not so greatly which to him who dwells with truth rather than with events and consequences, the sequel of this shrill clamor of today will be a quiet voice, confessing, in the words that history or legend attributes to the dying Roman emperor, "Pale Galilean, thou hast conquered."

[undated]

A Case for the Opposition

by

Frances Corning Boardman



*Saint Paul Association Opposed
to Woman Suffrage*

A Case for the Opposition.

In the face of a possibility that the next two or three decades will see the women of the whole United States voting on an equal political basis with men, the amount of time and space devoted to the discussion of an extended franchise is not surprising, nor is it wasted.

Whatever one's individual opinion, the issue has to be faced.

And quite naturally, of course, it is the voices of the propagandists that are heard most persistently in the land, for the great, silent majority on the other side of the question is composed mainly of those who are too indifferent, too dazed, too disgusted, or too genuinely heartsick to protest. But,—they are the majority, still; remember that.

If you have investigated the subject at all, you have found that it is very difficult for an aggressive suffragist to allow brains, sincerity or enterprise to stand to the credit of disbelievers. But then bigotry is the greatest motive power of almost any propaganda, so that is condition to be accepted as inevitable.

All the same, though, there is the case for the opposition, and I sometimes think that its very obviousness and simplicity prevent its being more frequently formulated. Somehow it always seems quite adequately comprehended in the statement, "Male and female created He them." He did, and it is a fact that we cannot get back of, nor push out of sight.

It goes without saying that we have all frequently been impressed by the plausible logic and the utter sincerity of certain suffrage promoters,—even those of us who heartily disagree with their premises and purpose. But personally, the more I hear and read and see of the whole idea, the less faith I have in its efficacy in any direction at all, and I persist in thinking that my means of observation have been wider than those of the average woman, and my conclusions correspondingly legitimate.

Moreover, I belong to the class most frequently quoted as being

in desperate need of direct political representation—the class composed of unmarried, self-supporting women.

Like many another American girl, I was obliged, while still in my 'teens, to equip myself with a profession. A kindergarten training was judged the best thing available, and I took the course, the close of which found me ensconced as combination teacher, mother and playmate to the youngsters in a state hospital for crippled and deformed children.

I was still very young when this experience initiated me into the soul-sickening mysteries of inherited disease, and in these days, when it has become so common for beautifully-gowned ladies to mount palm-decked platforms and discourse on equal suffrage as a sure road to moral hygiene, I often smile, as I contrast their probable opportunities of knowing the real truth, with those that I have had.

How many of these social evangelists have worked and played daily with little boys and girls whose doom is written upon them in one frightful scar after another?

How many of them have loved and petted and taught babies whose pitiful days were numbered by their grandfathers before them?

I know what it means, and if I believed that an extended franchise could remedy these things, then I should work for it, too. But I cannot believe it.

A life-long desire to be a trained nurse came to the fore as soon as I was old enough to be accepted for probation in a representative training-school, and for a while I saw active service in the free wards of one of New York's leading hospitals.

That added a few more chapters to what I already knew of the realities of life.

There followed a year of teaching in a public school kindergarten situated in a semi-slum district, and then I drifted into newspaper work.

As with most women who adopt that profession nowadays, I have had very much to do with feminine activities of all kinds; I have attended countless suffrage meetings, and Feminist lectures of every sort, and I have interviewed countless devotees of the "cause;" I have read endless piles of literature, and heard endless clever discussions, and my inner consciousness presents but one answer to it all—it won't work.

And I can never say it to myself without a smile, for as a piece of humor truly Homeric in its proportions, I believe the whole Feminist movement stands without a parallel.

I suppose it is my serene, unshakable belief in the superiority of my own sex, and in the inherent dignity of its several functions, that makes me resent so deeply this wholesale, and pathetically unimaginative scheme for advertising its merits.

It is as though one set seriously about the business of printing tracts to call public attention to the value of sun and rain, or of maintaining a lecture bureau devoted to spreading the news that the animal kingdom offers an interesting field for study.

Yes, if one could not smile, one would weep with mortification at the indignity that is being heaped upon the sex by its alleged champions. It is a noisy age, though, and a certain number of women are taking full advantage of the temper of the times, to let off steam.

The greatest difficulty in following the logic of the suffragists lies in trying to reconcile their two basic slogans: "We don't want special consideration because we are women—we want to stand on an equal footing with men," and, "We ought to have political equality because we are women, and our special standpoint is essential to the right adjustment of social relationships."

And there you are. The fact that they are women must be taken into account—and it mustn't be taken into account. Why, oh why, don't they accept their age-long privilege of being contrary and contradictory instead of trying to make a whim take on the semblance of logic? The disguise is much too thin.

How is it, I wonder, when male citizens surrender street-car seats to them? Is it an offense, or merely a matter of simple justice? Personally, I am always delighted when that particular courtesy is shown me, and it never seems to me that I am being complimented in the act nearly so much as is the woman who was responsible for the man's up-bringing.

"My vote," said a friend of mine who lives in a suffrage state, "is always lost, as well as those of hundreds of other women, because we dare not register, knowing that it renders us liable for jury duty. I have two little children and no servants, and you can see how such service would be out of the question."

I have mentioned this phase of matters to numerous suffragists, who merely raise their eyebrows at my ignorance, and remark that it is very easy to get excused—plenty of men do it.

Yes, they do, of course, but not in any such numbers, because the claims on a man's time and upon that of a wife and mother, are of a totally different nature. It simply means that the most normal and representative type of woman that we have is to be admitted to the duties of citizenship on a very much restricted scale.

This one department, for instance, important as it is, is closed to her, practically, and for purely sex reasons. Nature, and not society, has imposed the barrier.

Every anti-suffragist has discovered that the last shaft of contempt is supposed to have been levelled at her when she is called Early or Mid-Victorian by her scornful sisters, but devastating as it may sound, this nettle of speech becomes quite harmless when seized and examined closely.

I am thinking just now of my grandmother, who died not very long ago. She was a little girl when Victoria came to the throne. Married while very young, her honeymoon trip was made mostly by wagon through two Middle Western states, to the tiny pioneer settlement which was to be her home.

She managed to bring up eleven children to healthy maturity, and to make herself indispensable to the community as a domestic pattern, a wonderful nurse in times of illness, a counsellor, friend, or teacher, as the need might be.

Wherever there was any occasion for the display of sympathy, or of competency in almost any line, she was the woman sent for. And she also managed, quite simply and naturally, not only to keep her graces of mind and body, but to maintain so keen and intelligent an interest in world affairs that, when the progress of events sent her husband to Washington, she was able to slip gracefully into her place in official society, to become known as one of its distinct assets.

To the end of her life she retained those qualities which made her a notable little figure in more than one city, and I have yet to see the advanced Feminist who has anything better to offer by way of contribution to the uplift.

There were countless other wonderful women in that same generation; what of the "Mid-Victorian" women who served so faithfully throughout the Civil War? What of England's own Florence Nightingale, and the "Good Little Queen" herself?

No, here again I part company with my excited sisters—I cannot agree with their smug assumption of superiority over preceding generations.

"Do you expect women to be drudges—mere pieces of household machinery?" is one of their favorite questions, always uttered in deeply affronted tones.

Well, there, it seems to me, is a proposition that is settled unconditionally by circumstance. If you are the mother of a family, and cannot afford to keep servants, then I suppose you will have to be tied down pretty firmly; there doesn't seem to be any way out of it as long as people need to be fed and clothed, and premises have to be taken care of.

If you have one servant, then more of your time will be your own, and if you can employ several, then there is a distinct obligation imposed on you to cultivate not only the domestic graces, but as many more as possible, to the positive benefit of your family.

There is no possible connection between the extension of the franchise and the amount of time which any given woman is obliged to spend in her kitchen or nursery, and yet most suffragists talk as though the right to vote carried with it a certain immunity from domestic ties of an irksome nature.

Apropos of this, they are fond of explaining that domestic industries have been taken from the home by man-made corporations; that it is no longer necessary for the mother to spin, dye, and weave the cloth for her children's clothing, or make the candles that light the house.

That very fact ought to fill her with an overwhelming sense of responsibility, and make her realize that time and energy saved from grilling physical labor is to be spent still better in promoting the mental and spiritual welfare of the household.

The case of the unmarried woman, especially if she be self-supporting, is the one customarily harped upon as most completely illustrative of the need for equal suffrage.

Being of such myself, I feel that I have fairly good grounds for asserting that the American woman, even if she is a spinster and a wage-earner, need never find herself in a desperate state, except through extreme personal or family conditions, such as no amount of voting could rectify.

I know I can never be made to look upon myself as a nonentity simply because the men of the community in which I live have been taught to shoulder all of the more disagreeable burdens of actual government.

It would seem quite as reasonable to feel humiliated and disgraced because, in time of war, I could not carry arms. One would

suppose that the civilized mind had progressed beyond such petty reckonings.

All of which leads up to the chief object of Feminist wrath and censure—that appalling thing known as “indirect influence.”

At least, one would think it appalling from the amount of energy consumed in denouncing it by every severe epithet in the catalogue. It is, assert the suffragists, the most pernicious element in the world, and when exerted by members of the female sex, it assumes the proportions of a moral pestilence. But here again, is one of those verbal mirages which disappear upon close approach.

In the first place the suffragist recognizes practically only one sort of effective feminine influence—the kind directly connected with the barter and sale of personal charms. Between that, and a hand-to-hand fight at the polling-booth, she can see no shades, grades, nor qualities. The inevitable coloring of a man's thoughts and character by daily association with the women of his family and those outside of it—all this is negligible and unworthy because it is “indirect;” in other words, because their opinions are not pitted with, or against his, as the case may be, in a ballot-box. A curious, distorted view of things, that!

Another kind of analysis shows the utter vagueness of the term under any circumstances.

Suppose it is the will of a certain community that an objectionable place be closed. Voters register this desire through the more or less roundabout method of electing a man who is pledged to accomplish the fact. When he gets into office he probably sets in motion the machinery which will eventually close the place, but, when all is said and done, the whole thing is managed entirely by indirect influence, except on the part of the man who expels the offenders with his own hands, or who actually fastens the door with hammer and nails. The vast majority of voters never even know the miscreants by sight. And thus constitutional government is always accomplished indirectly.

It certainly represents a far more creditable moral condition of affairs when the women among our citizens can say to the men within their reach, “I trust you to vote in such a manner that the interests of women are looked after even more carefully than your own, because they need more help,” than when they shout defiantly, “You help me accomplish such and such reforms, or else I'll see that our vote hounds you and your friends out of office.” Between the two methods is there any comparison in worthiness and decency of

purpose? Can there be any question as to the comparative desirability of the motives?

For if there is one forward step upon which the world today prides itself, it is upon the change in our educational methods.

“Our grandfathers,” we reminisce self-righteously, “were taught that two and two made four because the teacher said so, and if their infant minds did not at once agree or comprehend, a whipping was the only aid to enlightenment. Our children are taught to think for themselves—are guided, not coerced into the light.”

We are proud of our honor systems and our moral suasion principles—all of them manifestations of that “indirect influence” so sadly rated by the suffragist. Why isn't the theory the same, whether applied in politics or school?

After all, the really vicious, insidious forms of influence are not going to be much affected by legislation, nor are the higher ones, for that matter.

The mother who feels that her husband and sons cannot be trusted to represent her best interest at the polls, has only herself to thank. It has been her far greater privilege to make the voter; she ought to be able to trust him with the smaller function.

And the woman whom circumstances have placed in the business world has much wherewith to reproach herself if the men who met her daily cannot reflect something of her own best ideals. When I say that I speak from thoroughly practical experience, not from any visionary ambition to preach about the uplift.

A very serious aspect of the struggle presents itself right at this point; so long as women keep themselves from actual political workings, just so long will their united desires be looked upon as high-minded and disinterested. Let them once affiliate themselves with partisan interests—which they must inevitably do, once the vote is theirs—and the confidence of the community has been transmuted into a doubtful regard, forever tainted with a suspicion of the presence of party ties.

It is a colossal sacrifice to make—and for what?

No, they are advocating a mechanical form of influence cancelable by the tramp who happens to follow at the voting booth; I speak for a brand which is literally deathless, and which makes its direct appeal to the very decenter element in any man—his respect for women.

Men have governed weakly, foolishly and harmfully; all the world knows that. But remember this—taking responsibility from

them, or lessening it in any way, is not going to strengthen them; rather will it mean that they take a backward step, while we stand still.

It is idle to quote statistics and special cases; they can always be made to serve either end of any argument. I have heard the state of Colorado held up so persistently as an example on both sides of the fence that I should think it must be showing signs of fatigue, if not of actual wear.

And the same is true of Australia. Whether or not they can be made to prove anything at all, I don't know—nor does it greatly matter; the eternal verities may sometimes wear a veil, but they never suffer real change.

This I do know, however, speaking of Colorado. Whereas it has become entirely habitual to point to Denver as the cradle of the juvenile court, and to speak of Judge Lindsey as an example of what a suffrage state can produce, the suffragists take no notice of the fact that Kansas City, without the assistance of women's votes, has developed and takes care of the world's model juvenile court and juvenile improvement system; that it has outstripped Denver and every other city in the country, in proportion to its size.

And then, too, we must all realize that the female vote and the Feminist movement combined have had no perceptible effect on a very sore industrial situation. That seems logical enough, when we pause to consider the chaos which reigns in that department of industrial life which is under exclusively feminine control—domestic service.

Here is the grand opportunity for a display of feminine genius in organization and arbitration; women have the field to themselves, unmolested, and it would be an excellent one wherein to gain training for more extensive activities.

I was talking one day with a clever little suffragist who had just recovered from a severe operation, and our conversation turned toward a discussion of women as physicians.

"My own doctor," she said, "is a woman, and I have great confidence in her. I think she knows quite as much as any man about anatomy and diagnosis, and the science of medicine, but somehow, when I found that an operation was going to be necessary, I didn't hesitate two minutes before deciding to have a man perform it. Perhaps it's when we reach a crisis calling for decisive executive action that we instinctively turn to men for assistance." And I believe we do.

The reason is so awfully simple, so crudely obvious, that the manner in which it is so often overlooked is absolutely astounding. It is a matter of physiology, after all. As our nervous systems differ, so do our psychological processes, and with them our special capabilities.

At a certain suffrage convention which I was obliged to report for my paper, the presiding officer was an able woman, credited (and rightly, I believe) with an unusual amount of poise. Twice in the course of the first day she became so pitifully overwrought by different crises which arose that she dissolved into a state of hysteria, and the close of the convention found her, naturally, in a deplorable state of nervous exhaustion.

Now these crises were of a sort which men meet perhaps with profanity, and perhaps with an outburst of violence of a physical sort, but from which they manage to recover promptly, with no one the worse for the scuffle.

Training, the suffragist will tell you, is all that is needed to obviate conditions like this; give women a few generations in which to become used to the handling of affairs, and they will meet them as sensibly as men do.

Training? Is training going to alter the physical structure of the sex? Until it accomplishes that, we must still go on expecting to find a feminine temperament in a female body.

The suffrage cause has not been wanting in clever leaders, keen casuists, quick-witted opportunists and scientific supporters, and it has required the combined efforts of all these adherents to gain for it the wide and respectful hearing which it enjoys, and its opportunity, here and there, to become an experiment in social chemistry, for such, and only such, it is. The pity is that experiments of this nature always mean so tragic a loss of energy.

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And what of us—the women who feel that a tremendous new burden, a complicated responsibility, is being unfairly shifted to our already tired shoulders? Some of us still believe that it is for men to do the rough hewing of the social structure, while to us is left the management of subtle detail and supplementary finesse. They need our work as much as we need theirs, and the idea that a ranting sisterhood can transform this healthy state of interdependence into a pitting of one sex against the other in heart-sickening political warfare, is a very sorry one.

Those of us who have had a chance to see, and who are not afraid to look truth in the face, know the utter and absolute impossibility of maintaining the same footing for men and women who are thrown together even in purely business relationships. We are the women who know the futility of pretense at Platonic friendship, and we know that just so long as men are men, just so long will their eyes look upon us through the medium of our sex—even as ours look upon them.

There is nothing intrinsically evil in this, and to cope with it requires only a little quick, philosophical personal adjustment, although at that, the path is a complicated one to tread.

And, knowing this as we do, why, in the name of Heaven, should we be forced into a still more extensive relationship, under the pleasing hypocritical delusion that "men and women ought to be able to work together impersonally?" They oughtn't, as a matter of fact. When they do, it will mean that the motive power of this world has run down, and that its balance wheels are hopelessly out of gear.

These women, whose frantic energy and excited vanity is driving them forward so blindly, do they ever stop to realize that somebody is going to pay the cost of it all? Perhaps not they. No, but succeeding generations, who will some day understand that their troubles and problems have descended upon them because these wild sisters chose to throw the times out of joint, and to set up false relationships; because they wanted to believe that what God had put asunder, they could join together in their own vainglorious, artificial little way.

Possibly they will see the consummation of their efforts, but when a reaction comes, and they find themselves floundering among the ruins they have made, perhaps they will try to imitate the men they envy, and not make an outcry.

They will make it, though; in the end, they will lift up their voices in wild appeal to husbands, fathers, brothers, to come and help them out, and they will make the demand as their right, for by then, perhaps, they will have learned the real, true, honest, clear meaning that lies behind the little word "sex."

FRANCES CORNING BOARDMAN.

[undated]

SHOULD WE ASK FOR THE
SUFFRAGE

BY

MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER

ISSUED BY

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,

37 WEST 39TH STREET,

NEW YORK CITY.

NOTE.

These chapters were written very hastily for publication in the New York "World" and have been as hastily revised in answer to a wish for their immediate issue in pamphlet form. They do not profess to treat the woman-suffrage question from every point of view, or fully to discuss it from any point of view. But I trust that, fragmentary as they are, they may lead some of the women of my state to consider more seriously than hitherto the right relations of men and women to the country and the government we love.

M. G. VAN RENSSELAER.

Should We Ask for the Suffrage?

"Whenever the women of the United States really want the suffrage, they will get it." This has long been said by all reasoning men in the United States. It has proved itself true in two of our commonwealths, and if the test comes it will prove itself true in New York and Massachusetts.

It is perfectly certain that whenever we women ask to be allowed to vote—unanimously or in any determinate majority—we shall get what we ask. Therefore it behooves us to know thoroughly well just what our demand would involve, whether we veritably wish to make it, and whether we should be justified in making it at this present time. And therefore, as a New York woman, but one who has lived in other countries and other parts of our own country, and has compared the condition of women there and here; as a working woman who for many years has been thrown much with other working women and with men of various classes and kinds; as a woman who now holds property in her own right, and has no relative who immediately "represents" her at the polls; as one who has carefully considered the woman suffrage question for a long time, listening respectfully to the arguments of its advocates, and as one who recently voted in Colorado—on all these counts I ask women, and especially working women, to look with me a little into the matter. Let us take up in succession the chief points it presents, and briefly examine them one by one.

The first point of all is this: Need every conscientious woman make up her mind decidedly whether or not she "believes in woman suffrage" as an abstract question? No. But we have often been implored to say that we do believe in it so firmly that we wish for its establishment here and now.

If we do not feel certain that it would be advantageous, then we must feel certain that its establishment would be a risk.

Woman suffrage has never been tested in any way, which indicates how it would work in our eastern states. Colorado and New Zealand are being held up for our imitation. But their experience has been too brief to prove anything. The experience of Wyoming has not been so encouraging as the advocates of suffrage here desire us to believe. And even if it had been, it would still prophesy little with regard to New York and Massachusetts. Not one of those three communities includes a city even remotely approaching the size of ours. Not one has a population at all resembling ours. Not one has problems to deal

with such as are most prominent, most insistent, with us. Surely we must feel that it would be a fresh experiment, in the fullest and gravest meaning of the term, to establish unlimited feminine suffrage here and now.

Some people are passionately asserting that they know it would work well here and now—even that they know just how it would work well. But they have no right to assert this unless they claim the gift of inerrant prophecy. They have no proved reasons, no tangible indorsements, to give for what they call their knowledge. They say more with regard to women who have never possessed political power, than they would dare to say with regard to men who have possessed it for more than a century, and been severely tried, variously tested and minutely studied during that time. They say that good women, intelligent women, would vote and vote more wisely than the men of their kind, and they say that ignorant women and bad women would not vote (or would vote in comparatively harmless numbers), or that they, too, would vote more conscientiously and wisely than the men of their kind. Some people boldly declare this, and all who ask for woman suffrage imply that they believe it, for unless the average of intelligence and conscientiousness is to be raised at the polls, certainly no sane person can wish to see the suffrage in any way extended.

For myself I do not think that these predictions are plausible, and bit by bit I shall try to tell why. But what I want to insist upon now is that no one can *know* anything with regard to the matter—that any person who says he or she does know, or can make more than a plausible guess, has never learned to appreciate the difference between knowing and guessing. What he or she calls knowledge is merely a personal opinion based upon data which are almost altogether of theoretical sort. And when a thing is a matter of guesswork, risk is of course involved.

In this case it would be hard to overestimate the magnitude of the risk. It would mean an innovation of unparalleled significance with regard to the future of our women and of our men, with regard to our political course, our social conditions, and the status of the home and family. And it would mean an innovation affecting not merely our own state, but the country at large. What Wyoming does the rest of the states may disregard. But what New York and Massachusetts do the rest of the states must at least consider and most probably would imitate. We must think of the tens of thousands of illiterate and vicious women in New York city, and just as carefully of the scores of thousands of ignorant negroes at the south. All told, the women of the United States very nearly equal the men in number. Think of the enormous burden of responsibility for the welfare of our whole fatherland which we women are asked to assume.

Are we prepared just here and now to assume it? Are we prepared to throw into political life all the women, good and bad, intelligent and unintelligent, of the whole United States, including the swarms which belong to Europe, but have been adopted here? Are we thoroughly, rationally convinced that such an

innovation, sudden, but irrevocable, would inevitably work for good? And if not—if we feel that it would to any degree be a risk—ought we not to raise our voices against it?

Silence will be cited as consent. Every new recruit for the "movement" will be counted, and all the rest of us will be pronounced merely weak, cowardly, indifferent, or as yet unawakened. The world will be told that at the bottom of our hearts we all think the suffrage desirable, else we should have said that we did not. We must declare that we are not convinced that unlimited woman suffrage is desirable here and now. And it is our duty in any clear and forcible manner that presents itself to say, "I am not sure that our country should run this enormous new risk at this particularly disturbed and critical time."

It is not necessary that every woman should make up her mind to-day with regard to the abstract desirability of woman suffrage. But there is a danger that, if they do not think the matter out now, many women will remain in a state of vague interest and uncertainty, distressed perhaps by the thought that they should have asked for their "rights," and perchance made discontented by the idea that, had we all done so, woman's lot would have been improved and our country as a whole would have been benefited.

"I have taken the suffrage side," one of my friends recently told me, "not because I am convinced that woman suffrage is desirable, but because I think that it is bound to come some day, and therefore it is best not to fight against it." But no events dependent upon human action are bound to come, like earthquakes or comets, or the changes of the seasons. We may say that some such events are bound to come, if existing conditions do not change. But who can predict positively that any human conditions will not change? And we may say that some things are all but certain to come—like greater freedom in Russia, for example. But even then, if we disapprove of them, it is better to fight against them. If we do not stave them off, we shall profit the world by helping the growth of courage, constancy, public spirit and the reasoning power.

Far from believing that woman suffrage is bound to come because of the present increase of interest in it, many of us hope that just this increase will give it its death-blow. Opposition to it has hitherto been passive, and to a great degree merely instinctive. No one has strongly felt the need to give her reasons against it. Therefore no one still uncertain upon the subject has had the chance to hear both sides and intelligently make up her mind, and few have even been prompted to think about it at all. But if the negative side is now faithfully presented, the current excitement, we feel, is likely in the end to do more to hurt than to help the "cause."

Therefore it is well to ask ourselves a second question: Upon what grounds do its advocates base their demand for woman suffrage?

Many of them do not explain how they think that its possession by the whole of our sex would affect the welfare of the community. They simply declare that we have "a right" to it, and state or imply that the securing and active exercise of any right must result for good.

Even the latter proposition is, however, far from logical. It is not a proposition which conscientious people act upon in private life. When a woman or a man perpetually insists upon personal rights, without considering the expediency of their assertion, she or he is recognized as a discordant element in family life, as a member of society whose influence is pernicious. All family life, all social life, is a system of compromises between the rights of different individuals. And civic life, political life, is a system of compromises between the rights of different individuals and those of different sexes, classes, and communities of people.

The most indisputable personal rights may be infringed for the benefit of a community as a whole. A man may be forced to sell his house if the people need a railroad or a park. That great bulwark of personal liberty, the *habeas corpus* act, may be thrown down in troublous times. And even the right to safeguard one's life is done away with in times of war. Men are then righteously called upon to face certain death itself. If the power to vote could be proved the indisputable right of every woman, nevertheless no woman should demand it without a firm belief, based upon definite reasons, that its exercise by her sex as a whole would benefit her country as a whole.

But the power to take direct active part in political life is not a right in the true sense of the word. It is not on a par with the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Our present laws do not recognize it as such with regard to men. The corporate intelligence of the country does not interpret it thus. The instant a child, male or female, is born, the law undertakes to protect it in its life, its liberty and its pursuit of happiness. It is protected even against its own parents, should need rise, and the murder of a day old infant is counted a crime as much as the murder of a Lincoln or a Garfield. Of course what the law thus professes and attempts to do it does not perfectly accomplish. It never can perfectly accomplish it as long as individual human beings are imperfect in so many ways. But its theory is clear, and its practice steadily improves. Men and women, adults and children, all are to be equally well protected by the government in so far as the recognized rights of humanity are concerned.

The question whether progress might be swifter, details of legislation and practice might be more rapidly improved, if women could vote, may be left aside for the moment. What I want to show now is that our constitutions, our systems of law, our political beliefs, do not include the power to vote among the indisputable rights even of masculine humanity. If they did, boys would be born with the right of suffrage. They would not have to wait until they were 21 to get it. They would vote by deputy until they had reached years of discretion, just as now,

if they are born to an inheritance, they own their property from birth and control it by deputy until they come of age.

Expediency, not right, is the basis of the suffrage. It is inexpedient, our legislators think, that all men should vote before they are 21. Surely the well trained, educated, intelligent boys of New York city, even though they be not more than 10 years old, would make better voters than vicious tramps or stupid foreigners, all but wholly ignorant of the English language. But it is felt that more harm than good would result if the suffrage were universally granted to boys or youths, and therefore the most intelligent contentedly stand aside until they come of age.

And thus should we contentedly stand aside all our lives, unless the most careful examination of a most complicated problem, to which past history affords not the slightest guide, seems to assure us that it would be for the greatest good of the greatest number of Americans that all women should vote. Expediency must here again be consulted—upon different grounds, of course. Immaturity is the ground in one case, feminality in the other. But in the one case, as in the other, no fundamental human "right" is involved except the right of the greatest number of Americans to the greatest possible measure of life, liberty, and happiness.

The possession of the suffrage and the possession of freedom are too often confounded in popular thought. An individual is free when he is checked in his pursuit of personal happiness as little as is consistent with the existence of a like freedom for all his countrymen. Universal masculine suffrage has been established in this country because our legislators have thought that by its means this state of things might most surely be brought about. The innovation was a practical expedient, a business experiment, so to say—not a recognition of inborn personal rights. Nor was it everywhere adopted. In Massachusetts utter illiteracy is still excluded from the polls. Yet the illiterate man is surely as free in Massachusetts as here—nay, freer, since he is free from the interference of the political "boss." The time may come when masculine suffrage will be limited in New York. If so, the change will be made in the interests of the truest freedom of the greatest number—in the interests of real liberty, as against the interests of license in some directions, of oppression in others. To-day the suffrage is denied to women—on different grounds, I repeat, but with the same great and righteous end in view. We who conscientiously and thoughtfully oppose its granting, believe that the majority of Americans, women and men, are more truly free to-day than they would be were it granted; that they are less painfully checked in the enjoyment of life and liberty, and in the pursuit of happiness. It is not in the name of the subjection of our sex, it is in the name of the true freedom of our sex, that we demand that men shall continue to do the work of governing our country, themselves and ourselves.

Why we take this ground I shall try to show in another place. Now I may add that our general attitude with regard to the ballot being an expedient, not a "right," would be more often understood were it remembered that governments themselves are nothing but expedients. Were human beings perfect no governments would be needed. And until they become perfect they do not live that governments may exist. Governments exist that they may live as comfortably and happily as possible. Life is the sacred thing, not government, which is merely the safeguard of life. There is nothing sacred about governments except in so far that they are needful engines for the protection of individual life, family life, social life. When these are protected, the race has a chance to advance, the world has a chance to improve. But the mere fact of protection does not assure improvement. The real work of furthering it is done outside of politics.

It is the duty of every man and woman in our country to help the world grow better. But it is not the duty, still less the right, of every one to help it by actually assisting to protect individual, family, and social life. Even if it could be proved that American women in the mass are more intelligent than American men in the mass, still we ought not to ask for the ballot unless we are sure that if any measure of our energy is given to political life, the loss in other directions will not be greater than the gain in this direction. It was recently said by a prominent woman that "the state has a right to regulate suffrage, but it has no right to refuse it to any American citizen." But what can confer it upon any American citizen except the state? Public opinion—the voice of the people—lies behind the state in some countries, but in ours public opinion is the state. Not merely the men who vote, but every man, woman, and child in the United States plays a part in molding public opinion; and the part that women collectively play, without possessing votes, is shown by the fervid declaration of the woman suffragists themselves, "Whenever we all ask for votes, we shall get them."

But until at least a determinant majority of us do ask for them, and until a majority of men are willing to give them to us, until public opinion favors the innovation, it is grossly illogical, misleading, disingenuous, to talk of our "right" to them—to talk of anything except the expediency of our getting them. Those have a right to vote whose votes public opinion thinks likely to advance the public welfare. Other people have no rights in the matter at all.

What stands behind and above public opinion except the moral law? And does the moral law prescribe direct participation in active political work for all members of both sexes, or of either sex? It prescribes no more than that the greatest good of the greatest number shall be secured, no more than that public opinion shall carefully, conscientiously concern itself with questions of political expediency. Look at the condition of most of the South American republics if you think the moral law—which must be the same for all men everywhere—prescribes universal masculine suffrage, or look even at the negro vote of our southern states, or at the voting record of New York city. I do not say

that universal masculine suffrage has proved itself a hopeless failure anywhere in our country, but I do say that in many places it gives a bold lie to the statement that the moral law prescribes anything whatsoever with regard to the voting power.

The constitution leaves the power to extend or limit the suffrage to the several states, saying only, in its fifteenth amendment, that no state shall make a difference between colored people and white people. Yet it is careful to secure and protect the genuine inborn rights of human beings as such. Each state acts in the matter of suffrage just as it sees fit, and has legal and moral power to do so. If a genuine human "right" is in question, why is there no outcry over the voteless illiterate men of Massachusetts? Why none about voteless youths of 19 or 20? Why none about the adult male citizens of territories?

As a more sparsely populated, less experienced region than its neighbors, a territory is not thought entitled to full self-control. Consequently the franchise of its citizens is limited. To vote for their local officers, but not for their own governor, and to send no full tale of senators and representatives to Washington—is this equal suffrage for the men of a territory?

Again, a state deprives a man of his right to a vote if he has recently changed his residence, and each state enforces such a term of residence as it prefers. For the moment a newcomer is everywhere disfranchised, and if any moral principle underlies the matter this is as true a grievance, although not as great a one, as that a woman should be deprived of the franchise all through her life. In short, there cannot possibly be any such thing as state regulation of the suffrage without full power on the part of the state to give it or take it away, just as it may think expedient.

The first wacry of the still unborn republic, "No taxation without representation," is falsely quoted now as a wacry for woman suffrage. There is no true connection, historical or ethical, between representation as our forefathers then meant it and universal suffrage. Their cry had no reference to individual powers or privileges. It was a collective cry from an oppressed people, practically enslaved because their interests—not themselves individually—were not represented in the British parliament. If the interests of the women of America, collectively considered, are not represented at the polls, then they too may consider themselves oppressed and enslaved and refuse to pay their taxes.

The true basis of the justice of taxation is not the permission to take active part in the government. "The protection of the government," says Judge Cooley in his "Law of Taxation," "being the consideration for which taxes are demanded, all parties who receive, or are entitled to that protection, may be called upon to render the equivalent." If our government does not recognize the equal claims of men and women to receive its protection, or if, when it fails to give equal protection in certain respects, we can show that only woman suffrage is likely to

induce it to, then, and then only, we may rightly raise the old cry, "No taxation without representation," and give it a new meaning.

This would be more generally understood if certain people had not got into the habit of calling women a separate "class" of citizens. They are not a special, distinct class of citizens, with corporate interests unembraced in the corporate interests of the community as a whole. Physiologically they differ from men, and this fact has brought about certain differences in legislative action with regard to the two sexes, notably as affects participation in the work of running our government. But as social factors, as children of the state, they are inextricably mingled with men—as inextricably as they are in family and business life. And the great majority of legislative acts must hurt or help men and women in equal measure. When negroes are legislated for, or farmers, or bankers, or fishermen, are not the women of the class as nearly, as directly affected as the men? Women do not go to sea for codfish or whales or seals. But the wives and daughters of the men who do are as keenly interested as themselves in the laws which protect their lives and labors. And, conversely, American men are as deeply concerned as American women in legislation which affects the property rights of women, the moral safety of young girls, the welfare of the children of the poor.

Are we prepared to say that this is not so? Or do we desire to say that it ought not to be so—that women must specially care for their own interests, which implies, of course, that men may specially care for their own? Do we wish to evolve into separate classes? saying, "The best interests of American women are not identical with those of American men?" Is this what we do in our families, in society, in the church or in business?

To my mind nothing more dangerous could be said to American women to-day than that they need, as women, specially to care for the interests of women. These cannot be separated, except in certain minor points, from the interests of men. Our men have never desired to separate them. And the blood of the happiness of our country will be upon our own heads if we set them the example and they are tempted to follow it. The ruin of our country will lie at our doors if we do aught to cultivate this, the most horrible and pernicious kind of selfishness—antagonism between the sexes—for from the growth of woman's love and respect for man and of man's love and respect for woman, resulting in the consciousness that their best interests are indeed and in truth identical, all the progress, all the happiness of the world have grown.

I do not pretend to say in how far these feelings might be fostered or injured by the establishment of woman suffrage. But I do say that the tenor of the propaganda in favor of woman suffrage has often done much and is now doing very much to injure them, at least among our own sex.

An advocate of woman's suffrage writes to me that, nevertheless, "it is a mockery to call those free who have no voice in framing the laws they are forced to obey." Of course this state-

ment is true. But the manner in which the writer construes it is typical, I am sorry to say, of the manner in which a great many true statements are being construed just now. When we pronounce axioms, we should be careful to respect the genuine sense of the words which compose them.

Is it needful that in this connection "voice" should be understood as meaning "a vote?" Every person has a voice in the making of our laws who plays a part in influencing any individual voter, or in helping to form that deep and strong voice called public opinion which influences all voters, and the collective result of which is the collective vote of a community.

By their fruits ye shall know them—ye shall know those who visibly act and also those who mold the course of their action.

Have women really had "no voice" in the making of laws like those of New York and Massachusetts? Are they justified in feeling that they must "protect their own interests" by means of the ballot box? May they not believe that, if further legislation specially favoring them is needed, it will come in the established way—through the votes cast by men whose conscientiousness it lies so largely in their own power to develop, whose thoughts and actions are so largely determined by their own influence, consciously or unconsciously exerted? And should they not see that *their* task, which no man can take away from them and in which no man can replace them, is to mold public opinion, to form and train, inspire and reward the executive sex?

It has been said that only ignoble minds can be content with indirect action in the political field—with power at second instead of first hand, with influence instead of a share in control. But why is this true of politics more than of other things? And if it were true of everything, could any good work ever be done? No one works to himself or herself alone, and no one's mind and life are trained or guided by himself or herself alone. Behind all people who do worthy things stand others to whose help their power of action is due. In some noble tasks it is men who thus stand behind a woman; in others it is women who stand behind a man. And in both cases the rôle of the Aaron and the Hur is as important as the rôle of the Moses.

Turn now from the "right" of woman suffrage, which is no right at all, to the question of its expediency. This is the true problem, and of course the best way to approach it is at the very foundation.

Is there indeed good reason why women, simply because they are women, should not take active part in political life?

Women are physically much weaker than men. It matters nothing that here and there a woman may say, "Lo, I am physically as vigorous as a man." Averages must rule when millions of men and women are concerned. No sane person believes that the average woman equals the average man in vigor, any more than that the exceptionally strong woman equals a Corbett or a Sandow.

Nature has made us weaker than men, not merely by giving us smaller skeletons and tenderer muscles, but by fitting us for the rôle of motherhood. Of course in being fitted for this rôle a special kind of strength has been conferred upon us, and no kind could be more valuable to ourselves or to the world. But we have to pay for it in weakness in other directions—not only in lesser muscular power, but in lesser ability to withstand strains and exertions of many kinds.

Man's greater physical strength is not merely a reason why he has hitherto done all the work of government. It is also a sign and proof that this is part of his natural work. By nature he is the protector of his family, whether it be attacked by wolves, by human individuals, by the fear of poverty or by the dread of public calamities. And by nature a woman is a being to be protected. Her physical weakness is a sign of this. So is the great fact which necessitates it—the fact of her motherhood. So are the domestic and social cares which the probability of motherhood, and the absence of the working males from their homes, make the business of our sex as a whole. And so is the fact that while man needs to safeguard his life and property only, she needs to safeguard her chastity as well.

Woman is the homemaker, the home keeper; man is the home supporter, the home protector, and government is only one form of home protection. Often to-day a woman must assume part of a man's work of protection. But this is a misfortune, not an "opportunity." We must make the best of it by educating our girls better, and by teaching our men to realize, even more thoroughly than they do now, that it is their business to protect all women in so far as they can. But it is as foolish, as against nature, which means common sense, to think that it would be well if women should share equally in the hard outside work of money making and of organizing and protecting society as it would be to think that the world would be improved if men could bear and rear half the children. Any doctrine which tends toward a general reversal of the great rôles of the two sexes, or toward their confusion, or toward the growth of the idea that they may be confused without danger to society, must be distinctly pernicious.

Woman needs more liberty, truly—at least in intellectual directions. She needs to know more, to think more, to have a deeper sense of responsibility. But she needs this to do her own work more thoroughly, to teach her what had better be left to man to do, and to teach man how he may do it well. Her work is world's educator. He is the world's executive. Her work is really more important than his, for it is the making and molding of human character and of social characteristics—which means *the making and molding of public opinion*—while man's work is to support and protect her as she does this, and to give public opinion shape in that practical form which we call government.

I have actually heard women say, and with much decision and fervor: "Certainly we should not hold office. The men ought certainly do the work of governing. But it is our duty to see that good men are put into office. It is our duty to vote, be-

cause this is the best way to show what we think ought to be done by the men who govern."

Surely that would be very unequal suffrage—half the controlling power to ours, all the work and responsibility to fall upon the men. It would be interference—not influence. It would be irresponsible dictation—not education, direction, help and counsel.

And of course it would be impracticable. How could we vote for good men unless good men were always nominated? And how are men nominated except through difficult, exacting work, which is heaviest just before an election, but must be persisted in more or less all the time? Going to primaries, pulling wires, and influencing voters in favor of the nomination of good men is not very hard work in little country places. But it is work that needs time even there, and needs knowledge of a particular kind—special knowledge with regard to the qualifications of special men. And in big cities the work is so difficult, disagreeable, and harassing that, just because of it, very many men lose their interest in politics altogether. Yet in this work at least we should positively be obliged to share if we wished to vote those whom we might consider the best men into office.

No one can simply vote for "the best man" without regard to anything but his personal trustworthiness and ability. Behind every man who stands for an office lies a principle of one kind or another—legal, financial or economic. Choice must be made between principles, and choice must be made between men, and then the claims of the one and the other must be balanced against each other. No problem is more frequent or more difficult than that which confronts the voter obliged to choose between a "good man" representing principles or expedients of which he disapproves, and a less good one representing principles or expedients he thinks right. Thus no intelligent vote can be cast without a knowledge and consideration of abstract political, financial or economic ideas. The best man, when political office is in question, is the one who will have the most power to legislate for us toward the best result, and this necessitates considerations with regard to his ideas and beliefs, his wisdom and tact, his influence with other politicians and with the people, as well with regard to his knowledge and conscientiousness.

And this all means that women would have to take an earnest part in political thought, an active part in political life, if they wished simply "to see that the best men are put into office." Otherwise they could only vote with blind eyes for men whom they had had no share in selecting, or else duplicate the votes of men whom they esteemed intelligent. I think no woman need ask for the suffrage who desires to be an ignorant voter or a mere echo.

Men have made our laws wholly of their own motion, as some declare, or largely influenced by women's expressed or implied wishes, as I and many others believe. What solid ground have we for saying that, given political responsibilities, our

women would bear them more conscientiously than men? A very large proportion of our political questions to-day are financial or economic questions. Is it probable that women would be more generally stirred than men to think seriously and vigorously about these? Did my friend really show cause why the suffrage should be given to women when she said that only direct personal political activity could awaken their real interest in political things? Do good women thus disassociate themselves from the duties and responsibilities of their husbands and sons in other directions? Do they not feel a personal concern in the progress of their sons' college education, even though they may have had none themselves? Or in their athletic education? Or in their professional success, the business rectitude and diligence of their husbands? Or in the councils and affairs of their churches? Is it true that we feel we cannot take an active interest in public affairs unless we take an active personal part in them? And, if so, is this indeed a proof that we are well fitted to serve the public good? Or is it a proof that we are vain and proud and selfish—that we must audibly "have our say" in the same manner as men, or else will sulk in our corners and declare that we wash our hands of the nation's interests, of our men's interests, of our own interests? I have already said that I cannot believe it is so. I cannot believe so badly of the women of America. They are not generally interested in public affairs to-day because their true education has only just begun. But they will gradually grow interested without the bribe or the lure of votes, and then we shall see what woman's influence may mean for good.

If it is indeed true that the work of the world must be divided, and that nature, experience and a sane philosophy unite in showing that the labor of government is part of man's proper share, it is hardly needful to consider any such minor arguments as that if women could vote "there would be no more wars." But I may say that most of them are on a par with this one as regards any basis of demonstrated or probable truth.

Does the history of the female sovereigns of Europe or of India show that women hate war more than men, or does it show that when their emotions are excited they are apt to be more recklessly bellicose than men? How was it with the women of France in the days of the great revolution? And do recent instances differ from those of earlier date? Was not the terrible Franco-German war of 1870 called by the French empress "my war?" Was it not recognized as such by the French people? Do not the investigations of historians and memoir writers show it to have been such? And which were recognized as the most bitter opponents of the Union in our southern states during the war of the rebellion and long after its close—the women or the men?

But the worst of all the fallacies now being used as persuasive arguments is the declaration that if American working women could vote their wages would be equalized with men's. Those who promise this do not give their reasons, and they could not base them upon past facts with regard to rises in the value

of men's labor. Even to-day women are paid much more nearly the same as men for *really equal work* than the makers of this promise would have us believe. But often what is called equal work shows some inequality, if not in the perfection of its performance, then in the probability that the worker will continue permanently at her task. Although certain agitators have declared that the "law of supply and demand" is a foolish fetic, it nevertheless affects the pay of every laboring individual in the world. Amid social and commercial conditions like ours, the slightest inequality in working power, the slightest difference in the relations of a supply to a demand, tell in financial results; and no laws can possibly obviate this fact. Not legislations, but organization, has raised the wages of men during the past two generations. And the most successful result of labor organization—the famous strike of the dock laborers in London a few years ago—was accomplished by men, a very small proportion of whom had votes. Thus there are many things to think about, many serious questions to decide, before we can conscientiously say that we believe woman suffrage should be established. And, be it noted, the burden of proof lies with those who advocate the innovation. We are not obliged to prove that woman suffrage is undesirable. They are obliged to prove that it is so clearly desirable that, for its sake, the country should run the enormous risk involved in a political and social revolution of the most radical and far-reaching sort. This is law and justice all the world over: The *status quo*, like the human individual, must be considered in the right until we have good evidence that it is in the wrong. Otherwise there would never be any security for individuals, never any peace or safety for the state.

Therefore all I desire to do is to bid you pause—pause, and think, and consider the arguments of the advocates of the "movement," without passion, without prepossession, and especially without that foolish vanity of would-be imitation of men which means a great lack of true feminine pride. But above all do not be tempted to say, "We women must look out for ourselves and our own interests." It is a slander upon the men of America to say this—upon those men who have so cordially helped us to become the freest and most highly considered women in the world. And it is a defiance of the laws of nature and of common sense to declare that the best interests of the sexes are separable. To declare this is to give men an excuse, a temptation—nay, a veritable right—to say, "Then we also must look out for ourselves and our own special interests." Do you think that the country would fare better if our men said this or that its women would fare better? Do you not think rather that the best way to serve our country and to serve ourselves is to do our own work as well as we can—which means a great deal better than in the past? And do you really believe that part of this work should consist in a half share in the actual immediate power to make those laws which deal chiefly with matters that men's daily occupations fit them to understand better than we do, and in the execution of which, strive as we might, we could take but a very small share?

Household Hints



FROM

*St. Paul Association
Opposed to
Woman Suffrage.*

*Votes of Women can accomplish no
more than votes of Men. Why
waste time, energy and
money, without
result?*

The great advance of women in the last century—moral, intellectual and economic—has been made without the ballot, which goes to prove that the ballot is not needed for their further advancement along the same lines.

Women, standing outside of politics, and therefore free to appeal to any party, are able to achieve reforms of greater benefit to the state than they could possibly achieve by working along partisan political lines.

The basis of government is physical force. It isn't law enactment only, but law enforcement that protects society, and the physical power to enforce the law is neither possible nor desirable for women.

No one can afford to be neutral regarding Socialism or Feminism, and no one can do anything, directly, to advance those movements without helping to lay the axe at the taproot of Christian civilization.

Housewives!

If new tinware be rubbed all over with fresh lard then thoroughly heated before using, it will never rust.

Control of the temper makes a happier home than control of elections.

When boiling fish or fowl, add juice of half a lemon to the water to prevent discoloration.

You do not need a ballot to clean out your sink spout. A handful of potash and some boiling water is quicker and cheaper.

Celery can be freshened by being left over night in a solution of salt and water.

To shine cut glass, rub it over with a freshly peeled potato and then wash.

Use oatmeal on a damp cloth to clean white paint

90% of the women either do not want the ballot or are indifferent.

To remove shine from serge, sponge with hot water and vinegar and press in usual manner.

80% of the women eligible to vote are married and can only double or annul their husbands' votes.

Clean houses and good homes, which cannot be provided by legislation, keep children healthier and happier than any number of laws.

It is unwise to risk the good we already have for the evil which may occur.

When washing colored hosiery, a little salt in the water will prevent colors from running.

Why vote for pure food laws, when you can purify your ice box with salertatus water?

Clean your mirrors with water to which a little glycerine has been added. This prevents steaming and smoking.

Sulpho naphthol and elbow grease drive out bugs quicker than political hot air.

Clean dirty wall paper with fresh bread.

Spot Removers

The following methods for removing spots and stains will be found efficacious; but what will remove the spots and stains of political mire?

Grass stains may be removed from linen with alcohol.

Fruit stains may be removed in the same way, but hot alcohol works quicker.

To remove axle grease, soften first with lard.

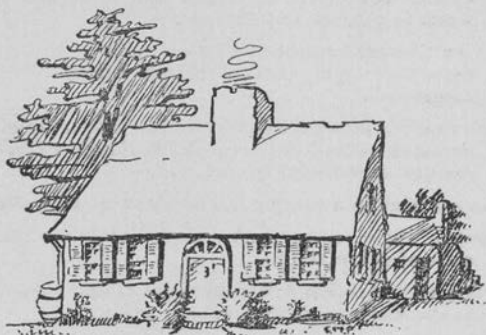
Kerosene removes vaseline marks.

Sour milk removes inks spots.

Discolorations and stains on bath enamel may be removed by turpentine.

Leather stains on light colored hosiery may be removed by borax.

Household Hints



FROM
Women's Anti-Suffrage Association
of Massachusetts

687 Boylston Street, Boston

MRS. JOHN BALCH, - - *President*

MRS. CHARLES P. STRONG, *Secretary*



Votes of Women can accomplish no more
than votes of Men. Why waste time,
energy and money, without result?

Housewives!

You do not need a ballot to clean out your sink spout. A handful of potash and some boiling water is quicker and cheaper.

If new tinware be rubbed all over with fresh lard, then thoroughly heated before using, it will never rust.

Rub vaseline into your patent leather shoes. It will preserve and polish them. N. B. Patent leathers are not suitable for hikes!

Use oatmeal on a damp cloth to clean white paint.

Control of the temper makes a happier home than control of elections.

When boiling fish or fowls, add juice of half a lemon to the water to prevent discoloration.

Celery can be freshened by being left over night in a solution of salt and water.

Good cooking lessens alcoholic craving quicker than a vote on local option.

Why vote for pure food laws, when you can purify your ice box with saleratus water?

To shine cut glass, rub it over with a freshly peeled potato and then wash.

Common sense and common salt applications stop epistaxis quicker than ballots.

Clean your mirrors with water to which a little glycerine has been added. This prevents steaming and smoking.

Sulpho naphthol and elbow grease drive out bugs quicker than political hot air.

To drive out mice, scatter small pieces of camphor in cupboards and drawers. Pedlers and suffs are harder to scare.

To remove shine from serge, sponge with hot water and vinegar and press in usual manner.

Clean houses and good homes, which cannot be provided by legislation, keep children healthier and happier than any number of laws.

Butter on a fresh burn takes out the sting. But what removes the sting of political defeat?

Clean dirty wall paper with fresh bread.

If an Anti swallows bi-chloride, give her whites of eggs, but if it's a suff, give her a vote.

When washing colored hosiery, a little salt in the water will prevent colors from running.

Spot Removers

The following methods for removing spots and stains will be found efficacious. There is, however, no method known by which mud-stained reputations may be cleansed after bitter political campaigns.

Grass stains may be removed from linen with alcohol.

Fruit stains may be removed in the same way, but hot alcohol works quicker.

To remove axle grease, soften first with lard. Kerosene removes vaseline marks.

Sour milk removes ink spots.

Discolorations and stains on bath enamel may be removed by turpentine.

Leather stains on light colored hosiery may be removed by borax.

Vote NO on Woman Suffrage

BECAUSE 90% of the women either do not want it, or *do not care*.

BECAUSE it means *competition* of women with men instead of *co-operation*.

BECAUSE 80% of the women eligible to vote are married and can only double or annul their husbands' votes.

BECAUSE it can be of no benefit commensurate with the additional expense involved.

BECAUSE 53,000 more voting women than voting men will place the government of Massachusetts under feminine control.

BECAUSE it is unwise to risk the good we already have for the evil which may occur.

THE FEMINIST.

If man could be the mother
Why there need not be a pause,
In the progress of creation,
And 'twould help along the cause.
For we must rush upon the world
In quest of loud applause.
We have no time for motherhood,
A handicap that bores !
Nor will we enter any home
But just live out of doors,
And deal a blow where 'ere we can
To all of Nature's laws.

Creation as its been before
Seems terribly unfair.
We want to be as bold as brass
And just as free as air.
Our mental process is the same
As the Nude upon the stair.
You could not chide her very well,
For coming down so bare ;
For 'tis only by the title that
You know that she is there.
Thus : who can tell what we may do
Stand back —— beware !

For the Feminist is the Cubist,
From canvas come to life ;
To dash about at random
Where there's any sign of strife.
We'd like to go to Mexico,
Where war just now is rife.
How gladly would we step in line
To sound of drum and fife.
With a mind just like a Demon,
And a tongue just like a knife ;
Declaring ne'er again will we
Become a lawful wife.

We're like the female spider
Who is known to eat her mate.
She rounds him up within the web
For a dreadful tête a tête :
And then she chews him up alive.
It is an awful fate.
You'd think that man would run away
Before it is too late.
For we decided long ago
That he was out of date.
The Woman Movement everywhere
Has wiped him off the slate.—*M.B.F.*

Issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the
Further Extension of Suffrage to Women,
615 Kensington Building, Boston.

TAXATION AND SUFFRAGE.

Those who advocate woman suffrage are fond of quoting the colonial dictum that taxation without representation is tyranny, and declare that this, one of "the fundamental principles upon which the country was founded," is shamefully violated under present circumstances as far as women are concerned. Women, they say, are taxed. But women have no votes. Having no votes, they are not represented in the tax-laying body. Hence, they conclude, here is taxation without representation.

Any one who has examined the "argument" critically, and realizes what a total lack of connection there is between the dictum and the interpretation put upon it, is inclined to smile at the display of logic and to dismiss the whole matter as nonsense. But, as undoubtedly many people who have not looked into the question sincerely believe that women have here a real grievance, a few words of explanation may not be superfluous.

The colonists declared that taxation without *representation* was tyrannical—which is one thing. The suffragists pretend they said that taxation without *votes* was tyrannical—which is quite an-

other thing. There is nothing unjust in requiring all citizens who can afford it to contribute to the support of the government, whether they vote or not. They get in exchange for their taxes the government's protection to life, liberty and property and all the other benefits of a well-ordered society. The colonists never said or thought that taxation and votes went together and nothing of the kind has ever been attempted. Thousands upon thousands of men, as well as women, in this country are taxed without being able to vote. That is the condition of the residents of the District of Columbia. The property of minors is taxed, yet they have no votes. A man may own taxable property in a dozen different states and yet can vote in only one. Finally the tariff is a tax upon every man, woman and child, citizen and alien alike, in the country.

The truth is, that the phrase "taxation without representation" did not refer to individuals at all, but to the dealings of one commonwealth with another. It did not mean that neither this man nor that woman should be taxed unless he or she were personally represented in the government. The slightest reflection will show the absurdity of such a construction. At most, only those would be personally represented who voted for successful candidates. A man who has not only not voted for those who are elected, and so have power to tax him, but has endeavored to keep them out, cannot be said to be "represented" by them. Yet would any one contend that all adherents of defeated candidates should

be absolved from paying taxes because they were not "represented?"

A very few words will be sufficient to explain what the colonists meant by "taxation without representation," and why they thought it so unjust. The whole thing arose out of the imposition of the notorious Stamp Tax in 1765. The colonists were on this side of the Atlantic, Parliament in England. There were no representatives of the colonies in Parliament, familiar with conditions over here, and competent to explain what taxes would bear most lightly upon the inhabitants. Under such circumstances Parliament coolly decreed this burdensome tax, to be collected wholly from the colonists and not from the inhabitants of Great Britain as well. Moreover, the money so raised was not to be expended in the colonies but withdrawn to England.

In order to create an analogous situation in this country now, and support the present contention of the suffragists, the following grotesque circumstances would have to be imagined. The women would have to be moved in a body to the Pacific coast, the men, retaining the sole power of legislation, remaining east of the Alleghenies. If, then, the men proceeded to declare a tax upon, let us say, every article of clothing worn by the women, without consulting the latter, without paying a similar tax on their own clothing, and appropriating the proceeds of the tax on the women to themselves, the women would be justified in crying that the colonial dictum was being violated.

But when men and women are jointly members of the same community; when taxes are laid not upon the women for the benefit of the men, or vice versa; when, finally, they are imposed by representatives drawn from the community and not by outsiders, the dictum is absolutely and utterly irrelevant.

FREDERICK DWIGHT.

ISSUED BY

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,

37 WEST 39TH STREET,
NEW YORK CITY.

PRESIDENT
MRS. EDMUND PENNINGTON

HONORARY PRESIDENTS
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TREASURER
MRS. V. H. VAN SLYKE

SECRETARY
MISS TESSIE JONES

Some Reasons why we Oppose Votes for Women in Minnesota

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

EDUCATIONAL
MRS. GEORGE C. CHRISTIAN

STATE EXTENSION
MRS. C. P. STEMBEL

CITY EXTENSION
MRS. L. S. DONALDSON

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MRS. WM. H. LEE

LEGISLATIVE
MRS. J. B. GILFILLAN

MEMBERSHIP
MRS. W. W. SYKES

PUBLICITY
MRS. W. D. WASHBURN, JR.

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.

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?

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 CAN NOT so enforce the laws they may enact.

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.

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.

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 24,555,754 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?

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Our Association has been formed for the purpose of conducting a purely EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN. If you are in sympathy with this aim and believe as we do in our cause, will you not become a member of our Association?

THE MINNEAPOLIS ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO THE
FURTHER EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN.
331 Meyers Arcade.

Why a Man Should OPPOSE Woman Suffrage.

First, because only a small minority of women ask for the suffrage. Those who do so are clamorous, and they keep themselves well in the limelight; but they speak for only a small part of their sex. Witness the fact that when, in April, 1910, the suffragists presented a petition to Congress asking for a suffrage amendment, it bore, out of 20,000,000 women of voting age, the names of only 163,438 (besides 122,382 men and 119,008 "unclassified"), and this after a nation-wide canvass, lasting a whole year, in which they had expected to get the signatures of a million women. Witness also the fact that last year, in Illinois, although Mrs. McCulloch offered \$1 a hundred for signatures to a suffrage petition to the Legislature, she was unable to get the required 100,000 names, and the attempt was abandoned. Witness also the very suggestive fact that the suffragists always oppose any proposal to submit to women themselves the question whether suffrage should be given them. They have fought proposals of this kind in the Legislatures of New York, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Indiana and other States; and it cannot have been forgotten how bitterly they opposed the Drury bill in the last Massachusetts Legislature. They know well that there could be no shorter road to suffrage than to demonstrate that women want it; and if they thought there was the ghost of a chance that a poll of women would show a suffrage majority, they would welcome it.

A second reason why a man should oppose woman suffrage is that to thrust it upon women, the great majority of whom do not want it, is to impose a heavy burden upon a sex already sufficiently weighted with responsibilities. The average woman has already as heavy a load as she can well carry. The strenuous conditions of modern life are not making it any lighter. It is impossible to relieve her of this load, but why needlessly add to it? Shallow suffragists proclaim that voting is a trifling matter, which can be attended to on the way to market. But men know that if votes are to be cast so lightly, and with so little thought, they would better not be cast at all. Women cannot better politics unless, as a sex, they will vote more intelligently, more steadily and more public-spiritedly than men. But to expect them to do this without slighting existing responsibilities is expecting a great deal.

1879?
A third reason why a man should oppose woman suffrage is that the results, where the experiment has been tried for years, do not justify extending it. True, some suffragists keep on enumerating the evils of every sort, which will be done away as soon as women are given the vote. But the more candid suffragists are not only abandoning the claim of a "moral uplift" through the votes of women, but are asking angrily why it should be expected. Thus Mrs. D. Bry-

ant Turner, in the Denver Republican, asks why women should be expected to purify politics, and adds: "Although it is very flattering, the fact is that women are no better than men along any lines"; and no less a person than Judge Lindsey, although he has since tried to explain away his meaning, put himself on record in Everybody's Magazine for May, 1910, thus: "If anyone believes that woman's suffrage is a panacea for all the evils of our political life, he does not know what those evils are. The women are as free of the power of the Beast as men are, and no freer."

A fourth reason why a man should oppose woman suffrage is that the suffrage movement is closely allied with Socialism. Not that all suffragists are Socialists, but that all Socialists are suffragists and are counting eagerly upon being reinforced at the polls by women's votes. It is a fact of no little moment that, in the suffrage parade in New York, the Socialists had their recognized place in the procession, the red flag followed the yellow, and the Socialist banners bore the inscription "Every Socialist is a suffragist." Also, the forces of evil are quick to organize their sort of women. This is what is already being openly done by the "wets" in Illinois; and A. J. Cormack, one of their leaders, has lately said: "Now that suffrage is a reality, we shall organize our women, and expect to have no difficulty in getting results at the polls."

One more reason may be mentioned why a man should oppose woman suffrage. It is this: That the outcome of women's voting will be either to bring about the same result at the polls, or to bring about a different result. If the former, we shall double the voting lists and double election expenses and put a heavy and undesired burden upon women, without accomplishing anything whatever. If the latter, we shall override the majority of men by the votes of a minority of men plus a majority of women. It requires no prophet to predict into what chaos that would lead us. To take a single case near home as an illustration: Does any one in Cambridge imagine that, if that first no-license victory in Cambridge, in that December blizzard of 1886, had been won by a minority of men's votes plus a majority of women's votes, overriding the majority of men, we should have held the city against the saloons for these twenty-six years?

Before men are won over by the arguments of well-meaning but short-sighted women to an easy acquiescence in woman suffrage, may I suggest that they give some consideration to the probable consequence, both to women and to the community, and ask themselves whether it is best to take the plunge. As I have said elsewhere, the time to think of these things is beforehand, not afterward.

FRANK FOXCROFT.

as, women's franchise: the many
Chas. of the State") This becomes
1st apparent in contrast with the
feminine Chas. of the Church."

Woman the Helpmate

BY MRS. EDMUND PENNINGTON

[undated]



Minneapolis Association Opposed
to the Further Extension of
Suffrage to Women



NATURE teaches us that permanent growth is slow, almost imperceptible. Our Anti-suffrage Association has grown in the same gradual but deliberate way and many are doubtless astonished to see it already so strong and far-reaching.

It is said "An empty vessel makes the most sound." If our great Anti-suffrage ship has ploughed quietly the turbulent ocean of present day conditions it is a sign the cargo is heavy. The enthusiastic manner in which the supporters of the "Woman's Protest" have organized and quietly carried on a remarkable work shows the direction and current of the wind in our beautiful state of Minnesota. However, in times when each day has its isms and each week its 'ology—when dictionaries a few years old ignore the familiar word "feminist,"—it may be a real novelty to fix our attention upon elementary conditions of nature, and face a few stubborn facts. The truth, eternally old, must sometimes be the fashion—as the hat worn twenty years by a woman of the old school found itself at the top of the style three times.

No, I shall tell you nothing new, nor is it my aim to convince you by argument, so much as to seek the eternally new in the eternally old. The "woman question" has come to a stage when every logical mind has been reasoned back to first principles, which can be answered only by the simple word "because," sometimes contemptuously called "woman's reason," but so often right, with the unerring certainty of intuition, that history tells us Caesar heeded Calpurnia's warning, and Pilate grew pale at his wife's words: "Have thou nothing to do with this man." Why do we find in nature, the positive and negative poles? Because!

Why do we find in force, the active and passive? Because! Why do we find in numbers plus and minus? Because! Why do we find in the prism complementary colors? Because! Why do we find in the human race men and women? "Because"! Yes, when we reach the last "why?" in a long series, when we have reached the "woman's reason," "Because," we stand face to face with first principles, we are in the presence of nature's inexorable laws, of man's relation to his Creator. It is here sane, thoughtful, normal women halt and beg every woman to study the ultimate of life, by placing her ear against the throbbing heart of Nature,—thus to learn,—not only what is impossible for her,—but the path of victory and the meaning of liberty.

We recognize in the Suffrage ranks many magnificent women,—self-sacrificing, earnest, philanthropic,—who are spending themselves in that work because they sincerely believe franchise is the remedy for all the trouble and evils besetting the path of women today. But we also see that the emotional nature of woman has carried many Suffragists to the disgraceful conduct of the Militant, and the repelling doctrine of the Feminist. Where would emotionalism carry these women in the Political Arena? Would the Militant accept the will of the majority? Would the Feminist not destroy the ideals that have grown with the triumphs of civilization and Christianity?

We also are seeking a remedy for the injustices and wrongs that beset the path of women. Our object is the same as theirs. We are not protesting against franchise directly. If their principles can be fairly proven to lead to woman's best emancipation, or to her most rational influence,—to the City of true Peace,—

we shall all fall in line. We are protesting against the sacreligious license and Babylonian confusion to which Suffrage seems to be leading. To us the Ballot-box idea seems held so near,—it hides the great scope and glorious mission of woman's world outside and beyond it. Is there any actual relation between woman's personal world and franchise? Could woman's sphere be enlarged or strengthened by the Ballot-box?

This brings us to the consideration of that time worn expression "Woman's sphere." The word "sphere" in this connection is not a happy selection, for it suggests ceaseless revolution in a determined orbit,—unchanging routine. The application of the word to woman's activity,—because of its erroneous interpretation and superficiality,—arouses a determination not to submit,—a sense of suffocation. Woman is perfectly conscious that no limit can be placed upon the radii of her mind and heart,—they reach to infinite truth and infinite goodness. To bring peace and happiness to women we must have a deeper, fuller understanding of woman's nature and give her an opportunity for the expansion and growth of her faculties. Then we must recognize the element in which such growth is possible,—take into it all "modern improvements," and finally win women back to live and rule in it.

We Anti-suffragists do not protest against Suffrage or anything else that may help the condition of women and restore peace and unity to the women of our land,—but we do protest against Suffrage and *everything* that may tend to foster difficulties, protract restlessness and bring endless contention. *We* see the peculiar conditions in which women find them-

selves today, *we* feel the feminine unrest with which all womanhood seems to tremble, *we* hear the heart-rending cries from overtired, struggling, breadwinning sisters and *we* feel the overpowering circumstances which call aloud for readjustment. We recognize the crisis is at hand,—we are willing, indeed eager to launch out and courageously, enthusiastically give a helping hand. With all our energy we wish to strive to bring peace to every woman's heart and to save the dignity of true womanhood. But we must be sane in our endeavor and wise in our enthusiasms. What we wish is to find some pathway that will lead women to pure air in which their womanly nature can breathe freely and their womanly minds see clearly.

"After all," says Mr. E. S. Martin, "what chiefly makes the disturbance is enlargement of opportunities, and in many respects disturbance is a fine thing. The current of unrest is a big disturbance, but every storm blows out in time and so will this one,—but how will it end and where will it leave us?"

Further, "the disturbance has brought us a wider field of labor for women, a greater appreciation of the possibilities and activities of women." Certainly this is an immense gain and bound to come in the providential unfolding of woman's powers. It is not this disturbance against which we protest for it is only these gales that push us forward. What, then, is the trouble?

Woman's Suffrage stands for "equal rights," which means competition in man's kingdom. This is against nature and might not the inevitable result of such an attempt be social, moral and religious anarchy? As women, we must keep our eyes well fixed on our real destiny,—

on Nature's eternal truths,—and not strand ourselves on the sandbars of a passing hour.

Women have a larger choice than they had formerly,—and we are grateful; but in the broadening of their field of labor women seem to rebel against any limitation. With all choice placed before them, many refuse to acknowledge that Nature has a primal law, or any true demand. But woman must remain woman, with a woman's nature. She can be happy in any occupation to which her capacity entitles her if she be true to that nature. By seeking equality in the realm of man, she cannot change her nature. By ignoring or repudiating her femininity, she may create for herself a veritable Hades on Earth.

On the contrary, if she recognizes the undeniable fact that her physical obligation to the human race creates the limitation of her activities and is more than offset by the spiritual acquisition it should bring, she makes herself the center of a physical and spiritual orbit of which Earth is the smaller part.

Let us ask ourselves—What do the majority of women know about the nature of woman,—her destiny in Earth's plan,—her stewardship? The conditions created by the whirl of excitement, so characteristic of the times, are not conducive to a calm and serious answer to such questions.

If we could wisely be content to perfect our own nature, rather than foolishly strive to change it,—the answer might be easier. Mr. Chesterton emphasizes the fact that "good comes of perfecting a nature, and change always works for evil." Legend and mythology both show the wonder-working done by friends of man,—almost always representing the restoring of things and people to their proper

shapes; but they did not say to man, "You are so good you ought to be a woman," or to woman,—"You are so bothered, it is time you had a holiday as a man." On the other hand, popular tales of bad magic are especially full of the idea that evil destroys personality. The denial of identity is the signature of Black Art.

Let us look at the question impersonally, not taking individual examples, but types illustrating the great law of womanhood. Not a woman, but woman.

If I want a man, says a literary critic, I go into the streets,—they are full of them; but if I want man I go to literature, there we find the type,—in the street we find the individual.

Types are historical as well as literary. Woman, historically, is the helpmate of man,—both subject to the changes of the material changing world, and bound in the moral world by truth which is unchanging. "Helpmate indeed" sarcastically murmurs the "new" woman;—but the true woman, ever ancient and ever new, looks deeper, and in the word "helpmate" reads not inferiority or equality, but superiority in the dignity of the moral natures.

It is quite evident that as a physical type she is not a helpmate. On the basis of strength,—without the moral element,—she may be made man's servant or even his slave. No one has yet been so bold as to assert that the feminine type is man's helpmate in the intellectual realm. The exceptions prove the rule. When woman strives to become the mate,—intellectually only and not morally, in most cases she does not rise to man's level, but remains only his "helper,"—more than help but less than helpmate.

It has been said that the majority of women

in the away-from-home-employments are "helpers." The principals, the ruling workers, are almost all men. Lawyers' offices are full of women,—extremely competent and useful,—but there are few women lawyers. There are women trained nurses, but comparatively few women doctors. There are girls galore on the floors of the department stores, but a woman in the firm is a great rarity. What is the reason? Does it mean that women have not yet their full dues in industry? Yes, to some extent no doubt. Does it mean women are not equals of men? No, it does not necessarily mean this. It means emphatically that the away-from-home atmosphere is not the atmosphere of her specific growth,—it is not the field of the influence essentially hers.

Where, then, can woman fulfill her destiny? Where can she be truly the helpmate of man?

Can we reasonably hold the unstable opinion of a day as against the testimony of the ages? Can we safely abide by the hysterical outbursts of journalism as against the calm voice of history? We cannot, or certainly we will not be vain enough to place our little personal opinion against the united sentence of judges and councils of all time. If we will be true to ourselves and listen earnestly to the testimony of our own consciousness, I am sure women will unanimously proclaim, that only in the moral realm is woman the helpmate of man. "You cannot think," Ruskin says, "that the buckling on of an armor by his lady's hand is a mere caprice of romantic fashion. It is the type of an eternal truth, that the soul's armor is never well set to the heart unless a woman's hand has braced it, and it is only when she braces it loosely that the honor of womanhood fails."

Shakespeare gives many examples of the

literary interpretation of the same thought. The catastrophe of every play is caused by the folly or fault of a man and the redemption, if there be any, is by the wisdom and virtue of woman,—and that failing, there is none. We might, with profit, follow this thought through the history of Lear and Othello, Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet, Cymbeline and Measure for Measure,—and perhaps find an application to our present day disturbance. That,—insofar as woman has become indifferent to her true mission and destiny, she has made herself incapable of being a guide to man when he most needs her. Shakespeare reiterates that woman is felt at once to be frightful in her influence, in proportion to the power for good which she abandons.

The sooner we come back to the truth of the complementary elements in men and women, the sooner stable readjustments will be made. Each acknowledging that mutual happiness, well being and perfection rests in this interdependence. "Useless each without the other." The sooner all reasoning is based upon the fundamental premise that the man and woman are not identical, the sooner true conclusions will be reached. It is so self-evident that woman's power is essentially in the moral world—it seems ridiculous to be insistent. The truth commends itself so directly to one's knowledge of what has been, and one's delicate instinct of what should be. But look at the world about us,—do the difficulties and problems of woman seem to be working themselves out in accordance with the first principles of woman's nature? Man and woman are not separate creatures, each complete in itself, but are plainly and distinctly complementary parts of a great unity,—the human race. "God created man in

his own image, in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them."

The narrow, suffocating idea is thrown aside, and woman remains in her sphere as long as she is complementary to man and, as his helpmate, is fulfilling her specific purpose in the providence of God.

If, within the walks of a humble home, she is the moral support of her husband, the example of virtue to her children, the sustaining influence of her father, she is in her sphere. If her mental capacity leads her to college, if necessity draws her into a business career, if the suffering of humanity urges her into the slums of a city, if in prison work, she strives to help desperate criminals,—if she kneels beside the dying on the battlefield,—if, indeed, like Joan of Arc, she leads armies to victory, she is still in her sphere if she be the helpmate, the moral support, the example of virtue, the sustaining influence of man.

Woman then is the helpmate of man in the moral world,—therefore she must be equipped with moral weapons. She is the complement of man, therefore, only by the education and perfection of her specific qualities, will she complete man and tend to the perfection of the human race.

Fifty years ago co-equal education began, and the woman problem of today had its incipient birth. Women were deluded into an astonishing hallucination, thinking higher education could make them identical with men. That, by putting on the trappings of a man, his mental training, his suits, his walk, adopting his sports, her feminine could become identical with his masculine nature. From this equality in education,—equality in externals,—the hallucination has gone on until now equality

in business, equality in politics, equality in morality are leading women into alarming extremes of thought. These express themselves in the mental and moral attitudes of the Feminist and the destructive acts of the Militant.

At its beginning the possibility of a discordant note in woman's co-equal development was recognized both by Genius and Religion.

Ruskin spoke his word of warning,—he heard with prophetic ear the noise and tumult which would follow, and said to speak of equality was absurd "as if things dissimilar could be compared." His words, spoken then, are no longer prophecy,—they carry the conviction of verified truth. Of man and woman he says,—"Their respective characters are briefly these,—the man's power is active, progressive, defensive; he is eminently the doer,—the creator, the discoverer,—the defender; his intellect is for speculation, invention, his energy for adventure, for war, for conquest. Woman's power is for rule, not for battle,—her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement and decision." How, then, should woman be educated? Again Ruskin gives the answer, and experience to the contrary, through fifty years, still educators and careful thinkers are coming back to his interpretation,—"A girl's education should be nearly, in its course and material of study, the same as a boy's; but quite differently directed;—a woman in any rank of life ought to know whatever her husband knows, but to know it in a different way. His command of it should be fundamental and progressive; hers general and accomplished for daily use. There is a wide difference between elementary knowledge and superficial knowledge, between a firm beginning and an infirm

attempt at compassing. A woman may always help her husband by what she knows, however little, but by what she half knows, or mis-knows, she will only tease him." Has not each one of us, in her own experience or observation, realized the truth of this?

We know there are exceptional women possessing masculine intellects, and if a woman can develop her mind on lines marked out for men, without sacrificing any of her womanly qualities,—who would deny her? There are flying fish, but who, because of this, will declare that water is not the element of fish in general,—or who would compel fish with wings never to leap into the air? However, even the winged fish is not a bird and is far more beautiful and far more at home in the depths of the sea. Because some fish can fly, should all fish be required to live in an element not their own? Let us learn the lesson from the number of women we see struggling and straining in an element not *their* own. Remember, it is not the increase of knowledge or the development of the intellect that destroys womanliness; but the narrow heart,—and vacillating will, the stunted growth of moral qualities.

It is the object of schools to turn out womanly women,—and only insofar as they accomplish this object are they worthy of the name. Let us pay due reverence to the "Three R's" "Reading, Riting and Rithmetic," but let us demand respect for the "Three H's," "Hands, Head, Heart." Whether our girls speak one foreign language or ten, let them understand the language of the human heart and be able to show kindness to all. Let them study deeply and earnestly the history of other times and countries, but let them be able to sympathize

with the history which is being determined in the circumstances and struggles at their own door,—within the threshold of their own homes. Let them study the stars and calculate the eclipses, if they will,—but let them first brighten the darkness of this world and see Justice and Reason behind the blinding nearness of circumstances. Let them feel the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God. In a word, let them ever and above all have Religion in the heart, as well as minds stored with knowledge.

Let us beware of education tending to change woman's nature rather than perfect it. Sidney Smith spoke wisely when he said: "Be what Nature intended you for and you will succeed;—be anything else and you will be ten thousand times worse than nothing." Let us improve,—develop every faculty we have,—not burying a single talent. If we have the opportunity and means, let us soar even to the heights of the higher,—yes, highest education,—but for the sake of ourselves,—our children,—our country,—let us remain womanly women, accepting our place in Nature's plan, our destiny, if you will, and the limitations it brings.

Certain fellowships of belief move side by side with the Suffrage movement because the majority of those foremost in their ranks follow the Suffrage banner, and every thinking person must at least suspect the relationship of cause and effect, though unable to distinguish which is which.

Feminism may not be a part of Suffrage; but who will deny that Suffrage is a part of Feminism? Many of the Suffrage leaders are Feminists; they have led followers to Suffrage and are now leading them to Feminism, the "Ballot" being a mere way station.

James Callaway said a few months ago: "Suffrage will revolutionize the home;—our homes are the basis of our State and National prosperity. Ballots for women will strike at the unity of the home. It is a social revolution when the man and woman are no longer one, but two. The home should be a well organized unit,—the woman's ballot may destroy this and the relation becomes co-equal, and a co-partnership,—a mere civil contract with its changing fortunes."

The Suffragists have been crying for the past three years,—“The Socialists are our friends, we welcome them not only as individuals, but as a political party. Why shouldn't we?” The Socialist banner was carried in the Suffrage parade in Washington with the Stars and Stripes above it. Socialists have been given honored places on the Suffrage platform. What does all this mean? Would the Suffragist destroy, not only the ideal of the home, but also the fundamental principles of our government, for the sake of the power of the ballot?

Commenting on Suffrage in Colorado, the New York Sun says: “Women have voted on equal terms with men in Colorado since 1893. Yet the government of Colorado in the past eleven years, has gone to pieces in a manner not in any way like the breakdowns in other states. It has failed in its fundamental duty,—the obligation to preserve public order. The votes of women seem to have left the state where it was,—it does not appear to be better administered than its neighbors.”

Collier's Weekly, commenting, says: “The trouble in Colorado comes from the absolute failure of government.” Mormon influence is strongest in Utah and Idaho; in these states

women have had the vote since 1896. Are the states in which Suffrage exists raising woman in her Christian dignity? We need not multiply examples of conditions in Suffrage states,—or evidence of evils which seem to accompany Suffrage, if indeed they be not its consequences.

It is not my purpose to make any exhaustive argument against woman's Suffrage; but to speak of it only as it bears upon my deep, heartfelt conviction that woman's sphere is in the moral world, and that her freedom and happiness, whatever may be her circumstances in life, depend upon her recognition of this fact. While Suffrage may not be identical with the repelling beliefs advanced by some of our women today, it is hand in hand with them. Therefore, we must protest with all the earnestness of our minds and hearts and souls against anything that seems, directly or indirectly, to lead to the moral degradation of women.

Miss Sewell says her reasons for being against Woman Suffrage are not “in the smallest degree based on the assumption that women are not equal to men, but merely that men and women are not identical,” and that “no electorate has ever existed, or ever can exist, which cannot execute its own laws.” “No voter has ever claimed or ever can claim maintenance from another voter.” “It is my hope and belief,” she says, “that the sound good sense of American women will defend them from Suffrage and protect their property privileges, their right to maintenance from their husbands and their personal dignity. I believe the most important factors of the State are the wives and mothers who make men good citizens, to govern and protect the State.”

Here is expressed a belief in the womanhood of America and a hope for her future which I am sure is re-echoed in every woman's heart. Let us unite to save the true nature of womanhood,—the dignity of motherhood,—the unity of the family and the influence of the home. How? Let us declare ourselves, not only by words, but by our actions,—let us demand religion in the schools to which we send our children,—morality in the theaters where we and our daughters seek entertainment; let us wage war against immoral posters and extravagant shop windows,—let us make the woman wage earner less necessary by making marriage more possible, and marriage more possible by making economy respectable and extravagance vulgar. You may smile and say,—"beautiful sentiments, but theory." Can it not be made practical? Individually we are helpless against these forces, but if each one will pledge herself to join a crusade—not alone against Suffrage, but against beliefs and abuses that threaten the true nature of womanhood and the influence of the family and the home, we may rescue the Holy Land of woman's moral Kingdom.

Let us try. Facts, the fundamental principles of Nature and Religion, all support us. We realize our limitations,—they are in part those belonging to this old world, with centuries of time stamped upon it; but in our day and generation we hope and pray to be of some service in bringing back woman to a normal condition and in maintaining the steadfastness and purity of our American womanhood.

Benito Chile¹⁸⁵⁹? "The State is the politically organized national person of a definite territory."
"The State has a personality. The state is masculine" ("Arguments")

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ANSWERS

SUFFRAGISTS SAY:

1. Taxation without representation is tyranny.

2. Women are deprived of citizenship because they may not vote.

3. Women belong to the disfranchised class of criminals and idiots because they have not a vote.

4. The welfare of children is woman's work. Why should not women vote for child welfare laws?

5. Women are wage-earners. Why should not women vote on laws governing the conditions under which they must work?

6. Property qualification, religious qualification, and also color qualification have been abandoned. Why should sex disqualification continue?

WE SAY:

1. It is folly to use this Revolutionary War Cry as an argument for woman suffrage. Men do not vote because they pay taxes. Why should women?

2. Women are citizens without the ballot, but the State requires a different service from its men and women citizens. Man's political service to the State is counterbalanced by woman's service in the home. If there were no families and no homes, there would be no State. One service is fully as important as the other.

3. Only suffragists make such a classification. Criminals have been disfranchised by statute; idiots may not vote for obvious reasons. Women having never been enfranchised cannot be spoken of as a disfranchised class.

4. The best laws to protect working children have been passed through the influence of the National Child Labor Committee. Ohio, Massachusetts, New York and Wisconsin have better Child Labor Laws today than some of the States where women vote.

5. Some of the best laws regulating the employment of women have been passed in recent years in the great manufacturing Eastern States where women do not vote.

6. Because Sex is a distinction imposed by Nature which precludes men and women from doing similar work equally well. Government is **MAN'S** work. Voting is a part of the machinery of government.

New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. 37 West 39th Street, New York

undated

TEN REASONS WHY WE DO NOT WANT TO VOTE.

The majority of women do not want the ballot. Of these, a certain number are opposed merely because of inertia; a larger number by reason of an instinctive shrinking from entrance into public life; a third contingent, of constantly growing dimensions, is composed of women who have studied their fundamental innate opposition to the ballot and brought it to a logical, consistent expression. Some of the reasons which these women give are:

1. Women's rights, the rights of true womanhood, are violated when women are forced to bear the same public burden, that are borne by men.

2. The community must suffer. The work of women in the home is vital, even when poorly handled. It ought to be done better than it is; it would be done less well if outside duties were added.

3. Woman does not need the ballot to effect reforms. The laws which in the past discriminated grossly in favor of man have now been changed so that legal advantage is rather in favor of woman. These changes have been accomplished by small groups of earnest workers, both men and women, and independent of the ballot.

4. The present moral power of woman as a non-partisan influence, unhampered by party lines, is incalculable. In many cases it is undoubtedly decisive. It would be impaired if her point of view became that of a party sympathizer.

5. So far, woman does not use the vote in great or in increasing numbers when she has it. She has the vote on school questions in many states, about 2 per cent. of the female population use it.

6. Efficiency, the cry of the hour, is outraged where two people are set to do the work of one.

7. The ballot for women will not raise wages or lower taxes. Wages will continue to be raised and lowered as in the past by the law of supply and demand, by arbitration and adjustment. Taxes will be raised and lowered, as at present, at the will of voters who pay no taxes at all.

8. The working girl will be no more independent of her employer with the ballot than without, or than the working man now is.

9. The political effect of giving the ballot to women would be simply to double the vote,—the undesirable and corrupt equally with the intelligent.

10. Division of labor, differentiation of function are marked features of advance in nature and civilization. Men in business, in public life, in the battle field; women in the household, in the school, both working with imperfect vision and defective powers, but, on the whole, lifting the social fabric every day to a slightly higher plane,—this is the present state of the race. Shall we take the risk of stretching woman's labor over a still larger circumference? Will it not give to the careless wife, the impatient mother, the captious neighbor, a new reason for neglect of her duties; and to the conscientious woman an added burden of investigation and choice?

Issued by the St. Paul Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

[undated]

A SOCIAL WORKER'S VIEW OF SUFFRAGE

[MRS. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM, the author of the following article, is one of the best known social workers in New England. She is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association, Chairman of the Department of Public Health of the Woman's Municipal League, a Director of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, and a member of the National Pre-Natal Committee of this Association. Mrs. Putnam is at the head of the Committee on Pre-Natal Work of the Woman's Municipal League, whose work is attracting scientific attention all over the world and is being copied in various countries. She is also a member of the League's Committee on Social Hygiene.]

THE FOUR MATTERS on which women's votes are said to be peculiarly needed are: 1. WHITE SLAVERY, 2. INFANT MORTALITY, 3. CHILD LABOR, 4. WOMEN'S WAGES.

1. No amount of voting can restrain human passions, yet even so vital a passion as that of sex can be controlled by knowledge, education and training. Women have this training in their hands in the most important period of every child's life. If men's passions are not in their own control, the fault usually lies primarily with the women; they have failed in bringing up their sons. Moreover, the sexes are absolutely inter-dependent and each is what the other demands of it to be. If women are purer than men, it is because men have demanded purity of the women of their families. Women have not demanded it of men. They have received into their houses, they have encouraged their daughters to marry men whom they have known to be evil. How can a vote change this? If the mothers had not failed, the white slavers would have but a poor field for their labors.

2. The principal connection between ballots and babies is that there is a "b" in both. The great protection of babies' lives is their mothers' milk. Wherever the baby death rate is low, it will be found that mothers fulfil this function. The most striking example I recall was the drop in the number of baby deaths during the terrible suffering of the siege of Paris, because the women, being unable to get milk, were forced to nurse their children. Would voting help? I am assured by one of the leading suffragists that women would never pass any law demanding this of mothers.

The pre-natal work started in Boston has spread over the civilized world, but it is difficult to see how the results could have been brought about by voting.

There was a great and proper outcry when Congress cut down the appropriation asked for by Miss Lathrop for the Federal Children's Bureau this winter. The vote of Congress was promptly rescinded, and Miss Lathrop now has her full appropriation, but no suffrage was exercised in this matter. Men and women made their wishes known through what is often called (in the case of women) "indirect

influence" and the job was done. To the simple-minded it seems so direct to ask for what you want, as was done in this case, and to get it—it seems the directest thing possible when you really think about it, doesn't it?

3. Child labor laws happen to be better, as a rule, in the male suffrage than in the female suffrage states. Colorado had woman suffrage for 20 years before she followed the lead of Massachusetts, New York and other male suffrage states in passing a good law for the protection of women and children in industry, and even now girls over 10, and boys of any age, can ply street trades in that state. This fact has been contradicted by a leading suffragist, but I have the law in my possession, sent me by the secretary of state of Colorado.

4. Women's wages, again, are not influenced by the possession of the suffrage. In Colorado once more, though women earn on an average 97 cents more each week than the average of the women of the whole country, the increase of men's weekly wage over their general average is \$3.62. Wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand. Labor is scarce in Colorado. What legislation can do, wisely or not, is to appoint minimum wage boards, and the first ever appointed in this country was in Massachusetts.

The dishonesty of the suffrage arguments was shown rather forcefully in the Massachusetts suffrage parade when Miss Foley went through the streets displaying in one hand a red rose labelled "Chivalry," and in the other a yellow banner inscribed "Justice," while on the back of her car was the legend, "We do not want Chivalry, but Justice." I call this dishonest because it is not true. Had the suffragists wanted justice they would not have killed the bill asked for by the anti-suffragists—the bill demanding for the women of Massachusetts the right to vote on the question of whether or no they should have the suffrage. They killed this just measure because they knew that justice would defeat their desires—they knew that women did not want to vote—but they hope that by appealing to the chivalry of men they might yet win.

The whole movement is hysterical, it plays on the emotions, not on thought, and it has allied itself with socialism and feminism, the greatest danger that has ever assailed our civilization.

MRS. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

Boston, June 18

IS-UED BY THE

WOMEN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS
687 Boylston Street, Boston.

Mrs. James M. Codman, President. Mrs. Charles P. Strong, Secretary.

Suffrage Statements Answered

The Suffragists give the following reasons why Massachusetts women want the vote:

1. *They say:* It is in the line of progress—a natural step in the line of evolution.

The Anti-Suffragists answer: The claim that woman suffrage is in the line of progress is a mistaken one. Evolution and civilization have led steadily toward differentiation of function between the sexes, not toward similarity. Suffrage purposes to set them at the same task, and demands that two people shall do the work of one; it is therefore retrogressive.

2. *The Suffragists say:* It is simple justice that in a democracy all citizens should have a voice in the government. Many women are taxpayers and all live under the laws. Many arguments against woman suffrage resolve themselves into arguments against democracy.

The Anti-Suffragists reply: It is simple justice that in a democracy the majority should rule, and the great majority of women are opposed to suffrage. That the suffragists know this is shown by their unwillingness everywhere to have the question submitted to a referendum of the women.

In regard to taxation, there is no connection in America between property and the vote. A man may own property and pay taxes in ten States without the right to vote in any one of them; and in the State where he does vote and where he can be called on for jury and militia duty he may pay not a cent of taxes.

The arguments of suffragists that women did not help to make our laws and therefore ought not to have to be governed by them is a fallacy. If there were any logic in this argument we should have to make over all our laws every time a new citizen or immigrant came into the nation, or a new baby was born. A million times a year we should have to make over our laws. Massachusetts men who spend their vacations in Maine or New Hampshire would be free from obligation to obey the laws of those States, because they had had no voice in making them.

3. *The Suffragists say:* Men and women being unlike, the State needs the expression of their differing points of view.

The Anti-Suffragists reply: Men and women being unlike it is foolish to insist that their relation to government should be the same. There are many effective methods for the expression of the feminine point of view besides the vote. Women's Clubs are responsible for more good laws than women voters.

4. *The Suffragists say:* Women as home-makers and mothers need the ballot to obtain the proper sanitary and moral environment for their children.

The Anti-Suffragist answer: Women as home-makers and mothers have not obtained better sanitary and moral conditions for their children in suffrage States than in non-suffrage States. In Colorado little girls of ten and boys of any age can carry on street trades, and Judge Lindsay is reported as saying that cases in his Juvenile Court on sex charges have multiplied 300 per cent. in the last few years. In Utah a girl of twelve can carry on a boot-black's trade. In Washington a child of ten, boy or girl, can beg, peddle, or sing on the street, for gain, and child labor at night is prohibited in bake-shops only. These laws compare very unfavorably with those in many male suffrage States.

5. *The Suffragists say:* Women in gainful occupations outside the home need the ballot for their own protection.

The Anti-Suffragists answer: As the laws for the protection of women in industry are better in male suffrage States than in woman suffrage States, wage-earning women cannot be said to need the ballot for their own protection. A considerable fraction of them are under twenty-one, and could not vote if the ballot was given to women.

6. *The Suffragists say:* Because women as a whole need the broadening and democratic interests.

The Anti-Suffragists reply: The number of opportunities for women to have "broadening and democratic" interests are so innumerable that she cannot begin to exhaust them. The vote will add nothing to these opportunities.

7. *The Suffragists say:* We are confronted not by a theory, but by a fact. Women already have full suffrage in nine States and the territory of Alaska, and impartial testimony agrees that they exercise the right in the main wisely and to the benefit of the community.

The Anti-Suffragists answer: It is true that women already have the vote in the most sparsely settled regions of this country where there are no large cities and where conditions are very unlike those in the great, thickly populated States of the Union. Utah has a population of about four to the square mile; Wyoming, which is one and one-half times as large as all New England, has a population about the size of Worcester, Mass. The whole nine suffrage States have a population much smaller than that of the State of New York. In several of these States Mormonism also has a strong hold, and populism and free silver have been popular causes. They are not models for Eastern States to follow. Impartial testimony is far from agreeing that suffrage even there is of benefit to the community. Its result is to weaken the electorate by increasing the proportion of boss-controlled and easily misled voters, and the proportion of stay-at-homes among the intelligent and respectable.

WOMEN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS

687 Boylston Street, Boston.

Mrs. JOHN BALCH, *President*
Mrs. CHARLES P. STRONG, *Secretary*

[undated]

Dr. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

President of the National Suffrage
Association Says :

**“The Anti-Suffragists
Are the Home, Heaven
and Mother Party.”**

**IF YOU LIKE HOME, HEAVEN
AND MOTHER, AND ARE GOING
OUR WAY, JOIN US !**

**IF YOU ARE GOING THE OTHER
WAY, JOIN THE SUFFRAGISTS.**

Issued by Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts
Mrs. James M. Codman, President
Mrs. M. B. Strong, Secretary

THE TRUTH ABOUT WAGE-EARNING WOMEN

THE often repeated misstatement of the Suffragists that there are 8,000,000 wage-earning women who need the ballot for their protection has been corrected time after time, both in the PROTEST and by our speakers from the platform. But the statement still persists, for some reason or other, either because the suffrage brain is impervious to facts or else Suffragists do not regard facts as essential elements in a controversy.

We are driven to the necessity therefore of putting these facts in such a form that the veriest child can understand them and even a Suffragist may not escape them.

A PRIMER

Question—How many women are employed in the U. S.?

Answer—There are 8,075,772 women ten years of age and over employed in gainful pursuits according to the last census.

Question—Are they all wage-earning women?

Answer—No; there are only 5,607,600 women, or about 69 per cent. of those gainfully employed who work for wages.

Question—How are the other 31 per cent. employed?

Answer—About 13 per cent. are business women who own their own business and employ other women, or they are professional women, *i. e.*, doctors, lawyers, ministers, teachers, artists, etc.; 18 per cent. are agricultural workers who are at work on home farms of their brothers, fathers, sons or husbands and are not paid wages.

Question—How many of these wage-earners are employed in factories, stores, laundries, hotels or in occupations generally covered by labor laws?

Answer—There are 2,646,329, or less than one-third of all women employed.

Question—Would the ballot in the hands of these women benefit them?

Answer—No. They would be hopelessly in the minority even if they all could and would vote.

Question—How many of these are of voting age?

Answer—1,266,559, or 15.6 per cent. of all women gainfully employed.

Question—Has the ballot in the hands of women ever benefited the laws for working women?

Answer—No. The best laws are to be found in male-suffrage States.

Question—Will the ballot in women's hands raise the wages of working women?

Answer—No. The wages of women have not been raised in the States where women vote, and women's wages in these States are no higher in comparison with the wages of men than in male-suffrage States.

Question—How many women are employed in domestic service where their employers are women?

Answer—2,530,846, or 45.1 per cent. of all wage-earners, are domestic servants, laundresses in private homes or are engaged in other occupations of a domestic character.

Question—Would not women's vote improve the conditions in laundries and like places of employment?

Answer—No. Even if the vote could improve conditions there, the majority of women would not vote to that end. There are only 79,000 women employed in laundries, but there are 546,000 women, or nearly seven times as many, laundresses employed in private families where women could raise their wages and diminish their hours of toil without recourse to the ballot if they desired to do so.

These facts can be verified by reference to the Census Reports, Vol. 4, 1910.

ISSUED BY

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 WEST 39th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

SUFFRAGE A CULT OF SELF AND SEX

A letter from Dr. Charles L. Dana to Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President, New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

(Note—Charles Loomis Dana, professor of physiology, Woman's Medical College, 1880 to 1886, professor of nervous diseases at Bellevue Hospital Medical School since 1897, and also at Cornell Medical College, is recognized as one of the world's leading neurologists.)

My Dear Miss Chittenden:

It is true that after much hesitation and deliberation I have jumped down from the fence and become definitely opposed, for the present at least, to woman's suffrage. The immediate and compelling reason is the fact that I find so many more promising, more serious, more unselfish and more pressing problems relating to human welfare forced on my attention. There are, for example, the questions of disease, of infant welfare, of mental and moral defectives, of immigration, of unemployment, of labor, of housing, of education, and also the problems of our country's defense. The air is filled with cries for help, and for all these cries and problems there is need of study and work.

Furthermore, we know that we can by such study and work achieve something. There is no battle line as to these matters. We are all agreed that they need our attention and our best efforts and that such efforts will secure reward and make an assured contribution to human progress. But women voters—will they help or mar? We do not know. Apparently they do nothing.

To me this insistent demand of "votes for women" is a distant and selfish cry—an echo of the childish demand: "I want my doughnut, and I want it now!"

Voting is not a right denied, but a privilege granted. If we give votes to women we do not correct injustice, we experiment in legislation. If voting by women could be shown to add to the happiness, efficiency and progress of the state, women ought to vote. If voting by men did not do these things men should not vote, but we should go back to the efficient days of the despot. It has not been shown so far that votes by women have added to the real value of government; until it has done so there should be a decent pause and a co-operation in work on social measures which we know are urgent and workable.

Apparently the propagandists in this country will not listen to this. They cannot appreciate the point of view; they do not even try. I once put it to Mrs. Pankhurst, and she promptly and automatically replied with an attack on the tyranny of man. Yet in England they now admit its force.

But, as I walk down Fifth avenue and see the garish and vulgar display of "votes for women," with its table of half-true statistics, I feel that I am confronted with the oriflamme of a noisy and selfish propaganda, and I am forced as a conscientious citizen to take a stand; and I urge that the energies and magnificent capacities of women for prompting good causes be spent just now on more acutely needed lines and more fruitful fields.

Of course, all this is just one person's view, and doubtless advocates of the great cause have an answer, rich in scornful objurgation, which will thrill and satisfy them.

I presume, however, that you rather expected me to say something as a neurologist and one having had some experience with the anatomy and nervous system of women. There are some fundamental differences between the bony and the nervous structures of women and men. The brain-stem of woman is relatively larger; the brain mantle and basal ganglia are smaller; the upper half of the spinal cord is smaller; the lower half which controls the pelvis and limbs is much larger. These are structural differences which underlie definite differences in

the two sexes. I do not say that they will prevent a woman from voting, but they will prevent her from ever becoming a man, and they point the way to the fact that woman's efficiency lies in a special field and not that of political initiative or of judicial authority in a community's organization. There may be an answer to this assertion, but no one can deny that the mean weight of the O. T. and C. S. in a man is 42 and in woman 38; or that there is a significant difference in the pelvic girdle.

Besides, there are qualities in the nervous system of woman that call for protection and make at least certain forms of aggressive and responsible life dangerous. About one-fourth of the insanity of civilized countries is due to serious blood diseases, alcohol and drugs. Men are three times more addicted to drugs and alcohol and ten times more the sufferers from blood infection and the accidents that come from an extradomiciliary life than women. Despite this, there are practically no more cases of insanity among men than among women. In fact, women are rather more subject than men to the pure psychoses. If women achieve the feministic ideal and live as men do, they would incur the risk of 25 per cent. more insanity than they have now.

I am not saying that woman's suffrage will make women crazy. I do say that woman's suffrage would throw into the electorate a mass of voters of delicate nervous stability. We would double our vote, double the expense of elections and add to our voting and administrative forces the biological element of an unstable preciosity which might do injury to itself without promoting the community's good. I do not assert that this is surely to happen, but there is a reasonable certainty that some of it might if woman's suffrage were adopted and taken seriously and in thoroughgoing fashion, as should be the case if women assume the responsibilities of government. Hence, why not go slowly?

Finally, as to anti-suffrage and intelligence. There is, I find, an acute controversy as to which party is the less intelligent, the suffragists or anti-suffragists. Real intelligence lies in wisdom, in the power to adjust one's acts and functions to the environment and its problems; and women seem, so far, to have taken in large measure the suffrage question, not intelligently, but obsessively. It is adopted as a kind of religion, a holy cult of self and sex, expressed by a passion to get what they want. There is no program, no promise; only ecstatic assertions that they ought to have it and must have it, and of the wonders that will follow its possession. The minds which lead a cause may be great and broad, inspired and unselfish; but they are so only when the cause has the same qualities. There are many quiet, sensible women who honestly believe in this cause, but often the active and aggressive workers and writers who think themselves so clever are definitely defective mentally. Measured by fair rules of intelligence testing, I should say that the average zealot in the cause has about the mental age of 11. They look through a cranny and see a dazzling illumination beyond, which is to them the light of a new heaven when it is really only the sublimation of an unoccupied "elan vital." Yet they consider every one who does not believe with them to be unintelligent, so I suppose that they will class as such,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) CHAS. L. DANA, M. D.

WOMAN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

37 WEST 39TH STREET, NEW YORK

Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts
685 Boylston Street, Boston.
Mrs. JOHN BALCH, President
Mrs. CHARLES P. STRONG, Secretary



[May 19, 1894]

WHY I AM OPPOSED TO WOMAN
SUFFRAGE

BY

JEANNETTE L. GILDER

FOUNDER OF THE CRITIC

WHY I AM OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE¹

It has been quite a shock to people who do not know me, but who thought they did, to find me opposed to woman's suffrage. Because I have been for so many years a working-woman, and because the profession I chose is, or was at the time I entered it, supposed to be entirely a man's profession, they thought I wanted all the privileges of men. But I don't. You could have counted the women journalists on the fingers of one hand at the time I entered the ranks. Nowadays you could not find fingers enough in a regiment to count them on. There are now certain branches of journalistic work that are almost entirely given over to women, and women not only edit mere departments of daily papers, but there are those who edit the Sunday editions of some of the biggest dailies.

I am a great believer in the mental equality of the sexes, but I deny the physical equality. I believe in putting men's work and women's work of the same kind side by side, and judging them not as sex work, but simply as work. To have a "Woman's Building" at the World's Fair did not seem to me a compliment to the sex, but I believe some good reasons were advanced for it. Even some of its staunchest advocates, however, doubt if there will ever be such another building at such another show. I do not believe in sex in literature or art. Every book should be compared with all other books of its kind, and so with every picture, statue, or musical composition. There are few trades or professions that I do not think women fairly well equipped for, or capable of being prepared for. I cannot say that I quite like the idea of a woman preacher, but that may be a mere prejudice; nor do I think that I would retain a woman lawyer. But this is neither here nor there.

In politics I do not think that women have any place. The life is too public, too wearing, and too unfitted to the nature of women. It is bad enough for men — so bad, that some of the

¹ Reprinted from *Harper's Bazar*, May 19, 1894.

best of them keep out of it; and it would be worse for women. Many of the women who are enthusiastic in the cause of suffrage seem to think that if they are once given the power to vote, every vexed question will be settled, every wrong righted. By dropping their ballots in the box they believe that they can set in motion the machinery of an earthly paradise. I wish I could think so. It is my opinion that it *would let loose the wheels of purgatory*. If the ballot were the end, that would be one thing, but it is only the beginning. If women vote they must hold office, they must attend primaries, they must sit on juries. We shall have women "heelers" and women "bosses;" there will be the "girls" of the Fourth Ward (when it comes to New York) as well as the "boys."

What will become of home life, I should like to know, if the mother and the father both are at the "primary" or the convention? Who will look after the children? Hired mothers? But can every woman with political ambitions afford to pay for a "resident" or a "visiting" mother? And even if she can, will such a one take the place of the real mother? I think not. Cannot a woman find a sufficiently engrossing "sphere" in the very important work of training her children! If there are any sons among them, she can mould them into good citizens; if there are any daughters, she can guide their footsteps along any path they may choose, for all paths but the political are open to them. I do not think that to be a good housewife should be the end and aim of every woman's ambition, but I do think that it should be some part of it; for I am old-fashioned enough to be a pious believer in the influence of a mother's training upon her children. Read the life of any great man, and you will see how much of his greatness he owed to his mother. It seems to me that it is a bigger feather in a woman's cap — a brighter jewel in her crown — to be the mother of a George Washington than to be a member of Congress from the Thirty-second District.

From the day Adam and Eve were created to the present year of grace men and women have been different in all important respects. They were made to fill different rôles. It was intended by nature that men should work, and that women should share in the disposition and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Circumstances alter cases, and women are often — alas! too often — driven out into the world to make their own way. Would they

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY THE

HON. ELIHU ROOT,

BEFORE

The New York State Constitutional Convention,

ON

August 15th, 1894

ISSUED BY

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

37 WEST 39TH STREET.

NEW YORK CITY.

1879?

find it any easier if they had the ballot! Do men find it so easy to get work? If they do, why are there so many thousands of the clamoring unemployed?

It is said that the laws are unfair to women. Then call the attention of the law-makers to the fact, and see how soon they will be amended. I think that men want to be fair to women, and a petition will work wonders with a Congressman. Will women always be fair to women? That is a serious question. They may on some points, but the question of chivalry never comes into consideration between women. It does between men and women, and the latter profit by it.

I speak from experience when I say that I don't see how women can cultivate home life and enter the political arena. Circumstances forced me to go out into the world to earn my own bread and a part of that of others. When my mother was living, she made the home, and all went well. But after that, after marriages and deaths, a family of four small children came to me for a home. I don't mean for support, for they had a father living, but for a home. I had to take, as far as possible, the place of my sister, their mother. To do my duty by them and by my work was the most difficult task I ever undertook. I had to go to my office every day and leave them to the care of others. Sometimes the plan worked well, but oftener it worked ill—very ill indeed. I had seven people doing, or attempting to do, what I and two others could have done had I been able to be at home and look after things myself. Suppose that politics had been added to my other cares? Suppose that I had had meetings to attend and candidates to elect, perhaps to be elected myself? What would have been the result? Even direr disaster! We cannot worship God and Mammon; neither can we be politicians and women. It is against nature, against reason. Give woman everything she wants, but not the ballot. Open every field of learning, every avenue of industry to her, but keep her out of politics. The ballot cannot help her, but it can hurt her. She thinks it a simple piece of paper, but it is a bomb—one that may go off in her own hands, and work a mischief that she little dreams of.

Issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

Pamphlets and leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary,
Room 615,
Kensington Building,
687 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

I AM opposed to the granting of suffrage to women, because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman; and because I believe it would be an injury to the State, and to every man and every woman in the State. It would be useless to argue this if the right of suffrage were a natural right. If it were a natural right, then women should have it though the heavens fall. But if there be any one thing settled in the long discussion of this subject, it is that suffrage is not a natural right, but is simply a means of government; and the sole question to be discussed is whether government by the suffrage of men and women will be better government than by the suffrage of men alone. The question is, therefore, a question of expediency, and the question of expediency upon this subject is not a question of tyranny, as the gentleman from Cattaraugus has said, but a question of liberty, a question of the preservation of free constitutional government, of law, order, peace and prosperity. Into my judgment, sir, there enters no element of the inferiority of woman. There could not, sir, for I rejoice in the tradition and in the memory and the possession of a home where woman reigns with acknowledged superiority in all the nobler, and the higher attributes that by common, by universal, consent, determine rank among the highest of the children of God. No, sir. It is not that woman is inferior to man, but it is that woman is different from man; that in the distribution of powers, of capacities, of qualities, our Maker has created man adapted to the performance of certain functions in the economy of nature and society, and women adapted to the performance of other functions. One question to be determined in the discussion of this subject is whether the nature of woman is such that her taking upon her the performance of the functions implied in suffrage will leave her in the possession and the exercise of her highest powers or will be an abandonment of those powers and on entering upon a field in which, because of her differences from man, she is distinctly inferior. Mr. President, I have said that I thought suffrage would be a loss for women. I think so because suffrage implies not merely the casting of the ballot, the gentle and peaceful fall of the snow-flake, but suffrage, if it means anything, means entering upon the field of political life, and politics is modified war. In politics there is struggle, strife,

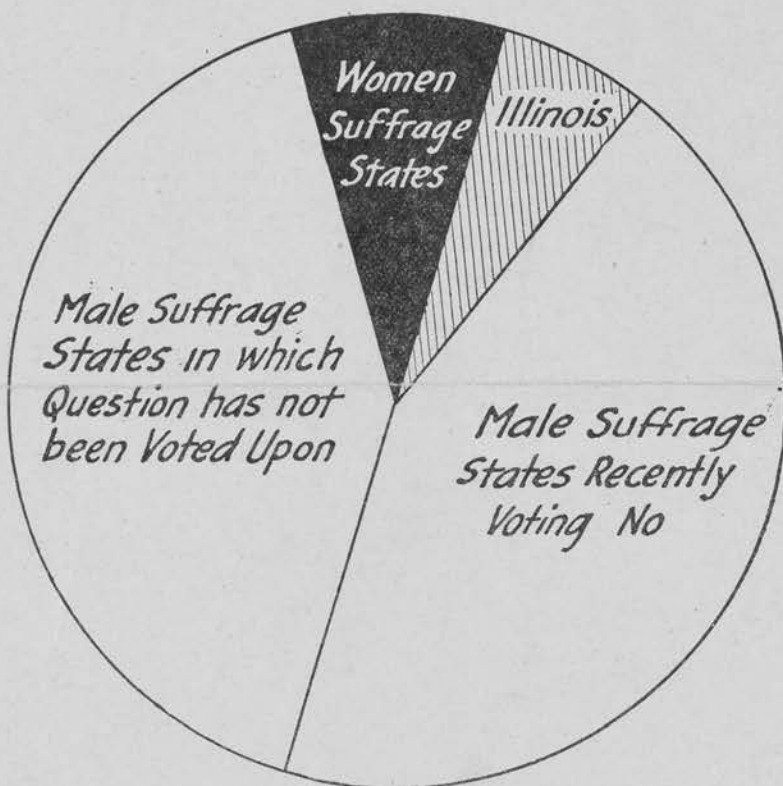
contention, bitterness, heart-burning, excitement, agitation, everything which is adverse to the true character of woman. Woman rules to-day by the sweet and noble influences of her character. Put woman into the arena of conflict and she abandons these great weapons which control the world, and she takes into her hands, feeble and nerveless for strife, weapons with which she is unfamiliar and which she is unable to wield. Woman in strife becomes hard, harsh, unlovable, repulsive; as far removed from that gentle creature to whom we all owe allegiance and to whom we confess submission, as the heaven is removed from the earth. Government, Mr. President, is protection. The whole science of government is the science of protecting life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of protecting our person, our property, our homes, our wives and our children, against foreign aggression, against civil dissension, against mobs and riots rearing their fearful heads within this peaceful land during the very sessions of this Convention. Against crime and disorder, and all the army of evil, civil society wages its war, and government is the method of protection, protection of us all. The trouble, Mr. President, is not in the principles which underlie government. Men and women alike acknowledge them and would enforce them, honor and truth, and justice and liberty; the difficulty is to find out how to protect them. The difficulty is to frame the measure, to direct the battle, to tell where and how the blows are to be struck and when the defenses are to be erected.

Mr. President, in the divine distribution of powers, the duty and the right of protection rests with the male. It is so throughout nature. It is so with men, and I, for one, will never consent to part with the divine right of protecting my wife, my daughter, the women whom I love and the women whom I respect, exercising the birthright of man, and place that high duty in the weak and nerveless hands of those designed by God to be protected rather than to engage in the stern warfare of government. In my judgment, sir, this whole movement arises from a false conception of the duty and of the right of men and women both. We all of us, sir, see the pettiness of our lives. We all see how poor a thing is the best that we can do. We all at times long to share the fortunes of others, to leave our tiresome round of duty and to engage in their affairs. What others may do seems to us nobler, more important, more conspicuous than the little things of our own lives. It is a great mistake, sir, it is a fatal mistake that these excellent women make when they

conceive that the functions of men are superior to theirs and seek to usurp them. The true government is in the family. The true throne is in the household. The highest exercise of power is that which forms the conscience, influences the will, controls the impulses of men, and there to-day woman is supreme and woman rules the world. Mr. President, the time will never come when this line of demarcation between the functions of the two sexes will be broken down. I believe it to be false philosophy; I believe that it is an attempt to turn backward upon the line of social development, and that if the step ever be taken, we go centuries backward on the march towards a higher, a nobler and a purer civilization, which must be found not in the confusion, but in the higher differentiation of the sexes. But, Mr. President, why do we discuss this subject? This Convention has already acted upon it. A committee, as fairly constituted as ever was committee, has acted upon it, a committee which had among its members four who were selected by the women who lead this movement, which had a much smaller number of gentlemen who were known to be opposed to it, the great body of which was composed of men whose ideas and feelings upon the subject were utterly unknown, has acted upon it, and reported to the Convention. The Convention has, by a unanimous vote, decided that it will not strike the word "male" from the Constitution. Now we are met, sir, by a proposition that instead of performing the duty which we came here to perform, instead of exercising the warrant given to us by the people to revise and amend the Constitution, we shall have recourse in a weak and shuffling evasion, and then throw back upon the people the determination which they charged us to make in this Convention. We are asked to do it. Why? to do it from good nature, to do it because my friend from New York, Mr. Lauterbach, is a good fellow; to do it because it will please this lady and that lady, who have been importuning members about this hall for months; to do it, heaven knows for how many reasons, but all reasons of good nature, of kindness, of complaisance, opposed to the simple performance of the duty which we came here to discharge under the sanction of our oaths. Mr. President, I hope that this Convention will discharge the duty of determining who shall vote; discharge it with manliness and decision of character, which, after all, the women of America, God bless them, admire and respect more than anything else on this earth.

[post-1910]

POPULATION DIAGRAM



POPULATION IN 1910

Woman Suffrage States	8,189,469
Male Suffrage States	78,144,206
Population of Illinois	5,638,591

Illinois women have partial or "statutory" suffrage. The bill granting this was put through the Illinois legislature by a secret lobby composed of four Chicago women. The suffragists were afraid to let the people vote on the question, knowing it would be defeated

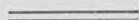


Issued by Minnesota Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
300 Meyers Arcade, Minneapolis, Minn.

[post-1912]

WOMAN'S RIGHTS
VS
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BY
MRS. A. J. GEORGE



ISSUED BY
The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,
37 WEST 39TH STREET,
NEW YORK CITY.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS vs WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

VOTES are far from being the whole story in this dispute. The imposition of political duties upon women is not, as suffragists claim, the logical result of the several steps by which the civil and legal rights of women have been recognized. It is a fundamental departure from the ideals of life and of the distribution of its duties on which the fabric of our society rests to-day. As the civic and legal rights of women have increased, public thought has become blurred and confused as to woman's duties. The suffrage is a responsibility and a duty.

Upon one thing we are all agreed—the right of woman to that individual development which shall make possible her fullest contribution to the social order. There is honest difference of opinion as to how this contribution shall be made. There is no monopoly on either side of spiritual vision or of devoted service. There are those who believe that only through the vote can the State be moralized and reformed—and there are others who believe that woman's vote would be a waste of power because a duplication of effort, and that there would be no compensating gain to woman or the state for this economic loss. These hold the conviction that true progress can lie only in guiding nature in the direction in which she is moving, and not in trying to head her off, who believe that the so-called "reform" is really a retrogressive movement.

The chief opponents of woman suffrage are not the special interests nor those men who take a narrow and prejudiced view of woman's relation to the state, but those women who have grave doubts whether their duty lies in service to the state by the ballot, or by a fulfilment of present responsibilities which bear no relation to the ballot. Society

developing normally tends to differentiate and separate the duties which men and women have, for "civilization deepens the dye of sex."

If there is one thing which alarms the advocates of woman suffrage, it is the suggestion that an opportunity shall be given to the women to register an opinion on this "revolutionary measure," as Mr. Gladstone termed woman suffrage. They hate the thought of it. The reason is quite clear: they know quite well that the great majority of women are not with them and they do not want the voters to find it out. The most ardent suffragists are agreed that the enfranchisement of woman is the one subject on which men alone are competent to decide. It is no part of their plan to give women a chance to express their will on this question. They forget that the foundation of a democracy lies in mutual agreement and majority rule. From the days of the Mayflower Compact to the adoption of the Arizona constitution, the people are "bound to obedience under what is undoubtedly the will of the majority."

So convinced are these impassioned advocates of votes for women that theirs is the one method by which woman should contribute her services to the state that they are determined to force legislation which is in strong opposition to the wishes of the great majority of those most concerned. Because it is peculiarly true of the American man that he shuns contention and argument with women, there is danger that the will of a minority, insistent and clamorous, shall be interpreted as the expressed desire of the majority, unless this great army of hitherto silent women takes the anomalous position of publicly protesting against the imposition of political duties.

Wherever women have been given an opportunity to express their will in regard to the suffrage, a very small proportion have gone on record in favor of it. The suffragists report that only 8 per cent. of the 24,000,000 women of voting age in the United States are enrolled as active suffragists. In the state of Connecticut, which the suffragists claim as the best organized of any of the eastern states, only 4 per cent. of the women of voting age are acknowledged suffragists. In Massachusetts in 1895 a Referendum was held in which both men and women were allowed to vote on the question "Is it expedient that Municipal Suffrage should be granted to Women." The suffragists made every possible effort to bring out the vote of the women while

the anti-suffragists were encouraged *not* to vote. Only 4 per cent. of the women of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts went on record in favor of municipal suffrage for women.

You may say that this was 18 years ago and public sentiment has changed, yet we find the suffragists to-day in the state of Massachusetts protesting against another referendum, because as they now admit "the referendum of 1895 set back their cause many years" as well it might. In that state where all women of 21 years can vote for members of the school board without paying a poll tax and by meeting a slight educational qualification, only 2½ per cent. of the women entitled to register and vote for school committee do so.

The last election in Boston for school committee brought out the lowest percentage of registered women voters on election day that has been recorded since 1879—with two exceptions—although since 1879 the city has greatly increased in population.

In the state of New Hampshire during May 1912 over 3,000 women of voting age were enrolled opposed to woman suffrage, although in 40 years' agitation the suffragists reported as their net membership some 7,000 members, men and women.

In San Francisco at the election of November 1912, according to the report of the Commissioner of Elections, 26 per cent. of the women of that city entitled to register and vote did so, although that day offered the first opportunity for San Francisco women to cast their vote for presidential electors.

In England when it was suggested in South Wiltshire to hold a referendum which the local anti-suffragists welcomed, the suffragists spurned the suggestion because "the referendum gives an equal value to the opinion of those who have carefully studied the subject and probably that larger number who have given it no serious consideration." In passing, it is interesting to ask if this objection which in the minds of the suffragists invalidated the referendum in South Wiltshire does not sum up one of the chief arguments of the opponents to woman suffrage, who see in woman suffrage a destruction of the power of the informed woman to-day, since the vote would give to the uninformed woman equal power with the informed.

Suffragists promised us in 1910 a petition to Congress bearing 1,000,000 signatures. They managed to secure the signatures of

163,438 women to that long heralded petition and these 163,438 names represented the harvest of months of passionate and devoted work throughout the country.

Why is it that the majority of women do not want the franchise? It is not because they are careless of the public welfare or of the rights of woman, but because they are reluctant to assume responsibilities for which they are not fitted and which do not carry with them a promise of the better fulfilment of old responsibilities which woman must carry.

What has thus far been done or left undone in other states and countries where women have the ballot signifies little, for nowhere has the principle been in operation long enough to be put to the test. The real test of such a change requires a great international crisis in which passion and prejudice are at white heat and the life of the nation is at stake.

Because of recent suffrage gains this sort of talk is unpopular, but we have lived through other movements—greenbackism, populism, free silver—and time may prove that suffragism is no more sound than these other panaceas which failed when put to the test. As yet there is only the initial enthusiasm of a popular movement.

There is reason that we should consider the situation in England. Does the deliberate destruction of property and the creation of public disorder promise that women are to show a more excellent way in government? Those who read history aright know that reforms have not been brought about in that country by the use of force.

The country could doubtless stand the drainage of woman's civic life into political activities; in a short time as history moves, the waste of such a policy would be manifest and woman would again seek her natural channels of expression. I am not afraid of the masculine woman, but I have grave fears for the woman who confuses the work of man and woman and attempts to do both.

How shall woman best contribute her part to the social order? It is not a question of aim in which suffragists and antisuffragists differ. Both parties desire woman's opportunity for her highest social efficiency in order that she may serve the State fully and nobly. The problem is to be solved, not by consulting the wishes of one group of women, but by earnest consideration of the possible results to the

State of the imposition of the duties of government upon all women. If the law gives to woman the right to vote, then all women have the responsibility of voting. This burden, if it is put upon any woman, must be put upon all women. Never before has it been proposed to extend the franchise to a new electorate, the majority of whom are acknowledged to be either indifferent or opposed to it.

It is not a question of what women want—even a majority of women; it is a question whether it is expedient for the State to put the balance of political power into the hands of woman. Does this policy promise a better order for the State? We must not take any single group of women and compare them with a less informed group of men. We must compare like with like. Have those who advocate woman suffrage the proof that the average woman will make a better voter than the average man?

A favorite cartoon of the suffragists representing a woman scrubbing, with a contrasting picture of a drunken husband. The cartoon is labelled "She can't vote—he can." Fortunately, society is not made up of scrubbing wives and drunken husbands. Unfortunately both types exist, but to compare these two for purposes of illustrating the quality of moral force which all women would bring to the exercise of political duties, is neither fair nor just, either to the voting men of to-day or to the women whom it is proposed to enfranchise. Compare like with like. Do you believe that the average woman has surer means of information in regard to matters of state and national policies than has the average man? Unless you have this proof you must hesitate, as patriotic women, before you double the present difficulties of our democracy. Civilization goes forward by two roads—one of them is provided by the State and deals with the conditions which surround the citizen; the other is opened by education—and here is woman's distinctive sphere—in the upbuilding of character. She trains and educates not only her own children, but also the whole body politic. She builds the individual character, by which society is reformed, for society at best reflects the character of those who compose it. It is not by the establishment nor by the suppression of institutions that social change is wrought—you may suppress the saloon, but unless public conscience is aroused, the liquor traffic is unchecked; it is by reform within the individual that the Kingdom

of God is advanced, and to-day we have lost our clearer vision of this truth and, forgetting the power of character, invoke the power of the law.

Man's work is concerned with affairs which are akin to government, with commerce, with finance, with defence—a realm which lies outside the experience of most women. Woman is vitally concerned with matters in the home or akin to the home. To imply that we need her vote in order to help our larger housekeeping, bespeaks a misapprehension of what constitutes municipal housekeeping. As in the home the mother stands for ideals, so in the State woman stands for the creation of a public opinion which the voter embodies in law.

It is no answer to say that the men have failed. If they are doing so poorly, what shall we say of the women who have trained them? We have made the men what they are. Our need to-day is not more voters but better voters, and if the men have failed—and they have not failed, if we consider the slow process of the race in attaining its ideals—but if they have failed, it is because woman has neglected her part in training them to ideals of righteousness which shall be translated at the polls into votes for candidates who stand for that which is true and clean in public life. A clever woman said in New York the other day—"we want more of the home-made child and less of the street-made;" if the women think they must go into politics in order to make the street a safer place for their children, we must ask in all honesty who made the street child?

As reasonable women we need not deal with the absurd contention that the anti-suffragists class themselves with criminals, and idiots, and insane. Nor we consider the old argument which stood for "woman's rights," so called, on the assumption that the suffrage was a natural right; leading suffragists long ago abandoned that claim, and have taken up new and alluring arguments which seem to them an expression of the spirit of the times. Anti-suffragists are the first to affirm that woman's citizenship is as real as man's; that her contribution to the State is as worthy as man's.

The logic of theory is on the side of those who ask for this change; the logic of fact is with those who protest against it.

A New York newspaper of February 14 contained on a single

page an illustration of this logic of theory measured up to the logic of fact. One press despatch informed a sympathetic public that a young woman would march in a suffrage pageant bound in shackles to represent the state of unenfranchised women. Another press despatch told of the introduction into the New York Assembly of a proposed constitutional amendment which "prohibits the Legislature of that state from enacting laws making any discrimination between the sexes in relation to personal, civil or property rights. The amendment provides that all such laws at the time the amendment takes effect shall be null and void unless vested rights are thereby affected. A number of laws now discriminate in favor of women in regard to such matters as dower rights, alimony and personal property." There are no shackles save of nature's making. Full justice has not been done to woman, neither has full justice been done to man, but the laws of the state of New York stand as a protest against those who talk of "shackles," and they record the legal rights and exemptions for women which have been written on the statute books in recognition of the fact that woman has a special service to perform for the state and needs these rights and these exemptions in order that she may do her work with efficiency.

Women stand to-day for the duties of a broader moral and social life, apart from the spectacular duty of exercising political power under stress of personal political ambition—an undivided body to create a scientific and trained public opinion. If they are to use men's clumsy methods, they will be a part of the political machine, and they will be divided into Democrats, and Republicans, and Socialists and Prohibitionists, precisely as men are, and as they themselves, are to-day threatened with division by the politics of suffrage. It is the greatest power and the pressing danger of our woman's temperament that we cannot have difference of opinion and treat them impersonally as men do. In too many instances to-day necessary work right at our hand, is hampered and hindered because we are estranged by this talk and noise of the suffrage movement. Do you believe that a pledge which a powerful suffrage organization sought to exact from its members that they would "give neither money nor services to any other cause until the women of New York state have been enfranchised," is a hopeful sign that enfranchised woman will place the public good

above party politics? While woman parade and demand votes, what is the work at their hands which no vote can solve?

Some of us, gravely doubtful as to the results of suffrage, are anxiously asking ourselves whether we are standing in the way of our toiling sisters. There are 7,000,000 of "females gainfully employed," according to the census of 1910. Are the troubles of these women to be solved by more politics or are they social and economic? Of these 7,000,000 of women, 40 per cent. are domestic servants in our homes. If we women who have so signally failed to solve the problems of two-fifths of all the wage earning women in our country, with whom we come in daily and hourly contact, who make or mar our domestic order, can we hope that by the votes of women better conditions will be obtained either for or by the women who toil in our homes and the women who toil in our factories? The terrible thing about the wage earning woman is that she is so young, that she is so overworked and that she is so underpaid. Probably the percentages of the census of 1900 will hold good with the larger figures of the census of 1910, when one-third of the wage earning women were under voting age and one-half were under twenty-five years; the average duration of the working woman was from the age of 18 to 22 years, when she left industry to go into "the business of being a woman," as Ida Tarbell has aptly termed it.

Three factors determine wages; the market supply and demand, the degree of skill which is offered, and the organization of the workers into bodies where they can make collective bargaining. Under the census of 1900, only one woman in six of voting age was gainfully employed. If the five who are not wage-earners are so careless and indifferent of the lot of the woman who toils, can we hope that votes are going to help out these problems of the woman in industry? a problem beside which questions of tariff and finance sink into insignificance and to which every right-minded woman must bring the best her heart and mind can offer.

When you attend a conference on Juvenile Crime, or Infant Mortality, or Divorce, what is the keynote sounded every time? Not "Votes for Women," but the need of the preservation of the home. While suffragists are talking about the passing of the home and the dawn of an era when baby gardens shall precede kindergartens, and the state shall take care of the child, experts affirm that what the child

needs even more than sanitary conditions is mothering, and that the morals and the health of the child are safer in a poor home than in a good institution. In recognition of this fact we have the movement for the Widow's Pension bills in various states. That great Chinese woman, Dr. Yamei Kin recently said, "I think there will be a great reaction toward home and family life instead of the present agitation against the sacrifice and so-called narrowness of woman's sphere."

In all the States there are now Child Labor Committees. Those committees have done more to better the conditions of child labor than all other influences combined, and the woman members have influenced legislation as much as the men, and the fact that the latter had a vote has not increased their effectiveness. The Child labor laws of states in the union where women do not vote are in advance of those where women do vote, and there is abundant proof from suffrage authority to uphold this statement.

Dr. McKelway is authority for stating in the fall of 1912 that the Child Labor Law of Massachusetts was the best in the country considering the compulsory education law, the age certificate system, the factory inspection laws and the many other factors which go into the building of conditions which shall safeguard the children.

It is also true of the body of remedial and protective legislation for the working women, that the best safeguards for the woman who toils are found in those states where the laws have been made under an electorate of men.

This is not because, as some suffragists urge, there is no need of this legislation in the woman suffrage states. There is need of it, even though the workers be few, and the comparison of laws in Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, where women have had the vote, with those of the adjoining states of Nebraska, Oregon, Oklahoma and the Dakotas, shows an advantage on the side of the latter group of States where male suffrage has prevailed. The high water mark of legislation for the working woman was reached in Massachusetts, with her Maternity law, which forbids the employment of women for a certain period before and after child birth (New York in 1912 passed a similar law) and with her Minimum Wage Commission, which is concerned with the living wage of women, and her absolute prohibition of woman's work after 10 P. M. in manufacturing

and mercantile establishments. New York in 1912 enacted a 54-hour law for women which has just passed the test of the Supreme Court.

As far back as 1877 women were elected by popular vote in the State of Massachusetts as Overseers of the Poor. The value of the work of women on appointed commissions dealing with the dependent and defective has increasing recognition in many states. To these positions women bring service untainted by political ambitions.

Suffragists claim that suffrage is necessary to abolish the hideous white slave traffic. The Federal Slave Act has been on the statute books since June, 1910. Since this Act was passed, the government has obtained 337 convictions, only thirty-five of which have been acquitted, and in the present session of Congress an effort will be made to have certain amendments adopted to make a wider application of the law. These matters are being corrected along educational lines, rather than by political propaganda. Other laws must and will follow as the knowledge of the extent of the evil awakens the public conscience and the moral sense of the people is aroused.

A woman before the Massachusetts Legislature pleaded for the ballot in order that the theatrical billboard displays might not offend the eyes of youth. She lacked nothing in zeal, but her knowledge of fact was lacking, as it is a fact that eighty-five per cent. of the patrons of the theatre are women. Obviously, the most direct and simple way to raise the standard of the stage is to make the box office receipts voice our protest against the violation of decency, of modesty and the corruption of youth. We have laws enough to sink the Ship of State. What we need is an enforcement of existing laws, and such new ones as shall express a public opinion which stands ready to make those laws operative. Why are we known as the most lawless people on the face of the earth? Because when a law is passed, we feel the fight is won, when in reality the campaign is just begun.

The only consistent suffragist to-day is the woman who has the courage to follow her theories to their ultimate conclusion; who stands for the so-called economic independence of woman, even to the co-responsibility of the wife for the maintenance of her children, if she has any. This is the socialistic view. It must be the view of every suffragist who has the intellectual honesty and perception of the feminist. Although an officer of the National Suffrage Association has recently

pronounced that "Most informed and progressive people are agreed that the married woman should be economically independent," and assuming this, has urged that the father and mother should have five-hour shifts at work and in the care of the children in the home, public opinion has not kept pace with this interesting device to put marriage on a business basis.

If you honestly believe in doubling the present electorate, by adding to the problem of our democracy an untried electorate, the majority of which is acknowledged to be indifferent or opposed to the exercise of the franchise, if you believe that the ballot is woman's best means of social efficiency, then you are a suffragist.

Manhood suffrage is on trial and those of us who are optimistic believe it must succeed, but we know that our machinery of government is under the greatest strain in congested areas of population which present the greatest obstacles to getting measures clear before the voters. In the towns and in these same congested areas women are doing a noble work through their individual efforts and in their municipal leagues and kindred organizations. They gain respectful hearings because they are distinctly apart from party strife and they do not divert the efforts for the solution of social problems to the machinery of political organization.

If you recognize that nowhere on the face of the earth has woman suffrage been tried under conditions which would obtain here in this state, you will hesitate before you support the suffrage claim and you will question whether woman's service to the state should be identical with man's. What the method of that service may be I have tried to indicate. It has not the glamor of a new program; it has not even a war cry, which Voltaire said people dearly loved; but it involves a careful consideration of present duties and old obligations, to which the ballot, the political activities, the share in the administration of government, the scramble for office, offer no solution.

That great English woman who made the largest contribution of the 19th century toward solving the problem of the housing of the poor, Octavia Hill, has said "Political power would militate against usefulness in the large field of public work in which so many are now doing noble and helpful service. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be. . . . Let the woman be set

on finding her duties, not on her rights—there is enough of struggle for place and power, enough of watching what is popular and will win votes, enough of effort to secure majorities; if woman would temper this wild struggle, let her seek to do her own work steadily and earnestly.”

The anti-suffragists recognizes woman's distinctive value to the State, and believes that it is by an intensifying of her old methods of work and of her present obligations and duties, that she is to make her best contribution to the body politic, not by an extension of her energy, already overtaxed, into fields of politics and government, for which she is unfitted. There is no limitation to woman's opportunity to-day, save the limitations imposed by her physical and nervous constitution, and there we have a stone wall—not of prejudice, as some would make us think, but of Nature's own building. Suffrage is a backward step toward conditions where the work of man and woman were the same, because neither sex had evolved enough to see the wisdom of being specialists in their own line.

The question is one of the improvement of society versus the multiplication of votes. To-day we have the vote of the informed man reinforced by the influence of the un-informed woman to set over against the vote of the informed man—two against one. Universal woman suffrage would destroy this situation, it would distribute the power among women qualified for holding it and those not qualified for holding it. We would have the votes of the informed man and the informed woman against the votes of the uninformed man and the uninformed woman—two against two. The average woman is worthily employed outside of political lines. The exceptional woman to-day has every opportunity of rendering her distinctive service to the state by giving public service uncolored by political motives. To-day women have no office to seek, no political emotion to gratify, no desire but to serve. Shall the ballot be adopted as a means for that service? If woman is to exercise political functions, every act of every woman in public life will be taken with an eye to her personal and political future and not solely, as now, with reference to the good of the state.

The voters register the general will—the general will is created by each human being discharging first of all the duty to which he is called by the state. There are those, and they are a majority of our

women, who believe that woman's duties to the state are not along political lines. These recall Maeterlinck's fable of the lighthouse keeper, who gave oil, which should have filled his lamps, to feed the poor, and when the storm came he saw great ships go to pieces on the rocks, because he had failed in the duty which was his portion.

ALICE N. GEORGE.

[post - April 22, 1913]

Eminent Catholic Prelates OPPOSE Woman Suffrage

**James
Cardinal
Gibbons.**

Equal rights do not imply that both sexes should engage promiscuously in the same pursuits, but that each should discharge those duties which are adapted to its physical constitution. The insistence on a right of participation in active

THE VOICE OF COMMON SENSE

"The indirect influence of women which in a well ordered state makes for the moral order, would suffer severe injury by political equality. The opposition expressed by many women to the introduction of woman suffrage as for instance, the New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, should be regarded by Catholics as, at least, the voice of common sense."

From the Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 15, p. 694, published in 1912 under the imprimatur of Archbishop (now Cardinal) Farley of New York.

political life is undoubtedly calculated to rob woman of all that is amiable and gentle, tender and attractive; to rob her of her innate grace of character and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and effrontery. When I deprecate female suffrage, I am pleading for the dignity of woman,

I am contending for her honor, I am striving to perpetuate those peerless prerogatives inherent in her sex, those charms and graces which exalt womankind and make her the ornament and coveted companion of man. Woman is queen indeed, but her empire is the domestic kingdom. The greatest political triumphs she would achieve in public life fade into insignificance compared with the serene glory which radiates from the domestic shrine, and which she illumines and warms by her conjugal and motherly virtues. If she is ambitious of the dual empire of public and private life, then like the fabled dog beholding his image in the water she will lose both, she will fall from the lofty pedestal where nature and Christianity have placed her and will fail to grasp the sceptre of political authority from the strong hand of her male competitor. (*From a letter to Mrs. Robert Garrett of Baltimore, April 22, 1913.*)

Cardinal Farley. I do not believe in woman suffrage. I think it best for all women to leave to man politics, and, as far as possible, the affairs of government. It is my belief that women will soon tire of

the ballot in states in which they have secured it. A fad, I do not believe it will last. (*From a newspaper interview in Los Angeles.*)

The Rt. Rev. John S. Foley, Bishop of Detroit.

The political arena is not the place for the highest development of all that is best in woman. Nothing but degradation can come from placing gentle women in the voting places to come in contact with all sorts and conditions of men. No good can be accomplished by merely placing the ballot in the hands of women, and the evils which will certainly result will make every husband and father who has respect for the women of his family regret that woman suffrage was ever adopted.

Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee.

The theory that demands equal rights between the sexes must be denied absolutely. It is a mistake to say equal rights instead of similar rights, for women have certain rights that men have not, and men have certain rights that women have not. In regard to politics, why should woman have equal rights? Politics means the ruling of nations, and no one who under-

stands this would demand equal rights. Equal rights would interfere with woman's calling. It would destroy her influence on mankind. The modern women's question is the outcome of the French Revolution. (*From an address on "Woman's Rights."*)

Archbishop Moeller of Cincinnati. It is a movement that does not appeal to us, because we feel that it will bring women into a sphere of activities that is not in accord with their retiring modesty, maidenly dignity and refinement. We fear that suffrage women will cease to be the queens of the home. Let the women devote themselves, as far as their duties permit, to works of charity for which nature has so well fitted them. It not infrequently happens that owing to apathy and indifference, measures have been carried that have not the proper endorsement. We request the women not to fail to sign the anti-suffrage list if they do not wish to, or do not believe that they should, enroll themselves under the banner of the suffragists. Pastors might urge the women from the pulpit to declare themselves in regard to this matter when the opportunity presents itself. (*From a letter to the clergy of his diocese.*)

Issued for Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Committee

GEORGE R. CONROY,
31 Cleveland Road, Needham, Mass.

Jan. 23, 1914

The Social Revolution.

(From the Boston Transcript, Jan. 23, 1914.)

That Is Involved in the Feminist Movement as Seen by a Cambridge Woman—The Free-Love Paganism That Is Poisoning Our Social Life Through Our Current Literature

[Lily Rice Foxcroft in the Congregationalist.]

It was St. Paul who laid down the Christian ideal for women; nothing invented of man has ever had a more stultifying effect upon the character and morals of women and of men.

The quotation is not from some blatant atheist, haranguing an insignificant group of followers in an out-of-the-way hall. It is from a defence of the English militants and of the feminist movement, which filled seven pages of the November number of that most conservative of American magazines, *The Century*. May I use it as a starting-point from which to explain frankly—but, I hope, without exaggeration—the grounds on which is based the deepening hostility of many earnest women to woman suffrage?

Those of us who were watching the woman suffrage movement twenty-five years ago, with misgivings are finding our fears justified. "More than voting" is implied. A group of ardent leaders are saying so boldly. Mrs. Winifred Harper Cooley, in a two-page article on "The Younger Suffragists," in *Harper's Weekly* of Sept. 27, scoffs good-naturedly at the suffragists who "claim the vote as 'wives' and 'mothers,' as 'homemakers' and 'helpmeets,'" and at a public which applauds this attitude as "agreeably housewifely." The older women, she says, "have not kept ahead of the times," and she points with obvious approval to those others "who consider the vote the merest tool, a means to an end, that end being a complete social revolution."

In this revolution one of the first steps is to be "the complete economic independence of women." Common as this phrase has become, I am convinced that many women must hear it without realizing its meaning. It means that not only unmarried women, but wives, shall actually earn their own living, with the very briefest possible "intervals for maternity," and shall feel their self-respect impaired if they do not. (A possible alternative is to have motherhood subsidized by the State, but of that we hear comparatively little.) "Many women believe it is absurd for an able-bodied woman to be supported by a man," says Mrs. Cooley. "Feminism," says Dora Marsden, in a leaflet which the National American Woman Suffrage Association publishes, "would hold that it is neither desirable nor necessary for women, when they are mothers, to leave their chosen, money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they do so largely rests on tradition, which has to be worn down." Says Charlotte Perkins Gilman: "The woman should have as much to do in the home as the man—no more. . . . Who, then, will take care of the sick baby? The nurse, of course. If the child is not seriously ill, the nurse is as good as the mother. If the child is seriously ill, the nurse is better."

The loss to childhood from such a change in the home as would be involved in the mother's going out as a breadwinner is obvious. The loss to manhood is almost equally so. The bold and clear-sighted writer of *The Century*, already quoted, admits this with perfect candor. "If women are at a loss before the sight of their new world, men are to stand aghast before the crumbling walls of their old one. The keystone is falling. . . . One of man's greatest spurs to action is taken from him, with no other incentive equally compelling to take its place." This feminist sees that her doctrine is revolutionary, but she believes the times demand a revolution. Most of us are not so pessimistic.

What would be the effect on woman herself of such "independence"? I do not speak now of her physical, but of her moral endurance. Make maternity mostly a matter of "intervals," remove the close companionship of the child, the daily knitting of the tie between husband and wife by the thousand simple details of domestic life, and are we sure that woman's loyalty will stand the test?

There are ominous changes, already, in women's standards. I do not mean conventional standards; I do not mean women's drinking and smoking; I mean more vital matters. A shrewd observer of modern tendencies said to me the other day, "The feminists would do away with prostitution by making all women unchaste." They were harsh words. But I had read the week before a review-copy of a book which is making its sale on the strength of its attack on "white slavery," and its heroine had insisted on her ideal as "love—love in or out of marriage."

Two years ago *The Congregationalist* characterized as "pagan" a brilliant novel whose heroine had prophesied, "The time will come when single women like me who work as men work will have the courage to love and bear children if they need—and men will respect them." Such views have made rapid headway since. Will it be believed that an English magazine of fine literary quality, in which the works of Galsworthy and Arnold Bennett has often appeared, printed this fall an article by a woman pleading for a public sentiment in favor of irregular unions? "Women will go a step further toward freedom than men have dared to go," says Mrs. Walter Gallichan. "I believe that if there were some open recognition of these partnerships outside of marriage, not necessarily permanent, there would be many women who would be willing to undertake such unions gladly; there would even be some women, as I believe, who would prefer them to the present system that binds them permanently to one partner for life." Not "St. Paul's ideal," certainly!

To many women these views seem so shocking that they cannot believe them to be widespread. I can only say that such women are leading "sheltered lives." Said a conspicuous young feminist in an interview given to a Boston Sunday paper last year, "It is both cruel and foolish (eugenically and ethically) to prevent people from trying more than once to find their ideal comrade for race propagation." The fiction of the day is full of the disgusting experiences of young persons trying to find their ideal comrades. And an appalling number of these books bear marks of brilliant talent, utterly unconscious of moral standards, "pagan" in the fullest sense—"studies of adolescence," many of them are. Illicit relations are entered on in the most casual way and dropped as casually, and yet glorified as making new eras of "development."

I know, of course, the answer made by thoughtful, conscientious suffragists who believe as strongly as I do in the integrity of the home, when facts like these are brought to their attention. "All suffragists are not feminists. All feminism is not of this extreme sort. Feminism is nothing but a theory, anyway."

Each of us must judge from her own observation, but it should be observation, not merely of the lives of one's personal acquaintance, but of current thought and tendency. Many of us are convinced that an increasing and influential number of suffragists are feminists, that a great deal of feminism is of this extreme sort, and that it is a "theory" which, through channels direct and indirect, is poisoning our literature and our social life.

[post- Feb. 16, 1914]

Reprint from the June issue of

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

3

THE SALOON AND SUFFRAGE

By GEO. M. PULLER

Former Statistician of the U. S. Government

If the suffrage party are leaders in the movement that is killing intemperance, why have none of the suffrage States become prohibition States?

IN the Washington *Herald* of February 26, 1914, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell objects to my comparing the number of liquor dealers—which are double per capita—in the six woman suffrage States of California, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho and Washington with the number of liquor dealers in the remaining 42 States, because she says the six woman suffrage States are mining States and are States in which the men outnumber the women. Miss Blackwell, like Suffragists generally in their extreme views, has only taken a superficial survey of the matter. In the six suffrage States above mentioned that had woman suffrage January 1, 1912, there were, December 15, 1909, 78,565 wage-earners engaged in the mining industries (Census 1910, p. 561). Total number of men 21 years of age and over of the above six suffrage States, 1,911,518 (act Census 1910, p. 107), or about one man out of every 24 a miner. West Virginia had in 1909 78,404 wage-earners in the mining industry, and had in 1910 338,349 men 21 years of age and over, or one man out of about every four men in West Virginia was a wage-earner in the mines. Alabama had about one man out of 16 engaged in mining and Kansas had only a few less per cent. per capita engaged in mining than the six suffrage States, and yet West Virginia, with nearly six times the number of men per capita of men over 21, and Alabama with one-third more per capita, and Kansas with only a few less than the woman suffrage States, all three of these really mining States, voted State-wide prohibition, with men votes only. Wyoming, where women have voted about 45 years, has never had local option or State-wide prohibition, and Wyoming legalized gambling for about 40 years after women had the ballot. I am truly glad Miss Blackwell raised the question of fewer women than men in suffrage States, and offers that to explain the triumph of liquor where women vote, as I will cite some instances where women outnumber men and still the "demon rum" is legalized and also given special privileges. In Pasadena, Cal., a dry city for many years (almost since it was established) before women had the ballot, the sale of liquor was legalized about one year after women had the franchise. A letter under date of June 12, 1913, from Director of U. S. Census, shows there were in 1910 in Pasadena 9,262 males and 11,950 females 21 years of age or over, or 2,688 more women than men over 21 (over 29 per cent.); certainly more than a fair chance for Suffragists to have demonstrated their antipathy to the liquor traffic. At Santa Monica, Cal., December 2, 1913 (see *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1913, at an election on the liquor question, the saloons won by nearly *three votes to one* not to sell under restrictions, but it was voted that liquor could be sold nights and Sundays, and all night in cafés where cabaret entertaining prevails and where women and girls could be debauched. Santa Monica had 286 more women than men over 21 in 1910 (letter from Director of Census, December 13, 1913), and I do not believe such a condition of unrestricted liquor selling can be found in any male suffrage State in the Union in a home city of less than 8,000 people. In Colorado Springs, where the sale of liquor was prohibited for many years, women voted a few years ago on the question, and liquor selling was legalized, and Colorado Springs has 813 more females over 21 than males. As to half truths being the blackest of lies, quoted by Miss Blackwell, I think it would be wise for her to investigate the statement in

her article about 90 per cent. of Wyoming being dry. If she means 90 per cent. of the people in Wyoming live where liquor is not sold legally, 10 per cent. of Wyoming's area is not used for the sale of liquor, nor has 10 per cent. of the area of any other State ever been so used. I will ask Miss Blackwell to name one single county in Wyoming that is now or ever has been voted dry; also to point to any local option or other law that would prohibit any incorporated village of 150 people (30 families) or more from having saloons if they want them. Miss Blackwell says I should compare what dry territory Colorado had before women voted with what it has since they got the ballot (20 years ago). She says three towns only were dry when men alone voted and now 12 counties are dry. What a record! 20 years of women voting to vote 12 sparsely settled counties dry while two States adjoining Colorado, on the east, by men's votes, voted all the counties dry with State-wide prohibition. Ten male suffrage States all told have voted State-wide prohibition and over one-half the population in the United States, outside of the States where women have voted on the liquor question, live in dry territory. If 465 towns in California had voted dry in 1911 and 1912 they must have been country villages, which vote dry in any State, for there are only 78 cities and towns of over 2,500 population in California (Census 1910). Utah had 1,007 liquor dealers June 30, 1913—quite a showing if only one county was wet, as Miss Blackwell quotes, when the whole State has only 373,351 inhabitants—more liquor dealers per capita in Utah than in the male suffrage States. What little prohibition of the liquor traffic has been accomplished in California, Colorado and Idaho has been done in spite of woman suffrage, not because of it, for the per cent. of people living in dry territory in woman suffrage States is far less than in male suffrage States. Eugene W. Chafin, former candidate for President on the Prohibition ticket, said in a speech at Long Beach, Cal., February 15, 1914, that the support expected by Prohibitionists in California from women had not yet developed (*Los Angeles Times*, February 16, 1914). Woman suffrage in every State where it has been tried gives prohibition a decided set back, because women as a rule vote less generally than men when given the ballot. While the liquor dealers, hotels, cafés, and all trades and business men that supply them see that their women and their women friends vote solidly for liquor selling, it being to their interest financially, while women opposed to saloons vote less generally than men of their opinions, on the liquor as well as other questions, as statistics prove. Several of the liquor papers are beginning to see the light and have said that nothing is to be feared by the liquor interests from woman suffrage. If you want the saloons with us as long as possible give women the ballot, as Representative Dyer told the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association in this city a short time ago, that he would vote for woman suffrage whenever he got a chance, and "Give me woman suffrage," he said, "and I will stop you gentlemen from worrying about prohibition." Facts and figures are more reliable than mere statements, and if Miss Blackwell will only look under the surface of things she will not likely again say that I can hardly be expected to be taken seriously on this question. For woman suffrage certainly is in league with the liquor interests when it comes to practical results.

Issued by

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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Mar. 1914

Woman Suffrage In Practice

A Criticism of "What Have Women Done With the Vote?"

By George Creel in The Century Magazine

for March, 1914

ISSUED BY

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



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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN PRACTICE

Mr. George Creel's article entitled "What Have Women Done With the Vote" in *The Century Magazine* for March, has attracted a good deal of attention, and has been widely read, presumably, by people who are weary of vague claims as to the moral and political uplift to be expected from women's participation in politics, and who crave a definite setting forth of results actually accomplished.

Mr. Creel writes with enthusiasm, not to say exuberance. In his opening sentence he describes as "amazing" the "prairie-fire sweep of equal suffrage." Now, it was in 1869 that Wyoming adopted woman suffrage. It was exactly twenty-four years before Colorado followed suit; then, after three years came Utah and Idaho; after fourteen years more, Washington; in the next year, California; and in the next, Oregon, Kansas and Arizona. It takes a vivid imagination to describe this rate of progress as "a prairie-fire sweep."

NOT TEN BUT NINE.

But Mr. Creel is not deficient in imagination. In his second paragraph, he says that, since Wyoming gave women the vote, "nine more States and a Territory have enfranchised their females" and, in his third paragraph, he speaks of "the ten States and one Territory that have already answered in the affirmative." Now, Mr. Creel, of course, knows perfectly well that the number of States which followed the example of Wyoming in "enfranchising their females" is not nine but eight, and that the whole number of equal-suffrage States is not ten but nine. He gets the number which he uses by including Illinois; and, repeatedly in his article he speaks of Illinois as an "equal suffrage State." But he knows that it is not; and it seems more courteous to attribute his statement to an excess of imagination than to wilful misrepresentation.

AS TO ILLINOIS.

So far is it from being true that Illinois is one of the States which have answered in the affirmative that, as a matter of fact, its electorate has not been given a chance to make any answer at all. The Illinois suffragists knew perfectly well that it was futile to ask the voters of the State to "enfranchise their females" through a constitutional amendment. In April, 1912, they had tested the senti-

ment of the voters at the Chicago primaries by a question on the ballot as to the expediency of woman suffrage, with the result that every ward in the city declared against suffrage, and the total vote was 71,354 in favor to 135,410 opposed. In the fall of 1912, they scoured the entire State to get enough signatures of voters to a petition asking for the submission of the suffrage question to the voters under the so-called "public policy" Act. Only 100,000 signatures were needed; and Mrs. McCulloch, the suffrage leader, publicly advertised:

"I will pay for services in obtaining genuine signatures of registered Illinois voters on our Woman Suffrage Policy Petition at the rate of one dollar a hundred signatures until 20,000 additional names are secured prior to Sept. 1, 1912."

But, even with this pecuniary inducement, the effort failed. Not 100,000 voters could be found in the entire State of Illinois who were in favor of suffrage, and the movement was abandoned. With these experiences fresh in mind, the suffragists realized the hopelessness of submitting a suffrage amendment to the voters. Instead, they pushed through the Legislature, by a secret lobby of whose proceedings they have been boasting ever since, a limited suffrage bill, applying only to statutory offices. And yet, Mr. Creel's buoyant fancy permits him to describe Illinois as "an equal suffrage State."

A TARDY "GUN."

Readers of Mr. Creel's article must have been surprised by his statement that "1910 heard the first gun of Colorado's winning struggle for equal justice." But Colorado adopted woman suffrage in 1893. Why should there have been a delay of seventeen years in the firing of the first gun for equal justice? Mr. Creel does not explain; but he goes on to state that, at about that time, "hard fighting wrenched the initiative and referendum from a venal legislature;" and as late as 1911, in Denver, "a corrupt council consigned a petition containing 20,000 signatures to the waste-basket." From which it appears that, seventeen and eighteen years after Colorado women were given the ballot, the legislature was "venal" and the Denver council "corrupt." It was during the period before this first gun was fired that certain Denver women were found to have helped organize repeating at the polls. And it was in the very year of the firing of the gun that Judge Lindsey, in Everybody's Magazine for May, 1910, writing of the campaign which he had led in Denver against the forces of municipal corruption which he described as "the Beast" and "the System," said:

"At the beginning of the campaign, I went to practically all the woman's suffrage leaders who, at national meetings, had been telling how much the women had done for the Juvenile Court in Denver; and none of them dared help me. Women like Mrs. Mary C. Bradford and Mrs. Lafferty, who was a member of the last Legislature, took the platform against me and supported the System in its attempt to "get" the Juvenile Court. . . . If any one believes that woman's suffrage is a panacea for all the evils of our political life, he does not know what those evils are. The women are as free of the power of the Beast as men are,—and no freer."

TWO SUFFRAGE EXAMPLES.

Mr. Creel remarks, at the outset of his inquiry, that "Colorado and California suggest themselves as examples that may serve all purposes of computation and comparison." This relieves him of the necessity of explaining why Wyoming for many years legalized gambling, and other matters which would interfere with the continuity of his exposition. As to California, he dwells at length upon the recall of Judge Weller, points to improved moral conditions in San Francisco, and enumerates some of the most striking of the laws enacted by the last Legislature. It is too early yet, as Mr. Creel doubtless would admit, to test the workings of this extraordinary mass of legislation. Some of the laws are good; some are half-baked; and some are certain to work mischief; but they can better be appraised later. When a legislature has under consideration nearly 4,000 bills and 149 constitutional amendments, an off-hand judgment on its work is to be avoided. As to the moral effect of women's vote, Mr. Creel does not notice the fact that, at the Los Angeles election of 1912, with women voting, the "wet" majority was heavily increased; nor does he mention the spectacle of women campaigning from soap boxes at Redondo Beach in the interest of the saloons; nor the recent election at Santa Monica, where an overwhelming majority of the women voted for "wet" Sundays. Mr. Creel says "there can be no question that the voting woman is as bitterly opposed to the saloon as she is to the brothel." But there are odds among voting women as there are among voting men; and Mr. Creel should correct his judgment by considering the incidents just mentioned, and by reading the utterances of the suffrage leaders in the Wisconsin campaign of 1912, when they crowded the W. C. T. U. one side and wooed the brewers. At the end of that campaign, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, campaign manager for the Political Equality League of Wisconsin said, in a statement in the Milwaukee Wisconsin for November 6, 1912: "The brewers in

*Anti gambling
law passed
1901, by women
vote*

Wisconsin gave us so far as we know, a perfectly square deal. They said at the beginning that they were not going to fight woman suffrage and so far as we know, they held to that decision." In Michigan as well as in Wisconsin, the suffrage leaders took pains to separate themselves from the Women's Christian Temperance Union. A circular issued by the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, and published in the Detroit News of October 27, 1912, made the following definite disclaimer: "Our Association has had no connection with the W. C. T. U., and we are not responsible for what the W. C. T. U. says or does. *The temperance issue has nothing to do with woman suffrage.*" The significance of public utterances like these, made by official leaders, has not been sufficiently appreciated.

A COMPARISON OF LAWS.

Mr. Creel devotes considerable space to the enumeration of laws for the protection of women and children enacted in Colorado and in some of the other suffrage states. These he describes as "women's laws," leaving it to be inferred that they are the direct result of women's votes. Yet, in several conspicuous instances, for example, the child labor law in Oregon and California, and the eight hour law for women in California and Washington, the laws in question were passed before women were given the vote. If women contributed at all to their enactment, it must have been by exerting that indirect influence of which suffragists are in the habit of speaking so scornfully.

It cannot be denied, and no fair-minded person would wish to deny, that many of the laws enumerated, especially those of Colorado, are good laws. But a fact which Mr. Creel ignores is that the enactment of these laws is only a part of a wide movement for the better protection of women and children, for the amelioration of labor conditions, for the removal of inequalities, and for the humane treatment of the unfortunate,—a movement which is quite as active in the male-suffrage States as in the equal-suffrage States. With scarcely an exception, the Colorado laws which Mr. Creel enumerates are duplicated in a number of male-suffrage States, several of which enacted them long before that tardy "gun" went off in Colorado. Colorado by no means leads the procession in improved legislation, but in some important particulars lags in the rear. She will have to progress a good deal and quite rapidly before she catches up with Wisconsin, New York, Massachusetts and other male-suffrage States. Colorado laws allow children of any age to be employed in concerts or theatrical exhibitions, and they allow boys of any age and girls of ten years or over to engage in street trades. Neither

Colorado nor any other suffrage State prohibits night labor for women; but there are sixteen male-suffrage States where such labor is prohibited or restricted.

During the suffrage campaign in Wisconsin, in 1912, the Milwaukee Free Press was challenged by Miss Ada James, President of the Political Equality League of Wisconsin, to name any state which had as many laws pertaining to the welfare of women and children as Colorado. The Free Press took up the challenge and printed in parallel columns a comparison of Colorado and Wisconsin laws of this description. The Free Press accepted as accurate Miss James's epitome of Colorado legislation, with nineteen specifications, and showed that, with two or three unimportant exceptions, Wisconsin had laws closely corresponding to those cited from Colorado, in some instances stronger and more protective; and that, besides, Wisconsin had nineteen other laws to promote the welfare of women and children, for which there were no parallels in Colorado. In particular, the Free Press called attention to the law then just enacted in Colorado, permitting girls over ten years to engage in street trades, and contrasted it with the Wisconsin law which excluded girls under 18 from such trades. Speaking of this Colorado law, Mrs. Florence Kelley, the well-known social worker, had said: "Even in sinful New York, girls below the age of 16 years have for many years been banished from street trades."

A comparison of the laws of Colorado and Massachusetts shows that both States have juvenile courts and parental schools, both have generous laws for the care of dependent children, in both, fathers and mothers are joint heirs of a child, and in both it is a criminal offence to contribute to the delinquency of a child. Colorado forbids the employment of children under 14 in smelter, etc.; but Massachusetts goes further and forbids their employment in a factory, workshop or mercantile establishment. It forbids the public exhibition of children under 15, and does not allow children under 18 in places injurious to the health of minors. Among other laws for the protection of women and children in force in Massachusetts but wanting in Colorado are these: Railroad companies are forbidden to allow children under 10 years of age, selling papers, to enter their cars; the property of a wife in business on her own account cannot be attached as the property of her husband; a man is liable for the debts of his wife, but a woman is not liable for the debts of her husband, except to the amount of \$100 for family necessities; the employment of women between 10 o'clock at night and 6 o'clock in the morning is forbidden; there is a penalty of \$100 for selling liquor to a child under 18; and the employment of minors under 18 in barrooms is forbidden.

SOME "MAN-MADE LAWS."

In States as far apart as New York and Texas, the legislatures last year,—without the exercise of the slightest political power on the part of women—made important additions to the laws for the protection of women and children. The Texas legislature enacted a severe Wife Abandonment Act; an act limiting the working hours of women; a Married Women's Property Rights Act; an Act creating a training school for delinquent girls; and an act broadening and strengthening the previously-enacted Juvenile Court law. The New York legislature enacted a law strengthening the law requiring seats for female employees; a law prohibiting the manufacture in tenements of articles of food, dolls and dolls' clothing, and articles of children and infants' wearing apparel; a law prohibiting a child under 14 from working in any factory; a law requiring every employer to allow every person employed in a factory or mercantile establishment,—with a few specified exceptions—at least 24 consecutive hours of rest in seven days; a law providing that no female minor shall work in any factory before 6 A.M. or after 9 P.M.; a law prohibiting the employment of women or children about dangerous machinery, prohibiting the employment of minors in trades injurious to health and the employment of females in foundries; and a law regulating the employment of children in street trades, raising from ten to twelve years the minimum age of boys permitted to sell papers, etc., on the streets, and forbidding children from selling papers after eight o'clock in the evening instead of after ten o'clock as formerly.

It cannot be necessary to extend these comparisons farther to prove that the suffrage states not only have no monopoly of progressive and humane legislation in the interest of women and children; but that they have yet much to learn from the male-suffrage states. It was not Colorado, but Massachusetts, which was the first State to establish a minimum wage commission and to pass a maternity Act; and the first Children's Code in the world was enacted, not in Colorado, but in Ohio.

AS TO MORAL QUESTIONS.

Mr. Creel says: "According to the National Vigilance Association, every single equal-suffrage State has a "good" statute against white slaving or pandering." He is in error at this point; for, in the tabulation of the Vigilance Association, the white slave laws of only six of the nine suffrage States are classed as "good." Those of the other three States,—Colorado, Kansas and Wyoming,—are classed as only "fair." Twenty-four of the male suffrage

States are given as high rank in the Vigilance Association list as the six suffrage States of the first group.

Mr. Creel further claims that "The equal-suffrage States are also far in advance of the rest of the country in the matter of age of consent. California is the only commonwealth with twenty-one years; Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming have eighteen; Arizona has seventeen; and Oregon and Illinois have sixteen." But is there no limit beyond which the raising of the age of consent cannot safely go? In trying to protect our girls, shall we make the laws a menace to thoughtless, uninstructed and possibly sorely-tempted boys? What of the case of a boy of sixteen who is deliberately led astray by a sophisticated girl of eighteen or twenty-one? It will be remembered that Judge Lindsey has been charged with undue leniency in his treatment of such cases in the Juvenile Court of Denver. The Survey of December 6, 1913, summarized as follows a part of Judge Lindsey's defence against this charge, as made in a public statement:

"The law of Colorado defines rape as the entering into sexual relations with any unmarried girl under 18, whether she gives her consent or not, and this is true even if she deliberately solicits the relation. In many of the cases brought before the Juvenile Court the girl had been wild and had gotten into difficulty with a young boy of about her own age who, according to her own statement, was no more guilty than she. In not a few cases, the girl was a prostitute who led astray a boy much more innocent than herself."

AS TO ILLITERACY.

Mr. Creel thinks that "It is distinctly noteworthy that in the list of the ten most illiterate States in the Union,—Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky and West Virginia—there is not an equal suffrage State." But he does not notice nor mention the fact that every one of the ten States in this group is a Southern State, loaded with negro illiteracy.

HOW GENERALLY DO WOMEN VOTE?

Mr. Creel remarks that the charge that women do not avail themselves of the right to vote "must necessarily be approached through typical instances" and he selects as such instances the Seattle election which recalled Mayor Gill, the Los Angeles election of 1912, and half a dozen small-town elections in Illinois. Only the first two demand consideration, for on the average, less than 250 voters of either sex voted in the small towns which Mr. Creel selected. But

the Seattle election has always been claimed as preëminently a women's victory. Mr. Creel gives the vote of men and women by wards. The total shows 43,489 men and 21,807 women. Now in the state of Washington the ratio of the sexes in the population is 136 males to 100 females. Assuming that this ratio holds good in Seattle, the number of women voting should have been 31,977 instead of 21,807. That is to say, in this much-vaunted election, if the interest of women in the moral issues involved had been as great as that of men, they should have polled over 10,000 more votes than they did.*

An analysis of the returns of the Los Angeles election of 1912 yields a somewhat similar result. In California, the males outnumber the females but slightly,—the ratio being 125.5 males to 123.5 females. Mr. Creel's figures show 54,625 men and 37,399 women voting. But, applying to Los Angeles the sex ratio of the State, when 54,625 men voted, there should have been,—if they took an equal interest—43,525 women at the polls. The actual women's vote was more than 6,000 less than that. Presumably Mr. Creel made the most favorable selections that were available, but this is the way they work out.

As to the State of California, it would be interesting, if it were possible, to ascertain exactly how many women availed themselves of their new privileges at the Presidential election of 1912. Everything favored a large women's vote. It was their first opportunity; the election was an exciting one; and the Governor of the State was a candidate for Vice President. Unfortunately, the votes of men and women are not separated in the returns of the election. But there is a process of comparison which throws some light upon the question. It is a familiar principle, of almost universal application, that a Presidential election calls out a heavier vote than is polled for state officers in the off years. In California, the vote cast for presidential electors in 1908 was 118,947 larger than that cast for Governor in 1906. The vote cast for Governor in 1910 was 385,652. Suppose that the special enthusiasm attending a Presidential election had brought out a men's vote as much larger than the Gubernatorial vote of 1910 as the Presidential vote of 1908 was larger than the Gubernatorial vote of 1906. The total vote for President in 1912 would then have been 504,600, without the votes of women. But the actual total was 673,527. This leaves 168,927 votes to be credited to women. But there were 613,626 women entitled to register in 1912. This com-

* It is interesting to notice, by the way, that the same Hiram C. Gill, whose recall in 1911 was hailed as a great moral victory, was again elected Mayor of Seattle, on the 3rd of March, 1914, by a majority of 14 000.

parison indicates that considerably less than one-third of the women in California who were entitled to vote at the Presidential election in 1912 did so. The absolute accuracy of such a comparison cannot, of course, be insisted on, for it necessarily ignores varying conditions; but it certainly does not suggest any consuming zeal on the part of the women of California to use their new privilege. A similar conclusion as to Chicago women may be drawn from the fact that of those entitled to register and to vote, only a trifle more than 9 per cent participated in the February 1914, primaries.

HAS THE VOTE COARSENEO OR CHEAPENED WOMEN?

Mr. Creel puts this question and answers it in the negative, citing the testimony of several well-known citizens of suffrage states. It would be going far to answer the question in the affirmative, or to say that, as a rule, or in most cases, the vote had had this effect. But there are some concrete instances which suggest unpleasant possibilities. There, for example, were the four women members of the Colorado legislature who voted for the race-track gambling bill. The *Woman's Journal* explained their course by saying that three of the four "were nominated by the local boss-ridden Democratic party" of Denver. But if women legislators are to be boss-ridden, it is hard to see how they are much better than men. Then there was the *Woman's Public Service League* of Denver which, when it was proposed by the Board of Aldermen to make it a misdemeanor to serve women patrons of cafes with intoxicating liquors, sent in to the Board a formal protest "against any measure which places restrictions upon the freedom of action of women which are not placed upon the freedom of action of men." A League of women which thinks it is rendering a "public service" by claiming for women the privilege of promiscuous drinking and intoxication with men in saloons seems rather an anomaly, at least from the temperance point of view. And again, there were the four Colorado women legislators whom the Rev. Dr. Samuel Garvin of the First Presbyterian Church in Colorado Springs, in a sermon preached August 17, 1913, charged with voting against the so-called Search and Seizure bill several years ago, "thus defeating it and making local option legislation of the State of Colorado of virtually no effect."

WOMEN AS OFFICE-SEEKERS.

Mr. Creel asks "Do women become inveterate office-seekers?" and answers the question emphatically in the negative. That women, as a whole, in the suffrage states, evince any more eagerness than men to hold public office it would be unfair to charge. But there are

not lacking instances of zeal in that direction which, while they may have been prompted by the noblest motives, are curiously like male manifestations of the sort. For example, the Denver Republican of April 2, 1912 stated that the Democratic women, the Republican women and the Citizens' women all wanted the office of recorder, an office which carried more patronage than any other office in city or county, and reported a prominent woman as saying: "We want an office with patronage. Of course a woman can't do much as recorder, but she'll have a lot of jobs to distribute. We women are tired of being given offices that have no patronage attached. How can a woman office-holder work up a personal following without patronage to give her workers? That we haven't had it before is the reason we are so weak in politics." The Republican further stated that the women would also like a supervisor or two and a member of the election commission and would make a strong fight for the office of secretary of state; and it concluded: "We want offices where there are enough spoils to reward our workers' is the new campaign cry of the suffragists of the state." That the Denver Republican did not misrepresent Colorado women in this statement is indicated by an interview with Mrs. Harriet G. R. Wright, president for years of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, which was printed in the Chicago Record-Herald of July 13, 1913. In this interview, Mrs. Wright advised the women of Illinois to "grab everything that is offered while the grabbing is good" and recalled regretfully that the Colorado women leaders made the mistake of not being more insistent upon offices, and even thought it was properly feminine to decline politely, with the result that now they have to fight for every single concession. She added: "Let the Illinois women be advised and insist on recognition in the partition of offices from the start. Else they will find themselves spending a weary time later trying to get the least of offices." And that this advice did not pass unheeded is indicated by the fact that while only 9 per cent. of the Chicago women entitled to register and vote participated in the primary election of February 24, 1914, no less than seven women got themselves nominated for aldermen.

WHO ARE THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS?

The suffragists are in the habit of describing the women who oppose them as allies of the saloon-keepers, the white slavers and other agents of iniquity. With a delicate courtesy and admirable self-restraint which perhaps foreshadow what may be looked for from the political woman, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, has described the anti-

suffrage leaders as "vultures looking for carrion," and as "protectors of the liquor interests, food dopers, child-labor exploiters, white-slavers and political bosses" and has said that they "only serve the purpose that, by holding out their skirts, they act as a screen for the liquor traffic, the gambler, the vicious, and those interested in dance halls and places where young girls are ruined."

It may be worth while to glance for a moment at some of the women whom Dr. Shaw thus describes. Take the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association for example. The President has been for many years on the State Board of Charities, was one of the first women overseers of the poor ever elected in the State, and has been for many years one of the managers of a large private hospital. One of the vice-presidents was for many years Dean of a woman's college; another is President of the Woman's Educational Association and Vice-President of the Woman's Municipal League; another has been for many years a Director of the Massachusetts Prison Association and a member of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee; another was for twenty years on the Massachusetts Prison Commission, and is Director of a hospital. One member of the Executive Committee has been on the school committee of her town twelve years, is trustee of a library, a manager of the District Nursing Association, and has been prominent in village improvement society work; another is Vice-President of a Home for Aged Women, and one of the managers of a Home for Crippled Children; another was for many years President of the Consumers' League; another is on the State Library Commission; another is prominent in the Society for Improved Housing of the Poor; another is President of a Village Improvement Society and Vice-President of a Hospital League; another has been chairman of the Sanitation Department of the Woman's Municipal League; another is Director of the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association, Director of the Department of Public Health of the Woman's Municipal League, and Chairman of its Committee on Infant Social Service, which was the pioneer in introducing pre-natal work among the poor; another is Treasurer of an Industrial School; another is on the board of management of a Home for Workingwomen, a Home for Incurables, a Woman's Free Hospital and an Industrial School for Crippled Children; and another is connected with the work of the National Woman's Civic Federation and the Boston Widows' Society, and is a Visitor for the Massachusetts General Hospital.

These are the women who are directing the anti-suffrage work in Massachusetts, and women of a similar type make up the official boards of the sixteen State Anti-Suffrage Associations and the

National Anti-Suffrage Association and thousands of the same type are found in the rapidly-increasing membership of these Associations. They are disinterested, public-spirited women, who give their time and strength freely to charities and philanthropies and measures for the public welfare without any thought of recognition or political preferment. They oppose woman suffrage because they believe it to be a menace both to women and to the State, and because they believe that the interests of women and children can be better served by disinterested and non-partisan influence than by thrusting women into the strife of politics and loading them with men's responsibilities.

WHAT SORT OF WOMEN ARE TO BE CONSIDERED?

In discussing the question of the wisdom or the unwisdom of woman suffrage, the type of woman to be considered is not the woman of leisure, restless to find some avenue for her activities; nor the spectacular woman,—the woman of cross-country hikes, of street parades, of soap-box oratory; nor the young woman fresh from college, who has not yet found herself nor had time to appraise fairly the values of life; but the average, normal woman. Mr. Creel closes his paper with a quotation from a well-known Colorado woman, who professes to agree heartily with the opponents of equal suffrage who declare that woman's place is the home, and who bases her own enthusiasm for suffrage on the conviction that it is in the interest of the home. This would be a good note to close on,—if only it were true. But it is not. The average woman of the home is busy,—in the vast majority of cases happily busy—with the cares of the home and the rearing of her children. She has no sympathy with Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain's commendation of "ten minute a day housekeeping" nor with Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's advocacy of state nurseries for children, and her argument that "if the child is not seriously ill, the nurse is as good as the mother. If the child is seriously ill, the nurse is better." The average, normal woman has the average, normal womanly instincts; and her time is fully occupied and her strength fully taxed by the duties to which they lead. If she has to make and maintain her own home by some form of industry, her time is still fully occupied and her strength often unduly taxed. In either case, it is no kindness to ask her to assume a part of man's work in addition to her own. Her interests, so far as legislation can affect them, are increasingly well protected,—far better protected, on the average, in male suffrage states than in equal suffrage states. The suffrage is in no sense a right; it is not primarily a privilege; it is first of all an obligation,—and not an

obligation which can be met, as the suffragists lightly assert, by dropping a piece of paper in a box on the way to market.

The great majority of American women do not want the ballot. The suffragists themselves admit the fact,—sometimes by implication, when they strenuously resist every proposal to find out the wishes of women through a referendum, and sometimes by direct and unguarded statements; as when the Boston suffragists distributed flyers under the heading "Votes for Women" containing this statement: "People say: The majority of women don't want to vote. *The majority never wants a progressive measure.*" In other words, the majority must have the burdens of the suffrage thrust upon them because a small and noisy minority thinks that suffrage is "a progressive measure."

After the overwhelming defeat of the proposed suffrage amendment in Wisconsin in 1912, Mary Swain Wagner, founder of the Political Equality League of that state, gave as an explanation of the defeat "the appalling indifference of the women," and added: "When the women themselves showed so little eagerness to obtain the ballot, it is not surprising that many men who really believed in equal suffrage, decided it was best for the women to wait awhile." And Ellis Meredith, returning to Colorado in September, 1912, after campaigning in Ohio, asked to explain the overwhelming suffrage defeat in that State, said, in an interview in the Denver News of September 9: "The first great underlying cause of the defeat was that the women themselves were so many of them either very timid or indifferent. They didn't make it evident enough that they cared. . . . The defeat lies chiefly at their doors."

THE REAL ISSUE.

In Massachusetts, the Woman Suffrage Association claims a membership of 40,000. But the women of the State, of voting age, number more than 1,100,000. Shall the principle of the control of the majority prevail? Or shall the 40,000 thrust the unwelcome burdens of the ballot upon the more than 1,000,000? That is the real issue in Massachusetts; and the issue is the same in other male-suffrage States in which a similar demand is made.

Apr. 1914.

BY NO MEANS "SURE TO COME"

(From *The Remonstrance*, April, 1914)

THAT is a hasty and unreflecting judgment which declares that woman suffrage is "sure to come" and that it is therefore useless to contend against it.

Woman suffrage is not "sure to come." It can be restricted within its present limits by the energetic and concerted action of the men and women who are opposed to it. It is now on its way to defeat at the polls in several of the most important States in the Union.

From the boastfulness of the suffragists, it might be supposed that the suffrage movement was sweeping everything before it. But this is not true. The suffrage movement *has not gained a foot of territory through the vote of the male electorate, east of the Mississippi River. Not one of the New England States, not one of the Middle States, not one of the Southern States, not one of the Middle Western States has given full suffrage to women.*

Nor is this all. Every State east of the Mississippi in which the proposal to give the ballot to women has been submitted to the voters *has defeated it by an overwhelming majority.*

What, then, is the present situation? Simply, that in nine States west of the Mississippi women have the full vote. The combined population of these nine States is less than the combined population of New York city, Chicago and Philadelphia. The combined population of seven of them is less than the population of New York city alone. Are these nine mostly sparsely-settled States—only three of which have a population of as many as a million each—likely to force their policy upon the other thirty-nine?

And what is the immediate prospect? No one will deny that the East, not to mention the South, is more conservative than the West. Suppose that New York votes upon this question next year. *Is it any more likely to be carried for suffrage than Ohio, which defeated it by a majority of 87,455?* Suppose that the proposed suffrage amendment is submitted to the voters of New Jersey next year. *Are they any more likely to adopt it than the voters of Wisconsin, who rejected it by a majority of 91,479?* Suppose that the question goes to the voters of Pennsylvania next year. *Is it probable that they will act upon it any more favorably than those of Michigan, who gave a majority of 96,144 against it?*

Against the rash and ill-considered declaration that woman suffrage is "sure to come," The Remonstrance sets this simple statement of facts and probabilities. And it bases upon them the prediction that the year 1915 is destined to witness the heaviest defeats which the suffrage movement has yet experienced.

(Published by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, Room 615, Kensington Building, Boston.)

May, 1914

AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST CREED

(Adapted from an article by the late Octavia Hill, the noted English philanthropist.)

I believe that men and women help one another because they are different, have different gifts and different spheres—and that the world is made on the principle of mutual help.

I believe that a serious loss to our country would arise if women entered into the arena of party struggle and political life. So far from their raising the standard, I believe they would lose the power of helping to keep it up by their influence on the men who know and respect them.

I believe that political power would militate against their usefulness in the large field of public work in which so many are now doing noble and helpful service.

I believe this service far more valuable than any voting power would possibly be. You can double the number of voters and achieve nothing, but you have used up, in achieving nothing, whatever thought and time your women voters have given to such duties.

I believe that if women spend their time and heart and thought in the care of the sick, the old, the young and the erring; if they seek for and respect the out-of-sight, silent work which really achieves something, a great blessing is conferred on our country.

I believe there is enough of struggle for place and power, enough of watching what is popular and will win votes, enough of effort to secure majorities. If woman would temper this wild struggle let her seek to do her own work steadily and earnestly, looking rather to the out-of-sight, neglected sphere, and she will, to my mind, be filling the place to which by God's appointment she is called.

I believe that there are thousands of silent women who agree with me in earnestly hoping no Woman Suffrage measure will pass.

Issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

Pamphlets and leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary, Room 615, Kensington Building, 687 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

MAY, 1914.

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[post. May 9, 1914]



Section of Woman Suffrage Parade, Washington, D. C., March 3, 1913

"We Welcome Every Socialistic Vote"

—ANNA HOWARD SHAW, *President National American Woman Suffrage Association,*
at Harrisburg, Pa., March 18, 1913



Section of Woman Suffrage Parade, Washington, D. C., May 9, 1914

WATCH THIS ALLIANCE — Woman Suffrage and Socialism

WOMEN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS
615 KENSINGTON BUILDING, BOSTON

[ca after 1914]

SOME OF THE WOMEN IN MINNESOTA OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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Mrs. W. Washburn

To the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota:

The First Quarterly Statement of the Minnesota Associations Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

Gentlemen:

The State Associations Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women are organized to educate the people of Minnesota on the question of suffrage, and to register the opposition to the further extension of suffrage to women by enrollment of members.

No person, male or female, is admitted to membership under the age of 21.

Membership is voluntary and largely signatory, not proselyting.

The St. Paul association has a membership of 1,300, of whom 800 are wage earners.

The Minneapolis association, organized in August, 1914, has a membership of over 700. More than one-third of this enrollment is wage earning.

The state is being organized by congressional districts.

State extension and educational work through the publicity of the country press and through the distribution of pamphlets, etc., reveal two facts:

First—The unwillingness of the women of Minnesota to have the ballot thrust upon them, when they neither know nor understand the conditions involved.

Second—When they do understand, the majority of the women of Minnesota do not want the ballot.

Kindly look up the laws of Minnesota governing **Child Labor, Hours and Protection for Woman's Labor, Factory Laws, Health Laws, Mothers' Pensions, Juvenile Court, Equal Guardianship Laws, High Saloon License, Restricted Saloon Districts, Property Right and Inheritance Laws.**

Are not the laws of Minnesota **superior**, in most instances, to those in suffrage states?

In what instances do the laws of Minnesota discriminate **against** women?

The founders of the United States insured the stability of the government against coercion of one state by another, and of states by the national government.

Are the legislators of Minnesota to be coerced by a minority of women into imposing the burden of the franchise upon the majority of women, who do not want it?

Is it just to disregard public opinion?

The state associations are young, but they are voicing a growing public opinion.

Though only three years old, the National association has a membership of 150,000.

Twenty-six states have associations in the National association.

According to suffrage figures, only three adult women in every 100 have identified themselves with suffrage associations; **but**, the suffrage propaganda has been before the country for 64 years.

"Democracy, justice, safety, stability in government, and consideration for womanhood, childhood and the home all demand of you the prompt rejection of any constitutional amendment to enfranchise women."

Headquarters of the State and St. Paul Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 216 Lowry Annex.

Headquarters of the Minneapolis Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, 331 Meyers Arcade.

Woman Suffrage Going, Not Coming.

Woman Suffrage has never carried in any state where the people were alive to its true nature.

In those states which have adopted it, only 44 men out of every 100 voted on the issue.

Ohio defeated Woman Suffrage in 1912 and again in 1914—in 1912 by a majority of 87,455, and in 1914 by a majority of 182,905.

This increase of 95,450 in the majority against Woman Suffrage in two years was due to education.

Michigan defeated Woman Suffrage in November, 1912, and again in April, 1913—the first time by a majority of only 760, the second time by a majority of 96,144.

In six months the people of Michigan became so aroused to the menace of Woman Suffrage that they changed an adverse verdict of only 760 votes to an adverse verdict of 96,144 votes.

Woman Suffrage was defeated in Wisconsin in 1912 by a majority of 91,478, and in 1914 it was defeated in North Dakota by a majority of 9,139, in Nebraska by 10,104, and in Missouri by 140,206.

The combined majorities for suffrage in Nevada and Montana in 1914 totaled less than 7,400. The combined majorities against suffrage in Ohio, North and South Dakota, Nebraska and Missouri in 1914 totaled 354,268.

These figures prove conclusively that the people are against Woman Suffrage—that it is going, not coming.

ST. PAUL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Woman Suffrage a Failure in California

The following letter from Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn, press chairman of the San Francisco District of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and wife of the secretary of the California Bankers' Association, printed in the New York "Times" of Oct. 15, brings interesting testimony as to how woman suffrage is working in California. She says:

"The last Legislature did less for the benefit of women than any previous Legislature has done in the last twenty years.

"The legal status of women has not been improved in California by their enfranchisement. Under the old regime a married woman could by homesteading exempt property to the amount of \$5000 from any debt owed by the husband. This gave the widow and children enough to meet their immediate wants. Now, in case of death, if there is indebtedness the wife and children lose everything. In the newly established equality, the wife is liable for all debts; she can be made to pay the household expenses and can be sued for alimony!

"One of the highest honors possible to bestow at an election has been given to a man whose private life is such that he was refused a nomination for a lesser office and practically driven out of politics by male voters a few years ago. He is now a prime favorite among the women who helped to elect him, and not one of them makes any pretext to ignorance of his record.

"There has been one judicial recall in San Francisco by women voters. Instead of the Judge deposed we were given a Magistrate with very scant knowledge of the law and of such a weak character that he would never appeal to any but women voters.

"Were it not for continual agitation, interest in suffrage would die out among the masses of our women. As it is, the registration shows a continued decrease, and this in spite of the fact that questions of vital local interest are before the people for adjustment at the present time."

California gave women the vote in 1911. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, the State expenditures were \$18,691,877. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1915, they were \$36,529,993. A part of this increase is accounted for by highway bonds. According to the Los Angeles Times, "at least \$10,000,000 is political plunder." In 1911 the direct taxes for county purposes were \$31,188,120. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914, they were \$42,293,021. "The cost of the county government in California," says the same journal, is "about five times the average cost of county government in other American States."

"Our California statutes have been so manipulated that the State Legislature fixes the number of employees of every county and their salaries; and the counties, which have no voice in fixing those payrolls, must foot the bills. Taxation without representation was tyranny in the American Colonies in 1776; it is a habit in California in 1915."

Miss Helen Todd who is campaigning for suffrage in Massachusetts says that

California women "have seen to the preservation and extension of the eight-hour law for working women." She fails to mention that the majority of the working women in California are engaged in the canning industries, and that the eight-hour law is not applicable to them.

Suffragists tell us woman's vote is needed to improve moral conditions in our cities. So far is it from accomplishing this in San Francisco that moral conditions have grown much worse since women have had the vote. "The Survey" of which Jane Addams is assistant editor, reprints the report of the American Social Hygiene Association issued in September on conditions in San Francisco. It says:

"In spite of announcements of officials to the contrary, San Francisco remains one of the few large cities of this country where prostitution is frankly and openly tolerated. Here also little or no effective supervision and regulation of dance halls, rooming houses, cafes and other public places where prostitutes ply their trade is provided. The natural and inevitable result has been that San Francisco has become the Mecca for the underworld, and that for every such addition to her population the problem is rendered that much more difficult."

These are the conditions in a city where women vote! Mr. Johnson says that the Y. W. C. A., the W. C. T. U., and other organizations of the kind have tried to improve these conditions, but have failed, as they have received little or no support from the city officials. This fact is directly in opposition to the suffrage theory that women must have the vote in order that city and state officials shall pay heed to their wishes. But the thousands of dissolute women in San Francisco also have the vote, and will vote as the party in power dictates! This fact is directly in opposition to the between the Democrats, Republicans, Progressives and Socialists, and is therefore of much less importance than the big vote which can be controlled. Dr. Helen Sumner, sent by the suffragists to study conditions in Denver several years ago, states that "The vote of these women to whom the police protection is essential is regarded as one of the perquisites of the party in power."

Under woman suffrage the legal status of woman has fallen—she is losing the privileges which civilization had taught men to give her.

A man of such bad private character that he was refused nomination for a small office before women voted is given a higher office after women vote.

The mass of women are uninterested in politics, and registration is constantly decreasing, leaving the unscrupulous female politicians as the representatives of their sex.

Taxes have increased enormously.

Moral conditions are appallingly bad.

California defeated prohibition last year by nearly 200,000. San Francisco has 3500 saloons. Boston has less than 1000.

Do you like the picture? Do you want Massachusetts to "catch up" with California?

Issued by the

WOMEN'S ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS
687 Boylston Street, Room 615, Boston.

Mrs. John Balch, President. Mrs. Charles P. Strong, Secretary.

1915

ADDRESS

BEFORE

THE ELECTIONS COMMITTEE
OF SENATE OF MINNESOTA

(1915)

BY

MRS. J. B. GILFILLAN

18797

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—

WOMEN opposed to Universal Suffrage refused to organize, in behalf of their convictions, until coerced by patriotism. It became apparent many women, in every walk of life, did not wish political obligations or responsibility.

The National Association opposed to Woman's Suffrage, organized three years ago. Since then there has been an average of one state association formed every eight weeks. The membership is 150,000 women of voting age; 50,000 women a year affiliating in the protest against "votes for women." The momentum of their cause has come from the great number of thoughtful women giving allegiance to it, and the entire absence of sensationalism. They are non-militant both in attitude and action. Anti-suffrage women have "felt the noblest motive is the public good." So, we ask no organizations to express preference in political opinions. We are convinced such an expression is detrimental to philanthropic work dependent upon private subscription for support and may bring discord into any humanitarian organization. Students of the subject know the large minority opposed to suffrage in many associations said to favor it. Out of 12 organizations quoted as for suffrage in the circular "A Reply," one-third have already said the use of their names was a mistake. Anti-suffragists do not come before the public with lists of affiliated associations. In this we have been greatly misunderstood. The absence of this affiliation is not from necessity, but expresses our profound belief that political divisions among women, may take from the United States her great first place in humanitarian movements and activities. We are satisfied to present our cause without the bulwark of associations. We come before you, a band of adult women believing, in a republic, woman's obligation to the state rests as much in her duties toward it as her rights from it.

Universal suffrage has never been tried in a great republic with unlimited immigration. Has it passed beyond the experimental stage in the United States? Four years,—two general elections, is not long enough to test the permanency of a constitutional amendment. Wyoming, Idaho, Utah and Colorado are the only states where women have voted longer than four years. It is said there can be no comparison between these, and manhood-suffrage states, because economic interests are different. They cannot well be compared with the states which defeated woman's suffrage this year. They are certainly no criterion for Wisconsin, Michigan and Ohio,

where universal suffrage has also been defeated,—Ohio adding this year 100,000 to her majority against it two years ago. Suffragists feel it was the liquor question that did it, but the majority against suffrage in 1914 was 120,000 more than the majority for liquor. However, certain comparisons must be admitted.

Minnesota has adopted 20 of the model provisions of the uniform child labor laws. Colorado, where women have voted 21 years, has but seven. Minnesota appropriates \$51,000 a year to enforce these laws, and Colorado \$10,000; less proportionately, than the manhood-suffrage state. Wyoming and Utah have no actual compulsory school attendance laws, each state requiring only 20 weeks a year and Wyoming admitting a poverty exemption; Colorado renders her compulsory education law almost null by five exemptions. No universal suffrage state had forbidden night work for women to January, 1914. Wyoming and Colorado are not among the 11 states forbidding minors under 21 in bar-rooms. Wyoming did not pass her anti-gambling law until women had the vote 35 years. The eight-hour law for women in Colorado does not provide against night work or for a six-day week. If woman's franchise will solve the labor question, why has Colorado twice in ten years called for the assistance of federal troops? Judge Lindsay says, "In politics women cannot free us, because they are not free themselves. In a typical American community they are as helpless as the rest of us." In other words, they are under the demands and obligations of political life. Not one state having full woman's suffrage has a great city or any congested population. We do not fear the effect of woman's suffrage on the acreage of our country. Its dangers lie in centers of population, where the absence of homogeneity, both in nationality and ideal, creates a menace to our republic.

The one condition of general concern, represented by the Universal Suffrage states is Mormonism; five of the states where women vote are under Mormon control. If then only one-sixth of the adult women of the United States live in universal suffrage states, and in only four of these states they have voted at more than two general elections,—if laws independent of tense economic conditions in these states show no great humanitarian improvement, but perhaps the reverse, are we justified, gentlemen of the committee, in believing "votes for women" are still experimental in the United States? Since law "is the result of human wisdom acting on human experience for the benefit of the public," we ask you, gentlemen, not to subject Minnesota to this experiment.

We are told women out at work need the ballot, first, for protection and then to raise wages. There are 24½ million adult women in the United States and 20½ million of them are or have been married. There are three and one-half times as many women among us earning their living in that "ancient and most honorable pursuit" of making a home, as are in gainful occupations.

Our suffrage friends say work has gone out of the home. Anti-suffragists—wonder if there is a mistake, and instead it is women who have gone out of the home. Every anti-suffrage woman who, from patriotic conviction, is giving time to this amendment, knows the work takes her too much from home and the family in the home know it, also. Almost in proportionate ratio, to ready-made clothing, canned goods, baker's bread and cooked food coming into the home, the cost of living has "gone up." Refrigerator cars and cold storage require women to have a knowledge of dietetics and cooking unknown before they had to deal with green food ripening on the way. The health of the household depends now upon this knowledge. To anti-suffragists, the scientific house-wife and mother seem, more and more, the demand of the day. We have no sympathy with the band of women, affiliated with suffrage, who declare servitude and injustice are expressed in the words, home, husband and duty. We have no sympathy with the doctrine of trial marriage, public rearing of children and mothers who prefer to be wage-earners; tenets of these same women. We believe the hope of our land lies in the mother-love and the father-love over the home and in the home, permeating the development and requirements of childhood and youth.

Of the 5½ million adult women in gainful occupations, only 2 millions are in pursuits requiring any special preparation, and 75 per cent of these are in so-called woman's work,—teachers and trained nurses. Three and one-half million of these women, who are of voting age, are employed in domestic service, agricultural work and mechanical pursuits. This has been the order of occupation in so-called unskilled labor of women for thirty years in the United States. These women surely need the protection of wise laws, rather than the opportunity to make laws. Should "women at work" be a leading argument for universal franchise, while only one-fourth of them can be considered a dependable benefit to the electorate?

Anti-suffragists feel, if wages could be raised by voting, men would long ago have taken advantage of it. Will voting help women to be more skillful in work? Does efficiency depend upon sex, or upon personal determination and per-

manency? As transient workers women are at a disadvantage. Forty-five per cent of those in gainful occupations cease to be wage-earners at twenty-five. The confusion in the work question relates to the girls and boys under voting age. They cry out for your care and ours.

Anti-suffragists are opposed to women in political life; opposed to women in politics. This is often interpreted to mean, opposed to women in public life, which is a profound mistake. We believe in women in all the usual phases of public life, except political life. Wherever woman's influence, counsel, or work, is needed by the community, there you will find her, so far with little thought of political beliefs. Is there any humanitarian work where anti-suffragists are not found? The pedestals they are said to stand upon move them into all the demands of the community. At the moment, they have as anti-suffragists, joined the homeopathic school of medicine, hoping that like will destroy like, and we will all be well again, back in the undivided way, for we believe the only cure for ballot-box fever, is the anti-toxin of non-political influence. Our suffrage friends feel **their** demand expresses the advance-guard of democratic ideal. If so, it must be "of the people, by the people, for the people." In this relation its history is instructive. At the first appeal was to state legislatures, not for a referendum of the opinion to that part of the population affected, but for a constitutional amendment. The state constitution,—safe-guarded,—that the "sober **second** thought of the people may be law," made the work slow, and an appeal to the federal congress followed. The fact that the "qualification of voters" is not a delegated right, did not prevent much time being spent to obtain an expression of opinion. Now the effort is being made to recall the legislative suffrage amendment, and have the matter decided by the New York Constitutional Convention. Each step seems farther away from the democratic maxim "by the people." Anti-suffragists have persistently, and we believe consistently, said there were two just ways to decide this matter. One, that women be allowed to cast a referendum vote, expressing their opinion on this added responsibility. That only 4 per cent of the women of Massachusetts in 1895 voted at such a referendum, was due, entirely, to the fact that their constitution, and our own, have the same election requirements and the easiest method of defeat, was not voting. Second, that legislators know the desire of at least one-half the women of the state before submitting this amendment. Our suffrage friends say, if women do not enjoy the franchise, they can disfranchise themselves, by which they mean men and women can dis-

franchise women,—since there are more men than women in every state in the union except five. This would probably be as impossible as men assure us it is to change the conditions of male suffrage.

Why not urge submitting the amendment, if we believe the majority of the women in Minnesota are opposed to franchise? First, anti-suffragists are in this work under protest. For it, they take time needed by their homes, and the humanitarian demands of the community. You know, gentlemen of the committee, how slow we have been to act in this matter. As I said in the beginning, we were coerced by patriotism, which forbids that it go by default. We intend to carry our campaign of education into every legislative district in Minnesota. This means hard, long work for us, and you, gentlemen, understand its difficulties. In the greater part of the state the question has never been agitated. If you will give us time, we will **know** the desire of the women in this matter. If even half of them want the franchise, we are willing to join with suffragists to bring it about, believing in a democracy the wish of the majority is law. We say this, confident that the suffragists will join with us, against woman's franchise, if they convince themselves the women in Minnesota do not wish it. Second, if, as gentlemen representing the larger districts of the commonwealth, you cannot see the wisdom of giving us more time for the sake of a more assured opinion, we have a second request, will **you** do this work? It is impossible, without more opportunity than has yet been given for the people at large to inform themselves. Hence, as it stands now, in voting on this matter you must represent them in fact; since none of you have heard from the majority of your constituency, this can only be done by voting as you believe. Is it according to the spirit of our constitution to send to the people for their decision, a question contrary to your belief? Are they justified in expecting your vote here to represent your opinion on the question? As the forefathers interpreted the constitution, they are. Again, is there equity or reason in sending an amendment to the people unless you feel there is a possibility of its acceptance? To do this, believing it will be defeated, must come to many as contrary to the fundamental facts of a republic. Just now you are being asked to appropriate \$43,000 to defray the publishing expenses of amendments submitted last year, only one of which received any favor.

Is there any way to judge the opinion of women at large in this country on the suffrage question? Suffragists gave 654,000 as the number in their organization December, 1914, after sixty-four years of propaganda. This is not one-thirty-

first of the married women in the United States, less than one-eighth of the adult women at work; it is only one-sixth of the women having franchise in the United States, and only 2.7 per cent of the women over 21 years of age. You gentlemen know, whether it be true, "Women usually ask for anything they want **very** much." Again, November elections show, the defeat of woman's suffrage at that time was in direct ratio to the number of women in the population. Nevada has 179 men to 100 women; Ohio has 104 men to 100 women. Where there was the highest percentage of women "votes for women" was most overwhelmingly defeated.

Because of these things we ask, before an amendment be submitted to bring the women of Minnesota into the political arena, either to neglect or assume the obligations thus put upon them, both men and women all over the state understand what is being done.

Ann Morgan said last week, "The cry for freedom in the Twentieth century is no longer for political rights, but for individual and industrial opportunity. The suffrage is merely an unimportant incident in woman's recognition of her group responsibilities. Her ideal is to prepare the way, so the next generation may act with a clearer vision and a deeper understanding of the inner spirit of democracy." Anti-suffragists fear the effect of woman's vote is showing itself detrimental to men in public life, and cite the retiring governor of Oregon and the governor of Colorado, as possible examples. They feel strong men are as important as strong women for the safety of the state, each in their own sphere of work. This great commonwealth could never have reached the position it has except for virile, far-sighted men. Anti-suffragists wish the government to be in the hands of such men; men to whom the trinity of life still is their home, their religion and their country; who are paternal, spiritual and patriotic.

As an anti-suffragist, I hope the women of the future in the United States and in our state of the northern star, may lose none of the qualities of women of the past, and add to them **only** the advantages that have come under the evolution of modern thought and education. That she may be a woman outside of politics and political machinations:

"A woman who looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness—who stretcheth out her hand to the poor and to the needy, and in whose tongue is the law of kindness. So shall the heart of her husband safely trust in her, and her children shall rise up and call her blessed."

Jan. 1915

A PROTEST

To the members of the
Senate and House of Representatives
of the
STATE OF MINNESOTA
January 1915

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Gentlemen:—

We who ask you to refrain from placing on the women of this state the duty of the suffrage, come, as we believe, in the name of a majority of the women of Minnesota. It is a majority which consists, we feel, not simply in numbers; for if we were to omit from such a consensus the ignorant and inert, we believe that of thinking, educated, practical women we should still represent a large majority.

We do not ask you to oppose this measure merely because we object to further service, public or private. This is a time in the world's history when no human being with a brain and a conscience dare to refuse any service to mankind, even though it involve the laying down of life. The women who speak to you through us are anxious to serve, not only those of their own households but all whom their efforts can reach. They do not shrink from sacrifice. This very protest proves that; for, to make it, they must put themselves in the ungracious attitude of urging the defeat of a movement many of whose supporters are certainly sincere and conscientious.

Our reasons for asking your assistance are threefold: We find the proposed amendment to the constitution of the state, giving the suffrage to women, to be unnecessary, inexpedient and harmful.

It is unnecessary, first, because the laws which in the past discriminated against women have been so changed that legal advantage is nearly always on the side of the women. These changes have been effected without woman suffrage, although woman's influence has played a large part in bringing them about. Moreover, the laws relating especially to women and children are already better in non-suffrage than in suffrage states.

It is unnecessary, secondly, because what we need in the ballot is not greater quantity, but improved quality. We believe that some women would be better voters than some men, but that the total vote of women would show about the same degree of judgment and conscience as that of men; and we see no reason for doubling the vote unless we can also purify and improve it.

It is unnecessary in the specific matters on which argument on its behalf is grounded, such as women's wages, taxation, prohibition,—because current history proves that these are not, and candid consideration shows that they could not be, affected either for better or for worse by woman suffrage. Colorado carried prohibition after 21 years of universal suffrage, though she has only 5% more men than women in the voting population. Minnesota has 18% more of her population under "no license" than Utah, where women have voted 18 years. This question seems dependent upon personality and locality interest rather than woman's ballot.

Wages are governed by economic forces and are independent of the ballot. Taxes are raised and lowered by the votes of non-taxpayers as well as those of taxpayers, and the taxpaying woman would find her ballot a useless weapon when it came to the matter of her own property.

Woman suffrage is inexpedient because her present influence, in many cases very considerable, would be impaired if it became a positive influence. Men listen with interest to an intelligent woman's comment on political affairs, while if they felt behind it the animus of party sentiment they would discount it as candidly as they do the opinion of a prejudiced man. Not only this, but the woman herself thinks more freely and clearly without the consciousness of party bias than she could do with it.

It is inexpedient because it sets two people to do the work of one; because the basis of government is Force, and women should not be set to making laws which they cannot enforce; and because women, so far as tested, do not use the vote in great or increasing numbers where it has been granted.

In all fairness we ask you at least to refuse to put this constitutional amendment, affecting all of us so vitally, before the legal voters of the state until the women have had an opportunity, by means of a referendum to women, to declare whether or not a majority of them desire it.

Woman suffrage, finally, if it became general and were taken up seriously and used by women, would, we believe, be a menace to family and community life. The least successful wife and mother would be not more, but less efficient for having her time and mind occupied by public affairs; the most inharmonious home would hardly be made happier by the introduction of a new possibility of discord.

On the other hand, we believe that a majority of the women who are devoting their lives to their homes, their churches, their cities and even to the unfortunate and bereft of the greater world outside, are with us when we say:—
a majority of the women who are devoting their lives to their homes, their churches, their cities and even to the unfortunate and bereft of the greater world outside are with us when we say:—

Men, keep the vote in your own hands. We have much to do, and other tools with which to work. But use it for the good of all, for the integrity of our country, for the uplift of mankind. Use it so wisely, so honestly, that those of our sex who have sometimes felt that they could use it better will be satisfied to leave it in your hands.

Issued by Minnesota Association opposed to Woman Suffrage.

THE BOWDLE SPEECH

As delivered in the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C., January 12, 1915.

Excerpts printed from the author's manuscript before being expurgated for the Congressional Record.

[Introductory Note: From the anti-suffrage side of the debate on the Mondell resolution in the House of Representatives on Tuesday, January 12, 1915, Representative Stanley Bowdle, of Cincinnati, Ohio, made a speech which was loudly applauded and enjoyed by the majority of the House. When his time had expired, and he asked for an additional ten minutes, there were cries of "Give it to him, give it to him!", and by unanimous consent of the House the extension was granted. When Mr. Bowdle had finished, members rose from their seats to greet and congratulate him with handshake and spoken approval.]

For printing in the Congressional Record, Mr. Bowdle furnished an expurgated copy of his speech. The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was able, however, to obtain a manuscript copy of the speech as delivered on the floor of the House, and to consult, besides, the stenographic report taken down by the official reporter. The Committee has reproduced herewith the larger part of the speech in its original language, for the purpose of informing the public what manner of thing was permitted and applauded by the majority of the National Congress, during the serious consideration of a public question and in the presence of women auditors.

ANTOINETTE FUNK,

*Vice Chairman Congressional
Committee, National American
Woman Suffrage Association.]*

Mr. Speaker, I rise to voice the position of an unnumbered multitude of good women of America relative to the suffrage Movement. A multitude of women whose voices are not heard in the street: who do not seek the rostrum of political debate: who, though life is not exactly what some of them would have, do not defame their husbands and brothers because they have been unable to declare the Kingdom of Heaven to be at hand: women who are not ashamed of their sex-lot, though it disqualifies them from many functions allowed to men. These I represent.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the women of this smart capitol are beautiful—indeed, their beauty is positively disturbing to business: their feet are beautiful; their ankles are beautiful—but here I must pause (prolonged laughter)—all this I do assert on that kind of evidence required by Greenleaf's first rules (applause and laughter)—but they are not interested in affairs of state; they are not interested in politics; insofar as I can judge, they are getting their information on these subjects from the source commanded by St. Paul, for which I do heartily commend them. (Laughter.)

Who knows, maybe we shall live to see a Mrs. at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue as President of the United States. Who knows, a Mr. may hook up and unhook the nation's Chief. (Laughter.)

Mr. Speaker: the functions of women are of a character that disqualifies them from acting as jurors or judges. If I were to defend a man on a capital charge, and a woman were to offer herself as a juror, there are some very intimate questions that I should insist on putting to her as to her *then* condition and were she over forty-eight, I should want to know something about her change of life. And that man or woman does not live who would want to submit his or her personal property rights to a judge or juror who was with child.

It is the great distinctive function which is at the basis of that consideration which men instinctively show to women in so many ways; even to the point of suspending the criminal laws in their favor.

There are a thousand duties to which you cannot summon women who are gestating or rearing children. And every vigorous woman, even though unmarried, may be invited into that legal relation which brings those powers into play.

Women have a great function. Her functions are not man's functions. Men and women are different. They are different in every atom. Right here is where women set up a grouch. Many women resent the limitations of sex. But they quarrel with God, when he has the final word. I might as well weep because I cannot gestate a child.

This world is not just what each of us would have it. But, Mr. Speaker, blessed is that man who recognizes the fact cheerfully. Were I given the remaking of this world, I don't know just what I should do. Ingersoll said he would make it not rain so hard in the Sea: but coming from Ohio, where we have had terrible floods, I should make it not rain so hard on the land. Of course, the Suffragists would recommend some changes. One said to me that she would make papa bear the children. (Laughter.) And this, Mr. Speaker, only bears out the claim that this movement, like the whole modern feminine movement, is a simple expression of sex resentment. Only the other day some sociological person examined the roster of a certain Woman's Club of a western city, and out of seventy-two women members, all married and able, not a child had been born within the year.

I would respectfully suggest to the patriotic ladies that when next they meet, instead of denouncing the distinguished member from New York, Mr. Levy, because of the condition of the back gate of Monticello, they resolve on an investigation of this race suicide question: that they give some attention to the feminine clothing question and the millinery question.

Edmund Burke used to say that every law of the British Empire had for its ultimate object the getting of twelve honest men in the jury box. I think he overstated it, for there is something that precedes even the administration of justice—it is marriage. The ultimate object of every law of every civilized country is to get one man in love with one woman. Unless that is the object the Nation must come to an end. Mr. Speaker, a civilization cannot be erected that favors celibacy. If it could, the arrangement would be quite temporary. There might be some justice in giving unmarried women the ballot, but every unmarried woman is ready to marry, and she should sacrifice something (if it be a sacrifice) to that institution which all the world hopes she will finally enter. It is best for the unmarried that our laws should favor the married. The unmarried need no special laws. And the unmarried know this, and hence unmarried suffragettes claim that their special value at the polls and in the legislative Halls will be to reduce infant mortality. They need not concern themselves. The married will care for the children of this world. Should suffrage become a fact, the Old Man will parade the floor as usual in his night-shirt. (Laughter and applause.)

All history, Mr. Speaker, is nothing but the record of an affair with a woman. Happy is that man whose affair is honorable.

I saw smoke curling up from a cottage chimney in a mountain glen. I followed it, and entered the house—it was an affair with a wo-

(Continued on other side)

man. I looked into the dimpled face of a babe—it told of an affair with a woman. I saw a myriad of black-grimed men emerge from the mine's mouth with lamps and dinner pails, and they smiled and went each his way, and I wondered why they worked amid such dangers, but I followed and found—it was an affair with a woman. I was in the cab of an express locomotive hurling up through darkness towards the city. I wondered at his willingness to endure the dangers, as block signals and switches and cars shot by; but I saw his face for a moment by the steam gauge light and he smiled, as we approached the division end—and I knew it was simply an affair with a woman. I was with the inventor in an upper room at night, where he had slaved for years on the turbine principle, and I marvelled at his constancy, but he showed me her picture, and, Mr. Speaker, it was an affair with a woman. And the words of Swedenborg came to me, "though men know it not, love is the life of this world."

Women, have they a mission? Yes, it is to rule in the world of love and affection—in the home. It is not to rule in the state. They have a function to perform which precludes the latter sort of rule. Man is King of this universe. Woman is Queen. The Queen rules when the King is dead—or becomes a Mollycoddle, and the American man is not that yet.

The great need of America today is more marriage. But many men are afraid to attempt to support the modern woman. And this suffrage question is making the women less attractive to men. Who would care to marry a pronounced suffragist? (Laughter.)

Yes, the need is more marriage. America needs a new Baptism of the old-time masculinity; and the baptism should be by immersion. We need the old type of feminine woman.

I know that marriage is by the economic condition unduly postponed or prevented altogether, and I deplore this; but I have never yet heard that the way to treat a disease was to make it worse.

Mr. Speaker: Many things are to be changed by feminine suffrage. One of them is the "double standard," so-called. Mrs. Pankhurst lately in this city assured us that this change is the first thing upon the suffrage programme. I should like to have her exhibit to me the statute she would pass on this subject. Its wording would be interesting. But pray—and let us be frank—who is it that treats fallen women most harshly? Is it not woman herself? Her bill would have to be entitled "An Act to Reform Women's views of Women." And who is it that treats a delinquent man with the most consideration? Is it not women?

But are not women's instincts right in this somewhat easier treatment accorded the young man? Here he is, equipped by nature with

powerful passions, out daily in the broad and tempting world, subjected to temptations which rarely encompass young women: shall he not be accorded this charitable treatment? What would Mrs. Pankhurst do with him? Let this famous lady try to put some legislative stigma upon him, (say on his forehead,) and the first persons to protest would be the young man's mother and sisters.

I deplore the immoralities of this age. I know how the energies of thousands of young men are dissipated. I would to God that every young man knew the true dignity of pure manhood. I would that every young man had written over the lintels of his heart the 7th Chapter of Proverbs as my Mother bade me write it. But this thing is unreachable by law. Self restraint is not begotten by statute.

And we all weep too much over prostitutes. Reform for them is easy. Any one of them in any American city, desiring to reform, can wash the paint off, clean up, go to the next town and get honest house work. Laziness and vanity are largely responsible for their chosen vocation. We are too lugubrious anyhow over evil people, lazy people, and criminals generally. Our stamina seems to be breaking down in this matter. It would be better were we sadder over the plight of some honest people. My sympathies are with the hard-working and honest.

Word has gone forth that nothing unflattering shall be said of women. But if women want to jump into politics they must not be astonished to have their pedestals jarred by an occasional truth. Hold on to your halo, when you enter politics, is a good motto. Women surely can't burn property and assault and insult State Ministers without hearing something about themselves.

Having declared man to be a tyrant, they must not get embarrassed when sternly asked to name the day and date when he became so, for our mothers did not regard him so.

Mr. Speaker: there is in America today a forgotten institution known as the "Old Man." I know him—you know him. Our mothers knew him and honored him, and he honored them. But he is now forgotten and often derided. Suffragists insult him. I looked upon his frozen features as he conquered the Antarctic Zone, while women burned up five millions of his property at home, made by him with back-breaking labor. I have seen his face in the deadly flames of molten metal, where a mis-movement meant death. I have been with him in the bowels of steamers and have seen him wipe the scalding sweat from his face as he fed hellish furnaces. I have been with him working on great engines, in work taxing nerves and strength, where a mistake of a

thousandth of an inch meant ruin. I have been with him in the grease and slime of repairs to great engineering apparatus. I have gotten up with him in the frosty darkness of the morning to go to the great shops of the cities, while leisure America slept. I have eaten with him his spare breakfasts. I have been with multitudes of him around the forges of the world at noon dining from buckets, yet always cheerful. I have seen him pinned beneath locomotives, with his flesh frying on his bones, and his hand still gripping the throttle, when his last question was to the passengers and his last message was to a woman. * * *

This, Mr. Speaker, is man "the Tyrant." This is the being of whom Miss Shaw said the other day, "all we ask of man is that he stand out of our sunshine." This is the being who is no longer able to represent women, who indeed misrepresents them, though he furnishes the world its meal ticket. (Laughter.)

This is the last attempt of the "Old Man" to save his pants. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Speaker: the women of this land, who do not want the suffrage, are entitled to be heard on this floor and at the ballot box. Their case has seldom been adequately stated. Fear among men, I regret to say, has usually prevented its statement—fear of alienating votes. I have stated their case without fear. My personal regret is that a statement of the case wears the aspect of hostility to women and the suffrage. But no thoughtful person will say that this is so, for I have taken the position occupied by Mr. Roosevelt, which is that those whose status is to be changed shall themselves vote upon the question, democratically. In taking this position I am aware that many antisuffragists do not concur, believing that men alone should settle this question; but in a democracy it should be evident to any man that society could not long withstand even a twenty-five percent demand for the ballot. A ten percent today is quite sufficient to embarrass legislators and arouse their fears.

Mr. Speaker: I love masculine men and feminine women—not women of the rostrum, not senatorial ladies who cross their limbs in political wigwags. I love those women whose functions are so beautifully described in Byron's tragedy of Sardanapalus:

"The first of human life is drawn from woman's breast,
Our first small words are taught us at her knee,
And our last sighs are too often breathed out in a woman's hearing, when others have fled the ignoble
Task of watching beside him who led them."



WHY I OPPOSE WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ADDRESS

BY

MRS. HORACE BROCK

Honorary President of the State Federation
of Pennsylvania Women

President of the Pennsylvania Association
Opposed to Woman Suffrage

BEFORE

THE CIVIC CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

April 27th, 1915

ISSUED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION
OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

261 SOUTH FIFTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA



Madam President and Members of the Civic Club:

In obedience to your summons I am here to answer to you for "the faith that is in me." The subject upon which you have asked me to speak, "The vote as a help or hindrance to the civic usefulness of women, and why I oppose equal suffrage," eliminates from it certain arguments which are sometimes made in favor of votes for women. For example—I will not answer the argument of woman suffrage as a right, which has been answered by our Supreme Court and further emphasized by Mr. Root, who says:

"I am opposed to the granting of suffrage to women, because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman; and because I believe it would be an injury to the State, and to every man and every woman in the State. It would be useless to argue this if the right of suffrage were a natural right. If it were a natural right, then women should have it though the heavens fall. But if there be any one thing settled in the long discussion of this subject, it is that suffrage is not a natural right, but is simply a means of government; and the sole question to be discussed is whether government by the suffrage of men and women will be better government than by the suffrage of men alone. The question is, therefore, a question of expediency, and the question of expediency upon this subject is not a question of tyranny, but a question of liberty, a question of the preservation of free constitutional government, of law, order, peace and prosperity."

Your subject eliminates also the question of taxation and representation which, to such a body of women as this, it would hardly be necessary to give an answer, as all intelligent men and women know that in our Government there is no relation between taxation and voting except the poll tax.

It also eliminates the discussion of woman suffrage as a matter of justice, a plea that has been largely removed by the frank acknowledgment made by our suffrage friends that the women of America, and especially those of Pennsylvania, are not suffering unjust treatment under its laws and in its courts. It is purely a question of specializing. There is no inferiority or injustice in a law office that gives one member of the firm the Court work and another Corporation work and another Real Estate. So the State relieves women of certain duties it requires of men and gives them certain privileges it does not give to men. It is all a matter of order and efficiency, and for an organization like yours the subject you propose is one worthy of you, for it presents the discussion of this question entirely as a matter of expediency. A discussion purely on altruistic lines, namely, "How can women best serve the State?" Shall they con-

tinue to serve as in the past—in the home, in Society, and through such organizations as this, or shall they enter the field of politics and serve the State at the primaries, at the polls, in the Courts, the jury box, the bench and the halls of the Legislature. I hear Mrs. Belmont aspires to be President of the United States. This is the question you have asked me to consider, for the vote represents all this.

The topic you have submitted to me is further narrowed by the *personal* note you have given it, "Why I oppose equal suffrage."

In answer to my letter urging that the subject be discussed by some one more able than I to speak on it, the answer came that this was to be a family affair, the discussion of differences of opinion among members. I am here, therefore, not to make an address on woman suffrage that might be done by an expert, but simply to answer your question, "Why I am opposed to equal suffrage?" In doing this I must ask you to keep clearly in your minds what I have just said, that the ballot and the suffrage mean something far more than putting a piece of paper in a ballot box. And, second, that we are not discussing woman suffrage in New Zealand, Iceland or Finland with their small populations and different political conditions, but the granting of suffrage to the women of the State of Pennsylvania with all its problems in the year 1915.

We are asked to try an experiment which has never been tried by any country that has endured the shock of a great war like our Civil War or the present war raging in Europe, or has had to meet the industrial and political conditions which exist with us. It would seem unnecessary to recall these things to your attention but for the fact that we are constantly receiving notices that women can scrub, and cook, and nurse the sick, but cannot cast a ballot. Not continuing the subject to the jury box, the primaries, and the halls of the Legislatures.

Moreover, we Americans, who have called the nations of the Earth to witness our civilization and the freedom and respect given to American women by American men, are now called to look for our models to these little insignificant nations and out-of-the-way places of the Earth. I, for one, am not willing to concede their superiority.*

*Finland got Woman Suffrage in 1906. It has a population three-eighths that of Pennsylvania. There are about three per cent. more women than men in the whole country; thirteen per cent. more women than men in the cities, so that women with the vote have a fair show in Finland. In the census of 1910, seven per cent. of the births were out of wedlock. Over two per cent. of the population were paupers requiring state aid. Finland has eighty-six thousand in the poor houses, insane asylums, etc., against Pennsylvania's nine thousand, though we have nearly three times as many people.

Australia has a public debt of three hundred million dollars *more* than the United States. Pennsylvania has almost twice as many people as Australia. It costs one hundred and two million a year to govern four million people under double suffrage in Australia. It costs less than thirty-three million a year to govern eight million people in Pennsylvania, forty-three per cent. of which goes to education and humanitarian enterprises.

First, let me say that in this discussion it is up to the other side to show that the granting of the franchise to women would be a *help* to the State. If the result is merely negative, the doubling of the electorate with its increased expense to the taxpayers is certainly not justified, and we Anti-Suffragists go beyond this and say that woman's entrance into political life would be a distinct hindrance to her civic usefulness. In the introduction to the fourth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*, 1902 edition, Miss Susan B. Anthony is quoted as saying:

"If the first organized demand for the rights of women—made at the memorable convention of Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848—had omitted the one for the franchise, those who made it would have lived to see all granted. It asked for woman the right to have personal freedom, to acquire an education, to earn a living, to claim her wages, to own property, to make contracts, to bring suit, to testify in court, to obtain divorce on just grounds, to possess her children, to claim a fair share in the accumulations during marriage. An examination of Chapter XXIV will show that in many of the States all these privileges are now accorded, and in not one are all refused. For the past half century there has been a steady advance in the direction of equal rights of woman. In many instances these have been granted in response to the direct efforts of women themselves."

Now, of course, many of these great important rights of women were not denied, even before the memorable convention of 1848. In 1824 Mary Lyon, who founded Mount Holyoke in 1837, studied at Amherst, under Professor Eaton, to "become qualified for giving experimental instruction in chemistry." This certainly does not bear out the suffrage slogan, that before the agitation for women's rights they were "not permitted to learn the alphabet," does it?

Almost all professions and avenues of work are now open to women. The only difficulty in the way is that suffragists will not employ women lawyers, doctors, brokers and business advisors.

If women then have gained all these things without the ballot, why does any woman, married or single, wage-earner or taxpayer, *need* it? Mrs. Wiggs of the cabbage patch could not have done more if she had had the ballot. A wage-earning woman said to me—"The working woman has enough burdens to bear and enough temptations put in her way without adding another. To the wage-earner, above all others, the ballot would be a hindrance."

But it is said, and has been said by so distinguished a woman as Miss Jane Addams, in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for January, 1910, that the objects for which women should be given the ballot are—pure milk, fresh vegetables, school and factory inspection, keeping children off the streets, and cleaning up the town generally. Miss Addams says, "If con-

scientious women were convinced that it were a civic duty to be informed in regard to their grave industrial affairs, and to express the conclusions they had reached by depositing a piece of paper in a ballot box, one cannot imagine that they would shirk simply because the action ran counter to old tradition."

"If these excellent things, good food and sanitation could be secured by merely depositing a piece of paper in a ballot box, no sane woman would hesitate a moment."* The fact of the matter is that women have municipal and school franchise in many States with the opportunity to do all these things, and, moreover, they have the full franchise in Utah and Idaho, but have failed to put a stop to polygamy, all of which goes to show that these things cannot be corrected by the ballot.

The really great governmental questions, however, are not pure food and cleaning streets, the correction of which lies largely now in the hands of women, but in problems of finance, national defense, foreign relations and other questions of a like nature. The desire for woman suffrage on the part of many women is due, I am sure, to their deeply rooted belief, however little they may realize it, that you can reform Society by passing laws. We have already enough laws on our statute books to make our country a Heaven on Earth, if they were enforced.

Some years ago that great statesman, Richard Olney, in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, said emphatically that it is Public Opinion that rules in a free country like ours. Public Opinion brings about the enactment of laws and their enforcement, and if enacted without the backing of Public Opinion they are a dead letter.

Here is woman's great power. She can, and very largely does, create and influence public opinion. First, in the home; second, in society; and third, in organizations like this Civic Club and our State Federation. When I look back over the work that has been done in our State during the last fifteen years through the women's clubs, which is organized woman's influence, I cannot but wonder that there should be any women suffragists. There may be some here who recall our first State Federation meeting in Bradford, and there are some, I am sure, who were present at our second meeting in Harrisburg, when your President, Mrs. Stevenson, brought to us the experience, good judgment and inspiration we needed for the beginning of our civic work, and when Miss Myra Dock said I discovered her, and she made the first of her brilliant speeches on the subject of forestry which led to her association with the Pennsylvania Forestry Commission and the good work it has done. It was, indeed, a pleasure and a satisfaction before I went out of office for me to hear Dr. Rothrock say to us that the good laws and the sentiment aroused to pre-

*"The Ladies' Battle," Mollie Elliot Seawell.

serve our Pennsylvania forests had been due to the work of the woman's clubs of Pennsylvania.

What impressed me most this winter in Harrisburg was the fact that women have lost their power through entrance into political life. They are no longer disinterested and working for the common good, whether it be forestry or child labor; these things have become secondary and the legislators are quick to recognize it.

In the beginning of our Anti-Suffrage work we had an address by a lady from Idaho, who told us how the men who had been in favor of woman suffrage in the beginning had changed their opinion, and how women in her State had lost their power and usefulness in public life. She said that before women had the ballot they could go to the Legislature and have a hearing by all parties, Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Populists. Now, if she wants a child labor bill introduced and she takes it to the Democrats and asks for their support, she is told she is a Republican and must go to them. She has become partisan and has ceased to be a disinterested woman; at least in the eyes of the men. She, with others, have said that giving votes to women in these Western States has made little difference in the results of the elections, but every difference in the women. Bishop Thomas, of Wyoming, is quoted in an interview in the *New York Sun* of last October as saying, "The effect of the franchise upon the women is deplorable," and a newspaper man who was in Chicago at the last election said to me, "Women's votes made little or no difference in the election, but it made you sick to see the women celebrating with the men after the election. A young woman," he added, "who had been very active at the polls on election day, was accosted some days later on the street by a very disreputable looking man. 'Come to lunch with me, Sis,' he said. She threatened to have him arrested for speaking to her when he did not know her. His reply was, 'You know me very well, you spoke to me at the polls and if you can speak to me when you did not know me on that day I can speak to you to-day.' Of course, she had no ground of complaint to the police."

The greatest hindrance to woman's civic usefulness, to my mind, is the effect political life would have upon the woman herself. If you pollute a stream at its source you cannot drink pure water as it flows across your land. One must judge of a movement and the effect it is likely to have upon the State not by a few of its members and their views, but by its publications, the literature it endorses and the speakers it puts upon its platforms. And who are these suffrage representatives? Max Eastman, whose blasphemies and indecencies should bar him from any Christian home or gathering, Socialists and Feminists like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Inez Milholland Boissevain and Beatrice Forbes-Robertson-Hale. Mrs. Hale calls herself a middle-of-the-way Feminist, but she advocates easier divorce and other Feminist doctrines such as public nurseries for

children whose mothers do not want to care for them. She says in her book "What Women Want," a book frankly pagan, "Sometimes the choice (between the home and the public nursery) will be indicated by necessity, sometimes by convenience, and again by temperament. But not to have the choice is to be a slave." Again, speaking of the emancipation of women she says, "Economic independence, the lack of religious and parental control, and a knowledge of life unattainable even by men until the age of science, make it possible for modern women to discover their real natures untrammelled by traditional moulds."*

The National Suffrage Association and the National College Equal Suffrage League both publish and circulate the writings of Charlotte Perkins Gilman under such titles as "Motherhood Personal and Social," and "The Larger Feminism." These and many other books and pamphlets of a like character have received stars of praise from one to six indicating the editors' approval of them. Mrs. Hale tells us in her book, as does Mrs. Boissevain, that these sentiments belong to the higher morality and the higher ideals of marriage and womanhood.† When, therefore, an association says it stands for the higher ideals of morality but does not repudiate this teaching, but endorses it, as I have said, we see what it means and must judge that however little some of the women who belong to the association like it, they are in the minority and have no control of the movement. This effect upon women and the State also gives one answer to the plea made by suffragists: "You need not vote, if you do not want to, but let us vote and go into politics." A plea which upon another ground Miss Addams was rebuked for making at a hearing in Washington by the chairman of the committee, who told her the greatest

*"Hitherto conventional morality has been imposed upon women by public acknowledgement nature forced them to make of their act. To-day, in the educated class at least, women almost equally with men can, if they choose, escape the consequences of their conduct. The result is that in future we shall have from women not an enforced but a spontaneous morality, which cannot fail to be of spiritual benefit to the race."

"Occasionally one meets a woman who believes that the so-called 'experiences' common to men are desirable for women in the interest of self-development, but such a woman is a rare exception. Toward her the attitude of typical Feminists would be that they are not the keepers of their neighbor's consciences, and can have nothing to say to the woman who thinks her nature demands a variety of sex-experience, save to conjure her not to be a pirate—not to attain her adventures at the expense of any man, any child, or any other woman."—"What Women Want," by Beatrice Forbes-Robertson-Hale.

†"Every great Feminist, even the most radical, has been a moralist, from Plato and Mill to Julia Ward Howe, Josephine Butler, Florence Nightingale, Olive Schreiner, Jane Addams, Charlotte Gilman and Ellen Key. The Feminist movement since its inception a hundred years ago has consistently fought vice and immorality in every form, whether the dual standard, the C. D. Acts, the white slave traffic, or the excesses of sartorial fashions."—"What Women Want." (See Appendix, page 11.)

danger to a government like ours was the stay-at-home vote, and so serious has this become that Governor Brumbaugh in this session of the Legislature proposed a fine for those who did not respond to the duty laid upon them by the State and cast their ballot at elections.

We have been called obstructionists. So in a sense we are, not the "Dog in the Manger" kind, but obstructionists like the dykes in Holland that keep out the sea from the country, and like the brave Belgians who obstructed the march of a powerful foe. We are obstructionists to the progress of Socialism, Feminism, Mormonism and woman suffrage.

I am opposed to woman suffrage and believe it not only a hindrance but a menace to good government. First, because I am an American and believe in the principles of representative government upon which our nation was founded, where the family, not the individual, is the unit, and in which the rule of the majority constitutes the consent of the governed.

I am opposed to woman suffrage also, because I am a Christian, though an unworthy one, and believe in the dignity of meekness, the splendor of humility and the duty of obedience. Lacordair said to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality; above Liberty write Duty; above Fraternity write Humility, and above Equality write Service; above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."*

The greatest power in the world is the power of influence and disinterested service. This is the prerogative of woman whether she be Mrs. Wiggs of the cabbage patch or Queen Victoria on the throne. It is a spiritual power sneered at by the world, but it is the power that has moved mountains. It rests upon character which is not negative, but positive and electric.

*In the History of Woman Suffrage (edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton), Maria Weston Chapman, called in the History "One of the grand women of Boston," says on page 82, Volume I:

"This doctrine of Jesus, as preached by Paul,
If embraced in its spirit, will ruin us all."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and most of the Suffrage leaders, have expressed similar sentiments. Some have put their opposition to the teachings of the Christ and His great apostle, even more strongly. One wonders whether it was because the rhyme would not admit of including St. Peter that he was left out, or, whether the Suffragists do not know that St. Peter said "Wives be in subjection to your own husbands," and goes on to say the adorning of the good wife is "A meek and quiet spirit which in the sight of God is of great price." (I Peter iii.)

Certain it is, however, the modern woman, who like the first woman, wants to "be as God" (independent), despises the poor in spirit, the meek and the sorrowful. Blessed are the independents, the powerful, the successful, says the emancipated woman. "We want our rights. We want direct power; not indirect influence."

Great thinkers like Thomas Carlyle have always seen that Christian morals are dependent upon the Christian creed, and the prophets of all generations have called attention to this, but mankind is not made up of great thinkers, and there are only a few that ever have listened to the true prophets. (See Appendix.)

One of the greatest thinkers of the last century, Cardinal Newman, says in his "Grammar of Assent" it is doubtful if any one has ever been convinced purely by evidence. Argument and evidence must find some response in the individual or as a greater than he has said, "He that hath ears to hear let him hear." What the speakers on both sides of this question have said will convince you in proportion as they find in you a response to the ideals they have presented for your consideration. Mrs. Hale, speaking in Pittsburgh several years ago, said the difference between the Suffragists and the Anti-Suffragists is a difference of ideals. We are both working for the common good.

So I answer your question. I believe the ballot to be a hindrance to women in the performance of their civic responsibilities. I believe it to be a menace to women and to society for the reasons I have given you, and I say to you in the words of the great Martin Luther: "Here stand I, I can do no otherwise, so help me God."

N. B. To answer some questions regarding statements made in this address footnotes and an Appendix have been added. D. N. C. B.

APPENDIX.

"Much of modern literature—drama, poetry, and fiction alike—seems to be obsessed with these two notions: First, that the spirit of man is free, and has at last come to know it; and, second, that the Christian ethic means the denial of this freedom, and the enslavement of the spirit to an external and cramping authority. Rightly or wrongly, many men and women of high attainments are filled with these notions, and make this ethical divergence a ground of their hostility to Christianity. In truth, what has emerged more than anything else in the controversies of the last fifteen years is the fact of the *ethical distinctness* of Christianity. It was denied during what we may call the Huxleian epoch. Any Christian who ventured to assert that the ethics of Christians were dependent on their faith and could not maintain themselves apart from it, was regarded as narrow-minded. On the whole, it was taken for granted that approximately the same ethical values would prevail; here and there Christian might differ from non-Christians, but there would be no real or fundamental divergence. As Mr. Neville Talbot puts it with convincing eloquence in his introductory essay on 'The Modern Situation in Foundations.' For the most part the minds of liberals in early and middle Victorian times were rich in an optimism drawn from a capital of uncriticised assumptions. They were busy with emancipation from the entail of the past; their battle-cry was 'Liberty.' If pain was involved in the escape from old beliefs and institutions, it was greatly mitigated for them by the conviction that the essentials of true religion and morality were unaffected by it. An energy in emancipation was given to them by—as it were—their 'stance' upon a rock of belief, if not in God, at least in goodness as inherent in the natural order of things.

Such optimism lay behind their almost pathetic belief in education as the way of all salvation. It quickened their impatience with ecclesiastical dogmas and sanctions. It gave heart to men in their struggle with 'Hebrew old clothes.' It allowed that expansion of ethical fervour which, as in George Elliot, seemed but to increase with the loosening of her grasp upon distinctively Christian doctrine. It reappeared in others in the assumption of the benevolence of nature to the individual. Here, indeed, for the heroes of political emancipation, the upholders of aconomic orthodoxy, and the believers of unrestrained competition and the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, was the very fulcrum to the lever of nineteenth century liberty. Individual man, it was thought, needed only to be freed from artificial and traditional restraints, and to be set in a nature similarly liberated, for it to provide to each his meat in due season, and for him to fare as well as he deserved.

We can gauge the strength of this optimistic reliance upon nature

if we observe its reaction upon Darwinism. Though the doctrine of the 'struggle for existence' cut at the roots of the belief in the benevolence of nature to the individual, many were quick to infer from the observation of a continuous upward development in the past added grounds for their general faith in progress for the future. 'Progress,' indeed, was the bottom layer of Victorian assumptions. It still survives among a superior minority that has disencumbered itself of any other convictions.*

All this is changed. Nietzsche has helped many to see that the Christian system of life was something distinct and *sui generis*, and caused them to ask themselves how far it had their allegiance as an ideal—apart from all matters of doctrine. Naturally many were honest enough to discern that the Christian scheme of life is precisely what life does not mean for them. Modern drama, which begins with Ibsen, asks very much the same questions, even more significantly. Take, for instance, such propagandist literature of the sex question as Eleanor Key's 'Love and Marriage,' with the ideal of *adultery made impossible through freedom of divorce*, or Mrs. W. M. Gallichan's 'The Truth About Woman,' with its reiterated flouting of the ideal of chastity. It is idle to ignore these things, or to speak as though our novelists were ruled by the conventions of a past age." "The Fellowship of the Mystery" being the Bishop Paddock Lectures delivered at the General Theological Seminary, New York, during Lent, 1913, by John Neville Figgis, Litt. D., Hon. D.D. of the Community of the Resurrection—Honorary Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

Professor Flint, in his book on Socialism, has shown how profoundly insincere are the criticisms of present-day morality in which Socialistic writers and speakers, for the most part, delight to indulge, having regard to the fact that *their method for improving morality is to abolish all occasion for its exercise*. (The Case Against Socialism.)

**Foundations* (Macmillan & Co., 1912), pp. 5, 6.

[May 3, 1915]

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY THE

HON. ELIHU ROOT,

BEFORE

The New York State Constitutional Convention,

HAS NOT CHANGED HIS MIND.

In a letter to Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, dated Constitutional Convention, Albany, N. Y., May 3, 1915, Mr. Elihu Root said,

"Time has not in any sense changed, but has rather confirmed, the opinions which I expressed in the Constitutional Convention of 1894 regarding Woman Suffrage, and you are at liberty to use anything which I said then, as being an expression of the opinion which I entertain now."

ISSUED BY

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,

37 WEST 39TH STREET,
NEW YORK CITY.

I AM opposed to the granting of suffrage to women, because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman; and because I believe it would be an injury to the State, and to every man and every woman in the State. It would be useless to argue this if the right of suffrage were a natural right. If it were a natural right, then women should have it though the heavens fall. But if there be any one thing settled in the long discussion of this subject, it is that suffrage is not a natural right, but is simply a means of government; and the sole question to be discussed is whether government by the suffrage of men and women will be better government than by the suffrage of men alone. The question is, therefore, a question of expediency, and the question of expediency upon this subject is not a question of tyranny, as the gentleman from Cattaraugus has said, but a question of liberty, a question of the preservation of free constitutional government, of law, order, peace and prosperity. Into my judgment, sir, there enters no element of the inferiority of woman. There could not, sir, for I rejoice in the tradition and in the memory and the possession of a home where woman reigns with acknowledged superiority in all the nobler, and the higher attributes that by common, by universal, consent, determine rank among the highest of the children of God. No, sir. It is not that woman is inferior to man, but it is that woman is different from man; that in the distribution of powers, of capacities, of qualities, our Maker has created man adapted to the performance of certain functions in the economy of nature and society, and women adapted to the performance of other functions. One question to be determined in the discussion of this subject is whether the nature of woman is such that her taking upon her the performance of the functions implied in suffrage will leave her in the possession and the exercise of her highest powers or will be an abandonment of those powers on her entering upon a field in which, because of her differences from man, she is distinctly inferior. Mr. President, I have said that I thought suffrage would be a loss for women. I think so because suffrage implies not merely the casting of the ballot, the gentle and peaceful fall of the snow-flake, but suffrage, if it means anything, means entering upon the field of political life, and politics is modified war. In politics there is struggle, strife,

contention, bitterness, heart-burning, excitement, agitation, everything which is adverse to the true character of woman. Woman rules to-day by the sweet and noble influences of her character. Put woman into the arena of conflict and she abandons these great weapons which control the world, and she takes into her hands, feeble and nerveless for strife, weapons with which she is unfamiliar and which she is unable to wield. Woman in strife becomes hard, harsh, unlovable, repulsive; as far removed from that gentle creature to whom we all owe allegiance and to whom we confess submission, as the heaven is removed from the earth. Government, Mr. President, is protection. The whole science of government is the science of protecting life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of protecting our person, our property, our homes, our wives and our children, against foreign aggression, against civil dissension, against mobs and riots rearing their fearful heads within this peaceful land during the very sessions of this Convention. Against crime and disorder, and all the army of evil, civil society wages its war, and government is the method of protection, protection of us all. The trouble, Mr. President, is not in the principles which underlie government. Men and women alike acknowledge them and would enforce them, honor and truth, and justice and liberty; the difficulty is to find out how to protect them. The difficulty is to frame the measure, to direct the battle, to tell where and how the blows are to be struck and when the defenses are to be erected.

Mr. President, in the divine distribution of powers, the duty and the right of protection rests with the male. It is so throughout nature. It is so with men, and I, for one, will never consent to part with the divine right of protecting my wife, my daughter, the women whom I love and the women whom I respect, exercising the birthright of man, and place that high duty in the weak and nerveless hands of those designed by God to be protected rather than to engage in the stern warfare of government. In my judgment, sir, this whole movement arises from a false conception of the duty and of the right men and women both. We all of us, sir, see the pettiness of our lives. We all see how poor a thing is the best that we can do. We all at times long to share the fortunes of others, to leave our tiresome round of duty and to engage in their affairs. What others may do seems to us nobler, more important, more conspicuous than the little things of our own lives. It is a great mistake, sir, it is a fatal mistake that these excellent women make when they

more than wisdom. She for me at
the time. That introduction was
direct force. - but the force of an African
outlet power; become but, with, not legal guarantee for freedom,
must be.

conceive that the functions of men are superior to theirs and seek to usurp them. The true government is in the family. The true throne is in the household. The highest exercise of power is that which forms the conscience, influences the will, controls the impulses of men, and there to-day woman is supreme and woman rules the world. Mr. President, the time will never come when this line of demarcation between the functions of the two sexes will be broken down. I believe it to be false philosophy; I believe that it is an attempt to turn backward upon the line of social development, and that if the step ever be taken, we go centuries backward on the march towards a higher, a nobler and a purer civilization, which must be found not in the confusion, but in the higher differentiation of the sexes. But, Mr. President, why do we discuss this subject? This Convention has already acted upon it. A committee, as fairly constituted as ever was committee, has acted upon it, a committee which had among its members four who were selected by the women who lead this movement, which had a much smaller number of gentlemen who were known to be opposed to it, the great body of which was composed of men whose ideas and feelings upon the subject were utterly unknown, has acted upon it, and reported to the Convention. The Convention has, by a unanimous vote, decided that it will not strike the word "male" from the Constitution. Now we are met, sir, by a proposition that instead of performing the duty which we came here to perform instead of exercising the warrant given to us by the people to amend the Constitution, we shall have recourse in a weak and evasive way, and then throw back upon the people the determination which they charged us to make in this Convention. We are asked to do it. Why? to do it from good nature, to do it because my friend from New York, Mr. Lauterback, is a good fellow; to do it because it will please this lady and that lady, who have been importuning members about this hall for months; to do it, heaven knows for how many reasons, but all reasons of good nature, of kindness, of complaisance, opposed to the simple performance of the duty which we came here to discharge under the sanction of our oaths. Mr. President, I hope that this Convention will discharge the duty of determining who shall vote; discharge it with manliness and decision of character, which, after all, the women of America, God bless them, admire and respect more than anything else on this earth.

[post-June 1915]

A Fair Share for Women

by

Mrs. Elbert L. Carpenter



Minneapolis Association Opposed
to the Further Extension of
Suffrage to Women

18797

(Reprinted from the Daily News)

The Daily News asks the question: Should all women be given the right to vote the same as the men? And courteously accords to the Minneapolis Association Opposed to the Further Extension of the Franchise space in which to make a brief statement of why it answers in the negative.

WOMEN ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED.

The government of this country is a representative democracy. The male citizens elect the legislators to represent the people and make their laws. Is this unfair to the women of the country and does it leave them unrepresented? Not in our opinion. We hold that it is not the representation of each individual that a representative government seeks to secure in order to be truly democratic, but the representation, in so far as they relate to government, of the ideas and interests of every community and every class. When every kind of man, from the unskilled laborer to the president of the university, may vote, either the interests of every kind of woman are represented or else the interests of men and women are not, broadly speaking, identical. The heart of the matter lies in this: Are women a class apart or are they part of every class? Would the wives of the farmers vote for the most part as the farmers vote or otherwise? Twenty out of the twenty-four and one-half million of adult American women are, or have been married. Do these women one and all stand with their men folks or against them? In the opinion of the Anti-Suffragist women are not a class apart; they are a part of every class and so merged in and identified with every class that there is no woman except the crank whose views are not represented and whose interests are not safe-guarded almost automatically so far as government is concerned. A woman is not in our view represented merely by the men of her own family,—many a household of women has no men folks,—but by men of like mind and like interests in every strata of society. The woman who asserts that her opinions are not represented may mean that no particular man votes at her bidding. But if her opinions are of worth, they will win their own way and obtain their own constituency. If there is a woman whose views make no appeal to any type of male voter, that woman would be in a hopeless minority if she could vote; in fact, she would not be likely to find a platform she could endorse or a candidate she could support. In all this we must remember that there is always a deal of difference between voting for sheer ideas and voting for party nominees. The Anti-Suffragists believe that the men and the women of America have common interests; that those interests spring from and center in the home, that since manhood suffrage is universal, democracy is effectually secured and women are adequately represented.

WOMEN'S CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY.

But even so, is it fair to leave the burden of political activity solely to the men? Not unless women render an equivalent to society at large. The object of government is to secure fair conditions and the end of fair conditions is the development of the best type of life in the community and in the individual. And to this end women contribute a preponderating share in the home and the school and through philanthropic, church and club activities. The task of character-building is, in fact, largely in their hands. If they build well the foundations of character in each generation, women earn the right to rest upon that character. A racial instinct lies beneath the general division of duty between child-rearing and home-making on the one hand, and the management of business and government on the other. But though women are content to delegate certain responsibilities, they do not wash their hands of the issue. They play their part in public affairs—such women as live nobly and intelligently—by their immense influence upon public opinion. Behind all effective legislation must lie a body of informed public opinion. Women react upon government through this powerful means just in proportion as they are alert and intelligent. Corrupt and ignorant women do not offset the influence of earnest and good women upon public opinion, but, with universal franchise, every vote cast by an ignorant or corrupt woman would offset the vote of a woman of high character. Surely, neither womanhood nor the state profit by that bargain.

WOMEN'S NON-PARTISAN POWER.

It may be asked, would not woman's influence be all the greater if she possessed the ballot? We do not believe so. We think it is very much more potent because she is non-partisan. She is now able to approach any public measure with an unprejudiced mind because she is not bound by party lines. She has no political trade to negotiate, no party pledges to fulfill, no candidate to support, no appointment to seek,—in short, no axe to grind. We believe, for example, that today the women of Minnesota are almost unanimously bringing pressure to bear on the side of temperance. Were the ballot in their hands, women would break ranks and divide according to the old party alignments. No one cause can enlist the women of Minnesota when the women of Minnesota have become just more Democrats, more Republicans, more Progressives or Socialists. It is a great asset for the state to have one-half its citizenship, representing all stages of society, free from the limitations of partisanship and able to concentrate on the ethical side of public questions. But it is an asset that can be obtained on a democratic basis only by following the line of sex cutting through every layer of society alike.

WOMEN'S UNDIVIDED INFLUENCE.

The undivided non-partisan influence of good and intelligent women, an influence growing stronger as women grow broader, has been notably illustrated in the history of Women's Federated Clubs. Dissension over the franchise already threatens the unity of these clubs. If the franchise be imposed we believe that this unity will be lost and that the power of the clubs will slowly disintegrate.

The withdrawal of the Ebell Club of San Francisco from the California State Federation of Women's Clubs is a concrete example. The Ebell Club, the largest women's club in California, withdrew from the State Federation in June, 1915, as a protest against "the political methods and trickery" introduced by club women politicians seeking to exploit club influence for political ends.

The endorsement of suffrage by various federations of women's clubs is often cited, but is anything more signified than that the most aggressive individuals in the clubs have manipulated club machinery successfully? For example, take the Woman's Club of Minneapolis. It has a membership of over 600 representative women, it is affiliated with the Minnesota State Federation; consequently, it has been committed in a technical sense to the endorsement of suffrage. The fact is, that its membership has never been polled upon this question, nor has any delegate ever been instructed by it, nor would any one of its officers presume to conjecture what the outcome of such a poll might be. Please observe that we Anti-Suffragists cite no churches, clubs or philanthropic bodies as endorsers of our recently organized opposition. We abstain from that form of propaganda for fear—in the present unhappy state of public opinion—of alienating part of the support upon which such organizations must depend. Apparently, the Suffragists have more confidence in the magnanimity of the Anti-Suffragists!

WOMEN'S PARTY ALIGNMENT.

An analysis of the women's vote in Chicago is interesting, because in Chicago women leaders of character and experience and high motives, like Jane Addams, have been especially active. Do the women stand by these leaders when it comes to a vote? Not at all. The women leaders espoused the Progressive party in return for its espousal of woman's suffrage, but when the votes were counted in November, 1914, it appeared that only two per cent more women than men voted for the Progressive ticket. The analysis reads as follows:

Democratic voters, men 44 per cent, women 43 per cent.

Republican voters, men 40 per cent, women 39 per cent.

Progressive voters, men 16 per cent, women 18 per cent.

showing that the women aligned themselves with the three parties in just about the same proportions as the men. The mayoralty election in April, 1915, showed the same result. What a price to pay for just a little more of the same old thing!

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND TEMPERANCE.

True it is alleged that over 1,000 saloons were closed in Illinois in the spring of 1914 by women's votes. But at the same time over 400 saloons were closed in Minnesota. Illinois has nearly 3,000,000 more inhabitants than Minnesota. So, under the male suffrage, Minnesota did rather better than Illinois. At the same election, in the capital city of Illinois, more women voted "wet" than voted "dry," and Springfield, Ill., went "wet," while Lansing, the capital of Michigan, went "dry." And please note too the case of Montana and Nevada and California. Montana and Nevada are the two states that went—by a rather meager majority it is true—for suffrage in November, 1914 at the time when North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri and Ohio rejected it decisively. Yet these two states are called the "wettest" states in the West, and they have the largest number of saloons in proportion to their inhabitants of any states in the Union. As for California, where women have had the ballot for four years, she simply snowed prohibition under last fall. With this recent showing, we submit that suffrage can hardly claim to be loved for the enemies she has made.

WOMEN'S INTELLECTUAL STATUS.

Occasionally one hears of American women claiming "the same right to the education of the ballot that men have had." Why should we? If we women are equals of the men now, why covet the one field in which they deploy alone? It has been asserted by the suffragists that girls are getting more than half the benefit of the grade and high schools (if that is true, remember it is partly because boys often go early to work for the benefit of the family), and surely the colleges and the universities are open to women. So are those great popular educators, the newspapers,—editorial page as well as the society column,—so are individual careers of widest variety as well as innumerable avenues of culture and self-development that custom and necessity often

close to men. Are we really still undeveloped and if so, dare we ask to cut our intellectual teeth on the government of this great republic? We Anti-Suffragists are at once too proud and too humble to admit any such necessity.

EQUALITY—NOT IDENTITY.

Can it be considered an admission of inferiority to women not to desire the ballot? Again we answer no. In all humility we women assert our equality with men, but we maintain that equality is not identity. In the interest of efficiency, we plead for a division of labor. If the franchise is to mean anything, it means an additional burden for all conscientious women. If they do not take it seriously, better not take it at all. Women are the mothers, home-makers and purchasing agents of the country now. They carry more than half the burden of churches and philanthropy. If they want the ballot too, the men will undoubtedly grant it, but the men will not assume any of women's peculiar obligations in exchange. Women are wonderful creatures, but their state of health fluctuates as men's doesn't, and their nerves aren't so steady. Since they are thus handicapped for blessed ends no man can achieve, they may freely claim exemption from part of the civic burden. We Anti-Suffragists assert that the true relation between the sexes is maintained by complimentary life, by specialization in work, along with community in interest. Many of our Minnesota homes exhibit this highly evolved type of life now. But if one prefers the opposite type, with women under the whole load, it may also be found within our state upon the Indian reservations!

HOW ABOUT WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY?

We have spoken of women in the home. Is it possible that we are forgetting the large number of working women? No, but laws are not very elastic, so they must be cut to cover the typical case. The typical American woman is the wife and the home-maker. True, there are several millions of women in industry; not the eight millions sometimes cited, but about four millions over twenty-one years of age. Women in industry is a persistent, yet an impermanent factor. She is eligible for work outside the home at sixteen in Minnesota, and she leaves it for the most part at marriage, and she marries for the most part by twenty-five. The wages of working women are dependent upon ability, character and permanency. A minimum wage law may protect the least skilled, but the greater number of women workers like men workers stand or fall upon the law of supply and demand. The next factor in importance appears to be strength in organization. Unemployment is an industrial condition,—a most serious one and most worthy of study,—but no honest person can assert that either men or women can vote themselves better jobs or higher wages. In fact, the American Federation of Labor at its annual

meeting last November committed itself to a policy of securing better conditions by more dependence upon organization and less upon legislation. Its president, apropos of an eight-hour law, remarked, "It has taken too long to free labor from the shackles of government to desire to put them on again." The Anti-Suffragists hold by the facts in the case, and the facts are that the conditions and wages of working women are no better in suffrage than in neighboring non-suffrage states. It is with the women as it is with the children, and as for the conditions with regard to child labor we quote as conclusive the verdict of the National Child Labor committee, given in a letter written by the publication secretary in September, 1914. She writes: "The committee has never been able to find any direct relation between suffrage and non-suffrage and good and poor child labor laws. The chaotic lack of uniformity is not so much an argument for or against suffrage as it is an argument for a Federal Child Labor Law, and we believe that women can help to secure such a law whatever their views about suffrage."

ALLIES OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

So far suffrage has spread to 10 western states, but observe that in Utah Mormonism is supreme. In Idaho and Wyoming it holds the balance of power. In Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, Montana, and even in Washington, Oregon and California its influence is very great. The Mormon church is solid for suffrage. So is the Socialist party, and the Socialists are strong in the mining states. Here are two powerful allies not to be overlooked in the spread of suffrage. Whether they are disinterested allies we leave the reader to determine.

IN CONCLUSION.

Finally, are Anti-Suffragists satisfied to rest in conditions as they are? By no means. The human predicament appeals to us, as to all thoughtful people, but recitals of past wrongs leave us cold. Past wrongs have been righted for women without the ballot, though the first generation of suffragists did not dream it possible. At any rate, here we women of Minnesota are,—protected in person and property by the law, free to enter any career for which we have capacity, eligible for committees and commissions without number, and possessed of every privilege of citizenship except the ballot. The ballot appears to us not a privilege but an obligation. We think we have shown a right to claim exemption from it, and we believe that to forfeit this exemption would be a wasteful and inexpedient thing. We perceive many problems for which we do feel a special responsibility. Social and economic wastes must be stopped; higher social standards must be set; the sanctity of the home and marriage must be safeguarded; the social conscience of the community must be kept.

Such problems we do believe are peculiarly our job as women. We, therefore, claim immunity from political partisanship in order to devote to them our best intelligence, our best endeavor. We have a chance to impress our individuality directly upon home and children, upon the artistic and institutional life of our community and as far beyond that as our individual knowledge and character will reach. If, in the face of all this we are not making good, we feel that the fault lies not with the Constitution of the State of Minnesota, but in our own character.



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[post-June 1915]

A FAIR SHARE

FOR

WOMEN

BY

Mrs. Elbert L. Carpenter

Minneapolis Association Opposed
to the Further Extension of
Suffrage to Women

- Rests on assumption*
- 1) Individual suff. not a nat. Right
 - 2) An a reversal to theory of class repree
 - 3) An assumption women have no special interests.

(Reprinted from the Daily News)

The Daily News asks the question: Should all women be given the right to vote the same as the men? And courteously accords to the Minneapolis Association Opposed to the Further Extension of the Franchise space in which to make a brief statement of why it answers in the negative.

*

WOMEN ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED.

THE government of this country is a representative democracy. The male citizens elect the legislators to represent the people and make their laws. Is this unfair to the women of the country and does it leave them unrepresented? Not in our opinion. We hold that it is not the representation of each individual that a representative government seeks to secure in order to be truly democratic, but the representation, in so far as they relate to government, of the ideas and interests of every community and every class. When every kind of man, from the unskilled laborer to the president of the university, may vote, either the interests of every kind of woman are represented or else the interests of men and women are not, broadly speaking, identical. The heart of the matter lies in this: Are women a class apart or are they part of every class? Would the wives of the farmers vote for the most part as the farmers vote or otherwise? Twenty out of the twenty-four and one-half million of adult American women are, or have been married. Do these women one and all stand with their men folks or against them? In the opinion of the Anti-Suffragist, women are not a class apart; they are a part of every class and so merged in and identified with every class that there is no woman except the crank whose views are not represented and whose interests are not safeguarded almost automatically so far as government is concerned. A woman is not in our view represented merely by the men of her own family,—many a household of women has no men folks,—but by men of like mind and like interests in every strata of society. The woman who asserts that her opinions are not represented may mean that no particular man votes at her bidding. But if her opinions are of worth, they will win their own way and obtain their own constituency. If there is a woman whose views make no appeal to any type of male voter, that woman would be in a hopeless minority if she could vote; in fact, she

would not be likely to find a platform she could endorse or a candidate she could support. In all this we must remember that there is always a deal of difference between voting for sheer ideas and voting for party nominees. The Anti-Suffragists believe that the men and the women of America have common interests; that those interests spring from and center in the home, that since manhood suffrage is universal, democracy is effectually secured and women are adequately represented.

WOMEN'S CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

But even so, is it fair to leave the burden of political activity solely to the men? Not unless women render an equivalent to society at large. The object of government is to secure fair conditions and the end of fair conditions is the development of the best type of life in the community and in the individual. And to this end women contribute a preponderating share in the home and the school and through philanthropic, church and club activities. The task of character-building is, in fact, largely in their hands. If they build well the foundations of character in each generation, women earn the right to rest upon that character. A racial instinct lies beneath the general division of duty between child-rearing and home-making on the one hand, and the management of business and government on the other. But though women are content to delegate certain responsibilities, they do not wash their hands of the issue. They play their part in public affairs—such women as live nobly and intelligently—by their immense influence upon public opinion. Behind all effective legislation must lie a body of informed public opinion. Women react upon government through this powerful means just in proportion as they are alert and intelligent. Corrupt and ignorant women do not offset the influence of earnest and good women upon public opinion, but, with universal franchise, every vote cast by an ignorant or corrupt woman would offset the vote of a woman of high character. Surely, neither womanhood nor the state profit by that bargain.

WOMEN'S NON-PARTISAN POWER

It may be asked, would not woman's influence be all the greater if she possessed the ballot? We do not believe so. We think it is very much more potent because she is non-partisan. She is now able to approach any public measure with an unprejudiced mind because she is not bound by party lines. She has no political trade to negotiate, no party pledges to fulfill, no candidate to support, no appointment to seek,—in short, no axe to grind. We believe, for example, that today the women of Minnesota are almost unanimously bringing pressure to bear on the side of temperance. Were the ballot in their hands, women would break ranks and divide according to the old party align-

ments. No one cause can enlist the women of Minnesota when the women of Minnesota have become just more Democrats, more Republicans, more Progressives or Socialists. It is a great asset for the state to have one-half its citizenship, representing all stages of society, free from the limitations of partisanship and able to concentrate on the ethical side of public questions. But it is an asset that can be obtained on a democratic basis only by following the line of sex cutting through every layer of society alike.

WOMEN'S UNDIVIDED INFLUENCE

The undivided non-partisan influence of good and intelligent women, an influence growing stronger as women grow broader, has been notably illustrated in the history of Women's Federated Clubs. Dissension over the franchise already threatens the unity of these clubs. If the franchise be imposed we believe that this unity will be lost and that the power of the clubs will slowly disintegrate.

The withdrawal of the Ebell Club of San Francisco from the California State Federation of Women's Clubs is a concrete example. The Ebell Club, the largest women's club in California, withdrew from the State Federation in June, 1915, as a protest against "the political methods and trickery" introduced by club women politicians seeking to exploit club influence for political ends.

The endorsement of suffrage by various federations of women's clubs is often cited, but is anything more signified than that the most aggressive individuals in the clubs have manipulated club machinery successfully? For example, take the Woman's Club of Minneapolis. It has a membership of over 600 representative women; it is affiliated with the Minnesota State Federation; consequently, it has been committed in a technical sense to the endorsement of suffrage. The fact is, that its membership has never been polled upon this question, nor has any delegate ever been instructed by it, nor would any one of its officers presume to conjecture what the outcome of such a poll might be. Please observe that we Anti-Suffragists cite no churches, clubs or philanthropic bodies as endorsers of our recently organized opposition. We abstain from that form of propaganda for fear—in the present unhappy state of public opinion—of alienating part of the support upon which such organizations must depend. Apparently, the Suffragists have more confidence in the magnanimity of the Anti-Suffragists!

WOMEN'S PARTY ALIGNMENT

An analysis of the women's vote in Chicago is interesting, because in Chicago women leaders of character and experience and high motives, like Jane Addams, have been especially active.

Do the women stand by these leaders when it comes to a vote? Not at all. The women leaders espoused the Progressive party in return for its espousal of woman's suffrage, but when the votes were counted in November, 1914, it appeared that only two per cent more women than men voted for the Progressive ticket. The analysis reads as follows:

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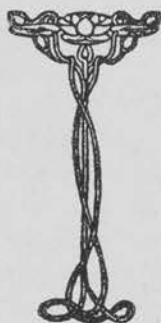
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[post-June 1915]

A Fair Share for Women

by

Mrs Elbert L. Carpenter



Minneapolis Association Opposed
to the Further Extension of
Suffrage to Women

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The Daily News asks the question: Should all women be given the right to vote the same as the men? And courteously accords to the Minneapolis Association Opposed to the Further Extension of the Franchise space in which to make a brief statement of why it answers in the negative.

The government of this country is a representative democracy. The male citizens elect the legislators to represent the people and make their laws. Is this unfair to the women of the country and does it leave them unrepresented? Not in our opinion. We hold that it is not the representation of each individual that a representative government seeks to secure in order to be truly democratic, but the representation, in so far as they relate to government, of the ideas and interests of every community and every class. When every kind of man, from the unskilled laborer to the president of the university, may vote, either the interests of every kind of woman are represented or else the interests of men and women are not, broadly speaking, identical. The heart of the matter lies in this: Are women a class apart or are they part of every class? Would the wives of the farmers vote for the most part as the farmers vote or otherwise? Twenty out of the twenty-four and one-half million of adult American women are, or have been married. Do these women by and large stand with their men folks or against them? In the opinion of the Anti-Suffragist women are not a class apart; they are a part of every class and so merged in and identified with every class that there is no woman except the crank whose views are not represented and whose interests are not safe-guarded almost automatically so far as government is concerned. A woman is not in our view represented merely by the men of her own family,—many a household of women has no men folks,—but by men of like mind and like interests in every strata of society. The woman who asserts that her opinions are not represented may mean that no particular man votes at her bidding. But if her opinions are of worth, they will win their own way and obtain their own constituency. If there is a woman whose views make no appeal to any type of male voter, that woman would be in a hopeless minority if she could vote; in fact, she would not be likely to find a platform she could endorse or a candidate she could support. In all this we must remember that there is always a deal of difference between voting for sheer ideas and voting on party nominees. The Anti-Suffragists believe that the men and the women of America have common interests; that those interests spring from and center in the home, that since manhood suffrage is universal, democracy is effectually secured and women are adequately represented.

But even so, is it fair to leave the burden of political activity solely to the men? Not unless women render an equivalent to society at large. The object of government is to secure fair conditions and the end of fair conditions is the development of the best type of life in the community and in the individual. And to this end women contribute a preponderating share in the home and the school and through philanthropic, church and club activities. The task of character-building is, in fact, largely in their hands. If they build well the foundations of character in each generation, women earn the right to rest upon that character. A racial instinct lies beneath the general division of duty between child-rearing and home-making on the one hand, and the management of business and government on the other. But though women are content to delegate certain responsibilities, they do not wash their hands of the issue. They play their part in public affairs—such women as live nobly and intelligently—by their immense influence upon public opinion. Behind all effective legislation must lie a body of informed public opinion. Women react upon government through this powerful means just in proportion as they are alert and intelligent. Corrupt and ignorant women do not offset the influence of earnest and good women upon public opinion, but, with universal franchise, every vote cast by an ignorant or corrupt woman would offset the vote of a woman of high character. Surely, neither womanhood nor the state profit by that bargain.

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broader, has been notably illustrated in the history of Women's Federated Clubs. The dissension over the franchise already threatens the unity of these clubs. If the franchise be imposed we believe that this unity will be lost and that the power of the clubs will slowly disintegrate.

For example in the matter of the endorsement of suffrage by various federations of women's clubs, is often cited, but is anything more signified than that the most aggressive individual in the clubs have manipulated club machinery successfully? For example, take the Woman's Club of Minneapolis. It has a membership of over 600 representative women, it is affiliated with the Minnesota State Federation; consequently, it has been committed in a technical sense to the endorsement of suffrage. The fact is, that its membership has never been polled upon this question, nor has any delegate ever been instructed by it, nor would any one of its officers presume to conjecture what the outcome of such a poll might be. Please observe that we Anti-Suffragists cite no churches, clubs or philanthropic bodies as endorsers of our recently organized opposition. We abstain from that form of propaganda for fear—in the present unhappy state of public opinion—of alienating part of the support upon which such organizations must depend. Apparently, the Suffragists have more confidence in the magnanimity of the Anti-Suffragist contributing constituencies. An analysis of the women's vote in Chicago last November is interesting, because in Chicago women leaders of character and experience and high motives, like Jane Addams, have been especially active. Did the women stand by these leaders when it came to a vote? Not at all. The women leaders espoused the Progressive party in return for its espousal of woman's suffrage, but when the votes were counted it appeared that only two per cent more women than men voted for the Progressive ticket. The analysis reads as follows:

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"dry." And please note too the case of Montana and Nevada and California. Montana and Nevada are the two states that went—by a rather meager majority it is true—for suffrage in November at the time when North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri and Ohio rejected it decisively. Yet these two states are called the "wettest" states in the West, and they have the largest number of saloons in proportion to their inhabitants of any states in the Union. As for California, where women have had the ballot for four years, she simply snowed prohibition under last fall. With this recent showing, we submit that suffrage can hardly claim to be loved for the enemies she has made:

Octavia Hill, who died in 1912, was the mother of housing reform in England and its pioneer all over the world. She said: "Political power would militate against usefulness in the large field of public work, in which so many are now doing noble and helpful service. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be. There is enough of struggle for place and power, enough of watching what is popular and will obtain votes, enough of effort to secure majorities. If woman would temper this wild struggle, let her seek to do her work steadily and earnestly." Mrs. Bacon, who secured the good housing law in Indiana last spring, said that she never dared listen to the whispers of partisanship because to bring about the reform she held so dear nothing would avail but the joint efforts of the best men of all parties, and this she won because she was herself of no party.

Occasionally one hears of American women claiming "the same right to the education of the ballot that men have had." Why should we? If we women are equals of the men now, why covet the one field in which they deploy alone? It has been asserted by the suffragists that girls are getting more than half the benefit of the grade and high schools (if that is true, remember it is partly because boys often go early to work for the benefit of the family), and surely the colleges and the universities are open to women. So are those great popular educators, the newspapers,—editorial page as well as the society column,—so are innumerable avenues of culture and self-development that custom and necessity often close to men. Are we really still undeveloped and if so, dare we ask to cut our intellectual teeth on the government of this great republic? We Anti-Suffragists are at once too proud and too humble to consent to that.

Can it be considered an admission of inferiority to women not to desire the ballot? Again we answer no. In all humility we women assert our equality with men, but we maintain that equality is not identity. In the interest of efficiency, we plead for a division of labor.

If the franchise is to mean anything, it means an additional burden for all conscientious women. If they do not take it seriously, better not take it at all. Women are the mothers, home-makers and purchasing agents of the country now. They carry more than half the burden of churches and philanthropy. If they want the ballot too, the men will undoubtedly grant it, but the men will not assume any of women's peculiar obligations in exchange. Women are wonderful creatures, but their state of health fluctuates as men's doesn't, and their nerves aren't so steady. Since they are thus handicapped for blessed ends no man can achieve, they may freely claim exemption from parts of the civic burden. We Anti-Suffragists assert that the true relation between the sexes is maintained by complimentary life, by specialization in work, along with community in interest. Many of our Minnesota homes exhibit this highly evolved type of life now. But if one prefers the opposite type, it may also be found within our state upon the Indian reservation.

So far suffrage has spread to 10 western states, but observe that in Utah Mormonism is supreme. In Idaho and Wyoming it holds the balance of power. In Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, Montana, and even in Washington, Oregon and California its influence is very great. The Mormon church is solid for suffrage. So is the Socialist party, and the Socialists are strong in the mining states. Here are two powerful allies not to be overlooked in the spread of suffrage. Whether they are disinterested allies we leave the reader to determine.

We have spoken of women in the home. Is it possible that we are forgetting the large number of working women? No, but laws are not very elastic, so they must be cut to cover the typical case. The typical American woman is the wife and the home-maker. True, there are several millions of women in industry; not the eight millions sometimes cited, but about four millions over twenty-one years of age. Women in industry is a persistent, yet an impermanent factor. She is eligible for work outside the home at sixteen, in Minnesota, and she leaves it for the most part at marriage, and she marries for the most part by twenty-five. The wages of working women are dependent upon ability, character and permanency. A minimum wage law may protect the least skilled, but the greater number of women workers like men workers stand or fall upon the law of supply and demand. The next factor in importance appears to be strength in organization. Unemployment is an industrial condition,—a most serious one and most worthy of study,—but no honest person can assert that either men or women can vote themselves better jobs or higher wages. In fact, the American Federation of Labor at its annual meeting last November committed itself to a policy of securing better conditions by more dependence upon organ-

ization and less upon legislation. Its president, apropos of an eight-hour law, remarked, "It has taken too long to free labor from the shackles of government to desire to put them on again." The Anti-Suffragists hold by the facts in the case, and the facts are that the conditions and wages of working women are no better in suffrage than in neighboring non-suffrage states. It is with the women as it is with the children, and as for the conditions with regard to child labor we quote as conclusive the verdict of the National Child Labor committee, given in a letter written by the publication secretary last September. She writes: "The committee has never been able to find any direct relation between suffrage and non-suffrage and good and poor child labor laws. The chaotic lack of uniformity is not so much an argument for or against suffrage as it is an argument for a Federal Child Labor Law, and we believe that women can help to secure such a law whatever their views about suffrage."

Finally, are Anti-Suffragists satisfied to rest in conditions as they are? By no means. The human predicament appeals to us, as to all thoughtful people, but recitals of past wrongs leave us cold. Past wrongs have been righted for women without the ballot, though the first generation of suffragists did not dream it possible. At any rate, here we women of Minnesota are,—protected in person and property by the law, free to enter any career for which we have capacity, eligible for committees and commissions without number, and possessed of every privilege of citizenship except the ballot. The ballot appears to us not a privilege but an obligation. We think we have shown a right to claim exemption from it, and we believe that to forfeit this exemption would be a wasteful and inexpedient thing. We perceive many problems for which we do feel a special responsibility. Many social and economic wastes to be stopped; higher social standard to be set; the sanctity of the home and marriage to be safe-guarded.

Such problems we do believe are peculiarly our job as women. We, therefore, wish to devote to them our best intelligence, our best endeavor. We have a chance to impress our individuality directly upon home and children and upon the artistic and institutional life of our community and as far beyond that as our knowledge and character will reach. If, in the face of all this we are not making good, we feel that the fault lies not with the Constitution of the State of Minnesota, but in our own character.

[Oct. 16, 1915]

Woman Suffrage a Menace to Social Reform

BY

MARGARET C. ROBINSON

President of the Public Interests' League of Massachusetts

(From the Cambridge Chronicle of October 16, 1915)



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Mrs. John Balch, *President*

Mrs. Charles P. Strong, *Secretary*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE A MENACE TO SOCIAL REFORM

Intelligent women who are interested in public affairs have now a large influence in bringing about advanced social legislation. Woman suffrage destroys this non-partisan power of women and gives them nothing worth having in its place. This doctrine has been maintained by anti-suffragists for many years, and its truth is constantly confirmed by events in suffrage states. Women outside politics can bring their influence to bear upon men of all political parties. The loss of this non-partisan influence is a serious one. Social workers and club women in large numbers seem to be blind to this danger. They have apparently accepted the misinformation which suffrage speakers generously supply as to how suffrage *will* work, instead of studying the happenings in suffrage states and learning for themselves how it *does* work. Many excellent laws now on our statute books are there largely owing to the non-partisan influence of club women and social workers who have worked unitedly to put them there. These women seemingly do not realize that their power will be gone when they are divided into political parties. Many of them are apparently too ignorant of politics to understand that as voters it is only the men for whom they will vote that they can influence.

A despatch from Topeka, Kansas, describing the recent campaign in that state says that three years ago the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs lined up solidly for suffrage, and won it—and that they have not been lined up solidly for anything since! Instead of throwing their influence as a unit for good legislation, as women's clubs are wont to do in male suffrage states, these women are divided into Republicans, Democrats, Progressives and Socialists, and the friction among them is greater than ever before.

At the time Jane Addams joined the Progressive party it was very striking that such ardent suffragists as Ida Husted Harper and Edward Devine, editor of "The Survey," should have protested publicly in the strongest terms against her action. They realized perfectly that political partisanship narrows a woman's sphere of influence, and that Miss Addams as a member of the Progressive party could exercise no influence upon Democrats and Republicans. She

(2)

had before been able to reach men of all parties, but now her field had suddenly become immensely restricted in its scope. And while Mrs. Harper and Mr. Devine were perfectly willing, even eager, that other women should enter politics and ally themselves with political parties, Miss Addams was too valuable to the causes they had at heart—namely, suffrage and social service—for them to view with equanimity such a narrowing of her field of influence.

In an article on the "Legislative Influence of Unenfranchised Women," by Mary R. Beard, which appeared in the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" for November, 1914, Mrs. Beard, although an ardent suffragist, admits that women without the vote have been a strong influence toward good legislation. She says:

"National as well as state legislation has been affected by women, if the testimony of men like Harvey W. Wiley is accepted. In his campaign for pure food laws, he stated repeatedly that his strongest support came from women's organizations. That support was not passive and moral, merely expressed to him privately, but these women inundated congress with letters, telegrams, petitions pleading for the passage of the laws in question. These communications were presented to congress by their recipients who often urged as their reason for supporting pure food laws the appeals of women whose interests in food should not be ignored.

"The Consumers' League of New York helped the national food committee to defeat a mischievous amendment to the Gould bill, which requires that all package goods should be labelled as to the amount of their contents.

"Mrs. Albion Fellowes Bacon, of Indiana, practically single-handed, secured the first tenement house laws of value for Evansville and Indianapolis. She did this before the National Housing Association, of which she is now a director, was formed. The recent improvements in the Indiana housing legislation are due apparently to her continued leadership and to the public opinion which she has helped to create. In her case it was personal initiative and moral persuasion.

"Another example of personal influence on legislation exerted by women is that of Frances Perkins, of New York, in her fight for the fifty-hour bill for the women workers of her state. Unlike Mrs. Bacon, Miss Perkins represented a society—the Consumers' League—which asked for this measure, and she was supported in her demand by the Women's Trade Union League and other organizations. The measure would have been defeated, as is widely known and acknowledged in New York, had it not been for the personal sagacity and watchfulness of Miss Perkins.

(3)

"The social service committee of the 'American Club Woman' states that in the first year of its existence it has done important and effective work. It was largely responsible for the passage of an ordinance by city councils regulating dance halls.

"Similar activities, both positive and negative, can be discovered in the records of practically every woman's association not organized for purely literary purposes."

We all know that this is true. Mrs. Beard also says:

"The woman's influence lies not in physical force, but in the occasional subservience of the mind of man to the actual presence of a moral force."

The influence of this moral force is so strong and has come to be so well recognized that certain types of politicians and commercial interests rebel against it. They wish to destroy it, and as the best means to that end they advocate—woman suffrage! That is not at all in line with what one is told at suffrage meetings. We are told that women need the ballot in order that they may improve the conditions in the home, that they may help the working girl, and put through good legislation. But the rank and file of suffragists are being deceived in these matters, for suffrage works, and will work directly the other way. The New York World has committed a great indiscretion and has let this cat out of the bag. The World recently came out for suffrage and gave its reasons. One of them is that a few women, representing perhaps ten per cent of the sex, have under present conditions too much influence. These women, the World says, "have maintained at times a reign of terror over legislative bodies, in consequence of which half the country is now bedeviled by some form or other of harem government, and legislators are forever making ridiculous concessions to women agitators." These "women agitators" are, of course, the club women, social workers and others interested in social welfare. In order to make it unnecessary for legislators to make "ridiculous concessions" to this type of woman, the World advocates—what? Giving the vote to all women! It has certainly hit upon the most effective expedient, and it is because the vote will do exactly what the World claims for it, that anti-suffragists are so opposed to it. The World admits that most of the reasons urged in favor of suffrage are fantastic and unreal, that women are not purer and more noble than men, and that they are not so wise as men in general affairs. It admits that they will not purify politics—indeed, that they will confuse and disorganize government, without reforming

it; but nevertheless it believes in woman suffrage because it will destroy the power of the ten per cent of women whose influence is now so strong!

The question for intelligent women to decide is whether or not they *want* this influence destroyed. If they wish to give up the moral influence which a body of women, educated, public-spirited, non-partisan, can wield—an influence so strong that legislators feel obliged to make what the World calls "ridiculous concessions" to it—if in its stead they wish to depend on political influence gained through the ballot, which can be applied only to one party, which can be entirely offset by the votes of women who are ignorant, boss-controlled, and whose votes are purchasable,—if they prefer that, they will get their wish if woman suffrage wins in the east. That is exactly how it is working out in the suffrage states. In Wyoming the politicians were clever enough to foresee this. Woman suffrage was granted by one of the most corrupt legislatures Wyoming ever had. These men knew that at that time good women were few in that sparsely settled state, and they knew that they could "manage the others."

Nevada is offering us a most perfect example of the good woman's loss of influence by entering politics. The easy divorce laws of that state, in force until three years ago, were a national scandal. This was realized by certain women of the state, who in consequence brought their moral influence to bear upon the legislature for the repeal of these laws. Their efforts were successful and the laws were repealed. Woman suffrage was granted in Nevada last fall, and one of the very first acts of the legislature was to re-enact the easy divorce laws! These women again protested, but with no success. They were now voters, and the legislature knew perfectly well that plenty of women's votes could be secured to offset those of the protesting women. The moral influence of this minority of Nevada women who cared for social betterment was gone since the vote had been given to all women.

In her admirable anti-suffrage address before the Maine legislature at the recent hearing on suffrage, Mrs. J. F. A. Merrill said:

"What do men do when they want to bring about a reform?

"They do as the men of Portland did a short time ago, when a number of citizens became convinced that the moral conditions in Portland were not what they should be. And what did they do? Did they vote about it? Did they form party organizations? No; they

resorted as nearly as they could, to what is known as 'women's methods,' and formed a non-partisan citizens' committee, just as detached as possible from politics. And why did they resort to women's methods? Simply because they had all had the vote since coming of age, and they all knew how useless it is as a means of accomplishing real reform work.

"Gentlemen, in every community there are a handful of women who can be relied upon to carry on church and philanthropic and reform work; but we all know that the vast majority are indifferent, and that they neither help nor hinder. And then there is a third class of women—the wrongminded. They do not hinder reform work now, because they cannot.

"But, gentlemen, when you give the ballot to all women your handful of earnest women in each community, who are willing to give their time and thought to reform work, will have only their handful of ballots to cast for reform measures; your great mass of indifferent women will be indifferent still, and will omit to cast their ballots, and your very considerable number of wrongminded women will have had a weapon put into their hands which they will not omit to use against your reform measures, because it is of importance to them to see to it that their way of life is not interfered with.

"So for the sake of reform which women have done in the past, and ought to be able to do in the future, we beg of you not to tie their hands and hamper them by giving suffrage to women!"

That is the matter in a nutshell—and proofs of the correctness of this statement are constantly multiplying. In an attempt to prove that woman suffrage will not lead women to neglect their homes, a writer signing herself "Annie Laurie" says in the San Francisco Examiner:

"I've been in Denver when a good man was being maligned and almost robbed by political enemies, and he needed the vote of every good woman in town to keep the good work he had done from being stultified. And do you think you could get a single woman out to vote for that man if she wanted to go to a 'tea' or to stay at home and knit socks for the new baby?

"You could not."

This is just what anti-suffragists maintain—that the great body of home-making women will not vote.

In Massachusetts women have had the school vote for twenty years. It was given them because of the claim made by suffragists that questions relating to the education of their children were of particular interest to women and that they should therefore be allowed to vote on them. For the last seventeen years an average of only 2.1% of the women eligible have voted in Massachusetts.

The Woman Citizen, a suffrage publication of California, in its July issue, bears testimony on this question as follows:

"There are today many women in California and other states of the union who, being enfranchised, are too indifferent to vote.

"We are loath to believe that these women—thousands of them in the United States—are aware of the wrong they are doing. We do not think they know they are shirking a fundamental duty of citizenship.

"Too many ballots are cast in the cause of dishonesty and corruption. Honest and law-abiding citizens must exert their united strength at the polls to uphold honesty and good government.

"There are too many women today who are privileged to vote, yet refrain from doing so either because they do not believe a woman should go to the polls, or because for some inexcusable reason they have neglected to register. They regard their franchise as an invitation to a bridge party, something they can accept or reject as their fancy dictates."

There is no lack of testimony that the wrong-minded women do vote. On November 4, the day after election, the San Francisco Examiner said: "McDonough Brothers had several automobiles busy all day long hauling Barbary coast dance hall girls and the inmates of houses on Commercial street to the different booths, and always the women were supplied with a marked sample ballot."

They were outvoting the women reformers!

What is the result? What is happening to moral conditions in San Francisco since women vote? The American Social Hygiene Association pointed out last spring that there had been an *increase* in the number of questionable dance halls, and the "Survey" of April 10 stated that danger signals were being flashed all over the country to young people bound for the exposition, as there was much unemployment, and the city's moral condition gave cause for anxiety.

A later report got out by Bascom Johnson, counsel of the Social Hygiene Association, who was sent to San Francisco for further investigation, appears in full in the September issue of "Social Hygiene." It is far more serious than previous reports. Within the exposition are several concessions, maintained despite protests specifically against them, which are deplorably vicious. In the city itself conditions are appalling, the policemen being there apparently to prevent anything from interfering with the orderly and profitable traffic in vice.

Summing up his report, Mr. Johnston says, "*in spite of announcements of officials to the contrary*, San Francisco remains one of the few large cities of this country where prostitution is frankly and

openly tolerated. The natural and inevitable result has been that San Francisco has become the Mecca of the under-world, and that for every such addition to her population the problem is rendered that much more difficult."

These are the conditions in a city where women vote! Mr. Johnson says that the Y. W. C. A., the W. C. T. U. and other organizations of the kind have tried to improve these conditions, but have failed, as they have received "*little or no support from the city officials.*" This fact is directly in opposition to the suffrage theory that women must have the vote in order that city and state officials shall pay heed to their wishes. If California were still under male suffrage—if the thousands of dissolute women in San Francisco who will vote as the party in power dictates did not have the vote—the moral influence of the ladies of the Y. W. C. A. and the W. C. T. U. would be much more likely to be a factor in the situation. If these ladies vote at all, their vote is divided between the Democrats, Republicans, Progressives and Socialists, and is therefore of much less importance than the big vote which can be controlled. Dr. Helen Sumner, sent by the suffragists to study conditions in Denver several years ago, states that "the vote of these women to whom the police protection is essential is regarded as one of the perquisites of the party in power."

With these facts in mind it is very clear that the statement constantly made by suffragists that after women are enfranchised they need not vote if they do not want to, is shallow and unprincipled, and the woman who makes it proves herself an unsafe person to be enfranchised. The stay-at-home vote is a great and serious menace.

Voting differs from the higher education and other so-called "woman's rights." They are privileges only. Whether a girl goes to college or does not go to college is a personal matter, and her decision works no danger to other girls or to the community. The college is there, and she can go or not, as her taste and circumstances decide. But voting is a totally different matter. Enfranchisement confers a privilege and an obligation, the obligation being inseparable from the privilege. Since the shirking of this obligation means a serious menace to the community, the unwillingness of a large majority of women to accept the obligation is a factor of the utmost importance in the situation.

The San Francisco Chronicle says, "Results show that in this state women refuse to accept the obligation which at their request, or upon their apparent acquiescence, has been imposed upon them, or

to discharge the resulting duties. The question, then, for the people of other states to decide in the light of experience of the western states is whether it is in the public interest to impose on women imperative duties which the great majority of them refuse to discharge after they have been imposed upon them."

Another danger connected with woman suffrage is this—the character of the women chosen for the positions of responsibility will change.

The Woman's Journal of March 20, 1915, speaking of Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, says: "If he had occasion to appoint a welfare worker for women and children, he did not appoint a woman who had experience for the work and could do it well, but picked out a woman who would be a cog in his political machine." Naturally! It is when women are outside politics that they are appointed on their merits. When they have the vote those are naturally chosen who are cogs in the political machine.

The suffragists never tire of quoting Julia Lathrop. As she holds an important position as head of the Federal Children's Bureau, they consider her views on suffrage, since her views coincide with theirs, as most valuable and important. What is important is the fact that if Miss Lathrop were allied with a political party she would not be holding the position which is supposed to give her views such weight. It was only because she was a woman and a non-partisan that she retained her position at the change of administration, when the Republicans went out and the Democrats came in. Every *man* at the head of a similar bureau lost his job!

Miss Jane Addams, in her last speech in Boston, claimed that by means of the ballot women in Chicago have accomplished several reforms. These were:

1. Covered markets had been secured where food might be kept clean.
2. A court for boys of 17 and under 25 has been established.
3. Public wash-houses have been established.
4. The garbage dumps have been abolished.

The record of accomplishments of Chicago women voters as presented by Miss Addams is not impressive, for the reforms she cites have been accomplished in other cities without votes for women.

What the women accomplished in Chicago *before* they got the vote makes a much more impressive showing. It is to them, says the Chicago Tribune, that Chicago owes the kindergarten in the public

school, the juvenile court and detention home, the small park and playground movement, the vacation school, the school extension, the establishment of a forestry department of the city government, the city welfare exhibit, the development of the Saturday half-holiday, the establishment of public comfort stations, the work of the Legal Aid Society, and the reformation of the Illinois Industrial School. This is a long and brilliant list of women's achievements, not to be matched by the voting women of any state. Chicago women were working together when these things were accomplished—now they are fighting each other in rival political parties.

Henry M. Hyde, a reporter for the Chicago Tribune, which has long supported the woman suffrage movement, wrote over his own signature his impressions of last spring's election in Chicago, and the part women played in it. He says:

"The first mayoralty campaign in which women voters participated failed to develop the refining and elevating influence which the sex was expected to exert. When one sees a woman of dignified presence and cultivated appearance greeted with torrents of hisses and insults from the frenzied lips of both men and women; when one sees her finally driven from the platform with no chance of speaking a word, one is tempted to retire to some quiet spot for a moment and meditate on what it all means.

"When one watches a venerable lady trying to quell the tumult by waving a flag and almost dancing to the same rhythm, while 1,200 shrieking men and women order her to 'sit down and chase herself,' one remembers his own grandmother, and makes a feeble effort to blush. One is almost tempted to pick that discarded and discredited old relic once known as masculine chivalry out of the scrap heap, and see how many people would recognize it."

These references are to a woman's political mass meeting, which was described in a Chicago despatch to the Boston Herald as follows:

"A demonstration approaching a riot marked a woman's political meeting here today, and was ended only when the managers of the theatre where the meeting was held dropped the steel curtain, and a spectator sent a riot call for the police."

Does this sort of thing tend to increase woman's influence in uplifting and benefiting her community?

A suffrage writer said recently that the son who grows up to find his mother a voter will have a broadened respect for womanhood. With these scenes in Chicago in mind, do you think he will? Suppose she has just voted for Bath-House John, the notorious candidate who got a majority of the women's votes of his ward, or in favor of saloons, as thousands of women have done—will he have added re-

spect for her? This same writer says: "It might be a new and stimulating experience for a man to have to explain to his wife just why he was voting on the side of a corrupt boss, in favor of the liquor traffic or against the suppression of child labor." But if she had just done those things herself—and in Chicago the women voted just as the men did—why should the experience be a stimulating one?

Jane Addams, while on her foreign mission of "Peace—with suffrage" said in London, on May 12:

"I am a strong supporter of woman suffrage, and, although I hope to see the women of England enfranchised, I see around me endless opportunities for social work which could be usefully performed while the vote is being won."

The interesting point about this is that English women have for many years had the vote on all matters pertaining to housing, care of the poor, sanitation, education, liquor regulations, police, care of the insane, care of children, etc. Probably Miss Addams does not know this. They have failed completely to do with the vote what even Miss Addams, confirmed and prejudiced suffragist that she is, admits that they could do perfectly well without the vote. This is certainly a striking admission on her part.

Why have they failed so lamentably? Mrs. Pethick Lawrence tells us. She says:

"I never saw so many women working for social betterment as I have seen in the American cities I have visited. *In England women have turned their attention to politics and have accomplished nothing like so much in civic reform.*"

Anti-suffragists ask women not to turn their attention to politics and neglect civic reform; not to make this appalling mistake, which will set back the social progress of our cities for many years; not to make powerless, through woman suffrage, as the New York World wants to do, the women who are now working for social betterment.

The suffragists apparently do not care what evils follow, provided they get their way.

The Rev. Anna Shaw, president of the National Suffrage Association, says:

"I believe in woman suffrage whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong; whether all women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children."

In introducing this astounding statement, Dr. Shaw declared: "I believe I speak for the thousands of women belonging to the national association."

Perhaps she does. At least no one of them has been heard to deny it; but fortunately she does not speak for the 24,000,000 women of voting age in the United States who are not members of the National Suffrage association. Many of these do care for public welfare, for social well-being, and for human happiness, all of which would be destroyed if all women voted wrong, if they deserted their husbands, and neglected their children. Anti-suffragists protest against having political power put into the hands of women with no higher ideals than those of Dr. Shaw and her followers. They neither wish to be ruled by such women nor do they wish to have to wage an eternal fight not to be ruled by them, and one thing or the other will be necessary if the ballot is forced upon women. In California the men are begging the home-making type of women to come out and fight the political women, whom they already recognize as a danger and a nuisance.

Men who believe in fair play will refuse to force political life upon all the women of their states because a small fraction think they want it. Those who care for the political welfare of their states will decline to adopt this innovation, which assuredly cannot stand the tests of rational criticism and of experience. If they value in the slightest degree the assistance which educated, public-spirited women are able to give in securing enlightened legislation, they will certainly not favor votes for women; for what woman suffrage does is to take the power out of the hands of these women, who without the vote exert a strong moral influence toward good legislation, and put the power gained through an increase of the electorate into the hands of the bosses who can control the largest woman's vote.

"Practical politicians" are learning this lesson rapidly. The New York Commercial calls attention to the fact that in our cities the female vote is more easily manipulated than the male. This fact does not escape the bosses, and they are rapidly coming into line for woman suffrage. While woman suffrage was largely an untried theory suffragists could maintain with some plausibility that woman's vote would be cast for moral and humane legislation, and would purify politics; but with the actual conditions in Chicago, San Francisco, Reno, Denver and Seattle what they are, this theory no longer holds water, and it is becoming increasingly evident that the way to do away with the moral influence of women in public life is to give the vote to all women.

Ca. 1916

ADDRESS

In Opposition to Woman Suffrage

BY

MRS. GEORGE A. CASWELL

OF CALIFORNIA



ISSUED BY

MASSACHUSETTS ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO THE
FURTHER EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN

ROOM 615, KENSINGTON BUILDING,
BOSTON

18797
26681

Our Reasons

In opposing the forcing of suffrage upon a majority of women who "do not regard it as a duty and do not want it as a privilege," our reasons are chiefly these:

- 1st. It is demanded by a small minority of women, and those women suffer no practical injustice which the ballot can remedy.
- 2nd. Women are now able to appeal, for any object, to any state governor, committee, or party, in any matter of reform, education or charity, because they stand wholly outside of politics and can have no ulterior motive. They have no favors to give and none to ask. If they have the ballot, they must work through political methods precisely as men do.
- 3rd. Political equality will deprive women of privileges at present accorded them by laws written and unwritten.
- 4th. We believe that suffrage is a question not of right, but of policy and expediency.
- 5th. Universal male suffrage is so far from satisfactory or successful that many of the best class of men refuse to avail themselves of the right. We are opposed to doubling an unsatisfactory process and duplicating its follies.
- 6th. Women have accomplished so much in the last fifty years without the suffrage that their indefinite advancement without it is assured. To give them the vote is to bind them hand and foot with political chains.
- 7th. "The English Suffragettes have proved that political struggles and excitement may degrade even educated and clever women."
- 8th. Women's acquisition of the right of suffrage is not progress.
- 9th. The ballot is only the ballot, after all, and its power is greatly exaggerated by the suffragists. It cannot do for women what it has not done for men.
- 10th. We believe women to be in no sense inferior to men, but their powers are different and are best developed in different kinds of work and usefulness.
- 11th. The claim that women will uplift and purify politics is not supported by facts.

The Cyclone

First. Always the burden of proof lies with those who demand an innovation. We are not obliged to prove that woman suffrage is undesirable. Those who demand of the government a great and sweeping change in any direction should prove that it is so clearly desirable that, "for its sake, the country should run the enormous risk involved in a political and social revolution of the most radical and far-reaching sort. This is law and justice the world over: The *status quo*, like the human individual, must be considered in the right until we have good evidence that it is in the wrong." It has been gravely asserted that if only one woman wanted to vote, all others should be required to do so.

The experience of those who fail to see any right in the argument that because some do not want the privilege of voting, others who do should be deprived of it is not new. A majority always deprives the minority of something, and this is specially true of politics. But is there any case on record in which a majority gave up its point lest it should

hurt the feelings of the minority or interfere with its rights and privileges? Why should this alone of all questions in the country be decided or "carried through" by a small minority? We believe we are right; we know we are in the majority and the suffragists know it. Would the suffragists welcome a house-to-house canvass of the state? We would.

The suffragists claim to represent "woman," whole and undivided. But this claim has small regard to actual fact. For sixty-two years had suffragists in America been at work with almost unrelaxing energy. Yet in March, 1910, after months of special and systematic work, they presented to Congress only about four hundred thousand names asking for suffrage. Of these over two hundred thousand were those of men.

To listen to suffrage speakers one might suppose that "nothing existed but suffrage." The method of the National Suffrage Association is, we are told, to start a cyclone in one state and let it revolve at full speed there for the time being, in the hope that women, blinded by the dust and terrified by the noise, will cry "Votes for Women!" for the sake of peace. As to individual legislators, the idea is said to be that often practiced in smaller domestic storms "We'll worry him till he gives in."

Misleading Statements

In spite of the well known and undeniable indifference of women themselves, in spite of the fact that so many women are either unable or unwilling to realize that the time for expression on one side or the other is come, the suffragists—a handful to the women of the country—are leading voters astray by incorrect and unfair statements as to numbers and enthusiasm. For example, Barnard College has been repeatedly claimed as putting itself formally on record in favor of suffrage and great was the jubilation naturally. Recently there came a signed statement from one of the professors at Barnard saying that with 300 students the exact membership of the College Suffrage Club was **twenty-one**. Both the Universities of California are claimed by the suffragists. A recent graduate when asked about the facts replied, "We've never heard any other side—we've only just found out there is any other." English suffragettes paraded recently with a banner declaring that the long dead and gone Maria Edgeworth was a suffragist, or that at least she could not have failed to be one if she had lived long enough and late enough!

Frankly, gentlemen, we as remonstrants fear more than anything else that you are likely to mistake a minority for a majority and so, being worried, will "give in at last."

Women in Public Affairs

Second. Women's position on all educational and charitable boards, in all institutions, organizations, congresses, and conferences is so perfectly untrammelled that they have been called "The Independent Party."

They are welcomed and their efforts are supported by the governors who appoint them and by the men who work with them—because they stand outside of politics and have no axes to grind. They may be mistaken but they cannot be sordid or ignoble. They can have but one object—the advancement of the cause they work for. When they shall go ballot in hand to demand of the powers that be support, moral or financial, for their hospitals, their widows' and children's aid societies, new school buildings and playgrounds, or for a movement in the direction of cleaner streets and back yards, mayors, governors, even legislators, will say to them, "Ladies, you are republicans, or you are democrats;

your own party must help you. We are with you in spirit but we are bound by our pledges and our platforms to vote against you."

Beyond all things do we believe that capable women should be in public affairs. Put them on boards of education, school committees, public charities, prison wards, lunacy commissions, factory inspection—you can hardly overdo this from the Anti-Suffrage point of view. But keep them out of caucuses and primaries. Refuse to make them liable to the same suspicions, the same ambitions, the same intrigues as men. "Give woman everything she wants, but not the ballot."

Women's Wrongs

Third. I get little light on women's wrongs that could be righted by the ballot. Wrong exists. But men, voters, also have wrongs. If suffragists had given to the actual legal wrongs of women one-half the time, energy, and "agitation" that for sixty-two years they have expended in demanding the ballot, every one of those wrongs would have been righted long ago. We hear much about the wrongs of women of property. How many points are there in which "women of property" are wronged under the laws of the male suffrage states which are not more than counter-balanced by discrimination in their favor? I know that while husbands are compelled to support their wives, wives, even when "women of property," are exempted from supporting worthless husbands. I know that poor men are liable for the debts of their extravagant wives, while rich wives are not liable for the debts of their indigent husbands. I know that husbands must pay alimony; wives, never. With the ballot all these things will be "equalized." Is that what women want?

When women had voted but a few weeks in the State of Washington, they asked to be exempted from jury duty! Wisely they were refused. Do women propose to carry out this idea—to take their right of suffrage, and with the next breath ask for privilege? This is akin to the logic of the English Suffragettes who "pose as martyrs after having fought to procure for themselves a martyr's fate." "No 'good sport' would stand for such methods in any other line of battle." "Yet," says Francis Parkman, "a woman has the inalienable right of attacking without being attacked in turn. She may strike, but must not be struck, either literally or figuratively."

Women are exempt, too, from the personal service imposed upon male citizens, such as "serving on juries, putting out fires, making arrests, helping quell riots, and bearing arms when the country's need requires it." Will they accept "the ballot as a right" and also ask or accept exemptions from all such duties? What do they mean to do about these matters?

The Ballot Not a Right

Fourth. Before millions of women are given the ballot as a right, it should be proved beyond a reasonable doubt that such wrongs as exist among women **because they are women** are due to a lack of the ballot and can be cured by the ballot. Nor is it a question of individuals alone. Will it benefit the family, which is the unit of the state? Will it benefit the state? If not, then you are legislating for the individual.

Ex-Judge Cooley of the United States Supreme Court, an eminent jurist, says: "Suffrage does not exist for the benefit of the individual, but for the benefit of the state. . . . It is a regulation which the state establishes as a means of perpetuating its own existence."

Ex-Chief Justice Marshall decided that "the granting of the franchise has always been regarded in the practice of nations as a matter of expediency and not as an inherent right."

"This is a government of the people, by the people," writes a suffragist, "yet only half the people govern." In reply to this another ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court says that the word people does not mean persons; that the word people is used to distinguish this government from a despotism or an oligarchy, and that while it is hard to decide upon who or how many should govern, it is always a small number. Suffragists object to being excluded. They object still more to being included with children, idiots, and Indians. Somebody wonders why they have never publicly as a body objected to the ten commandments, where they are included with the ox and the ass. "We have no voice in making the laws that we are forced to obey," writes another. If a "voice" must mean a vote, this is true. If it may mean strong influence in all public matters of interest and importance to men or women or both, it is not true. To the suffragists everything means a vote—and the ballot has become to them like the proverbial ten-cent piece which, "held close to the eye, shuts out even the sun itself."

Why suffragists who get on no better than the rest of us with the servant girl question and other domestic problems should believe themselves qualified to solve man's far-reaching problems of tariff, diplomacy, war, and high finance is one of the mysteries of life.

"Without Representation"

The old war cry, "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny," still goes up oftener than any other. But the really leading suffragists have abandoned it—Anna Shaw, Mrs. Catt, and Mrs. Harper have relinquished all their arguments on this point. Here again representation is interpreted to mean votes. Taxation without votes is tyranny. This is answered as follows, by Mr. Frederick Dwight:

"There is nothing unjust in requiring all citizens who can afford it to contribute to the support of the government, whether they vote or not. They get in exchange for their taxes the government's protection to life, liberty and property, and all the other benefits of a well-ordered society. The colonists never said or thought that taxation and votes went together, and nothing of the kind has ever been attempted. Thousands upon thousands of men, as well as women, in this country are taxed without being able to vote. That is the condition of the residents of the District of Columbia. The property of minors is taxed, yet they have no vote. A man may own taxable property in a dozen different states and yet can vote in only one. Finally, the tariff is a tax upon every man, woman and child, citizen and alien alike, in the country.

"The truth is that the phrase 'taxation without representation' did not refer to individuals at all, but to the dealings of one Commonwealth with another. It did not mean that neither this man nor that woman should be taxed unless he or she were personally represented in the government. The slightest reflection should show the absurdity of such a construction. At most, only those would be personally represented who voted for successful candidates. If a candidate wins by a small majority, does he 'represent' the large minority? On the contrary, he opposes in the legislature or in Congress every measure that they hold dear. Yet would anyone contend that all adherents of defeated candidates should be absolved from paying taxes because they were not represented?

"A very few words will be sufficient to explain what the colonists meant by 'taxation without representation,' and why they thought it so unjust. The whole thing arose out of the imposition of the notorious stamp act in 1765. The colonists were on this side of the Atlantic; parliament, in England. There were no representatives of the colonists in parliament familiar with conditions over here and competent to explain

what taxes would bear most lightly upon the inhabitants. Under such circumstances, parliament coolly decreed this burdensome tax, to be collected wholly from the colonists and not from the inhabitants of Great Britain as well. Moreover, the money so raised was not to be expended in the colonies but withdrawn to England.

"In order to create an analogous situation in this country now, and support the present contention of the suffragists, the following grotesque circumstances would have to be imagined. The women would have to be moved in a body to the Pacific Coast, the men, retaining the sole power of legislation, remaining east of the Alleghenies. If, then, the men proceeded to declare a tax upon,—say, every article of clothing worn by the women, without consulting the latter, without paying a similar tax on their own clothing, and appropriated the proceeds of the tax on the women to themselves, the women would be justified in crying that the colonial dictum was being violated.

"But when men and women are jointly members of the same community; when taxes are laid not upon the women for the benefit of the men, or vice versa; when, finally, they are imposed by representatives drawn from the community and not by outsiders, the dictum is absolutely and utterly irrelevant. * * *

"This cry was without reference to individual powers or privileges. This cry was without reference to individual powers or privileges. It was a collective cry from an oppressed people . . . because their interests—not themselves individually—were not represented in the British parliament. If the interests of the women of America, collectively considered, are not represented at the polls, then they too may consider themselves oppressed and enslaved and refuse to pay their taxes." They might even try the effect of a tea party like their prototypes, the colonists.

1848-1913

The fact is, the suffragists of today are somewhat belated. With a few notable exceptions, they are making the same statements that were made by the pioneer suffragists of 1848. Many of these statements are now untrue owing to changes that have taken place in state laws and social and economic conditions all over the United States. However it may have been in 1848, women do not hold an inferior position in 1913. "The American woman" is a synonymous phrase for freedom, the world over, freedom from drudgery and from useless conventions, and for influence in her home, her club and her community, fully proportioned to her character and ability. She is the envy of other women. "There are individuals whose husbands and fathers are tyrants instead of protectors; so there are bad wives and men ruined and disheartened by selfish, idle women."

Expediency

As to expediency: Suffragists tell us that women do only what their husbands wish, and are their slaves. Then they will vote as their husbands tell them to, and those families will simply throw two votes to be counted where there was one before. "But," they say, "the ballot will set this right"—not explaining how. Then women will vote as they choose, without regard to their husbands, and domestic troubles will receive an immeasurable impetus.

As 1 to 10

I have been challenged to explain a statement that the vote of any intelligent, educated and thoughtful woman might be nullified by the

votes of from 1 to 50 women, according to circumstances, who are neither thoughtful, educated nor respectable. As a matter of mathematics, it takes but one vote to nullify or cancel another.

In a quarter of a century of business life, added to years of everyday life in New England and the Far West, I have found that the number of intelligent, educated and thoughtful women is to the number of uneducated women as 1 to 10, a small estimate in my experience. To the uneducated, I add the semi-educated, often more dangerous than the ignorant, on the principle of "a little knowledge."

Add to both these the indifferent and those who are not respectable—the latter estimated in large cities like Chicago and New York at anywhere from 30,000 to 90,000. I wish to say that going to the polls with these women has never been made a point of by Anti-Suffragists. That is like shopping and the theatre and is neither here nor there. What we do say is that the votes of this element controlled by various "interests" will largely outnumber the votes of earnest, intelligent, thoughtful women. In Denver they vote, and often several times, in one election, according to a suffragist statement. Add to all these again the hundreds of thousands who yearly enter the country through the wide open gates of New York City, immigrants who often profess themselves doubtful whether the United States is governed by a King or an Emperor and whose five years before they could vote would not be spent in learning how to vote. When all this addition is done and the proposition is stated, my conservative estimate stands thus: The thoughtful, reasoning woman is to the sum of the uneducated plus the semi-educated plus the indifferent plus those outside the pale plus the immigrants as, say—1 to 35, or 1 to 50.

I spoke explicitly not of Los Angeles or of Boston or of Watts, but of the country as a whole; of suffrage in the United States, and especially of conditions in large cities.

We are told of bucolic scenes in Wyoming, where women bring their babies to the polls in perambulators and children with their Teddy bears play peek-a-boo among the booths. But the whole population of Wyoming is about twice that of Sacramento, and the population of four suffrage states, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado, is only about one-third that of New York City. Conditions cannot be compared, though it is more nearly possible in Colorado than elsewhere.

But we also hear of scenes in Wyoming in which the value of votes and influence is paid in ice cream and dress patterns—as bucolic as the other scenes but less idyllic.

Perhaps these conditions nullify each other, but **nobody** knows as to the outcome. One can guess but can hardly venture to call his guess an opinion. And **because** no one can know, the risk is too tremendous.

Experimental Legislation Unsafe

Ex-Chief Justice Brown of the United States Supreme Court says: "Experimental legislation is always unsafe, and this is especially true where legislators are appealed to for the regulation of every possible or fancied evil, from the lack of a vote to the length of ladies' hat pins and of the sheets upon hotel beds."

The 15th Amendment of the Constitution he cites as showing the danger of radical legislation. "While in the North, where the colored vote is small, no great harm has resulted, the amendment has been generally disregarded in the South, and a serious attempt to enforce it by the military arm, if persisted in, would probably have resulted in another civil war."

The Anti-canteen law enacted by Congress a few years ago is another painful instance of the kind. "Those who were in Washington at the

time could not fail to appreciate the fact that the passage of the bill was procured by the efforts of crowds of perfectly respectable, upright and conscientious women, who thronged the halls of the capitol during the debate, practically overawed the members and compelled many of them to vote against their convictions rather than be charged with opposition to the cause of temperance." The consequences are admitted to be deplorable.

Universal Male Suffrage and the Alien Vote

Fifth. Universal male suffrage is unsatisfactory enough to bring out opponents. John Stuart Mill, whose "Subjection of Women" is now called by suffragists, "The gospel of the movement," did not believe in the ballot. Why does no suffragist ever mention this? He advocated some unwieldy method of suffrage "wholly unworkable," say those who have investigated it. Some great lawyers go so far as to say that the most important question now confronting us is how to get rid of the ballot and still retain the principle of self government. The District of Columbia is governed by commissioners appointed by Congress, and Washington is said to be the best governed large city in the country. That is, they say that male suffrage, fairly successful in the country and in small towns, is very nearly a failure in large cities with their immense and ever increasing alien vote cumbersome and embarrassing every election.

The Indifferent Vote

It is estimated by those in a position to know that from 50 to 60 per cent. of the best class of men do not vote. In states where women have the full right of suffrage or municipal suffrage, their indifference is more than amazing. About 2 per cent. of the women vote in Massachusetts on matters in which they have for years had the right to do so.

"Stay at Home Then!"

If restricted suffrage were possible for both men and women, the question would be wholly different. But the suffragists can not get the ballot without forcing it on all the women. "Stay at home on election day, if you don't want to vote," is their unvarying answer to this statement. What right have they, a small minority, to ask that we leave them to represent us at the polls? If the man who shirks his vote is derelict, so would the woman be. And this is what they ask of millions in the country that a few may vote. This, or the giving to the study of ways and means, men and measures, and problems of finance and affairs, time, energy and strength that we want and need for other duties.

Political Pull

Sixth. "The general advancement of woman, the improvement of her economic position, her social and civic influence, and her opportunity for culture make the story of her present condition without parallel in the history of the world," says a modern writer. And we Anti-Suffragists insist with pride that all this has been done without the ballot. Jane Adams herself, in spite of herself, is the strongest of arguments against suffrage, showing what woman can do without it. I believe she could not have done what she has if she had had "political pull."

Their Inalienable Right

Seventh. The conduct of the English Suffragettes is that of street rowdies. They have been many times warlike and law-defying, and it has been prettily called enthusiasm. But when it comes to a street display of plain brutality, the exercise of their "inalienable right to strike without being struck," one knows that they are not representative women, however clever and well educated. Yet there are women in America who defend their performances as "advancing the cause," and money has been sent to England to sustain the fight. If it requires kicking, screaming, scratching, arson, and anarchy to express their wish for the ballot, what will be necessary to express their delight should it ever be given them?

Progress

Eighth. "It's coming," say the timid souls among women; "we may as well be in it." "Get out of the way," cry the suffragists; "don't stop the wheels of progress! We are progress embodied!"

Which way are they progressing? Ancient Egypt gave its women almost unlimited power. The ancient Lycians were said to live under a government of women. Four hundred years B. C. the Athenians refused a proposition to follow this example of their semi-barbaric neighbors. The Six Nations of New York, most savage of all Indian tribes on this continent, gave their women far more respect and attention in their councils than women have ever had since. Squaws in general have been allowed to do the same work as men and more of it. The idea of "women's rights" and "political power" is at least twenty-five hundred years old.

"To Break Down the Barriers of Sex"

If it were new, does it follow that it must be true? or wise? or right? or expedient? or progressive? Never was more false and unfair claim made than the now common one that Higher Education for women is the result of suffragists' efforts. Co-education was their point to "break down the barriers of sex." There never would have been a college for women if they could have helped it. Women like Mary Lyon, who were actual pioneers in higher education, met only discouragement and bitter opposition from pioneer suffragists. The suffrage movement today is allied with co-education as against the women's college because "co-education means equality of the sexes."

"Living One's Own Life"

Emancipation of woman is a phrase that we owe to John Stuart Mill. Individualism is only a more modern name for "living one's own life;" "carrying out one's career;" "doing the world's work;" "economic independence;" "independence of man's support in the family;" co-operative households as against family life and the home. This modern individualism is "a threat to the family." There is one divorce in America nowadays to every dozen marriages. There are thousands of young women who crowd into factory or mill or office in preference to home duties. There is an impatience of ties and responsibilities, a restlessness, a fever for "living one's own life," that is unpleasantly noticeable. The desire for the vote is part of this restlessness, this grasping for power that shall have no responsibility except to drop a paper into a ballot box, this ignorant desire to do "the work of the world" instead of one's own work. If women had conquered their own part of life perfectly, one might wish to see them thus leave it and go forth to set the world to rights."

It almost seems that women must want the ballot chiefly because they haven't it and because it is hard to get.

This same restlessness is leaving our kitchens empty and yawning for cooks, and is filling the chairs of stenographers and telegraphers, telephone offices, and all occupations with half-educated girls. "Me sister's got me job," said the office boy when asked why he was out of work.

The Female Professional Politician

The female professional politician seems never to have crossed the vision of the suffragist. That there will arise not only two leaders but many, dividing the allegiance of women on various questions of reform, organizing, opposing, the republican party, the democratic party, the labor party, the women's party, the other women's party, a movement for this and an opposition to that, and an indefinite multiplication and subdivision of factions—all this the suffragist will not believe. She says she "believes in the Essential Unity of Women." And this in spite of facts!

Suffrage and the Working Woman

Ninth. After all, the ballot is only the ballot. Its power is greatly exaggerated, and some women will not realize, while others do not know, that we could vote only for men or women, not for measures. The best we can do—the best that men can do—is to vote for a man whom we hope will vote for the measures we want. "I want to be able to vote down the tariff on gloves and things," says one. Another wants to vote against a certain municipal measure. Another says, "I want to vote on taxes—they're much too high." Each one believes that by this magical ballot her dearest wish will be fulfilled just as soon as we get where we can run right down-town and vote. Leading suffragists have declared that if women could vote they would "hush the cannon's roar" to begin with; they would close the saloons; they would solve the divorce problem; they would raise women's wages and provide women's work; they would settle the troubles between labor and capital; abolish the white slave traffic; drive out tuberculosis; ruin the trusts, and close the prisons! Why do they promise these things? What can the ballot in the hands of women do that it has not done for men? It is more than a year since a shop girl wrote to the New York Times to ask how when Messrs. Mitchell and Gompers reported 500,000 voting men out of employment, working women could hope to gain anything from the suffrage. Her question has never been answered.

"If I could vote, I'd sell my vote to the person who would give me the most money for it," said a young working girl lately. "What do I know about candidates? What do I care? I'd sell my vote and use the money to take care of my sick mother." She does take care of her mother, and she would do exactly as she says.

Miss Bissell, I think it is, says:

"When the political boss becomes a factor in the working woman's existence, she will be powerless to help herself. To the proposition 'you must vote thus, or you lose that which gives you bread and butter,' there can in the long run be but one reply. The woman wage earner is adapted to be the prey of the political boss as is no other portion of humanity. Often she speaks English imperfectly or not at all. All dangers and injustices pale into insignificance when compared with those into which suffrage would thrust her.

Should the suffrage delusion ever become a reality, those who will suffer most will be not its instigators, but its helpless tool—the Working Woman.

The militant suffragette, the sentimental philanthropist and the would-be reformer would do well to look below the surface and try to see just what is the substance of the thing they are trying to force on society under the name, Votes for Women.

Suffrage and Progress

Mrs. Rossiter Johnson sums up the whole relation of woman suffrage to progress when she says:

"If the suffrage movement were to disband today and no woman ever vote, **not a single great interest would suffer.** None of woman's wide philanthropies would be harmed; women's colleges would be unaffected; the professions would continue to give diplomas to qualified women; tradesmen would still employ women; good laws would not be repealed, and bad laws would be no more likely to be framed; literature would not suffer; homes would be no less secure; woman's civic work would not cease; nor would there be any more disposition than there is today to remove to a State where woman still had 'freedom.' (It is interesting to note that there never has been such a migration of women to the suffrage states as to overburden the population)." And Mrs. Francis M. Scott:

"Until the ballot has done away with every cause of contention between male labor and capital; until it has made men's labor unions and strikes needless; until male sweat shops have disappeared and every condition surrounding male labor has been made perfect through its use, let no one dare to claim that Woman Suffrage can do all these things for women."

"Without Regard to Sex"

Tenth. What is sex? was asked at an examination. It was a clever man who answered, "Sex is the fundamental blunder of Creation."

The Anti-Suffragists yield no point to the Suffragists in their belief in the capacity of woman to "progress;" in her right to equal education, equal wages, equal property rights; her right to work in any profession and to carry on any business or any trade that she chooses. We believe her to be as a sex in no sense inferior to man as a sex. But when we are told that the rights of women should be treated "without regard to sex," we feel as one must if asked to solve a difficult problem in arithmetic without regard to the multiplication table. It can't be done. Sex differences exist and can be neither ignored, denied nor put down by law. With all deference to your honorable body, you can never legislate them away.

Nerves in Politics

"The frequent low state of health among American women is a fact as undeniable as it is deplorable.

In this condition of things, what do certain women demand for the good of their sex? To add to the excitements that are wasting them other and greater excitements, and to cares too much for their strength other and greater cares."

When women generally vote and hold office, nervous prostration, desire for publicity, and "love of the limelight" will combine to produce a form of hysteria already increasing in the United States. Nerve seems to be more needed in politics than nerves, and we deplore this "restless craving for emancipation" which Mrs. Donald McLean, the head of the "Daughters of the American Revolution," calls "a cup of which women have already tasted a few intoxicating drops, but whose bitter dregs they know not of."

23 Years in Colorado Politics

Eleventh. The claim that woman will purify and uplift politics does not bear close investigation. Even Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman stated to a gathering of college women that woman suffrage where it exists has not purified politics.

From Colorado, whence one may get statistics to prove any statement on any side of any question, comes this letter, written in December last by Mrs. Francis W. Goddard, President of the Colonial Dames of Colorado:

"I have voted since 1893. I have been a delegate to the city and state conventions, and a member of the Republican State Committee from my county; I have been a deputy sheriff, and a watcher at the polls; for twenty-three years I have been in the midst of the woman-suffrage movement in Colorado. For years I believed in woman suffrage, and have worked day in and day out for it,—now I see my mistake and would abolish it tomorrow if I could.

"No law has been put on the statute book of Colorado for the benefit of women and children that has been put there by the women. The Child Labor law went through independently of the woman's vote. The hours of working women have not been shortened; the wages of school teachers have not been raised; the type of men that got into office has not improved a bit.

"As for the effect of the vote on women personally, I have known scores of women who worked for the Republican party one year and worked for the Democratic party the next year, telling me frankly that 'the Democrats gave us more money.'

"Frankly, the experiment is a failure. It has done Colorado no good; it has done women no good. The best thing for both would be if tomorrow the ballot for woman could be abolished."

"No Better and No Worse Than Then"

In 1892 woman suffrage was adopted in Colorado, by a small majority, and it has since remained the law in that State. If we are to believe the recent statements of Judge Lindsay of the Juvenile Court,—a friend of woman suffrage,—in his article in "Everybody's Magazine," the condition of civic morality in Colorado is most deplorable.

"Much has been said of the women's interest in re-electing Judge Lindsay in Denver. Yet here is what he says:

"No, I can't say that the women's vote has helped things much in Colorado * * * I have found that women in politics are no better and no worse than men. Don't forget that when a question narrows itself down to a headline, to selfish interests, both sexes follow the same line of action: they look out for number one! * * * If a woman wants a political job, she'll stand for iniquity; if she's afraid of losing her job, she'll do the same thing."

So good an authority as the late General Palmer of Colorado authorized the New York Civic League to say that in his opinion Woman Suffrage was a failure.

Not Even One Saloon

At a meeting of the New Century Club of Pasadena, where, according to the printed report all arguments were for suffrage, Prof. I. N. Smith, who resided in Utah for a number of years, said that while he had hoped woman suffrage might produce great moral results, he had to acknowledge

that in Utah it had accomplished absolutely nothing, not even the closing of one saloon.

Wiping Out the Liquor Traffic in Washington

The idea that women if given the ballot would "wipe out the liquor traffic," received a shock as the result of the voting in Washington for the first time. At Anacortes, there was a fierce contest on the "wet or dry" question, in which the women duly participated.

"In a poll of 936, of which one-third the votes were cast by women, the ticket representing the 'wets' was victorious by a majority of upwards of 200. Charleston, the local town of the Port Orchard Navy Yard, voted 'wet,' women participating freely in the election. Broadly speaking, the issue was ignored by the women, who voted for their party candidates precisely like the men. Taking the local elections through, only about two-thirds of the women entitled to registration availed themselves of the privilege."

In Denver

At a recent election in Denver, the majority of the "wets" was about 16,000. With the votes half those of women and half of men, the saloon keepers won,—almost two to one.

In California

It is expected that the Panama Canal, when completed, will introduce into California many thousands of immigrants—all in the life-long habit of drinking beer or wine as part of their daily food, and unable to understand any other way of living—women as well as men. Practically all the immigrant population of the United States strongly resent any attempt at legislation on this question, and the men have been everywhere an important factor in defeating legislation. With alien women as well as men voting as they are bound to vote, "wiping out the liquor traffic" looks like a very remote achievement.

Superior Honesty

Colonel T. W. Higginson, for many years an ardent and active suffragist, has this to say apropos of probable purification:

"I believe that the great majority of women would vote for honest government if they only understood it, * * * but I cannot forget that all the ingenuity of Wall Street has never devised so perfectly ingenious and successful an instrument of fraud as the Woman's Bank of Boston, entirely the product of a woman's brain; and I do not wish to rest the demand for suffrage on the superior honesty of women."

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CREED

The Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women numbered over 22,000 women. Our creed is simply this: The ballot will not—cannot—remedy wrongs. In the name of the women whom we represent, in the name of the freedom of all women, we ask you not to place this State among the suffrage states; not to mistake a minority for the majority; not to thrust the ballot upon the women of Massachusetts.

64TH CONGRESS }
1st Session }

SENATE

{ DOCUMENT
No. 408

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ARGUMENT

SUBMITTED BY

THE NATIONAL ANTISUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
IN OPPOSITION TO THE ADOPTION OF THE
SOCALLED SUSAN B. ANTHONY PROPOSED
AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES EXTENDING THE RIGHT
OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN



PRESENTED BY MR. DILLINGHAM

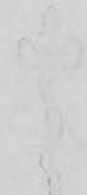
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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ARGUMENT

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE AGE. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE FUTURE OF THE NATION. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMANITY. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CIVILIZATION. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE JUSTICE OF THE GOVERNMENT. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE WISDOM OF THE PEOPLE. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE POWER OF THE WOMAN. IT IS A QUESTION OF THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD.



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ARGUMENT AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

1. The vote is not a question of individual right, or what is best for the individual, or for any class, but solely a question of what is best for the State.

2. The net result of woman suffrage wherever tried has been a loss to the State and a loss to women.

3. The vote is demanded by only a small minority of women.

4. To force the vote upon the great majority of women to satisfy a small minority would be undemocratic and unjust.

5. Men and women were created different and designed to work in different spheres for the common good; to cooperate with and supplement each other and not to compete.

6. The vote would deprive woman of her nonpartisan power, which enables her to do for the State what man is unable to do, because he is bound by political party obligations.

7. The basis of government is physical force, and the physical power to enforce the law, without which the vote is useless, is neither possible nor desirable for women.

8. Woman suffrage is demanded by socialists and feminists as a means to an end, the end being a complete social revolution.

Such is the indictment of the woman-suffrage movement. The proof in briefest outline follows:

SUFFRAGE IS SOLELY A QUESTION OF WHAT IS BEST FOR THE STATE.

The cornerstone of the woman-suffrage movement is the argument that the vote is a natural right, from the enjoyment of which women are tyrannically excluded by men.

Miss Anna Howard Shaw, for years president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, said in the New York Evening Post of February 25, 1915:

I believe in woman suffrage, whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong; whether women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children.

In Miss Shaw's statement of the case there is no pretense that the State or anybody in the State will benefit by giving the ballot to

women. She would have woman suffrage, though material and moral evil follow in its wake.

THE VOTE IS NOT A NATURAL RIGHT.

Is there any such thing as a natural right to vote? All the legal authorities say no. The Supreme Court of the United States says no. Common sense says no.

"The granting of the franchise," said Chief Justice Marshall, "has always been regarded, in the practice of nations, as a matter of expediency and not as an inherent right."

"Suffrage," said Judge Cooley, in his work on the Principles of Constitutional Law, "can not be the right of the individual, because it does not exist for the benefit of the individual, but for the benefit of the State itself."

The Cyclopaedia of American Government says: "That suffrage can not be a natural right is obvious from the fact that no community can ever enfranchise all its citizens."

And, as later will appear, the suffrage leaders themselves once abandoned the claim that the vote was a right, and they demanded it only on the ground of expediency.

A PRIVILEGE WITH A HEAVY OBLIGATION.

The franchise is our instrument of government, carrying with it a heavy responsibility, and it is given to those to whom the State, for what it conceives to be its own highest interests, sees fit to give it.

If the franchise were a right, like the right of every one to the protection of life and property, the Government would not be justified in withholding it from any sane, law-abiding individual.

That it is not such a right common sense alone teaches.

The minor, the alien, the soldier or the sailor in the service of Uncle Sam, and the citizens of the District of Columbia each has a right to have his person and his property protected.

But he has no vote.

From each of these groups the ballot has been withheld on the ground that its "participation in government would be for the disadvantage of the State," the reasons for taking that ground being, of course, different in each case.

In the case of women, it was a question solely of how they could best serve the State, and it was decided that women can best serve the State outside the realm of political contention.

It is clear, therefore, that the case of Miss Shaw and the National Woman Suffrage Association falls of its own weight, since it is based on something which does not exist.

Neither man nor woman has a natural right to vote.

THE QUESTION FOR THE VOTER.

Since the question of natural right is not involved, the question every man should try to answer to his own satisfaction before he decides on woman suffrage is: Will the public interest be better served on the whole by an electorate composed of men and women than it is by an electorate of men alone?

This question is fundamental.

If it can be demonstrated that the State will benefit by woman suffrage, woman suffrage should be adopted; for what benefits the State benefits all within the State.

But it should not be adopted until that has been shown beyond a reasonable doubt.

WHAT THE SUFFRAGISTS MUST PROVE.

It isn't enough for the suffragists to attempt to prove that no harm will come to the State by the doubling of its electorate.

The burden is upon them to prove that votes for women will raise the standard of government and make it more efficient.

They must prove, therefore, that, on the average, women will vote more intelligently, more discriminatingly, more regularly, and more unselfishly than men.

They must prove that, on the average, women will be wiser and better electors and legislators than men.

Woman suffrage means greatly increased outlay of time and money devoted to elections and to government. It means diverting woman from her natural duties.

This is a direct loss to the State.

The suffragists must prove that women's votes will bring to the State some gain that will more than counterbalance this loss.

What is that gain to be?

THE NET RESULT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE A LOSS TO WOMEN AND TO THE STATE.

It is generally agreed that the greatest menace to government is not the corrupt or ignorant voter, but the voter who fails to do his duty on election day. And this menace is tremendously increased by the addition of women to the electorate.

A small minority of women may be able to induce men to force the ballot on an unwilling majority of women, but no power has yet been devised to make an unwilling majority of women vote.

Certain voters, male and female, can always be depended upon to go to the polls.

These are the voters who are led by bosses or by private interests.

The influence of such voters can be offset only when the rest of the electorate likewise goes to the polls.

Woman suffrage will double the number of voters who will vote as they are told.

But it will not double the number of independent voters, because the great majority of women whose votes would count against the bosses and the selfish interests will not go to the polls.

Woman suffrage, therefore, will greatly increase the danger of boss-controlled and interest-controlled legislation.

HOW WOMEN HAVE USED THE BALLOT.

Proof of the foregoing is found in all States where women have either full or partial suffrage. In Massachusetts women have had the school vote since 1879. The suffragists asked for it then as a test of what women would do in politics. Here is the result:

In the last 18 years there has been in Massachusetts an average registration of 4.8 per cent of the legal women voters, and an actual vote of 2.1 per cent, or less than half the registration.

In many Massachusetts towns years have passed without a single female vote.

According to the Chicago Tribune, a suffragist newspaper, which made a careful estimate just before the Chicago election of April 6, 1915, there were in that city at that time 512,657 men and 501,384 women eligible to register and vote. The vote on April 6, as officially recorded, was: Men, 434,277, or 82.7 per cent of the total number of legal male voters; women, 250,404, or only 49.9 per cent of the total number of legal female voters.

Here we have 50.1 per cent of the women of Chicago neglecting their political duties, while only 17.3 per cent of the men are guilty of like neglect.

In 1912 there were six woman suffrage States, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Washington, and California. The combined vote of men and women for President in those States in 1912 was 47.9 per cent of the men and women over 21, while in the adjoining States of Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Nevada, South Dakota, and Missouri, where only men voted for President in 1912, the vote was 69.1 per cent of the men of voting age.

The male and female votes of the double suffrage States are not kept separate, but if the percentage of men voting in those States was as large as in the adjoining male suffrage States, then only 19.1 per cent of the women went to the polls in the double suffrage States.

On the other hand, if more than 19.1 per cent of the women voted in the double suffrage States, then less than 69.1 per cent of the men in those States voted.

From which figures one of two conclusions is inevitable: Either women do not vote as generally as men when given the opportunity or the fact that women have the ballot causes men to lose interest and neglect their political duties. And in either case the result is an increase in the stay-at-home percentage and a distinct injury to State and Nation.

THE HIGH COST OF GOVERNMENT.

One of the largest items in the high cost of living is the cost of government. Twenty years ago the annual cost of town, State, and Federal Government for the average family of five was less than \$100. To-day, according to the United States Census Bureau, it is almost \$300.

According to the New York Times, which made an exhaustive investigation, the New York State election of 1914 cost \$4,079,171.42, or \$2.83 per voter, \$2 of which came from the public purse.

The secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a suffragist, estimates that the doubling of an electorate adds at least 50 per cent to the cost of elections.

On this basis, if the cost in other States is approximately what it is in New York, woman suffrage means an additional expense of at least \$1.40 per voter at every election.

Figures filed with the Secretary of the United States Senate show that the expenses of candidates for the Senate in 1914 were more than three times as great in woman-suffrage States as in male-suffrage States of approximately the same population.

Those who do not count the cost will not consider this an argument against double suffrage. But the poor man is forced to count the cost.

He is counting it now in all woman-suffrage States, and he is counting it in Australia and New Zealand, double-suffrage countries which are known as the champion debt-ridden countries of the world.

Unless you wish to pay a higher tax on your property without any compensating advantage you must vote "no" on woman suffrage.

THE COLORADO OBJECT LESSON.

In its gross mismanagement of the miners' strike of 1913-14 Colorado furnishes one of the best object lessons of the evil results of woman suffrage.

As a result of indifference and neglect of duty on the part of the feminized electorate the liquor and mining laws in the strike region had become inoperative.

In 20 years of woman suffrage no attempt had been made to secure a workmen's compensation law, the establishment of an efficient

board of arbitration, or any other action that might have prevented trouble, while the forces of law and order had been allowed to degenerate into a brutal gang.

Thus the male and female Colorado electorate tolerated conditions that bred violent hatred between capital and labor, and found too late that it had neglected to provide adequate means of controlling the situation.

During a period of six months, while men, women, and children were being killed and anarchy reigned, the electorate turned a deaf ear to suggestions for a special session of the legislature, and finally, the State militia having added to the reign of terror instead of suppressing it, the State confessed its incompetence, abdicated its sovereignty, and sent for Federal troops.

Federal troops have seldom been called upon to deal with strikes in male-suffrage States, except strikes threatening interstate commerce and the safety of the United States mails, and therefore properly subject to Federal interference.

Twice in 10 years Colorado has been obliged to call upon Uncle Sam to quell riots in its midst affecting State issues solely, and is the only State in the Union having that unenviable record.

REASON FOR COLORADO'S DISGRACE.

In its belated special session in the spring of 1914 the Colorado Legislature acted precisely as a legislature chosen by a weak and indifferent electorate might be expected to act.

"The wranglings at Denver," said the Nation, commenting on the situation at that time, "are a most significant commentary on the bloodshed and anarchy in the mining districts."

Impotence in the maintenance of the law * * * has been merely a reflection of the lack of that kind of public sentiment upon which the integrity and the potency of the law everywhere depend.

The President of the United States sent an official protest against the "inaction of the Colorado Legislature."

Every incident of the State's handling of the strike clearly proves the weakening influence upon the electorate of 20 years of woman suffrage.

WOMAN'S VOTE A CONFESSED DISAPPOINTMENT.

The obvious failure of woman suffrage has forced many persons, once ardent believers in votes for women, to admit that their hopes have been disappointed. Some of these still profess to believe in suffrage, on the ground of natural right. Others frankly declare that they would vote for its repeal if they had the opportunity.

Here are a few of these fatal admissions:

Judge Lindsey of Denver (still a suffragist):

The women are as free of the power of the beast as the men are and no freer * * *. Their leaders in politics are politicians * * *. Women in politics are human beings * * * and they are unable to free us because they are not free themselves. (Everybody's Magazine, May, 1910.)

* * * * *

Where is our adult probation law? We are a suffrage State. Massachusetts is not, but they have an adult probation law. Where is our home-finding society? We are suffrage, but our dependent children are put in homes for dependent children instead of being given the rights of family ties.

We are 20 years behind Massachusetts in spite of suffrage. (From an address delivered at a Susan B. Anthony banquet in Denver, Colo., 1915.)

Mrs. R. C. Campbell, of the Colorado State Board for the Care of Dependent Children:

We did believe, of course, in our hearts that women in public life would purify politics and would make for a higher moral and political standard. After 20 years we are forced to admit that human nature as displayed by women is not different from that displayed by men, and if the appeal had been made on the ground of uplift of politics it would have been disproved by the facts.

Judge W. H. Snell, of Tacoma, Wash.:

I favored woman suffrage in Washington and voted for it. But * * * I am so greatly disappointed at the way it has worked out that I would today welcome an opportunity to vote for its withdrawal; and I believe if it were resubmitted to the people of Washington, and every man and woman of voting age were compelled to vote upon it, woman suffrage would be defeated by an overwhelming majority. (From the Boston Post, Mar. 31, 1915.)

Mrs. Francis W. Goddard, one of Colorado's most prominent and respected women:

For years I believed in woman suffrage, and have worked day in and day out for it. I now see my mistake * * *. The experiment is a failure. It has done Colorado no good. It has done women no good. The best thing for both would be if to-morrow the ballot for women could be abolished.

Miss Annie Bock, of Los Angeles, Cal., former secretary of the California Equality League, addressing a committee of the United States Senate:

I gave without remuneration over a year of my life, working for suffrage. If I had to do it over again I would work twice as hard, if that were possible, against it * * *. I have had more than ordinary opportunity to observe and watch the workings of suffrage, and I consider the result not only unsatisfactory and disappointing, but disastrous.

A large volume could easily be filled with testimony of this kind from men and women who are not afraid to look facts in the face.

The time to think of this is now, not after woman suffrage has been adopted.

THE DIVORCE EVIL AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The statistics of divorce prove that this great social menace is more prevalent and increasing faster in the woman-suffrage West than in any other section of the country.

For purposes of comparison, let us take adjoining male and double suffrage States.

Colorado, with woman suffrage since 1893, has 409 divorces to every 100,000 of married population, while adjoining male-suffrage Nebraska has only 226.

The divorce rate per 100,000 of married population is 513 in Washington, 347 in Idaho, 368 in Oregon, and 361 in Wyoming, all woman-suffrage States; while in male-suffrage Missouri, North and South Dakota the divorce rate per 100,000 of married population is only 281, 268, and 270, respectively.

Although not yet so far advanced along the line of easy divorce as the woman suffrage countries of Scandinavia, where divorce is simply a matter of mutual consent, the divorce mills of some of our suffrage States are sufficiently notorious for all practical purposes.

Rev. Martin Hart, dean of the Denver Cathedral, in the issue of *The Chronicle* (a religious paper) for February, 1915, says.

Here in Denver we had last year 1,265 divorces out of 2,500 marriages.

It may be argued that the increasing prevalence of divorce in woman-suffrage States is due, not to the fact that women are in politics, but to the fact that these States are inhabited by a comparatively unstable people, who hold the marriage bond much more lightly than their more conservative and perhaps more religious neighbors.

Well, which horn of this dilemma do the suffragists want to take?

Does woman suffrage increase divorce, or do none but unstable, radical peoples adopt woman suffrage?

The fact is that both these questions should be answered in the affirmative. Woman suffrage does increase divorce, because divorce has increased faster under woman suffrage than it did before; and only radical peoples, with comparatively elastic notions about marriage, adopt woman suffrage, because it has yet to be accepted by any State which has not proven an easy prey to Mormonism, Socialism, and other radical doctrines.

We should oppose woman suffrage at every opportunity and protect the home from a new and potent element of discord.

SUFFRAGE STATES MERE IMITATORS.

That woman suffrage States have been mere imitators in the march of progress is admitted by all fair witnesses. William Hard and V. D. Jordan, trained investigators with a leaning for suffrage, say in the July number of *Everybody's Magazine*:

Women henceforth can gain no new right, financial or educational or occupational or in any way personal, which can be compared in value with the rights men have already given them.

The biggest revolutions in the standing of woman before the law have all been accomplished.

And we will go further, having just insured our lives. We will say that when woman suffrage is introduced it brings in nothing new in the way of legislation * * *.

In other words, we don't see woman suffrage doing anything that men haven't done already.

Here we have, according to these suffragist investigators, two sexes doing the work of one and nothing whatever gained.

SOCIAL WELFARE LAWS FIRST ENACTED IN MALE-SUFFRAGE STATES.

Every one of the following kinds of legislation was first conceived and advocated by men and first enacted by male legislators elected by the votes of men alone:

Limiting the hours of women in industry to 54 a week and to 8 a day.

Prohibiting night work by women in industry and prohibiting the employment of women too soon before and after childbirth.

Compensating widows and children of workmen killed in industry.

Securing the property rights of married women.

Conferring equal rights of guardianship upon women.

Red-light abatement laws and laws against white-slave traffic.

Providing for effective birth registration (a law essential to the reduction of infant mortality).

Limiting child labor and establishing juvenile courts.

Some of the foregoing kinds of laws, notably the law prohibiting night work, have not yet been passed in woman-suffrage States.

THE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY.

We are told the woman in industry needs the ballot to protect her interests. Well, she has had the ballot a good many years in some States.

Has it helped her? Can it help her?

The answer to these questions is found in the fact that male-suffrage States lead in legislation for the benefit of women in industry.

If women in industry could help themselves with the ballot they would have helped themselves in Colorado and other States where they vote.

That they have not helped themselves with the ballot proves conclusively that they can not help themselves with the ballot.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND EQUAL PAY.

"Equal pay for equal work" is a very misleading slogan. It implies that women working as many hours and as efficiently as men are discriminated against in the matter of pay on account of sex, and that this would not be so if women had the vote.

In the first place, there is little if any such discrimination.

In the second place, the woman's vote could not do away with it if it existed, because work and wages are regulated by the universal law of supply and demand.

Samuel Gompers says women get less for their work than men because they ask for less.

That is true in a sense. But it is far from being the whole story.

The fact is that unless they put a small price on it themselves and unless it is of inferior quality women are not paid less than men when they sell their work.

It is when they sell their time that the difference between men's and women's pay appears.

And this is a matter the ballot can not change, because it is controlled by the physical facts of nature.

In the general recognition of woman's need of special protective legislation, we have the proof that women are weaker than men physically, and can not compete with men in industry on a footing of absolute equality.

Employers of labor pay for skill and experience, for quantity and quality of output.

They do not pay for sex.

The question of the difference between men's and women's pay, therefore, is fundamentally a physical question.

It has nothing whatever to do with politics.

HOW IT WORKS IN PRACTICE.

"The vote," says Samuel Gompers, "doesn't mean a job, and equal suffrage doesn't necessarily mean equal pay for equal work." (Boston Traveler, May 14, 1915.)

Mr. Gompers ought to be a good judge. He is a suffragist. He has been interested in labor for many years. He has also had the ballot. His word, therefore, ought to be accepted as pretty conclusive evidence of what the ballot can't do in the field of wages and work.

In Colorado women have voted for nearly a quarter of a century.

Has the ballot raised women's wages in that State?

Has it given them equal pay for equal work?

In her book entitled "Equal Suffrage," Dr. Helen Sumner says:

Taking the public employment as a whole, women in Colorado receive considerably less remuneration than men.

In the United States as a whole, according to Dr. Sumner, women receive 55.3 per cent of the average of men's wages.

But in Colorado, where women vote, women receive only 47 cents for every 100 cents paid to men in wages.

Clearly, therefore, the ballot has not helped the Colorado wage earner to improve her economic status.

Does anyone think it will do for the wage-earning woman of other States of what it has failed to do for her Colorado sisters?

A MARRIED WOMAN'S QUESTION.

The question of how the suffrage affects woman is, after all, a question that concerns not a particular class of women, but the average woman.

And the average woman is found in the home with three or four children, doing her own housework and rocking her own cradle.

Business and industry are, as a rule, mere incidents in women's lives.

The instinct of the normal woman is not to work for somebody for wages, not to compete with men in business or the professions, but to form a life partnership with some man and raise a family.

It is for this reason that women remain in industry but from five to seven years on the average, when they graduate into matrimony.

Fortunately for her the interests of the industrial woman are not selfish interests. If they were, she would be helpless, with the vote or without it. Her real interests, on the contrary, are community interests, and the community takes care of them as a matter of self-protection.

The question for the voters, therefore, is not how the vote will affect the woman in industry, but how will it affect the average woman, who is a married woman with three or four children?

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND PROHIBITION.

Has woman suffrage helped the cause of temperance? Are women generally opposed to the saloon, and will they vote it out of existence if given the opportunity?

Suffragists vary their answers to these questions according to the class of men whose votes they are seeking. Let us consider the facts.

Nineteen States have adopted prohibition. Of these, 6 have woman suffrage. But one of them, Kansas, adopted prohibition in 1880, 32 years before it adopted woman suffrage. So that of the States that have adopted prohibition, 14 have adopted it, with men alone voting, while only 5 have adopted it with the aid of women's votes.

The State of Maine, which has defeated every attempt to introduce woman suffrage, has had prohibition since 1850.

North Dakota, which defeated woman suffrage at the polls in 1914, has had prohibition since 1889.

Not a single State went dry with women voting before November 3, 1914.

On May 4, 1915, the women of Reno, exercising the franchise for the first time, voted against the proposition to reduce the number of saloons from 80 to 40, and were publicly thanked by the liquor interests for standing by them.

After 46 years of woman suffrage the State of Wyoming is still wet.

Colorado, woman suffrage since 1893, adopted prohibition November 3, 1914, but the city of Denver gave a majority against it.

California, suffrage since 1911, defeated prohibition in 1914 by nearly 200,000 majority.

In Montana, before the election in 1914, the suffragists refused to permit the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to march in their parade.

The facts prove beyond a doubt that the liquor interests have nothing to fear and the temperance interests have nothing to expect from women's votes.

THE CROWNING PROOF OF SUFFRAGE FAILURE.

If any further evidence is needed of the utter futility of double suffrage, it is found in the almost complete abandonment by suffrage leaders of the practical-results argument in their demand for the ballot and their return to the exploded theory of natural right.

It was upon the theory of right that the original demand for the vote for woman was based. But when the Supreme Court had ruled again and again that no such right existed the suffragists abandoned the theory and rested their cause on the alleged wonders the woman's vote had worked in States where it existed.

As late as 1914 the suffrage-campaign manual explicitly stated that suffrage was not a natural right.

The argument for suffrage, then, as it had been for years, was that it would purify politics, reduce infant mortality, wipe out the social evil, and make happier families.

"Look at Colorado" was the suffragist challenge to every doubting Thomas.

The government of Colorado had not yet broken down.

And as most people were thinking of other things than votes for women no serious attempt was made to prove that the rosy pictures of alleged conditions in Colorado were not pictures of actual conditions, but pictures originating in the imagination of their suffrage painters.

But the government of Colorado has since broken down.

With the strike of 1913-14 came the nightmare of anarchy, due to the impotency and indifference of a feminized electorate.

The Colorado suffrage argument had become a suffrage boomerang.

THE HOUSE OF CARDS.

When the house of cards built by the suffragists upon the sands of Colorado fell about their ears, they were forced to seek another foundation for their unstable edifice. And there was only one available, the abandoned delusion of natural right.

The thing that wasn't so, according to the suffrage-campaign manual of 1914, became the corner stone of the suffrage movement before the campaign manual was off the press.

"Back to Susan B. Anthony's 'rights' argument" was the verbal lifeline thrown to the drifting and bewildered suffragists. And Miss Anna Howard Shaw gave this message to the country:

I contend that we should not answer our opponents when they argue along these lines, because facts as to the results of equal suffrage, or the number of women who want suffrage, or the reasons they ought to want it, have no bearing on our question.

Miss Shaw still stands on that ground, and the suffrage associations, State and National, stand there with her.

FACTS NO LONGER COUNT.

Although female suffrage has been on trial from 5 to 47 years in 9 States of the Union, the suffragists refuse to stand on their record, but base their demand for the further extension of the suffrage on grounds abandoned as untenable more than a quarter of a century ago.

Is it possible to imagine a more convincing confession of the failure of woman suffrage?

ONLY A SMALL MINORITY OF WOMEN DEMAND THE BALLOT.

The woman-suffrage movement is the only movement having for its object the extension of the electorate that has ever met with organized opposition from those it was proposed to enfranchise.

This is a fact of tremendous significance.

It is a danger signal that must not be ignored by those who wish to do even-handed justice to all concerned in the settlement of this question.

The woman-suffrage fight is not a fight between men and women. It is a fight between women.

It is not a question of women's rights. It is a question of which women's rights—the fancied rights of those who demand the ballot as the alpha and omega of all things temporal and spiritual, or the real rights of those who wish to remain free from political strife.

THE THREE TAILORS OF TOOLEY STREET.

There are in the United States 24,555,754 females of voting age and over. Of these 2,097,954 live in the 11 full double-suffrage States and 1,567,491 live in Illinois, where the legislature gave women limited suffrage without the consent of the people.

The suffrage associations of the country claim a maximum of approximately 800,000 members.

Thus, with the women of voting age in the suffrage States and in Illinois, taking the suffragist claims at their face value, we have a total of only 4,465,445 women in the United States who are either suffragists or women entitled to register and vote, leaving over 20,000,000 women of voting age who are not enfranchised and not suffragists.

It is a safe conclusion, also, that only a comparatively few of the 2,097,954 women in the 11 double-suffrage States are believers in woman suffrage, since less than one-third of 1 per cent of them are enrolled in any suffrage organization.

Suffragists are fond of demanding the ballot in the name of the women of the United States. But in view of their numbers they have no more right to pretend to speak for the women of the United States than the "three tailors of Tooley Street" had to petition Parliament as "We, the people of the United Kingdom."

To enfranchise women against the will of the majority would be undemocratic and unjust.

While less than 10 per cent of the women citizens of any State express a desire for the vote, the most undemocratic act of which the men of that State could be guilty would be to approve a woman-suffrage amendment.

The fundamental principle of democracy is the consent of the governed.

This implies majority rule.

And as at least 90 per cent of our women citizens, so far as we have any evidence, consent to our form of government and express no desire for a change, it is clear that the interests of democracy demand that their wishes be considered, rather than the wishes of the 10 per cent who are in revolt against our Government and demand that unwelcome and injurious burdens be placed upon their sisters.

The demand is for justice for women.

Very well, but for which women? For the 10 per cent who demand, or for the 90 per cent who protest or who say nothing?

Let us, by all means, be just to women.

But let us be just by respecting the rights of the majority who consent to our Government, for in this way we shall be just to the State and to all women, even—though they may not know it—to the minority who are in rebellion.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND TAXATION.

"But," we are told, "it is unjust to tax women without giving them the vote." This is a variation of the old "taxation without representation is tyranny" slogan, and no more fallacious argument has ever come from the suffrage propagandists.

Women are not taxed without representation.

Every woman taxpayer gets for her taxes what every male taxpayer gets—public improvements and protection of life and property.

And she is represented by all the male taxpayers in the community, because they can not represent themselves without representing her.

Their interests as taxpayers are identical.

Furthermore, as a much smaller percentage of women than of men pay taxes, woman suffrage would greatly increase the percentage of nontaxpaying voters; and thus, if there were a relation between taxation and the ballot, votes for women would leave the woman taxpayer, as well as the male taxpayer, in a much worse position than before.

The fact is, however, that taxation and the vote have no connection whatsoever.

A man may own property in every city and town in the State except the one where he lives, yet he can vote only in the one where he lives.

Minors and aliens are fully taxed on their property, but are excluded from the franchise.

A system of government based on property would give the rich man a power over the poor man that would destroy democratic government and gives us in its place a plutocracy.

It was because of its inherent injustice that the property qualification for voters was abolished in many States in this Union years ago, and the demand that it be revived now in the interest of a few women is so extraordinary that it is difficult to understand how anyone can be deceived by it.

TWO KINDS OF TAXES.

In an article quoted in the *Unpopular Review* for January-March, 1916, Dr. Rossiter Johnson shows very clearly the reason for manhood suffrage and why women who can not vote are not unjustly

treated in being required to pay taxes on their property. Dr. Johnson says:

There are two kinds of taxes, a money tax and a service tax. * * * The service tax is levied on men alone. It calls for jury service, police service, military service, and every man takes his chances on it. * * * Representation goes with this kind of taxation, and not with the other. Property is protected by the Government, as women are; but property, whether man's or woman's, has no representation.

* * * Mr. Astor has one vote, the sweeper has one vote, and I have one vote. And the reason is plain and unanswerable. It is because Mr. Astor can carry one musket, the sweeper can carry one musket, I can carry one musket. Mr. Astor enjoys his great property because the sweeper and I are ready to shoulder our muskets to protect him in it; the sweeper is secure in his little earnings because Mr. Astor and I are ready to stand by him with our muskets; and I find it worth while to be industrious because Mr. Astor and the sweeper make it dangerous for anybody to molest me.

Without this protection our possessions would be of no value; this protection we contribute in equal measure, man for man; and this same protection we extend to our sisters, our cousins, and our aunts.

The woman suffragists, so far from suffering taxation without representation, are asking to be represented where they are not taxed.

The sexes were created different and designed to cooperate, not to compete.

The demand for votes for women is based largely upon the extraordinary assumption that what holds true between man and man must therefore hold true between man and woman.

But the establishment of this principle would mean a fair field and favor to none, the last thing in the world for which women should ask.

The whole trend of modern legislation is toward further special privileges and protection for women. Their nature demands it. The interests of society demand it.

Motherhood, potential and actual, must be protected if the race is not to perish from the earth.

There is no question of superiority, inferiority, or equality involved in this discussion.

To say that men and women are equal, or that one sex is superior to the other, is as senseless as to say that air and water are equal, or that one is superior to the other.

Each is superior in its own sphere.

Both are essential to life.

But they are essentially different and can not be compared.

To ask woman to assume the burdens of government is to ask her to neglect her natural functions for a wasteful duplication of effort in a field for which nature did not intend her.

The duty of men is to protect women from such wasteful and unnatural burdens.

THE BALLOT WOULD ROB WOMAN OF HER NONPARTISAN POWER.

How can women best serve the State? Can they serve it best by entering into political contests with men, or can they serve it best by leaving the turmoil of politics to men and directing their gifts along lines denied to men by partisan political ties?

The ballot is not a panacea. It is not a spiritual influence.

It is merely an instrument of convenience in the transaction of the business of government.

True reform begins, not in the ballot box or in the halls of legislation, but in the cradle, in the nursery, in the school, in the church, around the family fireside.

And there, without the ballot, woman can do more toward making a better world than anything men or women can possibly accomplish through politics.

Legislation is merely crystallized public opinion. And in the creation of such public opinion women now have a tremendous influence—an influence due to the fact that they can approach public questions as women interested solely in the good of the community.

With the ballot women deal with such questions as men now deal with them—not with an eye single to the public good, but with one eye on the public good and the other on the political party good.

They work as members of some political party, and the State loses this great nonpartisan body, which is one of the essential checks and balances of party government.

We should oppose woman suffrage if we wish to preserve for the public weal the nonpartisan power of women.

THE BASIS OF GOVERNMENT IS PHYSICAL FORCE.

Woman suffrage violates the basic principle of all government—the principle that the electorate must possess the inherent power to execute its sovereign will expressed in legislation.

The gift of the ballot would fail to clothe woman with any real political authority, for the obvious reason that there would be nothing back of the ballot.

Law is the expression of sovereignty, and sovereignty rests ultimately upon physical force and upon nothing else.

Not that "might makes right," but the might must exist to make right secure.

Our statute books are filled with laws to protect us in our right to life and property, but our real protection is not in the law, but first in the strong right arm and in the gun and club of the policeman, and ultimately in the majority of male voters who would be called upon to back him up with force of arms if necessary.

The lawless element of the community is kept from lawlessness not by statutes but by the fear of men clothed with authority to enforce the law.

Women are prohibited by nature from being this law-enforcing power.

To create an electorate lacking in the one indispensable element of sovereignty would be to undermine the foundations not only of government but of the social order.

The woman's ballot would be a blank-cartridge ballot.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE, FEMINISM, AND SOCIALISM.

All the facts bear out the statement that woman suffrage, feminism, and socialism are marching hand in hand toward a complete social revolution.

"One million Socialists work and vote for woman suffrage," was the slogan inscribed on the red banner carried by the Socialist contingent in the big suffrage parade in Washington, D. C., in March, 1913.

Every Socialist and every feminist is an ardent worker in the cause of votes for women.

The editor of the *Woman's Journal*, the national suffrage organization organ, is an avowed Socialist, having said in an interview in the *Boston Post*, December 26, 1911:

I became converted to socialism through reading Socialist newspapers.

"Woman suffrage," says Daniel De Leon, one of the most prominent American Socialists, "must take its place as an integral splinter in the torch that lights the path of the social revolution."

Radical Socialists and feminists, like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Inez Millholland-Boissevain, Winifred Harper Cooley, and Max Eastman are engaged as speakers on suffrage platforms, and their most radical feminist and socialistic utterances are published, advertised, and sent broadcast by the National Woman Suffrage Association as arguments for votes for women.

So close is the partnership between woman suffrage, feminism, and socialism that in order to dissolve it, this is what the suffrage associations would have to do:

Drop all their Socialist and feminist officers, speakers, and writers, withdraw from circulation all the feminist and Socialist literature published and sent broadcast by the National Woman Suffrage Association in the effort to gain suffrage converts, and pass resolutions repudiating the doctrines of socialism and feminism.

Imagine the violent upheaval in the upper circles of suffragism that would inevitably follow a serious movement on the part of suffragists to adopt such drastic measures of reform.

Yet they must be adopted before the woman suffrage movement can come before the people free from the stains of socialism and feminism.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND FEMINISM.

Woman suffrage, according to Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, noted suffragist, is an essential branch of the tree of feminism.

"Feminism," she says in her book on the subject, "is gradually supplying to women the things they most need." And among these things she mentions easy divorce and economic independence.

Easy divorce, as feminists explain it, is divorce at will. It would permit a wife to cast off her husband and take another without consulting the courts.

Economic independence is the theory that wives must engage in gainful occupations outside the home in order to be independent. For a wife to be supported by her husband is, according to feminism, to be a parasite.

Feminism, therefore, would compel wives to compete with husbands in business and industry. It would make marriage a farce and the home, as we know it, a thing of the past.

Feminism is a revolt against nature and Christian morals.

Writing in *McClure's Magazine* for March, 1913, Inez Millholland-Boissevain, a prominent suffragist, foresees with delight "The beginnings of a breakdown of the artificial barriers in the way of a more natural observance of the mating instinct."

In other words, free love.

In the *Forum* for April, 1915, Lottie M. Montgomery says, among other things too indecent to quote:

In the future woman will make the sex laws which govern herself and they will not be uniform or written into the statutes as they are now. Every woman will be a law unto herself. * * * To substantiate my statements I refer to the leading spokeswomen of the feminist movement, i. e., Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Ellen Key, Emma Goldman, Mrs. C. G. Hartley, and to Bernard Shaw and Ibsen.

The *Case for Woman Suffrage*, a bibliography of suffrage literature published by the College Equal Suffrage League and sold by the National Woman Suffrage Association, sneers at the old-fashioned suffrage arguments and gives the highest meed of praise to the radical writing of the most radical feminists and socialists.

Too many advocates of woman suffrage, says *The Case* (p. 64), insist that when woman is enfranchised she will be no less "womanly" than before, whereas in point of fact perhaps the chief thing to be said for the suffrage is precisely that it will make woman less womanly, in the commonly accepted sense of the term. * * * One can not argue logically on woman suffrage without facing this fact.

This is the unwholesome and destructive doctrine of the feminist. It is not the doctrine of the normal man or woman.

"There is no difference," says Rabbi Joseph Silverman, "between woman suffrage, socialism, and the present feminist movement. The one means the other, and no matter which cause wins first disaster to matrimony and the home will follow.

If, as Mrs. Hale says, "Woman suffrage is an essential branch of the tree of feminism," then woman suffrage must be destroyed in order that the tree of immoral feminism may not grow.

To protect the home and society from the feminist menace we must fight the woman-suffrage movement.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM.

That woman suffrage is essential to the success of socialism is the claim of the most enlightened socialists. One of the cardinal principles of socialism is that the interests of husband and wife are different, that the individual, and not the family, should be the unit of the State, and the enfranchisement of woman, as Mrs. A. J. George has so clearly pointed out, is necessary to put this principle into operation.

There are just two ways, says Mrs. George, in which a married woman can vote—either with her husband or against him. If she votes with him she merely doubles the vote without changing the result. If she votes against him, then the family ceases to come in contact with the State as a unit—which is exactly what the socialists want.

Socialism is the avowed enemy of modern civilization. It would abolish marriage, break up the family, and give the children over to the care of the State.

In all woman-suffrage countries socialism is rampant, and in this country it prevails out of all proportion in States where women vote.

Socialists want woman suffrage in order to advance socialism. They believe it is the only weapon with which they can break up the home.

If we do not want to help socialism, we must oppose woman suffrage.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

What is to become of the home and the children under economic independence? The feminists do not seem to know definitely. Some suggest communal homes. Others suggest institutions.

But all feminists agree that a wife must be independent of her husband, free to go and come as she pleases without consulting his desires.

Dora Marsden in "Bondwomen," a pamphlet attacking marriage and characterizing wifehood as a species of slavery, says:

The free woman's concern is to see to it that she shall be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be.

"Bondwomen" was printed and circulated as a campaign document by the National Woman Suffrage Association.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, leading suffrage speaker and writer, in an article in the *Woman's Journal*, says:

The woman should have as much to do in the home as the man—no more. * * * Who, then, will take care of the sick baby? The nurse, of course. * * * If the child is not seriously ill, the nurse is as good as the mother. If the child is seriously ill, the nurse is better.

It is clear from this that if the suffragist-feminists have their way, wives who do not go out into the world to earn their own living will not be respectable, but will be known as parasites and bondwomen.

"It is unwholesome," says Mary Ware Dennett, "for any woman to be supported by any man."

Mrs. Dennett was formerly an officer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, and is now on the board of directors of the "Birth Control League," a race-suicide organization recently formed in New York.

According to this theory the husband must cease to be the provider and the wife cease to be the homemaker; otherwise their relations are unwholesome.

It is for workingmen to consider how the operation of this abominable doctrine, apart from its destructive effect upon the home, would be likely to affect the labor market.

What do they think would happen if all of the married women, in order to be respectable, were compelled to go out and look for jobs?

Remember, if the vote is given to women, they will be in duty bound to use it. The vote is a public trust, and those who have it and who fail to use it are not good citizens.

Suffragists who say, as most suffragists do, that "women who do not want to vote can stay at home," are counseling a very grave dereliction of duty, and are giving the most convincing proof of their own unfitness for the responsibilities they would force upon their unwilling sisters.

The enfranchisement of women means political organizations for women. It means women candidates for any and every office. It means politicians who can strike men in the most unfair way in a political contest, but whom men must not strike in return.

The vote for women means women on juries. Don't forget that.

They say women jurors will "purify the atmosphere of the courts." Perhaps, but they can't purify the testimony to which they must listen in the jury box, and which they must discuss with strange men, and that often through the long hours of the night, behind the locked doors of the jury room.

When they show you the suffrage map and boast that 49 per cent of Uncle Sam's territory is woman-suffrage territory, just remember

that New York State has approximately 1,000,000 more inhabitants than all the full double-suffrage States combined, yet New York State has 20,000 fewer square miles of territory than Washington—the smallest of the suffrage States.

Less than 9 per cent of the population of the United States is in States that have full suffrage for women.

There are nearly three times as many people in the 4 great States that defeated woman suffrage at the polls in 1915 as there are in the 11 double-suffrage States. It is not area that counts on election day, but population.

The suffrage map is a fraud.

Woman suffrage is going, not coming. It met its Waterloo in 1915, with overwhelming defeat at the hands of the people of 4 great eastern States, and it met rejection by the legislatures of 17 other States.

Ohio defeated woman suffrage in 1912, and again in 1914—the first time by a majority of 87,455, but the second time, after the voters had awakened to the menace, by a majority of 182,905.

Michigan defeated woman suffrage in November, 1912, and again six months later—the first time by a majority of only 760; the second time by a majority of 96,144.

Woman suffrage was defeated in Wisconsin in 1912 by a majority of 91,479; in North Dakota, 1914, by a majority of 9,139; in Nebraska, 1914, by 10,104; and in Missouri, 1914, by 140,206.

New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania defeated woman suffrage at the polls in 1915—New York by a majority of 194,984, Massachusetts by 133,457, New Jersey by 51,108, and Pennsylvania by 55,686.

The vote on the suffrage question in Massachusetts was unprecedented, being 91.2 per cent of the total vote for governor, while the vote for governor was the largest ever cast in any election in that State.

The facts all show that the great majority of men and women everywhere, when their interest is aroused, are against the doubled electorate. Popular indifference is the best friend of woman suffrage.

SUMMARY.

The foregoing statements prove that the vote is not a natural right, but a grave responsibility, involving many burdensome and disagreeable duties.

That woman suffrage is not only a costly and futile experiment, but a dangerous experiment, since it increases the stay-at-home vote, brings a new element of discord into the home, and lessens that respect of men for women which lies at the root of Christian civilization.

That the demand for the vote is the demand of a small but noisy minority.

That woman suffrage is bad economy, being a proposal to compel two sexes whose interests are identical to do a job that one can do at least as well.

That men are essential to government and women are not, man alone possessing the physical power to enforce the law, without which the ballot is useless.

That the natural relation of the sexes is one not of equality but of difference, and that men and women were designed to work in different spheres for the common good.

That women can best serve the State outside the realm of political strife.

That the woman-suffrage movement violates the fundamental principle of democracy in its bold attempt to force the will of a small minority upon the great majority of women.

That it is socialistic and feministic in its tendency to make the individual and not the family the unit of the State.

That it is based on a feeling of sex antagonism, and is therefore a menace to the home.

That it is an insult to men in its false declaration that they have failed to protect the interests of their wives, sisters, and daughters.

That it is unnatural in its dream of a new freedom for women and a distinct injustice to the great mass of women, who do not want new burdens thrust upon them, but wish to be left free for the performance of those duties which are their natural inheritance and which must be performed if the race is not to perish.

Please think this over carefully and then see if you do not agree that the best interests of the State and Nation demand the defeat of woman suffrage.



[March, 1916]

DOES WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN PRACTICE ADVANCE PROHIBITION ?

Nineteen states have Prohibition; of these six have Woman Suffrage. Kansas adopted Prohibition in 1880, 32 years before it adopted Woman Suffrage. Thus, thirteen states have adopted Prohibition under Manhood Suffrage, while five states have adopted Prohibition under Woman Suffrage.

The state of Maine, which has defeated every attempt to introduce Woman Suffrage, has had Prohibition since 1850.

North Dakota, which defeated Woman Suffrage in 1914 has had Prohibition since 1889.

The largest Woman Suffrage state, California, defeated Prohibition in 1914 by 190,000 majority. According to Senator Works of California, the city of San Francisco has 3,500 saloons. The male suffrage city of Boston with a population one and one-half times as large, has only about 700 saloons.

Pasadena, California, a "dry" city during all its previous history, went "wet" at the first election after women were given the vote. There were then, according to the United States census, 29% more women of voting age than men of voting age in Pasadena.

Montana and Nevada, known as the "wettest" states in this country, are the only states in thirteen elections on the question, to adopt Woman Suffrage since 1912. On May 4th, 1915, the women of Reno, Nevada, exercising the franchise for the first time, voted against the proposition to reduce the number of saloons from 80 to 40, and were publicly thanked by the liquor interests for standing by them. In Montana, before the election of 1914, the Suffragists refused to permit the W. C. T. U. to march in their parade.

Colorado, a Woman Suffrage state since 1893, adopted Prohibition November, 1914. The local option law continued in force until January 1, 1916. Under this law, in May, 1915, Denver voted to remain "wet," and at the same election defeated civil service.

After 47 years of Woman Suffrage the state of Wyoming is still "wet."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, while president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, declared, in a statement issued by the National Woman Suffrage Association, that the Suffrage Associations of the United States had never taken any stand on the governmental control of the liquor traffic. She added: "Just what the position of the woman voter will be on the subject of the liquor traffic cannot be guessed, as there are as many individual opinions in regard to that as to any other question; but Suffragists as a whole, are not responsible for individual opinions."

The President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and many State Presidents, have made solemn affidavit that not one penny has ever been contributed to their organizations by any liquor or brewery interests.

No President of any State Suffrage organization, or the National Suffrage organization, has ever taken up the challenge to do the same regarding their funds.

Reprint from Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and Woman's Anti-Suffrage Bulletin.

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Dec 5, 1916

Anti-Suffrage Notes No. 133

Since the two recent anti-suffrage victories in West Virginia and South Dakota the suffragists realize even more clearly than before how hopeless are their attempts to win when the question is submitted to the people. A yellow leaflet issued recently by the National American Woman Suffrage Association says:

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

If the voters of this country are so ignorant and vicious that they should be disfranchised on the question of woman suffrage, why not on other questions? Why do the suffragists not use their \$3,000,000 war chest on a nation-wide movement to disfranchise men altogether? According to the suffrage view, ignorant and vicious voters are in a big majority in Wisconsin, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Iowa, West Virginia, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Rather a pessimistic view to take of our country, is it not? The antis know very well that it is not the ignorant vicious vote which defeats woman suffrage, but the INFORMED vote. In the states where suffrage has won the antis were unable through lack of money and organization to place the facts before the voters. Whenever they are able to do this the progress of woman suffrage by states is completely blocked and the suffragists know it. No electorate was ever so thoroughly informed on this question of woman suffrage as the Massachusetts electorate, and Massachusetts gave woman suffrage a smashing defeat. A campaign of education on this question always results in victory for the antis.

It is of considerable interest to note that these "ignorant and vicious" voters who oppose woman suffrage also oppose the saloon. West Virginia, where the anti-suffragists have just broken their own record for big majorities, voted overwhelmingly for Prohibition two years ago. South Dakota, which has just defeated woman suffrage for the sixth time, gave at the same time a big majority for prohibition. But California, where women vote, has just defeated full prohibition for the second time, as well as a proposed restriction on the sale and use of liquor. In Illinois, where women vote, the anti-saloon league told many audiences during the recent campaign that Illinois had NO CHANCE of prohibition except by a National Prohibition Law.

There is a hot quarrel in process in Illinois between two wings of the suffragists. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, one of the "big four" who lobbied the suffrage bill secretly through the Illinois legislature, is determined that a constitutional suffrage amendment granting women full suffrage shall be submitted to the voters of the state. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, an equally prominent leader, is determined that the people shall not be allowed to vote on the question. She is afraid to risk its defeat. She says: "If this amendment were passed by the state legislature, submitted to the men voters and defeated, it would be said throughout the nation that the men of Illinois had repudiated woman suffrage. We would be almost helpless against the tide that would set in. If this suffrage amendment were voted on and lost the suffrage cause would suffer a severe setback from which it would be hard to recover." Mrs. Catt sides with Mrs. Trout. She also has no confidence that the men of Illinois would be willing to grant suffrage to women after having seen partial suffrage tried for a few years. She has written sharply forbidding the Illinois suffragists to undertake a state campaign for a constitutional suffrage amendment.

Roy K. Molton, the husband of the secretary of the Michigan Suffrage Association, spoke at a suffrage meeting in Grand Rapids recently. He said: "You can always tell a suffragist but you can't tell her much. We husbands are so accustomed to this state of affairs that when our rights are trespassed by women we are too proud to fight."

The reasoning processes of Michigan suffragists are somewhat difficult to follow. Michigan voted on November 7th for prohibition. The suffragists say: "Confident that prohibition and suffrage are closely related in the minds of the public, suffrage leaders believe that by means of reciprocity their success is insured, and in the event of a suffrage amendment going to the people in the near future it would unreservedly receive the support of the dry forces."

In other words, since it has been clearly demonstrated that woman suffrage was entirely unnecessary in order to win the fight for prohibition, suffragists reason that the Prohibitionists will undoubtedly vote for women suffrage!

"The Survey" of November 11 prints an article on the raising of women's wages in the Ford factories to \$5 a day, and quotes one of the stenographers as saying: "I'll think twice before I get married now. I like my job too well to lose it. And I certainly wouldn't marry a man making only thirty dollars a week—I can scarcely support myself on that"—and she laughed, since her standard of living had been raised to that amount only two weeks before.

This naturally pleases the radicals, as does everything which militates against marriage and home-making for women. A healthy civilization, as is well known, is based on a sound family life. Where this is lacking there is demoralization and disease. But the Feminists nevertheless rejoice exceedingly at everything which tends to make women dissatisfied with family life. A Denver judge recently states that in his experience the majority of divorces were caused not by the husband's drinking, as is generally supposed, but by the fact that the wives who had been wage earners were so dissatisfied if their husbands, besides supporting the family, could not give them as much for their personal use as they had earned before marriage. He found this the most common cause of marital troubles.

Another triumph for the Feminists—women are working as section hands on the German railroads. Nineteen of them were killed on November 12 as a train dashed at full speed into a group of them in a suburb of Berlin.

Robert A. Woods, a well known social worker of Boston, says: "For more than a generation there has been a steadily increasing convergence upon the home as a vital, focal point at which all fundamental beginnings of every sort of helpful service should be made." The Feminist movement is an attempt to destroy the home, and is, therefore, a most retro-

gressive movement. Practically all leaders among the suffragists are Feminists.

The Chicago Daily Tribune of November 4th prints a picture of two young ladies in very décolleté gowns under the heading "Two good reasons why most of the male voters in the North Side should vote for Hughes"—The sex appeal in politics.

At the close of their campaign the national Woman's Party sent by long distance telephone the following message to the women voters in every suffrage state: "Women voters, remember Wilson kept us out of suffrage. Do not return to power a president and congress hostile to political freedom for women. Vote against Wilson." Which they didn't.

Leaders of the Congressional Union for Woman suffrage are keenly disappointed by the election. Instead of bright prospects for the constitutional amendment for equal suffrage expected, if there had been a general Republican victory, suffrage leaders are resigned to another hard fight. The failure of women voters to throw the Pacific states to Hughes has chagrined suffrage headquarters.—(Boston, News Bureau, November 11.)

The Republican national campaign fund totalled \$2,012,535. The Democratic national campaign fund totalled \$1,310,729. The suffrage campaign fund totalled, according to their own telling, \$3,000,000.

At the beginning of the war Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, urged that the suffragists and anti-suffragists call a truce and give up their fight temporarily in order that women on both sides might be able to give their time, strength and money to the service of suffering humanity. The suffragists paid not the slightest attention to this suggestion. They went on their headlong way, spending money with the reckless abandon that has probably never been equalled. They admit having spent \$200,000 in their New York campaign, \$64,000 in the Iowa campaign, nearly \$70,000 in the Massachusetts campaign, and similar sums in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and other campaign states where they met defeat in each case. They spent about \$40,000 on the Hughes Golden Special, which was a big element in defeating Mr. Hughes. The Woman's Party spent untold sums in its western campaign to defeat Mr. Wilson, and succeeded in electing him. All these vast sums of money expended in the last two years would have been better used, so far as furthering the aims of the suffragists is concerned, if they had made a little bonfire in the public street with it, for all these defeats have lessened such prestige as they had. They have queered themselves with the Democrats by fighting them all over the country and they have certainly not won favor with the Republicans by unintentionally defeating Mr. Hughes. At a time when they needed the votes of both political parties in congress if their Federal Amendment is to have a ghost of a show they have managed completely to alienate the sympathies of both parties. They were defeated in New York in 1915 by nearly 200,000. Their next defeat will undoubtedly be larger, but, nevertheless, it is their intention to squander \$300,000 and probably a good deal more, in achieving this defeat!

This situation is a disgrace to American women. The expenditure of this money gives, it is true, occupation to the professional suffragist and excitement to a certain type of women which craves it, and although they achieve nothing for their cause but defeat, they are willing to waste sums which would save the lives of thousands of women and children. If the history of America's relation to the Great War is ever written the story of the chapter relating to the heartless and callous indifference of woman suffragists to suffering humanity will make sorry reading.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AGAIN

"The forty-eighth convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party began its labors at Albany yesterday. Either in immediate review or prospect the Cause looks scarcely aureate. In 1916 Iowa, West Virginia, South Dakota have followed the example set by Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, in 1915. The antics of the Woman's Party and the unfortunate, if well-intentioned, performances of the Hughes "Golden Special" have hardly tended to reconcile conservatives to feminism in politics. The approval of woman suffrage by both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions was a perfectly understood bid for the votes of the women in the suffrage States, that mythical "4,000,000" wherewith the Woman's Party goldbricked the unsuspecting Mr. Hughes. The chaffering of the politicians is not likely to affect save with a stronger disrelish for votes for women the opponents of female "emancipation."

Illinois is the only State in which a separate record is made and an informed judgment is possible of the ballots of women. If there the women seem to have divided substantially as the men, woman suffrage seems to be simply a superfluous and an expense. In the other and further Western suffrage States we are told that the case is the same. The sex solidarity whose apparition alarmed Mr. Hughes, was not manifested. If, on the whole, women are actuated by the same political motives as men, if their view of candidates and policies is the same, the State that enfranchises women is merely indulging in a costly luxury. If, on the other hand, women, to any considerable extent, vote as women, their enfranchisement would be unwise and might be a weakness and a danger.

It is to be said in all frankness that the pacifist utterances of some distinguished woman suffragists have convinced some former friends of woman suffrage that there is a feminine opinion of preparedness and of war which should not be allowed to bear fruit in political action. There is more than enough sentimentalism, feminism, pacifism, in American public life and public men.

The people of New York gave an impressive mandate against woman suffrage last year. The mandate is likely to be more impressive in 1917. Amid the many pressing vital problems, domestic, foreign, economic, industrial, with which the United States has to deal, the intrusion of feminism is grotesque."—(New York Times, November 22.)

Issued by the Cambridge Anti-Suffrage Association, December 5, 1916.

Margaret C. Robinson, Chairman of the Press Committee.

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[Dec. 7, 1916]

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

"A DESTRUCTION OF THE RIGHT OF SELF GOVERNMENT"

ELIHU ROOT

Statement read at the
NATIONAL ANTI-SUFFRAGE CONVENTION
WASHINGTON, D. C.
December 7, 1916.

Issued by
The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage,
280 Madison Avenue, New York City.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

"A Destruction of the Right of Self Government"

A statement from the Hon. Elihu Root to Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, President, New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

December 5, 1916.

MY DEAR MISS CHITTENDEN:

I am against having the constitution of the United States amended so as to impose woman suffrage on the states which do not wish for it, not merely or chiefly because my judgment does not approve of woman suffrage but for a much more vital reason.

If the people of the State of New York were to vote for woman suffrage I should think they had made a mistake, but a mistake which they had a right to make—one of those mistakes which are inevitable in the process of developing free self government. If, however, some other state or combination of states acquires the power to compel and does compel the State of New York, against its will, to employ woman suffrage in carrying on its government, that is no step in the exercise of self-government. It is *pro tanto* a destruction of the right of self government and a subjection of the people of New York to the government of others. That is what the proposed amendment seeks to accomplish. Having failed to secure the assent to woman suffrage of such states as South Dakota and West Virginia and Ohio and New York and Pennsylvania, the advocates of woman suffrage now seek to compel such states to accept it against their will and to compel them to carry on their local government and select their representatives in the national government in conformity to the opinions of the people of other states who are in favor of woman suffrage. I think such an attempt is contrary to the principle of liberty upon which the American Union was established

and without which cannot endure. Our system of government rests upon direct allegiance and loyalty to the nation, composed of all the people of all the states, and the power of the nation as a whole to control and require obedience in all things national, and also upon the idea of absolute liberty to the people of each separate state to govern themselves in all their local affairs according to their own free opinions and will. Without assurance that both of these ideas, the principle of nationality and the principle of local self government, would be preserved the Union would not have been formed and without them it cannot be maintained. Without the power of the nation we should become the prey of external aggression and internal dissension. Without the right of local self government we should lose the better part of our liberty, the liberty to order our own lives in our own homes and our own communities according to our consciences and our opinions and to be governed only, in matters not national, by officers chosen by ourselves in such ways as we consider suited to our conditions. This country is so vast, the differences in climate, in physical characteristics, in capacity for production, in predominant industries, and in the resultant habits of living and thinking, are so great that there are necessarily wide differences of view as to the conduct of life, and to subject any section of the country in its local affairs to the dictation of the vast multitude of voters living in other parts of the country would create a condition of intolerable tyranny, and to use the power of the nation to bring about that condition would be to make the nation an instrument of tyranny. It is needless to argue that this would ultimately destroy the nation. It is the free adjustment of the separate parts of our country, the unchecked opportunity of each community to live in its own home according to its own opinions and wishes, that has made it possible for us all to unite in maintaining the power of the nation for all national purposes. If you destroy that free adjustment by enabling some parts of the country to coerce other parts of the country in their local affairs by the use of national power you will destroy the whole system and ultimately break up the Union. That is precisely what this amendment undertakes to do. South Dakota and West Virginia have just voted not to adopt woman suffrage. "Very well," say the suffragists. "The people of other states who differ from you in opinion will use

the power of the national government to compel you to accept woman suffrage."

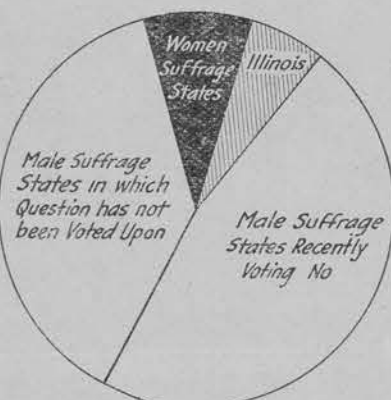
There is nothing more essentially and vitally local to a community than the way in which it shall select the officers who are to govern it. Any external power which can control that, can control the local government. Nothing is more clear in the constitution under which our Union was formed than that this is a matter of purely local concern. The one exercise of national power over suffrage to prevent discrimination against the black race was made and justified only upon the same grounds which justified the war and the Emancipation Proclamation and for the time being destroyed all local government in the seceding states. It establishes no precedent and justifies no attempt at control upon a less terrible and compelling cause. You will observe that I am not discussing the question of woman suffrage. Nor am I confining my remarks to the immediate effect of the proposed amendment, as if that could be adopted without being followed by other action of a similar kind. If adopted it will inevitably be followed. If the principle of free self government is abandoned today in order that some of us may impose our ideas as to the conduct of life upon others, it cannot be successfully asserted tomorrow when others seek to impose their ideas upon us. The consequences of abandoning a fundamental principle upon which our system of government has been built up cannot be limited at will.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) ELIHU ROOT.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE NOTES No. 134

POPULATION DIAGRAM



POPULATION IN 1910

United States.....	91,972,266
Woman Suffrage States.....	8,198,469
Illinois (Partial Woman Suffrage)	5,638,591
Male Suffrage States.....	78,144,206
States recently defeating Woman Suffrage.....	41,685,510

Washington, Dec. 5.—While legislators and gallery inspectors looked on in amazement, a large yellow banner bearing the words, "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" was unfurled before President Wilson as he read his annual address in the hall of the House of Representatives today.

A delegation representing the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage staged this sensational incident. Without warning the banner was rapidly strung out along the railing of the public gallery, almost directly in front of the rostrum, from which the President was reading his message.

The affair was carefully planned. This was shown by the fact that at the very instant the banner was unfurled a messenger from the Congressional Union headquarters appeared suddenly at the door of the press gallery of the House and shoved into a doorkeeper's hands more than a hundred mimeographed copies of an article about the banner and the women responsible for its display.

Members of Congress from the woman suffrage states privately deplored the incident. They asserted that the rank and file of woman suffragists did not believe in such spectacular methods, and the affair would injure rather than help the suffrage cause.—(New York Times, December 6.)

DRAMATIZING THEIR IMMATURITY

Nothing so annoys the suffragists as to be told that the quality of the feminine mind has anything to do with the question. Nothing so moves them to indignant speech as to hear it alleged that the introduction of the female mind into politics will not improve that science. Then, by way of discomfiting the argument, they proceed to furnish gratuitous demonstrations of its truth.

Sometimes things are called "characteristically feminine" which are, in truth, only characteristically human. But certainly no aggregation of male minds, even if carefully selected because of their smallness and cheapness, would ever think of anything so supremely small and cheap as the unfurling of the banner bearing the words: "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" before his eyes as he arose in the Hall of Representatives to inform the Congress of the state of the nation. One would be justified in calling that exhibition "characteristically feminine" even if the phrase were unjustified in nine other cases out of ten, simply because its peculiar compound of qualities could never be found in any political performance by any group of males. If there was one quality apparently left out, its omission was instantly supplied by the breathless irruption into the press gallery, simultaneously with the unfurling of the banner, of a messenger with a hundred mimeographed copies of a statement giving the names of the women guilty of the performance, and a statement in the first person by the female organizer of this assault on good taste.

Members of Congress from the "woman suffrage States" privately deplored the incident. If they really desire to see the glories of their system extended to other States we do not wonder. Those glories will never be extended if the voters in those other States continue to be offended and disgusted by exhibitions of childishness like this. This particular exhibition almost seems to have been designed by some enemy of suffrage intent on spectacularly proving the worst that has been said about the puerility of the suffragist mind.—(New York Times, December 7.)

Miss Alice Paul, head of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, which worked against the Democratic party in the last national campaign because of its opposition to the Federal suffrage amendment, said at a luncheon of the New York City branch of the union at Delmonico's: "We have lost what we have been working for because we didn't use brains. With 4,000,000 women voters we didn't win an inch of territory nor a state that we worked for."

Mrs. Catt and other prominent suffragists tell us that they "deplore" the silly actions of the Congressional Union, whose leader admits that her party does not use brains. Mrs. Catt is, however, unable to control this advanced wing of her party now, as she would be if women were given the ballot; and it is the Alice Pauls and Anne Martins who would continue to seek political notoriety. Is it any wonder that the 90 per cent of the women of the United States who are not suffragists should prefer to be represented in politics by their husbands, sons or brothers rather than by the Congressional Union type of woman?

The National Anti-Suffrage Convention in Washington on December 7 and 8 was an inspiring occasion. A full account of it will be found in the Woman's Protest for December, and should be read by every anti-suffragist. The keynote of the occasion was optimism, as never before have the prospects of our cause seemed so brilliant. In Washington the indignation aroused by the silly antics of the Congressional Union was so great that everybody at the Capitol seemed delighted to have an opportunity to show kindness and respect to the anti-suffragists. The anti-suffrage badge everywhere secured attention and courtesy for its wearer. It was of interest to note that the prominent suffragists who were seen in the halls of the Capitol were wearing no badge or insignia of any kind which would show their affiliations. It was evidently a distinct disadvantage to be known to be a suffragist.

One suffragist was arrested at the Capitol on December 7th. She had threatened her congressman, and it was feared that she intended to shoot him. As she was marched through the halls between two policemen she was heard saying violently: "Don't you touch me. I am an American citizen. Don't you dare to

touch me. I am an American citizen." This was particularly amusing in view of the fact that suffragists on the platform always declare that a woman cannot be a citizen unless she has the vote; but in an emergency, like being arrested, this lady claimed her citizenship. Her idea that an American citizen must not be touched by the law is a novel one—worthy of an 11-year-old mentality.

Edith Colby, a newspaper reporter of Thompson's Falls, Montana, has just been found guilty of the murder of A. C. Thomas, a politician, and sentenced to ten years in prison. The murder was the result of a quarrel due to sex antagonism aroused by politics. Miss Colby was at one time a candidate for city commissioner of Spokane.

At some of the anti-suffrage meetings in South Dakota the suffragists tied their "Votes for Women" sashes on dogs, which were then turned loose to disturb the meeting. This fell rather flat when the anti-suffrage speaker smiled and asked if they were "trying suffrage on the dog."

The trouble with the radical mind is that an earthquake is needed to open it to ideas which are the common property of the mass of mankind. For instance, H. G. Wells is said to have recently discovered God, but it took the most terrible war of all history and the loss of millions of lives and untold suffering to open his mind to a concept which has been the heritage of millions of men for centuries.

Likewise Mrs. Catt is awakening at last to the fact that women are not a class, but a sex. Anti-suffragists have been proclaiming this for years, but the suffragists would never harken. To them women were a class whose interests were neglected, who would stand together in politics, voting solidly for the good, the true and the beautiful, or do anything else it seemed desirable to claim. Now after the suffragists have failed completely to defeat President Wilson, as they undertook to do, but have succeeded in defeating the Republican Party in its national campaign, Mrs. Catt comes out in the New York Times of December 13th with the discovery that women are not a single class, and have not all the same motives, the same intelligence and the same characteristics! It has cost her party dear to teach her this obvious fact.

Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, another suffragist leader, is quoted in the Woman's Journal as saying that this last campaign has been "a tremendous confirmation of the value to women of non-partisanship." Now non-partisanship is the main and central doctrine of the anti-suffragists. They have been preaching its value for years. Mrs. Miller is at last, after this disastrous campaign, able to see that this doctrine is a wise one—so far as it applies to her own cause. Perhaps after a few more cataclysms she may be able to see that it is true not only of her cause, but of the causes in which other women are interested, such as humanitarian legislation.

In Colorado the women are finding that they accomplish nothing toward good legislation when divided into political parties. Not a single humanitarian bill having been passed in Colorado last year; so, according to the press, they intend to try this year to work together as much as possible after the manner of the women in anti-suffrage states who accomplish things.

All this is exceedingly hopeful. A few chinks have been opened in the darkness which besets the suffrage mind, and these ladies all seem to be taking the first steps toward becoming anti-suffragists.

In California the legislature in 1916 did not pass one bill for the benefit of women and children.

In Massachusetts ten bills relating to women and children were passed.

In Arizona the teachers pension bill was introduced three times by Mrs. Berry, a woman legislator, and was defeated each time. In Massachusetts such a bill went through without an opposing vote.

There were three bills presented in the last legislature in Massachusetts by women, and all were passed.

In Colorado not a single beneficial law relating to women and children was passed by the last legislature.

A bill for a home for dependent children failed to pass.

A bill to establish a wage board for women and minors failed to pass.

A bill to establish certain property rights for married women failed to pass.

A bill for an industrial school for girls failed to pass.

A bill for a training school for mental defectives failed to pass.

A bill to provide a minimum wage for teachers failed to pass.

A bill for the physical examination of children in the public schools failed to pass.

A bill for a bureau of child protection failed to pass, and

A workman's compensation act was rejected.

Massachusetts has practically all these laws, and it would be hard to find a progressive male-suffrage state that has not a goodly number of them. No wonder Colorado women begin to realize that party politics are a serious handicap in securing good legislation.

There is vast room for improvement in the widowed mothers' pension regulations of Colorado, according to Miss Gertrude Vaile, secretary of the Commission of Charity and Correction of Denver, who spoke before the charity federation in the Public library yesterday.

She scored the systems of separating dependent children from their mothers and caring for them in public institutions. A mother's care and guidance is paramount in all phases of childhood, she said, and dependent children who have mothers should be left in their own homes, even though it may devolve upon the state to support them there.

"Widowed mothers realize this," said Miss Vaile, "and generally will endure almost any hardship their lot may necessitate, rather than part with their children."

"Furthermore, I believe the care of dependent widows and children should be directed by the state, and not by the Juvenile court, as at present. There should be some department of the state government created especially for this purpose."

Miss Vaile concluded with an expression of her conviction that many states surpass Colorado in their systems of pensioning widowed mothers.—Rocky Mountain News (Denver), December 12, 1916.

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Margaret C. Robinson, Chairman of the Press Committee.

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[Dec. 22, 1916]

Anti-Suffrage Notes No. 135

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

Chicago, Dec. 1.—Two customs of the days when the west was wild and woolly today were dragged out of oblivion and incorporated into orders given the Chicago police as a result of a wave of crime which has seized the city.

First of these orders is to "get the drop first." The second is "make 'em check the guns at the doors of all dances." The orders are the result direct of numerous holdups and two gun affrays, in which two policemen were dangerously shot. Policemen were ordered to cover with their revolvers all suspicious persons whom they intend to search and to take away all weapons from persons attending dances of a certain character.—"The Daily Reporter" (Fon Du Lac, Wis.), December 1.

NO CLOSED SEASON

Within seven days three Chicago policemen have been shot by rowdies who did not want to behave themselves. When these rowdies were told to behave themselves they replied by shooting the policemen who suggested it.

Shooting human beings is not half as well regulated in these parts as game shooting is elsewhere. There is no closed season. Wisconsin, for instance, has a one buck law. It keeps a hunter from shooting more than one deer, and that a male, in a short season. Chicago has not even a one buck law and it has no closed season.—(Chicago Tribune, December 7, 1916.)

We seem to be encouraging the idea that manslaughter is a fashion of showing that one has been annoyed. Sunday night three Italians went into a moving picture theater in South Halstead street, had a quarrel with an usher, and were put out of the place. Monday night the three went back with three more, took up the quarrel again, and one of the theater employees was shot.

The same newspapers recorded the fact that a young Italian was shot while walking along Forquer street in Chicago.

These are trivial incidents in a section of the country which is coming to believe that a revolver is a fair argument and a sawed off shotgun is a pleasantry.

If you don't like a man's looks, shoot him. If he says something with which you do not agree, and if you think it would be a waste of time to argue with him, shoot him. If a person bumps into you in the street, shoot him. If he steps on your foot and apologizes, reject the apology and shoot him.

Shoot 'em down. The community accepts these incidents placidly, along with its morning porridge.—Chicago Tribune, December 6, 1916.

A revolution against law is affecting modern life and it finds expression in feminism, anarchy, and a toleration of mob rule. The world rolls down hill very easily, and rolling it back will be a tedious or violent work for those who are to follow us.

MURDER IN CHICAGO

This city has a bad record of crimes of violence because the city is indifferent to its record. Vigor of administration is needed to control the disorderly elements of a city, and vigor is not likely to be displayed so long as people accept crimes of violence as something to be expected and tolerated.

In Chicago there are societies for the prevention of almost everything under the sun except killing. Manslaughter seems to be regarded as a misdemeanor. If a little group wanted to get into an unbroken field of reform it would start a movement against murder.

The theory prevailing here at the present seems to be one of guarding the individual from himself but not from others. It is important to see that the citizen does not hurt himself by looking at something in a moving picture show, but it does not seem so important to see that some one else does not kill him on his way home from the picture show.

The city does not maintain an attitude towards crimes of violence which will support a firm policy of repression. Manslaughter is almost an accepted means of settling a difference of opinion, of getting something, of terminating a quarrel.

It is not half so preposterous as it sounds to say that we accept some murder cases as if the murderers had merely exercised a personal privilege.

We are developing a habit of thought which accepts manslaughter.

The only time we show a flicker of interest is when the annual crime wave ripples in. It is about due now. Then we flutter a bit, but without getting any correction of the real trouble, which is indifference.

All the emphasis is placed upon policies which are designed to correct habits as they relate to the individual, habits which can be regulated by the individual himself. We are not protecting the individual in the matters in which he cannot protect himself.—(Chicago Tribune, December 5, 1916.)

Chicago has become a community too timid to progress. If a plan of progression be announced the brick throwers demolish it. The civic object is to defeat plans. It is not to accomplish them.

We dare any one to suggest a plan. The mere suggestion brings the bricks.

Just now the city is being offered a subway plan. If Chicago does not intend to strangle itself, it must improve its methods of transportation. The plans are submitted by a commission authorized by the city to submit them, paid by the city to submit them. They are the city's plans.

They are offered by city experts. The bricks are flying already. Twenty-four hours' inept scrutiny of what experts have worked months upon, for the city, is sufficient to develop a criticism which regards the scheme as wholly vicious.

A warren of rabbits could build a subway, but the city of Chicago never will get one until criticism becomes more intelligent. It makes the Chicago idea merely destructive. It will not permit the Chicago idea to be constructive.

The irrational course, being adopted in Chicago, is that if a plan has been submitted it is bad. By pursuing such a policy Chicago will solve its problems only by losing all its citizens.—(Chicago Tribune, December 7, 1916.)

Chicago suffragists boast that it was they who defeated the proposed bond issues for much needed bathing beaches, additional playgrounds, and the long desired plant for garbage disposal.

OUR FUTILE CITY COUNCIL

It is the achievement of the city council to have reached the last depth of futility. After much waste of time in

florid debate on the floor the city council of Chicago has voted that the method of selecting the school board shall be changed.

It is no more the city council's business how the school board shall be chosen than it is the school board's business how the city council shall be chosen, or the business of either of them how the county board or the sanitary district board or the various park boards shall be chosen. The city council is a municipal organization, existing by fiat of the legislature, and as such the scope of its duties is clearly defined, as are those of the other municipal and quasi-public bodies.

So far from having time to attend to the business of other bodies, the city council has been unable to conduct its own affairs, as is shown by its failure to solve the lake shore problem, the transportation problem, and bathing beach problem, to obtain an adequate water supply, to manage the finances of the city, or do anything whatever to check the crime wave which is engulfing the community.

While it neglects its legal functions, it wastes its own time and the time of the public harassing another municipal organization much better managed than itself.

The city council has been running downhill. Constructive men are in it, capable and upright men are in it, but they are not equal in political manipulation or in public clamor to a number of self-seeking demagogues who have taken the front places.

In a few years the city council was raised by brilliant and constructive leadership from an organization of crooks to an assembly equal in efficiency and dignity to any legislative body in America, but it has been slipping from that state year after year. Now it is only a noisy debating society, endeavoring to make up in noise what it lacks in information and logic.—(Chicago Tribune, December 3, 1916.)

The suicide rate for the whole country in 1915 was 20.3 per 100,000. The rate in San Francisco was 55.7, and in San Diego 63.3, the highest in the country.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

The West Denver High school building was out of date before it was occupied, according to expert testimony, and the South Denver building is not much better. In a number of the grade schools the old-fashioned furnace-heating arrangements are still in vogue. Most of the schools are badly lighted, judged by modern standards, and this condition means an unnecessary drain upon the children.

Ventilation in all but a few is of another era. Ten per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools attend underground schools. In all there are 131 basement classrooms in use. Some of these basements are described as little better than dungeons. In a number of the outside schools sanitary conditions are reprehensible.

Dr. Lewis M. Termann, of Stanford university, in reporting upon building conditions in the public schools of Denver had this to state, among other reflections: "It is hard to find a single city of any size in the United States doing as little for the health of its children as Denver. The children of Denver are still taught as though they were disembodied spirits."—Rocky Mountain News (Denver), December 7, 1916.

To the Editor of the Herald:—

One of the unforgettable documents of pre-election prophecy was Mrs. Catt's famous "Woman's hour has struck." Marshalling the 4,000,000 women voters, "indorsement by all parties," and Mr. Hughes' espousal of the woman suffrage amendment, Mrs. Catt clinched her line of reasoning by a complaisant interpretation of the blood and agony and horror of the European war as woman's supreme salvation—"Woman's hour has struck." One is moved to inquire how much longer suffragists, in their sweetening generalizations, are going to confuse all women with plain suffragists. * *

A reign of hysteria, feminism, egotism and destructive confusion has accomplished its own downfall. Intelligent suffragists must themselves soon concede that the inherent weakness of woman suffrage is its political and social futility. It can add nothing to the progress of humanity. It is wasteful and therefore stupid. It degenerates the true power of womanhood, which is inspirational. In a united womanhood, above politics and above partisanship—a womanhood united for a purer patriotism, nobler concepts and saner vision—lies the hope of mankind. This hope will be justified, because the masses of women are noble and sane—neither wasteful nor stupid.

CHARLOTTE E. ROWE.
Yonkers, N. Y., November 19, 1916.
—(New York Herald, Nov. 21, 1916.)

TRAGEDY OF FREE LOVE STIRS PRESS OF JAPAN

Trio of Intellectual Leaders Involved in Stabbing Affray

(By the International News Service)
Tokyo, Dec. 8.—A near-tragedy involving two prominent members of the woman's movement in Japan, and an author of nation-wide reputation has thrown Japanese social and intellectual circles into a turmoil.

Sakaye Osugi, a socialistic author-novelist, is in the hospital with a dagger wound in his breast, and Miss Ichiko Kamichika, a champion and agitator of woman suffrage, is in jail, charged with attempted murder. The incident also has involved Mrs. Noyes Ito, 22, conductor of a woman's magazine. The press has launched a campaign against the perils of "advanced thought and free love."

Osugi went to the seaside for his health. Mrs. Ito accompanied him. Miss Kamichika followed them and spent several days as their guest at an inn. On Thursday morning Miss Kamichika stabbed Osugi with a dagger. She did not harm Mrs. Ito, of whom it is said she was extremely jealous.—(Washington Herald, December 9, 1916.)

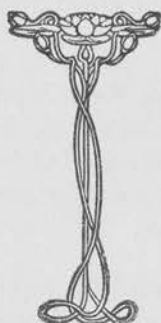
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[Jan. 4, 1917]

A Protest Against Statutory Suffrage for Minnesota Women



Issued by
The Minnesota Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
The St. Paul Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
The Minneapolis Association Opposed to the
Further Extension of Suffrage to Women



A Protest Against Statutory Suffrage for Minnesota Women

Minneapolis, Minnesota, Jan. 6, 1917.

*To the Honorable Senators and Representatives
in the Fortieth Legislature of Minnesota.*

GENTLEMEN:

The undersigned desire respectfully to submit to you their remonstrance against the bill awaiting your attention to give statutory suffrage to the women of Minnesota.

Statutory suffrage for women by action of the Legislature, in the absence of a petition for it signed by the women of the state generally and voluntarily, would be, in the judgment of the undersigned, thoroughly indefensible. It would lack the support even of the arguments usually advanced in defense of the woman suffrage proposition.

Suffrage leaders customarily represent that they wish the ballot for certain humane and exalted purposes which state and local governments chosen wholly by men have neglected, though the same neglect appears to have occurred in states in which woman has had the ballot for many years. In the present instance this pretense of special and superior interest in certain matters under the jurisdiction of the state and municipal governments is abandoned.

The constitution of Minnesota limits to men the right to vote for all officers now or hereafter to be elected by the people. Therefore the only effect of statutory suffrage in this state would be to give women the right to vote for presidential electors whose sole duty is to participate in the election of a president of the United States, and who have nothing to do with "municipal housekeeping" or with the enactment of state laws for the protection of women and children.

Statutory suffrage is proposed either in good faith, and as a finality, or in bad faith and as a means of getting the camel's nose under the tent, as a means of gaining, without the consent of the present electorate of this state, a position from which the suffragists may the better intimidate and coerce the judgment of the public men and the press of Minnesota on a question of fundamental importance in government.

The ultimate question is whether the interests of the state would be served by giving woman full suffrage, such as can be established only by amendment to the Constitution of Minnesota. It is impossible to conceive a valid, public reason for giving women the right to vote for presidential electors while denying them the right to participate in the election of the officers who must deal with questions of peculiar and immediate concern to us as citizens under the jurisdiction of our state and local governments.

Therefore, when the Legislature of Minnesota deals with the question of woman suffrage, it should deal with the ultimate question, and this in circumstances most favorable to an honest expression of opinion on this important subject by the public men, the press and the people of the state.

The demand for statutory suffrage betrays on the part of the suffragists a conviction that the people of Minnesota in the majority are today opposed to woman suffrage by constitutional amendment, the only rational basis upon which, if meritorious, it could be proposed. It therefore amounts to a request that the Legislature of a sovereign state, whose first and most solemn obligation is to respect the will of a free people, shall join the suffragists in a conspiracy to defeat by a process of circumlocution a full, free and fair discussion of the question ultimately to be proposed. The public opinion which would condemn woman suffrage by constitutional amendment, if proposed today, surely would not approve a statutory grant of suffrage to woman. The pending proposal therefore is a demand that the body chosen to represent the public opinion of this state shall legislate in defiance of that opinion on a question whose fundamental importance was recognized by the founders of this republic, the framers of its constitution and the authors of the constitution of our own state.

We earnestly ask that you leave the question where the authors of Minnesota's constitution placed it, and that no modification be proposed by you, except on condition that the change shall be subject to approval by a majority of the duly qualified voters of Minnesota.

Respectfully,

THE MINNESOTA ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO
WOMAN SUFFRAGE,

By MRS. JOHN B. GILFILLAN, *President*.

THE ST. PAUL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO
WOMAN SUFFRAGE,

By MRS. E. C. STRINGER, *President*.

THE MINNEAPOLIS ASSOCIATION OPPOSED
TO THE FURTHER EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN,

By MRS. EDMUND PENNINGTON, *President*.

[Feb. 7, 1917]

Anti-Suffrage Notes No. 141

SUFFRAGISTS NOW THE OPENLY DECLARED FOE OF DEMOCRACY

Determined that the Will of the People Shall Be Ignored

Nation Wide Suffrage "Drive" an attempt to Influence Legislators to Misrepresent Their Constituents.

No such Systematic Attempt to Force Legislators to Vote Against Their Convictions Ever Before Undertaken in This Country! The Attempt a Failure in Tennessee

The Suffragists Oppose the Basic Principle Upon Which Our Democracy Rests—Namely, the Right of the Majority to Rule

Ohio defeated woman suffrage in 1912 by 87,000, in 1914 by 182,000. The suffragists are now trying to "influence" the Ohio legislature to force suffrage upon the people against their will. They openly teach that a legislator should not represent his constituency. A member of a Congressional Committee before which Mrs. Catt, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association was speaking in the winter of 1915-6 said to her: "My constituents voted no. Is it not my duty as their representative to represent them on a matter on which they have expressed themselves?" Mrs. Catt answered "No."

It becomes more and more a puzzle why suffragists want to vote. If when they have elected a representative to Congress or a state legislature they hold that he should not be expected to represent them; and if when they have gained a majority for any given measure they believe that majority should not be heeded, what possible advantages can accrue to them from their vote?

To force upon the country a political system utterly objectionable to the majority both of men and women of the country, is the openly avowed purpose of this group of women, wholly out of sympathy with the principles of our government. Their doctrines, their methods, their determination by the use of money to defeat the will of the people, all make the leaders of the suffrage movement a serious menace to the future of democracy in the United States.

The New York Times, of Feb. 3, speaking of the defeat of the Presidential Suffrage bill in the Tennessee Senate by a 2 to 1 vote, says: "It is right to commend the senate for not consenting to this undemocratic means of bringing about Woman Suffrage. Do the voters of Tennessee want women to have the ballot? How does anybody know until an amendment of the state constitution for the purpose is accepted or rejected? Why should the number of Tennessee voters be doubled at national elections without a mandate from the people? Woman suffrage by fear or favor, by indirection, by hook or crook is unsound. The slower method of State Constitutional Amendment is the safe, the honest, the democratic method."

All over the country suffragists are making assaults on state legislatures, hoping to get them to pass bills conferring Presidential suffrage upon women. This attempt is a frank avowal of two things—first, that they have no longer any hope of getting the people to favor woman suffrage, and second that they are determined to thwart the will of the people if possible. The bills which they are trying to put through in New Hampshire, Nebraska, Ohio, Indiana and other states are modelled on the bill which was secretly lobbied through the Illinois legislature against the wishes of the people. The people of that state are so opposed to woman suffrage, after four years of its evils, that a proposal to submit the question of full suffrage to popular vote produces a panic in the suffrage ranks. Miss Jeanette Rankin, Congresswoman-elect from Montana, recently appeared in print urging Illinois women to try for full suffrage by submitting the question to the people. Mrs. Trout, leader of the Illinois suffragists, replies very sharply, practically asking Miss Rankin to mind her own affairs, and saying that the many attentions Miss Rankin has received have apparently gone to her head; but that while she may and probably does understand conditions in Montana, she evidently does not understand them in Illinois; and that Illinois women who do understand them know that to submit the question to the people would be suicidal.

As a frank confession that Woman Suffrage is a failure in Illinois where it has been on trial for 4 years, that the people would defeat it if they should now be allowed to vote upon it, and that the only hope of obtaining full Suffrage lies with the politicians, whom the suffragists believe they can "influence," the following article from the suffrage column of the Chicago Journal, Jan. 9, 1917, is of interest: Miss Katherine M. Porter, chairman of the legislative department of the Illinois Equal Suffrage association, has sent a bulletin out into the state which is causing much discussion among suffragists. She says in this bulletin:

"The consensus of opinion among constitutional lawyers, men in political life, social workers and clubwomen in general, rejects the submitting of a suffrage amendment to our present constitution as a step which entails too great danger to the suffrage cause. They maintain that its defeat in Illinois will put into the hands of the enemies of suffrage a two-edged weapon with which to destroy the cause nationally and in the state."

"They realize fully that men in public life, avowed enemies of the suffrage principle, are willing to support a suffrage amendment resolution in the legislature knowing that the amendment will be defeated at the polls and will consequently kill the suffrage question in this state for four years at the next calculation."

"They indorse the constitutional convention as the safest, surest and in the end quickest means of securing full suffrage for the women of the state."

It is no wonder Woman Suffrage is so unpopular in Illinois when we consider conditions in Chicago. It is to be remembered that Chicago was distinctly on the up-grade four years ago, when the ballot was given to women. Since then, its decline has been swift, and the daily scandals in which members of the city government are concerned would need space many times the size of these columns to report. Not only captains of police, but even aldermen themselves have been found to be hand in glove with criminals of every type, and the city is practically in control of evil-doers.

An analysis of crime conditions in Chicago just completed by Thomas M. Kilbride, Secretary of the State Board of Pardons, shows there is a hold-up every six hours, a murder every second day, two suicides a day, and an arrest every seven minutes. The situation has at last become so desperate that the new chief of police has organized a rifle squad to shoot law-breakers instead of arresting them!

A FINE NIGHT FOR MURDER

Perhaps Chief Schuettler's rifle squad will demonstrate to those who need the demonstration that any night in Chicago is not a fine night for murder. A rifle bullet well aimed does not admit of argument, and Chicagoans disposed to kill jovially, commercially, or out of irritation or anger may be somewhat deterred. Confronting a sociological judge and a soft hearted jury is much less terrible, especially with a board of pardons in the background.

Shooting down criminals may be desirable in some ways. At least, it saves money in reformatory processes. But its attractions as a method of enforcing law is that it is sure. If there were any other sure way of stopping criminals in their careers Chicago would not think of adopting it. The fact that we

are not only considering it, but welcome its adoption by the police, is a confession of failure in law administration.

There are said to be more trial courts in Chicago alone than in all of England.

Their processes are so uncertain that few Americans have any real confidence in them.

That is why no one is horrified when the policeman is made judge and jury and his bullet the executioner. It is a measure of desperation and a confession of our failure. (Chicago Tribune, Jan. 18, 1917).

Several years ago when a gang of young Chicago toughs waylaid, robbed and murdered a workingman going home with his pay envelope on Saturday night, Jane Addams expressed strong opposition to their punishment, alleging that the blame was due not to them but to society! Her views have spread, until Chicago courts are a farce, and crime is rampant.

MUSHY JUSTICE

Four nice boys, mother's sons every one, went out in the spirit of pure youthful exuberance and formed a gang. For some sinister reason no employer had offered them \$10,000 a year jobs and, to make money for their pleasures (like the rest of society they were fond of pretty girls, an occasional drink, etc.), they turned auto bandits. In their juvenile enthusiasm they stole automobiles, poked revolvers in people's face, plundered jewelry shops, until the police objected and arrested them.

They were brought up in court. Hot tears furrowed the judge's cheek. A saloonkeeper testified against them. They had spent their money in his place and deposited their revolvers there. This man they blamed for their downfall. They also blamed women.

Cruel laws compelled his judgeship to do something to these boys. He had to do it, and he apologized. "Although society," he said, "is conscious of the fact that we owe each individual member thereof a certain duty, yet society has to some extent failed in meeting these obligations."

The judge sent them to Pontiac, tearfully. He urged them not to turn their hate against society. Society, of course, had been remiss in their cases. On no account, however, should they lay their incarceration up against society. They should be charitable. If the judge could help it society would never do it again.

When a judge acts in such a fashion, blaming every one but the criminals themselves, it is not strange that hold-up men continue to carry guns and shoot them when convenient in Chicago. (Chicago Tribune, Dec. 16, 1916.)

Chicago's Negro alderman, Oscar DePriest, is named by State Attorney Hoyne as "King of the black belt" and accused of receiving graft from gamblers to allow them to work undisturbed. "The political division of the second ward," the State Attorney said, "seems to be that the black belt belongs to DePriest and that he was in full control and that other politicians were unable to obtain any consideration." Evidence was submitted by numerous witnesses tracing the payment of money directly to the hands of Alderman DePriest. Money was paid to him for the restoration of saloons' licenses. (Chicago Tribune, Jan. 18, 1917.)

Alderman DePriest acted as chief examiner of the witnesses at the "graft" hearing given Mrs. Louise Osborne Howe Chicago. Now it is his turn! And so the "uplift" under woman suffrage goes on.

There was an atmosphere of suppressed profanity at yesterday afternoon's meeting of the council committee on finance.

Thirty women stormed the committee room to save for Mrs. Louise Osborne Rowe her job as commissioner of public welfare, which was eliminated from the budget recently. The aldermen indicated their belief that the delegation had been rounded up by the Thompson Women's organization, in which Mrs. Rowe has been active. There was no formal denial of the charge.

The women crowded into the committee room at 1 o'clock. The committee did not meet until 4 o'clock. During that time the speakers held in their hands carefully typewritten manuscripts, from which they read as soon as they were given the floor.

Mrs. F. B. Bellis, 5858 Prairie avenue, leader of the Thompson women forces of the Sixth ward, was first. Her manuscript branded the ousting of Mrs. Rowe as "an attack on woman suffrage."

"Do by women as you wish them to do by you at the next election," read Mrs. Viola Greene, of 2703 Warren avenue, from her manuscript.

"I'd like to know," said Alderman Thomas Doyle, "whether these women came here on their own initiative or at the request of some one in the department of public welfare."

"We came," said Mrs. Bellis, "because we considered this an attack on woman suffrage."

"Let the women have something," was the appeal of Dr. Davenport, who said she represented the Regular Republican Women's club of the Twenty-fifth ward.

There were further questions as to the organizations the women represented.

"Civic organizations and suffrage," was one answer.

"This is the first time in my experience on the finance committee," said Alderman Block, "that factional politics has been brought in here. You women should let the committee do its work and you do your little politics outside." —Chicago Tribune, January 18, 1917.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AN EXPENSIVE LUXURY

Springfield, Ill., January 24 (Special). Illinois is broke. It cannot meet the January payroll for the state employees totalling \$400,000 and due tomorrow. The state employees are not alone in anxiously waiting for prospect of getting their pay. The members of the General Assembly have been unable to collect more than \$500 of their \$3,500 salaries which were payable the day the General Assembly was organized. —(Chicago Tribune, January 25, 1917.)

There is trouble again in the City Sanatorium for poor consumptives in Chicago. Last spring its able and devoted head, Dr. Sachs, committed suicide because he knew that the political control which threatened his beloved institution meant the ruin of its well-being. The present trouble is that a negro physician has been appointed in charge, and the women patients declare they will leave the institution rather than submit to his examination and treatment.

Issued by the Cambridge Anti-Suffrage Association, February 7, 1917.

Margaret C. Robinson, Chairman of the Press Committee, Treasurer, Mrs. George Sheffield, 33 Brewster St., Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Extra copies of the Notes may be obtained at 10 cts. per dozen, 50 cts. per hundred, or \$4.00 per thousand, upon application to Mrs. Sheffield.

[March 1, 1917]

Anti-Suffragists Pledge Services to Nation

When President Wilson faced the National Crisis, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, an organization of 350,000 adult women in twenty-five states, sent him the following telegram, under date of Feb. 9, 1917:

THE LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Hon. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.
Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform you that the Executive Committee of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, acting for the organization, today passed the following resolution:

"That we offer our services to the President and will serve in any way in which we can be of use."

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE.

America First

This offer is in effect a renewal of the formal dedication of the anti-suffrage organizations to the service of "America First" which was unanimously adopted by the Board of Directors on June 29, 1916, and forwarded to President Wilson as President of the American Red Cross. The resolution then passed, which is remarkably applicable to the present situation, follows:

"Whereas, An emergency exists which may lead to the active engagement of the armed forces of the United States to protect the lives and property of American citizens, and

"Whereas, The cost of conflict is minimized when all citizens contribute their share of service to their common country, therefore

"Be It Resolved, By the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:

"That in harmony with our work for home and humanity the facilities of this organization be dedicated to the service of 'America First.'

"That we co-operate with the United States Government, the American Red Cross and other patriotic organizations in contributing to the comfort of the men who serve the Nation on land and sea, and in providing for the protection and subsistence of the women and children who remain at home."

The above resolution was passed at the time of the crisis with Mexico. The Anti-Suffragists have been on record for preparedness for over a year. The following resolution was adopted January 27, 1916:

"Be It Resolved: That adequate measures for National Defense should receive the support of every loyal American.

"That women everywhere should strive to further the cause of preparedness by the study of the sources and conservation of the food supply, by thrift and economy in household management and by training in the care for the physical well-being of our people in times of peace as well as of national disaster."

Issued by
The Minneapolis Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
300-302-303 Meyers Arcade
March 1, 1917

[March 1, 1917]

FACTS FOR PROHIBITIONISTS

The suffragists have been assuring the public for years that woman suffrage would do away with saloons. Do the facts support this statement?

NEVADA gave women the vote in 1914. At the first election in Reno at which women could vote the majority of the women who went to the polls voted against a reduction of the number of saloons in that city, and were publicly thanked by the liquor men. Nevada is totally black on the wet and dry map. The only two white spots are the Indian Reservations, where the Federal Government will not allow the sale of liquor.

COLORADO defeated Prohibition by 50,000 after women had voted nearly twenty years. It was finally carried by only 10,000 majority.

CALIFORNIA in 1914 defeated Prohibition by a majority of nearly 200,000. It is everywhere admitted that the women voted overwhelmingly against it. In 1916 two Prohibition bills were submitted to the people—one for complete Prohibition, the other for a restrictive sale measure—and both were defeated.

The saloon and dance hall situation in San Francisco has long been notorious. Indeed it has become so intolerable that a popular uprising in February has effected an at least temporary suppression of the most flagrant offenders,—and this not by the use of the ballot but by the force of aroused Public Opinion.

In **ILLINOIS** the strongest claim which the head of the Anti-saloon league, although an ardent suffragist, can make is that the drys "held their own" in Illinois in 1916. In Chicago 23 out of 27 aldermen elected in 1916 were those endorsed by the saloons. In East Dubuque, Ill., 74 per cent of the women who voted cast their votes for the saloons.

Two states which adjoin Illinois (Iowa and Michigan) are dry, under male suffrage.

In **MASSACHUSETTS** the drys much more than "held their own" in the 1916 elections. Besides increasing their majorities throughout the state they gained six cities—Fall River, Haverhill, Lawrence, North Adams, Fitchburg and Leominster. Cambridge, with a population of more than 100,000, has been dry thirty years under male suffrage.

The drys are gaining rapidly in many states where women do not vote. In Illinois, on the other hand, the officers of the Anti-saloon League told several audiences during the last campaign that their state (where women vote!) could not hope for prohibition except by National Amendment.

More than **ONE-HALF** of the counties of Minnesota are "dry" by local option and there is an amendment to be submitted in the next general election which will undoubtedly put Minnesota in the "dry" column.

In **NEW HAMPSHIRE** under male suffrage at the November (1916) election the vote of all the towns combined was 12,622 in favor of license, 26,514 against—a majority of more than two to one.

WEST VIRGINIA in 1914 gave a two to one majority in favor of Prohibition and in 1916 it gave a two to one vote against woman suffrage.

SOUTH DAKOTA voted for Prohibition and against woman suffrage on Nov. 7, 1916.

The following male suffrage states already have Prohibition: Maine, West Virginia, South Dakota, Nebraska, Michigan, Iowa, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, Virginia and Indiana. Kansas adopted Prohibition under male suffrage long before Kansas women had the vote.

FLORIDA has just elected a dry governor with a dry legislature and it is only a matter of weeks when that, as another male suffrage state will be lined up in the "dry" column.

Sixteen of these states have rejected woman suffrage within the last two years.

Out of 2,992 counties of the United States only 336 are now "wet." Of these, 2,405 were made "dry" with **MEN ALONE** voting, while only 251 counties were made "dry" with both men and **WOMEN** voting.

MICHIGAN, the largest state in the Union to adopt Prohibition, defeated woman suffrage twice within six months—the first time by 700 majority, the second time by 96,000 majority.

At the November, 1916, elections only one woman suffrage state (Montana) went dry, while three male suffrage states (South Dakota, Nebraska and Michigan) voted out the saloon. Under these circumstances what could be more absurd than to advocate woman suffrage as the means of securing Prohibition?

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The Minneapolis Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
300-302-303 Meyers Arcade
March 1, 1917

[March 1, 1917]

People's Verdict

Woman Suffrage Defeated at Polls

State	Year	Majority Against
So. Dakota	1898	3,286
"	1914	11,914
"	1916	4,918
Ohio	1912	87,455
"	1914	182,905
Michigan, Nov.	1912	760
" Apr.	1913	96,144
Wisconsin	1912	91,478
Nebraska	1914	10,104
Missouri	1914	140,206
No. Dakota	1914	9,138
New Jersey	1915	51,108
New York	1915	194,984
Pennsylvania	1915	55,686
Massachusetts	1915	133,447
Iowa	1916	10,341
West Virginia	1916	98,067

Woman suffrage has met defeat sixteen times in thirteen states through the votes of the people, representing a population of 41,685,510, since 1912.

Woman suffrage has been defeated in one form or another in twenty-six legislatures. Thirty-five separate states have defeated it either at the polls or in the legislatures, forty-two times since 1912. These thirty-five states comprise only one less than two-thirds of the United States.

Statutory suffrage was recently obtained by a suffrage lobby in the Ohio legislature in opposition to "the voice of the people" as expressed against a constitutional amendment in 1914 by a majority of 182,905.

South Dakota has defeated a woman suffrage amendment four times.

New Jersey granted the franchise to women in 1776, but withdrew the right in 1807.

POPULATION 1910

United States	-	-	-	-	91,972,266
States Recently Defeating Woman Suffrage at Polls	-	-	-	-	41,685,510
Male Suffrage States	-	-	-	-	78,144,206
Woman Suffrage States	-	-	-	-	8,198,469
Illinois, partial Woman Suffrage granted, by legislatures not by vote of the people	-	-	-	-	5,638,591

Issued by
The Minneapolis Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
300-302-303 Meyers Arcade
March 1, 1917

Received by
Mrs. G. G. Eitel

[June 12, 1917]

ANTI-SUFFRAGE NOTES No. 158

Do you want your country to win the war, or are you willing it should suffer defeat at the hands of a foreign power?

If you want it to win, WAKE UP and defeat woman suffrage!

Woman suffrage would cost millions every year—money which is needed, every dollar of it, to win the war if the United States is to remain a free nation.

Woman suffrage would seriously weaken our government by putting the power to make the laws into the hands of those who could not enforce the laws.

Woman suffrage would enormously increase the power of the socialists and pacifists who are opposing the draft and doing everything in their power to make our country weak and ineffective.

NO PATRIOT WILL FAVOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT THIS TIME.

Mrs. Catt continues to urge suffrage as a "war measure." It would undoubtedly be a fine one—for Germany.

Mrs. Catt was opposed to preparedness. Dr. Anna Shaw was opposed to preparedness. The New York Times of Oct. 9, 1916, called attention to the fact that NOT ONE WOMAN prominent among the suffragists had declared herself for military preparedness and against peace without honor! They even scorned the women who did favor preparedness. In a special suffrage edition of the New York Evening Post of Feb. 29, 1916, Anna Garland Spencer, after lauding the suffragists for undaunting "force" said: "In the main the antis are Red Cross workers and are ardent supporters of navy and land defense, or both." To Mrs. Spencer this was a reproach!

"Frau" Schwimmer was brought to this country in 1914 by the suffragists to work for suffrage and to start the Woman's Peace party, which has been the cover for much German propaganda. It was she who induced Henry Ford to embark on the name enterprise called the "Peace Ship." When the "Frau," who, by the way, had then begun to call herself "Madame," returned to this country last year she went out to Detroit to see Mr. Ford. He refused to admit her to his house or his factory, and declined absolutely to receive either letters or telegrams from her. It would be extremely interesting to know Mr. Ford's reasons for this action. Could the Providence Journal shed any light on the question?

It is believed by many people in England that the suffrage movement in that country was partly financed by Germany. Even in peace times England has 2,000,000 more women than men. It would naturally be greatly to Germany's advantage to have an enemy nation weaken itself by putting its government into the hands of women just before a great war. Miss Rankin has given us convincing proof.

In Illinois alone woman suffrage is said to cost one million dollars every year. Germany may well rejoice if Mrs. Catt and her followers succeed in inflicting this wasteful system on the whole country at such a crucial time as this.

MRS. CATT REBUKED

The Toronto Daily News of May 12, 1917, printed the following:

"The announcement by the Provincial Government that women were to be enfranchised was followed by a welcome calm. The caterwauling ceased, and with signs of relief we looked forward to the discontented group of our women who have been clamoring for political status, settling down to help to win the war. No chance! What is the use of a vote if it keeps you out of the lime-light?"

"Shrill cries were again heard last night in Convocation hall on the suffrage question. Mrs. Catt lectured on the subject under the guise of a patriotic address entitled 'Women's Votes and National Defense.' MRS. CATT NEVER REACHED NATIONAL DEFENSE, OR ANYTHING ELSE BUT VOTES FOR WOMEN—a subject which is settled for good and all in Ontario. The United States was attacked rather than defended by the lecturer. She was distinctly unpatriotic. Women were exhorted to clean up the mess in the Angean stables of man's politics. The position of the women of Yucatan was compared with that of the women of the United States to the disadvantage of the latter—an insult to the intelligence of her audience, and a defamation of her country. Another patriotic utterance to put forth in a foreign country was 'You never can just tell when you are going to have an honest election in the United States'—and this from a woman, who we hear, has been honored by appointment on the National Defense Committee! SURELY EVEN THE MOST ORDINARY IDEAS OF DECENCY WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO SUGGEST THAT HER DIATRIBE BE CONFINED TO THE BORDERS OF HER OWN COUNTRY."

"A number of the Old Gang were on hand, rejoicing at 'the removal of the brand of inferiority from the brows of the mothers of the race' as one put it. But the point hammered in hardest was that women should keep aloof from both political parties. Now one of the pleas of suffragists, now proved insincere, has always been that they wanted the vote that they might have comradeship with men in working out the destinies of their country. How do women expect to bring about this political comradeship and good feeling between men and themselves if they refuse to have anything to do with the party system? How can they accomplish anything except through parties? How can they expect a sympathetic attitude from men if they continue to asperse them wholesale. It was stated on the platform last night that men had neglected their duties in connection with children and the home, as shown by the lack of pure food legislation, etc. This is not the case, as the trend of legislation in recent years will show. The men of Ypres and Vimy Ridge are not the breed to block any steps looking to the improvement of the conditions under which women and children live."

"The size and lack of enthusiasm of last night's audience indicates that women are not easily fooled, and that they will resist and resent the attempt of a few of their number to stir up sex antagonism, and emphatically so at this world crisis. Signs of a little common sense in the doings and sayings of those who essay to guide their sisters these days would increase the following of their sex and lead to sensible co-operation between men and women in the adoption of wise legislation, having as its object the amelioration of existing social conditions. WITH THE RUSSIAN ALLIANCE TREMBLING IN THE BALANCE AND THE SUBMARINE MENACE UNSOLVED, WE NEED EVERY OUNCE OF ENERGY OF EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN THIS COUNTRY APPLIED TO WAR PROBLEMS. Last night's meeting, under the circumstances, was a cruel waste of time, energy and electric light."

The Evening Telegram of Toronto reported that "Mrs. Catt was long on suffrage and short on national defense."

Mrs. Catt, whose unpatriotic utterances in Canada brought her the above scathing rebuke deserves another for classing her own country with Prussia in relation to democracy. She says: "We had better blot the mote from our own eyes before we go forth and want to blot it from the Prussian's eyes." Is Mrs. Catt really so ignorant of the difference between Prussia and the United States States in this regard?

If the criminal folly and blindness of the pacifists in keeping this country wholly unprepared to win the war succeed in giving the victory to Germany, Mrs. Catt may yet have an opportunity to learn whether Prussia and the United States are in the same class as ruling powers.

Mrs. Catt in her "Defense" speeches in Denver and Seattle announced herself as a pacifist.

Are the taxpayers of the anti-suffrage

states helping to pay the expenses of Mrs. Catt on her tour, ostensibly, in the interests of "Defense"? She stated in Denver that she came there first because she was so fond of Colorado for what it had done for suffrage.

"There is hardly a suffragist who is not a pacifist," says the National Suffrage News in an editorial in its issue for February, 1917.

Woman suffrage would more than double the power of the Socialists and Pacifists who are trying in every way to weaken our government.

Are the no-conscription leagues in this country, like the Pacifist movement financed by Germany? The first step towards making the United States a conquered nation is, of course, to keep it defenseless.

Russia is giving us a brilliant example of a government run by the Suffragist-Socialist-Pacifist element.

The connection of woman suffrage with Socialism is clearly brought out by events in Russia. The Haverhill Gazette, a violent suffrage advocate, in its issue of May 24th, under the heading "Votes for Women in New Russia" says: "In Petrograd there have been several woman suffrage demonstrations since the revolution with speeches in the city hall and processions with red flags. Women workers and girl students marched with the soldiers and workmen and took revolutionary red flag rides in the commandeered automobiles. A woman's organization plastered the town with bills urging equal recognition of the sexes."

The anarchists, the socialists, the I. W. W. people, the always hustling noisy advocates of disorder and opposition to the government, youths of the colleges fed on the half-baked veal of Socialism, and prominent suffragists make up the list of those who are violently opposing the raising of an army for the defense of America.

Under the heading "SUFFRAGE LEADER ONE OF FIVE HELD AT TOPEKA, KANSAS," a dispatch to the Boston Globe of June 1st says: "Dr. Eva Harding, former candidate for congress, was arrested here today by federal officers for alleged connection with anti-draft meetings."

A dispatch from Topeka, Kansas, to the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of May 31st says: "Dr. Eva Harding tonight called the editor of a local paper over the telephone and informed him that she had hauled down the American flag which was flying at her home and that it would remain down during the war."

A so-called "Conference on Democracy and for Universal Peace" was held in New York on May 30th and 31st. In its preliminary announcement, the following statement occurs: "THE CONFERENCE PLEDGES ITSELF TO OPPOSE ALL LAWS FOR COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE." Among those who signed the call for this conference are Professor Emily G. Balch, of Wellesley College, well-known in suffrage and pacifist circles, who is the head of the organizing committee for this conference; Elizabeth Freeman, militant suffragist, trained under Mrs. Pankhurst; May Wright Sewall, one of the leading suffragists of the middle west; Rose Schneiderman, a prominent suffragist of New York; Mrs. Glendower Evans, of Boston, one of the most prominent suffragists in New England; Margaret Lane, a leading New York suffragist, and "Miss" Crystal Eastman, Socialist-Suffragist-Feminist-Pacifist. Among the men signers are many prominent Socialists, all, of course, ardent believers in woman suffrage; Morris Hillquit, whom the government has refused a passport to Russia; Louis Lochner, associated with "Frau" Schwimmer in the management of the peace ship; Scott Nearing, James Maurer, and others of their kind. Samuel Gompers, when invited to attend this conference, declined on the ground that he did not wish to aid the friends of the Kaiser in this country.

Eleanor Wilson Parker, a student at Barnard college, and two Columbia students, have been indicted in New York for an anti-conscription conspiracy. Columbia and Barnard have long been hot beds of Socialist-Suffragist-Feminist teaching. Treason seems to be the next step. Miss Wilson's father attributes his daughter's misguided action to the bad influence of certain of her professors.

The "New Republic," a radical suffrage organ, in its issue of March 10th, waxes hilarious over the effort of the board of trustees of Columbia university to discover through an investigation of the teaching in that university why it is that the output of young traitors is so large among the students. It says: "This attempt is food for laughter. It belongs in the comic opera division of our intellectual life." Evidently Miss Parker's father does not consider it a laughing matter.

"A people who are not ready, if the need comes, to give their lives for their country, will soon have no country."—Henry Cabot Lodge.

"A sensation—even for a suffrage meeting—was created yesterday afternoon when Mrs. Abby Scott Baker of Washington, D. C., national press chairman of the National Woman's Party, in describing to the Boston suffragists at their headquarters at 120 Tremont street, a recent visit to President Wilson, declared:

"I shall do nothing—I shall not lift a finger—to help the government in this war time, because the government has refused to help me. Millions are spent on war preparations. Not a cent is being spent to give women their rights. Such a government will get no help from me."

Mrs. Baker described the recent judiciary suffrage hearing, as "an Irish wake" and "a Donnybrook fair." President Wilson, said Mrs. Baker, had told her he would press suffrage as soon as there arose a spontaneous demand for it, and the Democrats, she said, told her that as soon as the President would back suffrage as a party measure they would come out for it, and in this way, Mrs. Baker claimed, the suffragists were being buffeted about.

"She said the country is now ripe for suffrage as an emergency war measure, and she declared that money should be given first not to war needs, but to clinch the success of suffrage."—Boston Post, May 25, 1917.

Will Mrs. Baker or some other suffrage leader kindly explain just why the minority should rule on the question on woman suffrage?

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Margaret C. Robinson, Chairman of the Press Committee.

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