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Equal Franchise League

Eminent Opinions
on
Woman Suffrage



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Eminent Opinions on Woman Suffrage

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

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.—I believe in the rights of the woman just as much as I do in those of the man, and, indeed, a little more. * * * She can do the best work in her home if she has healthy outside interests and occupations in addition.

JANE ADDAMS.—Because women consider the government men's affair, they have become so confused in regard to their traditional business in life, the rearing of children, that they bear with complacency a statement made by the Nestor of sanitary reformers that one-half of the tiny lives which make up the city's death rate each year might be saved by a more thorough application of sanitary science. Because it implies the use of the suffrage, they do not consider it women's business to save these lives.

HON. WILLIAM J. TAFT.—Women are working for civic betterment, and their interest in affairs of the kind is constantly increasing. I believe that woman suffrage will come eventually. 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.

MARK TWAIN.—If women of New York City had the ballot, they would drive the corruption out. Each party would be compelled to put up its best candidates to stand any chance of winning. I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.

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

HENRY GEORGE.—The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man, and rests on the same ground. Since she is called on to obey the laws, she ought to have a voice in making them. And the assumption that she is not fit to vote is no better reason for denying her that right than was the similar assumption

which has been urged against every extension of the franchise to enfranchised men.

G. W. RUSSELL, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand.—Prior to woman's franchise, the distinctive feature of our politics was finance. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from the point of view (1) What would they cost? and (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's view is not pounds nor pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. Her ideal was not merely money, but happy homes, and a fair chance in life for her husband, her intended husband and her present or prospective family.

BRAND WHITLOCK, Mayor of Toledo.—I have been asked why I believe in woman suffrage. One might as well ask why I believe in the sun or the stars or the ocean. I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.

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

TOM L. JOHNSON, Ex-Mayor of Cleveland.—After all, democracy is not a matter of sex any more than it is a matter of race, color or previous condition, but a matter of people. The more perfect the recognition of the common rights of all people the more perfect and the more just the democracy. A truly enlightened and democratic form of government would, of course, recognize the equal rights of women.

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

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.—With all my head, and with all my heart, I believe in woman suffrage.

HON. JOHN W. KINGMAN, of Wyoming Supreme Court.—At our first election, before women voted, we had a perfect pandemonium. At the next election women voted, and perfect order prevailed, and has prevailed ever since. In caucus discussions, the presence of a few ladies is worth more than a whole squad of police.

JOHN MITCHELL, Ex-President United Mine Workers of America.—I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has indorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote. It's a sure thing that any adult who is amenable to the laws of the country should have a voice in the mak-

ing of those laws, under which he or she is governed.

JOHN V. JOHNSON, late Governor of Minnesota.—I have repeatedly, in public and in private, declared my belief in equal suffrage. Certainly I think there can be little room for argument that the women of the United States with their broad culture and strong sympathies are equally entitled to every suffrage that the men of the country now enjoy.

EX-CHIEF JUSTICE ALBERT H. HORTON, of Kansas.—I can state from experience and observation that (municipal) woman suffrage is satisfactory in its results in every respect.

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.—If we could manifest a little animation about the antique injustice that we still do to woman, perhaps we should, in time, get tired of being ruled and robbed by pirates, thieves, bosses, boodlers, millionaires, swindlers, poisoners, pickpockets, railroad senators and other criminals. But so long as we keep out of the suffrage the element that would purify it I don't know but we get about what we deserve.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.—It is a very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. * * * If she wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that

the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.

ALVA ADAMS, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—Over and above all suffrage is woman's right, and no fair, just man will deny her that right. While we may defend equal suffrage upon the ground of expediency, it is not a question of expediency, but of justice.

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

EX-MAYOR EDWARD F. DUNNE, Chicago.—I am in hearty sympathy with the woman suffrage movement. I think the women of Chicago are as intelligent and as much entitled to the suffrage as are the women of Denver, which city seems entirely satisfied with the practical results of woman suffrage.

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

BISHOP McVICKAR, of Rhode Island.
—I hope and pray that we may see this

come to pass soon (the right of women to vote). In this fuller citizenship there is no chance that woman would unsex herself. I believe that the paths she would walk in would not only be brightened by her presence, but that they would be straightened.

REV. W. S. RAINSFORD, D. D., of New York.—We have admitted woman's right to property and education. It is then only a question of time until we admit her right to the ballot; for by it she can best protect the one and express the other. It seems to me that in this fact of woman's admission to property and education the gist of the whole matter lies.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Pres. American Federation of Labor.—I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice.

MRS. CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH, Justice of the Peace.—The most important reason why women should have the 'right to vote is because they need the ballot for their own protection from crime, disease, starvation, ignorance and manifold other dangers.

DR. RAYMOND V. PHELAN, University of Minnesota.—The woman suffrage movement is but part of the wider movement for democracy, which, from the intellectual point of view, means education and enlightenment for all classes and conditions of humankind; and which means,

from the moral point of view, social justice.

MRS. MAUD NATHAN, of the Consumers' League.—My experience in investigating the condition of women wage earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the right to place their ballots in the ballot box. In the States where women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls.

HON. SAMUEL J. BARROWS, National Prison Commissioner.—Questions of philanthropy are more and more forcing themselves to the front in legislation. Women have to journey to the legislature at every session to instruct members and committees at legislative hearings. Some day we shall think it absurd that women who are capable of instructing men how to vote should not be allowed to vote themselves. If police and prison records mean anything, they mean that, considered as law-abiding citizens, women are ten times as good as men.

FATHER SCULLY.—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 of "inopportune." So it is with this. It is a battle—reason and justice opposed by senseless fears and selfish notions.

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

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

FRANCES E. WILLARD.—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?

JUDGE MCKENZIE CLELAND, of the Municipal Court of Chicago.—If ever there was a time when we needed the sympathetic touch of woman in our laws, it is today. If ever there was needed in the affairs of state that unselfish genius which has ever been the peculiar endowment of woman-kind, it is now. Florence Nightingale with her lamp going from cot to cot in the hospital at Scutari, bringing comfort and cheer and hope, is but a picture of woman with the ballot.

OLIVE SCHREINER.—I have never regarded the desire (now as widespread

as civilization itself) that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes toward each other.

PROF. WILLIAM T. HARRIS, late U. S. Commissioner of Education.—Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, an elimination of the obscenity and harshness from literature and art, so woman in the State will avail to eliminate the rigors of law, and much of the corruption in politics that now prevails.

WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS.—In my opinion, suffrage for women is bound to come. There are many arguments against it, but no reasons.

REV. DR. B. F. CRARY, former Presiding Elder of the M. E. Churches in Northern Colorado and Wyoming.—Liquor sellers and gamblers are unanimous in cursing woman suffrage.

PROF. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, Pres. Natl. Consumers' League.—By nothing have we been more deluded and blinded than by the traditional interpretation of what politics means. It is really something very simple. People are everywhere finding out that their single strength is too weak. They have to group themselves and

make certain regultioans for protection; and that is politics. Are women less concerned than men in having clean streets, decent sewers, untainted milk, good schools, charities properly administered, hospitals put on a proper footing? Yet we cannot have to do with any of these things without taking part in politics, pure and simple.

LOUISE COLLIER WILCOX.—I believe that until women win that legal and political equality civilization is and must remain practically at a standstill. No honorable and disinterested woman has a right to shirk any longer the moral obligation laid upon her to assume her responsibility as a citizen in the framing of public opinion and the making of the laws under which she shall live.

GOVERNOR GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, of Oregon.—It is strange that the mother who is capable of caring for the welfare of a child in the home cannot do so in the State. I am glad that Oregon has been chosen as the place for your convention. I hope that this State will give women the ballot, and I hope that every State will do it.

EX-GOV. LYMAN U. HUMPHREY, of Kansas.—The vote of the women has increased at each election, and it is a factor in securing purer and better municipal government.

LAURA CLAY, Kentucky.—The forward movement of either sex is possible only when the other moves also.

U. S. SENATOR TELLER, of Colorado.—Woman suffrage has resulted in nothing that is objectionable, and in much that is advantageous.

EX-GOV. FRANK W. HUNT, of Idaho.—You may state most positively that woman suffrage in Idaho purifies politics. The woman vote has compelled not only State conventions, but more particularly county conventions of both parties to select the cleanest and best material for public office.

JOHN SPARGO, New York.—In the great Empire State of the greatest republic in history, the present woman is still politically on a level with the vilest criminal and the most driveling imbecile. Woman is bound to the mound of the debris of all the ages—the debris of false conventions, outworn lies and useless labors. By a senseless servitude to useless things she is prevented from giving her offspring the intelligent care which otherwise would be possible. By ties which bind her to false ideas of sex, a cruel and vain standard of sex ethics, she is doomed to nourish blindly and ignorantly the offspring she as blindly and ignorantly bears.

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

part of men, who look upon their sisters not as playthings or as property, but as equals and fellow citizens.

DR. M. CAREY THOMAS, President of Bryn Mawr College.—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.

MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN, Chicago.—Foreign women, it is argued, are not fit to have the ballot. The foreign women are usually better in morals and intelligence than the foreign men to whom the ballot is given.

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

HON. THOMAS W. PALMER, Michigan.—If we are ever going to have a state of society whose progress shall be up and not down, I believe it must be through woman suffrage. Apart from the justice of

the right conceded, the practical part must appeal to most men of unbiased minds.

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

DR. WM. E. HUNTINGTON, President of Boston University.—If women can stand side by side with men in the halls of learning, why not in the life outside? Our educated women are pouring out of our institutions of learning in long processions. Why not open the larger doors of public usefulness, and let them help to solve the pressing problems of the time?

LYON G. TYLER, President of William and Mary College.—I believe in sweeping away all legal limitations upon women and leaving to nature the determination of her proper position in society. No one denies that she is as much entitled as man to the fundamental rights—Life, Liberty and Property—and it is only logically just that she should have the means of protecting them. Prominent among these means are the right to vote and the right to hold office.

MRS. K. A. Sheppard, President New Zealand Council of Women.—Today a

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young New Zealander in his teens no longer regards his mother as belonging to a sex that must be kept within a prescribed sphere. That the lads and young men of a democracy should have their whole conception of the rights of humanity broadened is in itself an incalculable benefit.

BARONESS ALEXANDRIA GRIPENBERG.—The new suffrage law of Finland gives all women over 24 years of age the parliamentary vote and makes them eligible on exactly the same terms as men. Ever since the step was taken the men have behaved admirably. Our male co-workers aid us and advise us in the kindest and most fraternal way.

MRS. EMILY A. FIFIELD.—Women need the ballot, because in these days of clubs and associations they are learning more about their obligations to society, and the great burdens it has to bear. Today the community needs the most faithful work of all women who may have any capacity whatever, and every strong woman wishes to do her full share of such work.

DR. EARL BARNES, New Jersey.—To raise the political plane of America, we must begin with the children and gradually raise the tone of the entire population. As the majority of teachers in intelligent communities are women, women should be given the right of suffrage so that they may learn just what to impart to the minds of children.

REV. DR. N. D. HILLIS, Brooklyn.—Women have more time to read and study and are improving their time. Eventually they will vote and tell the men for whom they shall vote. Eventually all the universities will be coeducational and the women will carry off almost all the prizes.

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, editor St. Louis "Mirror."—"Woman has an indirect influence and should be content with that." This is the argument of "chivalry." What does "chivalry" do for woman? Sends her to the sweatshop or to the streets. Beats down her wages, after forcing her to work. Denies her social redemption when she falls, but forgives the man who brings about her fall. Chivalry only glamours woman's slavery.

"Votes for women" is a slogan that must win. It is the battle cry of a movement for the economic emancipation of the sex. All evils are curable only through freedom. A free womanhood is therefore necessary to cleanse our social and economic system.

RABBI CHARLES FLEISCHER.—We are not a democracy so long as woman does not take her place in full equality before the law with man. Rights are not to be measured by the numbers who want them. So long as there is one woman who wants the right to vote, she is, according to the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, entitled to that right.

MRS. HELEN GILBERT ECOB.—

The disreputable women, in any city of the United States, represent but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120.

REV. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE,

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

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, Pres.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance.—Some men say that they would protect women from the deterioration of voting. Gentlemen, there is a class of women in this country who are already represented, women who are a power in government, and we who do not belong to that class ask, more than for any other reason, that we may have the right to protect and to defend and to represent at the polls the virtuous women of this country. Today when you attack the saloon in any State of the Union you also attack the brothel; if you attack the brothel, you attack the gambling den; and it is this great triple alliance

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that today stands more than any other against the enfranchisement of women.

D. M. VALENTINE, Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.—The women's votes have generally been cast in favor of good officers and good government.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.—The ballot is a citizen's tongue and hands. Without a ballot, and the dignity and power that sceptre gives, the moral influence of the city mothers is essentially crippled in combating the evils of society. If educated, intelligent and virtuous women had the right of suffrage, our best men would always find in them a reserve moral power to establish a safe and stable government.

BISHOP BERNARD J. McQUAID (Roman Catholic).—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.

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

equally hold against the whole theory of republican government.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.—I think women are bound to seek the suffrage as a very great means of doing good.

ELLEN GLASGOW.—True democracy means, if anything, neither class government nor sex government, but a government of all the people by all the people. Evolution has brought us to the recognition of the political equality of men. It is evolution, it is the law of progressive democracy that is leading us inevitably to the enfranchisement of women.

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD, Massachusetts.—I believe in woman suffrage because women are as integral a part of the commonwealth as men, and have equal social rights, and the first of all social rights is the right of self-government.

MEYER BLOOMFIELD.—Woman suffrage is not a question of politics; it is a question of statesmanship. Every city is learning that one woman with an interest in politics is worth more than one hundred men with mere interest in politics.

REV. CHARLES AKED, D. D., New York.—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.

PROF. W. I. THOMAS, in the *American Magazine*.—I think the case for woman suffrage may be regarded as virtually decided. We respond to reason slowly, but we are finally amenable to it. * * * The question is now in the condition where ways and means are beginning to be discussed rather than the general principle.

DR. MARGARET LONG.—Women count for more in all the affairs of this State than they do where they have not the power the suffrage gives. More attention is paid to their wishes, and much greater weight given to their opinions and judgment. The most noticeable effect in legislation is the advance along humane lines, in the greater protection given to children and animals. The humane laws of Colorado surpass those of any other State or country.

REV. GEORGE C. LORIMER, D. D.—All gatherings of women in clubs, assemblies, church guilds, charitable and philanthropic organizations, mothers' conventions and so on, are measures looking to the final triumph of woman suffrage. There is no reason why every discrimination which exists today against women should not be removed. Till then, humanity will never attain the highest, and the ideals which we are cherishing will never be fulfilled.

MRS. HELEN L. GRENFELL (for three terms State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Colorado).—Instead of

thinking less of their homes after they were granted the ballot, women began to consider them more carefully, and sought to bring into these close corporations something of the scientific spirit of the age. Chairs of domestic economy were established in the State Agricultural College and the State Normal School. Interest in the old-fashioned, womanly arts has increased instead of diminishing.

REV. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Pres. National American Woman Suffrage Association.—Since 5,000,000 American women are employed in gainful occupation, every principle of justice known to a republic demands that these 5,000,000 toilers be enfranchised in order that they may be able to obtain and enforce legislation for their own protection.

WILLIAM M. SALTER.—Suffrage is not a mechanical thing by itself; it is the act of a citizen, and presupposes public aims. I do not plead for a mere mechanical right to put a piece of printed paper into a ballot box. I plead for this right in connection with all it implies; I plead for woman's right to become a fullgrown human being.

LINCOLN STEFFENS.—The question as to woman's suffrage is a question of democracy. All Democrats believe in it; and whoever does not is simply not a Democrat.

BISHOP SAMUEL K. FALLOWS (Episcopal).—A woman is just as well qualified to cast a vote for every municipal officer in Chicago as any man.

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

PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Boston.— Properly understood, suffrage does not mean the appointing of ward heelers; it means the park system, and public schools, and hospitals, and playgrounds, and public libraries, in matters of this kind we can make no distinction between men and women. Today, to secure the best results in city government, we must have the common service of men and women.

LUTHER BURBANK, of California.— There is not a greater disgrace existing in the world today than that our women should not be allowed to vote while foreigners, who know nothing of our government or our institutions and have no interest in them, should be allowed to vote. That such a condition should exist in a civilized country is astounding beyond belief.

MRS. OLIVE TILFORD DARGAN.—
I am warmly in favor of the ballot for women.

ELIZA CALVERT HALL, Kentucky.—
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 own views.

MRS. A. WATSON LISTER, Secretary of the Women's National Council of Australia.—One striking result of equal suffrage is that members of Parliament now consult us as to their bills, when these bear upon the interests of women. The author of the new divorce bill asked all the women's organizations to come together and hear him read it, and to make criticisms and suggestions. I do not remember any such thing happening before in all my years in Australia. When a naturalization bill was pending, one clause of which deprived Australian women of citizenship if they married aliens, a few women went privately to the prime minister and protested, and that clause was altered immediately. After we had worked for years with members of Parliament for various reforms, without avail, because we had no votes, you cannot imagine the difference it makes.

REV. THOMAS SCULLY.—We must regard suffrage as a privilege, not a right, but it comes naturally to women as a privilege, through the movement for good government. When we study the Declaration of Independence and find out its meaning, I think it must impress us all the more that suffrage belongs to women as well as to men, because it says government exists to secure just laws for the governed. This is a very strong argument, a very American argument, a very democratic argument, and, what is still better, a very just argument. It is my wish to see the franchise granted to women.

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH, of Massachusetts.—The most compelling force in human society is now beginning to operate in conjunction with the brave spirits who so long have struggled to bring their sisters to the light; this force which even of itself will slowly overcome old habits of mind and breed a desire on the part of woman for the ballot. This is the power of economic determinism—sheer necessity. Steadily, surely, relentlessly woman is being forced into the struggle for a livelihood with every stage of industrial evolution. In every walk of life she is colliding with the facts and forces that will bring her at last to see that the ballot is imperative, if she is ever to enjoy common justice.

PROF. HENRY E. KELLY.—Colorado has never heard of a case of family discord

that was even alleged to have originated in woman suffrage.

HON. HUGH H. LUSK, Ex-Member of New Zealand Parliament.—The family is the foundation of the State. We find that equal suffrage is the greatest family bond and tie; the greatest strengthener of family life.

LADY HOLDER (wife of Sir Frederick W. Holder, K. C. M. G., Speaker of the House of Representatives of Federated Australia).—Women are more interested in public affairs than they used to be before they obtained the franchise, 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.

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

JUDGE LINDSEY, of the Denver Juvenile Court.—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.

PROF. EDWARD H. GRIGGS, New Jersey.—The ballot is an educator, and

women will become more practical and more wise in using it.

HENRY B. BLACKWELL.—A limited suffrage is always subject to corrupt influences, just in proportion to its limitation. Universal suffrage for all citizens, irrespective of sex, is the power that will save the people from political and industrial serfdom.

MARY JOHNSTON, in *The Atlantic Monthly*.—We have a thing called indirect influence, the indirection of which is extreme indeed. It has been claimed that we are furnished with an ancient arquebuse called "virtual representation." Virtual representation There is no such thing in the field of law, nor, I should imagine, in any other field. The elector is directly represented by the man he sends to the legislature. An army corps "virtually represented" on the battlefield sounds somehow like something out of "Alice in Wonderland." The arm the women want is the standard one of tested efficiency. It is called the Ballot.

LADY HENRY SOMERSET.—It is said that women ought not to vote, because they do not fight. But she who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms.

BISHOP J. W. BASHFORD (Methodist).—If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing

the subordination of woman, which the Bible declares to be the direct result of sin, and of leading us back to that Edenic proclamation, "Let them have dominion over the earth?"

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

LORD MAYOR TALLON of Dublin.—The women of Ireland, who vote in municipal elections, have suffered no loss either of dignity or domesticity.

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

REV. WALTER WALSH, of Dundee.—You can get at the best side of the electorate through the women being interested in the higher side of life, and voting for the things that promote it. In Scotland, where women have the municipal vote, every reformer knows that if he can get the women to understand his program, he will be stronger at the polls.

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MRS. MARY KENNEY O'SULLIVAN, Vice-President Women's National Trade Union League.—When women organize and vote, they will get equal pay for equal work.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, New York City.—A certain minister says women ought not to vote because suffrage is not a natural but a derived right. So is the right of children to a common school education. So is our right to sanitary and police protection. It is not natural. Heaven did not make policemen. But who will say that girls should be shut out from school, or women from police protection because it is not a natural right?

MRS. FANNY B. AMES.—The factory girl needs the ballot for the same reason that she needs education, or any other privilege that will lift her in the scale of human beings. There is a great body of law which applies exclusively to the working girl, and regulates her relations with her employer. She must work under these laws, but she has had no voice in making them.

EX-CHIEF JUSTICE FISHER of Wyoming.—When the Republicans nominate a bad man and the Democrats a good one, the Republican women do not hesitate a moment to "scratch" the bad and substitute the good. It is just so with the Democrats; hence, we almost always have a mixture of officeholders. I have seen the effect of female suffrage, and,

instead of being a means of encouragement to fraud and corruption, it tends greatly to purify elections and to promote better government.

HON. OLIVER W. STEWART, Illinois.—The granting of the ballot to women is along the line of the higher development of our humanity. I hope the time may never come when I can be so forgetful of the interests, rights, or liberties of any human being as to refuse such a simple act of justice, however few the number asking for it..

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

BARONESS ALLETTA KORFF, in the *National Geographic Magazine*.—In Finland over 50 per cent. of the laws introduced into the three successive Diets have concerned the welfare of children. Many have been for rendering medical aid to poor women throughout the country districts, and for instructing them in the proper care of infants; many have treated of the improvement and extension of the public school system and the care of school children; still others have dealt with special classes of children, orphans, waifs, and juvenile delinquents. The schools of domestic training are of great importance, especially in the country districts and among the poorer class of people. They are becoming

most valuable factors in the cultural development of the country, and are doing more than perhaps could be done in any other way to raise the general standard of living.

EX-GOV. JOHN L. BATES of Massachusetts.—Conscience is what we need in public life today more than any other factor. We have ability, but we know that things are not run always just as we should like to have them. Bring this superior responsiveness of womanhood to the duties of life to bear on the government of this nation, and I believe we shall have added that one factor now wanting.

JUDGE H. H. NORTHRUP.—I have believed in equal suffrage for years. We are told that women do not want it. If there is one woman who wants it, that's enough.

HON. BENJAMIN F. WADE.—Every argument that can be adduced to prove that males should have the right to vote applies with equal force to prove that females should possess the same right.

PROF. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Cornell University.—The present world-movement for the enfranchisement of women shows that, under the influence of advancing civilization, the nations of the earth are becoming ready for universal suffrage and the conception of society which it implies. For, in the ultimate analysis, it is not the extension of political rights to the

last disfranchised class, important as this is, that is so deeply significant in this movement, nor even the fact that this class consists of women, but the new sense of social possibilities which it betokens.

REV. DR. DAVID GREGG.—Everybody feels the justice of the Golden Rule. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." Would men have women rob them of their ballot? No. Then let not men rob women of their ballot. That is the Golden Rule put into practical form.

REV. DR. FRANCES E. CLARK, President United Society of Christian Endeavor.—I do not know of any unanswerable argument against woman suffrage, and I know a great many arguments in its favor. As I have seen its operation in New Zealand and other parts of the world, my belief in it has been strengthened.

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

MARY E. WOOLLEY, President of Mt. Holyoke College.—In temperance

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work, on school and health boards, in prison reform, in peace conferences, in factory and shop inspection, in civil service reform, in attempts to solve social and industrial problems, women are not only a factor, but in many cases the chief workers. It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving women the vote, should be accepted as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. The time will come when one shall look back upon the arguments against granting the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as we now read the arguments against their education.

JOHN H. MICKEY, Ex-Governor of Nebraska.—In the Nebraska Legislature twenty-four years ago I voted "aye" on the submission of a suffrage amendment to the voters of Nebraska. I have never had occasion since to change my views.

W. E. MULLEN, Attorney General of Wyoming.—Woman suffrage stimulates interest and study, on the part of women, in public affairs. Questions of public interest are discussed in the home; more papers and magazines are read, and the interests of the State and the home are promoted.

MR. DOOLEY (F. P. DUNNE).—"If Molly Donahue wint to vote in a livery stable, th' first thing she'd do wud be to get a broom, sweep up th' floors, take th' harness from th' walls, an' hang up a picture iv Niag-

ary be moonlight; chase out th' watchers an' polis, remove th' seegars, make th' judges get a shave, an' p'raps invalydate th' iliction. It's no job f'r her, and' I told her so."

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.—The weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! * * * If manhood suffrage is unsatisfactory, it does not all show that woman suffrage would be. On the contrary, we might make it much better by bringing to it the feminine mind, which, in a way, complements the masculine, and so completes the mind of humanity.

GEORGE MEREDITH.—I am strongly in favor of woman suffrage. Until you throw open to women every avenue of employment in which they can use their faculties you will never realize the service they can render. I would give them all a vote and give it to them at once.

EMIL G. HIRSCH.—Every right goes with a duty. Women pay taxes and do public service and hold up before us the standard of righteousness, and they ought to have a vote.

PRESIDENT SLOCUM, of Colorado College.—Before women voted, the primary meeting in Colorado Springs was generally

attended by a mere handful of persons, most of them professional politicians. Now the attendance is four times as large, and includes the best men and women of the community.

MRS. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.—I believe the ballot would be a good thing for American women, especially those of the leisure class. If it did nothing else, it would give them legitimate interests which they lack now.

W. L. DOUGLAS, Ex-Gov. of Massachusetts.—I am on record as a member of the legislature of 1883, 1884 and 1886 as favoring the suffrage for women.

SENATOR HENRY WALDO COE, of Oregon.—I have a mother to whom I owe everything, and I should not think of denying her the right to vote. The woman who takes an interest in the affairs of the country takes the best interest in the home.

REV. CHARLES F. THWING, President Western Reserve University and Adelbert College.—The woman suffrage movement seems to me to be right, not so much for what it is in itself as for what it effects; it is in the line of the general elevation of the race; it represents a higher civilization; it increases the power of those things that make for righteousness.

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GEORGE C. PARDEE, Ex-Governor of California.—I see no reason why women—simply because they are women—should not have the privilege of the suffrage.

U. S. SENATOR ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE.—In reply to your question as to whether I believe in the principle of woman suffrage, I reply in the affirmative.

REV. CHARLES G. AMES.—Political enfranchisement would go far to quicken women's sense of social and public responsibility, and would put into their hands a mighty instrument for making their interest in reform effective.

LUCY STONE.—Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty by his cradle. Later on, she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to 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!

JOHN C. CUTLER, Governor of Utah.—I have been for a long time, and still am, convinced that it is both right and desirable for women to have the privilege of the suffrage.

SIR JOSEPH WARD, Premier of New Zealand.—The women of New Zealand secured the franchise by a majority of only two votes. Now it is doubtful if in the

whole House there would be two members to oppose it.

MRS. RUSSELL SAGE, New York City.—By the year 1914 the suffrage movement will have advanced to the point where the necessary amendment to the Constitution, urged by a monster petition of women who own property, will be passed by the legislative bodies of New York State; and when once the women of the Empire State go to the polls, the women of all the States of the Union will be given the same right.

PROF. FREDERICK D. MAURICE.—By withholding suffrage from women we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst sort. On the other hand, if the legislature frankly admitted women to the exercise of the suffrage, it would, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governments.

HON. THOMAS B. REED.—No one who listens to the reasons given by the superior class for the continuance of any system of subjection can fail to be impressed with the noble disinterestedness of mankind. Hence, when it is proposed to give the women an opportunity to present their case to the various State Legislatures to demand equality of political rights, it is not surprising to find that the reasons on which the continuance of the inferiority of women is urged are drawn almost entirely from a tender

consideration of their own good. The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to human nature were it not an historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put up as a barrier against every progress which women have made since civilization began.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio.—I believe in woman suffrage, not for women alone, not for men alone, but for the advantage of both men women.

HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, Indiana.—A just man ought to accord to every other human being, even to his own wife, the rights which he demands for himself. It makes no difference whether all women want to vote, or whether most women want to vote. So long as there is one woman who insists upon this simple right, the justice of man cannot afford to deny it.

REV. CHARLES F. DOLE, Massachusetts.—Politics is properly the friendly consideration of all manner of common interests, in which the women are as much concerned as the men are. Why should the State then keep up the old world barrier of political inferiority against such mothers, sisters and wives? No one can give any reason, except such arguments of conservative timidity as have generally withstood every step in the advancement of mankind.

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

LOUIS F. POST, in *The Chicago Public*.—To say that women are too frail to be burdened with the vote is sheer nonsense, unless it means much more than the burden of going to the polls and dropping a ballot into the box. * * * Unless it means that the voting right would impose a duty to take a vital interest in public affairs, the argument falls flat. But if this is the gist of the argument, then it is a plea for the exemption of women from taking any vital interest in public affairs; and the woman who in fact takes no interest in public affairs is unfit for mothering citizens in a democratic republic.

PROF. LUCY M. SALMON, Vassar College.—College women are learning that the enemy of society is not the woman in Colorado who votes, but the woman in New York who plays bridge. It is not the woman who takes an intelligent interest in the life of which she is a part, but the woman who sits by the window and watches the callers of her neighbors across the way. Not the woman who works in the shops or the factory, but the woman whose days are passed at the bargain counter. Not the woman who earns money, but the

woman who wastes it, because she has never learned its value.

W. A. JOHNSTON, Justice Supreme Court of Kansas.—In consequence (of woman suffrage) our elections are more orderly and fair, a higher class of officers are chosen, and we have cleaner and stronger city governments.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, Secretary National Consumers' League.—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? Does anyone believe we should have to boil our water before we dare to drink it? It would make a vast difference in American cities if women could enforce their will and conscience by the ballot.

AMELIE RIVES TROUBETZKOY.—I have believed in the political freedom of women ever since I read John Stuart Mill on the subject over twenty years ago.

AMOS R. WELLS, Editor of the *Christian Endeavor World*.—Desiring to learn how the women were using their privilege in the four enfranchised States, I wrote to a number of the clergymen in those States, taking their names at random from the subscription lists of our paper. I received twenty-five replies. Four leading denominations were represented, and a goodly

proportion of the writers were doctors of divinity. The answers were almost unanimously favorable to woman suffrage. I had asked whether the experiment was working well, fairly well or poorly. One gentleman in Wyoming thought it was working poorly, three in Colorado thought it was working fairly well, and all the rest were positive, and some of them enthusiastic, in their statements that it was working well.

MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.—Politics governs even the purity of the milk supply. It is not "outside the home," but inside the baby.

E. W. HOCH, Governor of Kansas.—By the way, who gave man the right to decide this matter, anyhow? Why haven't women as much right to disfranchise men as men have to disfranchise women? Isn't it, as a matter of fact, a brutal usurpation of power, a relic of primitive barbarity, when might made right, unworthy of a chivalrous, modern manhood? I believe the time is hastening when the manhood and womanhood of our land will be mutually blended in civil government as they are now beautifully blended in the highest and best type of civil government—the ideal home.

MRS. LYDIA KINGSWELL COMMANDER, New York.—I consider the ballot the best cure for race-suicide.

MAYOR "GOLDEN RULE" JONES, of Toledo.—When the question is fairly

put to them, I find no men who deny this proposition of the equality of the sexes. Who but a blasphemer could say that his mother is inferior to himself? No one would expect to develop an ideal family life where the mother was regarded as inferior to the father, where the children were taught to look upon the mother as an inferior being. Spiritual equality must be admitted before there can be perfect co-operation. As the perfect family cannot be produced except by the equal co-operation of the father and mother, so no scheme of government will ever be a just government that does not build upon this principle as its foundation stone.

PROF. R. E. MACNAGHTEN, McGill University, Montreal (formerly of Tasmania.—Ninety per cent. of the men of Australia would agree that the concession of the vote to women has been a real benefit to the State. They have very largely declared themselves against privilege, against monopolies of all kinds, against the raising of the cost of living, in favor of individual liberty, in favor of temperance, moral and physical cleanliness, and all that goes to build up a good national character.

THEODORE PARKER.—I believe in the admission of woman to the full rights of citizenship and share in the government, on the express grounds that few

women keep house so badly or with such wastefulness as chancellors of the exchequer keep the State, and womanly genius for organization applied to affairs of the nation would be extremely economical and beneficial.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.—There is no problem upon which an intelligent woman cannot throw some new light. In neglecting woman's help, men are blundering, not merely in what they do, but still more badly in what they do not do; in the terribly important provinces of life which they leave untouched by legislation. We men require women's suffrage as much for our own sakes as for women's sakes.

MRS. MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.—I believe emphatically that a woman's place is home; but where is her home? Mine is all the way from Boston to San Francisco and from Canada to the Gulf. The question is not what a woman should be allowed to do, but can she do it properly? In this reform (woman suffrage) home is the very watchword, for all the interests of the home, and all the evils that affect the home, are largely dependent upon politics. Women not only should have the power to deal with these, but they could wield it effectively.

WINSTON CHURCHILL.—I shall try my best to get women the franchise. The women have always had a logical case, and

they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women.

W. E. BORAH, of Idaho, in *The Delineator*.—The vote as a political potentiality is a powerful factor at all times in shaping the policies of State campaigns and in determining in some measure, although not to the same extent, the qualities of candidates. And this factor is always for the good, for whether women may make mistakes or not in the matter of actual voting, men universally accredit to them the aptitude of getting upon the right side of those great moral and quasi-moral questions which are entering more and more into State campaigns.

REV. EDWARD McSWEENEY, Mt. St. Mary's, Md.—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. Should she decide to take part in politics, she will help to purify these, and then the vast number of men of intelligence and refinement who now avoid the polls will take a practical interest in good government.

REV. CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE, of Michigan, at the St. Paul Conservation Congress.—Women have considered it a prime virtue to wholly subordinate themselves and their point of view to man; both because they have been and are economically dependent on men and because they love them—most of all, because they love them and wish to fulfil the ideals of men for women. But never shall we have the truly womanly woman until she is made free to think her thoughts and look at the world through her own eyes, and add her verdict to that of man upon the things of life which affect her and her children often far more poignantly than they affect him.

REV. WILLIAM C. GANNETT, Rochester, N. Y.—Womanhood and motherhood will yet be arguments for voting, as manhood and fatherhood are to-day; and the scorn will be for those whose “refinement” shirks the duty, and for the manishness which would bar out a woman, as a woman, from the right.

EX-GOVERNOR WARREN, of Wyoming.—Our women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the results are good and not evil.

FRANCES MAULE BJORKMAN.—I am a suffragist, not primarily because I believe that the woman's vote will purify the ballot, and not because I have a sense of

humiliation in being classed with infants and idiots, but because in the course of seven years' active newspaper reporting in Denver, Chicago and New York it has been positively demonstrated to me that a vote is a thing worth having.

MRS. EDNAH D. CHENEY.—We hear little today of the "angel" argument, that women are too fine for the coarse, rough work of the world, and should be shielded in hot-houses, where not even the wind of heaven should visit them too roughly. Whoever has worked side by side with women in sanitary commissions and prison boards, has seen them go fearlessly into police courts to secure the protection of families, or into foul wards of hospitals to save human lives, knows that this is not the type of American woman, however it may be the lady of romance. Your women on the boards of charities, in benevolent institutions, in churches, in their daily round of work, may spend health and strength and life in mitigating the effects of evil; but when the question is on removing causes, they have no vote.

PRESIDENT DAVID STARR JORDAN, of Stanford University.—Equal suffrage would tend to broaden the minds of women, and to increase their sense of personal responsibility. It may help to solve the problem of honest and clean local government, and make our cities centres of sweetness and light, as well as of activity and strength.

DR. CHARLES A. BEARD, Columbia University.—Woman suffrage will come as a result of the increasing economic independence of women, which will in turn sharpen her intellect, force upon her an interest in the social and economic conditions which are determining her own destiny in so great a measure, and finally give her that self-respect and self-sufficiency which prevent her from being content with the alternate adoration and contempt of the opposite sex.

BRYANT B. BROOKS, Governor of Wyoming.—I consider woman suffrage of great benefit to any commonwealth. There is certainly no argument which can be made against it.

GEORGE HODGES, D. D., Dean of Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.—I am in favor of bringing the votes of women to the reinforcement of all good causes.

MRS. CLARENCE H. MACKEY, New York City.—I want women to vote because it will improve the educational system of the whole country.

C. S. THOMAS, Ex-Governor of Colorado.—To the bread-winning portion of the sex (female) the ballot is a boon. She is a factor whose power must be respected. Like her brother, she must be reckoned with at the polls. Hence,

it is her buckler against industrial wrong, her protection against the constant tendency to reduce her wages because of helplessness. If no other reason existed for conferring this right upon womankind, this, to the man of justice, should be all sufficient.

EDWIN MARKHAM.—The woman movement of this country is its most significant movement, because it brings human hearts together. We want not the rule of gold, but the Golden Rule. To carry this out in this world we need the help of the women. I am a very ardent woman suffragist.

DOROTHY DIX.—Women should vote, because every question of politics affects the woman in the home. Out of the woman's housekeeping allowance, which has not increased, come the increased profits of the beef trust, and the milk trust, and the sugar trust, and the canned goods trust. If women had a say-so in making the laws, they would have long ago clipped the wings of the predatory combinations that have increased the cost of living so greatly.

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

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MRS. ZERELDA G. WALLACE.—

More and more the schools of America are passing under the control of woman, and she has so demonstrated her fitness to teach that this educational reform will not go backward. Then, for the safety of the nation, it must go forward, till, by her enfranchisement, her fitness to be the teacher of America's future citizens will be complete.

EX-GOVERNOR GARVIN of Rhode Island.—Whoever accepts the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence must believe in the right of women to vote. If taxation without representation is tyranny, if government derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, then the suffrage must be extended to women upon the same terms as to men.

BISHOP J. W. HAMILTON (Methodist).—I believe the work for equal suffrage to be a Christian work, and I try to aid it because I am a Christian minister. I always enjoy reminding people that the first woman's rights convention in this country was held in a Methodist church.

JOSEPH WALKER, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.—Some people believe in limiting the suffrage; I believe in broadening it. I believe that the welfare of the country is far safer in the hands of the ordinary men and women who are up against the hard, cruel facts of life than in the hands of the few of greater

wealth and education, perhaps, and supposed to be higher up in the social scale, but who, experience has shown us, are frequently more intent on exploiting than on serving the people.

GOVERNOR SHAFROTH, of Colorado.
—Woman suffrage is not only right, but practical. It tends to elevate. There is not a caucus but is better attended, and by better people, and held in a better place. I have seen the time when a political convention without a disturbance and the drawing of weapons was rare. That time is past in Colorado, and it is due to the presence of women. Every man now shows that civility which makes him take off his hat and not swear, and deport himself decently when ladies are present.

PROF. SOPHRONISBA BRECKENRIDGE, University of Chicago.—Under our present form of city life, housekeeping has become a public function, and the ballot has become a domestic necessity. The housekeeper must buy milk and meat; she must make the clothing, or buy it ready-made. She needs a vote on the ordinances which control the conditions. She must have something to say about the men who make and enforce them. She has not the power she needs as a housekeeper unless she feels that the officials of the city are as much responsible to her as are the domestic servants she selects.

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

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

EX-CHIEF JUSTICE GROESBECK, of Wyoming.—The influence of the women voters has always been on the side of temperance, morality and good government, and opposed to drunkenness, gambling and immorality.

DR. H. HEBER NEWTON.—I am glad to express my emphatic conviction, not merely that woman is entitled to franchise, but that the logical issue of American citizenship, as of Christian justice and morality, is certain to put the ballot in the hands of woman.

MRS. LUCIA AMES MEAD, Boston.—Not only must millions of women now earn

their living outside the home, but the housekeeper, as well as they, is more and more dependent upon outside conditions which only a voter can efficiently control, and which every woman who loves her home ought to desire to help control.

BISHOP SPALDING (Roman Catholic).—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.

FLORA ANNA STEELE.—Woman's natural task of child-bearing places them in the first fighting line. The essence of military service is the risking of life and the endurance of hardship for the general good. Surely if the long, irksome months ending in pain and danger which go to the making of every citizen were summed up, the grand total of devotion would be with the woman, and not with the man—even in war time.

PROF. FRANCES SQUIRE POTTER.—Our cause is universal; its majesty is intrinsic; its logic is unanswerable; its success is sure.

REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D. D.—I most earnestly believe that the moral forces of society would be strengthened if

the privilege and duty of voting were shared by women.

SIR ROBERT STOUT, Chief Justice of New Zealand.—Woman suffrage has been beneficial. It has interested women in questions of State and it is difficult to estimate its educative influence.

LADY STOUT, wife of the Chief Justice of New Zealand.—The following table shows the average death rate of infants under one year old in ten years: infant's mortality per 1,000 births; in Hungary 215, in Germany 190, in France 149, in England and Wales 147, in Scotland 125, in New Zealand 77. As New Zealand's birth-rate is higher than that of England and Wales, and the infant mortality lower than that of any other country, I think even an "Anti" must acknowledge that the population rate has gained since women were enfranchised. * * * The most marked and beneficial effect of the franchise in New Zealand is that the women are awakening to the responsibilities of motherhood, and consider their living children of more value to the State than those that are peopling the graveyard.

HON. GEORGE FOULDS, Minister of Education and Public Health, New Zealand.—The extension of the suffrage to the women of New Zealand has made for the moral welfare of the whole community. With-

out being revolutionary, their influence has been on the side of progress and clean government. * * * I should say the almost universal verdict of the people of New Zealand would be that the admission of women to the franchise was not only right in principle, but satisfactory in practice.

HON. JOHN GEORGE FINDLAY, M. L. C., Atty. General and Colonial Secy., New Zealand.—The women's franchise in New Zealand has, on the whole, resulted in good to the well-being and progress of the Colony. As regards the use made by women of the vote, you have the statistics of the last elections in New Zealand, and particularly the last Federal Election (Australia), in which it will be found women exercised their vote as freely as the men. I consider that the educational work done by the organized women of the Colony since 1890 has been a great factor in stimulating humanitarian interest.

ANNE WHITNEY, Sculptor, Boston.—From the present posture of affairs and the comparative length of stride of the two countries toward civilization, it would seem possible that Turkey will arrive at the goal of woman suffrage a century before Massachusetts.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.—There is and can be but one safe principle of government—equal rights to all. Discrim-

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ination against any class on account of color, nativity, sex, property, culture, can but embitter and disaffect that class, and thereby endanger the safety of the whole people.

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