

Anti-Suffrage Notes No. 111

A prominent Boston suffragist, writing to the Boston Herald of June 22nd, complains that the country will spend in fighting Mexico what would save a million Poles or Armenians from starvation. Why does she not apply this reasoning to the expenditures of her own suffrage party. The suffrage parade in Chicago cost \$60,000. Mrs. Catt has now at her disposal a fund of \$1,200,000, in addition to all her other resources. Mrs. Belmont has announced that she will raise half a million for the Congressional Union. The New York suffragists admit that they spent \$200,000 in their unsuccessful campaign last year. The Massachusetts suffragists spent many thousands and are now raising a new fund of \$30,000 to be wasted in the same way. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Iowa—in every campaign state—the suffragists spend many thousands of dollars. Since the beginning of the European war they have spent hundreds of thousands. Many have pledged themselves to give to no cause but suffrage—and what have they gained by it all? Defeat in one state after another, and not one victory. In the meantime horrors accumulate in thrice ravaged Poland, women and children are dying by the thousands in Poland and Armenia, no one knows the depths of woe in Serbia.

The Boston Transcript says: "In opening up Armenia the Russian troops have opened up a charnel house at whose gates the haggard little orphans sit and beg for food." While the world is full of such suffering, which money could prevent, it is a crime for women to waste millions of dollars simply to gratify their personal vanity. It is the blackest stain ever made on the honor and reputation of American women that thousands of them who are suffragists choose to shut their eyes to the suffering and death of innocent non-combatants in the terrible war in Europe, and to waste huge sums of money in the endeavor to force woman suffrage on this country against the will of the people.

Ida Tarbell, writing from Chicago of the suffragists gathered there, told of the hardness of the women, of their steel-like implacability. She says: "We are getting what we are in for—woman politicians—the inevitable result of woman suffrage." The suffrage states must endure this—they must take their punishment for their weakness in adopting woman suffrage; but men and women in the states which are still free from this bane can do their country no greater service than by preventing their own states from joining the ranks of those which offer opportunity to the female political boss, the type which will offer for sale, as one of them did in Chicago, 4,000,000 votes, nearly half of which do not exist, to any party which would give her what she wanted.

Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, writing to the New York Times, says:

"Woman's advent into politics apparently resolves itself into a question of money. Suffrage money was poured into Iowa with the idea that anything could be accomplished with money. It has always been necessary for suffragists to spend ten times as much money to get women into politics as anti-suffragists have been able to spend to keep WOMAN out of politics,—but now the suffragists proclaim themselves ready to spend a hundred times as much.

Two antagonistic factions in the suffrage party have obviously doubled its resources. The wealthy women leaders of each faction have been put on their mettle to win against each other as well as against the world.

It is becoming more and more evident that the 'cause' does not move of its own momentum. Only by extraordinary money stimulation is it kept a 'live issue'—and the stimulation is seemingly much more 'live' than the issue."

"The New Republic," an ardent advocate of woman suffrage, finds itself at a great loss as to what policy to adopt during the present political campaign. It finds neither Mr. Hughes nor President Wilson a satisfactory candidate to support, and declares: "We are prevented from supporting the Socialist ticket because its candidate is not fit to be president, and because any administration which acted on its program would land the country in disaster." An important part of the Socialist program is its endorsement of woman suffrage. The New York Call (the Socialist organ) of June 17th says: "Every Socialist pledged to office in the coming state campaign is pledged to support a Federal Suffrage Amendment, and to work for the passage by the state legislature of the suffrage amendment to the state constitution as well as for a federal amendment. A sub-committee of the Socialist state executive committee has prepared the following resolution:

Be it, therefore, resolved, by the State Convention of the Socialist Party of New York:

1. That we pledge every Socialist elected to Congress from this state to support an amendment to the Federal constitution extending to women equally with men the right to vote for presidential electors and United States senators and representatives.

2. That we pledge every Socialist elected to the New York legislature to vote for the approval of such a Federal amendment, if submitted, and meanwhile, in the session of 1917 to work and vote for the second passage of the suffrage amendment to the state constitution, as passed in the session of 1916."

One of the delegates to the Democratic convention at St. Louis who was

woman suffrage. "The New Republic" for June 24th, edited by an ardent Progressive, says: "The Progressive party consists at the present time of a dead body. The thing to do with dead bodies is to bury them. The national committee has only to order a funeral, and the funeral should be simple, and, if humanly possible, it should be silent. Silence is imposed not because the feelings of the majority of the mourners would be too deep for utterance, but because for the most part it would not be fit to utter."

"Where's my handkerchief? You'll excuse me for crying this way, won't you? I don't often cry. But my nerves are all shot to pieces. I'm ashamed to go home to my friends in Sullivan county and in Nassau county—the women I urged to follow T. R.! Think of the way T. R. has treated us! We're betrayed. We're sold out! We're made ridiculous! How shall I ever explain things? Oh-oh-oh, I'm just so miserable I can't stand it!"

The speaker, or, rather, the sobber, was Elizabeth Worth Muller, one of the most imposing figures at the Progressive convention. The time was Sunday morning. The place was somewhere in Ohio, as the Progressive special was zipping by way east from the Chicago cataclysm.

Among the dejected, outraged, resentful and, in a few cases, profanely exasperated delegates, leaders, financiers and followers who were homing on that "funeral train," Mrs. Muller stood out with tearful prominence. She is statuesque and commanding, forceful and executive, handsome and wealthy.

For many years she has worked for suffrage, giving time, effort, money and originality of thought to the cause. Ever since 1912 she has specialized in Progressive suffrage, talking for Teddy, stumping for Teddy, rooting for Teddy, gathering both cohorts and cash in the effort to put the Bull Moose leader in the White House.

Mrs. Muller reached for her handkerchief again, and I felt so sorry for her that I could have wept too.

"And to think," she went on after a moment, "that the Progressives had adopted the suffrage plank both ways—federal and state legislation! Why, when that went through at the convention, I was so overjoyed and excited that I fell off the chair!" Mrs. Muller smiled through her tears.

"Yes, I did! I had been standing on the chair, waving my flag. I fell right onto another man—a man, I mean—and hastened to apologize.

"He seemed very pleasant and we talked for two hours on suffrage. He said he had contributed to the cause, and was an ardent follower of suffrage.

"It occurred to me that since our acquaintance had been made so informally I had better present my card. So I handed him one with all my political and club affiliations engraved on it, and he in turn presented me with his. Can you imagine my astonishment when I read 'Mr. Harry Kendall Thaw, Pittsburg, Pa.' He certainly was well informed on political matters, and if he's working for woman suffrage I'm glad they set him free."—(Zoe Beckley, in the New York Mail of June 13.)

The woman who led the hysterical cheering of the recent Progressive convention at Chicago showed signs of mental collapse almost immediately after the convention, and was taken to a sanatorium from which she escaped a few days later entirely unclothed, and begged at a farm house for clothing.

Rheta Child Dorr, a prominent member of the Congressional Union, writing of the Democratic convention at St. Louis, said:

"The delegates, with the exception of a few leaders, are not representative men. They are not thinking men; they are not independent voters. They are just party men.

If this is true of the men delegates, it is equally true of the women.

This morning I interviewed at some length a typical woman delegate—Mrs. Nancy Kirkland, of Colorado. Mrs. Kirkland does not look like a politician. She looks like the president of the Ladies' Foreign Mission Guild. In reality she is the corresponding secretary of the Jane Jefferson Club, of Denver, the regular Democratic woman's organization. She is vice-chairman of her party in the city and county of Denver, and is the so-called executive woman of District J, Denver.

Never outside of an orthodox evangelical church have I encountered anything as regular as Mrs. Kirkland. When I asked her if she was a suffragist—for women in the non-voting states, I mean—she hesitated, and then said:

"Oh, yes, but the party as a whole thinks it should come state by state, I believe, so I have promised to endorse the plank which approves the principle only."

"Then you would not be willing to help other women get the vote?" I asked.

"Not so long as the party was against it," was the reply.

"That would be disloyal, and we must always be loyal, you know."

The kind of woman who as a rule gets elected as delegate to the national convention seems to be of this type. This morning the Kansas group held its caucus, and as they emerged from the room one of the men said importantly:

"Now, girls, that's all we want of you until the convention. Just you take your thirty dollars and go shopping."

SUFFRAGE BY THREAT

The Congressional Union for Woman

most enthusiastic for woman suffrage was John O. Barnes, of Kaysville, Utah, a Mormon pioneer, who has three wives; his third wife came to St. Louis with him. He is a loyal supporter of the Mormon church, but his wife is even a better defender of the tenets of the church. Barnes has had twenty children. Mrs. Barnes said in an interview: "I was married to Mr. Barnes forty years ago. He has been a true husband to me. Our religion taught us it was right for men to have plural wives, and the three wives have lived in harmony. We call each other 'sister,' and my children call the other wives 'aunt,' and their children call me 'aunt.' Our men are chivalrous. They have given us the ballot, which is a right men in other states have not given their women. The women are as loyal to the church as the men, yes, more loyal, if that is possible." Barnes maintains a separate house for each of his wives. Asked if that was not expensive, he explained that "it was expensive, but we did not live extravagantly as the people do now, and God blessed us." There were sixteen delegates from Mormon Utah. They are naturally all suffragists.

Antoinette Donnelly, commenting in the Chicago Tribune on Helen Keller's feminist theories that the married woman must be economically independent, says:

"I don't think there is a more fallacious argument than that founded on the superior comfort and advantages accruing to the matrimonial partnership if the woman be free to follow a lucrative occupation.

"The increased economic independence of woman is an impediment to home and family life.

"To begin with, no material consideration can outweigh the disadvantages where a young family must be left to hired care. As good servants become rarer and more expensive this difficulty will increase.

"It is only a question of common sense to realize that if you take away from a man the impetus to become something that a dependent wife and family inspires within him you take away self-respect, and pretty soon he has degraded into a creature in whom a self-supporting wife is the first to recognize as minus the genuine man qualities."

There has been a great increase in juvenile crime in Germany since the war began owing to the absence of the fathers at the front and the large increase of the employment of mothers in bread-winning occupations, which leads to greater neglect of the children.

The Progressive party is the only political party in this country which has ever of its own free will endorsed

Suffrage and Woman's Party, two lovely berries growing on one stem, are continuing their heroic task of putting Mr. Wilson and the Democrats in congress under duress. "Pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment," they cry, "or we will stamp the twelve suffrage states against you." "We recommend the extension of the franchise," the St. Louis platform says, "to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as to men." In the face of that declaration, and before it is a week old, these belligerent sisters command Mr. Wilson and the Democrats in congress to kick it away and commit themselves to federal votes for women, and to do it not because they are convinced of the desirability of suffrage by constitutional amendment, but because they are frightened into it. A high opinion these frowning dames must have of the moral honesty and courage of Mr. Wilson and the congress Democrats.

To hold that woman suffrage is the prime and paramount issue on which this election or any election should be decided is to furnish to the anti-suffragists a fatal argument, but it would be unjust to the majority of the suffragists to regard them as responsible for the antics and dithyrambs of the suffrage Extreme Left. The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and the Woman's Party are but amusing themselves and the rest of the country with a "bluff." They have been deserted by the sense of the ridiculous. The efforts, if efforts are made, of these two sororities to beat Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party would have about as much effect on the election as the evolutions of one Jersey mosquito on the movements of the satellites of Jupiter.—(New York Times, June 22.)

Mrs. Richard E. Bartlett, of Covington, Kentucky, a leader of the Kentucky delegation at St. Louis, fears that the suffragists may split into factions and that those now enfranchised may vote along party lines and not to advance their cause. She evidently does not believe that the Congressional Union can control over 4,000,000 votes to give to any party which will declare for woman suffrage. She says: "I am very much afraid that women may vote along party lines, and that will be a big blow to suffrage." Mrs. Bartlett evidently has a much more just idea of her sex than has the Congressional Union.

Issued by the Cambridge Anti-Suffrage Association.

Margaret C. Robinson, Chairman of the Press Committee.

For subscription rates apply to Mrs. George Sheffield, 33 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass.

July 5, 1916.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE NOTES No. 110

The official returns from the recent election in Iowa give the anti-suffragists a much larger victory than was first reported. Their majority was 10,341, instead of 4,655, and the statement is made on every hand that if the question was submitted again at the present time the majority against suffrage would be overwhelming. The attempt on the part of the suffragists to explain their defeat as due to the liquor interests is simply puerile, reminding one of Dr. Charles Denna's statement that many suffrage leaders have the mentality of eleven-year-old children. Iowa is a prohibition state; its eastern counties bordering on woman suffrage Illinois, where saloons are rampant, had conclusive evidence as to how suffrage really works. They saw how in East Dubuque, Ill., 70 per cent of the women voted in favor of saloons at one election this spring, and 74 per cent voted the same way at a second election. If the people of Dubuque, Iowa, had wanted saloons they would probably have taken this object lesson to heart and voted for woman suffrage. What they did was to vote overwhelmingly against woman suffrage—and yet suffrage leaders have the effrontery to say that this action was taken at the behest of the liquor interests!

Massachusetts suffrage leaders have been loudly proclaiming that because Lieut.-Gov. Harding, who is supposed to favor the "wets," received the nomination for governor in the Iowa primaries, the "wets" are in a majority in Iowa and it was owing to them that suffrage was defeated. As usual their theories are not borne out by the facts. In the eighth congressional district Harding carried every county but two, and suffrage carried every county but one,—so the "wets" must have voted for suffrage in that district, and the suffragists must have voted for Harding.

The Afton (Iowa) Star-Enterprise says: "The people voted against it (suffrage) because they thought it was for the best interests of the state that the women be denied the right of franchise. It seems to be the universal opinion that if the election had been held a few weeks sooner the amendment would have carried. The more the voters studied the question the more opposed they were to it. If the question is brought up again in a few years it will no doubt be defeated by an even larger majority."

The editor of The Decorah (Iowa) Journal became so indignant at the baseless charges constantly made by Iowa suffragists that their opponents were in league with the liquor interests that he wrote a spirited reply, offering a reward for any proof of their charges. It is needless to say that no proof was forthcoming. His letter follows:

It appears to me that the campaign of accusation which the advocates of woman suffrage have seen fit to conduct is not at all creditable to their cause in view of the history of woman suffrage in this country. I have seen this accusation that "the liquor interests and booze sympathizers" are footing the bills, a considerable number of times, and I have had woman suffragists make this statement to me by word of mouth, but I have never seen one word to substantiate these charges, and I have never heard an advocate of suffrage produce one single fact to substantiate this accusation. It is a very unfair, unsquare accusation against opponents who, so far as I am able to learn, are at least as honorable and as conscientious in their opinions as the woman suffragists are.

Does it mean anything to you advocates of woman suffrage that Wyoming has been a woman suffrage state and a wet state for 47 years; that Utah, the home of the Mormons, has been a woman suffrage state and a wet state since 1896; that the only states that woman suffrage has carried since 1912 are the two wettest states in this country, Montana and Nevada? Does it mean anything to you that the rotten legislature of Illinois yielded to the woman suffragist lobbyists and imposed woman suffrage on the state of Illinois?

These things should be considered by you people before making your sweeping accusations.

We people on the other side have a right to ask you to either prove these charges or retract them. The Decorah Journal, of which I am the editor, was the only newspaper in Decorah to put up any real opposition to the saloons in 1910 and 1911, and today it is the only newspaper in the city that is putting up any opposition to woman suffrage.

Maine has been a dry state for 60 years, but never has been a woman suffrage state. Kansas was dry a quarter century before the women secured a vote in that state. Iowa is a dry state by virtue of the action of men, but right east of us are East Dubuque, Rock Island and Moline, wet cities in spite of the fact that Illinois women vote.

The woman suffragists of Iowa and the nation are spending thousands of dollars in their campaign, but nobody questions where the money comes from. I venture to say that where the woman suffragists have spent a dollar in this campaign in Iowa, their opponents have not spent five cents. Up till November 3rd, 1914, not a single woman suffrage state in this whole union had ever voted for prohibition, and prohibition votes that year may very reasonably be ascribed to the dry sentiment that was sweeping over the country, yet some of you woman suffragists have the recklessness to say that the booze element is behind the opposition to woman suffrage.

I want to make this offer to you and to the woman suffragists of your county: If you will prove, before the 5th of June,

the mayor concludes as follows: "The Juvenile Protective Association, realizing the menace that this place is to young people who come in contact with it in any way, suggests that some action be taken against these flagrant violations of law and decency."

Miss Jane Addams and other Chicago suffragists maintained that it was owing to the fact that women had the vote that the Red Light District in Chicago was closed. At a recent session of the Chicago Council Judiciary Committee, Alderman Rodriguez said: "The rotten dumps exist. We know it. The police chief knows it if he has sense enough to be chief of Podunk. These rotten places exist now as before the close of the Red Light District. The police know about them, for they go in and out, and the places are apparently protected. If the mayor does not know about them he should have a guardian." "But what can we do?" asked Alderman Kimball. "We have passed various ordinances and they have been shoved back at us, and we have been laughed at. We can't get any attention. We pass actions and resolutions that aren't worth anything." Mrs. Bowen, in her speech, "The Road to Destruction Made Easy in Chicago," says: "After eight months of investigation the conclusion is that the conditions are worse now in Chicago than ever before in the association's experience." Mrs. Bowen is head of the Juvenile Protective Association.

Miss Harriet Vittum, of the Chicago Woman's City Club, says that certain moving pictures now on exhibition are "one of the most disgusting outrages ever allowed in Chicago." She is quoted in the Chicago News of June 1 as saying: "This film shows pandering in all its hideousness. If not stopped a lot of similar shows which have already been prohibited by the Chicago censors will demand the right to play here, such as 'The Lure of New York,' 'The House of Bondage,' 'Absinthe,' 'The Inside of the White Slave Traffic.' The last named, I understand, has already renewed its demand for a license. Numberless boys and girls are being admitted to these shows now going on." When a show of this character was exhibited in New York City a well-known anti-suffragist caused it to be taken off the boards, in spite of the public approval given it by Mrs. Belmont, Inez Milholland et al. Women do not vote in New York, and the moral influence of this one anti-suffragist was sufficient to have the disgusting play stopped. Women vote in Chicago, and club women and civic workers have protested in vain against the exhibition of this immoral show; the City Hall committee, which has the decision in regard to such matters, has just passed favorably upon this exhibition a second time. It must be something of a jolt to Miss Vittum and her friends, who are all prominent suffragists, to find that the city politicians pay no attention whatever to their wishes, in spite of the fact that these ladies possess what they supposed to be an all-powerful weapon, the ballot.

Iowa can hardly be blamed for not waxing enthusiastic over the results of woman suffrage as seen at close range in Illinois.

The Ipswich Tribune (South Dakota) for June 14th says:

"We cannot imagine anything more deplorable and absolutely demoralizing than the placing of womankind on an equal footing with man. It is not in keeping with justice, chivalry or the unwritten law of feminine protection."

"So much has been written of Denver, Colorado, and the results of equal suffrage there, that it has become stale discussion, and the writer has no inclination to open up the sore anew. He has had the benefit of the experience, and was once privileged to stand meekly upon the streets of Denver and watch a parade made up of women voters who, in 1908, in order that their husbands should not financially suffer by reason of the closing of open gambling houses and places of prostitution, voted for Robert Speer for mayor, and it was after a normally Republican city of some 12,000 majority had given Speer, the Democratic, wide-open candidate, an election by some 10,000 majority, that the event was celebrated by a mammoth automobile parade in which were banners reading, 'We Women Did It,' 'Denver and Continued Progress,' etc., etc."

"Had there not been an opposing candidate who, in accepting his nomination had declared 'If you don't want gambling and houses of prostitution blotted out completely and immediately after I am sworn in, don't elect me mayor,' there might have been some redeeming feature, but the Republicans did have such a candidate, and in fear that he would keep his word the majority of women electors in the city of Denver voted to retain a wide-open mayor who, true to his promise, continued to conduct as he had conducted in his past administration—the most lawless city in America. Not many years after that very common (for Denver) proceeding, Mayor Speer fled the city. When he did return he was received with warm welcome, and as a reward was again chosen, and is now serving, as we understand, as chief magistrate of a city wherein for years the women have had the right to vote."

Gimbel Bros., of Philadelphia, have a big department store which is a fire trap. It flagrantly violates the fire ordinances of that city, and exposes to great danger the lives of many of its employees. The firm resisted successfully petitions of Philadelphia citizens, who are men and voters. Suit was brought against the

that "the liquor interests and the liquor sympathizers are paying for the printing and distribution" of anti-woman suffrage literature in Iowa, I will mail the woman suffrage organization in your city a check for \$25, and, furthermore, I will vote for woman suffrage on June 5th. You may make your proof before any two reputable attorneys of Riceville, or of your county, and if these two men say that your proof would establish your contention in any court of law in Iowa, I will pay the money and I will vote for the amendment. If you cannot do this, I think that it is only fair for you and your co-agitators to retract this slander.

The Illinois Vigilance Committee has signs up in Iowa railway stations warning girls in male suffrage Iowa against conditions in woman suffrage Illinois.

Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, president of the Illinois Training School for Nurses, told the council license committee of Chicago that the combination of liquor and dancing is one of the most potent influences in causing the downfall of young girls. Mrs. Wood was one of the speakers who urged the adoption of the Pretzel ordinance prohibiting the sale of liquor wherever dancing is permitted.

"I want to make a plea for the girls between 15 and 20," she said. "I am speaking here as the representative of the nurses of the Cook County hospital, where we have to face the facts squarely."

"Disgrace and disease are the results of the sale of liquor at dances. The stories the girls tell us almost always begin the same way. They tell us they went out for a good time at a dance hall, met some man, were plied with more liquor than they could stand, and then they had to come to us. These girls are not confined to one nationality or to any one class in the social scale."

"In the normal maternity ward in the Cook County hospital 400 illegitimate babies have been born during the last year. This is 36 per cent of the entire number born in the hospital. Since November, 1915, fifty-three girls under 20 years old, who have been in the surgical ward for operations resulting from social diseases have attributed their troubles to liquor and dance halls. Of this number three tried to commit suicide by taking bichloride of mercury."

The Cadillac Cafe, 2136 South Wabash avenue, Chicago, which has been refused a saloon license on account of its notorious reputation, is still selling drinks, and sells them all night into the bargain, according to Miss Amelia Sears, superintendent of the Juvenile Protective Association. Beer and whiskey are said to be sold to hilarious crowds until 3 o'clock in the morning. "At four o'clock," the report states, "the place was crowded to capacity, the crowd was hilariously intoxicated, dancing of the obscene type was indulged in with no interference from the management. The revelry was in full swing at 6 o'clock, at which time I left the place." Miss Sears' letter to

company by the city solicitor and auxiliary counsel. Gimbel Bros. were undisputed and were ready to go into court and defend themselves; but, prompted by the committee on fire prevention, a number of Bryn Mawr alumnae (women without the ballot) simultaneously withdrew their accounts from Gimbel Bros., and unconditional surrender resulted immediately. Gimbel Bros. have agreed to begin construction on fire walls and other safeguards not later than July 16th. Bryn Mawr is a hotbed of suffrage and feminism, and its students are taught to believe that women are powerless without the ballot!

A new book, "The Principle of Suffrage," by Nathaniel C. Fowler, Jr., just published, as yellow in cover as in tone, is full of such gems as the following:

"I am unqualifiedly in favor of votes for women simply because woman is a human being. If she is not, she should not be treated as a human being. She should not be allowed to live with man, who is human. She should not be permitted to bear children. She should not be in control of the home. She should not be the buyer of ninety per cent of the commodities. She should not be allowed to teach in our public schools. She should not be permitted to hold property. She should not be in business, working alongside of her superiors."

"If woman is human—and there is not a man in the whole world so degraded as to claim that she is not—then she should enjoy all the rights of the human being."

Has Mr. Fowler considered that children are also human beings, that the Japanese in California are also human, that the many unnaturalized foreigners in this country are also human? If humanity alone gives one the right to the ballot any foreign power wishing for its own ends to influence our legislation need only send over a few shiploads of its own humans and swing an election. It is worth remembering, however, that no government on earth has ever granted the franchise to any class simply because they were human beings.

Mr. Fowler continues, in the tone of the true fanatic:


"If I knew that universal suffrage would set my country back a hundred years, if I were assured that universal suffrage would turn political mud into political slime, if I were certain that universal suffrage would multiply grog shops and lower millions to the level of the gutter, if I had evidence that universal suffrage would upset this country of ours, cause the public schools to deteriorate and other great institutions to lower their standard, I should cast my ballot in favor of votes for women, feeling it a duty to God and to man."

Issued by the Cambridge Anti-Suffrage Association.

Margaret C. Robinson, Chairman of the Press Committee.

For subscription rates apply to Mrs. George Sheffield, 33 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass.

July 5, 1916.



Why We Oppose Votes for Women

BECAUSE suffrage is not a privilege to be enjoyed, but if imposed upon women it becomes a duty to be performed.

BECAUSE we believe the men of the State capable of conducting the government for the benefit of both men and women; their interests, generally speaking, being the same.

BECAUSE women are not suffering from any injustice which giving them the ballot would rectify.

BECAUSE political equality will eventually deprive women of many special privileges hitherto accorded to her by man-made law.

BECAUSE the ballot in the hands of men has not proved a cure-all for existing evils, and there is no reason to believe it would be more effectual in the hands of women. It has not been in the States where it exists. In Colorado after a test of twenty-two years the results show no gain in public and political morals over male suffrage States.

BECAUSE equality in character does not imply similarity in function, and the duties and life of men and women should be different in the State, as in the home. Man's service to the State through government is counterbalanced by woman's service in the home.

BECAUSE woman now stand outside of politics, and therefore are free to appeal to any party in matters of education, charity and reform. We believe it would be to the disadvantage of the State and of woman to put this non-partisan half of society into politics.

BECAUSE the woman suffrage movement is a backward step in the progress of civilization, in that it seeks to efface natural differentiation of function, and to produce identity instead of division of labor.

ISSUED BY

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 WEST 39TH STREET.
NEW YORK CITY.



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WOMAN SUFFRAGE is not a privilege to be withheld, but it is imposed upon women if it is to be a privilege.

WE BELIEVE the men of the state capable of conducting the government for the benefit of both men and women; their interests generally speaking being the same.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE would not be a privilege, but a burden, for it would place upon women the burden of the state.

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE
17 WEST 10TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY



OPINIONS OF EMINENT PERSONS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

DANIEL WEBSTER. "The rough contests of the political world are not suited to the dignity and the delicacy of your sex. . . . It is by the promulgation of sound morals in the community, and more especially by the training and instruction of the young, that woman performs her part toward the preservation of a free government."

REV. HORACE BUSHNELL, D.D. "Hitherto it has been an advantage to be going into battle in our suffrages with a full half . . . as a corps of reserve, left behind, so that we may fall back on this quiet element . . . and settle again our mental and moral equilibrium. Now it is proposed that we have no reserve any longer, that we go into our conflicts taking our women with us, all to be kept heating in the same fire for weeks or months together. . . . Let no man imagine . . . that our women are going into these encounters to be just as quiet, or as little moved as now, when they stay in the rear unexcited, letting us come back to them often and recover our reason. They are no more mitigators now, but instigators rather, sweltering in the same fierce heats and commotions, only more tempestuously stirred than we." *Women's Suffrage; the Reform against Nature.*

FRANCIS PARKMAN. "It has been claimed as a right that woman should vote. It is no right, but a wrong, that a small number of women should impose on all the rest political duties which there is no call for their assuming, which they do not want to assume, and which, if duly discharged, would be a cruel and intolerable burden."

MRS. CLARA T. LEONARD, Massachusetts Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity. "The best work that a woman can do for the purifying of politics is by her influence over men, by the wise training of her children, by her intelligent, unselfish counsel to husband, brother, or friend, by a thorough knowledge and discussion of the needs of her community."

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D. "I am now asked to confer the responsibility of suffrage upon women. This means, of course, that they are willing to accept all the responsibilities of public-spirited men. To which request I reply that I do not think they want to do these things, and second, that I do not think they would do them well."

LE BARON R. BRIGGS, President of Radcliffe College. "As to public life, I am still so conservative as to hold that a political competition of both sexes is less likely to elevate men than to degrade women, and that the peculiar strength of refined and earnest womanhood is exercised in ways less public. I fear the loss of the best that is in woman, and, with it, the loss of a power that is hers and hers alone."

JACOB A. RIIS. "I do not think the ballot will add to woman's real power which she exercises or can exercise now."

CARL SCHURZ. "Is it not certain that so tremendous an addition to the voting force as the granting of unqualified woman suffrage would effect, would involve at least the possibility of a dangerous increase of those evils which the best thought of the country is at present painfully struggling to remedy?"

MRS. KATE GANNETT WELLS. "In the present constitution of events, of facts, physiological, social, financial, moral, and political, it is inexpedient for government to grant universal female suffrage."

CARDINAL GIBBONS. "If woman enters politics, she will be sure to carry away on her some of the mud and dirt of political contact."

HON. MOSES HALLETT, United States District Judge for Colorado. "Our state has tried the female suffrage plan a sufficiently long time to form a fair idea of its workings. I am not prejudiced in any way, but honestly do not see where the experiment has proved of benefit. . . . It has produced no special reforms and it has had no particular purifying effect upon politics. There is a growing tendency on the part of most of the better and more intelligent of the female voters of Colorado to cease exercising the ballot. . . . If it were to be done over again, the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority."

HON. THOMAS F. BAYARD, Secretary of State. "There never was a greater mistake, there never was a falser fact stated than that the women of America need any protection further than the love borne to them by their fellow-countrymen. Do not imperil the advantages which they have; do not attempt in this hasty, ill-considered, shallow way to interfere with the relations which are founded upon the laws of Nature herself."

Miss IDA M. TARBELL. "The assumption that the improvement of woman's position depends upon the vote is quite as unsound as the charge of her inferiority. . . . Woman proves her equality by doing the things for which she is fitted and which the world needs from her. . . . It is the gravest weakness of this country at present to ignore certain fundamental things, that life is not saved by politics but by principles, and that principles are not taught by votes and legislation, but by precept and by practice."

ABRAM S. HEWITT. "After carefully considering all the arguments advanced by the advocates of woman suffrage . . . I do not think, from the organic difference between men and women, that it will ever be shown to be for the advantage of women that they should be forced to take part in political controversies. In fact, I think it would be a great misfortune to them, as well as to the human race."

HON. CHARLES J. BONAPARTE. "The suffrage is not a mere privilege. It is a public burden, and when it is proposed to make your mothers and sisters and other ladies of whom, perhaps, you may sometimes think, share this burden, the question is properly not whether women should be allowed to vote, but whether they should be obliged to vote."

PROF. EDWARD D. COPE. "The first thing that strikes us in considering the woman suffrage movement is that it is a proposition to engage women once more in that 'struggle' from which civilization has enabled them in great measure to escape; and that its effect, if long continued and fairly tried, will be to check the development of woman as such, and to bring to bear on her influences of a kind different from those which have been hitherto active."

MISS DOROTHEA L. DIX. "Distinctly and emphatically, Miss Dix believed in woman's keeping herself aloof and apart from anything savoring of ordinary political action. . . . She must be the incarnation of a purely disinterested idea appealing to universal humanity, irrespective of party or sect." *Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix*, by Francis Tiffany.

DR. S. WEIR MITCHELL. "The best of the higher evolution of mind will never be safely reached until the woman accepts the irrevocable decree which made her woman and not man. Something in between she cannot be."

RICHARD H. DANA. "The truth is, the ballot for women is not needed . . . and if they were ever called upon to combine and work in antagonism to the men, which they must do if their vote is really needed, the evils of the conflict would strike at the very foundations of our social system."

PROF. WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK. "Why should the great majority of women, who, as everybody knows, are either indifferent or opposed to woman suffrage, be forced to accept it against their will when there is no sound evidence that any material good is likely to accrue either to themselves or to the state?"

BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT, Founder of Chautauqua. "When about thirty years of age I accepted for a time the doctrine of woman suffrage, and publicly defended it. Years of wide and careful observation have convinced me that the demand for woman suffrage in America is without foundation in equity, and, if successful, must prove harmful to American society."

MISS JEANNETTE L. GILDER, Founder of *The Critic*. "In politics I do not think that women have any place. Neither physically nor temperamentally are they strong enough for the fray. The life is too public, too wearing, and too unfitted to the nature of women. It is bad enough for men . . . and it would be worse for women. I believe not only that the ballot in the hands of women would be a calamity, but I believe that it would prove a boomerang."

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY. "Woman suffrage would be the constitutional degradation of women; it would be an appeal to the coarser strength of men; and I profoundly believe that it would result in social disorder and disrespect of law."

GAIL HAMILTON (Miss Mary Abigail Dodge). "My earliest instinct and my latest judgment combine in maintaining that women have a right to claim exemption from political duty and responsibility, and that men have no right to lay the burden upon them. If the public work is ill done by men, the remedy is to do it better, not to shift the weight to shoulders already heavily laden, and whose task they do not propose in any respect to lighten."

REV. JAMES M. BUCKLEY, D.D. "Should the duty of governing in the state be imposed upon women, all the members of society will suffer. . . . The true woman needs no governing authority conferred upon her by law. In the present situation the highest evidence of respect that man can exhibit toward woman, and the noblest service he can perform for her, are to vote NAY to the proposition that would take from her the diadem of pearls, the talisman of faith, hope, and love, by which all other requests are won from men, and substitute for it the iron crown of authority."

HON. HENRY B. BROWN, Ex-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. "It is a mistake to suppose that either men or women have a *natural right* to vote. We are bound to distinguish between natural and political rights. They may be said to have a natural right to protection in their persons, their property and their opinions, but they have no natural right to govern or to participate in the government of others."

REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D. "There is full scope for woman's patience, power, purity and prayers without attempting to override that divine arrangement which never fitted her to be a soldier, a sailor, a civil engineer, a jurymen, a magistrate, a policeman, a politician."

HON. ELIHU ROOT, Secretary of State. "I am opposed to granting suffrage to women because I believe it would be a loss to women and an injury to the state, and to every man and woman in the state. . . . I think so because suffrage implies not merely the casting of a ballot, but 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. In my judgment, this whole movement arises from a false conception of the duty and the right of men and women. . . . 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."

JENNIE JUNE (Mrs. Jane C. Croly), "Mother of Clubs," Founder of the New York Sorosis, and President of the New York Women's Press Club. "The best way for women to approach politics is to let them entirely alone. In all the fifty years that in one way or another I have worked, I have never identified myself with suffrage nor politics."

ROSSITER JOHNSON. "The most civilized portions of mankind have not yet outgrown the measurement of force for the ultimate settlement of every great question, and the unit of force is the man capable of bearing arms. . . . The government set up, and the policy adopted, may not be the best possible; but, if a majority of the men stand behind them, we shall at least have stability, and that is the most necessary element in any government. . . . To make any party victorious at the polls by means of blank-cartridge ballots would only present an increased temptation to the numerical minority to assert itself as the military majority. . . . If an election is carried by a preponderance of votes cast by women, who is to enforce the verdict? When a few such verdicts have been overturned, we shall find ourselves in a state of anarchy."

THE ENGLISH REMONSTRANCE (*Nineteenth Century*, June, 1889). "To sum up: we would give the women their full share in the state of social effort and social mechanism; we look for their increasing activity in that higher state which rests on thought, conscience, and moral influence; but we protest against their admission to direct power in that state which *does* rest upon force—the state in its administrative, military, and financial aspects—where the physical capacity, the accumulated experience, and inherited training of men ought to prevail without the harassing interference of those who, though they may be partners of men in debate, can in these matters never be partners with them in action. . . . Nothing can be further from our minds than to seek to depreciate the position or importance of women. It is because we are keenly alive to the enormous value of their special contribution to the community that we oppose what seems to us likely to endanger that contribution. We are convinced that the pursuit of a mere outward equality with men is for women not only vain but demoralizing. It leads to a total misconception of woman's true dignity and special mission. It tends to personal struggle and rivalry, where the only effort of both the great divisions of the human family should be to contribute the characteristic labor and the best gifts of each to the common stock."

Mrs. Humphry Ward
Mrs. Leslie Stephen
Mrs. Thomas H. Huxley
Mrs. William E. Forster
Lady Frederic Cavendish
Hon. Emily Lawless

Mrs. George J. Goschen
Mrs. Frederic Harrison
Mrs. Matthew Arnold
Mrs. Max Müller
Mrs. J. Richard Green
Mrs. Walter Bagehot and others

VICTORIA, Queen of England. "The Queen is most anxious to enlist every one who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights,' with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor, feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety."

JOHN BRIGHT. "When women are not safe under the charge or care of fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons, it is the fault of our non-civilization and not of our laws. As civilization founded on Christian principles advances, women will gain all that is right for them to have, though they are not seen contending in the strife of political parties. In my experience I have observed evil results to many women who have entered heartily into political conflict and discussion. I would save them from it."

WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE. "A permanent and vast difference has been impressed upon women and men respectively by the Maker of both. I for one am not prepared to say which of the two sexes has the higher and which has the lower province. . . . I am not without the fear, lest beginning with the state, we should eventually be found to have intruded into what is yet more fundamental and more sacred, the precinct of the family, and should dislocate, or seriously modify, the relations of domestic life."

HERBERT SPENCER. Herbert Spencer, in *Justice*, maintains that there are fundamental reasons for keeping the spheres of the sexes distinct. He had formerly argued the matter "from the point of view of a general principle of individual rights," but he finds that this cannot be sustained, as he "discovers mental and emotional differences between the sexes which disqualify women for the burdens of government and the exercise of its functions."

Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD. "Women should not vote on questions in the solution of which they can never play a responsible part. Fancy a female general, a female admiral! Fancy a railroad run by women, roads built or mines worked by them! If there is this inevitable physical limitation to a woman's activity . . . is it just that she be given a vote on matters that involve these activities? The national government . . . is concerned in all of these things, and is maintained by the votes of the male portion of the population, which thus indirectly decides on the army, the navy, the railroads, and the scores of material interests in which women cannot by nature take an active part."

GOLDWIN SMITH. "Political power has hitherto been exercised by the male sex; not because man has been a tyrannical usurper and has brutally thrust his weaker partner out of her rights, but in the course of nature because man alone could uphold government and enforce the law. Let the edifice of law be as moral and as intellectual as you will, its foundation is the force of the community, and the force of the community is male."

QUARTERLY REVIEW, *Women at Oxford and Cambridge*, October, 1897. "Either sex is an appalling blunder, or else it must have been intended that each sex should have its own work to do, not merely in the physical economy of the race, but also in the social and intellectual world. . . . Woman, alike in body, mind, and character, 'is not lesser man, but other.' At the moment, many able women think that it is possible to follow masculine ideas in education, in habit, in practical life, and yet to be true to their own nature. In the long run this is impossible."

Other notable persons who have remonstrated against woman suffrage are President Grover Cleveland, Mrs. Margaret Deland, President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale University, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, Bishop David H. Greer of New York, Miss Caroline Hazard, President of Wellesley College, Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, Miss Agnes Irwin, Dean of Radcliffe College, Charles Dudley Warner, Mrs. Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Felix Adler, Madame Louise Homer, President William DeWitt Hyde of Bowdoin College, Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin, Bishop William C. Doane, Mrs. Clara Louise Kellogg Strakosch, Hon. Charles C. Nott, Chief Justice United States Court of Claims, Mrs. John Ware, Andrew S. Draper, New York State Commissioner of Education, Miss Carolyn Wells, Rev. Dr. Theodore T. Munger, Miss Mabel T. Boardman, Edward W. Bok, former United States Senator George F. Edmunds, Richard Watson Gilder, Mrs. Celia Thaxter, President Henry P. Judson of the University of Chicago, Marion Harland (Mrs. Virginia Terhune), Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, Bishop Arthur C. A. Hall of Vermont, Mrs. Grover Cleveland, Hon. Edgar Aldrich, United States District Judge for New Hampshire, Mrs. Mary Anderson de Navarro, Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis, Mrs. Josephine Daskam Bacon, Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, Miss Adeline Knapp, Prof. William K. Brooks of Johns Hopkins University, Mrs. Helen Watterson Moody, Octave Thanet (Miss Alice French), Mrs. Adeline D. T. Whitney, James Bryce, William E. H. Lecky, Miss Octavia Hill, Frederic Harrison, John Ruskin, Sir E. Ray Lankester, Gilbert K. Chesterton, Rudyard Kipling and Lord Cromer, "Maker of Modern Egypt."

Other prominent Massachusetts men who have expressed their opposition to woman suffrage are Governors Eben S. Draper, Curtis Guild, Jr., W. Murray Crane (now United States Senator), Roger Wolcott, William E. Russell, George D. Robinson and William Gaston, United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, President Franklin Carter of Williams College, President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, President George Harris of Amherst College, President Frederick W. Hamilton of Tufts College, President Henry Lefavour of Simmons College, President L. Clark Seelye of Smith College, President Albert P. Fitch of Andover Theological Seminary, Principal Alfred E. Stearns of Phillips Exeter Academy, Bishop William Lawrence, Cardinal O'Connell, George G. Crocker, Congressman William C. Lovering, Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, Major Henry L. Higginson, John Fiske, James Ford Rhodes, Charles F. Donnelly, Judge

Francis C. Lowell, Charles Warren, Prof. Charles J. Bullock, Morgan Rotch, William D. Sobier, Rodney Wallace, Rev. Joshua P. Bodfish, Samuel J. Elder, Dr. Edward M. Hartwell, Arthur Lord, Charles T. Gallagher, Albert C. Houghton, William B. Plunkett, James M. Prendergast, John N. Cole, Henry L. Pierce, William F. Wharton, Solomon Lincoln, Henry M. Whitney, Rev. John O'Brien, Henry H. Sprague, T. Jefferson Coolidge, Thomas Russell, Prof. William B. Munro, Charles Francis Adams, Prof. Francis J. Child, Elisha Morgan, Jeremiah W. Coveney, Dr. J. Collins Warren, John R. Thayer, W. Lyman Underwood, Dr. Henry P. Walcott, Frederick P. Fish, Melvin O. Adams, James P. Munroe, Robert Winsor, Edwin F. Atkins, Theodore Lyman, John F. Fitzgerald, Dr. William L. Richardson, Walter Clifford, Timothy G. Spaulding, Robert Luce, John T. Burnett, Laurence Minot, John A. Sullivan, Moses Williams, Thomas L. Livermore, Robert M. Morse, Levi J. Gunn, Dr. Walter Channing, Francis H. Appleton, Thornton K. Lothrop, Judge William C. Loring, Charles F. Choate, Arthur H. Lowe, Prof. F. Spencer Baldwin, Dr. William J. Councilman, Frank Foxcroft, Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, Prentiss Cummings, Prof. William W. Goodwin, Congressman Robert O. Harris, Prof. Paul H. Hanus, William A. Gaston, District Attorney Richard W. Irwin, Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, Frederic J. Stimson and many others.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN 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. I now see my mistake and would abolish it to-morrow 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 women'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.

Frankly, the experiment is a failure. It has done Colorado no good. It has done woman no good. The best thing for both would be if to-morrow the ballot for women could be abolished."

Mrs. FRANCIS W. GODDARD,

President of the Colonial Dames of Colorado.

DECEMBER, 1910.

Printed 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, Massachusetts.

OCTOBER, 1912.

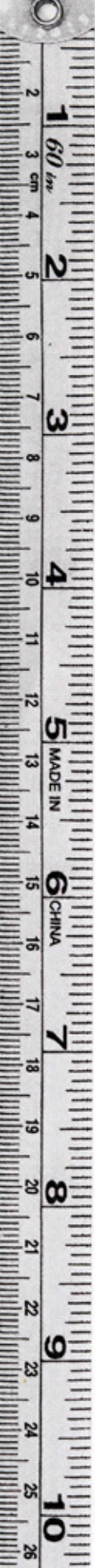


SOME FACTS ABOUT
CALIFORNIA'S EXPERIMENT
WITH WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ISSUED BY

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





SOME FACTS ABOUT
CALIFORNIA'S EXPERIMENT
WITH WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
at New York City
New York City

WOMAN suffrage was imposed upon the State of California by a minority of the voters. Now the entire population, men and women, are feeling the evil effects of this dangerous experiment. It earnestly behooves every citizen—both men and women—of those States where a small minority is seeking the enfranchisement of women to read this report compiled from official records, newspapers and the letters of resident and visiting investigators in direct touch with the situation in California.

The official election figures prove the contention of Anti-Suffragists that the better moral element among women does not vote. And the elections prove that many women of the "submerged tenth" do vote for undesirable and vicious measures.

Suffragists contended that the women of California wished to vote, to have "a voice in the government" of the city, the State and the nation. It was on such representations of a few enthusiastic Suffragists that California women were enfranchised in October, 1911.

"Women want the vote. Why not let them have it? It won't do any harm and it may do good," reasoned the majority of the minority of men who voted on this constitutional amendment.

Do the women of California vote?

Do they vote in city elections? In State elections? In national elections?

Has woman suffrage in California done harm?

Has it done good?

The correct answers to these questions may serve to guide the action of other States confronting this serious problem in government.

Because of its wider interest, let us first consider the national phase.

The Bureau of the Census at Washington states that there are 920,397 males and 671,386 females of voting age in California. Eliminating the Chinese and Japanese, who have no vote, there should have been 860,794 men and 665,450 women registered (less those not naturalized, of whom there are more men than women).

Secretary of State Jordan, of California, is authority for the statement that 802,000 men and 180,000 women registered to vote

at the Presidential election on November 5, 1912, a most interesting and important national election.

These figures show that of those entitled to vote over 93 per cent. of the *men* registered and only a fraction over 27 per cent. of the *women* registered.

And this at the *first* national election, when the tinsel had not yet worn from the Suffragists' toy!

Beyond all shadow of doubt, then, at least 73 per cent. of the women of California do *not* wish to perform the duty of voting in national elections. This 73 per cent. does not include the many women who voted to offset the vote of misguided women—and not because they wished “a voice in the government.”

What then of the number and kind who vote in local or State elections? Just two recent instances:

In Pasadena on March 20th, this year, a special election was held to vote on bond issues, some of which would enable the purchase of land for public parks and playgrounds. Out of a voting population of 16,324 (city clerk's figures), 4,672 voted. The votes of men and women are not kept separate, but it is clear that at least 50 per cent. of the women did not vote.

In Los Angeles on March 24, 1913, there was a more important election, one involving radical and socialistic changes in the city charter. A Citizens' Committee of 1,000 advocated in all the newspapers the carrying of certain propositions and the defeat of others. Sample ballots marked “Vote No,” “Vote Yes” were distributed broadcast. Only 31,000 voters (men and women) out of 161,000 voted at all, and nine out of ten of the propositions advocated by the Reform Committee were *defeated*.

The *Los Angeles Times* of March 26th says: “The vote of the women was disappointing. In some precincts it was a negligible quantity, while in others it was only about one-third of the total.” Yet the Suffragists carried on an active campaign, attended and spoke at all-day meetings and even worked at their headquarters all Easter Sunday.

Has woman suffrage in California done harm?

The saloon question is one which Suffragists say women will settle when they vote. Their favorite attack is that the anti-suffrage campaign is financed by the saloon interests. Anti-saloon workers favor control of saloon evils by means of local

option. A local option election was held in San Francisco late last year. What happened?

There were 121,000 possible women voters in San Francisco; 45,665 women and 89,023 men were registered and entitled to vote; a total of 78,857 did vote. Remembering that the papers had been urging the adoption of the local option amendment in order to control the saloons and lessen crime during the approaching exposition, the Suffragists would have us believe that at least all the women who registered would vote. Yet only 15,087 votes were cast in favor of the amendment, although 45,665 women registered, and it is stated that approximately one woman in eight who was interested enough to register took interest enough to go to the polls.

At a special election held in Berkeley, Cal., April 12th, on the issuing of bonds for playgrounds, about 1,500 of the 8,000 women voters of the city voted. The mayor, who has been a zealous worker for women suffrage, reprimands the women for their negligence of this particular issue, which of all others should interest them. In a newspaper interview he asks, "Where were the mothers?"

Thus one of the crying evils of our day has been aggravated by the enfranchisement of women in California—the evil of an irresponsible or disinterested voting class who do not vote. This sort of negligence and indifference is resulting in government by a minority. That there is opportunity enough for evil results is indicated by the fact that eight or nine distinct elections were held in Los Angeles in the year 1912.

The dereliction of the new voters and its evil effects are further revealed by this letter from a San Franciscan written February 26, 1913. "The Suffragists in other States are asking for the vote, as they say, 'to put down vice.' Albany, Cal., had a local election two weeks ago and the 'drys' were snowed under, although, as the local paper states, over 50 per cent. of the Albany voters are women.

"I notice that when a State is about to vote on suffrage the Suffragists adroitly pass it around that the saloon interest and white slavers are raising funds to defeat suffrage, knowing that their occupation will be gone. This argument has made converts of thousands of the very best people. But these interests are organized, too, and know through their agents that in the suffrage

States the wind sets in their direction. And why not? At the cost of some space let me explain. When suffrage is granted to women only a small vote can be brought out in minor elections. But the class with personal interests at stake *will* vote. Those, too, do not neglect to vote who find their ballot has a money value. Note how many affiliated interests are pulling with the saloon interest. Hotels, clubs, restaurants, brewers and the people they buy from. Now their wives, their sisters, mothers, cousins and their aunts get out on the streets and bring their friends to the polls. As for 'the submerged tenth,' they had formerly no political strength. Now they can vote and use their influence, which is not benign."

That this warning is not an idle one is confirmed by the information that Pasadena, which had been "dry" ever since it was founded, voted "wet" the first time women voted.

John W. Foster, former Secretary of State of the United States, returned to Washington last month after four months spent in California. He writes the *Washington Post*: "My study of the subject, my intercourse with its people and my careful reading of the local press led me to the conviction that the amendment of the State constitution conferring the franchise on women was a serious error, and that so far in actual practice is not proving an unmixed blessing to the State, counties and municipalities. The amendment was adopted by a minority of the legal voters. I met many women who were opposed to it and quite a number who since its adoption have never gone to the polls. Some towns formerly 'dry' have, since the granting of female suffrage, voted themselves 'wet.' So-styled reforms, adopted since the amendment, have proved impracticable or unwise in enforcement.

* * * In a city whose newspapers I read daily the voters were being called upon to resort to the registry office, primaries, and the polls four different times in thirty days. The result usually is that the busy citizen and the laboring man, finding it inconvenient to devote so much time to the affairs of State, stay away from the polls and leave the elections, in large measure, to the idle and such as obey the call of the political manipulators, and often the actual voters constitute a minority of the legal voters. The conclusion reached during my four months' stay in California was that it would be wise for the older States of our Union to await the result of the working out in practice of these 'modern'

measures of government by such adventurous States as California and other more recent members of the Union."

A San Franciscan sees a reflection of the "baleful suffrage influence" in the increasing divorce rate in his own city. He writes: "San Francisco in proportion to its population grants nine times as many divorces as the City of New York. From a State report just published, there were in 1912 thirty-seven hundred divorces granted here."

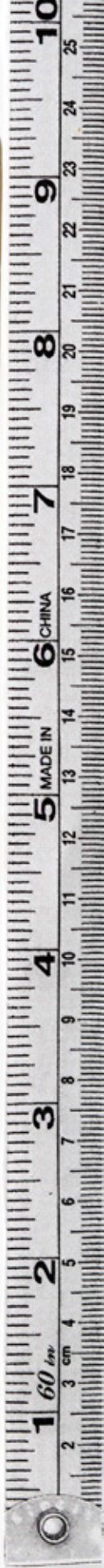
The *San Francisco Chronicle* sees in a proposed two-year State budget of \$48,800,000 for 2,500,000 people an evidence that extremists are in control of the government.

We have seen that the enfranchisement of women in California has done positive harm.

Has it done good to offset this harm?

Suffragists claim that the one great good accomplished was the defeat of race-track gambling. But we find that the race-track measure would have been overwhelmingly defeated whether women had voted or not. Because, as less than one-third of the women entitled to vote took the trouble even to register, and fewer voted, gambling could easily have been legalized had the men wished it.

In view of the facts brought out in this article, is it not the part of wisdom to withhold the burden of the ballot from those who do not want it and will not use it, especially since granting the ballot to a few Suffragists imposes a burden upon the entire State?




W.S. Coing hat Coing
School Questions -

Reasons YS - Suf -

Women in Industry -

Life - Aug. 17.



Defeats and Failures of Woman Suffrage

Woman suffrage is not a popular measure with the men and women of the United States. On spasmodic waves of Mormonism, Populism, Insurgency and Socialism it has been adopted by eleven States with a total population of 8,189,495.

After watching the experiment and record of woman suffrage in these States it has been defeated in the last three years (since 1912) in the Legislatures of eighteen States with a population of over 30,000,000 people—Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Maryland, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont, and Virginia.

Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and North Dakota have also defeated the suffrage proposition in their Legislatures after the test at the polls proved an overwhelming majority against it.

Since 1912 Woman Suffrage Amendments have been defeated by popular vote thirteen times and by eleven States. Michigan and Ohio put the measure twice before their electorates, and it was defeated in each case by a much larger majority the second time. In 1912 the majority against woman suffrage in Michigan was only 760 votes. The Suffragists were jubilant and felt it would not be difficult to overcome this small opposition. It was re-submitted to the people in 1913 and defeated by a majority of over 96,000. In 1912 the Suffragists polled 247,375 votes in favor of the amendment. In 1913 they only received 168,738.

Ohio defeated the Amendment in 1912 by a majority of 87,455, and in 1914 by a majority of 182,905.

In both States the increased opposition was due to the fact that not only the Anti-Suffragists, men and women, were better organized, but that the conservative element was aroused to the danger that lurks in woman suffrage and took the trouble to vote to defeat it.

PENNSYLVANIA POPULAR VOTE.

In Pennsylvania woman suffrage was defeated by 55,686 majority on a very light vote. 86,000 men in the city of Philadelphia alone, who voted for Mayor, did not vote at all on the Amendment.

The Suffragists have been organized in Pennsylvania over sixty years, and the Socialists are also well organized through the State and worked

hard for the Amendment. The Suffragists may be said to have registered their full strength, about 14 per cent. of the voters of the State.

The majority of the easy-going optimistic Anti-Suffragists, as in Michigan and Ohio the first time, failed to register their protest.

In Pennsylvania the Anti-Suffragists won the majority of the counties and the vote in the State, outside of Philadelphia, shows 10,414 majority against suffrage. The total State majority against is greater than the total majorities of any two States adopting woman suffrage.

DRY STATES AND COUNTIES "ANTI."

The "dry" counties, like Huntingdon and Bedford, in spite of thorough organization and vicious attacks on Anti-Suffrage workers in these counties by the Suffrage leaders, the rural districts, the industrial centres not dominated by Socialists, and the two big cities gave a majority against woman suffrage. Only one dry State has adopted woman suffrage—Kansas. North Dakota, prohibition for over twenty-five years, defeated woman suffrage at the polls in 1914, and six other "dry" States have defeated it in their Legislatures.

The only two States to adopt woman suffrage since 1912 have been Montana and Nevada. The two "wettest" States in the Union, the two States with the smallest percentage of women to men and with the smallest proportion of married men.

MORMONS STRONG SUPPORTERS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Ex-Senator Frank G. Cannon, of Utah, says the Mormon Church is entrenched in eleven States, the exact eleven States where women vote. In a recent interview Mr. Cannon says that 232 Mormon priests had plural wives in 1910. The Mormons want woman suffrage for the simple reason the more wives they have the more votes they control. Polygamy is one form of Feminism.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

Suffragists are fond of threatening legislators by telling them women will be able to dictate the choice of the next President because of their eleven Suffrage States and Illinois. On the same principle the Mormons will be able to dictate who shall be the next President of the United States, because Mormonism, says ex-Senator Cannon, is in control of these eleven woman suffrage States. This threat of defeating candidates the Suffragists have never been able to carry out. The men blacklisted in Massachusetts by the Suffragists were all elected and the efforts of Mrs. Belmont and her

Congressional Union to organize women of the Western States as a party have been utterly unsuccessful.

The facts are these: Representation under double suffrage is exactly the same as under male suffrage, both in the electoral college and in Congress, as the total population and not the voters is the unit of representation. A State counts women and children because it considers they should be represented by the men of the State, therefore a State with woman suffrage can elect no more representatives or presidential electors, nor send more delegates to a National Convention than a male suffrage State.

Second, it has been proven that the majority of women in the Western States do not want to vote and only vote because they feel compelled to do so, and they will not vote as the Suffragists tell them.

WOMEN IN SUFFRAGE STATES.

Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn, Press Chairman of the San Francisco District of the Federation of Women's Clubs, and a well-known lecturer, says: "I am convinced that 80 per cent. of the women of the State do not want suffrage. The Suffragists prove that themselves by keeping up the agitation here. I vote because as it was forced upon us I feel we should use it, and because my husband asked me to at the last election, but if we had a referendum I would vote against suffrage based on actual experience. You have only to consider the position of women before and since equal suffrage. Women do not begin to have the same status in law as they had before they had the franchise, and this they must expect."

In all woman suffrage States it has been proven that the men elected to offices would have been elected without the votes of the women, because women, for the most part, vote as their husbands do, and the only thing double suffrage has done has been to increase taxes, add to the burden of government, weaken the electorate, injure the women and increase the Socialist vote and influence. Woman suffrage has not succeeded in passing as good legislation for women and children as has been passed in male suffrage States. Woman suffrage has not solved the liquor question, nor succeeded in forming a woman's party to defeat candidates who are opposed to woman suffrage.

A New York newspaper, strongly opposing woman suffrage, says it has trebled its circulation in Pennsylvania since adopting this editorial policy.

STATE, NOT NATIONAL, ISSUE.

It is because Suffragists know that the majority of the people, especially of the women, are against double suffrage, that they have determined to

force it through a congressional amendment. Even the Shafroth Amendment, which was to allow State referendum, they have repudiated, because they realize that they cannot win a well-informed electorate, now that the anti-suffrage women are active. Their desire is to abolish forever the right of the State to regulate its suffrage, so that even should votes-for-women prove a disgrace and a drawback to this nation, or to any individual State, on account of local conditions, it would be almost impossible to repeal it.

This is unjust, undemocratic, unpatriotic and un-American. Suffrage is a State, not a Federal issue, and by putting this question to the Legislatures and before the people, the several States of the Union are on record as opposed to the Federal Amendment, and hold that as conditions in different States are different, so the decision in this matter should be left to the voters in each individual State.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE HAS BEEN DEFEATED BY POPULAR VOTE.

STATE	YEAR	Majority against
Ohio	1912	87,455
Ohio	1914	182,905
Michigan	1912	760
Michigan	1913	96,144
Wisconsin	1912	91,478
Nebraska	1914	10,104
Missouri	1914	140,206
North Dakota	1914	9,401
South Dakota	1914	11,914
New Jersey	1915	51,273
New York	1915	187,000
Massachusetts	1915	133,087
Pennsylvania	1915	55,686

The population of these eleven male suffrage States is over four times that of the eleven woman suffrage States.

Woman Suffrage is GOING, not coming.

ISSUED BY
THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION OPPOSED
TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1108 Finance Building, Philadelphia, Pa.



A G A I N S T
W O M A N S U F F R A G E

A N A R G U M E N T B Y
M R S . C L A R E N C E H A L E
O F M A I N E



ISSUED BY
THE MAINE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED
TO SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

A G A I N S T
W O M A N S U F F R A G E

AN ARGUMENT BY
MRS. CLARENCE HALE
OF MAINE



THE MAINE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED
TO SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

The Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women exists as a protest against the agitation for the extension of the franchise to women in this State. The reasons for the anti-suffrage position are numerous. To some of these reasons the Association wishes to call the attention of the men and women of the State, asking a fair-minded consideration of what is believed to be a logical presentation of their argument.

Demanded by Minority

It is believed that suffrage is demanded by a small minority of women. This government is based upon the principle of majority rule.

The women of Maine have given to society sons who have stood in the front rank; in camp, court and council, both in State and Nation, and while the voice of these women is raised in protest against entrance into political life, it is unjust to force upon them the ballot, which they regard, not as a privilege, but a grievous burden, imposing upon them duties which they urge would exact of their time and strength without compensating results.

Remember it is not always those who make the loudest noise who have the most to say. The great majority is silent. The bare-footed hike, the street procession, the soap-box oratory, the suffrage "melting pot," prove only the extreme methods to which agitators are forced in their efforts to recruit their ranks.

Service to the State

It is believed that men and women can best serve the State by a just distribution of the duties of life. Man is given superior strength that he may contend with the forces which hamper his development, and that he may protect his women and children. To woman Nature entrusts the rearing of the child, and to that end the care of the home falls to her lot. Its duties, though demanding less physical force, are no less exigent.

Man's interest and woman's interest are one and the same. They cannot be separated, and only when they attempt to usurp one another's natural powers do they work at cross purposes.

Opponents of suffrage believe that political life with its antagonisms, its jealousies, its excitements, its strivings would be inimical to the repose of life, which is essential to woman's nature if she would bring to her task that poise of nervous and physical strength which insures the best development of the race which she bears.

Furthermore, in the activities outside the home it is believed woman's influence is far greater free from the entanglements of party and faction. Woman's single-minded disinterestedness is unquestioned when she has no political favors to ask and none to bestow. With no political end in view she can give her labor and support to social, philanthropic and charitable usefulness, unvexed by the demands of ward and county, of legislature and lobby. Neither would political differences work for harmony in the efforts for organized work for society.

Even the agitation for and against suffrage has impaired woman's usefulness. Were the time, strength and means expended in the last sixty years upon suffrage campaigns expended on legitimate benevolences it is well nigh certain humanity's needs would be better advanced. It is well known that substantial aid has been diverted from natural channels by the demands of suffrage. In witness of this, one example will serve to show this contention, and that is the "Pledge of Will and Won't" which has been signed by many in New York State. The following is the pledge:

"I hereby promise I will give what I can and do my share of work to gain votes for women. I will not give either money or services to any other cause until the women of New York State have been enfranchised."

If in zeal for social betterment it is felt that legislation comes too slowly, the remedy is not to take man's task from him, but to exact that he do his best. Did women vote they would find themselves confronted with the same difficulties that beset men, plus the handicap of their sex.

If there is to be a constitutional change in our method of government it should be proved that the change would be of advantage to the State. This, woman suffrage, wherever it has been tried, has failed to do.

Colorado has had woman suffrage for twenty-one years. Judge Lindsay, who should be able to judge of its workings in his own State (he is a friend of equal suffrage, remember,) said in an article in *Everybody's Magazine*: "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 bread line, 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 is afraid of losing her job, she'll do the same thing."

If there is one place in the broad United States where women might with some justice claim that she had not a fair chance under existing conditions it would be in Utah, where Mormonism is entrenched, in Utah and Idaho, both suffrage States. What are the facts! Has she shaken off the institutions of Mormonism? No, her vote helps to sustain them. Utah women have had the vote since 1896.

Denver, Colorado, "beautiful for situation," which under the rule of woman suffrage should be the "joy of the whole earth," is one of the most corrupt cities of the country. In Seattle and Tacoma, both suffrage cities, the women helped to recall corrupt mayors, only to reinstall them within a few months. Even in the much vaunted election in Chicago last spring the notorious ward boss, "Bath-House John," would have been elected by the women alone, so great was their vote for him, and the candidate opposing him was a woman, Miss Marian Drake.

While admitting the sincerity of many suffrage adherents, we believe that they overestimate the value of the vote. The vote is only one method of expressing opinion. Opinion does not follow legislation. Legislation follows opinion, and woman has a unique opportunity for moulding public opinion. The women of Maine are a potent factor in its development, and we believe that our men recognize that fact and are willing to advance the causes which women have at heart as fast as the agencies at hand will permit.

Laws Concerning Women and Children

While there are many improvements to be made in the conditions surrounding women and children in industry, it is believed our State will compare favorably with many others, and that each year will see an advance in legislation and enforcement.

Already no minor under fourteen years of age can be employed in our State, and no child under sixteen during school hours, only upon certificate that he can read and write and perform simple arithmetical processes. The certificate must be signed by a school superintendent, committee, or teacher. He must also have a certificate of age, thereby preventing fraudulent statements on the part of parents. (Chapter 40, Revised Statutes, as amended by Public Laws, Sections 52 and 53.)

Among the States which do not require such documentary proof are the suffrage States of Colorado, Utah and Idaho.

In a report of the proceedings at Birmingham, Ala., March, 1911, Mr. Owen Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, said: "Our agents have frequently found eight, nine and ten year old boys applying for work in these States upon affidavits certifying them to be fourteen or sixteen years of age."

The National Child Labor Committee has prepared a model child labor law for uniform legislation. It followed the principle of embodying in the text the best provisions contained in the laws of the various States. The bill contains forty-nine sections, and the following table shows the number of these model provisions already enacted in the suffrage States and those of similar locality and conditions:

EQUAL SUFFRAGE	MALE SUFFRAGE
Wyoming contains none	Oklahoma contains 15
Idaho contains none	North Dakota contains 15
Colorado contains 7	Minnesota contains 20
Utah contains 8	Nebraska contains 25
California contains 12	Wisconsin contains 27
Oregon contains 14	

Child Labor Bulletin, 1911-12.

Women and children cannot be employed in factories or mechanical establishments in Maine more than ten hours a day, and in no case more than fifty-eight hours a week. (Chapter 40, Section 48, Revised Statutes.)

One or more of the prominent political parties is committed to a policy favoring a fifty-four hour law for women and children, and a federal law prohibiting child labor.

The State appoints a Commissioner of Labor and Industry, and it is his duty to cause to be enforced all laws regulating the employment of women, children and minors, laws for the protection of life and limb, laws for the payment of wages and all laws for the protection of workers. This Commissioner must also employ a woman factory inspector.

Proprietors of shops, hotels, restaurants, etc., are obliged to furnish seats, for female employees.

There are other laws jointly protecting men and women, such as those protecting against fire, egress from public buildings, tenements, etc.

The State Department of Labor and Industry in the report for 1911-12 recommends the prohibition of night labor for minors, street traffic for boys under ten and girls under sixteen, also the reduction of hours of labor for minors. The U. S. Census reports show that the per cent of child labor is decreasing. In Maine it is now 1.7 per cent under sixteen years of age.

Teachers' Pensions

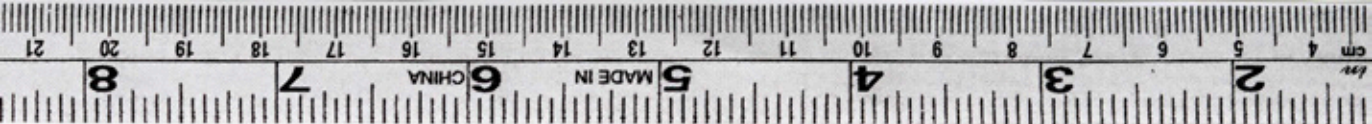
By the Provisions of Chapter 75, Public Laws of 1913, any teacher of either sex who, on September 30, 1913, shall have reached the age of sixty years, and shall have taught thirty-five years, twenty of which, including the last fifteen, must have been within the State, shall be entitled to an annual pension of \$250, on retirement from teaching. Teachers with thirty and twenty-five years, complying with the other provisions of the act, shall be entitled to \$200 and \$150 respectively, while teachers already retired are entitled to one-half the amount allowed active teachers, provided they have satisfied the other requirements of the act.

The public conscience is alive to the temptation and sin which beset the young, and throughout the State there are organizations which make it their duty to study sad and shameful conditions and make recommendations for their control and correction. Such an one is the Citizens' Committee of Portland, which published its first report in February, 1914. These recommendations are the stricter enforcement of existing laws, particularly the curfew law, the passage of certain city ordinances, and the organization of social agencies, and they are urgent in demanding of the State a reformatory for women. For more than twenty years good men and women have been working to this end, and now the reformatory seems likely to be realized, as the question is in the hands of a committee who will probably report favorably to the legislature.

That there has been delay in securing this institution is doubtless due to the many excellent and necessary institutions already supported wholly or in part by the State, and Maine is not a wealthy State. Among these institutions are those of similar character such as Industrial School for Girls, State School for Boys, and the following charitable associations, the list of which is furnished by the State Auditor:

Appropriations for Charitable Institutions for Year 1914

Androscoggin Anti-Tuberculosis Association,	\$ 500.00
Augusta General Hospital,	5,500.00
Bar Harbor Medical and Surgical Hospital,	2,000.00
Bath City Hospital,	2,000.00
Bangor Anti-Tuberculosis Association,	1,000.00



Property Owners

Women holding property sometimes urge that under our present system they are not "represented." While this may be true in letter, it is not true in spirit, for women's advantages are secured by the votes of male property owners, whose interests are identical with their own. The number of women holding property is comparatively small, and the number who have themselves amassed any considerable sum is still smaller. It will readily be seen that if all women voted the percentage of property owners in the electorate would be much smaller and be so much less influential.

An Experiment

Woman suffrage in our State can be, at best, but an experiment. It is a new trail in political government. If it proves a mistake, it has been wisely pointed out that it would be well-nigh impossible to retrieve it.

Believing with our whole hearts that neither woman nor the State would benefit by her entry into political life, we beg readers not to listen to sentiment alone, to unfounded hopes, to arguments without support, but to place depend-

is being prepared. "If the political opinions of certain
immovable, at least they themselves are not," is the significant comment of Miss
Alice Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Union. In an editorial the *New
York Sun* says:

"This catalogue of the wicked contains such names as ROOT, LODGE,
BRANDEGEE, UNDERWOOD, MANN, FITZGERALD. Experience, knowledge, tran-
scendent or high talents, blameless character, what are these? The one thing
needful is to be pliant to the commands of the National Woman Suffrage Asso-
ciation. Such of the offending Senators and Representatives as shall again be
candidates for their posts are to be hammered and tongued by the suffragists.
They are to be beaten, if beaten they can be, solely for their opposition to woman
suffrage or to woman suffrage emanating from Washington. That is the cardinal
test of fitness for public life and service.

"It is the right and privilege of these ardent female souls to make these
insistences and this sort of campaign. Will it persuade the doubtful or recon-
cile the scorers to see honorable and able men attacked for refusing to take a
course to which they are bound by no mandate save that of certain imperious
ladies, not untouched perhaps with a monomaniacal wrongheadedness? Does
this essay in bulldozing tend to an increased appreciation of the mental sobriety
and wisdom of word and action to be expected from votes for women?"

Central Maine General Hospital, Lewiston,	7,000.00
Children's Protective Society, Portland,	500.00
Children's Aid Society, Belfast,	1,500.00
Children's Hospital, Portland,	20,000.00
Children's Heart Work Society, Portland,	500.00
Central Maine Association, Control of Tuberculosis, Fairfield,	7,500.00
Daughters of Wisdom, St. Agatha,	500.00
Eastern Maine General Hospital, Bangor,	6,500.00
Eastern Maine Orphans' Home, Bangor,	500.00
Good Samaritan's Home Association, Bangor,	1,200.00
Girls' Orphanage, Lewiston,	2,500.00
Greenville Young Men's Christian Association,	1,200.00
Hayes' Young Woman's Home, Lewiston,	1,000.00
Holy Innocents' Home for Infants, Portland,	2,000.00
Healy Asylum, Lewiston,	3,500.00
Knox County General Hospital, Rockland,	2,500.00
Lewiston and Auburn Children's Home, Lewiston,	750.00
Maine Eye and Ear Infirmary, Portland,	3,500.00
Maine State Sanatorium, Hebron,	12,500.00
Maine Children's Home Society,	1,250.00
Maine General Hospital, Portland,	9,000.00
Maine Home for Friendless Boys,	1,500.00
Maine Institution for the Blind, Portland,	15,000.00
Maine Anti-Tuberculosis Association,	1,500.00
Maine Mission for the Deaf, Belfast,	200.00
Northern Maine General Hospital, Eagle Lake,	2,000.00
Old Town-Orono Anti-Tuberculosis Association, Orono,	100.00
Presque Isle General Hospital, Presque Isle,	750.00
St. Mary's General Hospital, Lewiston,	8,000.00
St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic Asylum, Portland,	2,000.00
Trull Hospital Aid Association, Biddeford,	1,000.00
Temporary Home for Women and Children, Portland,	2,500.00
Waldo County General Hospital, Belfast,	1,000.00
Webber Hospital Association, Biddeford,	3,000.00
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Temporary Home for Children, Gardiner,	750.00
York County Children's Aid Association, Saco,	500.00
York Hospital, York,	1,200.00
	<hr/>
	\$137,400.00

It has been said up and down the State in the suffrage campaign that if women had the vote the appropriation for the reformatory would have been secured in one year instead of twenty. It is noteworthy in this connection that not a single suffrage State has such a reformatory.

It is also noteworthy that these Citizens' Committees have not universally recommended woman suffrage as a valuable agent in effecting desired reforms. If it were of such value as its adherents hope and believe, it would certainly be recognized by all Vigilance Committees.

The Temperance Question

It is also often urged by the suffragists that the liquor evil would be eradicated, or nearly so, by the woman's vote. Here again there is no evidence to sustain the promise. Not one of the suffrage States is a prohibition State save Kansas, which had prohibition before it had equal franchise.

At the recent elections of November, 1914, soon after the publication of this paper, four of the equal suffrage States, Washington, Oregon, Colorado, and Arizona, adopted prohibition amendments. They have followed, not led in this movement, as nine male suffrage States preceded them. Colorado remained wet more than twenty years after granting the franchise to women. Even now the majority which carried the amendment is small.

Roughly speaking there are 213,000 women in Colorado over twenty-one years of age. The vote for prohibition was 129,000. Sixty per cent of the women of the State, or slightly more, could have cast the entire prohibition vote.

California, with women voting, not only cast an overwhelming majority against prohibition, but entrenched herself behind an amendment which forbids another referendum on the subject for eight years.

North Dakota, a prohibition State, voted down a woman suffrage amendment.

personally and demand that the laws be enforced."

The California legislature, in 1912, rejected a bill prohibiting the sale of liquor within a mile and a half of the universities, while for the first time in a hundred years Harvard College has forbidden the use of anything stronger than beer at class day spreads or class reunions.

Many towns and cities in the State of Colorado held municipal elections. There was not much interest in the contests generally, and scarcely half the normal vote was polled. The license element had the better of the contests." So says the Report of the United States Brewers' Association in the issue of 1913. The same authority says: "In Phoenix, Arizona, with women voting for the first time, six of the seven precincts of the city voted for the continuance of saloons, while in the seventh a tie was recorded. Three of these precincts had formerly been dry. Of the votes cast more than half were women."

San Francisco has 2,103 saloons, in a population of 417,000.

Temperance movements are making a wide sweep through the country, and State after State is coming into line with temperance legislation. Good men and women are united in their efforts to secure temperance, but they have always been divided in their ideas as to the best method of securing results.

Legislation avails little if the sense of the community does not support it. The greatest effort must always be used to educate the community and attempt

to raise men from the domination of the drink habit. It is hard to believe that where women cannot influence the erring as mother, sister, wife or child, the same woman could prevail as a politician.

It will be remembered that in 1912, sixteen States turned down woman suffrage amendments, notably Michigan, which rolled up a majority against it of 90,000. Let us take this as an example.

Now it is asserted over and again that this result was obtained by the "Liquor Interests" who "poured money into the State;" but an analysis of the vote shows that nearly all the "dry" counties voted against suffrage and the "wet" counties for it. Of the seventeen counties that voted for suffrage twelve are "wet." Of the thirty-three counties in the State in which the sale of liquor is prohibited, twenty-eight voted against woman suffrage. The same day on which woman suffrage was voted upon in Michigan, twelve counties voted on the liquor question. The aggregate majority for prohibition was 2,519, while every county of the twelve voted against suffrage with an aggregate majority of 7,026.

To quote again from Ben Lindsay. In an interview given the *Boston Sunday Post* he is reported as saying: "Here is another point in which men are mistaken. They believe, most of them, down in their hearts, that women would at once close up the saloons. That's also lately disproved by what has happened in Colorado. Colorado is a 'wet' State and Denver is a 'wet' city. The 'wets' won by 50,000 in Colorado last year with women voting. Women, good women, got out and worked for the 'wets.' Why did they do this? Because women are human. Arguments that appeal to men appeal to them. Cries of 'prohibition doesn't prohibit,' 'don't lose the revenue,' 'personal liberty,' etc., appeal to many men, and I shall not say they are ignorant or vicious men. Why should not these same arguments, therefore, appeal to a great many women! They do. Women are human."

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and one of the leaders in the lobby at Springfield, which brought about the enactment of the suffrage bill, said in the *Chicago American* of June 28: "It is a great pleasure to remember that some of the firmest supporters of the suffrage measure in the Forty-eighth General Assembly were some of the so-called wets."

Women Will Not Purify Politics

The anti-suffragists are not detractors of their sex. They yield to no one in their admiration of women and in desire for her advancement in usefulness and power, but they believe the road to that event is not by the political highway.

Woman now has her share in politics in the way most consistent with her task in life and her environment. Someone, speaking of suffrage, has happily put it in this way: "Somewhere within the borders of this country to-day there are mothers who are bringing up four Presidents, 100 Cabinet officers, 300 Senators and 5,000 Representatives, who between the years of 1930 and 1950 will be making the history of this country and measurably the history of the world. Woman can have her share in politics if she will. The ballot is not for all.

The mere ballot she is so eager to clutch does not in the balance of politics count for more than an ounce in a ton."

At the best, women could only hope to be man's political duplicate. Remember that if she had the ballot she would be:

- Actuated by the same motives;
- Influenced by the same impulses;
- Prejudiced by the same envy, jealousy or ambition:
- Deceived by the same fallacies;
- Intimidated by the same despots;
- Corrupted by the same graft.

Human nature is a great leveler. It places men and women on the same plane, and establishes the general law of averages. Good women would be as good as good men, as wise as wise men, Weak women or malignant as weak and malignant as the same class of men.

There is a note in all suffrage arguments which is discordant to the ears of women whose family life has been passed in the companionship of good men. The ballot is most generally spoken of as a "weapon" with which woman is to "defend" herself. She is to be "liberated from a suppressed class" or "emancipated from bondage." She lives in a "man-made-world." She can develop no "free personality." She is the "subject of despotism." All this phraseology indicates a spirit of antagonism to man and even to the Creator who made woman and gave to her the office of bearing and nurturing the child which necessitates self-sacrifice. It is this rebellious spirit which has flowered in England into militancy — if so beautiful a metaphor may be used for so ugly a fact.

The militants of England threatened a year ago that the "militancy of the past would be the merest pin pricks compared to what will happen at once all over the country," and they have kept their word. The activities of the militants have ranged from throwing pepper on Premier Asquith and a dead cat at Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, to burning the Midland Railway station at Bradford, with a loss of \$500,000, and attempting to blow up part of the Bank of England in London. They have endangered hundreds of lives and destroyed millions of property. In their campaigns they have used fire, bombs, mines, hatchets, hammers, revolvers, poker, knives, bludgeons, stones, tar, paint, riding whips, horse whips, dog whips, umbrellas, foul smelling chemicals, corrosive chemicals, barbed wire entanglements for the police, besides using their fists, nails, teeth and feet.

Would such conditions have been believed possible had they been predicted ten years ago? And is it not almost impossible now to believe that women, who are called the "gentle sex" can so degrade themselves? And is it not a shame to American women that they have recognized and countenanced the leaders of such a movement? Twenty thousand of our American dollars were carried back to England by Mrs. Pankhurst, and contributed toward the accomplishment of this campaign of destruction.

If the mere agitation for suffrage has produced such an exhibition, what might we look for among the inflammable in time of public excitement?

The suffragists are now claiming that if woman had the ballot, this terrible European war would not prevail; but how they can claim this in face of the

Mrs. B. T. Wheeler, the Treasurer, is the Corresponding Secretary of the Woman's Alliance of the First Parish Church of Portland.

Of the Executive Committee, Mrs. Oscar Wish is Ex-President Woman's Literary Union and President of the Willis Club.

Mrs. George Bird is a member of the College Club of Portland, and the Wellesley Club of Maine and the Woman's Club of Yarmouth, also President of the Yarmouth Village Improvement Society, which she organized, and she is a member of the Yarmouth Grange.

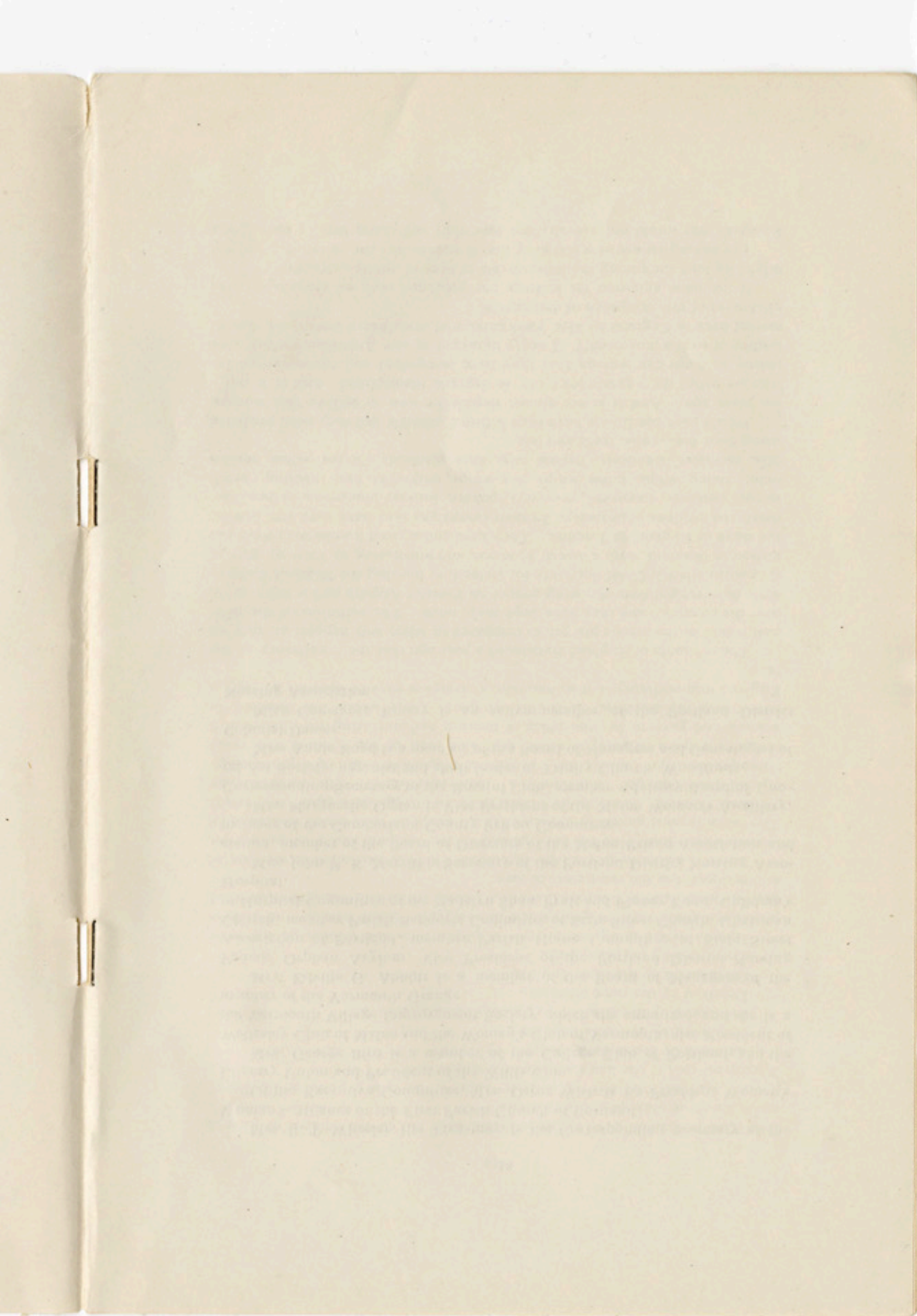
Mrs. Edville G. Abbott is a member of the Board of Managers of the Female Orphan Asylum, Vice President of the Portland District Nursing Association of Portland, member Parish House Committee of State Street Church, member Parish Banquets Committee of State Street Church, Chairman of Hospital Committee of the Madelyn Shaw Fruit and Flower Fund, Children's Hospital.

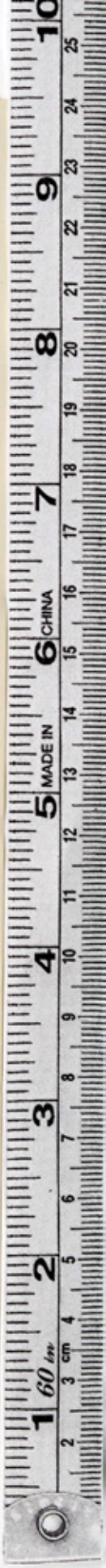
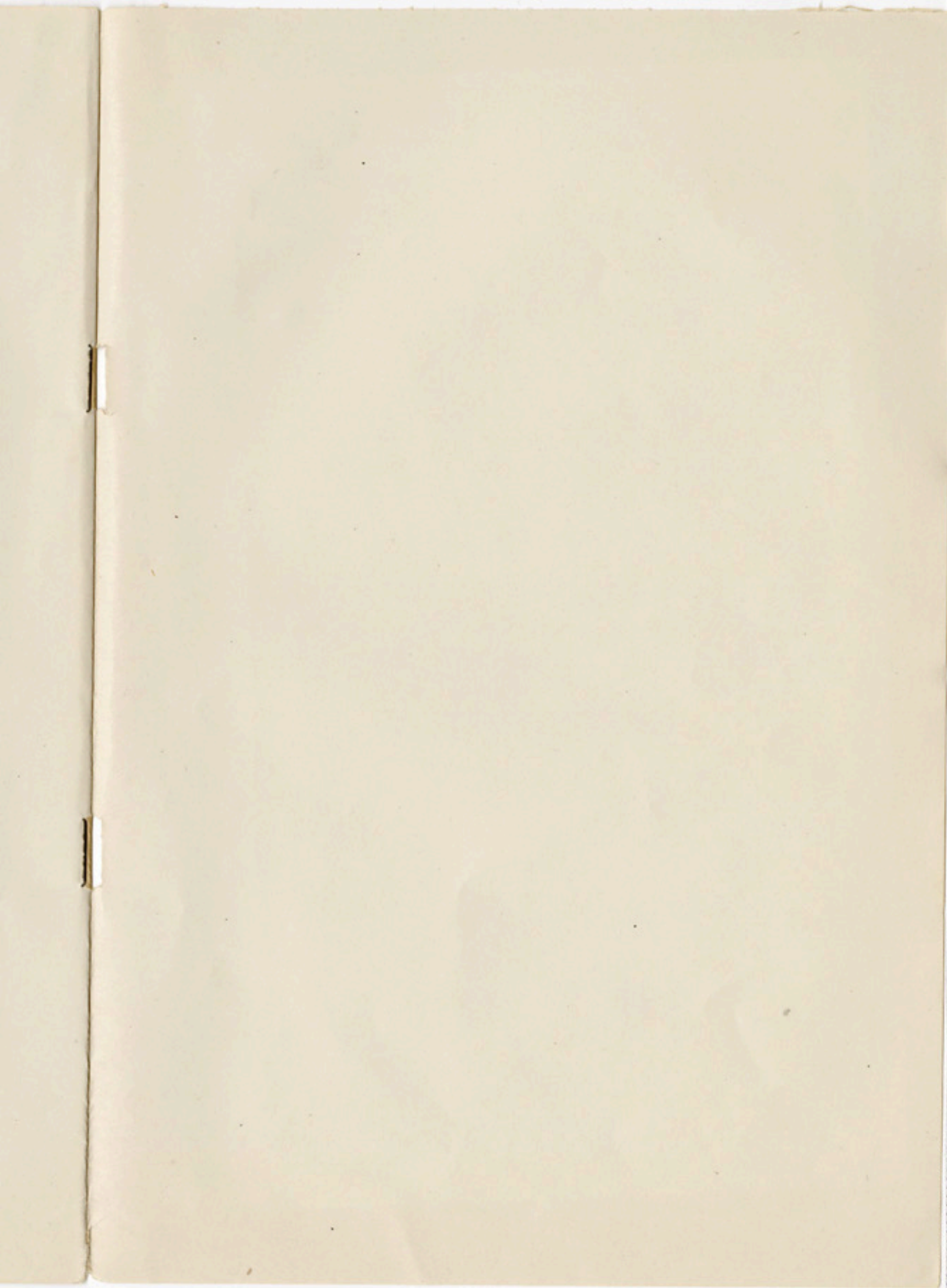
Mrs. John F. E. Merrill is Secretary of the Portland District Nursing Association, member of the Board of Directors of the Maine Prison Association and member of the Cumberland County Prison Committee.

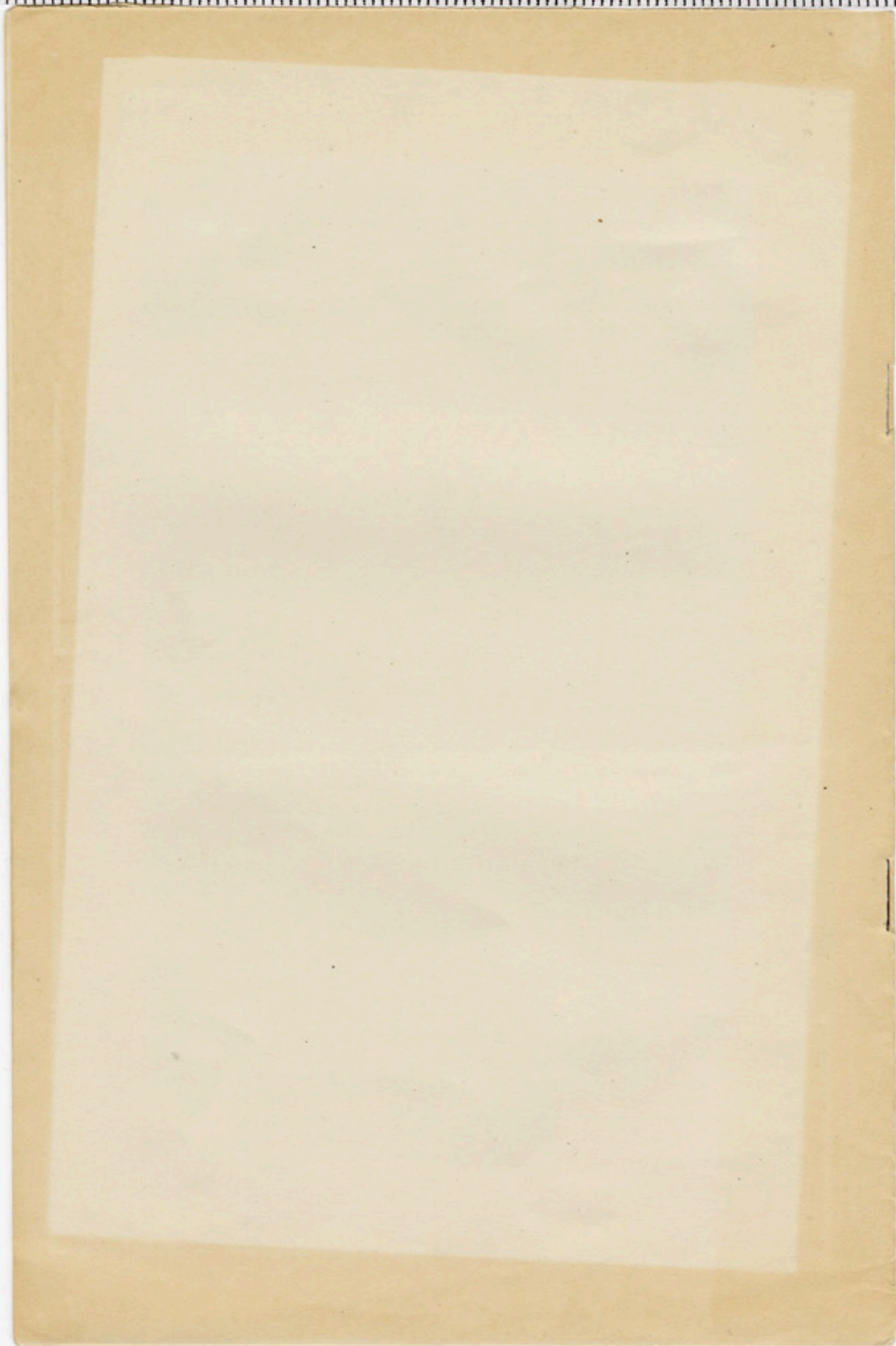
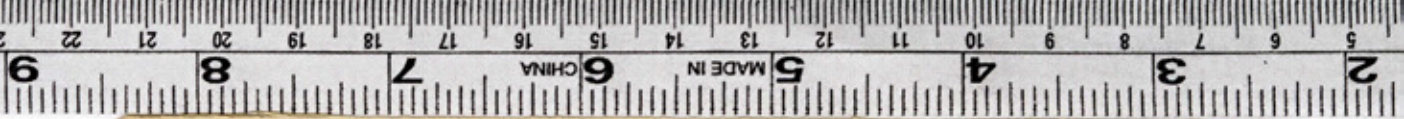
Miss Marguerite Ogden is Vice President of the Maine Woman's Auxiliary, Corresponding Secretary of the Rossini Club, member Advisory Board of Choral Art Society, organist and choir leader of Trinity Church, Woodfords.

Miss Annie Boyd is a member of the Board of Managers and Genealogist of Colonial Dames.

Miss Constance Emery is an active member of the Portland District Nursing Association.







W O M A N S U F F R A G E

ARGUMENT

OF

MRS. A. J. GEORGE

OF BROOKLINE, MASS.

BEFORE THE

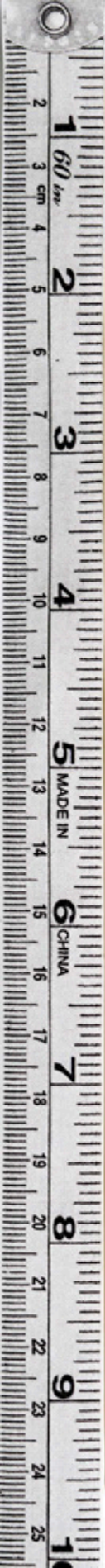
COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

UNITED STATES SENATE

APRIL 19, 1913



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1913



WOMAN SUFFRAGE

ARGUMENT

MRS. A. J. GEORGE

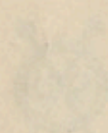
OF THE SUFFRAGE

AND

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

UNITED STATES SENATE

1890



WASHINGTON

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ARGUMENT OF MRS. A. J. GEORGE, OF BROOKLINE, MASS., BEFORE
THE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE, UNITED STATES SEN-
ATE, APRIL 19, 1913.

Mrs. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage appears before this committee, which is understood already to be committed to a favorable report, in order that it may place on record the principles which are held by what is undoubtedly the majority of the women of this country, in regard to the distribution of the duties of life among men and women. The vote is far from being the whole story in this dispute.

The question of recommending an amendment to the Constitution of the United States interferes with our State system of determining the electorate—a system which up to the present time has been shown to advantage; particularly where those most concerned are not able to vote upon the question it is desirable that the State should hesitate to confer the franchise upon an electorate the majority of which is acknowledged to be indifferent or opposed to the exercise of the franchise, and it is desirable that the State should wait until the actual balance of opinion is shown to be with those who demand the extension of the franchise before so extending it.

Since the days of the *Mayflower* compact to the time of the Arizona constitution we have been a people bound to obedience under what is undoubtedly the will of the majority; that the majority of the women of this country do not desire the suffrage, and that in no selfish way, but do not look upon the ballot as the best means of contributing their social efficiency to the body politic is shown by the fact that when the question is submitted to women a very small percentage of women go on record as in favor of woman suffrage.

The figures of the National Suffrage Association show that a scant 8 per cent of the women of voting age in this country are enrolled as suffragists, and surely we can reasonably assume that if an American woman wants a thing she is quite likely to ask for it.

The only State which has had a poll of all the women of the State made possible is my own State of Massachusetts. In 1895 all persons who were eligible to vote for school committee were eligible to vote on the question submitted at the general election in November, Is it expedient that municipal suffrage should be granted to the women of Massachusetts?

Many people are in favor of municipal suffrage who do not advocate full suffrage for women. The suffragists had a splendid organization, 50 years old. They did everything they could during that summer of 1895 to bring out a large vote in favor of municipal suffrage for the women of Massachusetts.

Our association was organized only in May of that year. There was also a man suffrage association, with Hon. Eben S. Draper as president, which worked to bring out the men's vote against the question, but urged the women who were opposed not to go on record, but to let the stay-at-home votes show the indifference of the average woman of Massachusetts. What was the result? Four per cent of the women of Massachusetts cared enough about municipal suffrage to go to the polls and register in favor of it at that November election.

The majority given by the men was the largest majority ever given to any question submitted to the people of the State. Every county and every congressional, councillor, senatorial, and representative district in the Commonwealth cast a majority against the proposition. The majority against woman suffrage in Massachusetts was more than twice as great as that against either prohibition or biennial elections.

That was in 1895, and you may say the world has moved rapidly since those days and that we should have another vote of the women now. It is an extraordinary thing that wherever you suggest to the suffragists that this measure should be submitted to the women they make lively opposition. In other words, they say that woman must have the ballot on every other question save this one in which she is most vitally concerned; and they contend that an electorate of men can properly decide this question, although an electorate of women must be enfranchised in order to properly decide all other questions.

There is nothing that so frightens a suffragist as a suggestion that this question be submitted to a vote of the women. They remember our vote in Massachusetts of 1895, where only 4 per cent of the women went on record in favor of woman suffrage, and they also remember that the membership of the National Suffrage Association is a small percentage of the women of the country, and they know, too, that where women have the opportunity to vote, when the novelty of the thing is passed, we find a small proportion of women voting.

In my State women have had the right to vote for school committees since 1879. A woman need only tell her age, which is a difficult proposition sometimes to make to the woman. You may smile, but you must remember that the first legislation put through in Colorado and the first legislation put through in California after women were enfranchised was a bill that a woman need only declare that she is of voting age. That is not equal rights; that is special privilege. But in my State if a woman is brave enough to tell her age and is a citizen she can register and vote for school committee without paying any poll tax. She paid a poll tax from 1879 to 1884. In 1884 the prepayment of a poll tax by men as a qualification for voting was done away with. It is not necessary now for anyone to show a receipt of payment of poll tax. It is only necessary to show that the voter has been assessed a poll tax, and a woman does not have to pay any poll tax whatever. Yet in Massachusetts in the last 17 years we have had a registration of women amounting to 4.8 per cent throughout the State of all the women who could register and vote, and of those only 2.1 per cent, less than 50 per cent of those registered, got to the polls on election day.

In 1879 the suffragists, eager and zealous and sincere women, who looked upon the ballot as the best means of showing woman's social

efficiency, said, "Evidently we can not hope for the full franchise at present, but give us the school vote and we will show you what we will do with it." And they have made a clear case for the anti-suffragists.

You may say that this is a peculiar situation, that men would not vote if they could vote only on school matters, but the women said, "Give it to us as a test of our interest, and we will show you what we will do."

In Boston last year, where the situation was very clear, we had a candidate of the machine and we had a woman candidate for the school board. We had not had a woman member of the school board for seven years. In passing it is interesting to note that we have had as strong women, if not stronger women, on our school boards in Massachusetts under the votes of men than we have had under the votes of men and women. But this year the issue was very clear. We had a machine candidate against a woman. The suffragists refused to indorse the woman because she would not indorse woman suffrage. She did not say she was opposed to woman suffrage, but she did not indorse woman suffrage. There was no question of her fitness; there was no question of her ability, because of her long training in educational work; but the suffragists refused to indorse her because she would not indorse the special means by which they proposed to better the conditions of our educational system.

Yet we found that under these conditions in this year 1913 fewer women went to the polls on election day than have gone any time since 1879, with two exceptions, and the votes of the men elected that woman.

We have never had so much agitation for woman suffrage in Boston and we have never had so little exercise of the suffrage which the women now hold.

The same holds true in Connecticut. From $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent of the women who can register and vote do so. The very day before the Connecticut women went before the Legislature of Connecticut to ask for the full vote there was a school election in Hartford, Conn. Eighteen thousand women were entitled to register and vote at that election, and 95 women cast their vote on election day.

A current magazine widely circulated (The Outlook of Apr. 19, 1913, p. 839) cites the vote in the town of Dedham, Mass. Dedham is a fortunate town, and a particularly fair town to cite in evidence of woman's readiness to use the school suffrage. This magazine citation, however, does not take the actual number of votes cast, but does take the number of registered voters, and gives 49 as the number of the women voters in Dedham this year. As a matter of fact this was the number of women registered, for not a single woman has remembered it was election day for 11 years—for 11 years in the town of Dedham. I will leave with the clerk the figures furnished by the town clerk of Dedham:

OFFICE OF THE TOWN CLERK,
Dedham, Mass., April 12, 1913.

List of male and female voters in Dedham from the year 1879 to 1912, and also the number of men and women who voted between the years 1879 and 1912.¹

	Voters.		Actually voted.			Voters.		Actually voted.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1889.....	1,264	154	756	154	1902.....	1,642	74	1,271	3
1890.....	1,359	180	766	58	1903.....	1,643	72	1,240	1
1891.....	1,367	91	916	34	1904.....	1,670	69	1,113	0
1892.....	1,506	74	1,001	10	1905.....	1,634	65	1,326	0
1893.....	1,534	41	1,078	32	1906.....	1,687	65	1,422	0
1894.....	1,536	116	1,264	19	1907.....	1,687	63	1,340	0
1895.....	1,573	116	1,201	2	1908.....	1,710	60	1,354	0
1896.....	1,665	101	1,311	37	1909.....	1,681	56	1,269	0
1897.....	1,423	102	1,306	43	1910.....	1,793	55	1,439	0
1898.....	1,476	91	1,189	59	1911.....	1,803	55	1,540	0
1899.....	1,471	82	1,194	17	1912.....	1,884	49	1,587	0
1900.....	1,574	79	1,186	2	1913.....	1,948	49	1,609	0
1901.....	1,570	78	1,249	32					

¹ 1879-1888, no record of number of voters or vote cast.

It is very difficult to give the figures in regard to the woman's vote in the suffrage States, because we are told by the secretaries of state of those States, that the votes of men and women are not segregated, they are not kept separate. I have it, however, on the authority of the commissioner of elections in San Francisco that "about two-thirds" of the registered women voted at the election of November 5, 1912. The commissioner reports that two-thirds of the registered women voters and two-thirds of the registered men voters voted. But he gives figures which show that only 39 per cent of the women registered. Therefore if only two-thirds of them got to the polls on November 5, only 26 per cent of the women of San Francisco availed themselves of the opportunity to vote for the first time in the history of their State for presidential electors on November 5, 1912.

Three years ago here in Washington you were told that there was to be a petition signed by a million women presented to Congress, and when that petition was presented it contained in round numbers the signatures of 160,000 women, of 122,000 men, and, according to suffrage reports, official reports, 119,000 unclassified. If they are not men or women I hardly know in what class we shall put that 119,000.

A VOICE. Children.

Mrs. GEORGE. Some one suggests children. I have a photograph of the youngest member of the National Suffrage Association, and it is a baby 6 weeks of age. We saw in the parade last May babies wheeled up the street with the sign, "I wish mother could vote" on the perambulators. We also saw boys 12 years of age carrying banners, "I wish our schoolteacher could vote"; but, gentlemen, the matter of the extension of the suffrage to women is a more serious matter than questions of tariff or finance, and I fancy that the members of this committee would not give great weight to babies' arguments in regard to tariff or finance, or would not even take the experience of 12-year-old boys as a safe guide in a fundamental principle of government. [Applause.]

In Ohio in September last there was a majority of 87,000 against woman suffrage, and that majority was rolled up not because the special interests were opposed to women suffrage, not because men wished to withhold from women something which the men had, but because the average voter in Ohio voted as he believed the women he knew wished him to vote, and only 19 out of 88 counties in Ohio voted "yes" on the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage.

In New Hampshire a vote of the constitutional convention of that State was taken on June 20, 1912. The measure to submit to the people a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage had gone through the constitutional convention 10 years before, and had been defeated at the polls. Last June a similar measure did not even get through the constitutional convention, but was there defeated by a vote of 208 to 149, and, largely, we believe, because of the organized opposition of the women of New Hampshire, who believe that woman can best do her work apart from party politics. In three weeks the women of New Hampshire who had been roused to the dangers of the woman-suffrage propaganda, in three weeks those women collected one-half as many names of women 21 years of age and over—that is, possible voters—opposed to woman suffrage as the suffragists had gathered of men, women, and minors in 40 years of agitation. They reported about 3,500 signatures collected in three weeks as against 7,000 signatures collected "with great effort" by the suffragists in 40 years.

In 1848 the first woman's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, N. Y., and at that time a long list of grievances was drawn up, known as the "Declaration of sentiments." It forms interesting reading. I quote briefly:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpation on the part of man toward woman, having as the indirect object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

Man has endeavored in every way he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

And so the citation of "grievances" goes on, and always "her inalienable right to the elective franchise" is urged as the means to free women and girls from the yoke of men.

In 1848 there were many injustices and inequalities for women before the law still existing from the common law which we had inherited from England. It is a curious thing, however, that while all this agitation for woman suffrage has gone on, with the attempt to show that woman must have the ballot in order to be an equal with man, woman has had an increasing recognition of her legal and civil rights.

Since 1848 the civil and legal rights of women have been so fully recognized that in the movement for woman suffrage we forget that the procession has passed and woman does not need the ballot as a means of justice.

There is no need to call to the attention of this committee the various rights and exemptions which woman enjoys to-day before the law. We were told last February in an edition of a New York daily that a certain woman would march up Pennsylvania Avenue in the parade of March 3 with hands shackled to show the condition

of the unenfranchised woman of this country. Curiously enough the same paper which gave us that information told us that a measure had been introduced in the Assembly of New York providing for a constitutional amendment which should forbid any distinction before the law on account of sex and should make inoperative on its passage all such existing laws.

Which is the true picture of the condition of unenfranchised woman in this country—the woman who chooses to have her hands tied with rope and represent the state of the unenfranchised woman in this country, or the splendid recognition of woman's service to the State, which she alone can perform, and because of which a great State like New York gives her special rights and exemptions in order that the motherhood of the race may be protected and that our citizens shall have the birthright and the inheritance of a strong and vigorous childhood? [Applause.]

I have met a few suffragists who say that this is all wrong and we should have equal rights, responsibilities, and duties for all, and special privileges to none.

Mr. Henry B. Blackwell said repeatedly before the Massachusetts Legislature that he believed women should have equal rights, responsibilities, and duties; and on one occasion he said, "And the wife should be equally responsible with the husband for the financial maintenance of the household." [Applause.]

They said back there in 1848, "Man has denied woman the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her."

It is a curious thing that there are to-day more institutions which grant degrees to women in this country than there are institutions which grant degrees to men—largely because of the fact that the men's colleges grant degrees from their graduate departments to women, while I know of but one woman's college which has granted even an honorary degree to a man, and that was within the last four months.

A great many things in life are coincident which are not consequent one upon another as cause and effect.

Whatever part the agitation for woman suffrage has played in the opening of educational opportunities to women—and the work of the suffrage party has been for coeducation rather than for higher education—we must admit that the results have come, not by the use of the woman's vote, by which alone the early suffragists said they could accomplish these desirable results, but without the use of the ballot.

The foundation of Vassar, of Wellesley, of Smith, of Mount Holyoke, was in no way connected with the suffrage movement. The splendid pioneer work of Mary Lyon and Emily Willard and Catherine Beecher in showing what women could do found its logical result in the opening of the splendid colleges for women. If there were opportunity it would be worth while to consider the story of the opening of Harvard University examinations for women, and the opening of the graduate departments of Yale University to women. In both instances, by a curious coincidence, by a curious combination of circumstances, the men and women who worked for the opening of these educational opportunities for women in these

two old, conservative universities have been antisuffragists, not a suffragist in the lot. [Applause.]

The same is true in England. Mrs. Snowden told us here in her wonderfully brilliant addresses on woman suffrage, that the time had come in England where if a man said he was opposed to woman suffrage he argued "either that he was not very intelligent or not very good." But Mrs. Snowden knew at that time that the president of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage was Earl Cromer, the maker of modern Egypt, and that the vice president was Earl Curzon, of Kedleston, former viceroy of India now the president of the league in England; Lord Curzon as regent of the great University of Oxford, has been foremost in urging that old conservative university to grant its degrees to women.

The connection between the agitation for woman suffrage and the higher education of woman is not apparent to those who read the history of the movement.

They said back there in 1848 that man had "monopolized nearly all the profitable employments." By the census returns of 1900 we are told that women are actually engaged in 295 out of the 303 occupations in which men are engaged. Women, it is true, are not soldiers, sailors, or marines; neither are they street-car drivers; neither are they foremen in fire departments, nor are they apprentices to roofers and slaters, nor are they helpers to steam boiler makers or brass workers; but they are actually engaged in every other of the 303 occupations in which men are engaged, and still they do not have a vote in the great majority of the States of the Union. This is a great change from the days when women were engaged only in such occupations as household service, spinning and weaving, teaching dame schools, setting type, and keeping taverns. Everyone welcomes the opportunity of woman to earn her livelihood, but we are just beginning to realize that the State can not afford to drive its women into industry if thereby the State must lose woman's distinctive contribution as a citizen. After two generations of more or less thoughtless exploitation of women as wage earners, we are beginning to see that the woman goes into industry to meet all the hardships, all the problems of the workingman, plus the handicap of her sex, of her lower physical and nervous vitality. And, therefore, if woman is to be in industry, we must protect her especially, because we must protect the potential motherhood of the race. [Applause.]

We are only beginning to find the truth of this, and we are beginning to see by our reports on the conditions of such a city as Fall River, in my State, the report of the vice committee in Chicago, by the reports of the minimum wage commission in Massachusetts, that the girl and woman in industry can not go in as an equal with man in industry, but that she must be there with special safeguards, because she is the mother of the future citizen.

I know it is a favorite argument of the suffragist to say that because of this fact, because of the entrance of woman into industry, we must give the industrial woman the ballot in order to protect herself. Protect herself against whom? we may ask. It is an extraordinary thing that the study of the body of remedial and protective legislation for working women shows that these against whom the working woman must be "protected"—these men—have

enacted laws more favorable to women in industry, more carefully safeguarding the child in industry in male-suffrage States than have been enacted in States where women vote. [Applause.]

This is not a charge against the working of woman suffrage, but it is a fair contention that where the industrial conditions have so developed as to show the waste to the State of employing women as men are employed we have the body of legislation best safeguarding the woman and the child.

To explain: Women do not vote in Massachusetts; women do not vote in Nebraska; women do not vote in Indiana; and yet in those three male-suffrage States, and only in those three male-suffrage States, have we a prohibition of night work for women in manufacturing and mechanical establishments, and a prohibition of night work for women is considered the foundation principle of the best standard law you can have for women in industry.

One day's rest in seven is not provided for in these suffrage States under laws made under an electorate of women. You have a provision for one day's rest in seven in California. The eight-hour law was passed there nine months before the women voted, but it is always claimed as a suffrage victory; I do not know just why. But the law there does provide for one day's rest in seven. It does not prohibit night work; neither does it apply to women who are at work in the canneries, and canning is one of the great industries in California.

Massachusetts has a 54-hour law for women. It has a minimum wage commission, the first in this country. It has a maternity act, the first in this country, and that maternity act was adopted by New York, a male suffrage State, last year. The minimum wage and the maternity acts were copied, not from woman suffrage States, for women have voted in four States in our Union at periods varying from 20 to 44 years, but those laws were copied from continental Europe, which had found that it was poor economy to recklessly use the womanhood of the State in industrial lines, because of the inevitable results to the race.

As to child-labor laws: The national child labor committee has done more to have legislation for the protection of the child in industry spread upon the statute books than all the votes of men and women together, and women and men have worked together in getting before the people the conditions which should arouse public sentiment, so that it should insist upon legislation which shall protect the child.

The best child-labor law, in 1912, Dr. McKelway tells us—and I believe he is a suffragist—was in Massachusetts. I hope that some other State will this year outstrip the law of Massachusetts, so we shall again be put on our mettle and recognize the inexcusable waste which comes with the entrance of children into industry. It is particularly to the credit of Massachusetts that she has a good child-labor law, because with her great textile industries she has a temptation to exploit the work of women and children; but on suffrage authority we are told that not in some suffrage State but in a male suffrage State we have the best child-labor law. Again I say that it is not because the woman suffrage has failed to bring this legislation about, but because under male suffrage the law is enacted when public opinion stirs the public conscience.

Another thing which they said back there in 1848 was that taxation without representation was tyranny. It is a familiar saying, and we have seen it on banners carried in political parades, and it has been overworked on political platforms. But when James Otis gave utterance to those words in the old statehouse he was speaking about taxation of a colony that had no voice in a government overseas. He was not dreaming of universal manhood suffrage, let alone woman suffrage, and the tying up of the tax and the vote is a return to our old system when we had a property qualification; the vote and the tax have gone further and further apart since colonial days; there is but one State in the Union, the smallest State in the Union, which still has a property qualification required of the voter.

The tax is the price which the resident and the nonresident, which the man and the woman, which the alien and the citizen, which the individual and the corporation pay for the maintenance of roads, for the maintenance of schools, for the protection of property, and for those various other enterprises which make life safe and which make the forward march of civilization and a clean life possible in any community. The citizens of the District of Columbia are taxed, but they have no vote.

While suffragists demand the ballot to cleanse society of the social evil, vice commissions in several States report the lack of proper home training as a chief cause of the downfall of our girls and our boys. If the ballot in woman's hands is to suppress this ancient evil, why does this dread thing flourish in States where women have voted from 20 to 44 years? Although these States do not possess the densely populated communities which offer the most perplexing problems of the evil, the votes of women have not shown, even in these sparsely populated areas, a way to reinforce the faltering weakness of human nature. These evils must be corrected along educational lines rather than by political propaganda. The Federal law, dealing with the white-slave traffic, known as the Mann law, was placed on the statute books June, 1910. Up to January, 1913, the Government had obtained 337 convictions, while there had been but 35 acquittals. 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.

There is a danger that women's political activities may hinder this work of education. This danger is revealed in the testimony of Dr. Helen L. Sumner in her book *Equal Suffrage—The Results of an Investigation in Colorado Made for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State*, on page 84 of which we read:

Prostitutes generally vote, and their vote is cast solidly for the party in control of the police force. * * * The vote of these women, to whom police protection is essential, is regarded as one of the perquisites of the party in power. * * * Whenever "repeating" is to be done their aid, naturally, is required. * * *

And again, on page 93, this trained investigator reports:

* * * The red-light district is freely used by the party in power, and its women are compelled, not merely to vote, but often to repeat.

If, as a measure of justice, to protect woman—and we might ask again, Protect her against whom?—woman does not need to vote,

ought woman to ask to vote in order to promote the general welfare? Now, in spite of the fact that here in Washington you were told the other day that all antisuffragists were hypocritical liars, in spite of the fact that we are quite accustomed to the kind of attack which you men find in politics, plus the venom of a scorned woman, in spite of all these things, suffragists and antisuffragists are about the same. The only difference is that the suffragist says, "It is through the vote you are going to moralize and reform society, and therefore give women the vote"; and the antisuffragist says that the vote is the least part of good government, and that matters of education, matters of forming and training a scientific public opinion are in the hands of women to an unusual degree, and that we need not an increased electorate, not a duplication by woman of man's methods, but what we need to-day is to be specialists in our line and not to be afraid of being specialists as women and working along the lines wherein I believe women have been somewhat successful in the last 19 centuries.

If men are doing so poorly that women must come in in order to help them out, what shall we say of the women who have trained men? [Applause.] If any mother feels that on election day she is handicapped when her son goes to the polls because she can not direct his vote, it is because she forgot to do what John Boyle O'Reilly used to tell us to do—"Catch him while he is young, because," he said, "you can do what you will with us men if you catch us while we are young."

If men are doing poorly—and I do not believe they are doing poorly when we realize the scale of the experiment of manhood suffrage which is being worked out here for the first time in the history of the world—but if men are doing poorly, is it not because the underlying principles of integrity and honor and righteousness have not been sufficiently insisted upon by the motherhood and by the educational force of this country? Eleven-twelfths of the teachers of secondary schools in my State are women. So it is no excuse for a woman to say, "I have not a boy to train." Will the daughters we have trained accomplish by the vote what the sons we have trained fail to accomplish?

Fortunately the average woman is worthily employed in very old-fashioned concerns. She has responsibility; she has opportunity, all she can use, and political responsibility and political opportunity offer no solution to her problems. The antisuffragist's objection to voting is not an objection to thinking, but we do believe that we are in a time when the specialized contribution of woman should be distinct and apart from the specialized contribution of man.

I have not forgotten, gentlemen, that I am addressing a committee a third of whom come from States where women form a part of the electorate. Even if you could prove that conditions in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming, or even in California and Washington, were bettered by the woman's vote, this would form no criterion for the whole of the country. [Applause.]

The great test of our democracy, of our form of government, comes in the cities, in the densely populated areas, and it is worth while to consider some of these conditions. The population of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Washington, and California is, in round numbers, 5,160,000, according to the census of 1910. This is nearly

4,000,000 less than the population of the single State of New York. It is 500,000 less than the population of the State of Illinois, and it is 2,500,000 less than the great industrial and mining State of Pennsylvania.

The population of the State of Colorado is equal to the population of the city of Boston plus the population of the city of Fall River, where we have a peculiar situation because of the alien population. The population of the whole State of Wyoming is about equal to that of the city of Worcester, Mass., and it is only twice the population of the city of Manchester, N. H. The population of Utah is not equal to the population of the District of Columbia, and the total population of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado is only 9,600 more than that of the Borough of Brooklyn.

There are some peculiar problems which the East and the Middle West have to meet with their density of population, with the presence of the alien vote, as there are problems which the South has to meet with its race question.

If the experiment of woman suffrage has worked ever so well in Colorado and Utah and Wyoming and Idaho, even in those States where women have voted only one or two years, as in Washington and California, yet we must ask that they try the experiment a little longer before we try it under conditions where a patriotic woman or man must hesitate before bringing in an increased electorate and double the difficulty of getting a question clearly before the voters. [Applause.]

A great menace—I might almost be warranted in saying the greatest menace we have to-day—is not the ignorant voter, so called, or the uninformed voter; it is the indifferent voter. If by admitting women to the electorate we are to increase the number of the indifferent voters, surely we must hesitate before we undertake this reform, which Mr. Gladstone called a “revolutionary” one. You will remember that Mr. Gladstone and America’s good friend John Bright and Herbert Spencer had all been in favor of woman suffrage, but they reversed their opinion and came out strongly against the parliamentary franchise for women.

What do we find in the States of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, and California in the last presidential election? I will not read these figures. I will simply refer to them and ask that they be incorporated in my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. You may do just as you please about that.

Mrs. GEORGE. These figures are taken from authoritative sources; where there has been a report available from the secretary of state, that has been used; where census reports have been available, they have been used; and in the other instances the best available authority has been used. Of course those are subject to the limitations of human fallibility.

The total vote cast in the six woman suffrage States for the Presidency—that is, where you have an electorate of men and women—in 1912 was 1,521,590. The relation of this vote to the actual number which might have voted, 3,200,152 men and women (exclusive of Japanese and Chinese), was 47.5 per cent.

Take neighboring or adjacent States, six of them, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon (a male-suffrage State at that time), Nevada, South

Dakota, and Missouri, and you find a total vote cast of 1,587,984, out of a total male population, 21 years of age and over, leaving out in these cases Japanese and Chinese, of 2,295,119; which makes a percentage in the male-suffrage States of a possible vote cast of 69 per cent, as against a percentage in the woman's suffrage States of 47½ per cent.

If 69 per cent of the men voted in the woman-suffrage States, as they did in the nonwoman-suffrage States (we do not say that they did, probably they did not), but if the same percentage of men voted in the suffrage States as voted in the nonsuffrage States an analysis of the figures shows that only 17.8 per cent of the women voters in the suffrage States actually voted.

Here are the striking facts: In the six woman-suffrage States only 47½ per cent of the total possible vote was cast. In the six nonsuffrage States near the suffrage States—a fair comparison, I submit—69 per cent of the total possible vote was cast, showing that woman suffrage, according to these statistics, secured from the secretaries of state of the various States and from the most accurate published figures available, tends to decrease the actual voting strength, rather than to increase healthy interest in politics.

Figures showing the surprising weakness of the total vote of both males and females in the six suffrage States in the last presidential election, and the contrasting high percentage of the total vote in six adjoining nonsuffrage States.

WOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES.

California (population 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese):		
Males	-----	890,794
Females	-----	605,450
Total possible vote	-----	1,556,244
Actual vote for Presidency	-----	673,527
Colorado:		
Males	-----	269,211
Females	-----	213,340
Total possible vote	-----	482,551
Actual vote	-----	266,871
Wyoming:		
Males	-----	61,519
Females	-----	28,426
Total possible vote	-----	89,945
Actual vote	-----	42,296
Washington:		
Males	-----	428,825
Females	-----	276,429
Total possible vote	-----	705,254
Actual vote	-----	322,799
Idaho:		
Males	-----	108,847
Females	-----	69,761
Total possible vote	-----	178,608
Actual vote for Presidency	-----	104,203

Utah:	
Males	101,902
Females	85,648
Total possible vote	187,550
Actual vote for Presidency	111,894

Total population of men and women 21 years or more of age, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese, in six suffrage States, and therefore the approximate total possible vote in those six States	3,200,152
Total vote actually cast in those six States for the Presidency in 1912	1,521,590
The per cent which voted	47½

NONWOMAN-SUFFRAGE STATES.

Kansas:	
Males 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese	508,425
Votes cast	365,442
Nebraska:	
Male votes possible	352,995
Votes cast	249,871
Oregon:	
Male votes possible	244,719
Votes cast	137,040
Nevada:	
Male votes possible	38,443
Votes cast	20,744
South Dakota:	
Male votes possible	178,054
Votes cast	116,325
Missouri:	
Male votes possible	972,483
Votes cast	698,562

Total men 21 years or over in six nonsuffrage States	2,295,119
Total vote in the six nonsuffrage States for President	1,587,984
Percentage of possible vote cast in six nonsuffrage States	69

If this is so, then the woman's vote will add another problem to the problems which already confront the man who is in politics, to the man who knows that the danger to-day lies in the indifferent and stay-at-home voter, and not so much in that vote which can be brought out, no matter what the weather conditions may be. We have "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" enough under present conditions.

A position of a remonstrant is a very difficult one under any conditions. It is particularly difficult when a woman opposes what other women most sincerely want. It is particularly difficult when one speaks in regard to conditions in States where woman suffrage obtains. But it is fair to ask that those States which to-day have adopted woman suffrage should wait to work out the problem before the other States assume the burden which would come with this change.

If you are only to double the outlay in election expenses, if you are only to double the number of voters, if you are only to double the time and money and energy which must go into political organization and into political work, is it not unsound and uneconomic to have two people do what one person can do? Unless your average woman voter is going to be a better voter, a more intelligent voter, a more safe voter, a more trained voter—shall I say a less emotional voter—than the average man, the extension of suffrage to women will not bring about a condition which will warrant the turning off of

woman's activities from channels in which women are already worthily employed into political activities. [Applause.]

There is reason that we should consider the situation which would arise in a community where those who made the laws had ceased to be those who could enforce the laws. Woman suffrage has never yet been brought to the test of a national crisis, when political feeling is at the greatest tension, yet only under such conditions could its value as a practice of government be fully tested. To-day in California we have a hint of woman's responsibility in a possible international complication when we have a legislature elected by the votes of women and men enacting legislation in regard to the holding of land by aliens, which has grave possibilities for the other States of the Union.

Thomas Jefferson said that a democracy ceased to be such when those who made the laws ceased to be those who could enforce the laws.

There are three portents of the times which are looming large in this suffrage movement. We have a great many middle-of-the-road suffragists who say, "Oh, let the women vote if they want to"; and those others who say, "I want to vote, and if I want to vote I should be allowed to vote, although I am the only woman in the United States who votes," as Mrs. Catt has said. But there are three portents in relation to woman suffrage, and I am no alarmist if I cite them. One is the very evident alliance with the socialistic propaganda. Those who have the intellectual honesty to follow the suffrage premises to their logical conclusion are more often than not socialists. I do not mean by this the "brotherhood of man," in which we all believe, but I mean that Socialist Party which cast its vote for Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States at the election of November 5, 1912. If you doubt this, if it seems the word of an alarmist, I would call attention to the fact that in the parade which moved down Pennsylvania Avenue on March 3 the socialistic contingent carried this banner, which is shown on this photograph, which I would like to have incorporated in the record.

(The photograph referred to shows a portion of the suffrage parade on Pennsylvania Avenue, with the following banner being carried by some of the marchers: "One million Socialists work and vote for woman suffrage.")

[Applause.]

We evidently have some Socialist sympathizers here, and they have the intellectual honesty to follow their premises to their logical conclusion and to agree with certain officers of the National Suffrage Association that the era of the home as the unit of society has passed and we are coming to a "splendid" era when the individual shall be the unit of society.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper said over her signature:

Woman has not attempted one advance step which has not been blocked by these two words, "wifehood" and "motherhood."

Mrs. Catt, then president of the National Suffrage Association, said in Collier's Weekly in 1901:

Women will sink out of existence in the body politic and will rise again as citizens.

"If a woman possesses ability, great or small, talent, genius, noble purpose, lofty ideals," Mrs. Catt continues, "shall she contribute these directly to the

welfare of the world or through the doubtful channels of influence on husband and children?"

If the influence on husband and children is a doubtful one to any woman, the ballot box is not going to give her certainty. [Applause.]

A suffrage speaker in Boston recently said:

Woman, waiting on her husband and children, forbids the economic independence, which is the basis of sex morality, and so retards her own development.

[Applause.]

Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, the president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, says:

I would make motherhood a governmental institution.

[Laughter and applause.]

She is consistent.

I would pension all mothers and have them provided for first to last by the State. I believe that motherhood should be independent of man.

[Continued laughter.]

I do not find it amusing. There are a few women who may make these extraordinary statements, but the menace lies in the fact that there are thousands of women in this country of ours who follow these leaders and who come here and ask for woman suffrage and then devise these schemes in order to make the woman's vote operative.

It is not necessary for some one to stand up and say, "I come from Colorado" or "I come from California, and the home there is not neglected and the babies are not neglected." If a woman's vote is going to be worth anything it is going to fall differently from the vote of the man of the same class, or else it simply doubles the return on election day.

Those who look to woman suffrage for the so-called emancipation of the sex are forced to devise these schemes by which the State shall care for the children. But it is a curious thing that at the very moment when experts have found that the child is better off in a poor home than in a good institution these women come along and say: "Let us have these institutions." At the very moment when these advanced suffragists say, "We will take the child from the amateur mother, who is the real mother, and give her to the expert mother," we are told by the highest authority on infantile diseases that the breast-fed baby has ten times the chance to survive that the bottle-fed baby has. That is not interesting, perhaps; you may say it has nothing to do with the woman-suffrage propaganda. It has, because when the president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association makes utterances such as this she is devising a scheme by which woman shall be able "to sink," as Mrs. Catt tells us, "sink out of existence in the body politic and rise again as citizens."

The secretary of the National Suffrage Association says progressive people are agreed that the wife should be economically independent, and so she devises a five-hour shift by which the mother shall be in the home five hours and shall be gainfully employed five hours, and the father shall go back into the home for five hours and care for the children, and then he shall be gainfully employed five hours. [Laughter.]

Those things are not amusing; they are alarming as a menace that carries out the tenet of socialism, that we are to have a kind of economic independence, which has very well been called by no less authority than Col. Roosevelt "a glorified State free-lunch counter and State foundling asylum."

The other menace, the second menace, the second portent, is the menace of feminism bound up with the menace of socialism. We find that the brilliant young woman who led the suffrage parade down Pennsylvania Avenue writes as follows:

This pressure toward a constantly growing freedom and power on the part of the sex means that in the long run the institutions most certain to be changed are the institutions in which the sex as a sex is most peculiarly and vitally interested, and these institutions, it is hardly necessary to point out, are the home and marriage itself.

A writer who is indorsed by the suffragists and dedicates her book to Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters, an American woman, says:

Two words were burned upon my brain—

She had been to a suffrage lecture—

laws made by men for women that must be unmade by women for women.

She says:

We must stop talking and act—fight.

She says:

Throw stones; do anything; it does not matter what, so long as we get the vote and can legislate in our own protection and the protection of the children.

But you may say that is an isolated illustration not fair to use. When the National Suffrage Association cabled, less than two weeks ago, to Mr. Asquith asking him to put an end to the intolerable conditions in England and to introduce a franchise bill into the present Parliament, they practically indorsed Mrs. Pankhurst, as they had given already a vote of sympathy to Mrs. Pankhurst.

An officer of a New York suffrage association has written this week in an open letter to the New York Times—and, lest you think I speak in parables, it is Mrs. John Brennan, a daughter of Charles A. Dana:

It is quite possible that if the Eastern States continue to deny enfranchisement to the women while the Western States continue to grant it the women thus discriminated against would find the political anomaly of their position so impossible to bear that even militancy would seem to them justifiable.

Miss Milholland, in speaking with me at Philadelphia, said:

Acid throwing and bomb throwing have their places under certain conditions.

We who oppose the extension of suffrage to women ask that not too great weight be attached to the argument of rights which suffragists put forward, who at the same time do not observe the rights of property belonging to noncombatants, who indorse the lawlessness of women over-seas, who by their lawlessness seek to show a more excellent way in government.

The third menace, then, is militancy. The indorsement of militancy by leading suffragists, the indorsement of militancy by the National Suffrage Association—that is, militancy on the part of the English women—is significant of the temper of those women who say the end justifies the means.

The only flag displayed over the entrance to the congressional headquarters of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association here on F Street is the purple, green, and white emblem of the Women's Social and Political Union of England, of which Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst is president.

There was a great woman in England who did work second to none in the housing of the poor and the care of the children, the establishment of playgrounds, and so on. Her name was Octavia Hill. At the end of a long life she said:

I had hoped to be kept out of this suffrage contention, but I feel that after all these years I must say that it is important that one-half of the workers should be outside of party politics. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be.

That is where we antisuffragists contend that women can do their work best. The average woman is worthily employed already. To give her political responsibilities will not help out the situation unless she does something far more important than merely casting a ballot on election day. She has got to be a more informed voter than the average man of to-day if her vote is to be effective.

In passing, let me ask our suffrage friends to compare like with like. A favorite cartoon of the suffragists depicts a woman scrubbing, and a drunken man sitting at the table with his head bowed over, and the legend beneath the picture reads: "He can vote, she can not." Society is not made up of scrubbing wives and drunken husbands. Unfortunately both types exist, but, in all fairness, let us compare like with like, and until we are sure we are going to get a better state with the woman's vote than without it, we should hesitate before we hinder the best service women can do by putting them into political activities.

The ballot is the least part of good government, and those who advocate this instant doubling of the present electorate are behind the times. They emphasize the ballot as "the greatest of all modern reforms," and even urge that those who are to-day contributing to other reforms should withdraw or curtail their contributions to other causes until the ballot for woman is secured. (See appeal of M. Carey Thomas, February, 1913, for funds for National American Woman's Suffrage Association.)

If I may be permitted to say it here, the lady from Massachusetts, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, exemplified in an extraordinary way what women can do without the ballot. She is chairman of the department of public health of the Women's Municipal League and she is also chairman of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Association, an association which has done more for the cause of a pure milk supply in the State of Massachusetts than the votes of men or of men and women could possibly bring about.

These women in this country of ours are doing an increasing amount of public work, but it is no sophistry to ask you to distinguish between a few women in public work, well equipped, full of knowledge to match their zeal, and all women in political life. Where you find a woman doing a distinctive work, where you find that it is constructive, you will find that it gains its quality and it gains its distinction because the woman is working not as a Republican or a Democrat or a Socialist or a Progressive, but she is working as

a woman who is informed, who is ready to direct public opinion, and who has no personal political motive to serve. [Applause.] She works as a disinterested, nonpartisan factor for the public good, and there is no reason that she should take the retrogressive step which would make her work identical with man's. It is not a question of right, it is not a question of woman's inferiority or her superiority; it is a question of what is expedient for the State, and the antisuffragists believe that it is expedient for the State that the motherhood of the State should not be drafted off into political channels. I thank you. [Applause.]

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THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN AND THE STATE

JANUARY 1914

BY
MINNIE BRONSON

General Secretary National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage



ISSUED BY
The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 WEST 39th STREET
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MISS MINNIE BRONSON.

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Teacher of Mathematics in St. Paul, Minn., High School, from 1889 to 1899.

Assistant in the Department of Education of the U. S. Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900.

Director of the Educational Department of the Pan-American Exposition of 1901.

Superintendent of Elementary and Secondary Education at the St. Louis Exposition, 1904.

Secretary of the U. S. Jury of Awards at the Liege Exposition of 1905.

Delegated by the U. S. Bureau of Education to report the Educational Congresses held in Belgium, 1905.

Chief of Department of Social Economy, Jamestown Exposition, 1907.

Special Agent of the U. S. Bureau of Labor, to investigate the conditions of labor of women and children, 1907-1909.

Special Agent U. S. Department of the Interior, Alaska Exhibit, Seattle Exposition, March-July, 1909.

Special Agent U. S. Bureau of Labor, to report on the strike of Shirt Waist Makers, January-June, 1910.

IN 1910 the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women published a brochure by Miss Bronson on the Wage Earning Woman and the State, the object of which was to show the fact that *votes of women* have not brought about better laws for the protection of the woman wage earner. Later this brochure was revised to include the legislation of 1911.

Recently two pamphlets have appeared attacking the facts in the brochure of Miss Bronson, facts vouched for by a statistician of the United States Bureau of Labor.

The misstatements and errors in these two pamphlets are so palpable that they would deserve no reply whatsoever, if it were not for the reputation of the authors for fairness and a knowledge of the law. A few instances of this ignorance of facts are deemed necessary to prove the utter unreliability of the pamphlets in question.

The first of these "attacks" purports to be the joint work of Miss Edith Abbott of Hull House, and Miss Sophonisba Breckenridge, Assistant Professor of Social Economy in the University of Chicago, with an introduction by Miss Jane Addams. Surely these are names to reckon with in a statement of fact and it is startling that these three women could have been responsible for the errors which appear in their pamphlet.

Perhaps the most important of these is the statement that while the eight-hour law for women in California was passed before equal suffrage was adopted, it was passed by the "same legislature which also passed the woman suffrage amendment."

The Legislature of California did not amend the Constitution of the State admitting women to the franchise; they submitted the question to a vote of the people, as everyone knows, and it became an amendment to the Constitution by a majority vote in its favor. It would be just as correct to claim that the New York Legislature had amended the Constitution of New York State admitting women to the franchise, because they have also voted to submit the question of woman suffrage to the people in 1915.

However, this criticism establishes the fact by suffrage authority that the eight-hour law for women in California *was passed months before woman suffrage obtained* in the state, and would be on the statute books to-day even if woman suffrage had been defeated at the polls, showing that it was in no sense due to the votes of women.

Again on page 8, referring to employers' liability laws, workmen's compensation laws and laws providing an eight-hour day for federal, state and municipal employees, the statement is made:

"It should be understood that this legislation, although it may, in a few cases, *protect the working woman as well as the working man*, represents the results of *long years of earnest struggle* by working men with votes to improve their condition."

This whole sentence is misleading in the extreme. Not one of the laws quoted apply to men alone. They are blanket laws and protect all women employed in various industries, as well as men, and the statement that such legislation may, in a few cases, protect the working woman is a plain distortion of fact. More men than women are protected by such legislation, but this is simply a statement of the obvious fact that more men than women are engaged in industry. Only one worker in every seven is a woman. But these women come under the application of the law as well as the men.

In addition, however, to these laws protective to both men and woman alike, nearly every state in the United States has passed additional legislation for the protection of working women which does not in any sense apply to working men.

Another contention of Miss Bronson's is further emphasized in this same paragraph of Miss Abbott's, who says, "these laws represent *long years of earnest struggle* by working men with votes to improve their condition," but on page 20 she confesses that the women teachers of New York obtained equal pay with the men teachers after *six years* of effort through indirect influence. This is direct confirmation from suffrage sources of the anti-suffrage arguments that the vote does not raise wages and that the vote is not the quickest way to bring about good legislation.

Another pamphlet, the product of the combined talent of three of New York's leading Suffragists, Mrs. Florence Kelley and the Misses Pauline and Josephine Goldmark, is even more incorrect. The main contention being that the argument of Miss Bronson is misleading because it "ignores the fundamental differences in the industrial conditions of suffrage and non-suffrage states"—that "these fundamental differences are not even hinted at." This settles once for all the fact that Mrs. Kelley and the Misses Goldmark did not take the time to read Miss Bronson's pamphlet, for on page 6 she distinctly says: "If we eliminate from this comparison the manufacturing states of the East, which for obvious reasons have the most, and perhaps the best, remedial legislation, we are able to determine more definitely what woman suffrage has accomplished for wage-earning women in the states where women have the franchise." Then follows a comparison of western states, suffrage and non-suffrage having like industrial conditions. Such carelessness in a review which claims to be critical destroys the effect of any further argument advanced by it. Some of the criticisms in the pamphlet of the Misses Goldmark and Mrs. Kelley have been covered by the above reply to Miss Abbott, and others are answered by the brochure that follows.

Briefly, the important point is that this brochure of Miss Bronson which caused such extreme excitement among the Suffragists that they brought out six leaders of the best talent in the cause to refute it, was first written in 1910 and was revised in 1911, and any criticism of it to-day would be just as absurd as to criticise the findings of the Census of 1900 because they do not accord with the Census of 1910.

The following brochure, therefore, has been prepared by Miss Bronson to bring the legislation cited up to date and this may need to be revised in the future, as new laws for woman's protection are secured.

The Wage-Earning Woman and the State

A COMPARISON OF THE LAWS FOR HER PROTECTION
IN VARIOUS STATES OF THE UNION.

BY MINNIE BRONSON,

*General Secretary National Association Opposed to
Woman Suffrage.*

One of the most forcible arguments advanced by the advocates of woman suffrage is that it would lead to a fairer treatment of women in industry and to better laws for their protection. The claim is made that the laws on our statute books are unjust to the wage-earning woman, and that her only redress from this discrimination is in the ballot.

So often has this view been urged that it has come to be accepted by many wage-earning women, who have for this reason become advocates of a cause otherwise distasteful to them. A study of the laws of the various States of the United States will show that these conclusions are as fallacious as the premise is untrue.

Laws for the Protection of the Wage-Earning Women.

Reference to the laws governing the labor of women shows that our law makers, far from enacting laws which discriminate against the wage-earning woman, are constantly enacting new and better laws for her protection; that these laws are constantly improved, not because women have the ballot, or want it, but because women are entering more and more into the industrial life of our country. And, because of her great function to society, because of her physical disadvantage, and, above all, because she is not herself a law maker, public opinion demands that her rights and her interests shall be doubly conserved and safeguarded from any probable injustice by man, and that she shall be given the opportunity to become whatever her abilities, natural or acquired, permit. And in obedience to this demand, the laws

enacted for the protection of wage-earning women are more beneficent and far-reaching than the laws for the protection of wage-earning men.

Comparison of Laws in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.

In all the States of the United States laws have been passed for the protection of women who must work, which laws are distinct from and in addition to the laws protecting all wage-earners, men and women alike; that is to say that in all states the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning women are better than the laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning men. Moreover, a comparison of the labor laws of the various states shows that the votes of women have not brought about better conditions in the suffrage states than exist in male suffrage states having practically identical conditions industrially and geographically. In other words there is not a law for the protection of working women found in suffrage states which cannot be met by laws equally as good or better in adjoining male suffrage states.

In thirty-seven states laws have been passed limiting the hours of labor at which an adult woman may be employed. Of the nine states where women vote two set no limitation whatever to the number of hours a woman may work, and three others enacted these laws before women had ever voted in those states.(1)

Forty-three states compel employers in stores, factories, shops, etc., to provide seats for female employees. Five states have no such laws, and one of the five is a suffrage state.(2)

In thirty-nine states, the Territory of Alaska and the District of Columbia, the earnings of a married woman are secured to her absolutely, and cannot be required by law, as can the earnings of a married man, for the support of the family, nor are they liable for their husband's debts. Eleven states do not so provide and three are suffrage states.(3)

Night Labor.

Sixteen states regulate the employment of women at night and specifically state the hours between which a woman may not be employed. These states include the male suffrage states of Nebraska, Indiana, Massachusetts, where all night work for women is forbidden; the States of Connecticut, South Carolina

and New Hampshire where night work in mercantile establishments is forbidden; the states of Minnesota, New York and Ohio forbidding night work for women under twenty-one, and the States of Wisconsin and Delaware regulating the conditions and hours of night work. None of these states are equal suffrage states.(4)

Four other states forbid night labor for females between sixteen and eighteen years, who are not protected by the child labor laws. Two of these latter are woman suffrage states, but their laws were passed before women voted in those states.

Twenty-seven states restrict the number of hours during which a woman may be employed both by the day and week, thus insuring one day of rest in seven. Of these twenty-seven states Utah and Arizona are the only suffrage states whose laws were passed under woman suffrage. Colorado and Washington restrict the number of hours per day to eight, but set no limit to the number of hours per week, so that a woman may, under the law in Washington and Colorado, be employed the whole seven days in the week for eight hours per day and these hours may be at night, while Wyoming, where women have voted for forty-five years, and Kansas, where women have had municipal suffrage for twenty-five years, place no limit whatever to the length of time a woman may be employed.(5)

Suffragists claim that an eight-hour day for women exists only in women suffrage states (there are four states where women vote that have eight-hour laws. In two of these the law was passed before women had voted and cannot, therefore, be claimed as a victory of woman suffrage); but they do not add that a law recognized by all social workers as a *sine qua non* of remedial legislation for working women; namely, the prohibition of night labor, is not to be found on the statute books of any suffrage state, and it was not until 1913, twenty years after woman suffrage came into Colorado, that a law was finally secured limiting the hours of labor for women who work in that state.

Fifteen states, only one of which is a suffrage state, prohibit the employment of women for more than fifty-four hours a week.(6) Arizona's law, passed under woman suffrage, provides for an eight-hour day, but permits fifty-six hours a week and

there is no night prohibition. California's law of eight hours per day and forty-eight per week was passed nine months before woman suffrage succeeded in the state.

Comparison of Laws Affecting Wage-Earning Women in Suffrage and Western Non-Suffrage States.

If we eliminate from this comparison the manufacturing states of the East, which, for obvious reasons, have the most, and perhaps the best, remedial laws for wage-earning women, and consider only those states which have practically similar conditions, we are able to determine more definitely what woman suffrage has accomplished for wage-earning women in the states where women have the franchise.

The suffrage states of Kansas and Wyoming place no restriction upon the number of hours a woman may be employed, but the *neighboring* male suffrage states of Oklahoma, South Dakota, North Dakota and Nebraska, regulate the hours by law, and Nebraska on the East, reaches the high tide of remedial legislation by prohibiting the employment of women at night in all manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments and in hotels and restaurants, and limits the number of hours per week, thereby ensuring one day of rest in seven.(7)

This law of Nebraska is for nine hours a day and fifty-four hours a week, not before five o'clock in the morning or after ten o'clock at night, an infinitely better law than the eight-hour law of Colorado, which does not limit the hours by the week or forbid night work, thus making possible the employment of women for fifty-six hours a week, and these hours may be night work.(8)

There are half a dozen laws pertaining to the work of women in two or three states as, for instance, a law in Massachusetts prohibiting employers from deducting the wages of women when time is lost because machinery has broken down, a law in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Vermont prohibiting the employment of women for fixed periods before and after childbirth (this act follows the precedent established in the leading industrial nations of Europe); or a law in Delaware and Louisiana exempting the wages of women from execution, but none of these laws are found in suffrage states.

Wages of Teachers.

With reference to the wages of teachers, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, a suffragist writer, says: "Woman needs the ballot because it leads to fairer treatment of women in public service. In Massachusetts the *average pay* of a female teacher is only one-third that of a male teacher, and in almost all of the states it is unequal; but in Wyoming and Utah the law provides that they shall receive equal pay for equal work."

This statement is misleading. Where teachers are doing the same grade of work, it will be found that no such percentage as three to one obtains in Massachusetts. It may be that the sum of the salaries of female teachers in the state, divided by the number of such teachers, is only one-third of the average pay of male teachers; but the majority of male teachers are principals, supervisors, superintendents and college professors, while the country school teachers, the kindergartners and under teachers, are women.

It is true that few women are found in the highest-paid positions of a teaching force, but this is due to other causes than political. In four hundred and seventy-five colleges of various grades and attendance in the United States only eight have women presidents, yet it will scarcely be claimed that this is due to woman's political status.

There seems to be a growing sentiment, not only among fathers, but mothers as well, that their sons, whose training at home is so largely in the hands of the mothers, should be brought under the influence of men in their school life; that, since the grown boy's life of affairs will be spent with men, it should be from men that he learns to meet it and its obligations; that he should not receive his impressions of life entirely from a sex to which he does not belong.

It is not denied that female teachers do not in the majority of cases receive the same pay as men for the work of equal grade, but here the law of supply and demand is paramount.

The states of Wyoming and Utah have, as Miss Blackwell says, a law providing that women shall have equal pay with men for equal work, but the condition in Wyoming and Utah is analogous to that in Massachusetts, where, Miss Blackwell says, "the average pay for a female teacher is only one-third that of

a male teacher and in almost all of the states it is unequal," for the average monthly wage of female teachers in Utah is \$53.60, while the average pay of men is \$77.32. That is, the average pay of female teachers is only 70 per cent. of the male teachers, while in Maine it is 75 per cent., in Virginia 80 per cent., in Indiana and Missouri 90 per cent., and in New Mexico 99 per cent. Also, in Wyoming the average monthly wage of men teachers is \$85.26, as compared with \$53.05, the average monthly wage of female teachers, or a difference of \$32.21 per month, as compared with a difference in Iowa of \$21.81; South Dakota, \$20.44; Washington, \$16.66; Ohio, \$14.50; Pennsylvania, \$14.38; in Oklahoma, \$8.61; and in North Dakota, \$8.24; while in the southern states the difference ranges from \$20.22 in Louisiana to \$6.16 in Alabama. (a)

The average monthly salary for all men teachers in the United States is \$62.35, and of women teachers \$51.61, a difference of \$10.74, which is less than one-third the difference found in Wyoming and less than one-half the difference found in Utah.

Since it is the "average pay" of which Miss Blackwell complains, it would seem that her argument has no foundation in fact. Very recently the women teachers of the City of New York have been granted equal pay with men teachers. The working of this law will be watched with interest. It is worth nothing that this law was passed in a male suffrage state by a legislature elected by male suffrage.

Wages in General Employment.

Dr. Helen L. Sumner, in her book entitled "Equal Suffrage" says: "Taking public employment as a whole, women in Colorado receive considerable less remuneration than men." It is the old story, she says, of supply and demand in the commercial world and suffrage has probably nothing to do with the wages of either men or women. "The wages of men and women in all fields of industry are governed by economic conditions." (9)

She shows by tables carefully compiled that in Colorado the pay of women in private employment has been steadily lower than that of men, never reaching quite one-half as much, and

(a) Statistics taken from chapter 16 of the Report of the Commissioner of Education in 1909.

that while the average weekly wage of women in Colorado is 97 cents higher than the average weekly wage of women in the United States as a whole, the average weekly pay of men in Colorado is \$3.62 higher than in the United States as a whole.

That is, in the United States as a whole, women receive an average of 55.3 per cent. of the average of men's wages. And in Massachusetts 62 per cent. of men's wages. In Colorado women receive on an average only 47 per cent. of the average of men's wages.(10)

Labor Legislation Shows Constant Improvement.

The history of labor legislation shows conclusively that laws for the wage-earning woman are constantly improving, in accord with her increasing employment in the industrial world; that her rights and interests are best safeguarded in those states where her numbers and opportunities for work are greatest; and that each year sees new and better laws enacted by legislators who are bitterly denounced, by the advocates for woman suffrage, as unjustly discriminating against the wage-earning women.

Legislation for Working Women, 1912-1913.

The year 1912-1913 shows the most remarkable improvement in laws affecting the wage-earning women. Seventy-two laws were enacted by the legislatures of 32 states affecting the employment of women and children. Chief in importance among them were the laws restricting or prohibiting night work by women and the numerous laws which were enacted or amended regulating the hours of her labor show a marked tendency to their continued reduction.

Only eight of the seventy-two laws were passed in woman suffrage states.

Two of these laws were the eight-hour laws of Arizona and Colorado already discussed elsewhere in this pamphlet, the nine-hour law of Idaho and the industrial commissions of Oregon, Utah, Colorado and California and Washington.(a)

(a) Eight male suffrage states also appointed industrial commissions to determine hours and wages for women. None of these thirteen commissions have finished their work at the time of the publication of this brochure.

The history of labor legislation shows invariably that suffrage states, instead of being in the vanguard of remedial legislation, have usually lagged behind and have only enacted labor laws when the majority of male suffrage states have pointed the way.

Women Are Better Protected Than Men by Labor Legislation.

It is claimed by Suffragists that more men than women enjoy the benefits of a working day limited by law. This is simply equivalent to saying that there are more men than women engaged in industry. No one denies this obvious fact. In every seven bread-winners only one is a woman. It is further stated that in twelve states the working day is limited to eight hours for men in mines, without a corresponding law for women. But in all of these twelve states the law *forbids* the employment of women in mines, a far more humane law than if they were allowed to work for eight hours a day as do men.

It is also claimed that men in the public service of state or federal government have an eight-hour law, but this law applies equally to women in public service, and in Washington, D. C., where government employees have a seven-hour working day, the number of men and women employed are nearly equal and neither can vote.

It is also said that twenty-four states have an eight-hour working day for men on railroads and allied industries, but these laws were passed for the protection of the traveling public from the dangers incident to overworked train employees.

And further that many states prohibit the employment of men, in occupations dangerous to health, for more than eight hours a day. But here again women are protected since they are forbidden to work in such dangerous occupations at all.

Present Standard of Remedial Legislation Has Been Reached Without the Vote of Women.

These are facts which cannot be controverted either by assertion or argument. Such misleading statements have been made in reference to the subject that the wage-earning woman is led to believe that existing laws were framed not for her pro-

tection, but for her extinction. And yet the history of legislation of all past time shows no such improvement in humane laws, as that enacted in the last decade for the protection and safeguarding of the women and children who work.

If so much has been accomplished without the votes of women, and so little has been done with this vote, it would seem to behoove the wage-earning woman to inquire carefully into the specious promises of the advocates for equal suffrage. Such inquiry will show her that the variation in the wage paid to male and female workers is due partly to the operation of the law of supply and demand, and partly to the impermanence of women as wage-earners, and that neither the wage paid to woman nor remedial legislation in her behalf depends upon her political status.

It is hardly conceivable that equal suffrage would reverse the remedial legislation already enacted, but the constantly reiterated demand that woman shall be allowed to stand on exactly the same footing as man may render ineffective much of the law which now gives her an advantage.

- (1) Twenty-second Annual Report U. S. Commissioner of Labor, various pages.
Bulletins Bureau of Labor Nos. 85, 89, 97, 111.
Reports American Labor Legislation Review, 1911, 1912, 1913.
- (2) Twenty-second Annual Report U. S. Commissioner of Labor, various pages.
Bulletins Bureau of Labor Nos. 85, 91, 97.
Reports American Labor Legislation Review.
- (3) Twenty-second Annual Report U. S. Commissioner of Labor, pages 81, 82.
Bulletin Bureau of Labor No. 97.
- (4) Twenty-second Annual Report U. S. Commissioner of Labor.
Reports American Labor Legislation Review, 1911, 1912, 1913.
- (5) *Idem*.
- (6) Reports American Labor Legislation Review.
- (7) Bulletins United States Bureau of Labor Nos. 85, 89, 97, 111.
- (8) Reports American Labor Legislation Review.
- (9) "Equal Suffrage," page 155.
- (10) "Equal Suffrage," page 167.

