

Why Do Women Want to Vote?

1st. Because they are American citizens and the U. S. Constitution says: "The citizen's right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude;" and the Constitution of California says: "No citizen or class of citizens shall be granted privileges or immunities which, upon the same terms, shall not be granted to all citizens."

2d. Because they are tax-payers and it is a principle of our government that taxation and representation are inseparable.

3d. Because every citizen should have a voice in the selection of those who make the laws which he or she must obey.

4th. Because every citizen in a free republic is entitled to individual representation, and no person having but one vote can represent himself and another person, even with the latter's consent.

5th. Because a vote means power, and women need this power to protect the interests of themselves, their homes, their children and society.

6th. Because politics, which means the government, needs the combined influences of men and women. Without the ballot, woman's influence is indirect, negative and irresponsible. Votes talk, votes count, votes compel respect, votes "get there."

These are six out of sixty reasons why women want the ballot.

[OVER]

TO VOTERS!

The present suffrage law of California (see Section 1, Article 2, of State Constitution) reads as follows:

“Every native male citizen of the United States, every male person who shall have acquired the rights of citizenship under or by virtue of the treaty of Queretaro, and every naturalized male citizen thereof, who shall have become such ninety days prior to any election, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election and of the county in which he claims his vote ninety days, and in the election precinct thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or may hereafter be authorized by law; provided, no native of China, no idiot, no insane person, no person convicted of any infamous crime, no person hereafter convicted of the embezzlement or misappropriation of public money, and no person who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language, and write his name, shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this State; provided that the provisions of this amendment relative to an educational qualification shall not apply to any person prevented by a physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to vote, nor to any person who shall be sixty years of age and upwards at the time this amendment shall take effect.”

If the pending Amendment is carried November 3, the only change it will make in the above will be to strike out the word “male,” and thereby secure to the women of California the right to vote on equal terms with men.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATE HEADQUARTERS
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SAN FRANCISCO

EXPRESSION OF OPINION

EQUAL SUFFRAGISTS MAKE REPLY TO THEIR OPPONENTS

[Extracts from The Rochester Herald, Friday, May 4, 1894.]

An interesting and enlivening feature of the meeting of the Rochester Political Equality Club, and one which occupied the attention of the club for the greater part of the afternoon was the reading of numerous expressions of opinion upon the recently inaugurated Anti-Woman Suffrage movement as set forth in a circular petitioning against equal suffrage.

While probably such a movement was unexpected by the Equal Suffragists it has not daunted them in the least and they have met it with the energy and vigor which have characterized their campaign from the beginning.

In response to an invitation from the President of the club, Miss Mary S. Anthony, one hundred replies have been received expressing with no uncertain sound the opinions of those who wrote them. Request was made for an opinion in a single sentence; some of the writers complied with this request, while others handled the subject at greater length and in some detail.

The reading of these sentiments provoked great enthusiasm at the meeting and their perusal will be entertaining to all readers who keep watch of the movements of the times, whether favoring or opposing the particular issue at hand. * * *

"Woman is a necessary factor in the life and government of the family relation, and as a State is an aggregation of families, woman is equally important as a factor in the life and government of such State; therefore it is her duty, and should be her right, to participate in the affairs of the government, and, if need be, she should sacrifice personal desire in order to discharge such duty."—*Helen M. Miller.*

"The effort of the 'Protestants' is an example of bigotry hanging about the skirts of progress; it may impede but cannot stay her onward flight."—*Edith Willis Linn.*

"This latest movement against the freedom of woman is an expression of the Pauline sentiment which has often stood in the path of Christian progress."—*Mrs. L. M. Willis.*

"It is my opinion that every citizen of the United States, whether male or female, should esteem it a privilege and duty to exercise the right of suffrage."—*Elmer James Bailey.*

"In the weakness of the Anti-Suffrage petition as published in a daily paper, lies the strength of the one that is being circulated by the N. Y. S. W. S. A."—*J. E. Sanford.*

"The unpatriotic remonstrants are willing to sacrifice justice and every principle of self government to a masterly inactivity and blissful self content."—*Laura Ramsdell.*

"The enemy is alarmed—a good omen."—*Charles Mann.*

"In regard to the Anti-Suffrage movement recently stated in Brooklyn I would say that I think the protestations of that movement against Woman Suffrage contain some of the most convincing arguments for it."—*Mary Thayer Sanford.*

"It is unworthy of woman to barter duty for privilege."—*Caroline V. Lee.*

"The Anti-suffrage women are doubtless women of leisure, whose efforts will not be energetic enough to harm us; doubtless they are women whose highest idea of life is to be approved by the average man; and woman who would lobby for man; but would not legislate for women."—*Mrs. M. J. Marble.*

"The 'reasons' given, are not reasons, but statements which are contrary to the facts. As an advertising medium for us, it cannot be improved upon."—*Agnes Probst.*

"To decide the case against woman before proving by actual experiment the power of her influence for good on the political world, seems to me the voice of blind selfishness and cowardly ignorance. Give her the ballot first, then judge by the results."—*Lewia C. Smith.*

"I should think it might do us more good than harm. We are really becoming popular and the cause is right and just; and we must be something, some force to be feared, or there would be no opposition."—*Jessie M. Post.*

"Protestants against suffrage—Unjust to themselves and disloyal to the highest type of womanhood."—*Emogene L. Dewey.*

"I cannot understand how any intelligent woman can desire to be classed as an 'anti woman suffragist, with no aspiration for the broader and more exalted position of equality with man.'"—*James Sargent.*

"Can't find words to 'condense in one sentence' my indignation of the women who protest against others exercising their rights, because they themselves wish to shirk all responsibility and duty."—*Millie B. Logan.*

"Bless the dear little trembling innocents! They shan't be made to vote, so they shan't."—*Mary Westfall.*

"How can any sane woman deliberately object to standing on the plane of equality with her husband, whether in home or in civil government."—*Angelina M. Sargent.*

"I think the action of the Anti Woman Suffragists is a futile attempt on the part of the minority to thwart a philanthropic effort on the part of the majority."—*Elizabeth B. Green.*

"I was very much surprised and shocked that, in this age of progress and necessity for reform, any of our sex should be so blinded to their own interests and those of the mass of womankind as to put one straw in the way of the Woman Suffrage movement."—*Lizzie B. Sylvester.*

"The idea of woman standing in her own light!"—*Ida B. Wilborn.*

"Thorough-going Susan B. Anthony, Anna H. Shaw & Co., in working the State have plowed so deep that they have unearthed some fossils."—*Mary Z. Sherman.*

"Of the women who oppose Woman Suffrage, I would say that their position is analogous to that of the few fortunate slaves, before the war, who would have spurned the gift of freedom had it been offered them."—*Ada E. Newell.*

"How can the Protestants try to undo the life-work of Susan B. Anthony?"—*Mrs. A. B. Gould.*

"The Anti-Suffrage movement is an exhibition of selfishness in that the movers are trying to prevent what is for the good of others; and of moral cowardice because they shrink from doing what they might feel to be a duty. The suffrage cause based on justice and right is strengthened by the contrast."—*Sarah Bradstreet.*

"Agitation is a great educator, whereby the good and bad of both sides are weighed and balanced. Welcome the test."—*Harriet E. Shaw.*

"Blind selfishness—in its fullest significance."—*Harriet M. Turner, M. D.*

"The result of increased agitation and discussion will be clearer ideas and a keener sense of justice. It is not so much what women want, as what they need and ought to have."—*Sarah Barnard.*

"Each reason given by the 'Protestants' for withholding Woman Suffrage is either the consequence of ignorance of the subject, or is a perversion of truth; or contains assumptions, of which experience alone can teach the truth or falsehood."—*Nellie F. Shields.*

"The epitome of selfishness. Because they do not care for any more responsibility, they would deprive others of right and justice."—*Margaret Morton.*

"It will do good. Discussion always brings both sides out clearer."—*Jean Morton.*

"Women are naturally conservative; their first thought is, things are well enough as they are; their second thought is, there is danger in a change; the women of the Turkish Harem would vote to remain as they are."—*Beth D. Osburn.*

"If suffrage be a 'duty,' it is not the less a duty because certain women, whose lives are now engrossed by social duties, do not care to perform one more. Objection, however, is preferable to indifference."—*Amelia F. Kittridge.*

"Each one of the ten reasons advanced against Woman Suffrage seems to me strikingly weak."—*Eliza Woodbury Woodward.*

"Since the radical basis of government is equal rights for all citizens, I advise the 'Protestants' to consider well before choosing longer to remain classed in the eyes of the law with idiots, lunatics and felons."—*Mary G. Caley.*

"No good thing can be a failure and no bad thing a success, we need not fear our opponents."—*Sarah Colman Blackall.*

"I cannot understand how any thoughtful woman, though ever so deeply 'engrossed by present cares and duties,' can call the suffrage a 'burdensome duty,' but even if it were, how can she wish to avoid it?"—*Maria C. Otis.*

"When mothers can calmly decide they do not care to have a voice in the choosing of our law makers, while 'silver-tongued' villains in Congress or out, feel at liberty to plot for the ruin of our girls, it is high time to ask what will be the end? Such indifference to my mind, is culpable."—*Mary S. Anthony, Cor. Sec. N. Y. S. W. S. A.*

"As a believer in fair play I would have the 'Protestants' heard, and at the same time comforted with the thought that if they should be so unfortunate (?) as to become enfranchised citizens of the Empire State of this great Republic, they shall not be scourged to the ballot-box to do a distasteful duty."—*H. D. Fenner.*

"All genuine reforms have found opponents, even among those who most needed the benefits to be conferred by success. * * * * * In the present aspect of the Woman Suffrage movement in the State of New York, history simply repeats itself. The opposition as thus far developed on the part of some women with whom to rule or ruin is a necessity of their nature, is necessary to complete the parallel between them and their prototypes, as portrayed on the pages of history, and should be accepted as the sign manual of merit in the movement honored by such opposition."—*J. M. Thayer.*

"Does the woman still exist who desires not to use the only effectual weapon which equalizes the human race, and who resorts to measures to deprive the multitude of her intelligent sisters of their cherished hope of political emancipation?"—*Addie M. Van Hoesen.*

"The 'Protestants'—a body of women practically doing the very thing which they protest against other women being allowed to do."—*Martha R. Almy, Vice-Pres. N. Y. S. W. S. A.*

"The right of suffrage is not compulsory. The denial of the right is. * * * The women who neglect duty under existing conditions, would doubtless continue to do so under any others."—*Sarah C. Shields.*

"The whole matter lies in a nutshell. If the principle underlying this government is sound the franchise belongs to the women of the State. If wrong, most men should be deprived of it. It should be regarded as a sacred duty by all citizens to do all in their power to promote good government. Indolence, ignorance and selfishness are not arguments against a principle, and these attributes are all evidenced by the opposition."—*Jean Brooks Greenleaf, Pres. N. Y. S. W. S. A.*

"'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'—LUKE XXIII., 24."—*Helen H. Landis.*

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STRAIGHT LINES OR OBLIQUE LINES?

By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Is the influence of women in the world to be exerted henceforward in a direct form, or only indirectly, as has commonly been the case heretofore? This is, after all, the point mainly involved in the remarkable news lately arrived from Colorado. For the first time in the history of the world a body of male voters has decided, by a majority of six thousand, to admit women to precisely the same political privileges with themselves. All previous steps in that direction have been taken by legislatures or parliaments only, and there has been no definite and unequivocal test of popular approval. But in this case the whole matter has been settled by popular vote, and this in a State whose area is larger than that of New York and Ohio put together (103,925 square miles) and whose population was placed by the census of 1890 at 245,247 men and 166,951 women. As a sign of the times and a milestone of human tendency, this fact is of the profoundest importance; and its greatest interest is in its involving, as has been said, the whole question of direct or indirect power. All the changes of law in regard to women during the last half-century have led up to the same question; even the enlargement of business opportunities for this class and the increased means of education have led up to it more remotely. The complete enfranchisement of women, however, even in a single State, brings it home. In a democracy the possession of political power is the stronghold. Once intrenched there, the influence of women becomes direct, whereas before it had been indirect, and the whole world must govern itself accordingly.

The leaders of thought among women have never based their complaints, if any, on the ground that they had not power enough, such as it was. Woman needed only to be "a good cook or a good scold,"

as Margaret Fuller said, "to secure her influence." Nowhere has she exercised more of such power than in France, where the Salique law expressly excluded her from the throne. Nobody ever said that Montespan and Pompadour had not power enough. Demosthenes once declared that "measures which the statesman has meditated a whole year may be overturned in a day by a woman." The wise Ganganelli (Pope Clement XIV.) said well that "many women who appeared only as the wives of princes or ambassadors, and who are not even mentioned in history, have frequently been the cause of the grandest exploits. Their counsels have prevailed, and the husbands have had the honor due to the sagacity of their wives." Montesquieu complains of those who judge of a government by the men at the head of affairs, and not also by the women who sway those men. "*Soignez les femmes*," Napoleon Bonaparte used to say to his diplomatic agents—"Look to the women." None of these great men, however, recognized where or how the distinction came in between the kind of feminine influence that was to be cherished and the kind that was disastrous. It was reserved for the keen English satirist, Charles Churchill, writing a century and a half ago, to touch with keen finger the precise point at issue. Describing a period of political degeneracy, he says:

"Women ruled all, and counsellors of state
Were at the doors of women forced to wait;
Women, who've oft as sovereigns graced the
land,
But never governed well at second hand."

It is the second-hand governing that is perilous. The danger of indirect power lies both in the way it is likely to be gained and in the way it is pretty sure to be used. It is the claim of one of Fredrika Bremer's heroines that a woman can

obtain anything she likes of a man by always having something nice to pop into his mouth. I knew a young lady who boasted that she could extort anything she wished from her father by walking up to him in a certain beguiling way upon her toes. But is it in this way that the women who have most nobly influenced the world around them have gone to work? When Madame de Staël faced Napoleon; when Madame Roland taught the French Girondists how to die; when Harriet Martineau was besought by an English Lord Chancellor to write her books on Political Economy; when Florence Nightingale saved the British army in the Crimea; when Elizabeth Fry revolutionized the English prisons, and Dorothea Dix the American; when Clara Barton made the red cross more symbolic in modern days than in those of chivalry—they did not accomplish their work by making sugar-candy or by pretty little attitudes. They paid the other sex the compliment of taking life in earnest, and the result was victory. They went straight forward, and they prevailed. There is no reason to doubt that some of these could have chosen the more seductive paths to success had they wished; we know from Madame Roland's own frank memoirs, for instance, that she was a woman of perilous passions, who inspired dangerous emotions in others, and had to guide even herself with a firm hand. But it is the women of direct heroism, after all, who play a noble part in history. If they only do that, all other things may be added to them. Lucy Stone's sweet voice was only a help to do her work, because there was the most truthful of natures behind it. Had that voice been allotted to the heroine of a French novel, it might have led her and every one about her to ruin.

The use of a merely indirect power is

liable to be as degrading as its weapons. It is irresponsible. Where there must, at any rate, be concealed power, there should be open responsibility. "Women should not merely have a share in the power of man," to quote Margaret Fuller again, "but it should be a chartered power, too fully recognized to be abused." This is as true of men as of women. No secret society of men ever governs well in the long-run; no matter how high its original aim, it stagnates and grows corrupt in darkness. It needs the light of day upon it. The openness, the publicity, the responsibility of action, is what woman needs for her own education. She must make her own mistakes and learn her own lessons. Just as she may have a million dollars managed for her by a trustee, and not learn as much of business as by watching the fluctuations of her own half dozen little shares in the stock market, so she may involve herself endlessly in the underhand intrigues of a court and not have the real political training secured by one year's voting in Colorado. Woman needs no instruction to make her quick-witted, astute, full of adroit resources. What she needs is the solid quality of handling public affairs, a straightforward method of approach, from which she has been hitherto precluded, and which only actual experience can give. We call a direct mode of dealing "man-fashion," and this must become "woman fashion" as well. As for its interfering with any feminine charms or duties, this is idle talk. The twenty-five grandchildren of Elizabeth Fry rose up to call her blessed, none the less, because she was the valued adviser of all the leading British statesmen, and the guest or correspondent of half the sovereigns of Europe.

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"The best condensation of the argument for woman's enfranchisement, the method by which that argument is enforced, and the news of the movement, that we have anywhere."—*Frances E. Willard*.

TWENTY OPINIONS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY PROMINENT CALIFORNIANS

I believe the time is rapidly coming when all men will conclude that it is no longer wise or judicious to exclude one-half of the intelligence, and more than one-half of the virtue of the people, from the ballot box.—*A. A. Sargent.*

I am heartily in favor of the women of our State having the right of suffrage.—*James McLachlan, M. C. from Cal.*

I am in favor of extending the same right of suffrage to woman that is enjoyed by man, because she is as much an independent individuality as he. She is subject to every rule of law, she must pay its penalties, and bear its burdens; man cannot be responsible for her in these things. Woman was placed in the world by a wise Creator as man's companion, his full mate and equal in life. Then why should man arbitrarily deny her that most delicate and yet most potent means of self-protection, the ballot?—*Judge E. V. Spencer, of Lassen.*

I have believed in Woman Suffrage ever since I have had sense enough to believe in anything.—*Judge C. C. McComas, of Los Angeles.*

I advocate woman suffrage because it is founded on the eternal principle of right and justice, as embodied in the immortal "Declaration," and the theory and spirit of our representative government. A disfranchised citizen gives the lie to our national creed and to our professions of equality and justice.—*James G. McGuire, M. C. from Cal.*

I believe that equality is the basic principle of our government—hence woman should assume all the responsibilities that arise out of her moral and mental endowments as a citizen. I believe in the preservation of the sacredness of the home—hence woman should aid in the duty of formulating, executing and interpreting all legislation that touches the home. Woman's advent as a voter will be the means through which the government may be perpetuated, as embodying justice, equality and righteousness.—*Adolph Sutro, Mayor of San Francisco.*

"Let justice be done though the heavens fall." I have always been an advocate of woman suffrage, on the simple ground of justice. The proposition is self-evident that taxation without representation is tyranny. A paltry tax on tea created a revolution, and gave birth to the greatest republic on earth; and yet, to our shame be it said, the women of our State, comprising nearly one-half of the population, are disfranchised and classed in the same category with idiots and felons. Your cause is founded upon the rock of eternal justice, and every fair-minded man who is willing to accord to his fellowman what he claims for himself is with you heart and soul in your battle for the right. The ballot will make you free.—*P. J. Kennedy, Supervisor, San Francisco.*

I am a thorough believer in equal suffrage. I see no reason in the nature of things, or in the working of things, why the incident of sex should affect the inherent right of any individual. Whatsoever limitation is laid upon the inherent rights of the individual should apply equally to the sexes.—*Rev. J. H. McLean, of Oakland.*

The woman suffrage question is up, and no power on earth can put it down till the day of victory. In three States of the Union women have full suffrage, while in a majority of the States and Territories they have various degrees of suffrage, which are, of course, but the scaffoldings to ultimate and complete enfranchisement. It is not in our country alone that this question of questions is in process of solution: all over the civilized world women are enjoying the exercise of this right in varying degrees. These facts are certainly a matter of encouragement.—*Gen. John Bidwell of Chico.*

Our government is founded upon the doctrine that all governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed. Woman is subject to government and the law, therefore her consent is necessary to the establishment of just government. She has an equal right to a voice in the formation of those influences which direct and control her destiny.—*W. H. Mills, of San Francisco.*

I am in favor of woman suffrage because I thoroughly believe in the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are born free and equal," etc. I believe that women have the same interest in government that men have—that the chance of sex does not limit or enlarge natural rights. I believe also that it would be wise to place upon women the responsibilities that go with the ballot.—*Timothy Guy Phelps of San Francisco.*

If the women and men who favor woman suffrage keep the matter before the people during the year, so that the public shall be well informed, I believe the amendment will pass. If it should be defeated it will be through the votes of the lower strata of voters and a limited number of good men who are ignorant of what woman suffragists claim and aim to do.—*W. C. Kimball, President of the National City Bank.*

I am in favor of women voting, because I believe there is no sex in whatever is right. If it is right for men to vote, then it is right for women also. Women are intelligent, and intelligence should be the foundation for the right of suffrage.—*A. V. Morehouse of San Jose.*

Liberty belongs to all and is a threefold right: First, to think as one pleases; second, to make laws for oneself; third, to keep all of one's labor. Our Government is based upon these fundamentals. It gives the ballot to maintain and apply them. That ballot has only two essential elements—morality and intellect. Equally with men, women have both of these. Therefore, that the Government should secure the benefits of all the morality and intellect found among its seventy millions of people, it should use the votes of women.—*Taylor Rogers of San Francisco.*

The same enlightened confidence in human nature which led the fathers to found the Republic on manhood suffrage, and its saviors to confer the ballot on millions of emancipated slaves, should animate us, their successors, in bestowing equal political rights on that half of our population which is confessedly the most virtuous, order-loving and trustworthy. Until this is done there can be no true democracy among us, and our Republic is such only in name.—*Rev. Chas. W. Wendte of Oakland.*

At the last Woman's Congress I advocated the political education of young women, whether or not they are to have equality of suffrage. This is a good theory to work upon; but, no doubt, the actual possession of the suffrage would be incomparably the greatest incentive to such an education. A vote in the

hand would be worth much more than two in the hands of husband and brother.—*Martin Kellogg, President of State University.*

The extension of the suffrage to woman has the same justification as its extension to man. It will not secure better government, at least not for a generation or two. But if it help the intellectual growth of the mothers of the country, give them clearer views of life, broader sympathies and higher wisdom, then its purpose will be accomplished.—*David Starr Jordan, President Stanford University.*

The ballot is as much a matter of justice for women as for men. If the suffrage were based upon education instead of sex we would have better laws and a better government.—*William H. Knight, Mt. Lowe Railway Company.*

Government proceeding from the consent of the governed, all who are subject to it ought as a matter of right to be entitled to express, in the legally established method, their consent to the manner of Government. By what right are the women of this land deprived of expressing their consent in a Government which they support and in which they are as deeply interested as the male citizen? The opponents of equal suffrage declare that women are too pure to be permitted to enter the filthy pool of politics—that their noble qualities should be reserved for a higher function of life. It requires no gift of prophecy or astuteness of the political reason to see that woman would bring to our political morals the same tender and refining influences by the exercise of which she has made homes happier, conserved morality and elevated the good and noble in human life.—*Hon. Frank McGowan of Humboldt.*

It is generally admitted that women, as a class, are equally intelligent and better morally than men as a class. It is also freely admitted that women are more deeply interested than men in all that makes for the betterment of the human race, socially and morally and intellectually. It seems to me, therefore, an inevitable conclusion that full suffrage for women would give us better officials, and, by reason thereof, better laws and better administration of the laws, than is possible with male suffrage alone. I certainly hope that the Constitutional Amendment for the purpose of conferring full suffrage upon women, which is to be submitted to the voters of this State at the next election, will be carried by so large a majority as to convince our sister States that the people of the young and vigorous West are as just as they are energetic.—*Hon. Robert N. Bulla of Los Angeles.*

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Twelve Reasons Why Women Want to Vote.

BY ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

1. Because it is fair and right that those who obey the laws should have a voice in making them, and that those who pay taxes should have a voice as to the amount of the tax and the way in which it shall be spent. Harriet Beecher Stowe says: "If the principle on which we founded our government is true, that taxation must not be without representation, and if women hold property and are taxed, it follows that women should be represented in the State by their votes. I think the State can no more afford to dispense with the aid of women in its affairs than can the family."

2. Because it is the quietest, easiest, most dignified and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs. It takes much less expenditure of time, labor and personal presence to go up to the ballot-box, drop in a slip of paper and come away, than to stand all day at the polls offering coffee and entreaties to a miscellaneous crowd of voters. Above all, the ballots would be effectual; the coffee and entreaties too often are not.

3. Because it would elevate and broaden women's minds to take part of the spare time which they now spend on fancy-work, wax flowers, crazy quilts and gossip, and devote it to the study of public questions. It would make them more intelligent companions for their husbands, and broader-minded mothers for their children. If women understood politics, a man would not be obliged to leave his wife and go down to the store of an evening in order to find some one with whom to talk over the questions in which he is most interested.

4. Because it would increase women's influence. Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace, "the mother of Ben Hur," lately said, speaking of the exclusion of women from all voice in regard to public affairs: "Think of the effect of this dishonor upon the boys of the land. The mother tries to teach her boy that he must be pure, and temperate, and honorable. That boy goes out from his mother, and the first thing he meets with neutralizes and gives the lie to all his mother's teachings. He says to himself, 'Why, mother says so and so;' but he finds men in high places violating all those teachings, and he begins to conclude that his mother does not know much about it. From that minute that boy discounts his mother's judgment, and though she must still have a hold on his affections, she does not have a hold upon him in any other way. There is where you wrong us, gentlemen, and cripple us in training men who will make the statesmen of this nation. If you want us to make statesmen, you must give the women an interest in the government, and you must count their opinions."

5. Because it would result in the election of better men to office. In Wyoming, soon after the passage of the woman suffrage law, a man was elected who was popular with his party, but who was a secret drinker. After his election he grew more careless, went into saloons openly, as several times seen on the street

the worse for liquor. The politicians of his party did not care. When his term was out, they re-nominated him. A man came home from the caucus, and his wife asked him who the candidate was. He told her. "Why," she said, "that man cannot possibly be re-elected." "Why not?" asked her husband, in surprise. The wife made no answer, but she put on her sunbonnet and went out and talked with the woman next door, over the fence. The woman next door then put on her sunbonnet, and went out and talked with her next neighbor, and so they passed the word all through the town. The women held no caucus, made no public demonstration, but when election day came, the intemperate candidate found himself defeated. He knew he had done nothing to make him lose caste with his party, and he could not understand his defeat until one of his lady friends said to him, very quietly, "We could not let you go back; you were setting a bad example to our boys." In Wyoming, both parties have come to recognize the necessity of nominating their best men, or at least not nominating bad men, if they wish to succeed.

6. Because, under our present system, bad women have too much influence in politics. A member of the Michigan Legislature once told Rev. Anna Shaw that if women voted, the bad women would have to vote. She answered: "There is a certain row of houses close to the capitol at Lansing, and you know by what sort of women those houses are occupied every year during the session of the Legislature; and you know that their influence is a formidable factor in determining legislation. If women could vote, a class of men would be chosen to office who are not so susceptible to the influence of bad women." The bad women are too few in number, in comparison with the good women, to exert much influence merely by their votes. But our public officers are elected by men alone, and are responsible for their official acts to a constituency composed of men alone. Public opinion on social questions is comparatively lax among men. Hence, men of notoriously immoral character are often chosen to positions of high public trust, and they appoint others like themselves. Witness the case of Sheriff Flack, of New York. Such men, of course, are open to the influence of bad women, who are thus able to exert a power out of all proportion to their numbers. Let the great mass of good mothers, wives and sisters have a voice in choosing our representatives, and a higher class of men will be chosen, who will not be under the sway of bad women. Women want to vote in order that the good women may have more influence in politics than the bad ones.

7. Because women want to protect their business interests. As farmers need votes in order that they may represent the farming interests, and manufacturers in order that they may represent the manufacturing interests, so women need votes in order that they may represent the interests of the home. For instance: A few years ago the mayor of Louisville made an

effort to enforce the city ordinances against gambling-houses. He was met by a petition from legal voters, begging him to desist, on the ground that his action would injure the business interests of the city. Men who came to Louisville to trade expected to have "a good spree" after transacting their business. If they could not do this in Louisville, trade would go elsewhere. Not long after, the mayor of St. Paul made an effort to enforce the city ordinances against houses of ill-fame, and he was met with a similar petition from prominent citizens, protesting on the same ground—that it would injure the business interests of the city. How many of the wives of those prominent citizens do you suppose you could have got to sign such a petition? Probably most of the men who signed it were not themselves gamblers, or patrons of the other places. But they were business men; their minds were fixed on making money, and they looked mainly at the money side of the question. The mothers, too, were in business. Their business was bringing up their boys and girls to be good men and women. They knew that the gambling-houses and similar places interfered with their business—which is really the most important business of all, and the one for the sake of which all the others exist. And every mother of them would have supported the mayor, if she could. But every gambler, every loafer, every man who is absorbed in material interests to the exclusion of moral interests, has a vote with which to intimidate a mayor who tries to do his duty. The good wives and mothers have no votes with which to sustain him. Is it any wonder that city officials so often wink at violations of the law?

8. Women want to vote because politics are so corrupt. For years, good men have been trying in vain, unassisted, to purify them. They need the help and coöperation of women. The corruption of public life sets a bad example to every woman's husband; it assails the morals of her son as soon as he steps across her threshold; it takes the tax money contributed by women, and refuses to apply it to purposes which women think most useful and desirable, such as police matrons, and squanders it lavishly for things which women regard as useless or even harmful, such as great quantities of champagne at inauguration balls. It is idle to say that the political world is too corrupt for women to touch it, when it inevitably touches women at so many points. It is as if a man, in a mistaken spirit of chivalry, should refuse to let his wife lift a hand to do any housecleaning, on the ground that the house was too dirty for her to touch it, and at the same time should expect her to go on living in that same dirty house. When she saw her husband and children suffering from the effects of dirt, she would be sure to ask to be allowed to help clean things up. And to fancy that a woman can purify politics better by abstract moral disapprobation than by voting for good men and against bad ones, is like fancying that she could cleanse her house more effectually by frowning at the dirt than by taking a broom in her hand.

9. Because, in the laws now upon our

statute books, the reasonable wishes of women are not adequately represented. Witness the laws which license the sale of intoxicating liquor; the laws in relation to the age of consent, which in many States regard a little girl as mature enough to consent to her own ruin at ten or twelve years of age—in Delaware at seven; the law by which a married mother has no right to her own children as long as she lives with her husband; the law by which the husband in some States can, by will, bequeath the custody and guardianship of the children away from their mother; the law of Massachusetts which provides a heavier penalty for stealing a fine cow than for ruining a virtuous woman by fraud and deceit. These laws were not enacted because men meant to be unjust or unkind to women, but because they looked at things simply from their own side of the question. That is human nature. If women alone had made the laws, no doubt the laws would be just as one-sided as they are now, only in the opposite direction. As we need two eyes to get a correct perspective, so we need to have both the masculine and the feminine points of view represented in legislation in order to reach a just result.

10. Because actual and cruel wrongs are every day inflicted upon women, to which woman suffrage would put an end. We have all shuddered over Dr. Kate Bushnell's account of the stockaded dens of vice in the lumber camps of Michigan and Wisconsin, where women are compelled to lead a life of shame against their will, and over the cruelties inflicted upon the twelve hundred Chinese slave girls of San Francisco. Dr. Bushnell, and others who have tried to do away with these evils, all testify that the reason such things are allowed to continue is that the officers of the law are in league with the wrong-doers. How long would such officers remain in power if their tenure of office depended in any degree upon the votes of women? No woman has all the rights she ought to want, until she has the right to say with authority that such things shall cease.

11. Because it is a maxim in war, "Always do the thing to which your enemy particularly objects." The Brewers' Convention at Chicago passed this resolution by a unanimous vote:

Resolved, That we are opposed to woman suffrage everywhere and always; for when woman has the ballot, she will vote solid for prohibition; and woman's vote is the last hope of the prohibitionists.

You may persuade a church member that the majority of mothers would vote for dramshops; but you will never make the liquor interest believe it. "The children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

12. Because we are more and more coming to realize the truth of Frances Willard's emphatic assertion, "The Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount are voted up or voted down upon election day." When such interests are trembling in the balance, every woman ought to wish to cast a vote into the scale that represents purity, sobriety, and honor.

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THE NONSENSE OF IT.

Short Answers to Common Objections Against Woman Suffrage.

BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

1. "*I have all the rights I want.*" Have you the right, if a married woman, to control your own earnings? Have you the right to make a will? Have you the right to your own child, if left a widow, supposing that your deceased husband, in some fit of ill-temper, bequeathed your child to the guardianship of some one else? Have you the right to the guardianship of your child, at any rate, if you have married a second husband? In many States of the Union, women have not these rights; and you ought to be ashamed of yourself if, not having them, you do not "want" them. Again, do you not want a right to vote on the expenditure of your own tax-money; on school laws, on temperance laws? You have no right to shut yourself within the circle of your own interests, and to say that you do not "want" such rights as these.

2. "*If the laws are wrong, they are being corrected without women's voting.*" Aye, but not without the demand of women to vote, and the consequent agitation of the subject. That is what is changing the laws. The Common Law of England (which Lord Brougham called "a disgrace to any heathen nation," so far as it related to woman) prevailed almost everywhere in the United States, until the "Woman's Rights" agitation began, twenty-five years ago. It was not till women began to talk about the ballot that any changes began to be made in the laws; and they have no security against the repeal of those improved laws, except the ballot in their hands.

3. "*The polls are not decent places for women.*" No place is decent from which women are excluded. Women do not refuse to travel by rail, because the smoking-car is apt to be a dirty place. They rightly demand that some other car shall be put on which shall be clean. It will be the same in politics. So soon as School Suffrage for women became the law in Massachusetts, the Legislature passed, almost without opposition, a statute to prohibit smoking and drinking at all voting-places. (Acts of 1881, p. 272.)

4. "*Politics are necessarily corrupting.*"

Then why not advise good men, as well as good women, to quit voting?

5. "*If women voted, it would divide families.*" But families and nations have quarreled twice as much over religion as over politics, ever since the world began. If you allow women to choose their own religion, why not their own party?

6. "*Women would only vote as their husbands or fathers do.*" Many women have no husbands and no living fathers. If they have, and vote as these men do, there will be no quarrel. If they vote differently—as they are very likely to do on questions of temperance, religion, and the right to control their own property or their own children,—then this objection falls to the ground.

7. "*The best women will not vote.*" Will they not? Then they are not truly the best women. Women who are really conscientious will not shirk their duties when the time comes, depend upon it. The complaint has been, in Massachusetts, under the School Suffrage Law, that *only* the best women have voted. It is very hard to satisfy one's opponents.

8. "*The most refined women will not vote.*" Many of the most refined women whom the land has produced have gone as missionaries to foreign lands, taught schools for freedmen, visited the Five Points in New York, entered bar-rooms to save their husbands, or tended hospitals during the war. Will those same women shrink from dropping a piece of paper into a ballot box when the time comes? Refinement that takes the place of conscience is not worth much.

9. "*Bad women will vote.*" They may and will vote, and so will bad men. But bad women will not vote openly as bad women; for vice in women, by instinct and policy, conceals itself and passes under another name. The worse women are, the more they will counterfeit virtue, when they come to vote; rely upon it.

10. "*I should not like to hear my wife speak in town meeting.*" Nor would she like to hear you, unless you said something better worth saying than most of the talk against Woman Suffrage. But you are often wil

ling to pay other men's wives to sing in public, and if a woman may properly uplift her voice to sing nonsense, why not to speak sense?

11. "*It will turn women into men.*" Happily you cannot do that. It is because women, after all, are different from men that they deny the right of men to represent them, make laws for them, judge them in court, and spend their tax-money. If they are the same with men, they have the same rights; if they are distinct from men, they need the ballot to help make laws for themselves. Take which view you please, it comes to the same thing.

12. "*Women are too busy to vote.*" Why not say, "*Men are too busy to vote*"? Men are apt to claim that their own day's work is harder than that of their wives.

13. "*Women do not know enough to vote.*" That is always the excuse for excluding a disfranchised class. Bancroft says that the original charter of Delaware put the government into the hands of a royal council, on the ground that "politics lie beyond the profession of merchants." So the agents who came out with Sir Edward Andros to take away the liberties of the New England Colonies wrote back, in great contempt: "It is pleasant to behold poor cobblers and pitiful mechanics, who have neither house nor land, strutting and making no mean figure at their elections." Now, the merchants and mechanics have the ballot and it is only women against whom the same old objection is brought up!

14. "*Women do not want to vote.*" How can you tell, till you give them the opportunity? We gave the ballot to the freedmen, because we knew they needed it, whether they knew it or not. The more intelligent among them knew it, at any rate; and so the more intelligent women—the leading authoresses and philanthropists, for instance—know and say that they need the right of Suffrage, whatever the thoughtless and frivolous may say.

15. "*It will lead to a dangerous intimacy between the sexes.*" In an oriental country, a physician can only prescribe for a woman by feeling the pulse in an arm thrust from behind a curtain. But as no political intimacy would exceed that which already exists or may exist in this country between the physician and his patients, the clergy-

man and his parishioners, the school superintendent and his teachers, the merchant and his book-keepers, the mill owner and his operatives,—the objection is idle. If you honestly prefer Turkish institutions, go and live where they prevail; but if the American system is the best, let it be made consistent with itself.

16. "*Women cannot fight, so they should not vote.*" Formerly women were refused permission to hold real estate, on the same ground. "When fiefs implied military service," wrote Dr. Johnson, in 1776, "it is easily discerned why females could not inherit them, but the reason is at an end. As manners make laws, manners likewise repeal them." The same reasoning applies now to voting.

Besides, the objection proves too much. It appears by the published record of United States Military Statistics that out of men examined for military duty during the Rebellion, more than a quarter were found unfit; but that this varied with different professions. Of journalists 740 in every 1000 were disqualified, of preachers 974, of physicians 670, of lawyers 544. The majority of all these classes are as useless for warlike purposes as women; far more useless than the fighting women of Dahomey. Are these classes therefore to be disfranchised, like women? On the other hand, of all unskilled laborers only 348 in 1000 are disqualified; of tanners 216, of iron-workers 189. Is the voting power to be taken away from lawyers and journalists, and to be concentrated on iron-workers and tanners? We should do that to be consistent.

In the Prussian army, the most powerful in the world, General McClellan tells us that all men are enrolled, and those unfit for field-service are employed as military tailors or nurses. Once apply this principle to women and you may draft them for military duty as much as you please.

The amount of it all is, that woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slightest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to protect the one and use the other. And there are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.

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Governments Derive Their Just Powers From the Consent of the Governed.

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No. 3

Women do not Wish to Vote.

[BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.]

The patent answer opponents make to our present demand for political equality, is that the women themselves do not ask it; that they are happy and satisfied in their present condition.

In the old days of antislavery opponents jeered abolitionists in the same way. They said why make all this noise about emancipation, the slaves are contented and happy. When asked if they wish to be free, in the presence of their masters, they say no; we are well fed, clothed and sheltered, and all our wants supplied. And yet in the full enjoyment of all these blessings Sambo ran off to Canada the next day.

But, said the immortal Channing, if you could prove to me that the slaves were contented in their degrading bondage I should consider that the very strongest reason for their emancipation. If a human soul born with the love of Justice, Liberty and Equality, can be happy in a condition in which all affections are starved; all personal pride, dignity and self-respect withered; held in complete subjection to the will of another; if man made in the image of God can be so transformed, it is the most unanswerable impeachment of the system under which he has lived; for it shows that every element of manhood, every spark of the divine has been wholly obliterated. But it was never true, generations of bondage, centuries of oppression, never could blot out the love of freedom in the human soul.

And if it is true that the women of this republic, whose fathers sent forth that grand declaration, "All men created free and equal," who gave us that masterpiece of statesmanship, the National Constitution, which Gladstone pronounced the most wonderful document that ever emanated from the brain of man; whose fathers have given us a government and religion, based on individual rights, individual conscience and judgment, and maintained the republican principle in two prolonged eventful wars; if it is possible that the daughters of such ancestors, with such a heritage, can be satisfied in their present political status, in which every principle of our government is violated, this is the strongest reason for their speedy enfranchisement.

Have the women of the present day so far degenerated from their foremothers, who in the inauguration of the government protested against the disfranchisement of women and negroes? In both Massa-

chusetts and North Carolina, their names gild many a page in History. They saw at once that in the recognition of any privileged classes, the fathers stultified every principle of republican government. But in the deadly struggle for the life of the Nation they held their just claims in abeyance. Have all the glowing peans to Justice, Liberty and Equality, that have echoed down the century, had no significance for women? If it is true that they do not want to vote, with Channing we say, that is the strongest reason why they should do so. Because it shows the degradation of disfranchisement; not only crippling all woman's powers, narrowing her outlook in every direction, but endangering the State. If one-half the people do not believe in republican institutions, in the right of self-government and feel no interest or responsibility in public affairs, indifference will gradually creep over the other half. There are hundreds of men to-day who never vote and take no interest in political questions.

They do not believe in the first principles of a republican government. Talk with them on the suffrage question and you will find the vast majority of men in the educated classes believe in restricted suffrage, on a property or educational qualification. They travel in the old world and come back charmed with monarchical institutions, with royalty and nobility, the humility, the deference and respect of the masses for their superiors. This is the direct effect of imbuing women with the idea that they hold too exalted a position to exercise the suffrage. The only way we can get the Beaux Brummels of our fashionable world to take some interest in politics, to go to primary meetings, political conventions and the polling booth, is to encourage fair ladies to go with them. To this end we must urge the grave and reverend members of the Constitutional Convention to expunge the word "male" from Article 2nd Section 1st of the Constitution. If men believe what they say that "women do not want to vote," why bar the privilege against them? We do not fence the corn fields because we think the cattle will not eat the corn, but because we know they will. And the word "male" in the Constitution, is a standing admission that men know women would vote if the barriers were all down, no matter what they say to the contrary. We are not left to speculation on this point, women have uniformly exercised the right of suffrage as soon as it was granted them although the men of their households said, "no lady would go to the polls," "all the good women would stay away, I should be ashamed to

see you there." Women are too proud to admit that they want what they think they cannot get. They fear the ridicule of the men of their households, of the press, the disapproval of their clergyman who quotes Bible against larger liberties for their sex. They fear the sharp pens of literary women, who know all the most vulnerable points of their own sex and just where they can stab most effectively. The cowardice and treachery of this class has been the most pitiful phase of our movement. The seeming indifference among women to their own emancipation is philosophical. They have been trained for centuries to obedience to the powers that be, submission to established usages. They have been taught that their chief virtue is self-sacrifice, their chief duty to deny themselves. Hence women today are more interested in every reform great and small, than in their own emancipation. You can arouse more enthusiasm among them in a charity ball, a church fair, a yacht race or naval parade, a horse show, than in a hearing before Congress or a State Constitutional Convention that may decide their political status for twenty years to come. This one lesson of subjection and self sacrifice has been taught by creeds, codes, customs and constitutions all through the centuries and no wonder that woman has learned it so well. The most powerful influence on the human mind is through the religious emotions, and all the leading religions on the earth teach the subjection of one sex and the domination of the other, thus enfeebling the love of liberty on the one side and stimulating the love of tyranny on the other.

If it were possible for woman to rise above her religious superstition of man's headship, what encouragement can she find in the State? None whatever, the laws and constitutions teach the same lesson: Lord Brougham in a burst of indignation declared long ago, the laws on our statute books for women are a disgrace to the christianity of the 19th century. Gentlemen, if women do not want to vote, behold in their indifference to their most sacred rights, their lack of self respect, dignity and independence, your own handiwork. You have educated them to be satisfied, while deprived of rights you consider most sacred for every boy of twenty-one and every foreigner landing on our shores, who can neither read nor write the English language. And the most insidious influence you have exerted on woman, has been in making her believe that she was too good, too pure, too refined to take part in politics, that the science of government was beneath her consideration. Thus her degradation in the laws and constitution is made to appear as man's highest tribute to her exalted position. But in her conceit she has never noticed that idiots, lunatics and

criminals and Indians are on the same privileged platform. If you would fully appreciate the timidity of women in asserting themselves see what slaves they are to fashions. In spite of their desire to dress with good taste in a becoming manner; to bring out their good points and veil their defects, they hide the one and exaggerate the other. The succession of styles in the world of fashion, invented by the courtesans of Paris, is as regular as the seasons and one might as well resist the climatic effects of spring, summer, autumn and winter, as the fashions, that hold their votaries in absolute bondage. It is all in vain that sensible people invent a comfortable dress for women and urge its adoption with all the physiological argument so potent to the most casual observer, until some one can invent a new type of woman, to be more readily governed by reason than "custom"; "that tyrant," as Milton says, "who makes cowards of us all." Sedulously taught submission to existing conditions the ordinary woman cannot resist long established usages, and successfully combat the majority of people, who believe that any change involves the entire disruption of society. To propose a new step in progress is to encounter bitter prejudice that knows no reason; ridicule that stings like a wasp and to which there is no answer. And yet change is the law and each new fashion illustrates it and woman submits to it no matter how comical or unbecoming. At one time her garments are as tight as her skin and her drapery so limp that she looks as if she had been drawn through a knot hole and lost her pocket in the process; left to carry everything in her hands: purse, card case, watch, handkerchief, smelling bottle, umbrella, and ballot if on the way to the polls. Then gradually emerging from this compression she begins to expand, until each arm is larger than the main body, then wings spring from her shoulders until the receding head looks like that of the turtle taking his constitutional walk in the sunshine on the seashore. Imagine a man without a pocket; what would he care for his political status until he could find a place to put his purse, spectacles and handkerchief and his hands too when embarrassed.

If with all woman's love of beauty, all the pride she has in her appearance, she will thus obey the behests of custom in regard to dress, we need not be surprised that she so readily sacrifices her political rights for the same reasons. How vain to look for any independent, heroic action, any self-respect or self-assertion from these helpless crushed women, especially when the men of their households wish them to adopt every style fresh from Paris. Trained to submission in the State, the church, in society and the world of work, it would require

the strength of Sampson to rise above all such influences. It is vain to talk to women of comfort and convenience, so long as they believe that self-sacrifice is their highest virtue, self-development a minor consideration. But in spite of all these artificial characteristics, the outgrowth of false and unnatural conditions, in the depths of her soul woman, too, loves liberty and in her hours of solitude longs for emancipation from the petty restrictions of her every day life. The assertion that "women do not want to vote" has no foundation in fact, nor philosophy. The right to vote is the right to protect one's person and property; to govern one's-self; to have a voice in the laws and rulers; to enjoy all the advantages and opportunities of life of which one is capable.

This is citizenship in a republic. The natural right to life, liberty and happiness. Who seriously believes that woman is indifferent to all these blessings. No, no, these rights every intelligent woman desires. Like the slaves, women will say before their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons what they think will please those who give them food, clothes and shelter, or the lover who gives them flowers, diamonds, drives in the park, or a box at the opera. When all these gentlemen believe in woman's right of suffrage, they will have no difficulty in persuading women to go with them to the polls to vote. It is amusing to see how long men will speculate on a point after facts have settled it beyond a peradventure. Women have taken part in government since the first pair appeared on the planet, and voted in one way and another all through the centuries. "To go no farther back than our own day, women voted in New Jersey down to 1807." In 1869 Municipal Suffrage was granted in England to spinsters and widows and the London Times said "as large a proportion of women voted, as men on the same basis." About the same time full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming and they have voted ever since. For a long period the women of Utah exercised the right to vote. In 1887 Municipal Suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas and they have exercised it ever since. School suffrage has been extended to women in half the States of the Union and on educational questions women vote. A bill giving women the right to vote for school commissioners was passed in New York in 1892 and thousands of women registered and voted, not even deterred by opinions of Supreme Court Judges that the bill was unconstitutional. Many when challenged swore their votes in and many were rejected. Women have had full suffrage in the Isle of Man for years and faithfully exercised it.

A correspondent of the Birmingham

(Eng.) Daily Post, writing from Wellington, New Zealand, gives an entertaining account of the manner in which the women of that colony made use of their newly-acquired voting privileges. He says: "They registered in thousands, and throughout the whole election campaign displayed a most laudable desire to learn their new duties. Afternoon meetings for women only, at which the more social sides of politics were dealt with, and the new electors instructed how to use their votes, became part of every candidate's work. It is estimated that one-third of the total vote was cast by women, and the number of defective ballots was astonishingly small."

In Colorado which has just enfranchised women by a vote of 7,000 majority, the women will vote on all questions at the next election. A large body of intelligent respectable women, in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio Indiana, nearly fifty years ago held conventions in all these States and demanded the right of suffrage, and have continued to hold conventions and make this demand ever since and many other States have followed their example. Gentlemen did you ever hear of a large association of people contending half a century for a right they they did not want?

We have had conventions in Washington for a quarter of a century every year with hearings before Committees of the House and Senate and able reports by distinguished members on our appeals. Did not those clear sighted statesmen know that we desired the rights for which we argued? How can any fair minded person in the face of all these facts, continue to sing that old refrain "women do not wish to vote."

How could intelligent women be so indifferent to a privilege that the most ignorant men appreciate so highly. Born of the same parents, reared under the same flag, reading the same national history, and arguments for Justice, Liberty and Equality; singing the same songs of freedom; worshipping the same God who created man and woman in his own image, simultaneously, and gave them equal dominion over every living thing, an equal title deed to this green earth; how could the daughters of this Republic with such education and experience differ so essentially from their brothers as to abjure all the rights, privileges and immunities that man holds most sacred for himself?

As we need the same atmosphere to breathe, the same food to sustain life, so we need the same liberty for our growth and development; the same justice to ensure our happiness.

In the history of the race there has been no struggle for liberty like this. Whenever

the interest of the ruling classes has induced them to confer new rights on a subject class, it has been done with no effort on the part of the latter. Neither the African slave nor the English laborer demanded the right of suffrage. It was given in both cases to strengthen the liberal party. The philanthropy of the few may have entered into those reforms, but political expediency carried the measure. Women, on the contrary, have fought their own battles, and in their rebellion against existing conditions have inaugurated the most fundamental revolution the world has ever witnessed. The magnitude and multiplicity of the changes involved, make the obstacles in the way of success seem almost insurmountable.

The darkest page in the future history of New York will be the indifference of our fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, to all woman's appeals for her civil and political rights for the last half century. The vast majority have stood silent spectators while leading men in the Nation, Congressmen, Judges of the Supreme Court, Legislators and Editors have all alike played foot ball with our most sacred rights.

The National Constitution says, "No State shall disfranchise any of its citizens on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." But, say learned Judges, this does not include women, although our laws and customs show that their previous condition has been and still is one of servitude. Our immortal Benjamin Franklin said long ago, "They who have no voice in the laws and rulers under which they live are slaves."

When we ask Congress for a 16th Amendment for woman's enfranchisement in plain unmistakable terms our representatives refer us to our respective States. It is nearly fifty years since women were granted hearings for the first time before the Legislature of New York and from time to time some minor civil right have been conceded. Three Governors have recommended some mild attempts at suffrage for women.

When Alonzo B. Cornell was Governor he signed a bill for a limited school suffrage for women. In 1892 under Governor Hill another act was passed, extending the right to vote for school commissioners in the rural districts. Women registered by the thousand and hurried to the polls at the last November election, but there they encountered Judges of the Supreme Court, who declared the act of '92 unconstitutional, denying the right of the Legislature to extend the suffrage, although the Legislature has exercised that right both to extend and limit the suffrage, not only in New York, but in many other States. In 1801 and 1821 when all men, black and white voted on a property qualification the Legislature declared their right to vote for members to a Constitutional Convention. "In the revision of a State Constitution, said Judge Beach Lawrence, "the State is for the time being

resolved into its original elements and *all the people* have a right to vote for members who are to frame the fundamental laws under which they are to live." Although both Governor Hill and Governor Flower recommended that this right be extended to women, there was no action taken, and women, one-half the people, will have no representation in the coming Convention.

Now gentlemen we are tired running this gauntlet of pettifoggers in the National and State councils, in the courts and in popular elections. With united voice they say there is no law nor Constitution for such an innovation as the right of suffrage for women. And there with them the question rests. On the contrary with a fair interpretation of the principles of our government, there is no authority in law or Constitution for the disfranchisement of one-half the people. In a republican form of government we have all the authority we need for extending equal rights to all. "Universal Suffrage is the first truth and only basis of a genuine Republic." We have all the law and Constitution necessary to secure Justice, Equality and Liberty to every citizen.

All we need now is some liberal, clear-sighted statesman to arise, who will interpret our laws and Constitutions in harmony with the acknowledged principles of our government. "Any interpretation in favor of Liberty," said Charles Sumner, "is law and Constitution, when the letter and spirit of a document conflict the latter must govern."

When Chief Justice Mansfield in the Somerset case declared that no slave could breathe on British soil by the provisions of Magna Charta, he rose above the technicalities of his profession and with inspired vision saw the man through the black skin and the slave walked out of Court crowned with all the rights of a British subject.

Where and when shall we look for some great statesman to arise, who like Lord Mansfield, shall proclaim Justice, Liberty and Equality as the birthright of every human soul, black and white, man and woman.

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TO VOTERS!

The present suffrage law of California (see Section 1, Article 2, of State Constitution) reads as follows:

“Every native male citizen of the United States, every male person who shall have acquired the rights of citizenship under or by virtue of the treaty of Queretaro, and every naturalized male citizen thereof, who shall have become such ninety days prior to any election, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election and of the county in which he claims his vote ninety days, and in the election precinct thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or may hereafter be authorized by law; provided, no native of China, no idiot, no insane person, no person convicted of any infamous crime, no person hereafter convicted of the embezzlement or misappropriation of public money, and no person who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language, and write his name, shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this State; provided that the provisions of this amendment relative to an educational qualification shall not apply to any person prevented by a physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to vote, nor to any person who shall be sixty years of age and upwards at the time this amendment shall take effect.”

If the pending Amendment is carried November 3, the only change it will make in the above will be to strike out the word “male,” and thereby secure to the women of California the right to vote on equal terms with men.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATE HEADQUARTERS
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Why Do Women Want to Vote?

1st. Because they are American citizens and the U. S. Constitution says: "The citizen's right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude;" and the Constitution of California says: "No citizen or class of citizens shall be granted privileges or immunities which, upon the same terms, shall not be granted to all citizens."

2d. Because they are tax-payers and it is a principle of our government that taxation and representation are inseparable.

3d. Because every citizen should have a voice in the selection of those who make the laws which he or she must obey.

4th. Because every citizen in a free republic is entitled to individual representation, and no person having but one vote can represent himself and another person, even with the latter's consent.

5th. Because a vote means power, and women need this power to protect the interests of themselves, their homes, their children and society.

6th. Because politics, which means the government, needs the combined influences of men and women. Without the ballot, woman's influence is indirect, negative and irresponsible. Votes talk, votes count, votes compel respect, votes "get there."

These are six out of sixty reasons why women want the ballot.

[OVER]

TO VOTERS!

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Objections Answered.

NUMBER FOUR.

Politics is too corrupt for women!

Politics is what men make of it. The government may be divided briefly into four departments: State, society, church, home. The State is the only one from which women have been excluded. The other three have been maintained at the highest standard, but the first has become so corrupt it is not fit for women to have any part in it. Can men promise that it will be any better if women wait? If men alone had tried to manage the four departments, all would have been demoralized. If women alone had attempted it, all would have been weak and inefficient. The combined influence, the varied qualities of both men and women are necessary to bring all to their highest and best estate. Women are not afraid to enter politics. Conscious of their own integrity and strength, they are confident they can bring to the material interests of the State, which the men have so grandly built up, moral and spiritual forces which are now sadly lacking in affairs of government.

Men should not place this burden on women!

By so doing they will make other burdens lighter. The immense work in which women are engaged, in charities and reforms, in the constant "repairing of the damages of society," would be infinitely less if they had some power to prevent the evils. They are shut out from all influence over causes, and permitted to deal only with effects. They are considered fully competent to bear the results of pauperism and crime, but forbidden all part in the making and administering of laws and the shaping of conditions that would lessen the number of paupers and criminals. Even in their own households they must suffer from the effects of intemperance, disease, unjust laws, etc., many of which they might prevent if they were not kept in a state of utter helplessness. Disfranchisement is no kindness to women; it is cruelly unjust, and makes their burdens heavier.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WYOMING.

In deciding whether the practical effects of any measure will be good or bad, an ounce of experiment is worth a ton of theory. In Wyoming, full suffrage was granted to women in 1869. Every Governor of Wyoming for the last eighteen years has testified strongly to its good results. Governors of Territories are appointed by the President, not elected by the people. They are not dependent on the women's votes, and hence their testimony is impartial.

Governor Campbell was in office when the woman suffrage law was passed. Two years later he said, in his message to the Territorial Legislature:

"There is upon our statute book 'an act granting to the women of Wyoming Territory the right of suffrage,' which has now been in force two years. It is simple justice to say that the women entering, for the first time in the history of the country, upon these new and untried duties, have conducted themselves in every respect with as much tact, sound judgment, and good sense, as men."

Two years after that, he said in his message:

"The experiment of granting to women a voice in the Government has now been tried for four years. I have heretofore taken occasion to express my views in regard to the wisdom and justice of this measure, and my conviction that its adoption has been attended only by good results. Two years more of observation of the practical working of the system have only served to deepen my conviction that what we, in this Territory, have done, has been well done; and that our system of impartial suffrage is an unqualified success."

Gov. Thayer, who succeeded Campbell, said in his message:

"Woman suffrage has now been in practical operation in our Territory for six years, and has, during the time, increased in popularity and in the confidence of the people. In my judgment, its results have been beneficial, and its influence favorable to the best interests of the community."

Gov. Hoyt, who succeeded Thayer, said in his message in 1882:

"Elsewhere, objectors persist in calling this honorable statute of ours 'an experiment.' *We know it is not.* Under it we have better laws, better officers, better institutions, better morals, and a higher social condition in general, than could otherwise exist. Not one of the predicted evils, such as loss of native delicacy and disturbance of home relations, has followed in its train."

Gov. Hale, who succeeded Hoyt, expressed himself repeatedly to the same effect.

Gov. Warren, who succeeded Hale, said in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, Esq., of the Mass. House of Representatives, in 1885:

"Our women consider much more carefully than our men the character of candidates, and both political parties have found themselves

obliged to nominate their best men in order to obtain the support of the women. As a business man, as a city, county, and territorial officer, and now as Governor of Wyoming Territory, I have seen much of the workings of woman suffrage, but I have yet to hear of the first case of domestic discord growing out of it. Our women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

Hon. John W. Kingman, for four years a judge of the U. S. Supreme Court of Wyoming, says:

"Woman suffrage was inaugurated in 1869 without much discussion, and without any general movement of men or women in its favor. At that time few women voted. At each election since, they have voted in larger numbers, and now nearly all go to the polls. Our women do not attend the caucuses in any considerable numbers, but they generally take an interest in the selection of candidates, and it is very common now, in considering the availability of an aspirant for office, to ask, 'How does he stand with the ladies?' Frequently the men set aside certain applicants for office, because their characters would not stand the criticism of women. The women manifest a great deal of independence in their preference for candidates, and have frequently defeated bad nominations. Our best and most cultivated women vote, and vote understandingly and independently, and they cannot be bought with whiskey, or blinded by party prejudice. They are making themselves felt at the polls, as they do everywhere else in society, by a quiet but effectual discountenancing of the bad, and a helping hand for the good and the true. We have had no trouble from the presence of bad women at the polls. It has been said that the delicate and cultured women would shrink away, and the bold and indelicate come to the front in public affairs. This we feared; but nothing of the kind has happened. I do not believe that suffrage causes women to neglect their domestic affairs. Certainly, such has not been the case in Wyoming, and I never heard a man complain that his wife was less interested in domestic economy because she had the right to vote, and took an interest in making the community respectable. The opposition to woman suffrage at first was pretty bitter. To-day I do not think you could get a dozen respectable men in any locality to oppose it."

Judge Brown, of Laramie, Wyoming, wrote as follows to Mrs. E. H. Wilson, of Bismarck, Dakota, in 1883:

"My prejudices were formerly all against woman suffrage, but they have gradually given way since it became an established fact in Wyoming. My observation, extending over a period of fifteen years, satisfies me of its entire justice and propriety. Impartial observation has also satisfied me that in the use of the ballot women exercise fully as good judgment as men, and in some particulars are more discriminating, as, for instance, on questions of morals."

Ex-Chief Justice Fisher, of Cheyenne, Wyoming, wrote to the *Daily New Era*, of Lancaster, Pa., Dec. 11, 1883:

"I wish I could show the people who are so wonderfully exercised on the subject of female

suffrage just how it works. The women watch the nominating conventions, and if the Republicans put a bad man on their ticket and the Democrats a good one, the Republican women do not hesitate a moment in scratching off the bad and substituting the good. It is just so with the Democrats. Hence we nearly always have a mixture of office-holders. I have seen the effects of female suffrage, and instead of being a means of encouragement to fraud and corruption, it tends greatly to purify elections."

Hon. M. C. Brown, U. S. Attorney for Wyoming Territory, says:

"Woman suffrage in Wyoming has accomplished much good, and has harmed no one."

Hon. N. L. Andrews, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Wyoming (Democrat), said, in 1879:

"I came to this Territory in the fall of 1871, with the strongest prejudice possible against woman suffrage, and decidedly opposed to it in all its features. Yet, willing to be fair and candid on the subject, I became a close observer of its practical results. I have for three successive sessions been honored by an election to the Legislature of the Territory and twice as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and my opportunities for seeing and judging of this matter have not been circumscribed; and I can now say that the more I have seen of it the less my objections have been realized, and the more it has commended itself to my judgment and good opinion. And now I frankly acknowledge that under all my observations it has worked well, and been productive of much good in our Territory, and no evil that I have been able to discern. The only wonder to me is why the States of the Union have not adopted it long ago. The women use the ballot with more independence and discrimination in regard to the qualifications of candidates than men do. If the ballot in the hand of woman compels political parties to place their best men in nomination, this, in and of itself, is a sufficient reason for sustaining woman suffrage."

Mrs. L. W. Smith, Superintendent of Schools for Carbon County, Wyoming, says:

"To vote does not require so much time that it interferes either with household duties or with other business. A woman is more apt to work for the individual than for party. If a candidate is not correct in character, the entire feminine vote is against him, irrespective of party. This fact renders it a necessity for each party to nominate good men, or their defeat is a foregone conclusion."

The editor of the *New York Observer* is opposed to woman suffrage. He wanted some strong testimony against it, and wrote to a lady of his acquaintance in Wyoming, the wife of a U. S. Judge, and a leading member of the Presbyterian church, asking her to write an account of the practical workings of woman suffrage for his paper. She replied:

"I came to Wyoming three years ago from Missouri, and brought with me fully the usual amount of conservatism; and I regarded with peculiar suspicion the idea of woman's entering the political arena. My observations have mate-

rially modified my views upon this subject. The women of Wyoming, and especially the better class, as highly prize and as generally exercise the right of suffrage as do the men. Almost every lady here is not only reconciled to, but highly gratified with, the practical results of woman suffrage. The only element that would desire its repeal are the vicious and corrupt, who fear its power, and are restless under the restraint it helps to impose. The women are less governed by party considerations than men, and both political parties have come to recognize the necessity of nominating their best men, or at least not nominating bad men, if they desire to succeed."

Rev. Dr. B. F. Crary, presiding elder of the M. E. Churches of Northern Colorado and Wyoming, said:

"The statement has been made and widely circulated, that at the late election in the Territory of Wyoming 'no women vote' except those of the baser sort.' I am well acquainted in Wyoming, having charge of the Methodist churches of that Territory, and I know from many conversations held with women of the very highest character, from statements made to me by ministers, and by the highest officers of the Territory, and from my own personal associations with editors, lawyers, teachers, and business men, that all such statements about the women of Wyoming are utterly without foundation. The very best ladies of this Territory vote, and, as they generally vote on the right side of all questions, the lies told to their detriment originate with men of the 'baser sort,' with defeated demagogues and disappointed strikers and the meanest kind of politicians, who hate the majority of the women because of their pure lives and independent ballots."

Rev. J. H. Burlison, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Laramie City, says:

"I think no one will say that woman suffrage has had any bad effect in our Territory. I have never heard of any woman who considered the right of suffrage a severe or crushing burden. The women seem to be glad of the chance to vote. They have suffered no loss of respect or consideration, and they are fully as intelligent and independent as men in the exercise of their right of suffrage."

Rev. Wm. A. Moore, pastor of the African M. E. Church of Cheyenne, says:

"No unpleasantness is caused in families by women's voting, so far as I know. They vote as intelligently and independently as men, and they make just as good wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters as before."

Rev. W. C. Harvey, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Laramie, says:

"I came to this city prejudiced against woman suffrage, but I have been thoroughly converted. It has had no bad results, and its good results have been incalculable."

The advocates of woman suffrage have often publicly challenged its opponents to find two persons in all Wyoming Territory who will assert, over their own names and addresses, that woman suffrage there has had any bad results. The opponents have hitherto failed to respond.

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TO CALIFORNIA SUFFRAGISTS

WILL YOU HELP?

To Win Other States for Equal Suffrage?

To Prove that Equal Suffrage Means Something to the Women of California?

To Return the Generous Aid Given to Us When We Were in the Throes of Our Suffrage Campaign?

The voting women of California who value their franchise can and should aid in the campaigns for equal suffrage now being waged in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New Jersey. As was once finely said, "We did not enlist for the campaign but for the war," and no California suffragist is free from her obligation until every woman, at least in these United States, is politically free. Equal suffrage comes to a vote this fall in the four supremely important States above mentioned. All through the hot Eastern summer, women have toiled unceasingly and have worn themselves to the bone that the suffrage amendments might succeed at the polls this fall. No beautiful and uplifting Exposition for them—nothing but the hardest of exhausting labor.

What can we do to help them? California enjoys a reputation for generosity, but what we are asking is not generosity—it is simply the honest repayment of a debt.

When we were struggling for suffrage the eastern States, particularly New York and Massachusetts, contributed liberally toward our campaign expenses. Mrs. Laidlaw alone sent us as part of New York's contribution over three thousand dollars and gave us Miss Jeannette Rankin's services for three months, Mrs. Laidlaw herself paying Miss Rankin's salary. Read what Mrs. Laidlaw, Chairman of Manhattan Borough, writes in a letter of August 14: "We are staggering under the terrific burden we are carrying. The self-sacrifice of the women who, all during the heat of the summer, are canvassing awful tenements, all kinds and sorts of people, is something almost sublime, and all the time we are pinched for money. . . . A hundred dollars may mean the saving of an assembly district. . . . The Leslie bequest will not be available for the New York campaign—if we ever get it all."

Gertrude Halladay Leonard, Chairman of the Executive Board of Massachusetts, writes: "We are still \$20,000 short of the amount which will insure us a fair chance to win in November. Canvassing is expensive and we have over 600,000 registered voters. It will be a bitter disappointment if we fall short of the amount which would make us feel that we had at least had our chance to win. We believe that success is assured if we can cover the State according to our plans. May we depend upon you to help Massachusetts at this moment?"

The same moving appeals come to the women of the Free West from the struggling women of Pennsylvania and from New Jersey where the vote comes a month earlier than in the other three States and which is, therefore, strategically most important.

THE PLAN

The College Equal Suffrage League of California, relying on the gratitude and sense of fair play of California women, has undertaken to help these women who need help so sorely. The plan is very simple and is designed to fall equally and lightly on everyone. Take one of these circulars, fill in your name and send it with one dollar or as much as you are willing to contribute to (checks or money orders payable to)

MRS. GENEVIEVE ALLEN, Treasurer, 220 Post St., San Francisco, Cal.

Divide the remainder of the circulars into five packages as nearly equal as possible and send one package to each of five friends. Do not delay, as time is infinitely precious, and a dollar sent promptly is worth two sent at the very end of the campaign. Feel that you cannot rest until you have sent your mite. If more than one set of circulars comes to you, send them on promptly as a loyal suffragist, so that the chain, on which so much depends, may not be broken.

NAME

ADDRESS

AMOUNT

(Signed)

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Lessing says - "There is, at
most, but one disagreeable
woman in the world; a pity
then that every man gets her
for himself."

"There are no types, there
is only humanity" - LaFontaine.

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Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered.

BY HENRY B. BLACKWELL.

1. *Suffrage is not a right of anybody.*

To say so is to deny the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. "Governments derive their just powers from consent of the governed"—women are governed. "Taxation without representation is tyranny"—women are taxed. "Political power inheres in the people"—women are people. To deny these principles is to justify despotism. "The men who refuse the ballot to women can show no title to their own."

2. *Nobody asks for Woman Suffrage.*

Over 21,000 citizens of Massachusetts have petitioned for it within six months. More than 50,000 others have petitioned for it in previous years. Not a dollar has ever been spent in circulating these petitions. Repeated efforts have been made and money spent to circulate petitions against Woman Suffrage, and they have fewer signers.

3. *What eminent men have favored Woman Suffrage?*

Among others, Abraham Lincoln, Chief Justice Chase, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Samuel G. Howe, John G. Whittier, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, President Hayes, Governors Banks, Boutwell, Claflin, Washburn, Talbot, and Long, Senators Geo. F. Hoar and Henry L. Dawes, John M. Forbes, Robert Collyer, Bishops Haven, Bowman and Simpson, Neal Dow, George William Curtis, the republicans of Massachusetts in successive platforms since 1870. The national republican platforms of 1872 and 1876.

4. *What eminent women have favored Woman Suffrage?*

Among others, Margaret Fuller, Lydia Maria Child, Frances D. Gage, Lucretia Mott, Florence Nightingale, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, Louisa M. Alcott, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Clara Barton, Frances E. Willard, Abby W. May, Lucy Stone, Mary F. Eastman, Frances Power Cobbe, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Mary Clemmer.

5. *Most women do not want to vote.*

Except in years of presidential election, a majority of men in Massachusetts do not vote. This is shown by statistics. The right to vote for governor, state legislature, municipal, town and county officers, usually calls out less than half the male voters, in spite of public opinion, party machinery, torchlight processions, newspaper articles, expenditure of money, and personal efforts of candidates. 6679 women in Massachusetts registered last year to vote merely for school committee. Yet this is only a small and disjointed part of the system of Municipal Suffrage. It does not include a vote on the management of schools, or a share in the nomination of candidates.

Small as it is, the right is restricted in the case of women by limitations which make it troublesome and costly to exercise. A woman must apply to be taxed and registered. She must give a statement under oath of all her property, and thus incur taxation to an extent which most men escape. Under parallel conditions not 500 men would have voted for school committee. That nearly 7000 women have done so, under such restrictions, is a proof of eminent and unselfish public spirit.

6. *The number of women voting has diminished each year since School Suffrage for women was granted.*

Only when the number of men voting has also diminished each year since School Suffrage for women was granted, but not for several years. In Boston in 1881 the registered male voters numbered 4639 less than in 1880, a falling off of 8 per cent, while the registered female voters fell off 24, a falling off of only 3 per cent. In both cases the falling off was due to a general lack of political interest, which temporarily affected both sexes. In the case of women it is due also to the limitation of the right, and the vexatious restrictions imposed upon the registration of women by the present law.

7. *It is a step that once taken can never be recalled.*

Municipal Suffrage for women, on the contrary, is an experiment which can be repealed at any time by a Legislature of men alone, elected by men alone. If the presence of women at town-meetings and municipal elections proves distasteful to the men, the Legislature will soon repeal the law. Every fair-minded opponent of Woman Suffrage should vote for Municipal Woman Suffrage, in accordance with Governor Long's recommendation, as the shortest way to put an end to the agitation for Woman Suffrage by exposing its evils.

8. *We have too many voters now.*

Where will you draw the line? No one proposes to disfranchise any class of men who now vote. Every extension of suffrage has proved on the whole a benefit to all concerned; first to poor white men; then to ignorant colored men; why not now to intelligent women? Are democrats who have given suffrage to poor men of foreign birth or republicans who have forced negro suffrage on the reluctant South, afraid to share political power with their own intelligent mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters?

9. *Women are represented already.*

Men cannot represent women, because they are unlike women. Women as a class have tastes, interests and occupations which they alone can adequately represent. Men specially represent material interests; women will specially represent the interest of the home.

10. *Only bad and ignorant women would vote.*

Our five years' experience of School Suffrage for women proves the contrary. The 6679 women who have voted are admitted to be good and intelligent. The demand for suffrage comes from the respected leaders and educated representatives of their sex. No woman can vote in Massachusetts unless she can read and write.

11. *It is contrary to experience.*

Not so. In England women have voted for fifteen years in municipal elections. Hon. Jacob Bright has written to the Massachusetts Legislature that in England Woman Suffrage has proved "good for women, good for Parliament, and good for the country." It has worked so well there that it has just been extended to the women of Scotland. Are American women alone unfit to be trusted with political responsibilities?

12. *There is no precedent in this country.*

In Wyoming, women have voted for fifteen years on all questions, on the same terms as men. Governor Hoyt has again announced in his annual message that Woman Suffrage is a success. Three successive governors,—Campbell, Thayer, and Hoyt,—the judges of the Supreme Court, the delegates in Congress, the presiding elder of the M. E. Church, the newspapers of both parties, all agree that Woman Suffrage works well and gives satisfaction in Wyoming.

13. *It would put the control of state and nation into the hands of the foreign element.*

In every State there are more women who can read and write than all the illiterate men and women combined. In every State there are more American women than all the foreign men and women combined. In every State the votes of women will double the intelligent majority, thus diminishing the influence of the ignorant minority one-half. In the Southern States taken together, there are more white women than all the colored men and women combined. So that the white majority, when women vote, will be larger than the total number of white male voters, if all women and colored men were excluded. There are in Massachusetts 454,852 women over twenty years old who can read and write; 326,731 of these are Americans; 128,121 of foreign birth. (See Carroll D. Wright's statistics for 1875.)

14. *It would put our cities under Roman Catholic control.*

There are in all our large cities, even in New York, more Protestant women than Roman Catholic women; more American women than foreign women. There are in Boston 91,367 women over twenty years old, who can read and write; 52,608 of these are Americans, 38,759 are of foreign birth. (See Carroll D. Wright as above.)

15. *It would diminish respect for women.*

Voting is power. Power always commands respect. To be weak is to be miserable. How many men are tolerated in society only because they are rich and

powerful! Woman armed with the ballot will be stronger and more respected than ever before.

16. *It is contrary to the Bible.*

Not so. In the beginning, we are told, God made man in his own image male and female, and gave *them* dominion; not man dominion over woman. Among the Jews, God's chosen people, Deborah, the wife of Lapidoth, a married woman, was judge, and led their armies to victory. In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, but all are one. Women as well as men are commanded to "call no man master." Nowhere is it said in the Bible to women, "Thou shalt not vote."

17. *Women have not physical strength to enforce laws; therefore they should not help make them.*

One half our male voters have not physical strength to enforce laws, yet they help make them. Most lawyers, judges, physicians, ministers, merchants, editors, authors, legislators and congressmen, and all men over forty-five years old are exempt from military service on the ground of physical incapacity. (See statistics of the late war.) Voting is the authoritative expression of an opinion. It requires intelligence, conscience, and patriotism, not mere muscle. All the physical force of society is subject to call to enforce law, but cannot create law. Moral force, such as women possess, is as necessary as physical force to national well-being.

18. *If women vote they must fight.*

Women are the mothers of men. Lucy Stone says: "Some woman perils her life for her country every time a soldier is born. Day and night she does picket duty by his cradle. For years she is his quartermaster, and gathers his rations. And then, when he becomes a man and a voter, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote you must first kill somebody'? It is a coward's argument!"

19. *It will make domestic discord when women vote contrary to their husbands.*

In cases where husbands and wives vote together it will be an additional source of sympathy and bond of union. In cases where they vote differently they will agree to differ, as they now do in religious matters. A man will not respect his wife the less because she has an opinion of her own and is free to express it.

20. *It will only double the vote—women will vote as their husbands do.*

Then the family will cast two votes instead of one. But the quality of the voters changes the quality of politics. A political party of men and women will not be the same as a party of men alone. Women are more peaceable, refined, temperate, chaste, economical, humane, and law-abiding than men. These qualities will influence the character of the government. The united votes of men and women will give the fullest, fairest, and most accurate expression of public opinion.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE LEAFLET

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EMINENT OPINIONS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

In the administration of a State, neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special functions, but the gifts are equally diffused in both sexes.—*Plato.*

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

In the progress of civilization, woman suffrage is sure to come.—*Charles Sumner.*

Justice is on the side of woman suffrage.—*William H. Seward.*

I think there will be no end to the good that will come by woman's suffrage, on the elected, on elections, on government, and on woman herself.—*Chief-Justice Chase.*

Woman's suffrage is undoubtedly coming, and I for one expect a great deal of good to result from it.—*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.*

For over forty years I have not hesitated to declare my conviction that justice and fair dealing, and the democratic principles of our government, demand equal rights and privileges of citizenship, irrespective of sex. I have not been able to see any good reason for denying the ballot to women.—*J. G. Whittier.*

I take it America never gave any better principle to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in its own hands. I claim it for woman. The moment she has the ballot, I shall think the cause is won.—*Wendell Phillips.*

You ask my reasons for believing in women's suffrage. It seems to me almost self-evident, an axiom, that every householder and tax-payer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being.—*Florence Nightingale.*

To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is governed is a means of self-protection due to every one. Under whatever conditions, and within whatever limits, men are admitted to the suffrage, there is not a shadow of justification for not admitting women under the same.—*John Stuart Mill.*

Suppose, for the sake of argument, we accept the inequality of the sexes as one of nature's immutable laws; call it a fact that women are inferior to men in mind, morals and physique. Why should this settle or materially affect the subject of so-called Woman's Rights? Would not this very inferiority be a reason why every advantage should be given to the weaker sex, not only for its own good, but for the highest development of the race?—*Huxley.*

I am in favor of woman suffrage.—*Phillips Brooks.*

With all my head, and with all my heart, I believe in woman suffrage.—*Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.*

It is very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. . . . If the wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

The correct principle is that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God.—*John Quincy Adams.*

I am highly gratified with the late demonstration in the Senate on the question of female suffrage.—*Hon. George W. Julian.*

When we seriously attempt to show that a woman who pays taxes ought not to have a voice in the manner in which the taxes are expended, that a woman whose property and liberty and person are controlled by the laws should have no voice in framing those laws, it is not easy. If women are fit to rule in monarchies, it is difficult to say why they are not qualified to vote in a republic.—*Hon. H. B. Anthony, R. I.*

If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot-box?—*Frances E. Willard.*

The true family is the type of the State. It is the absence of the feminine from the conduct of the governments of the earth that makes them more or less savage. The State is now in a condition of half orphanage. There are fathers of the State, but no mothers.—*Rev. Samuel J. May.*

Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, an elimination of the obscenity and harshness from literature and art, so woman in the State will avail to eliminate the rigors of law, and much of the corruption in politics that now prevails.—*Professor Wm. T. Harris.*

If the principle on which we founded our government is true, that taxation must not be without representation, and if women hold property and are taxed, it follows that women should be represented in the State by their votes. . . . I think the State can no more afford to dispense with the votes of women in its affairs than the family.—*Harriet Beecher Stowe.*

When you were weak and I was strong, I toiled for you. Now you are strong and I am weak. Because of my work for you, I ask your aid. I ask the ballot for myself and my sex. As I stood by you, I pray you stand by me and mine.—*Clara Barton to the Soldiers.*

Voting would increase the intelligence of women, and be a powerful stimulus to female education. It would enable women to protect their own industrial, social, moral and educational rights. . . . Woman's vote would be to the vices in our great cities what the lightning is to the oak. . . . I believe that this reform is coming, and that it will come to stay.—*Joseph Cook.*

I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or a privilege; I speak of it as a duty. . . . What right have you women to leave all this work of caring for the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your children to live in it after you are gone? And are you not bound to contribute whatever faculty God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe and happy land?—*James Freeman Clarke.*

It is difficult to choose names when the list is so long, but it is right to mention among the distinguished women who have been with this movement from the outset, the names of Mrs. Somerville, Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Browning, Miss Anna Swanwick, Miss Cobbe, Mrs. Grote, Mrs. Ritchie (Miss Thackeray), Mary Carpenter and Mrs. Jameson.—*Millicent Garrett Fawcett.*

One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other age after age, has been this: that in almost every case they have ignored the rights and powers of one-half the human race—viz., women. I believe that politics will not go right, that society will not go right, that religion will not go right, that nothing human will ever go right, except in so far as woman goes right; and to make woman go right she must be put in her place, and she must have her rights.—*Charles Kingsley.*

Woman must be enfranchised. It is a mere question of time. She must be a slave or an equal; there is no middle ground. Admit, in the slightest degree, her right to property or education, and she must have the ballot to protect the one and use the other. And there are no objections to this, except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.—*T. W. Higginson.*

I think women are bound to seek the suffrage as a very great means of doing good.—*Frances Power Cobbe.*

Public spirit, a genuine interest in all questions of national or social importance, is as essential a part of true womanhood as of true manhood; and women ought not to be exempt from the duty of voting.—*Mrs. Charles, Author of "The Schonberg Cotta Family."*

Everybody feels the justice of the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Would men have women rob them of their ballot? No. Then let not men rob women of their ballot. That is the Golden Rule put into practical form.—*Rev. Dr. David Gregg.*

I have never seen an argument against woman suffrage that was not flimsy. Men are much disposed to exaggerate the difficulties of voting intelligently, when they talk of women voting. By the time a public question is ready for the popular vote, it has become a very simple question, that requires little more than honesty and common sense to vote upon it. If our mothers are not fit to vote they ought to stop bearing sons.—*Geo. W. Cable.*

A woman may vote as a stock-holder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other. But if she sells her stock, and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for. Why, in the name of good sense, if a responsible human being may vote upon specific industrial projects, may she not vote upon the industrial regulation of the State?—*George William Curtis.*

I believe that the admission of women to the suffrage is in the line of God's providence, and that it is approved by the spirit of the Bible and the experience of history.—*Rev. William Burnet Wright.*

In quite early life I formed the opinion that women ought to vote, because it is right, and for the best interests of the country. Years of observation and thought have strengthened this opinion.—*Bishop Bowman.*

We need the participation of woman in the ballot-box. It is idle to fear that she will meet with disrespect or insult at the polls. Let her walk up firmly and modestly to deposit her vote, and if any one ventures to molest her, the crowd will swallow him up as the whale swallowed Jonah.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

In re woman suffrage, I know of many prejudices against it, but of nothing which deserves to be called a reason. The reasons are all on the other side.—*Professor Borden P. Bowne.*

I believe that the enfranchisement of woman would be a direct benefit both to woman herself and to the State.—*Rev. Charles F. Thwing.*

I fully believe that the time has come when the ballot should be given to woman. Both her intelligence and conscience would lead her to vote on the side of justice and pure morals.—*Bishop Hurst.*

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

In view of the terrible corruption of our politics, people ask, can we maintain universal suffrage? I say no, not without the aid of women.—*Bishop Gilbert Haven.*

We have driven our leading opponents from one position to another, until there is not a thoughtful opponent of woman suffrage to be found who is not obliged to deny the doctrine which is affirmed in our Declaration of Independence.—*George F. Hoar.*

I have not found a respectable reason why women should not vote, although I have read almost everything that has been written on the subject, on both sides.—*M. J. Savage.*

Why should not women vote? The essence of all republicanism is that they who feel the pressure of the law shall have a voice in its enactment.—*Rev. John Pierpont.*

Any influence I may happen to have is gladly extended in favor of woman suffrage.—*Lydia Maria Child.*

Every year gives me greater faith in it, greater hope of its success, and a more earnest wish to use what influence I possess for its advancement.—*Louisa M. Alcott.*

Those who are ruled by law should have the power to say what shall be the laws and who the law-makers. Women are as much interested in legislation as men, and are entitled to representation.—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

Every argument that can be adduced to prove that males should have the right to vote, applies with equal force to prove that females should possess the same right.—*Hon. Benjamin F. Wade.*

I believe in woman suffrage because women are as integral a part of the commonwealth as men, and have equal social rights, and the first of all social rights is the right of self-government.—*Harriet Prescott Spofford.*

We used to ask for suffrage because women needed it as the means to larger opportunities. But the aspect of the woman question has changed. Women are now saying, as in the days of the war, "The country needs us."—*Mary A. Livermore.*

I believe in the admission of women to the full rights of citizenship and share in the government, on the express grounds that few women keep house so badly or with such wastefulness as Chancellors of the Exchequer keep the State, and womanly genius for organization applied to the affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial.—*Theodore Parker.*

Laugh as we may, put it aside as a jest if we will, keep it out of Congress or political campaigns, still, the woman question is rising on our horizon larger than the size of a man's hand; and some solution, ere long, that question must find.—*James A. Garfield.*

The Woman's Journal.

A weekly paper, founded 1870. Editors, Lucy Stone, H. B. Blackwell, Alice Stone Blackwell.

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Political Equality!

AN ADDRESS AT

WRIGHTS HALL

—BY—

MRS. HESTER A. HARLAND,

State Organizer Woman's Suffrage Associations,

Monday Evening, Nov. 18th,
AT 7-30 O'CLOCK

EVERYBODY INVITED

1895-9

RECEPTION

THE
... Woman Suffrage Association

Requests the pleasure of your company at the

HOTEL NADEAU

On Saturday Evening, April 27th, 1895,

FROM EIGHT TO ELEVEN.

PRESIDENT FOR THE EVENING:

Hon. J. E. McComas, Pomona.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE:

Mesdames Mary E. Threldkeld, Sarah A. McClees, M. Burton Williamson,
Hester A. Harland, Margaret V. Longley.
Misses Harland, Teal, Hazletine, North and James.

(over)

..... PROGRAM:



Brief Addresses by

Hon. James McLachlan, Pasadena.

Gen. A. B. Campbell, Kansas.

Mrs. E. Stephens Mathews, London, England.

Mrs. Hester A. Harland, San Francisco.

Music:

Violin and Piano Duet, Misses Dora James and Alice B. McComas

Selections by Mandolin Club, Prof. W. P. Chambers, Director

Vocal Selections, Mrs. Katherine Phillips Edson, Manzana



REV. ANNA H. SHAW

SUBJECTS

- "The New Man"
- "The Injustice of Chivalry"
- "The Relation of Woman's Ballot to the Home"
- "Is Physical Force the Basis of Government?"
- "Woman Suffrage Essential to a True Republic"
- "The American Home"
- "Social Purity"
- "Woman's Enfranchisement"
- "The Temperance Problem"
- (Sunday) "Strength of Character"
- (Sunday) "The Mission of Truth"
- (Sunday) "The Heavenly Vision"
- "The Fate of Republics"
- "God's Women"
- "Woman's War for Peace"

FOR DATES AND TERMS, ADDRESS

LUCY E. ANTHONY, Private Secretary
1830 DIAMOND ST., PHILADELPHIA

As an intellectual, logical, eloquent, witty and captivating speaker, I consider Rev. Anna H. Shaw equal to the very best on the American platform. She richly merits the popular applause she receives.

GEO. W. BAIN.

I have had an acquaintance with Rev. Anna Shaw from the early days when she was a student of Boston University. Not only is she a regularly ordained minister, but has devoted years to pastoral service in a most acceptable manner. Her training for the platform has been very thorough, and no lecturer of the time is better equipped for general public lecturing than she. With a good voice, a pleasing style of oratory, distinct and clear enunciation, she combines scholarship, a large fund of general information, and enlivens her discourses with such sparkling and genial wit as renders her a general favorite.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

Melrose, Mass., March 11, 1895.

It is a grand lecture, sparkling with wit and sarcasm, and full of common sense. It is instructive and highly entertaining. I cheerfully recommend Miss Shaw and her lecture to the public.

J. G. HILLMAN,

March 12, 1895.

County Supt. Beaver Co., Pa.

Rev. Anna Shaw, of Philadelphia, is one of the ablest speakers on the platform, either among men or women. She has a well-trained mind, quenchless enthusiasm, and that rarest of all qualities—pluck. Her history proves all this. No woman could have wrenched education and success from more difficult conditions. America does not contain a more loyal and devoted adherent of woman's cause. A graduate of Boston University, in both medicine and theology, Dr. Shaw brings rare qualities to her platform work. Her lecture, entitled "The Fate of Republics," is one of the finest I have ever heard, both in matter and delivery. Audiences will be conciliated by her cultured manner, enlivened by her wit, and captured by her logic.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Rev. Anna Shaw is always warmly welcomed in Chester County. She instructs while she entertains, and for wholesome and humorous influence over her audience she has few equals.

JOS. S. WALTON,

Chester County, January 21, 1895.

County Supt. Common Schools.

She is a grand speaker on any subject you may call her. She captivated our audiences both times, and will always be welcomed in our lecture course, and no course is complete without her. To see and hear her is to praise her.

J. F. RANKIN,

M. H. COLLINS,

} Committee.

South Charleston, O., March 9, 1895.

The Rev. Anna Shaw, who gave the fourth entertainment in our college lecture course, is surely a queen among lecturers. Her subject, "The Fate of Republics," she handled with marked ingenuity, convincing by her logic and winning admiration from all by her eloquence.

JOHN G. KING,

Chairman Lecture Committee.

Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa.

Our large audience was more than pleased, they were delighted with Rev. Anna Shaw. Expressions of praise were general and often repeated.

J. P. ANDERSON,

Chairman Committee.

New Lisbon, O., March 18, 1895.

BIOGRAPHICAL

The Rev. Anna Shaw, though born in England, was reared in Michigan, and in the pioneer days. The country was wild, and she breathed in the spirit of freedom, and is to-day as crisp as the frosts of those northern forests in which she wandered in her childhood. Her wit is as keen as the wind of the northland, and as delightful and rich as the balsamic odors borne thereon. Her logic is irresistible. Nobody puts things just as Miss Shaw does.

She was educated for the ministry—educated herself. She is a self-made woman. If any other body made her what she is, that other body might well be proud of the work. Young girls with their own destiny to hew out should go to hear the Rev. Anna H. Shaw and take courage. She studied medicine, prepared herself to doctor body and soul, was ordained, and preached for one parish seven years; and then she exchanged the small parish for a larger one—that is, the world for her parish, and the enfranchisement of women her Gospel.

Miss Shaw has spoken in more than a hundred cities in Kansas, and in each she is extremely popular. Friend and foe of the vexed question of Woman Suffrage alike admire her. Even the man, who quivers under her blows, smiles, applauds and admires.

Miss Shaw has repeatedly spoken before Congressional and Legislative committees. Whenever women have a "case in court," that is, a bill before a legislative body, they send for Miss Shaw to speak. She is a born orator; has a magnificent voice which she never spares, but which endures without impairment most severe usage. Few women and few men are so well equipped for public speaking as the Rev. Anna H. Shaw. L. M. J.

PRESS NOTICES

Rev. Dr. Shaw is an eloquent speaker, and possesses in a large degree that personal magnetism, without which a platform orator cannot be effective.—*The Globe, Toronto, Canada.*

In reference to Rev. Anna Shaw's lecture on "The American Home," Thursday evening, it may be said that among her audience there were some who went to scoff, but remained to pray. It was an admirable address, and if it was a little on the woman suffrage order, and here and there a trifle severe against masculine legislation, it was because the facts warranted the assertions. The lady is a speaker of unusual force and fluency, and she left a good impression.—*Record, West Chester, Pa.*

As they sat in the Opera House on Sunday and heard Rev. Dr. Anna H. Shaw, of Philadelphia, hold an audience of 2,000 people (many of them standing in the aisles) spell-bound for more than an hour, they asked themselves why should "women keep silence in the churches?" and believed that if the spirit of St. Paul had been listening he would have proclaimed a repeal of his famous dictum.—*The Sunny South, Atlanta, Ga.*

Rev. Anna H. Shaw gave to an appreciative audience in Normal Hall one of the finest lectures we have ever heard. In view of the fact that Col. Bain, Mrs. Livermore and other lecturers of first rank have appeared on our platform, no higher commendation is needed.—*Edinboro (Pa.) Independent.*

Rev. Anna H. Shaw has been with us during the past week, lecturing in various parts of our city. She is a clever logician and clinches her arguments well. It is impossible to accuse her of either rant or tirade; her speech has force and definiteness, yet always a touch of quiet humor that keeps even the crustiest audience on pleasant terms with the speaker. She possesses a rich contralto voice that rings full and sweet in the largest auditorium, and contributes much to the enjoyment of her hearers.—*The Empire, Toronto, Canada.*

Rev. Anna H. Shaw, who is greatly beloved by all who know her, was one of the busiest women in attendance upon the National-American Suffrage Convention, recently held in Washington, D. C. She attended every public meeting of the Convention, addressed the Maryland Legislature, besides preaching three sermons and delivering three lectures during the week in Baltimore.—*Woman's Cycle, New York.*

A larger audience would have greeted Rev. Anna Shaw last evening, when she preached a powerful sermon at the M. E. Church, had the house been larger. The next time Miss Anna undertakes to speak to a Big Rapids audi-

REV. ANNA SHAW IN INDIANAPOLIS.—The large auditorium of Roberts' Park Church was packed on last Sunday evening to hear this gifted speaker, hundreds standing throughout the evening, charmed with the logical presentation of her arguments, her happy illustrations, her unexpected sallies of wit and humor, which provoked irrepressible ripples of laughter, that but for the place and evening would have taken a more demonstrative form of appreciation. "The best lecture we ever had." "It will do great good," "Has made a wonderful impression," and similar expressions from persons who are not usually very apt to make them, showed how completely Miss Shaw had captivated Indianapolis people, for the audience was one of the most representative ever assembled at a temperance lecture.

Rev. Anna Shaw delivered at the Odd Fellows' Hall, Tuesday night, one of the most interesting and instructive lectures which has been heard in Versailles in years. Her subject was "The Fate of Republics," and she handled it and the men in a most masterly manner, eliciting rounds of well-merited applause.—*The Blue-Grass Clipper, Midway, Ky.*

Saturday evening the interest in the proceedings of the Convention culminated. The Methodist Church was packed to its utmost capacity by an intelligent audience gathered to hear Rev. Anna Shaw lecture on Woman Suffrage. Miss Shaw exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine. Her lecture was brilliant, forcible and witty. Not one of that large crowd tired during the address of over one hour. The lecture is considered by those fortunate in hearing it as one of the finest ever delivered in this city.—*The Era, Bradford, Pa.*

Rev. Anna H. Shaw, the celebrated Methodist divine, was the central figure at last night's session of the W. C. T. U. Convention. Her name had been sufficient to crowd the auditorium and galleries. Personally Miss Shaw is extremely pleasing. Her voice is loud and resonant, and strength and determination of purpose mark her features. Her address was characteristic—truly a temperance speech.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw entertained a densely-packed audience at the Universalist Church by one of her most brilliant, witty and keenly, but kindly, sarcastic efforts. She was the embodiment of mirth and jollity; and as she quoted the objections to Woman Suffrage, and answered them, it seemed as if the very spirit of fun possessed her. Peals upon peals of laughter echoed and re-echoed from all parts of the house. She made many converts. Nature has rarely endowed mortal with the gift of so pleasingly presenting a cause to an audience not entirely in harmony with its views, as Anna Shaw, the Methodist Protestant divine.—*Toledo (O.) Daily Commercial.*

Too much praise cannot be given the Rev. Anna Shaw as a lecturer and minister. Her sermon at the Methodist Church last Sunday morning was pronounced by many to be the finest ever delivered in this city. As a lecturer she is without a peer.—*The Barbourville (Ky.) News.*

ence she had better try the open air plan. Unfortunately, Big Rapids has no building large enough to contain the audience that this talented lady is capable of congregating.—*Big Rapids (Mich.) Pioneer*.

The announcement that the Rev. Anna H. Shaw was to speak before the Woman's Suffrage Association in the hall of the House of Representatives last night had the effect of attracting a large audience. The standing-room was all taken, and the galleries were filled. Rev. Shaw made a good address: it was logical, instructive and eloquent.—*Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch*.

Rev. Anna Shaw made a ringing speech on "God's Women." Her speech was received with the wildest enthusiasm; with cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs from the ladies, who were too much moved to remain quietly in their seats. Miss Shaw not responding by leaving her chair, a clear voice in the audience started the Doxology, and the cheers were drowned in song.—*The Woman's Tribune, Washington, D. C.*

Rev. Anna Shaw was one of the most eloquent speakers at the National Council.—*The Epoch, New York City*.

Rev. Anna Shaw, the noted preacher of Boston, appeared before two large audiences in this city yesterday, and established a reputation as a profound and original thinker, and an eloquent, graceful speaker.—*The Louisville Commercial, Louisville, Ky.*

Miss Shaw, in her lecture on Tuesday night, captivated her entire audience, and held it spellbound for about two hours on the subject of "The Fate of Republics." Her speech was a magnificent plea for "Woman Suffrage," interspersed with wit, boundless sarcasm, considerable wisdom and oceans of eloquence. She is a complete bundle of natural and acquired niceties of intellectual development. She has a pure silver tongue, oiled with honey and polished with strong vinegar. *The Home Weekly* ever hopes she may have abundant success in the field in which she has chosen her life's work.

A vast audience assembled yesterday afternoon in the Auditorium to hear a temperance lecture delivered by Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw. "The American Home" was her subject. The lecture was one of those carefully worded and forcible discourses typical of the famous woman, and interspersed with soul-stirring appeals to men for the suppression of the liquor traffic, with brief little bits of narrative which pleased and amused the audience.

The lecture was announced for 3 o'clock, and before that time every seat in the great opera house had been taken, even up to the top gallery. At 2.50 the doors of the lower part of the house were locked and many people were turned away.—*The Journal, Kansas City, Mo.*

AMENDMENT LEAFLET

SARAH M. SEVERANCE

Assembly Constitutional Amendment No. 11.

A resolution to propose to the people of the State of California an amendment to section one of article two of the Constitution, in relation to the right of suffrage.

[Adopted March 16 1895]

Resolved by the Assembly, the Senate concurring, That the Legislature of the State of California, at its regular session, commencing on the seventh day of January, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, two-thirds of the members elected to each of the two houses voting in favor thereof, hereby propose that section one of article two of the Constitution of the State of California be amended to read as follows :

Section 1. Every native citizen of the United States, every person who shall have acquired the rights of citizenship under or by virtue of the treaty of Queretaro, and every naturalized citizen thereof, who shall have become such ninety days prior to any election, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county in which he or she claims to vote ninety days, and in the election precinct thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or may hereafter be authorized by law; *provided*, no native of China, no idiot, insane person, or person convicted of any infamous crime, and no person hereafter convicted of the embezzlement or misappropriation of public money, and no person who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language, and write his or her name, shall ever exercise the privilege of an elector in this State; *provided*, that the provisions of this amendment relative to an educational qualification shall not apply to any person prevented by a physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to vote, nor to any person who shall be sixty years of age and upward at the time this amendment shall take effect.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 2d, 1895.

Miss Sarah M. Severance, Pacific Grove, Cal.:

DEAR MADAM—

In compliance with your request I would state that the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State of California, as to Woman's Suffrage, will be designated upon the ballots as number eleven (11). It was passed as Assembly Constitutional Amendment No. 11, and was a resolution to propose to the people of this State an amendment to Section 1, Article 2, in relation to the right of suffrage. It was approved March 16th, 1895, and will be submitted to the people in November, 1896. If it receives a majority of the votes cast at that election will be a part of the Constitution without further proceedings.

The proposed amendment is printed in the Statutes of California for the year 1895, page 453.

Yours respectfully,

GEO. C. SARGENT.

The amendment and letter explain themselves. Thinking that a non-professional opinion would not have greatest weight, I wrote to Mr. Geo. C. Sargent, son of A. A. and Ellen C. Sargent, all staunch friends of women's enfranchisement, for his interpretation, with liberty to publish his opinion. He kindly furnished the required document, and made it so plain that there can be no misunderstanding.

The vote comes in November, 1896, at the same time as the general election, and is a Constitutional vote, each elector having a legal right to say yes, or no. The Legislature has no power to change the Constitution, which is made by the voters, and is that law of the voters which governs the Legislature, the statute makers. Amendments are brought before the voters by the Legislature, after having been proposed in Assembly or Senate, providing two-thirds of the members in both houses vote in favor of the proposed amendment; but that Legislative act only brings the question *before* the electors; *they* alone decide. Statutes must always correspond to the Constitution, else they are declared unconstitutional and become null and void.

The Constitution is to the State what it is to a society, the law which governs officers and members, and it cannot be changed except by the members of the society, each of whom has a voice; in the State, however, *now*, only half of the stockholders have a choice as regards the management of our mutual interests. This amendment is designed to remove that injustice. If the amendment carries, the right of suffrage can never be taken away, except by the consent of the women themselves, and never yet have there lived human beings stupid enough to disfranchise themselves.

Had suffrage been given us by the Legislature by statute, it could have been taken away by the same power; for school and municipal suffrage would have given women no vote for Legislators; full suffrage would have been as potent as an amendment, because the women would have had a vote on all subjects, except that the Supreme Court might have declared it unconstitutional. A constitutional amendment puts us upon a rock, no more shifting sands of privilege.

No petitions will help us now, except to the individual voter; omit no voter except those who have vested interests in evil; educate; persist; a great boon is in sight; let us unite and *win*. Each woman has a work; let her 'build over against her own house,' and reach as many outsiders as possible, for hand to hand work with the doubtful and the hostile decides the battle.

Each woman needs to know what the amendment is for which she is working; she should photograph it on her brain, so as to be ready to meet every assertion. Please notice that the amendment reads the same as Article 2, Section 1, of the Amended Constitution of California, except that the word "person" is substituted for "male," the words "he or she" for "he," and the words "his or her" for "his." Should this amendment carry in 1896, it places women in all political matters in precisely the same condition as men; no disabilities will pertain to one that does not pertain to both. Woman will have an equal voice in selecting law makers, and if the laws continue unjust to her she will be the responsible party. Notice also the educational qualification; no person shall be enfranchised, unless sixty or over, who can not read the Constitution in the English language and write his or her own name; this educational qualification shuts off the illiterate, providing the reading qualification is fairly put, and the applicant not allowed to coach on some particular part. None now voting are disfranchised by it. This amendment will carry if "a majority of the qualified electors voting thereon" so decide. It is just as desirable to secure the absence of opponents as the presence of friends at the ballot-box; if you can not convert, induce hostiles to stay home. 25c per hundred. Address Mrs. H. E. Brown, 132 McAllister St., San Francisco.

(OVER)

Objections Reviewed.

Says one: "If women should vote, do you not think that they would lose their finer qualities, develop the faults of men, be as corrupt? In fact, come down to the level of men?" If "coming down to the level of men" unfits women for voting, the dreadful "level" must unfit men for voting. The corruption of men is a very poor argument for their being left in full control. "Corruption" may be a good reason for disfranchising those men who have been tried and found wanting, but no reason for degrading to the ranks of unpardoned felons, women who have not been tried, and whose interests are involved.

But there is nothing corrupting in politics, which is a great science, which touches every earthly interest controlling the nearest and dearest relations of life; that between parent and child, husband and wife, the individual and the nation. Not a human interest but is involved in its management, for it controls directly our physical being by sanitation and by inducing or removing anxieties which are fertile causes of misery, and by tolerating or repressing vices which affect our whole being. It controls directly our intellectual development and our chance to use it, and our spiritual life rises or falls in proportion as public sentiment, which is a reflection of political management, is, or is not, akin to the higher law. The sum of individual conscience expressed at the ballot-box makes the governmental conscience, and if we want good government we must rally to its support the worthy and the capable, not leave it to the unworthy and the incapable. Politics have never corrupted men. The "filthy pool" results from leaving our most important business to filthy people, and every instinct of the housekeeper should prompt to its purification. Were Washington, Adams, Jefferson corrupted by politics which absorbed them for years? Did they make a "filthy pool" of politics? Who are the safest voters? Those educated to the ballot, the sons of free men; or the drudges of despotism, who never had a choice in government, and see nothing in a ballot except a dollar or a dram? American men should scorn to plead their own "corruption" as a reason for governing women, and no fit, no competent man ever does. Corruption is an excellent reason why women should swoop to the rescue.

Charles Sumner says: "The ballot is a peace-maker, a school master, a protector, the great guarantee"; and so it is to the worthy; and the incompetent and the unworthy should be disfranchised for the good of the whole; the harm has come from enthroning ignorance, unworthiness and inexperience; those without moral purpose. The ethical element has been ignored, religion and politics divorced, and our most important earthly interests managed on military lines by rival camps, each striving to despoil the people. Degraded voters, educated in despotism, have been the spoil of demagogues; and the decent many, fearful that they "can't beat," have hopelessly drifted. Women never are beaters, consciously, and would add the much-needed element of hope and faith. The church, the philanthropies, the home, would be no better under the same management. Voting never detracted from the manliness of men; it will never subtract from the womanliness of women. Men and women see inherently different; equal but not identical; the difference is the result of function, and will continue as long as function continues. The less trammelled, the more marked the difference.

Man provides food and shelter; that is his function. To do so he must compete with nature and wrest her stores to his use. Single-handed, he can no more cope with nature than can woman; he must consider material things, and he must assert mastery over wood, iron, winds, waves, animals; over nature's forces. Also he must co-operate with other men, centering the strength and skill of many in the work of one, and organization results. Materialism, mastery, organization and expediency, which suit emergencies, are lessons which function cannot fail to teach him. Man has done grand work on material lines, wresting from nature her secrets and making the elemental forces his servants. But there is a reverse side; intellect and soul are more important than the physical; but compulsory life in the material tends to develop unduly skill of hand and the lower side of intellect—that which controls matter; and unless our moral and spiritual nature is developed, we are afloat on the sea of life without chart or compass. Exclusive attention to function dwarfs both men and women; they need exercise on general lines, outside of daily toil, else they become narrow, short-sighted, incapable of just judgments. The habitude of mastery may, unless balanced by the moral nature, lead to a disregard of others rights, while organization has evils proportionate to its great benefits. Men have always been the subjects of organizations, as women have of individuals, and compulsory subjection forbids responsibility. In military life men must do or die. In the industrial world it is, "Do, or lose your place"; so that until recently the full exercise of conscience and responsibility has been impossible to men, so men have still a tendency to throw responsibility for joint acts upon the corporation, and "corporations have no souls" because of it.

Woman, on the other hand, is an individual, intensely so, and her function of motherhood will always keep her so. Each child is to her a *sui generis*; it brings her face to face with first principles. She never manages two alike, and close study of individual natures, understanding causes and results, is the secret of her intuition, that "winged wisdom" which enables her to judge character without evidence, because big children and little children are alike, and she knows children. Then, woman is an ethical being. She is constantly measuring by the ethical standard. It is "Don't do this" and "Don't do that"; "This is wrong," "That is right." Such constant thought cannot fail to reflect in her own life. Also she has the habitude of responsibility; she who has guarded Johnny's neck and Mary's morals for twenty years cannot feel irresponsible for the manners and safety of the world. The reverse side of woman's function is, woman may, by such close individual study, be intensely narrow, not realizing that other talents are equally valuable, and that she is responsible for the use, not of one, but of the whole ten. A few duties, even well done, do not enable us to comprehend life; we need an outlet from functional life in order to balance up. Woman's ethical sense may be developed on so narrow a line as to make her bigoted and selfish in the name of the Lord, for one needs to know collaterals and have a perspective, in order to see truth. Her sense of responsibility sometimes makes her meddlesome. Put men and women on equal terms; he would see from her standpoint, his conscience and sense of responsibility for public affairs would be quickened; she, looking from his broader standpoint, would be a broader, brighter woman; their faults would neutralize and their virtues complement each other. Men and women are like the two eyes of the stereoscope, each sees only surfaces, together they will see solids.

(OVER)

ROHO, Jan. 17, 1975

Address:

Re: Papers on Women's Suffrage, donated by Adeline Frederick

Please add this note to the clippings and notes I turned in
Friday.

Mrs. Frederick has called to correct the notes as follows:
The name of her mother's (Hester Lambert Harland) father was
Capt. Thomas Lambert, not Daniel as indicated in the notes.

Willis

Address
Bancroft Lib
Na Kagan