

Ladies or Gentlemen,

In my remarks  
on Why Women Want the Ballot  
it is not my purpose to elaborate  
the statement of the principles  
of Woman Suffrage. They are al-  
ready better understood than  
any other political principles,  
since they are those same  
~~fundamental~~ honored princi-  
ples which are the founda-  
tion of our government as  
stated in the Declaration  
of Independence of our fore-  
fathers, "Taxation without  
representation is tyranny";  
Governments derive their  
just powers from the con-  
sent of the governed." I doubt  
not every loyal lover of his  
country has already these  
principles immovably fixed

in his heart. They have ap-  
 proved themselves to our  
 people during all the gla-  
 rious years of our republic,  
 and ~~as has~~ very important  
~~the growth of the~~ features of the history of  
~~our country~~ <sup>has caused</sup> are the contin-  
 uous extension of the suf-  
 frage from the comparative-  
 ly limited classes who pos-  
 sessed it in the beginning  
~~of our independent colonial~~  
 times until now, when it  
 is the possession <sup>potentially</sup> of every  
 man of sufficient intelligence  
 and character to exercise it  
 with benefit to himself. All  
 that <sup>ought to be</sup> is needed for woman  
 suffragists ~~to do is to give~~  
~~reasons~~ to move their mind  
 and conscience of the people  
 to extend their application

of these inestimable principles to women, <sup>should</sup> ~~and~~ to show ~~why~~ <sup>that because then</sup> sex is neither a provision of nature which does away with the need of those political rights so justly cherished by men, nor a disqualification which incapacitates them from using them to the good of themselves and of their country. It is perfectly doubtless true that the disadvantages ~~of the exclusion of women~~ ~~from political rights~~ ~~is more~~ ~~lamentable~~ than it was in the earlier years of our history, I admit.

I continued

ty that will. And there is one  
more lesson to be drawn  
from history.

Miss Clay

Can I see you in  
the parlor for a  
few minutes

R. R. Hemphill

## The Protection of the Home

It is sometimes urged that the ballot given to woman, with the attendant public cares which it would bring, would prove disastrous to our homes; and that divorces would increase.

Experience means development and whatever tends to enlarge woman's nature, to give her equal voice in law and gospel, adds to her weight of character and influence in the home.

If the woman is of an inferior class, she has less power and influence in her home - less power for good especially.

Larger minded mothers, strong and high-souled and pure-hearted women are needed, that children may be sheltered, guided and made right.

Women are not found working for evil, and with an equal right to promote temperance, purity and every virtue, would come happier homes, higher views of life, nobler aims, and a just legislation of impartial laws.

For years she has been in the lecture field, in the pulpit, in literature, and an organizer and leader in

reformatory and educational movements. — Have our homes suffered loss in consequence? — Rather have they not gained in intelligence and morality, and been benefitted by her larger experience, and better knowledge of the wants of the age?

The American women are not greatly given to politics, but we see our country in peril. — The homes of the land lie within the shadow of two-hundred and fourteen thousand saloons and fifty-thousand brothels.

Legislators have failed to rid the earth of these plague-spots, therefore we would try our strength in the cause, and determine whether the influences that surround our boys and girls shall be pure or corrupt.

Social purity touches deeply our homes: we need laws to protect those who are not strong enough to become a law unto themselves.

There are fifty-five-thousand men in the state penitentiaries and only five-thousand women. — The moral power lies with our sex, and, with our keener intuitive perceptions, may we

not accomplish what our legislators have failed to do; and make our homes purer and sweeter.

You will grant that women the suffrage lower them morally. —

Has it not been the experience in all times, that where man was left without woman's help and companionship, he worked without a light, and sin crept into the darkness of his abode? But where woman's influence has entered into his habits and occupations; — in the home, in colleges, in literature, or in politics, she has searched out the dark places, and a cleaner atmosphere has prevailed.

Where the school franchise has recently been granted, purification begun as soon as the law went into effect: — In precincts where the saloon had been the place of registration, a change was made to respectable quarters.

Read the following from a leading brewer of Pennsylvania; and refer to the work of the W. C. T. U. at the polls. —

"Keep the women away from the polls and we will win without a



doubt. They will be the best and most respectable women, and neither I, nor any other saloon-keeper would have the courage or the incivility to dispute with them for a vote."

Down through all the years of history comes that cry for emancipation from the disfranchised classes; and oppressed womanhood may well look to the ballot for deliverance, for she finds no release elsewhere. — The sewing-woman plying her needle and starving, women underpaid in every field of labor, the drunkard's wife struggling to defend her home against the saloon; and those who have been lured down into the black gulf of sin and shame.

Shall men license saloons and women — mothers and daughters — be subject to the drunken brutality of husbands and brothers? Shall she be defenseless, unable to make laws for her own protection?

It is sometimes claimed that woman suffrage fosters divorce. It does decree that no woman should live with a drunken husband and bear children by him. Drunkenness is a

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cause for divorce.

When the law shall recognize woman a suitor and require man to treat her as his equal; when the boy is taught that his sister is as good as he, and that she has rights which he must respect and defend like his own; when a man cannot demand his wife's wages and claim them for his own; when brutal violence and murderous assault against a woman is punished by law with like severity as assault against a man; when the law abolishes odious discriminations against the weaker by the stronger; when the law decrees that fathers are not competent to make law for mothers in regard to the custody of children and their care. - Father and mother manage the home together and should make the laws together. -

When her rights and titles are so conscientiously defined that no discord can arise as to the control and disposition of property; and equal development and mutual respect binds still closer the marriage tie; - then will the great question of divorce be settled.

Equality before the law is

woman's only means of protecting home. - With it she has it in her power to regulate those laws which so directly effect home life; and, with her instincts as a mother, we need never fear that she will other than use her power and influence in accord with her highest conception of all that may lead to elevate home; and with better, truer homes, a grander state.

(Mrs.) Marion Ward Huber  
Sec'y Louisville C. R. A.

Protection of the Home.  
For the Kentucky edition of "Woman's Journal"

In advocating the right of women to the ballot the woman suffragists of America have never advanced any new theory of government in defense of their claims. They have only declared that they stand loyally and firmly on the fundamental principles of government accepted by our people for more than a century and a quarter of glorious national life. They are the principles for which our forefathers fought and bled. They are embodied in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of the United States. "Taxation without representation is tyranny". Women are taxed. "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed". Women are governed. The demand for suffrage for women is not a revolution; it is only an evolution in the application of these principles. Since nature has endowed men with the qualities which make them the leaders of the race men have come into their heritage of political liberty prior to women; but women must share it in due time if those principles are true, for the effect of all true principles is to unite, and not to separate the two halves of humanity. Woman suffragists add nothing to them; and they allow nothing to be subtracted from them on account of sex. The burden of proof lies upon those who deny their application to women. They must show cause, if they can, why women should not have political liberty. We believe there is no argument against the right of women to vote which might not be equally used against the right of men to vote. But while we believe there is no argument against our claim, we stand ready at all times to give reasons for our demand, both to strengthen those who, even after they have accepted a principle are not <sup>confident</sup> sure that the right is always expedient; and to prove to the world that our demand is not an empty claim for an abstract right, without any anticipation that its attainment will be used for the improvement of social conditions for men as well as for women.

The causes which have led up to the demand for woman suffrage are as complex as our complex civilization; but undoubtedly ~~one~~ of the most potent is the industrial situation of women, brought about by the revolution in industrial methods. Mechanical inventions, especially those made within the last century and a half, have revolutionized the industries of women. Not only has the change been greater than in any previous equal length of time, but greater than has been known in the whole of previous history covered by written records; and with it women's whole outlook upon the world has undergone a transformation. Formerly the home was practically the only field for women's labor; but the new machines have taken the work out of the home and placed it in factories and shops. They no longer in their homes take the raw flax or wool to card, dye, spin, weave, and sew or knit into clothing. They no longer manufacture at home soap, candles, cheese, family furnishings; they do not provide food supplies by curing meats, drying fruits, vegetables and herbs. The very names of the ~~implex~~ ~~ments~~ industries and their implements which occupied women only a few decades ago are almost forgotten. Could a woman of a century ago dream that her spinning wheel, the companion of her daily toil, would first be relegated to the garret, and then brought forth as an antique and become an idle ornament in the home of her great-granddaughter?

Now all these changes in the industries of women have <sup>enforced changes in</sup> ~~exchanged~~ their legal and political relations, for they have thrown them out into the world of law and politics. Women have always labored and always earned their own living. But formerly they spun and wove in the seclusion of their homes and under the protection of their families. But those employments have gone from them forever. Now they must work in the open labor markets of the world or starve. They do work in the open labor markets, side by side with men, with the same need of the protection of law for their persons and their industries. For 364 days of the year, not only in homes and in churches, but in the factories, the shops, and the offices, in all the busy

marts of labor, women are found side by side with men. Is it right, is it wise, that on the 365th day on election day, men only go to the ballot box, and by their votes alone make the laws which control all the conditions of women's work, its hours of toil, its protection from dangerous machinery, the sanitation of its surroundings, in short, all the things which go to make up their industrial weal or woe? <sup>It is</sup> A little study of the records of the census of the United States will ~~help~~ <sup>show</sup> an understanding of the share women have in the wage-earning world, and of how ~~rapidly~~ <sup>the rapidity of their growth</sup> their new relations to outside work have far outrun the adjustments which should be made in law to meet the new conditions. The United States' census of 1880 showed something upwards of 2,000,000 <sup>and girls over ten years of age;</sup> of wage-earning women: In ten years, by the census of 1890 the number had grown to more than three millions; and again in 1900 it had risen to more than 5,300,000. The figures of the census of 1910 are not yet available, but we have every reason to believe that they will show from seven million to nine million of women and girls working for wages outside of their homes. Seven millions of women! A nation of women, more than twice as numerous as the whole population of the original thirteen colonies when they threw off the yoke of England, declaring that in the new country there should be equal rights for all, special privileges for none. <sup>It was a sacrifice</sup> Seven millions of women! A hundred years ago such women spun and wove at home, and their earnings went into the family income, so that they seldom paid taxes directly; but now, every time they pay down their hard-earned dollars to the tax collector they take an object lesson in "Taxation without representation is tyranny". Why have they not a voice in directing the expending of taxes as well as a share in paying them? <sup>There</sup> A hundred years ago they did not come into industrial contact with competitive laborers and employers more privileged in directing laws than themselves; but now, when they see legislatures studying every interest except their own, they understand why <sup>that</sup> "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed". Seven millions of women! Most of them young, many of them receiv-

ing very small wages, all of them withdrawn for the protection of home, which had been the safeguard for all preceding generations of women. Who and with no commensurate extension of the protection of law to replace can believe that these ~~disfranchised laborers~~ that the position of these that which has been lost to them. safe and unenfranchised laborers is as favorable as it would be if women enjoyed the share in government which the political principles of our country declare to be justly theirs.? These women are the daughters of the nation; what man would undertake the care of a family of daughters without the aid of their mother? So these daughters of the nation need ~~the mother care, that~~ ~~to provide~~ ~~to provide adequate protection of the law~~ the ballot in the hands of the mother sex, so that the mother care may be exercised in forming and executing the laws which must now in such large part replace that personal care which the mothers once threw around them.

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ing very small wages, all of them withdrawn from the protection of home, which had been the safeguard for all preceding generations of women, and with no commensurate ~~extension~~ provision for the extension of the protection of law to replace that which has been lost to them.. There is not, there cannot be , any greater moral, sociological or industrial problem before the American people that the due <sup>personal and industrial</sup> protection of these millions of industrial women, thrown into new relations with the outside world by the <sup>relentless</sup> requirements of modern industry. Who can believe that the position of these unenfranchised laborers is as safe and favorable as it would be if women enjoyed the share in government which the political principles of our country declare to be justly theirs? These women are the daughters of the nation; what man would undertake the care of a family of daughters without the aid of their mother? So these daughters of the nation need the ballot in the hands of the mother sex, so that the mother care may be exercised in making and executing the laws which must now in such large part replace that care and protection which mothers and home once threw around them.



Women are prepared by education to use the ballot intelligently and for real benefit to themselves and society. One of the first high schools for girls was established as late as 1820, by Mrs. Emma Willard, in New York. The outcome of this innovation was looked for with fear by the conservatives of that time, who apprehended that the health ~~of girls~~ <sup>these</sup> would ~~fail~~ <sup>would</sup> of girls <sup>who</sup> ~~who~~ struggled with algebra and a little Latin; or worse, that they would become so infatuated with these unfeminine novelties that they would lose taste for domestic life and neglect their families.

Now, we have forgotten all these apprehensions ~~xxxvery~~ about education, though some still retain them about voting, and in practically the same form.

Now, some people have those same apprehensions about women's voting, though we have forgotten all of them about education. Every State, with the exception of two or three, acknowledges the duty of providing equal advantages for its daughters as for its sons, and admits them on equal terms to the State colleges and universities. In fact, more than three fourths of all colleges in our country are co-educational. About one third of college graduates are women, and the proportion is rapidly growing; while there are more girls than boys who are graduates of high schools in every state except New Mexico.

Women's achievements in business and education have gone far beyond what was formerly thought possible for them. The ability has always been theirs, but the people did not know it, for the opportunity for development was lacking.

It is curious how history repeats itself, in this doubt ~~sometimes~~ expressed that American women are unequal to the responsibility of voting citizens. It is the self-same doubt that existed in the minds of the English about the American men when the colonies became independent. <sup>We have</sup> I had been so long impressed with a profound conviction that ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the statesmanship of American men was equal to all demands upon it that I remember I read with

a shock of surprise a history by one of our early writers just after the Revolution in which the author congratulates his countrymen on the fact that the new states had proved that they had an abundance of men trained ~~and~~ and able to conduct wisely the public affairs for which they had formerly depended much upon statesmen in the mother country. Just so we need not fear but that we have plenty of women trained by business and philanthropy into a practical knowledge of those affairs in which feminine participation is most needed. Women are in a better position for this forward step than our forefathers were; for our forefathers had none but themselves to depend upon, while the women have the men to help them; ~~and~~ women are always willing to hear the advice of men, even if they do not always take it when men think it is good.

But some anxious people want to know <sup>o</sup> "What will ~~base~~ take care of the babies when the mothers go out to vote! -----  
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The fact is, any solicitude about women's loss of time from home duties on account of voting is entirely out of place. Rightly considered and sensibly exercised, the ballot is a wonderful labor saver for women, as housekeepers and mothers. For instance, we all know that in the cities there are ordinances for street cleaning and where there are great factories sending out clouds of thick smoke, there are smoke consuming ordinances. We all know, also, that frequently these ordinances are very imperfectly enforced, and when they are not, clouds of dust come into women's houses, and settle because those most interested in cleanliness have no voice in enforcing them. Now how much easier it would be for women on election day to put on their street suit, go to the polls and drop a nice ballot into a box, rather than get up early, put on their working gown and scrub and sweep.

And where there are factories sending out great clouds of smoke, there are smoke consuming ordinances, which, when not enforced, allow showers of soot to fall on women's curtains and nice paint. Now how much easier it would be for women on election day to put on their street suit, go to the polls and drop a nice ballot in a box, rather than to get up early, put on their working gown, and scrub and scrub to get the dirt and smoke out of their clean houses which ought never to have been there, if those ordinances had been enforced. The same set of officers who do attend to the ordinances demanded by men voters could enforce these ordinances for cleanliness; also, if they knew ~~they would have to give a strict account to~~ the sharp eyes of the housekeepers were watching them, and that they would have to give a strict account to the women on election day. And there are laws regarding the care of the ~~health~~ public health, and the purity of food which concerns women and their work most intimately. No doubt, men ~~are willing~~ desire these laws to be enforced as well as women; but those things fall in the line of women's work, and they will always be more zealous in their enforcement than men. How much easier to give the time to go to the polls to express their viewpoint on these matters than to nurse a sick infant or any invalid through a long spell of typhoid fever or other epidemic which might have been prevented by properly enforced laws. How much time would be

saved from long watchings of days and nights over the precious life, even if with all their care, their vigils did ~~not~~ suffice to ward off the heart break of bereavement of their loved ones. There are many things which most nearly concern the life interests and work of women which have undergone radical changes along with other industrial changes; and which must be re-adjusted to meet the ~~modern~~ modern demands. Women will always be the homemakers; but since the modern forms of industry have taken out of the hands of the individual ~~homemaker~~ her personal supervision of the manufacture of clothing and ~~the~~ providing food supplies, and the care of the labor of her daughters, that supervision must, to be effective, be given by the combined care of the women of the community. Men have a right to expect that women shall give intelligent ~~direction~~ direction to those things which make for the health, the comfort and the general welfare of the family. ~~But women must now do that by combined action in controlling these things by law which were done under their individual~~

And women have a right to demand that men shall put <sup>the ballot</sup> into their hands <sup>so they</sup> may have a share of the law making power of the lawmaking power through the ballot, which is the only effective

way in which modern conditions shall feel as aforetime to due influence of of the mother and the homemaker. There is no division of interest between men and women in the demand of votes for women; and it is certain that when ~~American~~ women get the ballot it will be by the free and unbiased judgment of men. <sup>nowadays</sup>

There is much said about the militant methods of the English suffragettes.

As American suffragists are in sympathy with their object, ~~it is far from us~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~harshly to condemn their methods~~ though we must and do condemn their extreme measures, ~~yet we bear in mind that they know~~ which even those English suffragettes say themselves we do not understand would be <sup>temperament of their people</sup> entirely out of place in this their political ~~conditions~~ as we understand those of our own country. country .

We do not understand the political temperament of their people; but we do understand that of Americans; and we know that such methods will never be either used or provoked in our country. There are two ways in which governments ~~may meet demands for political changes~~ may meet demands for adjustment of political rights with new conditions. One is stubbornly to resist

concession even such as are in conformity with accepted principles, till  
and public disorder.  
the discontent and sufferings of those requiring them drive them into revolt.  
what their government has done.

The English suffragettes claim that this is ~~their situation~~. The wiser  
method is ~~to weigh fairly~~ is that which has begun in our country and  
which we believe will carry our cause to complete victory; and that is, to  
see with farsighted statesmanship

better

But the ~~wiser~~ way is to do what American statesmanship has already begun;  
and that is, to ~~not~~ recognize changed conditions, and with farsighted  
statesmanship wisely to make re-adjustments ~~before discontent~~ to meet  
y ose changes before their pressure has caused great suffering and discon-  
tent.

Americans must

~~that~~ ~~Whites~~ deplore the excesses of the English suffragettes, yet ~~also~~

~~Americans~~ they are compelled to honor the ~~spirit~~ ~~of political~~ the  
which is the spirit shown by our Revolutionary forefathers?

spirit of those women, who for love of what they believe is right, are  
willing to be roughly handled by police, to be thrust into filthy prisons  
and condemned to hard labor, like convicted felons. Our forefathers fought  
and died for political liberty, because they thought it was worth the sacri-  
fice; those English women have suffered and are willing to die, if need be,

for political liberty, because they think it is worth the sacrifice. Curious

observers of natural science tell us <sup>Species of animals</sup> that there are but ~~two~~ animals known  
in which the male will make war upon the female, - man, that is some men, -

and seals. There are no men on earth who love political who ought to try to  
destroy that love among women, for it is then but a step when men also must  
are not of that am-  
cease to love it. ~~We do not believe that~~ American men belong to that amphi-  
bious ~~species~~ tribe, belonging neither to land nor sea. If any people should  
succeed in breaking down the love of liberty among women they will be but  
one step away from destroying the love of liberty among men.

But in America we believe that woman suffrage will be fought out  
alone.

ideas, and will be an example of what can be done for the advance of civil-  
ization by the conquest of ideas <sup>superceding all the old</sup> over the opposition of conservatism and  
self-seeking.

I.

Gentlemen;

The memorable National convention of the Republican party held in Chicago in 1916 put a plank in its platform which "favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself". That platform was a declaration of the party policy to all the people of all the states. We as women who are part of the citizens to whom that platform was addressed, and who set a high value upon it, come to ask you to carry into effect its women suffrage plank by passing a resolution at this convention pledging your party to use its power in the next General Assembly to submit to the people a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution and to support it at the polls as a party principle.

Kentucky men spoke in that platform through their chosen delegates; and we understand their promise was to make Kentucky women the political peers of themselves.

We do not count as any portion of the fulfillment of that promise the Republican votes cast for the Federal amendment proposed in Congress; because that is not a part of the platform. Some people want it and some do not. The wisest statesmen cannot forecast the undesirable and dangerous consequences which may follow if Congress and state legislatures, besieged by strong and persistent lobbies, should decide to thrust women suffrage upon the country without allowing the voice of the people to be heard on the question. On the other hand, women suffrage by state constitutions is tried and safe. Fifteen states, north, south, east and west make women the political peers of men by their state constitutions.

We want Kentucky to join that noble company.

We believe our brave soldier boys returning from the war and the men who have served their country at home by standing behind the men at the front want women to be their political equals. Women have been the loyal comrades of the men, soldiers and civilians, in bearing the hardships and dangers of the war. We might say much of what women have done; but men already have said it for us. Their words have expressed appreciation of the labors of the women in patriotic service both at home and in the war zone abroad. Women have shared all the burdens of the government. They are entitled to share the privileges of the government. The men who have praised their services in the war we believe are willing to show their gratitude by conferring upon them the right of the ballot. We believe they are willing to vote at the polls to make women their political peers if the leaders of their party will present it as a principle to do so in their party campaigns.

Therefore, we respectfully petition and urge your honorable committee to embody in your platform of principles a plank reaffirming the National suffrage plank, and pledging your candidates to support in the next General Assembly the submission to the people of an amendment to the State constitution granting suffrage to women on the same terms as to men; and pledging your party organization, when the amendment is submitted, to support it at the polls.