

stein was indorsed by the Victorian organization to which she belonged, and, though unsuccessful, the fact that she received 51,497 votes proved that she had many sympathizers. She did not ally herself with either of the great political parties. Her object was avowedly to show that home interests ought to be represented in Parliament and by women, as well as manufacturing, mining, farming, and other interests by persons who were engaged in them. Next to the votes she received, the most significant thing was the considerate and respectful treatment she met throughout. It showed that the political woman who respects herself may trust for protection to the chivalry of men.

Australian experience has conclusively disposed of the objection that women have no aptitude for politics or interest in public affairs. They have proved that they possess both, and while they have no general ambition or desire for parliamentary honors, and display no sex antagonism, they regard their right to vote for representatives as a responsible trust. It is rendered equally clear that they can and do exercise a salutary influence on the political life of the country without sustaining in the slightest degree any of the injuries or disabilities that have been supposed to follow. They are as good wives, mothers, and sisters as ever, and better companions for their men folk because of their widened interest and the truer equality in which they stand.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. 1. } WARREN, O., MARCH, 1905. } Sub'n Price
No. 6. } } 10c. per year.

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRALIA.

Lady Holder, the wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia, contributed the following article to the N. Y. Independent of June 9, 1904. Lady Holder has taken a leading part in philanthropic work in South Australia. She says:

"The women of South Australia were placed in a position of political equality with men several years ago. Accordingly, everybody has become accustomed to the arrangement, and it seems perfectly natural. It has not produced any marked effect on female character, or made any particular difference to domestic life. Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be, and politicians deal more earnestly with home and social questions, but no neglect of private duties on that account can be laid to the women's charge. We are well supplied with high-class newspapers, the same sources of information are open to women as to men, and the ques-

tions that arise are not by any means beyond the scope of their intelligence. At election meetings there is commonly a good sprinkling of women voters in the audiences. It is said that their presence tends to prevent disorderliness, and I have never heard of a lady at any meeting being rudely treated.

"Voting, with us, is one of the simplest things in the world. When an elector's mind is made up, there is less difficulty in expressing it through the ballot-box than in matching a ribbon, and the one act is not considered more unfeminine than the other. Our freedom has not developed a class of political women, we have no "shrieking sisterhood," but we know and use our power. We can do a great deal toward securing members of good character in the Parliament and influencing their votes, and are generally content with the results of our enfranchisement.

"I have described the conditions in my own State thus fully because, though it is one of the smaller States in the Australian Commonwealth, in this matter it is further advanced than most of the others. When federation came, adult suffrage was the law only in South Australia and Western Australia; it has since been adopted in New South Wales and Tasmania, but it has not yet been granted, so far as the State Legislatures are concerned, in the other two. The Federal Parliament, however, had to make its own electoral laws, and to establish uniformity was obliged to adopt

the broadest existing basis, because the constitution forbade the outrage and anomaly of disfranchising persons by whom some of its members had been elected. Accordingly, the women of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and Tasmania were somewhat suddenly placed in the same position of political equality, so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, as their South Australian and West Australian sisters. They were legally qualified to act in the Federal elections of last December, and as they had not been allowed a similar privilege at elections for their Legislatures, of course the event produced considerable sensation and wore an air of strangeness and novelty. The newspapers gave special attention to the new voters, and teemed with exhortations as to the way they should go, and it was amusing to observe how some candidates who had fought against woman's suffrage with all their might tried to show their supreme regard and esteem for the voters whose rights they had previously refused. By the time polling day arrived, the average woman was probably as well prepared to discharge her electoral duty as the average man.

"Three women offered themselves as candidates, Mrs. Martell and Mrs. Moore in New South Wales, and Miss Vida Goldstein in Victoria. The candidature of the two former was not unanimously approved by the Women's Association of their own State, and their defeat was a foregone conclusion; but Miss Gold-

be more uncalculating than was our Congress a short time ago in receiving the message of the President concerning Venezuela, when, without pausing to consider consequences, without stopping to compare the unimportance of the issue with the awful consequences of a possible war, they set to work on their resolutions of approval with the glee of a parcel of children starting a fire.

The fact is, we would do better to say that unreasoningness is the tendency of the human race, and then we can afford to admit that the feminine half, from the difference of the conditions in which it has been reared, and from that absence of responsibility for its opinions which always makes people more reckless in their expression, are as yet even more disposed than men to act without sufficient consideration. Make every woman responsible; let her realize that when she says a man ought to be hung it means that she is helping to hang him, and that when she advocates a war she is helping to send the men to the field, and after the first wantonness of conscious power, especially of the supposed power to legislate sin and suffering out of the world, her sense of accountability will steady her. And then it will surely not be amiss that she will bring the humanitarian side of politics more nearly to the front.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. I. } PHILA., JANUARY, 1897. { 10c. per annum.
No. 10. } { 15c. per hundred.

Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

What Will a Sense of Responsibility Do for Women?

ELIZA SPROAT TURNER.

MR. LECKY, in his most interesting and valuable work on Democracy and Liberty, finds cause for alarm in the constantly spreading spirit of democracy all through Christendom, and, among other dangers, notes the increasing interest and influence of women in politics. He is really very fair to our sex, according to his lights, but one of the special dangers to which he calls attention is certainly unique. It is their larger humanitarian spirit. He thinks that the fuller power is surely coming, and that their tendency will be to try to reform the world by too much legislation. The temperance question, for instance, is likely to suffer in their hands from being treated too drastically. "The increase which they have given in New Zealand to the prohibition vote, and the vehemence with which they have thrown themselves into this cause, appear to have considerably altered

its prospects. In Canada the same thing has been observed." "Women," continues Mr. Lecky, "are on the whole more impulsive and emotional than men; more easily induced to gratify an undisciplined or misplaced compassion, to the neglect of the larger and more permanent interests of society; more apt to dwell upon the proximate than the more distant results; more subject to fanaticisms, which often acquire almost the intensity of monomania." He instances in this regard the "attitude assumed of late years by a large class of educated English women on the subject of vivisection. . . . What tyrant could inflict a greater curse on his kind than deliberately to shut it out from the best chance of preventing, alleviating, or curing masses of human suffering? . . . What folly could be greater than to do this in a country where experiments on animals are so guarded and limited by law that they undoubtedly inflict far less suffering in the space of a year than field sports in the space of a day? . . . There have been ages in which insensibility to suffering was the prevailing vice of public opinion. In our own, perhaps, more is to be feared from wild gusts of unreasoning, uncalculating, hysterical emotion."

I think that common fairness compels us

to acknowledge the at least partial truth of these opinions. Because women are by nature more compassionate, because in their more domestic lives they see so distinctly the immediate results of intemperance, of immorality, of cruelty, they are more likely to be tempted to over-legislation and over-coercion, to sweeping the whole world clean of sin and error by one grand whisk of the broom of the law. When it comes to the "wild gusts of emotion," I doubt if we could much exaggerate the methods of our brothers. Their little ways at a nominating convention, for instance, where the correct thing is for the delegates to climb on chairs and tables, to screech, to howl, to roar, to break into sobs, to embrace each other, etc., by way of expressing their political opinions—and not about any question which could be called ethical, either. Nor could we well be more tyrannical than the students of New Haven the other day when they simply "prevented" one of our presidential candidates from explaining his position; that is to say, they would not allow him to be heard. That we happen to think his position wrong does not mitigate the injustice of such political methods. Our doings could scarcely be more hysterical than those in the bedlam of the Bourse of any great city, and we should find it hard to

press his own opinions unsubjected and unenthralled by any woman. Curious? Not at all. A woman who respects her own rights will always respect a man's rights, and a woman who boasts that she can direct fifty men's votes in any way she chooses, would be likely to make her husband wash the dishes and tend the baby while she wrote a "Romance of Two Worlds."

Theoretically, most men favor the idea of women exerting an indirect influence on politics, but if women should develop political opinions at variance with their husbands' and try to put the indirect influence idea into practice, there would be an immediate revolt in favor of direct voting.—*Woman's Journal*.

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Political Equality Series

VOL. II. Subscription Price 10c per Year. No. 10.

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Headquarters, Warren, O.

"Captivated Calves."

By Mrs. Lida Calvert Obenchain, Bowling Green, Kentucky.

In an editorial headed "Wisdom of Miss Corelli," the Louisville Courier-Journal says:

"From London there come stealing hither, either upon the soft wings of the transatlantic zephyrs or dashing along the cable that stretches from shore to shore, some fragrant words of wisdom. It is not often that Marie Corelli drops her boiler-yard imagination long enough for mere wisdom, but this time that is exactly what she has done.

"She lifts her dulcet voice against woman suffrage. Man-hater though she is, she concedes that man is not altogether a creature to be despised and defied and trampled upon, and it is with the value of man's esteem for woman in mind that she opposes votes for women. She does not bother herself about questions of equality and justice and all that; to her the one great desire is to preserve the sex as something to be adored of men—to keep woman on a pedestal. 'If,' says she, 'woman has, as the natural heritage of her sex, the mystic power to persuade, enthrall and subjugate man, she has no need to come down from her throne to mingle in any of his political frays.' She avers, with great plausibility, that she can now direct fifty men's votes at

election in any way she chooses, but she says that that power would be destroyed if she had a vote of her own."

We are all familiar with the picture of the hen-pecked husband whose wife wants to vote, but will not some cartoonist show us these fifty hypnotized Englishmen meekly marching to the polls to execute the will of a woman who does not want to vote? Those who hold the doctrine that a woman should express her will at the polls indirectly instead of directly might learn from such a picture that woman's indirect influence means indeed the "subjugation of man." When Sir Roger de Coverley found himself "enthralled" and "subjugated" by that widow with "the finest hand in the county," he still retained enough common sense to realize his condition, and aptly described himself as a "captivated calf."

A woman has a right to influence a man's political views by appealing to his reason, but to enthrall and subjugate a man by appealing to his senses, and to send him thus befuddled to the polls, is to make of him a "captivated calf."

Think of Miss Corelli and her "captivated calves," and then think of a husband and wife in Colorado walking to the polls side by side, one voting the Democratic ticket, the other the Republican, and each respecting the other's rights.

Wouldn't you rather be the Colorado man than the captivated, subjugated English calf?

As a matter of fact, however, we think Miss Corelli is drawing on her imagination when she says there are fifty men whose votes she can direct. Woman-like, she over-estimates her "mystic power to enthrall and subjugate" men.

When Senator Zeb Vance was first married, he said to his wife:

"Now, my dear, I have one request to make of you: Make me do just as I darn please!" It is very easy to subjugate a man to the point of making him do as he pleases, and this, probably is all Miss Corelli has done in the case of those rather mythical "fifty men."

Kentucky women understand the art of enthralling men, but I never knew one who could make a Democrat vote the Republican ticket, or vice versa.

Some years ago there was a very exciting election in Kentucky. One of the candidates was bitterly opposed by many women. One of these was lamenting to a friend that she could not get her husband to promise not to vote for the objectionable candidate.

"Lock up all his clothes on election day, so that he can't go to the polls," suggested the friend.

"Lock up his clothes!" was the reply. "Why, he'd go to the polls naked!"

This man probably voted wrong, but at any rate he was not a "captivated calf."

The franchise is not given to a man in order that he may express the political views of his wife, his sister or his maiden aunt. It is conferred on him that he may express his own views; and, as this is a republic, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," and as women are people, the wife, the sister and the maiden aunt should have the right to express their views without the preliminary performance of subjugating some weak man.

Miss Corelli, an anti-suffragist, argues for a woman's rights to express her opinions through a man who gives up his own opinions in order to express the woman's. I, a suffragist, argue for a man's right to ex-

"2. That the saloon should not be used for gambling purposes.

"3. That the saloon should not be open to minors, and that the sale of intoxicants to children should be proscribed."

Political Equality Leaflets

Send 25 cents to National Suffrage Headquarters, Warren, Ohio, for bound volume, containing also Eminent Opinions, Women and the Municipal Franchise, by Jane Adams; Objections Answered, by Alice Stone Blackwell, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's Reply to Mrs. Humphry Ward. Sample set P. E. leaflets, 10 cents; per 100, 15 cents.



POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly at Warren, Ohio, by the NATIONAL
AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Loved for Its Enemies

A secret circular was sent out by the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Oregon to every retail liquor seller in the State, when the woman suffrage amendment was pending. Some copies of it fell into the hands of friends of equal rights and it was published in the Portland Oregonian of June 1, 1906, in the Portland Evening Telegram of the same date, and in many other papers. Its authenticity has never been denied. It read in part as follows:

"It will take 50,000 votes to defeat woman suffrage. There are 2,000 retailers in Oregon.

"That means that every retailer must himself bring in 25 votes election day.

"Every retailer can get 25 votes. Besides his employees, he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman, and every person he does business with. If every man in the business will do this, we will win.

"We enclose 25 ballot tickets showing how to vote.

"We also enclose a postal card addressed to this Association. If you will personally take 25 friendly voters to the polls on election day and give each one a ticket showing how to vote, please mail the postal card back to us at once. You need not sign the card. Every card has a number, and we will know who sent it in.

"Let us all pull together and let us all work. Let us each get 25 votes.

"Yours very respectfully,
BREWERS & WHOLESALE
LIQUOR DEALERS' ASS'N."

The postal card enclosed for reply was addressed:

"Brewers' & Wholesale Liquor
Dealers' Association,
"413-414 McKay Building,
"Portland, Oregon."

The reverse side of the card bore this reply:

"Dear Sirs:

"I will attend to it.

".....25 times.

"Yours truly,

"o o o o"

Instead of a signature a number was appended.

The close affiliation between the saloon and the social evil is notorious. It was acknowledged by President Julius Liedman of the United Brewers' Association in his address at its annual convention held in Milwaukee, June 9 and 10, 1908.

In the report of that address published in the Brewers' Journal of New York, July 1, 1908, on page 396, President Liedman is quoted as saying:

"The abuse of the saloon is marked by disorderly and disreputable practices, which are not incidental to the business. We agree with all decent men upon these points:

"1. That the saloon should not be used to foster the social evil, and should be utterly divorced from it.

21, and then if considered reformed, to be paroled (Same, Chapter 115, page 248.)

In Denver, the women voters have also secured ordinances placing drinking fountains in the streets, garbage receptacles at the corners, and seats at the transfer stations of the street cars; forbidding expectoration in public places; parking 23d Avenue and planting trees.

Ellis Meredith of Denver says that equal suffrage has also led to a much better enforcement of the laws prohibiting child labor, requiring that saleswomen be furnished with seats, forbidding the sale of liquor to minors and the sale or gift of cigarettes or tobacco to persons under 16, and others of the same general character.

Mrs. Ione T. Hanna, the first woman ever elected to the school board of Denver, and one of the most highly respected women of that city, writes;

"Some results of equal suffrage in Colorado are generally conceded: (1) The improved moral quality of candidates nominated for office by the various parties; (2) a decidedly increased observance of the courtesies and decencies of life at the different political headquarters, previous to election; (3) better and more orderly polling places; (4) general awakening interest, among both men and women, in matters of public health, comfort, and safety."

*[This Act is incorporated in a Pure Food bill, covering drinks, drugs and illuminating oils, (Laws of 1903, Chapter 82, page 102.)]

Political Equality Series.

Vol. 1. { WARREN, O., NOVEMBER, 1904. } Subs'n Price
No. 2. { } 10c. per year.

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

FRUITS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE, I

The advocates of equal suffrage are often asked what practical good it has done where it prevails, and they are sometimes challenged to name a single "law aimed at human betterment" that has been passed in consequence. It is not hard to answer this demand. We point to the following laws:

IN WYOMING.

(Equal Suffrage granted in 1869.)

Acts providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay when equally qualified (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614; raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (Same, Section 4964; making child neglect, abuse or cruelty illegal, (Same, Section 2291; forbidding the employment of boys under 14 or girls of any age in mines, or of children under 14 in public exhibitions, (Same, Section 2289; making it unlawful to sell or give cigarettes, liquor or tobacco to persons under 16 (Laws of 1895, Chapter 46, Section 4; establishing free public kindergartens (Same, Chapter 50, Section 1; forbidding the adulteration of candy (Laws of 1897, Chapter 39).*

Making it illegal to license gambling (Laws of 1901, Chapter 65, page 68;) and providing for the care and custody of deserted or orphan children, or children of infirm, indigent or incompetent persons (Laws of 1903, Chapter 106, page 134.)

Mrs. F. N. Sheik of Wheatland, president of the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs, said in a letter to Miss Amy F. Acton, of Boston, Sept. 12, 1904:

"The women of this State have always voted since the Territorial days, and it will be hard to find anything they have not had a hand in. * * We have not a good law that the women have not worked for."

IN COLORADO.

(Equal Suffrage granted in 1893.)

Laws forbidding insuring the lives of children under 10 years old (Laws of 1893, page 118;) establishing a State Home for Dependent Children, 2 of the 5 members of the board to be women (Laws of 1895, page 71,) requiring that at least 3 of the 6 members of the Board of County Visitors shall be women (Laws of 1893, page 75;) making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father (Laws of 1895, page 186;) raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (Laws of 1895 page 155;) establishing a State Industrial Home for Girls, 3 of the 5 members of the board to be women (Laws of 1897, page 68;) removing the emblems from the Australian ballot—the nearest approach to adopting an educational qualification for suffrage (Laws of 1899 pages 177-78;) establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners (Same, page 233;) requiring one woman physician on the board of the Insane Asylum (Same, page 259;) establishing parental or truant schools (Laws of 1901, page 364;) providing for care of feeble-minded (Same, page 177;) for tree preservation (Same, page 185;) for the inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by the State Board of Charity (Same, page 88;) requiring in public schools lessons on humane treatment of animals (Same, page 362;) making the Colorado Humane Society a State Bureau of child and

animal protection (Same, page 191;) providing that foreign life or accident insurance societies which have to be sued must pay the costs (Same, page 127;) establishing juvenile courts (Laws of 1903, page 179;) making education compulsory for all children between 8 and 16 except those who are ill, or are taught at home and those over 14 who have completed the 8th grade or whose parents need their help and support, and those children over 14 who must support themselves (Same, page 418;) making father and mother joint heirs of deceased child (Same, page 469;) providing that Union High Schools may be formed by uniting school districts adjacent to a town or city (Same, page 425;) establishing a State Traveling Library Commission, to consist of five women from the State Federation of Women's Clubs, appointed by the Governor (Same, page 352;) providing that any person employing a child under 14 in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to fine (Same, page 310;) requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of household goods used by the family, or conveyance or mortgage of the homestead (Same, Chapter 75, page 153;) forbidding children of 16 or under to work more than 8 hours a day in any mill, factory, store, or other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful (Same, page 309;) providing that no woman shall work more than 8 hours a day at work requiring her to be on her feet (Same, page 310;) making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child (Same, page 198;) making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents (Same, Chapter 148, page 372;) prohibiting the killing of doves except in August (Same, Chapter 112, page 232;) and abolishing the binding out of girls committed to the Industrial School; girls to be committed till

is just. It may be defeated today, but never conquered, and tomorrow it will be victorious."

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

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

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

POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly at Warren, Ohio, by the NATIONAL
AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Some Catholic Opinions

Cardinal Moran of Australia, in his official organ, the Catholic Press, of Sydney, says:

"What does voting mean to a woman? Does she sacrifice any dignity by going to the poll? The woman who votes only avails herself of a rightful privilege that democracy has gained for her. No longer a mere household chattel, she is recognized as man's fellow worker and helpmate, and credited with public spirit and intelligence. As a mother, she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. She knows what is good for them just as much as the father, and the unselfishness of maternity should make her interest even keener. She should deem it one of the grandest privileges of her sex that she can now help to choose the men who will make the laws under which her children must live, and exert her purer influence upon the political atmosphere of her time. How can she sacrifice any dignity by putting on her bonnet and walking down to the polling booth? Women think nothing of transacting ordinary commercial business, of working alongside men, of playing their part in the practical business of life. They do not mind going to the box office of a theater to

purchase tickets for the play. There is very little difference between doing that and putting their vote in a ballot box. The men about the booths show them every courtesy, the officials are anxious to make things easy for them, and the whole business of voting does not occupy more than five minutes. The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature."

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

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

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

regard to their own sex and in regard to children may influence legislation for the physical, moral and social protection of girls, rich as well as poor, and for guarding the child's natural home from evils that carry with them criminal poverty and disease.

"I know of no argument for refusing the suffrage to women that is not equally applicable to men. We are away behind other countries in this. These women have certain political rights, with results so satisfactory that many of the leading men in Church and State are now willing to grant them full citizenship. Cardinal Archbishop Vaughn has publicly stated that he is for it. Among the most learned ecclesiastics of our own country, not a few are pronounced in its favor. Educated men and women of the Catholic laity are everywhere now to be found favorably disposed toward it. It pleases me to say that Miss Jane Campbell, a Catholic, is president of the Philadelphia Woman Suffrage Association, the largest local suffrage society in the country. Again, something to be very proud of is the fact that the first woman on this side of the Atlantic who demanded the right to vote was a Catholic—Margaret Brent of Maryland, on Jan. 21, 1747.

"The opposition to female suffrage is a matter of course. All great social and political reforms, as well as religious ones, have always been resisted by prejudices, customs, and the old cry, 'Inopportune.' So it is with this. It is a battle—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish motives. The cause

all elective officers, including the highest. No trouble has ever resulted. The laws are as well enforced there as in adjoining States and countries, where women do not vote. What reason is there to suppose that our men are less civilized than the men of other countries or of other States?

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

The best fighters, the young men between 18 and 21, are not allowed to vote; while the wisest voters, those over 45 years of age, are not required to fight.—WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH.

In Colorado, men in general regard the military argument against woman suffrage as too absurd for serious comment. If all the men who cannot or do not fight should be disfranchised, the polls would be as lonesome as a sea-bathing resort in December.—GEN. IRVING HALE OF DENVER.

Think of arguing with a sober face against a man who solemnly asserts that a woman should not vote because she cannot fight! In the first place, she can fight; in the second, men are largely exempt from military service; and in the third, there is not the remotest relation between firing a musket and casting a ballot.—EX-SECRETARY OF THE NAVY LONG.



POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly at Warren, Ohio, by the NATIONAL
AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Voting and Fighting

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

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

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

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

more than half were rejected as unfit for military service. Col. T. W. Higginson says:

"It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, though not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while, of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended."

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

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

Again, it must be remembered that it is women who furnish the soldiers. Mrs. Z. G.

Wallace, of Indiana, from whom Gen. Lew Wallace drew the portrait of the mother in "Ben Hur," said: "If women do not fight, they give to the state all its soldiers." Lady Henry Somerset says, "She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms." Lucy Stone said: "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty beside his cradle. Later on she is his quartermaster, and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to be a man, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody'? It is a coward's argument!" Mrs. Humphry Ward's sister tells us that every year, in England alone, 3,000 women lose their lives in childbirth. This ought in all fairness to be taken as an offset for the military service that women do not render.

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

Women have the school ballot in about half the States of the Union. Their votes occasionally turn the scale in a school election. Do the defeated candidates and their friends refuse to abide by the result? In England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Kansas, Norway, Sweden, and elsewhere, women have the municipal ballot, and their votes occasionally turn the scale at a municipal election. Has there ever been an armed uprising against the result? In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Finland, Norway, Australia, and New Zealand, women vote for

A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself.—HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.

I am in favor of woman suffrage.—PHILLIPS BROOKS.

As I have seen the operation of woman suffrage in New Zealand and other parts of the world, my belief in it has been strengthened.—REV. DR. FRANCIS E. CLARK, President United Society of Christian Endeavor.

Nothing since the coming of Christ ever promised so much for the ultimate good of the human race as the intellectual, moral and political emancipation of women.—REV. CHARLES AKED, D. D.

No one can give any reason against woman suffrage, except arguments of conservative timidity.—REV. CHARLES F. DOLE.

I know of many prejudices against woman suffrage, but of nothing which deserves to be called a reason.—PROF. BORDEN P. BOWNE.

The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature.—CARDINAL MORAN, of Australia.

We men require woman suffrage as much for our own sakes as for women's sakes.—ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.—HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any State in the Union for the care and protection of the home and the children, the very foundations of the Republic. We owe this more to woman suffrage than to any other one cause.—JUDGE LINDSEY, of the Denver Juvenile Court.



POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly at Warren, Ohio, by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

Words of Great People

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

I believe that woman suffrage will come. There is one fundamental principle that applies to the whole thing—under a representative form of government the interests of any particular set of people are more likely to be advanced when represented by one of themselves than by one of another class, no matter how altruistic.—HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT.

I believe in the principle of woman suffrage.—HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

I have repeatedly declared my belief in woman suffrage—JOHN V. JOHNSON, Governor of Minnesota.

I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.—SAM'L GOMPERS.

I am in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor that women should be given the right to vote.—JOHN MITCHELL, Ex-President of the United Mine Workers of America.

In the states where women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls.—MRS. FREDERICK NATHAN.

Does anyone believe that if the women had power to make themselves felt in the administration of affairs, we should have 80,000 children on half time in the schools in New York City?—MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY.

City housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities.—JANE ADDAMS.

In the experience of many years, I have always found the advocates of woman suffrage occupying higher moral ground than that held by their opponents.—MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

All the evils that affect the home are largely dependent upon politics. Women should have the power to deal with these.—MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.

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.

I ask the ballot for myself and my sex.—CLARA BARTON.

You ask my reasons for believing in women's suffrage. It seems to me almost an axiom that every tax-payer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay.—FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

Under equal suffrage, there is a much more chivalrous devotion and respect on the part of men.—MRS. SARAH PLATT DECKER.

Women ought to have the ballot.—MRS. RUSSELL SAGE.

By bringing the mother's vote into our political life, we shall introduce a progressive force full of promise for the future of the state.—MRS. CLARENCE MACKAY.

Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women, and to increase their sense of personal responsibility.—PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN, of Stanford University.

Women are being irresistibly driven to desire equal suffrage for the sake of the wrongs

they try to right.—PRESIDENT M. CAREY THOMAS, of Bryn Mawr College.

It cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently.—MRS. ALICE FREEMAN PALMER, ex-President of Wellesley College.

No aspect of the woman suffrage question appeals to me so strongly as its reasonableness.—PRESIDENT MARY E. WOOLLEY, of Mt. Holyoke College.

A woman has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as are the domestic servants she selects.—DR. SOPHONISBA BRECKINRIDGE, University of Chicago.

The woman suffrage issue should not be put off, but should be placed first as making other issues easier.—PROF. FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER, University of Minnesota.

I am strongly in favor of woman suffrage.—GEORGE MEREDITH.

I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.—MARK TWAIN.

I am a very ardent woman suffragist.—EDWIN MARKHAM.

Everything in the movement to give women the suffrage appeals to my reverence and sense of justice.—W. D. HOWELLS.

A truly enlightened and democratic form of government would of course recognize the equal rights of women.—TOM L. JOHNSON.

I believe that women should vote.—BRAND WHITLOCK.

Women ought to have the suffrage.—LINCOLN STEFFENS.

I believe in woman suffrage for the advantage of both men and women.—HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE.

I believe in votes for women.—CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

accepted the votes of all the other women. She made a test case by bringing suit against them.

The Supreme Court this time pronounced the woman suffrage law unconstitutional on the ground that it was beyond the power of a Territorial Legislature to enfranchise women. The suffragists wanted to have the case appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. But Mrs. Boomer refused to let it be appealed, and none of the women who favored suffrage could make a genuine test case and take it up to the United States Supreme Court, because none of them had had their votes refused. It was an adroitly combined conspiracy to keep the women from being allowed to vote as to whether they should retain the suffrage.

The women themselves being prevented from voting, a convention opposed to equal suffrage was elected, and framed a constitution excluding women.

Later, in 1889, the question was submitted to the voters, and lost, the same elements that defeated it in the convention defeating it at the polls, with the addition of a great influx of foreign immigrants, consequent upon the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

A consideration of these facts will convince any unprejudiced person that the case of Washington proves conclusively (1) that the women did vote in large numbers; (2) that their voting conduced to the improvement of moral and social conditions, and (3) that they esteemed their newly acquired opportunity to exercise their rights.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. VI. } NEW YORK, JUNE, 1901. { 10c. per annum.
No. 3. } { 15c. per hundred.

Published Monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 2008 American Tract Society Building, New York.

THE CASE OF WASHINGTON.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Equal suffrage was granted to women by the Legislature of Washington Territory in October, 1883. The first chance that the women had to vote was at the municipal elections of July, 1884.

The newspapers of the Territory testified very generally to the independent voting of the women, the large size of their vote, the courtesy with which they were treated, and the greater quiet and order produced by their presence at the polls.

Next came the general election of November, 1884. Again the newspapers were practically unanimous as to the effects. The *Olympia Transcript*, which was opposed to equal suffrage, said: "The result shows that all parties must put up good men if they expect to elect them."

Women served on the jury, and meted out the full penalty of the law to gamblers and keepers of disorderly houses. The Chief Justice of the Territory, Hon. Roger S. Greene, a magistrate celebrated throughout the Northwest for his resolute and courageous resistance to lynch law, said in his charge to one of the Grand Juries:

"Twelve terms of court, ladies and gen-

tlements, I have now held, in which women have served as grand and petit jurors, and it is certainly a fact beyond dispute that no other twelve terms so salutary for restraint of crime have ever been held in this Territory."

Naturally, the vicious elements disliked the full and resolute enforcement of law.

The party machines also disliked the independent voting of the women, who were credited with defeating two prominent candidates of bad moral character.

Then the ever-present liquor question became involved. A Legislature elected by men and women together passed a local option law which was extremely unpopular with the liquor interest.

Not long after, a change of administration at Washington led to a change in the Territorial Supreme Court. The newly appointed Chief Justice and a majority of the new judges of the Supreme Court were opposed to equal suffrage, and were amenable, it is said, to the strong pressure brought to bear upon them by all the vicious elements to secure its repeal. A gambler who had been convicted by a jury composed in part of women contested the sentence on the ground that women were not legal voters, and the Supreme Court decided that the woman suffrage bill was unconstitutional, because it had been headed "An Act to Amend Section So and So, Article So and So of the Code," instead of "An Act to Enfranchise Women." The Organic Act of the Territory, which stood to it in the place of a constitution, provided that every

bill must be fully described in its title. A large number of other bills passed by the same Legislature had been headed in the same way as the suffrage bill, without being therefore declared unconstitutional, including the bill that authorized the sitting of the court which pronounced this decision. But no account was taken of that fact. The object was to get rid of woman suffrage; and the vicious elements rejoiced greatly.

This decision, however, was rendered a good while after the members of the next biennial Legislature had been elected by men and women together; and it did not invalidate the election, because, according to law, no member's election could be contested after a certain time had elapsed. When the Legislature met, in 1888, it re-enacted the woman suffrage bill, giving it a full heading, and strengthening it in every way possible.

Washington was about to be admitted as a State, and was preparing to hold a constitutional convention to frame a State constitution. It was admitted on all hands that if the women were allowed to vote for members of the constitutional convention, it would be impossible to elect a convention that would wipe out woman suffrage. It was, therefore, imperative to deprive the women of their votes before the members of the convention were chosen. A scheme was arranged for the purpose. On the ground that she was a woman, the election officers at a local election refused the vote of Mrs. Nevada Boomer, a saloon-keeper's wife, who was opposed to suffrage. They

to remedy a great many difficulties that have never been reached before. Look at the Colorado system; it is known all over the world. This was built up entirely by Mrs. Grenfel.

"Then, too, why shouldn't women who pay taxes have a vote as to how the money is to be spent? It would be another matter if women were exempt from taxes. But, as it is now, it is merely another case of taxation without representation. Many women think it would be unfeminine to vote, but it needn't be at all. When it comes to the actual casting of the ballot, I can think of a dozen ways to make it as attractive as a bridge party. And as for neglecting the home and the family, it is for the betterment of these that we want the ballot."

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Edited by Harriet Taylor Upton, and published monthly at National Headquarters, Warren, Ohio.

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Political Equality Series

Vol. II. Subscription Price 10c per Year. No. 12.

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Headquarters, Warren, O.

The Ballot and the Telephone.

Before the Senate Committee on Cities of the New York State Assembly, at a recent hearing on a bill to allow tax-paying women to vote on tax questions in those cities of the third class where they cannot already do so, Miss Anne Fitzhugh Miller spoke as follows:

"I sympathize with the anti-suffragists. I sympathize with them, and I pity them, for I have been, for a short time, and in a way, an Anti myself. Not in regard to the use of the ballot by women, for I was born a suffragist and have continued an enthusiastic suffragist; but I was an Anti toward the use of the telephone in my own house! That seems absurd, does it not? But I didn't want a telephone. I knew that we should come to it some day (as here and there an anti-suffragist admits in regard to the ballot), but I wanted to put off the day, for I knew when it came we should never again consider life complete without a telephone. We had hitherto lived very comfortably, and, we hoped, usefully, without one. When we wanted things done, 'we called out our horses and called out our men,' after the ancient custom. I realized, however, even then, that there were others to whom the telephone was a necessity. I rather pitied them, as I clung to what I called my freedom from the added responsibility of this new connection with life outside the home, but I knew in my heart that the days of my conservatism were numbered. They came to an end very naturally through an awakening to the needs of others. My eyes were open to the self-

ishness of my position. The lesson was brought home to me very simply: Mr. William Smith, of Geneva, who has recently given the earnings of a life time for the education of women at Hobart College, asked me to act as his trustee on a board which at that time was composed solely of men. These men wished to consult me frequently; they used the telephone; I must have one. I now have two telephones.

"As I listened yesterday to the anti-suffragists who spoke against our bill to extend to women the tax-payers' privilege of voting on tax propositions in twelve of the third-class cities of the State, I was reminded of my own one-time attitude toward the telephone. Their objections seemed to me to be based as mine were.

"1. On an entire satisfaction with the old way.

"2. On a reluctance to open a new avenue of responsibility in a life which seemed already filled. But I awoke, as I am sure my sister Antis will soon awake, to the selfishness of such a position.

"The telephone is a necessary tool of the civilization of our time. Through it we get together to do all sorts of things. The ballot is a special tool of the government of our country (at present a quasi-democracy), and the moment we decline its use, either for ourselves or others, we are cutting ourselves and others off from the legitimate use of a necessary means to the creation of better civic conditions.

"No true democracy can exist until every intelligent individual, 'by no means excluding women' (as Lincoln said in this connection), makes use of that intelligence through the ballot."

Miss Miller added, in behalf of her mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller:

"In the early days of the suffrage movement, its advocates were often called 'shrieking sisters'. For more than 80 years my mother has, like 'Brer Fox', kept on 'saying nothin', consequently she has not earned a place on the platform in the ranks of that denomination. Nevertheless, she is an ardent woman suffragist, and

she is happy to represent by her presence before this assemblage a family which for five generations has been closely associated with the suffrage cause.

"She asks me to say to you that her father, Gerrit Smith, was the cousin of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and her staunch ally in her agitation for the rights of women; also that her great grand-daughter, Dorothy Smith Miller, of Peterboro, has recently been created a life member of the New York State W. S. A. She trusts and believes that, before a sixth generation appears on the scene, the suffrage movement will be a matter of history—that its Equality clubs, their present occupation gone, may be centers of education and inspiration to a better citizenship than our State has ever known. She asks you to help in every possible way the achievement of this result, for she considers political equality for women a vital necessity in a real and permanent democracy."

Women and the Public Schools.

Mrs. Clarence H. Mackay, who has done so much to improve the schools of Roslyn, L. I., says in the N. Y. World:

"I want to vote because I think it will improve the educational system of the whole country. There ought to be a woman on every school board in the United States, and we shall never get this until women are voters. Educational work needs a feminine mastery of detail and a thorough understanding of children. What does a man know about his children's school? It is the mother who hears the spelling lessons, and gets sent for when Johnny isn't promoted. It is women who make the best teachers, and why shouldn't they make the best managers? They know that whipping a child is no way to make him love knowledge.

"I have found in my work in the Roslyn schools that I understand and have been able

far up in the river, and the current carries it down. Life is waiting with infinite opportunity for the human soul, as the air waits for the bird and the ocean for the creatures of the sea. There is scope at all times for the strong, and no one is strong until he acts. No one is wise until he thinks. No one is patriotic till he assumes the duties of citizenship. These things cannot be done by proxy.

There is infinite satisfaction in working with the law of gravitation rather than against it. Even if all women stood aside as so many do, natural forces are working for us. We have the conviction that that which has come in Finland and Australia, which is coming in England, will come in America. And there is a majesty in the sight of a great world-tide which has been gathering force through generations, which is rising steadily and irresistibly that should paralyze any Asiatic Xerxes who thinks to stop it with humanly-forged chains.

It is as inevitable for the mind and soul to expand as it is for a bud to open up into a flower. What finer requiem can we offer to those who have spent their lives in the struggle and without seeing the victory, than our confession of faith in the worth of the sacrifice?—From address given at the National Suffrage Convention in Buffalo, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1908.



POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. Headquarters, Warren, O.

The Direct Way

By Professor Frances Squire Potter, of University of Minnesota.

When pushed to the wall, objectors to equal suffrage nowadays take refuge behind one of two platitudes. The first is used too often by women whose public activities ought logically to make them suffragists. It is that equal suffrage is bound to come, but at present there are more pressing needs. "Let us get the poor better housed and fed," these women say. "Let us get our schools improved, and our cities cleaned up, and then we shall have time to take up the cause of equal suffrage." Is not this a survival of that old vice of womankind, indirection? What is the use of getting the power to do something after you have had it done by somebody else? How much harder it is to get someone else to do it for you than to do it yourself!

But that is not the worst. Besides being harder, it is less effective. It is humil-

iating. It is false to American principles. We educate our men and women alike and together; on the same terms they engage in business and bear the burdens of taxation. Shall we go back on this whole theory when it comes to its fundamental application? The suffrage issue should not be put off, but it should be placed first, as making the other issues easier and permanent.

Besides, is it not even more "ladylike," more "feminine," more "graceful," less "ostentatious," less "talkative," does it not "take less time from the home and the children," to go into the nearest polling place and register a vote, than to dress becomingly, journey down town, visit office after office, and take up the time of busy men who are so full of their own opinions that they really have little wish to represent different opinions? If, indeed, we have time for this social politics, would it not be equally "womanly" to call upon women in their homes, instead of upon men in their offices — I mean upon those women of less opportunities than ourselves, who so often are spoken of as a menace to equal suffrage? These women have not so many opinions to combat or win over, and whatever personal inter-

ests acting against good government they might have, these doubtless would be no stronger, at least, than those of the men. Would it not be well for us to interest and educate the women with some of this time bestowed upon the men under the present system? And would not the public-spirited women of today do this instantly if equal suffrage were granted?

This brings me to the other platitude. How often are we told, "When women want the suffrage it will be given to them." That is to say, when an overwhelming majority of women want what they ought to have, then they can have it. Extension of suffrage never has been granted on those terms. No great reform has gone through on those terms. In an enlightened State, wanting is not considered a necessary condition to the granting of education or the extension of privilege. The enlightened State confers the privilege in order to create the desire. The unenlightened States, like Turkey and Russia, hold off until revolution compels a reluctant, niggardly, malevolent abdication of tyranny.

The course of nature is identical with that of the enlightened State. Opportunity jogs our elbow before we are aware of it, before we are ready for it.

The air environs the bird before it can fly, and nature pushes it out of the nest. The ocean is waiting for the fish hatched

and most influential positions in the schools. Yet more than one-half of the children in the schools of Philadelphia are girls; more than nine-tenths of all the teachers are women; and it is the mothers and not the fathers who care most profoundly for the education of their children. What is true of Philadelphia is true, in the main, of the public schools of every town and city in forty-one of the United States. But it is not true in our four equal suffrage states, nor in any part of the great equal suffrage Australian commonwealth.

I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Educated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die.—From an address at National Suffrage Convention, Feb. 9, 1906.

Political Equality Leaflets, sample set, 10c;
per 100, 15c.



POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAFLETS

Published monthly by the NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Miss Thomas On Woman's Ballot

By M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn
Mawr College.

In the year 1903 there were in the United States, according to the report of the Commissioner of Education, 6,474 women studying in women's colleges and 24,863 women studying in co-educational colleges. If the annual rate of increase has continued the same during the past three years, there are in college at present 38,268 women students. Although there are in the United States nearly 1,800,000 less women than men, women already constitute considerably over one-third of the entire student body, and are steadily gaining on men. This means that in another generation or two, one-half of all the people who have been to college in the United States will be women; and, just as surely as the seasons of the years succeed one another, or the law of gravitation works, just so surely will this great body of educated women wish to use their trained intelli-

gence in making the towns, cities and states of their native country better places for themselves and their children to live in; just so surely will the men with whom they have worked side by side in college classes, claim and receive their aid in political as well as in home life. The logic of events does not lie. It is unthinkable that women who have learned to act for themselves in college and have become awakened there to civic duties should not care for the ballot to enforce their wishes. The same is true of every woman's club and every individual woman who tries to obtain laws to save little children from working cruel hours in cotton mills, or to open summer gardens for homeless little waifs on the streets of a great city. These women, too, are being irresistibly driven to desire equal suffrage for the sake of the wrongs they try to right.

In the early seventies, my mother was profoundly stirred by the terrible fate of poor girls in Baltimore, arrested, perhaps on false charges, confined over night in police stations, and subjected to the brutalities of policemen and men prisoners. She begged in vain through many months for women matrons. One day, when she was being driven fruitlessly about from one poli-

tician to another, she had to stop at a polling booth to let her ignorant negro coachman, who could neither read nor write, vote for these very men whom she had implored in vain. She often told me that from that moment of bitter humiliation, in which she, a woman who could not vote, held the reins for the ignorant man who could, she never again doubted that women must vote to protect the interests of other women. Sooner or later every sensitive woman finds herself face to face with conditions like these, that degrade her womanhood. It is in truth as degrading, though perhaps less grotesque, for an ignorant white coachman to decide by his vote how his mistress shall be taxed, or how much or how little she and her children shall be protected from disease and crime.

Experience proves that women as well as men need the ballot to protect them in their special interests and in their power to gain a livelihood. Our new reform school board of Philadelphia contains not one woman among its twenty-five members to represent the interests of women. No woman teacher receives the same salary as men teachers for the same work, and no women, however successful, are appointed to the best paid