



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

---

Chap. .... Copyright No. ....

Shelf JK 1901

K28

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.











# FEMALE FILOSOFY

FISHED OUT AND FRIED

— BY —

FEELIX FEELER.

*pseud.*

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.



35843

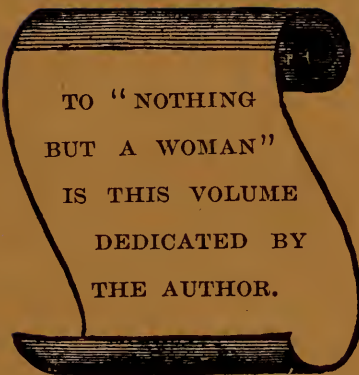
JK1901  
KR8

COPYRIGHTED IN 1894

BY

REV. L. E. KEITH.

97  
C. W. D. W. 22  
9



TO "NOTHING  
BUT A WOMAN"  
IS THIS VOLUME  
DEDICATED BY  
THE AUTHOR.

# INTRODUCTION.



## PREFACE.

---

Is a woman more unwomanly in protecting her children than a hen is unhenly in protecting her chicks? Is it not the rooster that is unhenly in strutting around, fussing about the unhenliness of the hen in protecting his progeny? Is it not the man that is unwomanly, and *unmanly* too, in strutting about as if he were lord of creation? Is it not instinct that makes every mother love and want to protect her young? Did the fathers ever possess this instinct? If they ever did possess it, have they kept it so carefully laid away in a napkin, unused until it has been taken from them? If it has not been taken from them, why do they not use it to protect their progeny from the Rum Curse and Rum Ruin? If they do not have it, or if they do have it and will not use it, why do they whine about a woman wanting to do the most womanly thing in the world?

Where is the consistency in allowing a woman to own property and take care of men's children and not giving her the power to protect either of them?

Why hem her in with the home as "her sphere" and then with-hold from her the power by which she could hinder men from placing a saloon beside her door to ruin both? Answer: "She's nothing but a woman."

Yours Truly,

Until the American Eagle  
can fly with both wings, FEELIX FEELER.

# CONTENTS.

---

CHAPTER I.—THE BIBLE AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.	16
Seven Devils in Every Woman—Eastern and Western Customs Compared—Bible Declaration of Independence—The Bible and Paul are in Harmony with Woman Suffrage—Deborah, a Prophetess, Judge and Warrior—A Woman the First to Preach Christ to Others—The Bible both for and Against all Great Evils—Mrs. Parry's Reply to Dr. Abbott—History Repeated—Professed Friends of Christ the Worst Enemies of Truth, Righteousness and Humanity.	
CHAPTER II.—DISFRANCHISES.	25
Woman's Political Equals—Inferior to Criminals and Indians.	
CHAPTER III.—RIGHTS.	27
Political Expediency Against Eternal Justice—Inequality of Laws Toward the Sexes—Ignorant Blacks Superior to their White Teachers—A Baptist Church the Basis of our Government—Suffrage a Natural or Conferred Right?—Self-Governments and the Governed—Lunatics, Minors, Idiots and Criminals more Favored than Women—Sumner's Speech to enfranchise the Negro.	
CHAPTER IV.—WHO ARE CITIZENS?	36
Men Only in Making Laws and Drawing Salaries, but Men-and-Women in Obeying Laws and Paying Salaries.	
CHAPTER V.—WHO ARE THE PEOPLE?	37
Is a Woman a People?—Masculine Rule and Feminine Subjection—Inconsistencies in the "Bill of Rights."	
CHAPTER VI.—FREEDOM AND EQUALITY.	40
Samantha Allen on the Declaration of Independence—Joshua Giddings brings the Republican Party to its Senses—Need of More such Men.	



## CHAPTER VII.—MEN AND WOMEN. . . . . 43

Both Social, but not Solitary Beings—Only Part of a Government—Women should Vote or Men should Not—Vote in Industrial but Not Civil Affairs—In Representation Women are no more than Infants.

## CHAPTER VIII.—WOMEN DO NOT WANT TO VOTE. 47

The Negro did not—Dare not Always make Wants Known—Sioux Indians in South Dakota Enfranchised and Women Refused—"Don't Want to" is no Reason—Fields Fenced for Fear Cows will Eat the Corn—Disfranchise Men because Others do not want to Vote—The Tax-Paying Half of a Citizen—Tax-payers not Represented—Hired Men Vote away a Widow's Farm—Not True—Facts and Figures—More Women than Men Vote.

## CHAPTER IX.—I GUESS I CAN. . . . . 57

A Poem—What the Women do and Men do Not do—A \$100-Woman Yoked to a \$10-Man.

## CHAPTER X.—IT IS UNWOMANLY. . . . . 59

It Stretches a Woman out of Shape—Unightly Picture—Ballot Confers Power—Housewifery and Husbandry—Peggotty Anxious, but Barcus not Willing—More Women than Men—Whatever is Right is Sexless—Dangerous Intimacy of Sexes—Make Civilized Society Consistent—Mrs. Boardman and the Ballot—Is it Unwomanly to Destroy a Serpent About to Kill your Child?—Likewise a Saloon?—Home Attractive, but the Saloon more so—The Harvest Ripe, Reap—Protect Little Ones from Libertines—Politics not a Pool, but Holy Ground—Vote as well as Pray—Breckenridge and Woman Suffrage.

## CHAPTER XI.—IT IS BEYOND HER SPHERE. . . . . 72

Not Beyond it in Anything else—Merchants and Mechanics Once Excluded—Comical Protest—Give Butchers and Bunglers no Preference—Love Home First, Last and Best—The Same Coat will Not Fit Everybody—"A Woman in it."

## CHAPTER XII.—THE POLLS NOT A FIT PLACE FOR WOMEN. . . . . 80

The Difference Between Smoking and Ladies' Cars—My Pen not Sufficient—Saloon in Politics as Long as Politics in the Saloon—The Objection Admits the Need of Woman's Refining Influence—A Plea for Women in Congress to Clean Up the Place.

<b>CHAPTER XIII.—A WOMAN'S PLACE IS AT HOME.</b>	<b>84</b>
Booze Editor's Respect to Women for not Meddling with the Saloon—Do what your Enemy Opposes—Last Hope of Destroying the Saloon—Lose Refinement by Increasing Sphere—Men Rock Cradles and Wash Dishes before Women Practice at the Carlisle (Pa.) Bar—Stupid to Take the Actual for the Possible—Women Better than Donkeys, but not so Good as Mules for Burdens—Things and not Persons—They will be Men the Next Time.	
<b>CHAPTER XIV.—WOMEN DON'T KNOW ENOUGH TO VOTE.</b>	<b>90</b>
Capable of Choosing a Spiritual Leader, but not an Assessor to Tax Dogs—Hire a Teacher, but not a Sheriff—Sambo and Mrs. Stowe—They Read more than Men—The First Female College—More Girls than Boys Graduate—Higher Female Education means Physical and Mental Ruin to Girls—Educated Women Preferable to Ignorant Foreigners.	
<b>CHAPTER XV.—WOMEN ARE NOT POSTED IN POLITICS.</b>	<b>96</b>
Generally Better than Men—Reversing Political Platforms—Ignorance Bliss and Wisdom Blister—They Talk Politics in England just like they Talk Temperance here.	
<b>CHAPTER XVI.—WOMEN CAN'T FIGHT.</b>	<b>97</b>
A Little Brain's Argument—Days of Feudalism—One-Fourth Examined Physically Unfit for War—One-half of Male Voters not Physically Able to Enforce Laws—Reform Against Nature—Lincoln's Testimony—Ballots and Bullets—Purse and Sword both War Powers—97 Per Cent. of Russia's War Power is Purse—Purse more Powerful than Sword—Institutions Barbarous and Civilized—Dr. Wilson's Reply to Dr. Parkhurst—The Mother of Jesus at the Polls—Keep her both Weak and Womanly—Submit to Sin to Live—New York's Unfairness to School Teachers—Equal Pay for Equal Service—Predicted Evils have not Come—As Popular as at First.	
<b>CHAPTER XVII.—THEY ARE REPRESENTED.</b>	<b>112</b>
They are Misrepresented—Tobacco Juice Kills Bills—Harrison's Disrespect for Women—Who Made the Choice?—Laws Lean Toward Legislators—From New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn—General Influence—Twenty Years to Make Mothers and Fathers Equal Guardians of their Children in New York—A Boy's Worth—A Home's Worth—Eighty-five Years of Licensed Legislation leaves Woman Uncrowned, and Allows her Children to be Slain by Law, and She has no Power to Resist.	

CHAPTER XVIII.—TAXATION TYRANNY. (Poem.) . . . 120

CHAPTER XIX.—BAD WOMEN ONLY WILL VOTE. . . . 121

Bad Men Vote—Saloons more Power in Politics than Churches—  
 Testimony of Two Governors—A Challenge—If Good Men will not  
 Vote Good Women Must—Bad Men's Ballots Need Counteracting—  
 Enough Pancakes—What a Bad Woman and her Girls would do with  
 the Ballot—A False Accusation—Confusion Confounded—Results of  
 House to House Registration in Colorado—Bad and Ignorant Women  
 not Register—Best Percentage in Best Districts—Boston's Report  
 after Fifteen Years—Bad Women not Found where Good Women  
 Are—Chicago's Report—The Best Women Want the Ballot—First  
 Women's Vote in Colorado.

CHAPTER XX.—IT WILL DIVIDE HOUSES. . . . 130

A Division Needed—Too much One-Sided—Methodist Women  
 and the Conference—Does a Man do without a Bite for every Bite a  
 Woman gets?—Splice it—From Six to Eight Times as many Divorces  
 Outside of Wyoming as in it During Twenty Years.

CHAPTER XXI.—WOMEN WILL VOTE THE SAME AS  
 THEIR HUSBANDS. . . . . 132

What if they Do?—More Men Join the Wife's Church than Vice  
 Versa—Proof for it—A Woman whose Mission was to Marry and Re-  
 form Men Politically.

CHAPTER XXII.—IT WILL DRIVE MEN FROM THE  
 POLLS. . . . . 135

Let Them go—The Disgruntled Elder Brother was Worse than the  
 Prodigal—Most Men who Regard Women's Worth want them to  
 Vote.

CHAPTER XXIII.—LET THEM VOTE ONCE. . . . 136

Let them Bell the Cat—Was Woman Taken from Man's Backbone  
 or from His Rib?

CHAPTER XXIV.—MOTHERS CARE FOR THE YOUNG. 137

Take the Children along—Christian's God Cares for Children—So  
 does the Christian's Devil—Doctors and Women Most Feared by the  
 Heathen.

- CHAPTER XXV.—BETTER CAUCUSES, BETTER CANDIDATES, BETTER CONDUCT IN OFFICERS. . . . . 138**  
 The Saloon Controls the Caucus, Conventions and Candidates—Barabbas for Congress—Bad Men not Run when Women Vote—New Zealand's First Experience—Scotland—Angels' Talk about our Politics—A Preacher Converted—Protection for Her and Hers—Dealer's Avarice and Drunkard's Appetite—Suffrage Reforms by Dr. Crafts—"No Sex, no Shirks, no Simpletons in Suffrage"—Nationalized Before Naturalized.
- CHAPTER XXVI.—SCHOOL SUFFRAGE. . . . . 144**  
 Change Teachers with Politics—Mothers Most Interested—Per Cent. of Male and Female Teachers—Prevention Better than Cure—Children More than Money—Give Women the Offices without Salary.
- CHAPTER XXVII.—MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE. . . . . 147**  
 Rulers Chosen with Reference to the Ruled—Herbert Spencer's Views—Women Vote for Good Government—Harrison and Hopkins—Secure a Quiet Sabbath—Dr. Abbott's Church has not Wholly Purified Brooklyn—Women, Waite, Breckenridge and Tammany—The "Boss" and "Machine" City Governments Compared—The Fool and his Fellow—Increase of Population, Valuation, Debt and Taxation—Philadelphia (Pa.) Badly Paved and Cleaned—School Board a Political Prize—The Worst Governed Cities in Christendom—Four Reasons for Municipal Ballot—Women Work for the Better—Testimony to Good Results.
- CHAPTER XXVIII.—WHY WOMEN WANT TO VOTE. 162**  
 What They have Done for the State—"Home Protection" in Illinois—Women Voted "No License," but the Council Granted it—Must Vote in Both Boxes—Mrs. Perkins' Eight Reasons for Women's Ballot.
- CHAPTER XXIX.—DUTY OF WOMEN TO VOTE. . . . . 172**  
 They are Equally Interested and Responsible with Men—All the Rights they Want—How did they Get Them—The Difference Between Breckenridge and Miss Pollard—Rights only on Demand—Iowa Supreme Court Decides a Woman Belongs to the Man.
- CHAPTER XXX.—THE DUTY OF MEN TO LET WOMEN VOTE. . . . . 178**  
 For the Effect on Future Citizens—Danger to Nation—Lose Confidence in Mother—"Mother, How are You Going to Vote?"—Dr. Gregg's Ideas—Best Men in the World—A Grudge Against God for her Sex.

CHAPTER XXXI.—WORDS ABOUT WOMEN. . . . .	183
Edison's Ideas—A Woman's Invention—What a Goose!—The Beacon, and the Burden of Proof on the Opponents—Too much Time in Voting—"Sister Marry a Nigger"—Going to Market and Voting—What Women do do.	
CHAPTER XXXII.—EMINENT OPINIONS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE. . . . .	188
CHAPTER XXXIII.—HOW IT WORKS WHERE TRIED. . . . .	199
It Elevates Politics—All Indorse it—Eight to One in Wyoming After Twenty Years—More Experience Less Objection—Solve the Southern Question—Resolutions and Recommendations by Wyoming Legislature after Twenty-five Years' Experience—Iceland's Experience—Factors for Good in '94.	
CHAPTER XXXIV.—ITS POPULARITY. . . . .	203
"American Woman and her Political Peers"—Change of Sentiment—Thanks to Organizations, Parties, Preachers and Press—Oriental and Occidental Customs Compared—Women Candidates and Parties in '94—National Republican Leagues Adopt and Recommend it.	
CHAPTER XXXV.—WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS COMING. . . . .	208
Bound to Come—Change in Clergy—Women and their Squirrel Brains—Alphabet Learned—Three Periods of Growth—Ignorant Question.	
CHAPTER XXXVI.—A LECTURE BY A WOMAN ON HER RIGHTS. (A Poem.) . . . . .	213
CHAPTER XXXVII.—WARNING—GET ON THE RIGHT SIDE. . . . .	217
Railroads not Mentioned in the Bible and are Devices of the Devil—Farmers' Scare—Fulton a Lunatic—"Mulkin Toime"—"We Killed a Bear"—All Parties Claiming Honor in Col.—Ben Hill's Regrets—South Sea Islanders, Cannibalism and the World's Fair—Millennial Dawn—"Thee Moved."	
CHAPTER XXXVIII.—PROGRESS BY STATES AND GOVERNMENTS. . . . .	222
Extent of Territory—Where, and how Long—Progress in Foreign Countries—Degrees of Suffrage in Each—Advances Elsewhere—Vote of National Republican Leagues.	



<b>CHAPTER XXXIX.—PROGRESS IN THE CHURCHES.</b>	<b>228</b>
Liquor Selling as Respectable as the Bible Business—Progress of Temperance Cause—Women Preachers and Progress of the Conservatives—Missionary and Young People Societies—Equality in Church Soon Means Equality in State—Too much Light through the Windows.	
<b>CHAPTER XL.—PROGRESS IN THE MINISTRY.</b>	<b>233</b>
Seventeen Denominations Ordain Women to Preach—The Good They Might Do—Four Hundred Looking to Mission Fields.	
<b>CHAPTER XLI.—PROGRESS IN MEDICINE.</b>	<b>234</b>
The First Female Medical Students Ostracised—Female Doctors not Allowed a Sign—Statistics of the Present Condition.	
<b>CHAPTER XLII.—PROGRESS IN EDUCATION.</b>	<b>235</b>
Minds Squeezed like Chinese Infants' Feet—Plato in Petticoats—Mary A. Livermore's Experience—As well Educate a Cat as a Girl—Minds Changed—Co-Education Colleges—Harvard's Advanced Grounds.	
<b>CHAPTER XLIII.—PROGRESS IN SOCIAL RELATIONS.</b>	<b>242</b>
Occupy Thrones but not Vote—Not Control Children, Property or Person; Make a Will or Enter a Profession or Business—Had to Plow and Pull Loads on Tramways and in Mines.	
<b>CHAPTER XLIV.—NON-POLITICAL PROGRESS—Progress Everywhere but in Politics.</b>	<b>243</b>
<b>CHAPTER XLV.—FEMALE FILOSOFY NOT FARTHETCHED.</b>	<b>244</b>
Virtues Wanted in Women—Virtuous Ganders—Samantha Allen's "One Standard for Both Sexes"—One-Sided Contract—What One Woman Did—Our Daughters—"Motherhood"—Girls who Sigh for the City—Cure for Melancholy.	
<b>CHAPTER XLVI.—AGE OF CONSENT.</b>	<b>256</b>
Definition—Table of States—Consent Legalizes Immoral Acts only—Highest where Women Vote—A Challenge—Lewd Fellows of the Baser Sort—Cause of the Consent Laws—Wild Oats—Helpless Girls Ignored and Libertines Protected—Demand a "White Life for Two."	
<b>CHAPTER XLVII.—GAINS OF FORTY YEARS.</b>	<b>263</b>
Hen Conventions—Brickbats and Mobs—A Hen Crow like a Cock in the Town Hall—Spheres Widened—First Woman Merchant—Little Pay—Legal Existence Suspended—No Vote in Church.	

- CHAPTER XLVIII.—OPPONENTS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE. . . . . 274
- Zang's Brewery—The same Objections to Men—Jack did not Eat His Breakfast—The Cholera After Little Girls only—Every Horse Thief a Democrat—Dr. Parkhurst in account with the Women and the Balance in their Favor.
- CHAPTER XLIX.—A CALL TO THE W. C. T. U. . . . . 280
- Shameful Civilization—Precious Youth Sacrificed to Close the Black Abyss—Womanhood Crystallized at the Ballot-box only will Heal the Festering Wound—Bible in Bosom and Ballot in Box—The Parting of the Ways.
- CHAPTER L.—HOW TO WIN WOMAN SUFFRAGE. . . . . 284
- Agitate, Educate, Nominate, Elect—Better be Opposed than Ignored—Use the Platform, Pulpit and Press—Sow Literature Knee Deep—Petition—Form of Petition—How Woman Suffrage was Carried in Colorado—"Nothing Impossible on Bunker Hill."

This volume contains all the **OBJECTIONS** to woman-suffrage, their **ANSWERS**,  
 and the **CREAM** of all that has been said and written on the subject  
 from Moses and Plato down to Paul and "Josiah Allen's wife."  
 THE PREFACE TO THE REVISED AND ENLARGED FEMALE PHILOSOPHY BY FELIX FEILER.



Rev. L. E. Keith.

Thoughts of great men all remind us \* \*  
 There's nothing original under the sun; \*  
 All our thoughts they have thought for us,  
 \* And our books are nothing but theirs \*  
 re-written.



## HELPERS AND HINDERERS.

---

Persons, papers and publications to whom the author is grateful for services rendered, directly or indirectly, wisely or otherwise.

### PERSONS.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, Hon. L. G. Adams, Florence Adkinson, Æsop, "Samantha Allen," Charles G. Ames, George Bancroft, Henry Ward Beecher, Dr. Bellows, M. H. Boardman, Dr. Buckley, Augusta Chapman, James Freeman Clark, Russell Conwell, Joseph Cook, Wilbur Crafts, G. W. Curtis, Hon. John Davis, Mr. Darling, Chauncey Depew, Ellen B. Dietrick, W. E. Early, Gen. E. Eastbrook, Judge Farrar, Benj. Franklin, J. B. Gambell, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Governors of Kansas and Wyoming, E. B. Ganniss, Jennie E. Graves, Horace Greeley, Dr. Gregg, Quaker Gurney, Wm. Dean Howells, Emma Hardman, Thos. Jefferson, Laura B. Johns, Mary Lathrop, Abraham Lincoln, Mary A. Livermore, Samuel J. May, Laura McCandless, Alice Moore McComas, V. L. McCuskey, James Otis, Dr. Parkhurst, Mrs. Parry, Paul, Pericles, E. M. Perkins, Florence Richards, Dr. Ryland, Russell Sage, Emma Playter Seabury, Anna Shaw, D. M. Sleethe, Sydney Smith, Mother Stewart, Lucy Stone, Chas. Sumner, Judge Valentine, Vandelia Varnum, Mrs. Briggs-Wall, Zarelda Wallace, Mary B. and Frances Willard, Dr. Wilson, Carroll D. Wright, Judge Waxem and a host of others.

### PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

American Lawyer, Arena, Assembly Herald, Beacon (Kan.), Beacon (Ó.), The Bible, Christian Statesman, "Church Union" and "Christian Work," Corner Stone, Federal Constitution, Ohio Constitution, Declaration of Independence, Denver Dispatch, New Era, Kate Field's Washington, Mt. Pleasant (Ia.) Free Press, John Halifax Gentleman, Herald and Presbyter, Rawlins (Wy.) Journal, Ohio W. C. T. U. Messenger, Minutes of Several State W. C. T. U.'s, The Outlook, New Zealand Prohibitionist, Ram's Horn, Larimie (Wy.) Sentinel, Several Suffrage Tracts, A True Republic, Wine and Spirit Gazette, Woman's Column, Woman's Journal and many others whose names are forgotten.

## THE BIBLE AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

---

Many men misinterpret the Bible, especially when they have a poor cause. An ignorant colored preacher once said in his pulpit: "women is a queer creature, and there is no exception to their queerness, because every woman is possessed of seven devils". His female hearers were very indignant at him for such a remark and called him to account for it. He placed a Bible in the hands of each one, and asked them to read aloud the account of Mary Magdalene. This done, he asked some questions: "What did Jesus do for Mary Magdalene?" "He cast seven devils out of her." "Did he ever cast seven devils out of the other women of the world?" "No." "Well, then they must be in them yet." It is the same style of interpretation that applies one saying of Paul to certain women of a certain town and time to all women of all times and all towns.

The Bible is a book of principles and not of rules. It says as much about women voting as about men voting. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood, and equality before God and the law, of man (including woman) are the principles of the Bible. Paul's instructions about women were in accordance and harmony with Eastern customs and surroundings and are no more binding on the women of other nations with other customs and surroundings than the keeping the face covered, etc. Woman of the East is treat-

ed more like a beast, woman of the West and civilization, is treated more like man's equal, as God intended when he created man male-and-female. Would not some of our beaux and belles and swells make great splurges if they were to court and marry and live according to Eastern customs?

Paul's injunction against the women of lascivious Corinth would have been uncalled for against comparatively chaste Jerusalem. He blames the women of Corinth, not for *praying* and *prophesying*, but because they did it with their heads uncovered. The *feet-washing*, the *saluting with a holy kiss*, the *face-veiling* and the *seclusion* and *exclusion* of the women of the East, are not at all appropriate to the West.

Who would think of advocating slavery to day because Paul sent the runaway slave, Onesimus, back to his owner and counselled slaves to obey their masters? Paul said a great many things upon which there is very little stress put to day. He said among other things, "Seek not a wife"; also, that it was good for the unmarried and widows to abide as he was. And now how many of our *woman-haters* are willing to take their own medicine? How many of them like to have Paul quoted at them? How many of them "strain out the gnat and swallow the camel" hunch back and all, because "She's nothing but a woman."

Paul also said: "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

That was a declaration of independence almost equal to the "All men are created free and equal, etc."

The Bible says: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you". And what man would want a woman to deprive him of his ballot? And why do to her what he would not have her do to him?

If Paul exhorts women to be "subject to their own husbands," he also exhorts all to the same, "be ye subject one to another:" and "Submit one to another." And where is there a discrimination against a woman in all these?

Paul says: "I suffer not a woman to teach:" and it is wonderful how closely men carry that out in the church work with four or five female for every male teacher. The *anti-woman* man—the Eastern heathen would say: "If women teach at all, let it be done in the home: if they lead a meeting, let them keep their faces veiled: if they pray at all, let their heads be covered: and if they must sing let them sing *mum*."

Now the interpretation of the Bible that excludes women from the polls excludes them from all church and Sunday School and missionary work. Take them out of the church work and let them do nothing but "learn from their husbands at home," and "keep silence in the church," and you may as well lock your church doors and throw away the keys.

There are certain truths that need no Bible doctrine to make them acceptable. And Paul and the Bible are not against them. Here is one of them: A woman has the same right and interest to live here

and live happily too, that a man has. She is as much entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" as man is. She is as much interested in the administration of justice and the existence of wholesome laws, as man is. Her interests are just as sacred to her and as easily affected as his, and she is no less a citizen than he is, and the Bible and Paul have too much sense to be agianst them.

Dr. Gregg says: "I wish to say that not only do I stand upon the platform of the woman suffrage association, but Paul stands upon this platform with me. The plain English of it is this: the man who says Paul is an anti-woman suffragist lies and it gives me very great pleasure that he does."

Moses was a lawgiver, his brother Aaron a priest, and their sister Miriam, a prophetess—an office no less honorable and distinctive and important than either of the other two. Deborah was not a Prophetess only, but a Judge also; "and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment." An opponent says: But she called a man to go up to do the fighting. Yes but he was so much of a coward that he would not go unless she went along (Jud. 4:8). So the Lord delivered Sisera into the hand of a woman and she got the honor of it too. She was Prophetess, Judge and warrior.

And what shall I say more for the women of the Bible? For time would fail me to tell of the Prophetess, Huldah, expounding the law that priestly lore failed to fathom; of the holy Han-



nah, whose aspirations were understood by neither husband nor priest; of faithful and chaste Ruth, patriotic Esther, and Vashti, who preferred self-respect to a kingdom; of wise Abigail appeasing the wrath of David against her churlish husband; and the women who followed Jesus; and the women who labored with Paul in the gospel whom he exhorted the men to help; Priscilla and Aquilla, Paul's helpers in Christ Jesus; and the many others mentioned in the gospel.

And although a man, Simeon, was the first to talk *about* the new born Saviour, yet a woman, Anna, was the first to *preach* Him to others. And yet men will insist that they be nothing but mere ornaments in the church. There certainly can be some importance attached to a woman being the first *preacher* of the Saviour to others.

In Gen. 1:27,28 we read: "So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it." He made them equal and set them both at the same kind of work, dominating and subduing the earth, and not each other.

Such a thing as a woman's rights or individual conscience was not known to the Jews. The general belief was she had no soul. It is a sad comment on their civilization that when the Ten commandments were given, a wife was classed with property that might be coveted just like a house or a domestic an-

imal. The tenth commandment, however, was a good thing for woman in that crude age, since it was a law for Home Protection. "Because of the hardness of men's hearts," (Matt.19:8), explains many things that are recorded in the Old Testament. The oppression of woman began with polygamy, the first instance of which appears in conjunction with murder, avenging of blood and sinful poetry (Gen.4th). Even now authority for the subjection of women is sought in what transpired after sin entered the world. Christ says: "From the beginning it was *not* so," and places the authority for the relation of the sexes in the original state of things in Eden.

There is nothing in the Scriptures to show directly or indirectly that women should vote either in church or State. It can be inferred that they did vote in the election of Matthias to take the place of Judas. Acts 1:14: "They all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren."

Then Peter tells them their duty is to elect one to take the place of Judas, and in verse 26 the record is: "And they gave forth their lots; and the lot fell upon Matthias."

But then, the Bible has been interpreted both for and against nearly all the great evils that have ever existed. It has done service for both sides of the Lottery, Social amusements, Drunkenness, Slavery, and Polygamy. The Bible is neither in favor of, nor opposed to woman suffrage, and therefore the

question must be decided outside of it.

It is simply ridiculous, to say the least, to see some people, who are opposed to woman suffrage, going through the Bible picking up a dead bone here and one there and trying to make a composite creature that would uphold them in their views, and all the time whistling "Sac-ri-le-gious, sac-ri-le-gious, sac-ri-le-gious" to the tune of 'Old Hundred', fearing all the time that some ghost might arise and scare them so that the hairs of their head would stand up like the quills of a porcupine, for their act of sacrilege in distorting the Scriptures.

"Let the women learn from their husbands at home" would be a peculiar doctrine to day, and to carry it out would present a strange picture. Educated, intelligent women learning from their husbands at home, eh? "Ten times as many girl graduates as boy graduates from our high schools" and how much would the average woman "learn from her husband at home?" A strange picture indeed.

Many husbands do not have sense enough to stay at home any length of time, much less instruct a wife there. Most men have time for nothing but saloons, Secret societies and Lodges. And they have solemnly sworn not to tell what they know about them, even to their wives.

Dr. Lyman Abbott would explode a great shell in the camp of the woman suffragists by quoting Paul's injunction, "Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands." Here is Mrs. Mary Parry's reply to it:



“Dr. Lyman Abbott, in my humble opinion, mistakes wifely submission to the laws of God and nature for obedience to a husband’s authority. He says a woman should ‘look up to and reverence her husband.’ Why not look up to and reverence God, and say of our husband, in the language of the Psalmist: ‘A man mine equal, my guide and mine acquaintance. We took counsel together and walked to the house of God in company?’ Why will our brethren twist and distort the Apostolic teaching into a command of ‘Wives, obey your husbands,’ when there is no such command? We recommend all such brethren to spend more time and give more thought to an elaborate and exhaustive explanation of ‘Husbands, love your wives’, especially when we remember, and all fathers know, that ‘submission’ means going down, as Mrs. Lathrop says, ‘into the very jaws of death, to give birth to the children which are God’s own pledges of faithful and honourable marriage.’”

#### History Repeated.

Samuel J. May in his “Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict” says: “Accordingly the most violent conflicts we had, and the most outrageous mobs we encountered, were led on or instigated by persons professing to be religious. Of the 30,000 ministers of all denominations in the United States, I believe not one in a hundred ever raised his voice against the enslavement of millions of our countrymen, nor lifted his finger to protect one who had escaped from bondage. It must be left for the future historian of our

Republic in the nineteenth century to tell to posterity how fearfully the American Church, and ninety nine hundredths of the ministers were subjugated to the will and behest of our slave-holding oligarchy.

It cannot be denied that the most formidable opposition we had to contend against was that which was made by the ministers and churches and ecclesiastical authorities. When the future history of the anti-slavery conflict shall be fully written, and the sayings and doings of preachers, theological professors, editors of religious periodicals, and presbyteries, associations, conferences, and general assemblies, shall be spread before the people in the light of our enlarged liberty, no one will fail to see that practically the worst enemies of truth, righteousness and humanity were those who professed to be friends and followers of Christ. Had they been generally faithful and fearless in behalf of the oppressed, no other opponents would have dared to oppose the just demand for their immediate emancipation."

In the present struggle for the emancipation of the drunkard and the women from their respective bondages the forces for and against are similar to those in the struggle for Negro emancipation. And what May says of the past may be truly said of the present: it will be left to the future historian of our Republic in the twentieth century to tell to posterity how fearfully the American church, and many of its ministers were subjugated to the will and behest of our Rum-ruling and Slum-making oligarchy.

## DISFRANCHISES

**T**he political peers of women are peculiar.-

In Kansas the disfranchises consist of convicts, criminals, idiots, insane men and sane women. In Minnesota and Nebraska the criminals are disfranchised. In Iowa convicts are not in the list.

In Wisconsin bribers, boodlers and duellists are. In Michigan duellists and women only are disfranchised. In Illinois, women and convicts; women, boodlers and bribers in Indiana; in Missouri, insane, paupers, women and criminals are all disfranchised.

Mrs. Henrietta Briggs-Wall, of Hutchinson, Kansas, has composed a group of five of these,—the Idiot, the Criminal, the Indian, the insane man and the sane woman (Miss Frances E. Willard), and the group is entitled, “American Woman and Her Political Peers.”

What sane man is willing to allow his sane wife, sane mother, sane daughter, and sane sister to be put on an equality with the array of brains constituting the above named disfranchised class?

How many men will admit that their wives manifested less brains in accepting their *proposal* than they manifested in making it? And yet frequently it is only too true. Who doubts his wife’s judgment when she says he is a good man? And that is right. No man should get socially mixed up with a woman whose judgment he cannot trust. Yet they are commonly classed with the fool. Either his judgment

or hers is bad, or biased in many cases.

A woman is treated by men as inferior to the savage Indian. For if the Indian owns a dog and pays taxes on him he can vote. A woman may own the world and the fulness thereof and it would not help her to the ballot in many states. Probably they are treated thus to keep them from getting the whole world. But if a woman had a whole world of her own, she would have to get a man to control it for her. Yes, and then get another woman to control the man. So the expense of running it would soon eat up all the profits. How wise men are to see that it is best to discourage the women in getting property.

The criminal who has rebelled against law and everything that is good in human society, of course should not be allowed to help make laws. But what have the *women* done? Why brand them with the same mark? Where is the commonality between a sane woman and an insane man? Yet our legal statutes put them on an equality in suffrage. The insane man might abuse the right of suffrage, but who dares to say that a woman would do so more than a man?

The center of the group is occupied by the sweet face of that grand and noble woman, first and foremost as an all-round good woman in the world — Frances E. Willard. Yet many of the men, and our statutes, put her on a political level with fools, criminals, savages, lunatics and paupers of this country, and far below American dudes and fops, and foreign

snobs, ex-criminals, ex-convicts, paupers, dunces and donkeys, all because "She's nothing but a woman;" which is the only invincible argument against woman suffrage. Crusty prejudice, conservative faintness and the inertia of custom, and all other reasons are nothing compared with it. And altogether we have never heard a reason against woman suffrage that was worth considering, or was worthy the understanding of a small boy, or that could stand up without a whalebone between its ribs. There is some satisfaction in striking at an obstacle that is capable of being knocked down, but the opposition to woman suffrage is like a bag of feathers suspended in the air. You may pound it all day, and at night it is still a bag of feathers, neither ruffled nor moved.

## RIGHTS.

---

**T**he "Outlook" said in regard to the New York Constitutional Convention omitting the word *male* from its constitution: "The question is one of political expediency, not of political justice." Just as if our government were founded on "political expediency." Our idea has always been that "eternal justice" was the foundation principle of our government. It was not the amount of tax on tea and paper, but the *principle* of taxation without representation that hurt us.



“Political expediency” cut no figure in it. The God-implanted instinct of justice and right prompted our sturdy forefathers to resent the insult to their independence from the British government. The expediency of their] revolutionary measures was not considered at all. It was not considered germane to the question. The matter simply was, “Taxation without representation is contrary to every sentiment of justice, is therefore tyranny and will not be tolerated by an enlightened people.” That principle has not changed. Taxation without representation is still tyranny, whether imposed on subjects across the waters or at home. The instinct is still alive in the American heart.

Why then is it that our government practices the very same tyranny against which the founders of the government rebelled? Simply because our lawmakers discuss the subject from the standpoint of expediency and not from that of *right*. All intelligent men concede that on a basis of right the ballot should be in the hands of women, but expediency,—speculation as to what would be the probable results of women’s participation in politics—is permitted to thrust aside the underlying principle of *right*, and the subject is discussed as a political measure merely, and as one devoid of moral quality.

Where a question of justice is involved in any matter, expediency ought to have no place in its settlement. Evil can not permanently result from a course of conduct determined by a strict adherence to *right*.

Where are our boasted liberty and freedom? Where is the "Land of the free and the home of the brave?" (Free men and brave women, we suspect.)

It could not mean the land of free men and the homes of brave women, because the law (generally,) does not allow a woman any part of a home that she and her husband earn in partnership until he dies, and then only the *interest* of one-third of it. No matter if she earns the whole farm after they are married, and he only boards with her, (many men do that,) she cannot will one cent of it to her children at her death. A widow gets the interest of one-third of her own and her husband's property after his death. She really owned one-half of it before his death, but now only *the interest of one-third of it*. (In many cases she could suffer such a loss in order to get rid of him.) If she dies, he gets the whole of it to do with it as he pleases. If the property was hers before marriage, and they have a living child, he gets the use of it all as long as he lives.— He may even drive her children off, bring home another wife and raise up other children on the dead mother's property. "O consistency, thou art a jewel." But such an one as does not shine well in the light. In some states a married woman cannot own anything, no matter whether she earns it or inherits it. Everything belongs to the husband. In Kentucky, a few years ago, lived a man who spent all he earned in the saloons. In fact he got so low down that he hung round doing odd jobs for his drinks.

He seldom went home. His wife earned enough money, by hard washing, (\$32) and bought a cow. When he heard of it, he went home, drove the cow away and sold her for \$7,00 and a shot gun, and returned to the saloon to spend the money. She had no redress at law. She was nothing but a woman, and the laws there did not allow her to own anything.

Abraham Lincoln said: "Freedom and slavery cannot both survive." If it is not slavery, what is the condition of the 15,000,000 women in this country? Is it right that those who were once slaves and who are, in many respects, inferior to these women, be liberated and the women still left in subjection?

The ignorant, black man's privileges and opportunities and powers are far superior to those of our intelligent white women. And yet there are many white women spending their lives to day in teaching the black man how to vote, but yet they cannot vote themselves because they are nothing but women.

Really the subjection of women is the fruit of usage, custom and consequent prejudice. And in the nature of things a man has no more natural right to say that a woman shall not vote than a woman has to say that a man shall not vote.

Give us an educational qualification for the ballot, and that will sift out the undesirable, sedimentary vote of both sexes. This will enable us to exchange the undesirable for the desirable. making a test that is impartial, in which sex will count for no more than the color of the hair.



Is the principle of taxation without representation right? Should women be taxed to help support a government in which they have no representation? Should women be amenable to laws in whose enactment they have no voice?

These are the points at issue; if they can be answered affirmatively, then the question of woman suffrage may be decided from the standpoint of expediency or policy, and then our government ought to at once apologize to Great Britain for its rebellion against her authority.

The Baptists in New England early set women free ecclesiastically, recognizing the truth that "in Christ there is neither male nor female."

Thomas Jefferson stated that his outline for a Democratic form of government for the United States was a result of his observations of the Democratic form of government of the little Baptist church near his home where he often attended.

Dr. Bushnell and many others would have us believe that "suffrage is the right given, never a right to be demanded because it inheres beforehand in the person, and neither men nor women have any title to it save what is grounded in consideration of benefit."

By whom is it given? And where did the ones who confer the right get it? The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution do not confer the right to vote on any one. The framers of these documents had the right to vote before the documents existed. Or else how could they vote to make them?

And others say: "If suffrage is a natural right, by what special law of nature does it become operative sooner or later?" By the same law that makes the right of a boy or girl to get married operative sooner or later according to the laws of the different States.

The right to trade, contract, marry and vote all inhere in the infant, but can only be exercised later in life. No one is born a voter. Neither is any one born a man. All are born babes. All babes are born with the right to become men and women without hindrance. So are they born with the right to become voters. And society only regulates, it does not confer these rights. The *natural* rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" insure to us all that will protect those rights.

James Freeman Clark says: "There are many rights given by society, of which it would nevertheless be manifestly unjust to deprive either sex. If women were forbidden to use the sidewalk, and if they complained of the deprivation, it would be no answer to tell them that it was not a natural right, but one given by society, and which society might therefore control as it saw fit." And it would be about as reasonable to tell them "the majority of the women don't want to use the streets," or "bad women would use the streets," or "women would be out of their 'sphere,'" or "the Bible is opposed to women using the streets," etc. But such are the answers of men to the women complaining of being deprived of what men call a *conferred* right.

If "All self-governments derive their powers from those to be governed," certainly those who are to obey the laws, and those who are to be punished for breaking them, ought to have a voice in making them, especially when that voice would not be used for a bad purpose, but to good ends.

Angelina Grimpe's motto was: "What is morally right for a man to do, is morally right for a woman to do." And she was not very far wrong.

And William Lloyd Garrison says: "Women claim no other title to it (the suffrage) than men assert for themselves; and that claim is valid in one case as well as in the other. It is sure to be accorded in the end, and the sooner the better. No matter how many stupid or stubborn men may resist, or how many weak minded women may say nay, it will nevertheless be triumphant, adding new luster to the nineteenth century."

George William Curtis championed equal rights in the New York Constitutional Convention of 1857. One portion of his speech was directed against the phrase "Provided that idiots, lunatics, persons under guardianship, felons, women, and persons convicted of bribery etc.," shall not be entitled to vote," and it has been considered a gem of oratory: "I wish to know, sir, and I ask in the name of the political justice and consistency of this State, why it is that half of the adult population, as vitally interested in good government as the other half, who own property, manage estates, and pay taxes, who discharge all the duties of good citizens and are perfectly intelligent and capable, are absolutely deprived of political power and classed with lunatics and felons.

The boy will become a man and a voter; the lunatic may emerge from the cloud and resume his rights; the idiot, plastic under the tender hand of modern science, may be moulded into the full citizen; the criminal, whose hand still drips with the blood of his country and of liberty, may be pardoned and restored; but no age, no wisdom, no peculiar fitness, no public service, no effort, no desire, can remove from woman this enormous and extraordinary disability. Upon what reasonable grounds does it rest? Upon none whatever. It is contrary to natural justice, to the acknowledged and traditional principles of the American government, and to the most enlightened political philosophy."

On Feb. 6th and 7th, 1866, Charles Sumner made a great speech in Congress in favor of equal rights for all, and maintained that Congress had full power, in guaranteeing a Republican form of government, to enfranchise the colored race throughout the nation without an amendment to the Constitution. He said: "We must declare that a State which, in the foundation of its government, sets aside "the consent of the governed," which imposes taxation without representation, which discards the principle of equal rights, and lodges power exclusively with an oligarchy, aristocracy, caste or monopoly, can not be recognized a "Republican form of government" according to the requiremets of American institutions. Even if it may satisfy some definition handed down from antiquity or invented in monarchical Europe, it can not satisfy the solemn injunction of our constitution. . . . . To establish the equal rights for all, no further amendment is needed.

The actual text is exuberant; instead of adding new words, it will be enough if you give those that exist the natural force belonging to them. Instead of neglecting, use them.

An illustrious magistrate once retorted upon an advocate who, dissatisfied with a ruling of the court, threatened to burn his books, "Better read them," and so would I say now to all who think the Constitution needs amendment. Better read it.

Yes, sir, read it in the principles proclaimed by the Fathers before the Revolution; read it in the declaration of the Fathers when they took their place as a Republic; read it in the avowed opinions of the Fathers; read it in the noble acts of the Fathers; and in all this beaming, diffusive light, you will discern the true meaning. The victory that overthrew slavery carried away all those glosses and constructions by which this wrong was originally fastened upon us. For generations, the National Constitution has been interpreted for slavery. From this time forward, it must be interpreted in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, so that human rights shall always prevail."

Benjamin Franklin said: "Liberty, or freedom consists in having an actual share in the appointment of those who frame the laws. . . . They who have no voice nor vote in the electing of representatives, do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved."

Surely then, a government is despotic in proportion to the rights withheld from the people. And so far as womanhood is concerned, America is almost an absolute despotism.



## CITIZENS

Who are citizens? Men only, when it comes to making laws and drawing salaries, but *men-and-women* when the laws are to be obeyed and the salaries paid. If a woman had the wealth of a Dives and the wisdom of a Solomon, and a man had the poverty of Lazarus and the ignorance of a dunce, he could make the laws and she would be compelled to obey them and pay the salary. Division of labor. See? The fifteenth amendment to our Constitution says: "The right of citizens . . . .to vote shall not be denied or abridged . . . on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Again: "No State shall make, or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Art. XIV., Sec. 1: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the State where they reside."

When women intend to travel in foreign countries they take out citizens' passports for protection.

And the Supreme Court of the United States has time and again decided that women are citizens.—

Webster defines the word "citizen" to be "a person, native or naturalized, who has the privilege of voting for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people." The right to vote then, inheres in citizenship;



## WHO ARE "THE PEOPLE?"

**T**he preamble to our Constitution says: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Now who are "the people?" Is a woman a people? If not, why did not the men people say: "we the *men* people of the United States, in order to form a more *despotic* union, establish *injustice*, insure *masculine rule* and *feminine subjection*, . . . . promote *our* general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty and freedom to *ourselves* and our *male* posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States?"

For a little experiment we pick up the Constitution of the State of Ohio. The preamble says: "We the people of the State of Ohio, (1) grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, to secure its blessings and promote our common welfare, do establish this Constitution."

Now the women of Ohio ought to be *very* grateful for their "freedom" to do nothing but what men allow them; to secure such blessings as men *think* they need; to promote the common welfare of men and help to establish the Constitution of their State.

Sec. 1: of the "Bill of Rights" says: "All men are, by nature, free (1) and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending (2) life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, (3) and seeking and obtaining happiness and safety."

Now if the word "men" does not include women it certainly should. If it does, it is very inconsistent. The women have the right to acquire and possess property, but what power have they to protect it? Men tax their property as much as they please and use the money as it suits them. Men can pass such laws as will consume the property and the women can neither protect it nor hinder them. They may build houses, but men can set down saloons beside them and depreciate the property, destroy their happiness and endanger their lives, and yet they live in America.

Sec. 2, says: "All political power is inherent in the people." (1) Government is instituted for their equal protection and benefit, and they have the right to alter, reform, or abolish the same etc."

Does the word "people" mean *men*, or does it mean *men-and-women* when political power is spoken of? What is the antecedent of *their* and *they*? Is it *men*, or is it *men-and-women*? If "Government is instituted for equal protection and benefit" of men and women, then the next clause is not true, for men only can "alter, reform and abolish the same whenever they deem it necessary."

Sec. 3: "The people have the right to assemble together in a peaceable manner etc." certainly means both men and women. But "people" in the next sec.(4) means men only; "the people have a right to bear arms." Sec. 5: "The right to trial by jury;" Sec. 6: "No slavery in this state;" Sec. 7: "All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship;" Sec. 8: "Writ of Habeas Corpus;" and Sec. 9: "All persons shall be bailable," all includes women as well as men.

We might go through the whole Bill of *Rights and Wrongs* in this way and show how confused are the ideas of the Constitution of the great State of Ohio; but this is sufficient. Now Ohioans are not all the sinners that dwell at Jerusalem and have sinned in this way. You may take up almost any other State Constitution and you will find it wonderfull like unto that of Ohio. And the same indefiniteness and inconsistencies are found in the United States Constitution. Is it not time we begin to say what we mean and mean what we say?

Under our present circumstances and according to our political statutes we should say we have a "government of the men people, for the men people, by the men people." Women people do not count, only in making up a larger number, so as to have as many representatives as possible, and thus put more men people in the "by people" or official class, to draw salaries—all because "She's nothing but a woman."

FREEDOM AND EQUALITY.  

---

Samantha Allen says: "The Declaration of Independence says: 'All men are born free and equal.'

Now half of that means *men*, and the other half means *men and women*. Now to understand them words perfect you have to divide the sex. 'Men are born,' that means men and women both,—men and women are both born, nobody will dispute that.

Then comes the next clause, 'Free and Equal.' Now that means men only,—anybody with one eye can see that.."

In the National Convention that nominated Lincoln for President, a set of resolutions were introduced, not so much opposed to slavery as to slavery extension. Joshua Giddings thought they were not strong enough and he introduced an amendment reasserting the 'self evident truths' of the Declaration of Independence, that "All men are created *free and equal*." He said it was the first platform of the party and to leave it out would be a cowardly dodging of first principles. The convention shied at it as taking ground against slavery *per se*, when opposition to its extension was all that was intended. It would lose votes. Down it went. The old man found that the convention was not in harmony with his anti-slavery views and fight, and so he made his way out at the door.

What made that gathering possible? What was

its aim? What were its links of sympathy? Why call his proposition a mere whim? It was the crucial test of the organization, and why should he not go out when it failed?

There was nothing there for him. The great truth for which he was ready to die was opposed and abandoned, and the Reform party stood cringing before the Nation and dared not stand on the principles upon which the Republic was founded. Instead of it being a "childish act" to leave the room, it was a duty to self-respect and the honor of a righteous cause, and the only thing that brought the convention to its senses. Men who knew Giddings' unselfish, consecrated work for freedom saw him leave in sadness, and in the midst of its rush and sweep and enthusiasm, that great convention stopped and questioned if it paid to cringe before the Declaration of Independence. And at the right moment George William Curtis with that majestic thrill of his kingly presence and classic words addressed the convention: "I have to ask this convention whether they are prepared to go upon record and before the country as voting down the words of the Declaration of Independence?" Cries of 'no, no', came from all over the house. "I rise," he said in closing, "simply to ask gentlemen to think well, before upon the free prairies of the west, in the summer of 1860, they dare to wince and quail before the assertions of the men in Philadelphia in 1776, before they dare to shrink from repeating the words these great men enuncia-



ed." And the amendment was adopted with scarcely a dissenting voice.

The reformers of to day are thundering against the walls of prejudice and ignorance and deep rooted custom, and wrong, imbedded in the state and nation. They are fighting avarice and compromise, as did the heroes of slavery times. The gathering time will surely come,—the harvest of enlightened conscience, and loyalty to principle and keen-edged justice. Oh, for a George William Curtis to open the eyes of our political conventions, so they would no longer fear to form and stand by a platform that reaffirms the foundation principles of our Government. But there is also great need of men of principle and backbone, who will get up and out of a convention, and out of a party too, that refuses to stand by the Declaration of Independence.



## MEN AND WOMEN.

God made man and man made woman what she is a—slave. This country is governed by the consent of the men only. A woman has no more will or consent than a dead man. But a woman is a citizen and is equally affected with man by bad or good government. And because obligations to society and subjection to government are without sex, so should suffrage be too.

Woman was made as much in the likeness of God as man was, and if our churches are a good criterion of judgment, perhaps more so. Both were made social, and not solitary beings. And in things in which both are equally concerned it is not good for either to be alone. Man was not complete until he received a help-meet. Then came society, and God made their relations binding, not by *their consent*, but by *his decree*.

Civilized society is the cultivation of all interdependent relations of all the persons concerned, and the upward rising towards the Creator. Barbarous society is the ignoring of all, or some of these relations, or the dominion of the lower propensities in whole or in part. It may consist in the ill treatment of other persons, peoples or nations. And certainly it is barbarous to deprive any one of a God-given right, when the exercise of that right would not work harm, but good to society.

When Rome was ruined, the degradation of wom-

anhood and the debasement of lofty sentiment was so great, that appeals to the good and noble would not reach the degraded domineers. And how can any nation flourish when the God-given rights of the people are trampled on, and all that is good and noble is ignored?

Will any man dare to say a woman would not have good judgment in things pertaining to her "life, liberty and happiness," and rob her of her children, her rights and her reason?

If man was only part of a man (the male part) until the female was created, so a government of the male part of man is only half a government. The best government in this world is that of the home where father and mother have equal power, as in the modern Christian home. No other place is so free from temptations, and serves the best interests of all its inmates. A government on the same basis would be more like a typical home and serve the best interests of all, and shut out the pests of civilization.

Honesty would compel us to admit that the subjugation of woman is a trace of that barbarism that made women slaves, beasts of burdens, pets and playthings. And the whole logic of the thing lies in a nutshell. Either women should vote, or men should not vote. Human ingenuity cannot suggest a single distinction between the sexes, so far as the right to vote is concerned. If measured intellectually, the women of our country are superior to the men.

Are women not just as capable as men of judging

of the respective merits of men and measures; of Neal and McKinley; of Cleveland and Harrison; of free trade and protection, free whiskey and "cordial sympathy;" of civil service reform and the spoils system; of woman suffrage and fraudulent elections? And shall we trust the men who are as ignorant as oxen to decide these, and be afraid of Mary Somerville and others who measure the stars?

Men and women have the same interests in this world; both own property and pay taxes; both have children to be educated and protected, and lives and limbs to be made secure. They follow many of the same businesses and professions; they do much of the same labor, and have each shown ability as queens and kings, as rulers and administrators, as business clerks and agents. And why should there be such a distinction made when it comes to dropping a bit of paper into the ballot box?

A few years ago a married woman of Massachusetts, who earned wages, agreed with her husband, who also was a wage-earner, to form a common fund and he should take care of that fund. Afterwards, with his consent, she drew from the fund, and with the money she purchased clothing for herself. A lawsuit was the result. The court, after solemn argument, decided the clothes belonged to the husband. She did not own the shoes on her feet. It is still the case in most of the states. Lately a Western Judge decided a woman's *time* is her husband's time, and damages for loss of time can be recovered by him only.

If a woman has her money invested in Railroad, Bank or Building and Loan Association stock, etc., she votes as often and as well as a man does. If she draws it out and puts it into real estate, she has no more control over its taxation than her six months old infant. Men may vote it away as they see fit.

The opposers to woman suffrage protest that virtue is the most essential qualification of the citizen voter, and yet maintain that women, who possess this qualification in the highest degree should be excluded from the polls; they admit to the ballot-box the worst element of society, and yet maintain the best element should be excluded from it; they declare that taxation of man without representation is tyranny, but that taxation of woman without representation is a blessing; they trust the Negro, the Chinaman, the Irishman, the German, the Hottentot and the South Sea Islander, if these choose to come to our shores. "Many of them," says Dr. Hulbert, "come to us having neither money enough to pay their passage, nor learning enough to write their names, nor virtue enough to prize their liberties, nor manhood enough to use their opportunities. These are the people who desecrate our Sabbaths, who corrupt our elections, who misrule our cities, who foment our strikes, who appeal to bludgeons, the torch, dynamite, social and political revolution." And notwithstanding the truth of the above, still here remains that invincible "She's nothing but a woman."

WOMEN DON'T WANT TO VOTE.

---

When Keely was about to establish his institute for the cure of inebriates, suppose that people had said to him: "I am opposed to it, because drunkards don't want to be cured." Suppose some one objects to foreign missions because "the heathen don't want to be saved." The Negro received the ballot because it was right and not because he asked for it, or wanted it.

If Felix steals a horse, and the owner of the horse neither prosecutes him nor demands the horse back, it neither gives him the ownership nor makes the theft right. Not demanding our rights is no reason for others with-holding them from us. The Negroes did not always dare to make known their desires and requests to their masters, nor to any one else. White slaves often keep their mouths closed for the same reason. What good would it do for women to open their mouths about their rights in many instances? Simply to be hooted at for wanting to meddle with men's business, and be told their place is at home, caring for the children, and not at the polls voting or electioneering.

During the Crusades in Ohio, many cowardly men wanted to know why the wives and daughters of the drunkards were not among the Crusaders. If they were not satisfied, why not show their dissatisfaction by being among those fanatical women parading the streets and praying in the saloons?



In 1890 the people of South Dakota voted on two important amendments to their State Constitution. The first was to enfranchise the women; the second was to enfranchise the Sioux Indians. Woman suffrage was overwhelmingly defeated. Sioux suffrage was carried by the votes of the American, German, Norwegian, Swede, Dane and Hungarian. And these Indians neither asked for the ballot nor aspired to citizenship. Hundreds of them asked for rations, and on being denied, before midwinter were in arms against the government that thrust citizenship upon them, which rebellion cost the State no small amount of money and bloodshed.

Every year thousands of young men deposit their first ballot and no one ever thinks of asking them if they want to vote. And why ask a woman? Why make "wanting to vote" a condition of voting in one case and not in the other?

Not one woman in a thousand cares to enter the profession of Law, Medicine or the Ministry, but we insist that these professions be open to those who do want to enter, on the same terms as to men.

Society may impose restrictions and adopt regulations under which each individual may practice law or medicine, or vote, but they should apply to all. But for society to say that no Jew shall hold office because he is a Jew, that no German shall practice medicine because he is a German, no Negro shall preach because he is a negro, and no woman shall vote because she is a woman, is the basest of tyranny.



Mother Stewart gives the reason for their absence, in her "History of the Crusades." She says they were on the street one day in an Ohio town, and a drunkard went reeling by, and one of the women remarked to him that *his* wife ought to be with them. He replied: "If she were I'd kill her." And here is the secret, why so many women suffer secretly and silently, and seldom complain of their lots, or demand their rights. It is the domineering disposition of men that has kept women from demanding their rights. Give them a chance and see if they don't want to vote. Two men were debating the woman suffrage question in an Ohio town, before a large audience. The one opposed to it said the women did not want to vote. His opponent in his next speech said he could prove that the women wanted to vote, and if there were no objections he would do it right there. He was told to proceed. He then said: "All the women in the house who would vote if they could, please stand up." All the women in the audience immediately stood up, and the opposer's wife was among them.

Many people think the strongest reason for refusing women the ballot is "they don't want to vote." "The Christian Work" says: "What the majority do not want the totality should not have." Such logic put in force would hinder and prevent all reforms. The Law from Mt. Sinai was too previous, for the Jews were worshipping a golden calf at the time and did not want a law opposed to such.

Christ came too soon, for He was not wanted by the majority, and by but few of the totality. It was wrong to begin to preach the gospel at Jerusalem where Christ was not wanted. Luther must give up the Reformation, the Slums must remain as they are, the Whiskey traffic, the Sunday newspaper, and every form of sin and iniquity are to be let alone because the majority want them. "Don't want it" is not a good reason in itself for refusing to grant a thing. It is no reason at all. Men do not lock stables and fence fields because they know people will not steal and cows will not eat corn, but because they fear they will. "*Et tu, Brute.*"

Men would not for one moment listen to such an argument against themselves.

By the census report there are 466,960 males of voting age in Chicago, and 236,711, or more than one half of them did not vote, and were not registered. Should not these non-voters be disfranchised? Yea verily, and the 230,249 who are registered and do vote should be disfranchised also as a punishment to them because the others do not vote. Such is the logic of those who would withhold the ballot from some women because others do not want to vote.

But on the other hand, if one man or woman wants to exercise the right to vote, what earthly reason is there for denying it because other men and women do not wish to exercise it? If I desire to breathe the pure air of heaven, shall I be deprived of it because others prefer the stale atmosphere of indoors?

Women being citizens, are clearly entitled to the ballot, and no State has a constitutional right to exclude any citizen from voting because of sex.

According to our laws and customs, men only are citizens. And a woman is never a man unless she commits crime, disobeys law or owns property. And in the last case she is only half a man—the tax-paying half. Men make themselves self-appointed representatives to see that she is not deprived of the tax-paying privilege, just because "She's nothing but a woman."

Judge Farrar upholds the authority of the National government to maintain the republicanism of the States in the following strong language: "When Congress undertakes to prescribe a republican government to the States, and of course, to determine what is such a government, they will be as likely to decide what kind and what portion of the people shall participate in the suffrage, and under what regulations and restrictions, as they will be to decide what part of the government officers shall be chosen by popular election (page 152).

It is the duty of Congress to see that no aristocracy, oligarchy, or privileged class is allowed to usurp the rights of the people, or disfranchise any portion, much less one-half, or a majority of their own citizens."

In the Constitutional Convention at Albany N. Y., a statement was presented from the women suffragists showing that out of the \$2,400,000,000 of as-

sessed property in the state outside of New York city, the women paid taxes on over \$300,000,000. The number of women taxed is 144,000.

Women in the State of Kansas control property assessed at \$88,000,000, thus giving to the state and county nearly \$3,000,000; and state alone, \$350,000.

Now if our fathers were robbed because they were taxed by a body in which they were not represented, our women to-day are robbed simply because they are taxed by a body in which they are not represented. And every State plunders from its women a million dollars every few years.

In the town of Brookline, Mass., in 1883, one woman, with her trustees, was taxed \$10,599.75, yet if she had ventured to come into a Town-meeting and offer to speak about any proposed expenditure of money, or any other matter of business or interest to the community, she would have been laughed at. The chairman could do as he pleased about allowing her to speak. But one thing is sure, she had no vote and they would vote away her money as it seemed good to them.

Her money really did more for the support of the town than the money of any other wealthy person in town (not one whit wiser, more generous, or more public spirited than she,) whose words in a town-meeting would have been listened to with the utmost respect; because they are men. She paid more to secure good roads, good streetlights, good drains, good police, and town officers, than thousands of men.

And yet upon no question of the improvement of the town could she vote, though abundantly competent to form a correct judgment on all of them.

The only subject on which she could vote was choosing a school committee. Even on the subject of schools, she has no vote in determining the amount proper to be appropriated for educational purposes, and no power to vote to make school houses healthy.

Some five years ago the Nebraska legislature constituted Thurston county with but two townships, a lot of prairie grass and a few patches of Indians. The latter did not pay taxes but the most of them voted. To start out, the county borrowed \$10,000. Two townships of farmers and three or four merchant land owners in Pendar, were the only tax-payers. The saloon element got up a scheme for booming the town by building a new court house. Among the tax-payers was a widow who was left with six small children. Like the true American woman of pluck, she hired two hands and tried to run the little farm. There was a special election to decide on bonding the county for \$25,000 for a new court house, in addition to the \$10,000 already against them. That widow could not vote although she paid taxes. Her hired hands paid no taxes, but both voted. About 600 non-tax-paying Indians were allowed to vote. There were about 300 tax-payers in all. The non-tax-payers about doubled the tax-payers. The saloon element easily worked up the non-tax-payers to vote to bond the town so as to increase business.



The next year's crops failed and the widow could not pay her hands and the extra high tax they had voted on her. The farm was sold and a tax-title deed given to the purchaser. Did not Yankee Bill thrash English John because he oppressed and required him to be taxed without being represented? Was it less tyranny in the Nebraska widow's case than when it was a Yankee? But *she* was nothing but a woman.

IT IS NOT TRUE.

We have shown the *injustice* of with-holding the ballot from women on the ground that some women "don't want to vote." We will now show the untruthfulness of it.

At the first election when the women voted in Ohio three women cast ballots for every four men. In Colorado the registry showed that the first ballots of the women were about equal to those of the men at the same election. In Denver the female vote was 55 per cent. of the whole.

After 25 years of experience in Massachusetts the percentage of the women voting was greater than that of the men.

The Mt, Pleasant, (Ia.) *Free Press* says: "Almost 400 signatures were obtained to a petition for woman suffrage in our city between Monday noon and Tuesday evening. Three out of every four persons seen signed the petition gladly."

Of the first registration in Connecticut, Miss Burr says: "The registration of women revealed the fact, which many of us had suspected, that there



were many more women who believed in suffrage who had never let their belief be known, than those who did let it be known.”

In New Zealand the first year the women had the franchise 109,500 women registered to 193,500 men, or about four women for every seven men registered.

But the women voted at the ratio to men of 4 to 5.5. Those who did not vote were to be struck off the registry. (They can apply for registration again.) The percentage of men deregistered was 27.5 and of women 17.5. This shows that the women of New Zealand *do* want to vote.

Five hundred Wellesley girls united in a telegram of congratulation to the Colorado Woman Suffrage Association upon the passing of the equal rights amendment. On a canvass of 622 students, 502 of them favored suffrage.

Here is an account of their voting in Kansas after seven years experience, and when the novelty had worn off :

“The female vote in the last election was larger than in the one next preceding, and that was larger than the one which preceded it. The women voted much more numerously in the last election than they ever did before. In Kansas City the women voted three and one-third times as numerously as they did in 1887, when women were admitted first to the municipal elections, and when it was said they went to the polls in such large numbers because of the novelty of the thing. The women vote of Fort Scott last year was three and one half times as large as their first vote. The Emporia and Salina women doubled their first vote. Many of our daughters did excel-

lently; but the Wichita women excelled them all, for they voted at the last election seven times as numerously as they did at first.

The woman vote has climbed to a better proportion of the male vote. It was 42 per cent. of the male vote in '87. In '93 it was 70 per cent. At the last election in Topeka, the woman vote was to the men vote as 4 to 6; in Kansas City it was 4 to 8; in Wichita as twenty-five and one-half to fifty. One year in Leavenworth 3,500 women voted and 4,000 men—seven women, you see, voted to every eight men. In ten of our cities the women vote has exceeded the men vote. Three cities in the last election put themselves on record with the women voting more numerously than the men. Two of these were county seats. In one of them, Fredonia, the women vote stood to the men as three to two; in the other, Oberlin, five women voted to four men. And these women voters are among our best women. The majority of them are women of position. They are from the churches, the schools, literary societies, Chautauquas. They are the housekeepers, home makers, and mothers, and it is always the eminently respectable women who are in the lead.

We have had no trouble at the polls. The voting places are entirely decent. It is no worse when men and women go to the polls together to deposit ballots than when they go to the postoffice to deposit letters."

Over 640,000 people petitioned the New York constitutional convention to remove the word "male" from the requirements of voters. Over 40,000 W. C. T. U. women asked for the same.

So it does not look as if women do not want to vote. It is wonderful that as many women *do* want to vote since politics are so corrupt and disgusting, and to enter them seems to many as out of place, because they are not used to such things. And then there is such a tremendous pressure brought to bear to hold them in bondage; not only the powers of earth—laws, customs and constitutions—but the decrees of Heaven, the scriptures and religious superstitions.

Give a woman half a chance and she will soon show that she does want to vote, will vote and must vote, because “She’s Nothing but a Woman.”

“I GUESS I CAN.”

---

BY MRS. EMMA PLAYTER SEABURY.

She washed the dishes, and made the bed,  
And patiently got on her knees to scrub;  
In winter she milked the cows in the shed,  
In summer bent o’er the steaming tub;  
She made the garden, and swept and baked;  
And cooked for boarders, and raked the hay,  
And never complained that her poor head ached,  
Or John was almost always away.

When they asked her if she would like to vote,  
She said with a sigh and a look remote,  
"I have done more work than my old man,  
If I have the time, why, I guess I can."

She rocked the cradle the while she churned,  
She kept the children so clean and neat,  
And most of the living her poor hands earned  
While John talked politics in the street.  
When any were sick, the watch she kept,  
She gathered the little ones Sabbath day,  
And walked two miles to the church alway.  
She mended and sewed while her husband slept,  
She taught the children each day a spell;  
When they asked if she favored the suffrage plan,  
She timidly glanced at her husband—"well,  
If John is willing, I guess I can."

And so she drudged, and she baked and brewed,  
And toiled from dawn to the midnight drear.  
John drank, and gossiped, and spat and chewed,  
And talked and grumbled of "woman's sphere."  
And her children grew into stalwart men,  
Brave and helpful, and by her side;  
She knew she made them, and once again,  
When they ask'd the question, she said with pride  
"There's a hundred-dollar woman sometimes  
Yoked to a small ten-dollar man.  
I'm sure it isn't one of tne crimes.  
To vote against him. I guess I can."

## IT IS UNWOMANLY.

JUDGE WAXEM said: "It stretches a woman all out of shape when she begins to reach for the ballot-box." So it seems to him. But it is not half as hard on her shape as bending over the wash tub to support a drunken husband, made such by a bartender to whom *he* gave a license to make drunk and kill.

Men say it is *unwomanly* for a woman to go to the polls, but it is *womanly* for her to go to circuses, dances and theaters. The same men who say that voting would be *unwomanly* think nothing of accompanying the women to such places. And what has not occurred in all of these places to shock the modesty of men as well as women? Fights, drunkenness, profanity, vulgarity, and almost every crime in the catalogue. And yet it would be *unwomanly* for a woman to vote.

At the very mention of voting by women, men's minds fill up with the picture of all the women of the town, precinct or village, getting in men's clothing, filling their pockets with whiskey flasks filled to the brim, calling men and women aside into rooms, cellars, alleys, dark nooks and corners, and drinking and "setting up" votes. The image contains the idea that the women will rush out from their homes, offices and especially their "dens," that the whole female population will be in bloomers and spectacles, a great army marching from the nursery and



kitchen to the polls. That they will vote all day on Monday and stay up all night and drink whiskey and whoop and *holler* for their candidate, as his votes are reported and sing "We'll not go home till morning," and that the "cooler" will be filled up with them before morning and the babes will be left at home half starved, with the men who have to "stay at home and rock cradles and wash dishes;" that this same thing will occur again on Tuesday and on Wednesday and every day of the week, and they say "It will be unwomanly for women to vote." We should say so, too. But is it not *unmanly* for men to do the same? It is just as bad for a man to make a fool or a beast of himself as for a woman. We are more accustomed to the one than to the other, and that makes all the difference.

How is it with men? Do they desert their workshops, their ploughs and offices, to pass their time at the polls? Is it a credit to a *man* to be called a professional politician? The pursuits of men in the world, to which they are directed by the natural aptitude of sex, and to which they must devote their lives, are as foreign from political functions as those of women. To take an extreme case: there is nothing more incompatible with political duties in cooking and taking care of children than there is in digging ditches or making shoes, or in any other necessary employment; while in every superior interest of society growing out of the family, the stake of women is not less than men's, and their knowledge is greater. In England, a woman who owns shares in the East-India Company may vote. In this country, she may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end

of the country to another. 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 regulations of the State? There is no more reason that men should assume to decide participation in politics to be unwomanly than that women should decide for men that it is unmanly. It is not our prerogative to keep women feminine. Nature is quite as wise as we. Whatever their sex incapacitates women from doing, they will not do. Whatever duty is consistent with their sex and their relation to society, they will properly demand to do until they are permitted.

The ballot confers power on those who are endowed with it, and power always commands respect. To be weak is to be miserable, and the enfranchised woman will be more respected than ever before. A gentleman is always courteous, and a boor is always a boor, and from gentlemen, women of any condition have nothing to fear.

In Colorado, "house-wifery" is on an equality with "husbandry." When the wife of ex Governor Rout stepped up to the front rank to register as a voter under the new equal suffrage law recently, and was asked her occupation, she replied, "House-wife." And hundreds of women who had felt some embarrassment on this point took courage.

Not long since there was quite a discussion in the Montreal papers as to whether it was right "for a woman to enter into business or not." It was claimed to be "not a woman's place." The women ought to

stay at home. And oh, what a pathetic picture one man drew of all the poor men at home darning stockings, washing dishes, nursing babies, etc., while the females of the town ran the business down street.

One of the foolish objections against equal suffrage is, "A woman can't do anything that a man can't do better." Well if they can change places with advantage to both, let them do it.

Women are wage-earners, and ought to have an equal opportunity and advantage with men to earn an honest living.

Every girl should not aim at entering public life. But every girl should have some means of earning a livelihood if circumstances should call her to do so. The majority of the women will be crowned queens of that mighty empire, the home; but all women do not marry. If Barcus is not willing Peggotty being anxious avails nothing. The old adage "Every dog has his day" is not true, for there are more dogs than days. So every woman could not get married if she wanted to, for many reasons. The first one is, there are not enough men to go around. The rest are all equally as good.

A little boy said, "When God made Adam he looked at him and said, 'Well I think I can do better than that,' so he made Eve, and he was so pleased that he has been making more Eves than Adams ever since."

Now, what are these surplus women to do to earn a livelihood? Stay at home with their fathers? Fathers do not live forever down here. Well, let

them go to their brothers. But brothers have a faculty for taking care of somebody else's sister. No. A great majority of these women have to fight their own way through life, and many of them have to do it barehanded and alone, with no weapon of education or money to help in the battle, but only the thin wand of their own wills to carry them on to victory. Let them go into the stores, or learn bookkeeping or type-writing. Yes, many of them do, and are paid about half as much as the male clerks for doing the same amount of work. But I believe that this lamentable state of affairs will soon cease to exist, and that women will occupy the place that God originally intended them to fill.

We believe that only a few choice spirits are really called to any profession, and some lawyers would have more success in mending the holes in their client's shoes than in patching up their quarrels.

We have heard it said time and again that a woman who enters public life unsexes herself. Oh, if we could but recognize the Christian doctrine of equality: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female." Faith, hope, love, morality, art, literature, learning, these have no sex. Whatever is right in this world is sexless in the sense that it belongs to everybody alike—to man and to woman. Does a woman degrade herself when she enters the medical profession? Does she blunt her finer sensibilities as she studies the touch of Deity in the wonderful construction of the human body? Is anything degrading that lends a helping hand to suffering humanity? Right here in our midst are women longing and waiting for the help that such women could afford, while from across the seas comes a great

wail of sick and dying women who are denied the help which doctors might afford if they were allowed to see them. Who can say how much good might be done, and distress relieved, if some women consecrated their lives to this grand work?

If a woman be truly called to enter any calling or profession, there is nothing in God's Word, or His Church, or her own nature, in the true interests of society, to hinder her from exercising in that calling or profession the gifts God has given her. But there is much in history, much in her own nature, much in the community, much in the approbation of God to inspire her to go forward, bearing with humility and patience the scoffs and sneers of her opposers, and do with her might and power the work given her, and some day many will arise and call her blessed.---  
*L. E. H., in The Christian Guardian.*

#### DANGEROUS INTIMACY BETWEEN THE SEXES,

Some one says men will lose all respect for women by them meeting at the polls; by mingling in public affairs women will lose that delicacy that gives them both grace and influence. Are womanly qualities God's gift, or are they the result of accident or education? If God endows women with grace, genius and refinement, influence, tenderness and moral purity, is it probable that the exercise of large public duty will efface all these natural marks of her original constitution?

In an oriental country, a physician can only prescribe for a woman by feeling the pulse in an arm thrust from behind a curtain. Here we have a close intimacy between the physician and his patients, the preacher and his parishioners, the school superintendent and his teachers, the merchant and his



book-keepers, the manufacturer and his employees, and yet they do not lose respect for each other. And certainly intimacy of the sexes at the polls would be no worse than these things mentioned.

And if we really prefer Turkish institutions, let us either go where they prevail, or adopt them. But if the American system is the best, let us make it consistent with itself.

It is not the prerogative of men to keep women womanly. Certainly they can be trusted to defend the delicacy of their own sex.

We shall know what is womanly only when women have the same equality of development, and the same liberty of choice as men.

Mrs. M. H. Boardman, of Nevada, writes :

*Dear Sisters* :—Aim for the ballot. That is the key to the situation. Never falter. When a friend or an apologist of drunkenness and debauchery and vice whispers in your ear, “how unwomanly you are,” never flinch. God has planted in the heart of woman the seeds of all pure womanly feeling, and no man can uproot their growth by sneer.

And, my sister, let us turn to ourselves. Let us consider that there is not even a shade of truth in this unending charge of unwomanliness and attempting to get out of our sphere. Let us measure ourselves by the most orthodox standard of conservative womanhood.

Here I stand to-day-- the mother of eight children ; my life given up unreservedly and untiringly to their rearing. Fourteen years a resident of this town, my face is scarcely known upon your streets. A Pharisee of Pharisees, touching the law of wifely and motherly duty—I can say in the language of Mrs. Browning :

“No fly-blow gossip ever specked my life:

My name is clean and open as this hand,  
Whose glove there's not a man dares blab about,  
As if he had touched it freely.”

And yet I am met by a hiss and that word “unwomanly” if I wish to lay my hand upon the machinery which produces the laws to so great an extent that make or mar the children I must rear. Is then this well-earned crown of true womanhood so light a bauble that a breath can whirl it from the brow into the dust? I trow not.

If the men of the state plant a saloon upon every street-corner to lure our children to destruction, are we to be counted unwomanly that we desire to have a hand in outlawing that hideous traffic which is alive at the behest of Satan that he may make of the innocent children that to-day play about our doors, the murderers, the thieves, the prostitutes, the lunatics, and the suicides of to-morrow? That traffic is Satan's most powerful device for taking the pure crystalline souls of the children of whom the Master said, “Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven,” and making them lurid and opaque and fit only to be hurled into those realms of Plutonian night and eternal sorrow. Is that a fate that it is womanly to quietly endure for our children? Is that a fate that it is unwomanly to attempt to avert? God forbid. If my little child creeps into the garden, and I see a deadly serpent coiled to spring upon it, am I unwomanly if I seize a bludgeon and slay that reptile? Would you tell me that after that rough deed my hand will never again be gentle to caress my child?

But a deadly serpent is far less to be feared than this other evil. “I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear,” said the Blessed Master. “Fear him which,

after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea I say unto you, Fear him."

And yet we are told in a strait like this, "Oh, go back. Take your needle and do fancy work—the needle is the peculiar insignia of woman's true sphere. Don't *think*; leave that for the sterner sex. Make your home so beautiful that your boys will stay there in preference to any other place, and don't, above all things, try to dabble in the filthy pool of politics."

Now that sounds nice. Satan was always plausible. Then while you are embroidering and painting your china and making wall banners and screens and flattering yourself that you are sweet and womanly, Satan steps around the corner there and *he* builds a palace, and fills it with superb hangings and glittering mirrors and splendid, sensual pictures and brilliant lights, and into flashing crystal he pours the seductive beverage that steals away the brain and the principle, and fits his victim for deeds of shame and pollution.

It is all right to make your home as beautiful as you can, but it is right too to think and work for the coming of the Lord; to use your influence to raise the standard of purity in this nation, and to set your face against the feeling which prompts the enduring of this awful trade in souls. This oughtest thou to do and not to leave the other undone.

You cannot always hold your child in your arms—always keep him within the walls of home, however beautiful it may be. Some day, before long, he will walk down street there, and he will take in all the sights. He will notice that the men who have called at his home are entering a splendid room there on the corner—honorable men whom *you* greet in passing.

His father says "Stand here a minute sonny, till I come out," and the child sees through the door as it opens and shuts how beautiful it looks in there, and he hears the click of glasses and the laugh and the jest, and when his father comes out and leads him away, he answers his questions by "Oh, you are not old enough to go in there," and that makes the child curious, and when he is older he goes in, and he finds out all about it, and he thinks home is dull. And if, after awhile, you get frightened and tell your boy that the saloon is the open door of hell, he doubts you, and before you know it, O God! your boy is gone. And you have been so womanly all the time and have not lifted a finger to oppose it. Bah! I sicken of such womanliness as that.

Now who destroyed that boy? First of all, the law-makers, who fostered this hellish business and licensed it and protected it, and no woman's love or thought was invoked to save her child. O sisters, lift up your eyes and behold! the fields are already white to the harvest. You need a sickle. Use all your woman's arts and arguments to gain possession of one, so that at that great day you may come rejoicing and bringing your sheaves with you.

Do your utmost to make this world a cleaner, safer place for your children to live in, and never, *never* doubt that your own woman's heart knows what is womanly work better than any man or any fiend alive can tell. Never, never let the absurd heresy enter your brain that it is more womanly to dance and dress and play and flirt than to do the world's work. Relegate from henceforth that pernicious doctrine to those precincts which are at once the exponent of its value and the natural outcome of its acceptance—the harems of the Orient and the



brothels of the Occident. Just now the world is convulsed by the horrible infamies exposed by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, infamies which are rife, too, in our own land. Sister, without liquor, manhood could never become debased. Those horrid, crawling things, that slimy brood of infamies, are all hatched and nurtured by the traffic we oppose. Now we will be told, "Oh! don't mention such things—really, now, women ought not to know about them—women ought never read about them." You have all heard that kind of drivel, and you have all seen the look of mock-modesty creep into some foolish woman's face as she simperingly said: "Oh! *I* never do; I won't even open the papers." Shame! shame! when her whole woman's soul should burn with indignation against this awful business of making offal of the daughters of the land, and desire to save the innocent ones. Queen Victoria, the model ruler, the chaste wife, the faithful mother, the noble daughter of a kingly line is not ashamed to put herself on record against these crimes before the world, and her written words borne through the streets of London, add yet another to the long list of virtuous examples. Right here again a woman's hand is needed in law-making. No mother, with true motherly heart, but would rather see her tender little daughter drawn and quartered in the street before her eyes, that so her pure soul might escape from her tortured body to rise unstained to God; far rather would she accept this fate for her daughter than that other fate of inexpressible pollution, the author of which—by the laws we live under—is held as committing no crime, no offense.

Listen to me, dear sisters, ponder what I say. Your little daughter—almost a baby yet—whose twelfth birthday you celebrated just yesterday—



whose trusting, confiding sweetness is the delight of your heart—is to-day the lawful prey of any villain who may entrap her. He will walk your streets unwhipped of justice. Wake up! Rouse ye! Why will ye sleep! The world needs you—your children need you. This demon of Intemperance leading by the hand the demon of Sensuality is stalking through the land blighting the bud of every pure affection, and substituting therefore impurity and all things abhorrent. Let us remember those words of awful significance, “Ye are the temple of God. If any man defile the temple of God him shall God destroy.” Let us teach them to our children, and teach them that when into this temple is introduced the fiend of Intemperance all things pure and holy flee apace, and quickly swarm in dark shapes of evil and sensuality and brutality, till no besom can be found strong enough to sweep it clean again.

Politics is no filthy pool. It is rather the burning bush, and the voice comes from it, “Take off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.” So should be approached the place of the law-maker—the place where God once deigned to stand. But when men wallow in a filthy pool instead of being obedient to the heavenly vision, *then* come laws worthy of the pool—laws licensing crime and degradation—laws which give the innocent a prey to the crafty—laws which oppress the widow and the fatherless—laws which are a delusion and a snare.

When the hundreds of thousands of Christian women of America shall arise from their knees and go forth to vote as they pray, think you the home will be forgotten? Think you the saloon will long live to menace the home? Think you the little daughters will be forgotten? Think you the house of her

“whose steps take hold on hell” will be allowed in close proximity to our homes and places of business, and that *she* will hail our young sons on our public, frequented thoroughfares, and flaunt the insignia of her shame in the eyes of our young daughters? Nay, verily.

Under the fostering care of our present law-makers, the saloons have multiplied till the drink bill of this nation foots up each year fifteen hundred millions of dollars.

Just think of it. Try to comprehend it if you can. Fifteen hundred millions of dollars worse than wasted. Then try to think how the blessed millenium would be hastened on if, instead of that vast sum being spent in the destruction of all that is best in humanity, it were turned to its elevation—turned to the Christianizing and educating of the children—to the spread of religion and art and science. How clean and safe and beautiful our cities would become. How colleges would multiply and fill. How empty the jails would be. How few suicides would occur. How crime would creep and slink into by-ways instead of unblushingly pushing itself into the chief places of the land. Imagine it! and all these results will follow the destruction of the liquor traffic as surely as the day follows the sun-rising. It is a great work. It will take time. But only faith in God, linked to earnest, enlightened endeavor are needed. . . .

In 1891, Florence Huntley wrote a symposium for a N. Y. paper, from the answers of fifty members of Congress. Col. W. P. C. Breckenridge declared himself unalterably opposed to woman suffrage because “it would affect the present relations between husband and wife.”

## IT IS BEYOND HER SPHERE.

WHAT is woman's sphere? The world is her sphere. There is scarcely any place she has not hazarded her life in going when she could do good. She has gone to the heathen to teach them of Christ, she has gone to the savage to tame him so that men could preach to him and then kill him with rum; she has gone to the ignorant negro to educate him for citizenship; she has gone to every evil place we can imagine to try to bring back and reform her own and others' husbands; she has gone to the slums to elevate the degraded; she has gone to the courts, jails and prisons, (not for the reason that men go there;) she has gone to the legislative halls to plead for decent and just measures, that corrupt men were opposed to, and to protest against those they favored. And notwithstanding all this, not much of a howl has gone up because she was beyond her sphere. No man will say she is beyond her sphere when she is doing low, dirty, unpleasant and offensive work of reform that he will not stoop to do himself. Is there anything beyond her sphere? Are her meals more

poorly gotten up, and do the victuals have less flavor because she has done the above named things? Is she more untidy in her dress, more negligent about her house-work? Are the beds not as well made, the sweeping, patching, sewing, and milking as well done; does she not split as much kindling, carry as much wood and coal and water, feed the cows, calves, pigs and chickens as well; does she not go to market, attend church, Sabbath school and prayer meeting, and do many other things men are too sickly and weakly and lazy to do; and is she not as good company, and does she not care for *his* children as well where, and since she has been voting as before she enjoyed that privilege? Felix is asking for information.

The cities and towns of the following states may answer: Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Felix believes that his wife will be just as faithful to her duties and devotions when she gets to vote as she has always been, and he does not fear he will have to rock the cradle and keep the children more then, than now, Neither does he fear her becoming less intelligent or entertaining or companionable, or less capable of taking care of his children.

Saying "It is beyond her sphere is only an excuse for excluding a disfranchised class.

Bancroft says that the original charter of Delaware put the government into the hands of a royal council, on the ground that "politics lie beyond the profession of merchants." So the merchants who came out with Sir Edward Andros to take away the liberties of the New England Colonies, wrote back in great contempt: "It is pleasant to behold poor cobblers and pitiful mechanics, who have neither house nor land, strutting and making no mean figure at their elections." Now, the merchants and mechanics have the ballot and it is only women against whom the same old objection is brought up!

"When men gravely assemble to assert their rights and their claims to what they feel to be justly theirs—to the widest personal liberty, to the amplest education, to the pursuit of every honorable profession, to an equal share in the political control of society,—to do, in fact, whatever God has given them the will and the power innocently to do,—can you conceive of anything more comical than a sudden protest from women that they are forgetting their sphere deserting the duties which Providence has assigned them—and becoming unmanly and vulgar? There is something quite as comical, and that is men saying it to women. It is not the business of either sex to theorize about the sphere of the other. It is the duty of each to secure the liberty of both. Give women, for instance, every opportunity of education that men have. If there are some branches of knowledge improper for them to acquire—some which are in their nature unwomanly—they will



know it a thousand-fold better than men. It is not the duty of men to keep women ignorant, that they may continue to be women. But they have as much right to restrict their liberty of choice in education, as in any other direction.

The woman's rights movement is the simple claim that the same opportunity and liberty that a man has in civilized society shall be extended to the woman who stands at his side—equal or unequal in special powers, but an equal member of society. She must prove her power as he proves his. When Rosa Bonheur paints a vigorous and admirable picture of Normandy horses, she proves that she has a hundred-fold more right to do it than scores of botchers and bunglers in color, who wear coats and trousers, and whose right, therefore, nobody questions. When the Misses Blackwell, or Miss Zackrzenska, or Miss Hunt, or Miss Preston, or Miss Avery, accomplishing themselves in medicine, with a firm hand and a clear brain, carry the balm of life to suffering men, women and children, it is as much their right to do it—as much their sphere—as it is that of any long-haired, sallow, dissipated boy in spectacles, who hisses them as they go upon their holy mission. And so when Joan of Arc follows God and leads the army; when the Maid of Saragossa loads and fires the cannon; when Mrs. Stowe makes her pen the heaven-appealing tongue of an outraged race; when Grace Darling and Ida Lewis, pulling their boats through the pitiless waves, save fellow-creatures from drowning; when Mrs. Patten, the captain's wife, at sea—her husband lying helplessly ill in his cabin—puts everybody aside, and herself steers the ship to port. Do you ask me whether these are not exceptional women? I am a man and you are women; but Florence Nightingale, demand-

ing supplies for the sick soldiers in the Crimea, and when they are delayed by red tape, ordering a file of soldiers to break down the doors and bring them, which they do— for the brave love bravery— seems to me quite as womanly as the loveliest girl in the land dancing at the gayest ball, in a dress of which the embroidery is the pinched lines of starvation in another girl's face, and whose pearls are the tears of despair in her eyes. Jennie Lind, enchanting the heart of a nation; Anna Dickinson, pleading for the equal liberty of her sex; Lucretia Mott, publicly bearing her testimony against the sin of slavery, are doing what God, by his great gift of eloquence and song has appointed them to do."—Selected.

It is further objected: "If women were to vote, then, of course, she would be eligible to public offices." Well, why not? In every respect in which woman is known to have gifts of administration, why ought she not to exercise them? When a farmer dies, if the wife has executive power, she carries on the farm; when a merchant dies, if the wife has tact, she carries on the business; if an editor dies, if the wife is enterprising and able, she carries on the newspaper; if a schoolmaster dies, and the wife is competent, she carries on the school or academy, and nobody supposes but that it is perfectly right. All through society, in a sort of unasserting way, woman goes out of what is considered her sphere, and nobody thinks but it is wrong. And so it should be recognized as her right to engage in everything for which she is fitted, public affairs not excepted. No woman could be elected

to the office of a Justice of the Peace unless there was a general conviction that she had peculiar gifts for its duties. The matter is surrounded with such safeguards of popular prejudice that no woman will be called to any office unless it is very apparent that she has a fitness for it. Wherever there are gifts, there should be liberty of exercise. Faculty always demands function. Every human being has a natural right to do whatever he or she can do well."

Vandelia Varnum says: "I confess I do not know what her sphere is, and more than that I do not want to know. I know that the majority love first and last and best of all the home. No power on earth nor beneath the earth could wrench that love from them or make them false to it. I know there are some that fail there, not from outward conditions but from inward conditions. The woman that knows nothing of love, that over-powering, all-conquering, self-sacrificing passion, may marry, but I know she never ought to. The woman that does not realize the sacredness of motherhood, that can not comprehend those precious gifts from heaven, and is not willing to do all and suffer all, and forsake all for their sake—she may bear children, but I know she never ought to. Tell me that such are to minister to man, to make and brighten homes and people the earth, and I know when you tell me so that you have no comprehension of these holy duties. Mark me, *such are not spoiled by environments, they are simply unfitted by nature.* There is a place for them elsewhere, and the world should not make it harder for them to enter where their tastes lead, than for man. The idea that the bars must be put up to keep woman in her "sphere" is too absurd.

As well bar the heavens to keep the mother bird on her nest.

And then there are those in every way fitted for the home, whom the Lord has led to a wider field of service. No doubt that Methodist Bishop who wanted to marry Miss Willard thought her ideal place was at his fireside, but there are few who do not believe that another work was intended for her from the beginning, and that the world has been greatly enriched by her devotion to it. In that she and others have these home yearnings and attributes lies their power as teachers and leaders of the world. He, who would lift the world, must touch in sympathy every side of it.

So, I say, I do not want to know what woman's "sphere" is, for fear, if I did, I might do as some others try to do, clip and trim her to fit their own notions. A king it is said, once thought he would give every man in his dominion a suit of clothes. Twenty ordered them all made after one pattern. Some were found to be too long and some too short, some too slack and some too tight, and in each case he ordered the individual to be clipped or stretched, inflated or squeezed, according to the needs of the case. That is what some are trying to do with woman. As for me, I am willing to trust the Lord in making her, and trust her common sense after she is made.

It is ticklish business going back and behind common sense in dealing with any question, but those that look back, instead of forward, that counsel with custom instead of reason, with tradition instead of God, are likely to get in some difficult places. For instance I ask a person, why a woman should sing in public and not speak, why should she recite the thoughts of others and not her own

thoughts; and he can not answer me, and no one can. I ask another why she should perform in the theater half clad, and not, in suitable attire, speak to the people on the questions of the day; why she should sit in public exhibition, in the theatre box in scant dress, and not in modest dress pass quietly to the ballot-box to voice her convictions of right; and he can not tell me, and no one can. I ask another why women should be worked and pushed and promoted to everything in the church and not allowed to represent the church at her gatherings; why she should teach and pray and exhort with or without a text and give Bible readings, and not be allowed to preach; and he can not tell me, and no one can.

Sick, sick, sick of this idiocy over "woman's sphere." Give man his freedom, give woman her freedom, and they will both find their sphere, but let no one think to escape God's wrath when he says to a single soul, 'Thus far and no farther.'

"They talk about a woman's sphere,  
 As though it had no limit;  
 There's not a place in earth or heaven,  
 There's not a task to mankind given,  
 There's not a blessing or a woe,  
 There's not a whisper, yes or no,  
 There's not a life or death or birth  
 That has a feather's weight of worth,  
 Without a woman in it."—Selected.



## THE POLLS NOT A FIT PLACE FOR WOMEN.

WHAT place is decent where women is excluded? If woman's presence and influence were withdrawn from men they would soon be below the beast.

The difference between the smoking car and the ladies car on the train gives a good example of the difference between the polls with women excluded and the polls with women included.

Are not some of our churches unfit for women, with their floors covered with tobacco quids, and juice squirted around and on everything? Surely men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.

Some one asked the editor of "The Corner Stone" if chewing tobacco and squirting the juice around was a good example for a preacher to set before young people? The answer was: "My pen is not sufficient for this, it would take a hog-pen." Similarity is easily seen in the suggestion. What kind of places for women are our country stores, with vile smoke and spit? Yet, how many men do their wives marketing because the store is an unfit place for women, or go to church in their wives' place because of the unfitness of the place for women? If these conditions exist in spite of woman's presence and uplifting influence, what would be the conditions if women were excluded? If these things are done in a green tree, what *would* they do in the dry?

There is nothing that will clean up our voting places so quickly and make them fit places for men as well as women, as to give the ballot to women. When the women of Massachusetts secured the right to vote, the legislature, almost unanimously, immediately prohibited smoking and drinking at all the voting places. The women of New York say they were treated at the polls more like when the boys used to take them to the country dances than ever in their lives since the days of "Auld Lang Syne."

The women got an extra coach put on the trains for drinkers, smokers and swearers, and other men not fit for their company, when they demanded it. What kind of places would our Post Offices be if Uncle Sam did not prohibit vulgar and foul language, smoking and swearing?

And so if you give women the ballot and the right to be present at the polls, you will have no more indecent polling places, boisterous, vulgar and profane conventions, and no more saloon caucuses.

We cannot expect to get the saloon out of politics as long as we get our politics out of the saloons. As long as the caucuses are held in saloons none but saloonatics will attend them. Give us decent places to hold our caucuses and elections, and decent people will attend. Give the better class the ballot and that will also secure the better places for public meetings and good people will attend, take interest and drive the saloon and its influence out of politics.

Ex-Chief justice Fisher, of Wyoming, where the women have voted since 1869, says: "I wish I could show the people who are so wonderfully exercised on the subject of woman suffrage, just how it works. I have seen the effects of it, and instead of being a means of encouragement to fraud and corruption, it tends to greatly purify elections and give better government."

Dr. Gregg says: "If the present condition of our politics be such that our women, in doing political duty, are necessarily in danger of unsexing themselves, and of losing their sense of delicacy, then the duty of the hour is not to prohibit women from exercising their political rights; the duty of the hour is to take out of politics the things which would unsex and which would destroy the fine sense of womanly delicacy. The very question admits that women are good and right and pure, but that politics are wrong and bad and corrupt. The very question admits that politics need, for their regeneration, the very elements which women alone can contribute. The objection couched in the question is tantamount to this: "Would you bring women down to the level of men?" This is rough on men.

Who will corrupt our women when they go to the caucus and to the polls? Will you? Will their fathers, and their sons, and their brothers be the guilty parties? These are the men who go to the polls. Mrs. Gaskell makes one of her girl characters say: 'I know these men; my father was a man.' Will the men whom our women meet in our churches be the guilty parties? These are the men who are in the caucus, or, if not there, should be there. The objection couched in the question is a

slander upon American manhood, than which there is no finer type of manhood on the face of the earth. Besides this, if there were a single miserable masculine biped mean enough or low enough to insult any woman while in the discharge of her political duties on election day, there is moral sentiment sufficient in every polling district of the Republic to put that man behind the prison-bars instanter ”

A Washington correspondent writes to an exchange :

“I am in favor of electing at least one dozen women as members of the House, woman suffrage or no woman suffrage. The place is so foul that to sit for two hours in its bad-smelling atmosphere completely prostrates one. The House appoints committee after committee to look after the “ventilation,” and it results in nothing. What the place needs is a regular house cleaning, the floor scrubbed, the cellars white-washed, the carpets shaken, the walls frescoed and the woodwork repainted. If there were a few women members, they would not be there a week before they would have the bad-smelling old place fit to live in. It is not fit to live in now. It is dangerous. And yet, from 1,000 to 3,000 people are there from six to ten hours every day. Please elect a few women this fall and have the place cleaned.

## A WOMAN'S PLACE IS AT HOME.

WHO says so? "The Wine and Spirit Gazette," the leading liquor paper, and other birds of similar plumage, who are afraid they will lose their fine feathers if the women get a pick at them.

Here is what it says: "If these ambituous women of to-day would but discharge conscientiously the duties of mothers and wives, we would have greater respect for them." "The Corner Stone" replies: "Probably they don't know that. We presume they would do a great deal to have the "respect" of a booze editor. Why don't you advertise: 'Booze editor's respect given to mothers and wives for not interfering with the saloon?'"

Is it the bar-maid they want to stay at home? Is it the poor, lost girl, selling her soul for shame? Is it the women who buy and drink whiskey and beer, or is it the women who do not stay at home and take in washing to get money for their husbands to spend over the bar, and to get him from behind the bars? Is it not the women who are conscientiously discharging their duties as mothers and wives, constrained by the *love of home*, that liquor dealers want to stay at home, lest they close the bars, empty the barrels, and compel the bar-tenders and brewers to make an honest living? "Always do the thing to which your enemy objects" is a maxim of war and will work well when dealing with the Devil, too.



The Pacific Wine and Spirit Review, says: "The liquor trade may as well come to the conclusion, sooner or later, that a great danger is found in Woman Suffrage. On general principles, nine out of ten of the American women are opposed to the saloon as an institution. The liquor trade need expect no quarter from the unreasoning women. They must be beaten by votes."

There is no enemy dreaded so much by liquor-dealers and saloon-keepers as a woman with the ballot in her hand. Secret circulars sent out by them intercepted by a temperance leader state this explicitly. One of these is addressed to a legislator, and reads to this effect: "Set your heel upon the woman suffrage movement every time, for the ballot in the hand of women means the downfall of our trade."

The Brewer's Convention at Chicago passed this resolution by a unanimous vote: "Resolved, that we are opposed to woman suffrage everywhere and always; for when woman has the ballot, she will vote solid for prohibition, and woman's vote is the last hope of the Prohibitionists."

Christian people might easily be persuaded that the majority of mothers would vote for the dramshop, but the Devil and the brewers know better.

The home, measured by men's minds, has been asserted to be woman's sphere, but she has proven herself fit for a larger sphere. And since she has proven that she is capable of a larger sphere, that sphere is enlarging,

The chairman of the congressional committee

asked Mrs. Stanton whether women would not lose much of the refining influences that now bless our race, if political opportunities were thrown open to her. "What! Lose refining influences because the field of her opportunity is widened? If that be true, the Turk is a great deal more logical than the American. There we have the refining influences of the seraglio, the household sphere. There we find women preserved, not only from the rude gaze of men, not only from the degrading commerce of the world, but even from the kisses of the sun upon her face. If her sphere be indeed always to stay at home to look after children, whether she have any children or not, the customs of our oriental brothers are admirably calculated to accomplish this result."

Queen Victoria meets in council and deliberates with her ministers, and if it be unwomanly and unfit for women to vote, certainly no woman should ever be Queen. "Nothing but a Woman" has given some countries the best government they ever had.

The Bar Association of Carlisle, Pa., declined to admit a young woman to be examined for admission to the bar. In explaining its action, its representative publicly said:

"Whenever men stay at home, nurse the children, and do the housework, while the men battle with the world, it will be time enough for the Carlisle Bar to modify its rules and admit women to its membership."

The *American Lawyer* said: "Nonsense! The

Carlisle Bar Association ought to awake from its Rip Van Winkle sleep, and try to catch up with the procession." The Chicago *Legal News* quoted the foregoing, and added: "Hit them again, for they deserve it." Women are legally eligible for admission to the bar in Pennsylvania, and it is childish for a local Bar Association to set up its own belated prejudices in opposition to the laws of the State."

A few months later Judge Weand handed down an opinion by which women were made eligible to admission to the Montgomery county bar.

Sydney Smith said many years ago, in urging the claims of women to a higher education, "Nothing is more common or more stupid than to take the actual for the possible,—to believe that all which *is* is all that can be; first, to laugh at every proposed deviation from practice as impossible, then, when it is carried into effect, to be astonished that it did not take place before."

"I say that this movement is a plea for justice, and I assert that the equal rights of women, not as citizens but as human beings, have never been acknowledged. There is no audacity so insolent, no tyranny so wanton, no inhumanity so revolting, as the spirit which says to any human being, or any class of human beings, "You shall be developed just as far as we choose, and as fast as we choose, and your mental and moral life shall be subject to our pleasure!" and as Mrs. Howe has said, this is what men have always said to women.

This is true of every condition of society, and of every period. Edward Lear, the artist, travelling in Greece, says that he was one day jogging along with an Albanian peasant, who said to him, "Women are really better than donkeys for carrying burdens, but not so good as mules." This was the honest opinion of barbarism—the honest feeling of Greece to-day.

Pericles said, "The greatest glory of woman is to be least talked of among men." Had Pericles lived to-day, he would have agreed that to be talked of among men as Miss Martineau and Florence Nightingale are, as Mrs. Somerville and Maria Mitchell are, is as great a glory as to be the mother of the Graechi. Women in Greece, the mothers of Greece, were an inferior and degraded class. And Grote sums up their whole condition when he says: "Everything which concerned their lives, their happiness, or their rights, was [determined for them by male relatives, and they seem to have been destitute of all mental culture and refinement.

These were the old Greeks. Will you have Rome? The chief monument of Roman civilization is its law, which underlies our own; and Buckle quotes the great commentator on that law as saying that it was the distinction of the Roman law that it treated women not as persons but as things. Or go to the most ancient civilization; to China which was old when Greece and Rome were young. The famous French Jesuit missionary, Abbe Huc, mentions one

of the most tragical facts recorded—that there is in China a class of women who hold that, if they are only true to certain vows during this life, they shall, as a reward, change their form after death and return to earth as men. This distinguished traveller also says that he was one day talking with a certain Master Ting, a very shrewd Chinamen, whom he was endeavoring to convert. “But,” said Ting, “what is the special object of your preaching Christianity?” “Why, to convert you and save your souls,” said the Abbe. “Well, then, why do you try to convert the women?” asked Master Ting. “To save their souls,” said the missionary. “But women have no souls,” said Master Ting; “you can’t expect to make Christians of women.” And he was so delighted with the idea that he went out shouting, “Hi! hi! now I shall go home and tell my wife she has a soul, and I guess she will laugh as loudly as I do!”—Selected.

How long will it be before every man will go home and tell his wife she has a political soul and both will laugh loudly together?

## WOMEN DON'T KNOW ENOUGH TO VOTE.

**W**HAT a pity! We suspect most married men think at least one woman knew enough to vote when he was a “candidate” and she voted in favor of him, and he was elected. A great many



men are elected by "nothing but a woman's" vote. If it took two votes to elect one he would be defeated, because no two would want the same *lord*. It is not hard to tell where the compliment is placed when they say, "She don't know enough to vote." We suspect many more men not yet married (but would like to be) will think some woman knows enough to vote, and some may even trust at least a half-dozen of them. Some men, when they want to be elected, become *standing candidates*. Others are *running candidates*. In our fast age we must *run* in order to get there. Most men will allow some one woman, at least, a vote at him. Sometimes they would not object to allowing two or three chances to the same one, provided the first one fails. Is it not strange that men allow maidens and widows to vote, but say women with husbands do not know enough to vote? How kind they are to assume the duties of their wives! Has her voting for *him* unfitted her for further suffrage? Has that single vote proven the treachery of her judgment? Was her voting in favor of him such an abuse of the franchise power as to justify him from that time on in being opposed to her exercising the right ever afterwards? We really think that it is the *muchness* of the voting, and not the principle, that men are opposed to, when they allow it once and then object afterwards. The most important voting, and the most of it, is done by the women all over the country. And the *Beacon* says: "It seems strange to hear minis-

ters, who owe their positions in their churches to the vote of three women to one man, stand up and argue that the Scriptures are opposed to women voting. It is safe to say that there are but few churches in the United States where the preacher is chosen by popular vote, in which it is not the case that the preacher owes his position to the women, and usually owes his salary to their labor. And yet you will sometimes hear such preachers arguing that the Scriptures condemn woman's ballot." Spiritual advisers—Pastors, Elders, Deacons, Stewards, Superintendents and other *religious* officers, which are far more important than civil officers, and therefore the responsibility of the voters much greater, are elected by what some men would term weak minded women, they voting, on an average, four or five to every one man. But still men insist they do not know enough to vote for an officer to go around and assess dogs, and collect that tax and distribute it.

In many of the States women may vote for school purposes. She is trusted in this most important branch of the Government service. She may vote money for the erection of a school-house, but not for the building of a court-house or jail. She participates in the selection and support of teachers for our children in whose welfare we are so much interested, but she can not take part in choosing the jailor who has the custody of criminals. She can discharge the higher duty, but is disqualified for the lower. Is not this a distinction without a reason? Does it not

look like absolute inconsistency? Should we not sit down and reason together, to see if deep-rooted prejudice does not lie at the foundation of the opposition to female suffrage?

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe was out in the garden one day where her servant Sambo was at work. She said: "Sambo, we people of the North have done a great deal for your people." "Yes, Mrs. Stowe, you have done a great deal for us, and we can never be thankful enough to the white people for it," said Sambo. "Well, Sambo," said Mrs. Stowe, "Since we did so much towards getting the ballot for your people, you ought to use your influence to secure the ballot for us women." "Law me, Mrs. Stowe," said Sambo, looking up at her astonished, "does you think you knows enough to vote?"

By the last census it appears that 89 per cent. of our females could read and write, while a large proportion of the men who vote can not read the ballot they cast.

It is probable that the mass of women, having more home leisure, as a rule, than the mass of men, who are occupied in their daily employments, are better able to inform themselves on current questions of the day. Women read more than men. The libraries show this to be so, and every newsdealer and periodical publisher knows it.

A noted paper reports that the College girls of Canada cannot be stigmatized as mentally inferior to their mothers. McGill College, Montreal, which

is co-educational, has just afforded an excellent test. Out of eleven persons graduating with honors, six are women; out of five medalists, three are women. A college statistician in going over the figures, discovered that, in proportion to their numbers, the women had done three times as well as the men.

Secretary of the New York State University reports 23,556 girls and 18,243 boys in the seminaries and academies of the State of New York, the former being 55 per cent. of the whole. Of honor credentials, the girls received this year 298 to 140 granted to the boys—a proportion of 68 per cent. for the girls. “The number of girls who entered college last year from Regents’ schools was 84 per cent. greater than the year before, and this year will show a smaller increase. “At this rate,” says the secretary, “it looks as if early in the next century the colleges would graduate more women than men, just as the academies do now.”

Rev. J. B. Gambrell, one of the most gifted Baptist ministers of the South, and president of Mercer University, Ga., writes a spicy article in the *Baptist and Reflector*, urging the boys to wake up and cultivate their morals and brains that they may be fit company for the girls of today. He says:

“From my window I can see turrets of the first female college the world ever knew. It is a nineteenth century innovation. All before that, women had to learn things from their husbands, if they could afford the luxury of a husband. Then hus-

bands were lords. They could whip their wives in peace, and, under the common law of England, could sell them. In an evil (?) hour, so to speak, these Georgia people set up a college to educate women; the example was contagious and see now where we are at. We might have known it. A smart woman is an over match for a fool man every time.

Let me tell you some things. Some years ago I made a thorough examination into the state of education as to the sexes in one Southern State. I found that for every boy graduated, there were between five and six girls who took diplomas. And beyond doubt the girls were just as well educated as the boys. That was ten years ago. The disproportion is greater now. A remarkably well informed lady of Indiana told me that the girl graduates of the high schools number twenty to one boy. Amusing! you say. Well, in one Southern city where I happened to know the facts, the disproportion is even greater than twenty to one, taking a dozen years as the basis of calculation, Now put this with what I said above, and as Mr. Cleveland in his solid way would say, we confront a condition, not a theory. The weight of intelligence in the country is being transferred—has been transferred—to feminine hands.”

It seems but a short time since Dr. E. H. Clarke published his book, “Sex in Education.” In it he iterated and reiterated with great solemnity that the higher education of women meant their physical and



domestic ruin. His book is now regarded as mere rubbish, and his conjectures as falsehoods.

The common dude, fop or figurehead does not display a very great amount of brains, yet he can vote "early and often." The most ignorant, vile, criminally degraded Dago that Italy can send us, who can tell no more about our government than that it is a "Georga Washee government," and that it is ruled by a "Georga Washee people," and a few other similar, equally intelligent answers, can take out naturalization papers and vote within a few years afterward. Miss Willard and many other good woman of the land, have studied our constitution, have taught it in our schools, academies and colleges, and yet, according to some men's idea and our legal statutes, they do not know as much as the ignorant, degraded Dago. What a commentary on our American education and politics! What an idea about knowledge! Have our girls not a better education in general than the boys? Do they not stay much longer in school than the boys? Do they not learn as fast, if not faster than the boys while they are there? Do they not keep their intellects from being dulled and ther senses from being deadened, and their brain from being muddled by the use and abuse of tobacco and other poisons and stimulants? And yet with all these things in favor of the girls, men will insist they do not know enough to vote.

Alas for the rarity,  
 Of political charity  
     Under the sun;  
 Oh, it is pitiful,  
 In a whole city full  
     Friends she has none.

All because "She's nothing but a woman."

### THEY ARE NOT POSTED ON POLITICS.

TA KING everything into consideration, women are better posted on politics than men. There is probably not more than one man in fifty who thinks and can talk intelligently on politics. The office-seekers and their helpers, or apprentices, and a few others are the only men who do not *vote* the same way their "*fathers vote*," and many of these are what they are because of the way they were brought up. How many men can see any difference between the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties other than in name? The one is a Democrat because he is opposed to the Republicans, and the other is a Republican because he is opposed to the Democrats. It is a distinction without a difference.

If the Democrats in 1896 would adopt the Republican platform of 1892, and *vice versa*, the majority would not know the difference, nor leave the old party if they did know it.

They both wear badges, carry torches, tramp for hours in rain and mud, and sing foolish songs, and "holler" for their candidates till they are hoarse, and they say women don't know anything about politics. If that be politics, save the poor women from it all the days of their lives. That is about all the majority of men know about politics. Where ignorance is bliss, to be wise would be *blister*.

William Dean Howells says: "Certainly, I believe in women having the suffrage; I don't see why they are not as well prepared for it as nine-tenths of the men. Woman's influence would be a valuable power if it could be felt at the polls. Perhaps our women are not as conversant with political issues as English women, for in England politics are social. Here politics are extra-social. At dinner in England women sit down and talk politics just as men do, but they have the thing all in a nutshell. I don't see why women cannot and do not think as sanely, as wholesomely as men. In fact, I think they do so now. The defect in their minds is a matter of training, not a defect of nature."

#### WOMEN CAN'T FIGHT.

**L**UCY Stone says: "Some woman perils her life for her country every time a soldier is born. Day and night she does picket duty by his cradle. For years she is his quartermaster, and gathers his

rations. And then, when he becomes a man and a voter, shall he say to his mother, 'If you want to vote you must first kill somebody?' It is a coward's argument?"

Some one says: "Think of arguing with a sober face against a man whose brains are reduced to such a minimum that he solemnly asserts a woman should not vote because she cannot fight. In the first place, she can fight; in the second, men are largely exempt from military service; and, in the third, there is not the remotest relation between firing a musket and casting a ballot."

"In the days of Feudalism, women were not allowed to hold real estate because they could not fight to defend it. But the right to vote in our republic is not made to depend on the ability to fight. If it were, it would disfranchise half the voting men of the nation. All men over forty-five years of age would be counted out, as they are considered past the fighting age. Of these, there are 97,000 in the single state of Massachusetts. So would all clergymen, because of the moral service they are supposed to render. The published record of United States Military statistics shows that more than a quarter of the men who enlisted and were examined by the surgeons, during our late Civil War, were found to be physically unfit for service, and were not mustered into the army. When a nation goes to war, it claims other service of its citizens, both men and women, than fighting. Ten per cent. of an army is

detailed to serve the rest, as cooks, tailors, etc., and they do no fighting.

“One half our male voters have not physical strength to enforce laws, yet they help make them. Most lawyers, judges, physicians ministers, merchants, editors, authors, legislators and congressmen, and all men over forty five years old are exempt from military service on the ground of physical incapacity. (See statistics of the late war.) Voting is the authoritative expression of an opinion. It requires intelligence, conscience, and patriotism, not mere muscle.

If to clothe woman with the elective franchise is to take from her a tithe of her womanhood; if she is to become less gentle, modest, affectionate, pure, sweet, we abandon the field at once. If to impose upon her political duties is to be inconsistent with her supreme duties at home, she must still devote herself to the latter and keep aloof from the former. But I believe that the perfect State, according to my conception of it as the great example and instrument of self-government, needs the element of perfect womanhood, according to the American and the English conception of womanhood. I believe that the accomplishment by this vast force and influence, the concentrated power of the Republic, of results for humanity not otherwise to be attained, can be made easier and surer by the aid of the qualities which the women of the Republic alone can furnish. The most taking argument against woman suffrage that



I ever heard was found in a single phrase of Dr. Bushnell, when he called it "the reform against nature." Let us see if it be against or according to nature to summon woman to our aid in the management of the affairs of the Republic. Take the things which the State has to-day. Take, in the first place, that which our opponents like chiefly to insist on when they discuss this question: defense against foreign and domestic violence. Women will not bear arms or lead armies, and that is true of old men and of men physically disabled. Not more, I suppose, than one-sixth part of our population of sixty-five millions are fit to bear arms. But even in the matter of war, the women of America have conceived, organized and rendered successful the great Sanitary Commission, which was the crowning glory of our people in the late war. There had been no substantial improvement in the care of the wounded and sick soldiers in the field for a century, until the women of America took it in hand. France, which had brought military discipline to its highest, threw her sick or wounded soldier aside to die like a weed by the wall. Dr. Bellows, the president of the Sanitary Commission, declared: "The earliest movement for army relief was begun by the women of the nation, and their zeal and devotion no more flagged through the war than did that of the army in the field. The barriers of sect, caste and conventionalism, which had heretofore separated them, were burned away in the fervid heat of their loyalty."

President Lincoln, according to Mrs. Livermore, disapproved at first of the co-operative work of women for the relief of the army, and declared that it would prove a dreadful fifth wheel to the coach. But when the war was over, he said, speaking of this subject, that he must say that "if all that had been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war."—Selected.

Congressman John Davis, of Kansas, at a recent hearing before the Special Committee on Woman Suffrage of the U. S. Senate, says:

"It is maintained by some that the ballot rests ultimately on the bullet; that majorities should rule minorities, because majorities can defeat minorities on the battlefield. It is assumed, therefore, that women should not cast the ballot because they cannot bear arms on the battlefield. The conclusion is wrong. The assumption is founded on the lowest ethics of savagery and has no place in civilized society. It is assumed that, in some imaginary exigency of government, most of the non-combatants may vote in the majority; the most fighting men able to bear arms may vote in the minority; and that, in such case, a rebellious minority could not be coerced into submission. On the ethics of savagery such contingencies may arise, but not in civilized society.

In the ethics of savagery women have little in-

fluence, and a dozen braves may bully and defy a thousand children and squaws. Their respect for the helpless is slight, and their sense of patriotism scarcely extends into the future. Savages are little troubled with anxiety for the welfare of posterity. In the ethics of savagery it is assumed that woman is not a combatant, and, hence, should be excluded from the ballot. In a thousand ways civilized society differs from savagery. There are social ties and sentiments of patriotism, and feelings of obligation to our fellows in civilized society, not found in savagery. The armies on both sides were fuller during the late war because both male and female hearts swelled with the same patriotism; because mothers, wives and sisters said to sons, husbands and brothers, "Go!" And noble men at Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Chattanooga fought more bravely, fell more willingly, and died more cheerfully because of well-thumbed pages of encouragement from mothers, wives and sweethearts, carefully stowed among the soldier's personal treasures. Female courage, female patriotism and female voices were a "war power" in that great struggle, powerfully felt and grandly acknowledged on both sides. But this part of the subject must be built up from the lowest bed-rock. Let us appeal to physical facts. In what consists the war power of nations? All history and philosophy, since the middle ages, reply: "The war power of nations and peoples consists of the purse and the sword." That statement being true, what is the

percentage of purse and what of sword, in the most effective war power?

Russia is a military nation. There are, say, in the entire Russian Empire one hundred millions of people. On a war footing the Empire musters three millions of soldiers. What is the percentage? The swords amount to three per cent. of the people. Ninety-seven per cent. of the people are devoted to the purse and to recuperative purposes. Let us say then, as we safely may, that, when the empire of Russia is on an active war footing, with 3,000,000 soldiers in the field, putting forth her utmost power on a hundred battlefields, only about three per cent of her population is under arms. Ninety-seven per cent. are devoted to arming, clothing, feeding encouraging, paying, recuperating, burying, and replacing the soldiers. One-half of the money-earners and army-supporters in Russia are females. One-half of the incomprehensibly powerful military army of the Russian Empire rests on the hearts and bones and sinews of women. What is true of Russia is true of Germany, of France, of England and of America. Behind every body of armed troops in the field there must be an adequate supporting population. This is the rule and history of the modern, half barbarous war power. One-half of any national population may be reckoned female. Every loom and spindle run by women and pale-faced girls is a "war power." Napoleon beat the armies of continental Europe, but was sent into exile by the spin-

dles and looms of the British Islands, mainly operated by female hands. Mr. Allison attributes England's wonderful success to the "preserving industry of the British people and the extent of the commerce which they maintained in every quarter of the globe," and to their "admirable system of finance which seemed to rise superior to every difficulty." In short, England conquers with the purse more than by the sword. The purse is fed and sustained by the women and non-combatants of the empire. The sword is scarcely one per cent. of her inexhaustible war power. The Duke of Wellington and the mightiest generals of the continent could only hold Napoleon in check. The women and girls of Manchester captured him, disarmed him and sent him to St. Helena.

In the United States, over twenty millions of people above the age of ten years are engaged in gainful occupations. Fully two-thirds of them are non-combatants, unfit for military duty in the field, by reason of age or sex. Yes every one of them are wealth producers and swell the war power of the nation. This is indisputable. Shall all non-combatants be deprived of the ballot because, by ultimate logic or chance, in some imaginary exigency, it may be necessary to enforce the decisions of the ballot by the the use of the bullet; and, as non-combatants cannot carry the musket, must they therefore, not vote? Where is the much lauded gallantry of man, that he would fire bullets and



charge bayonets in the face of his mother, his sister, his wife, his daughter, or his sweetheart, with not another man noble and gallant enough to object? Such brutality and lack of gallantry must be sought in a State of savagery, or in the restricted suffrage countries of Europe. It will never be found in countries where the political advancement of man depends on the ballot of woman. The question is too silly for serious consideration. Will man treat woman with more or less respect and gallantry when he finds her vote necessary to the gratification of his "manly aspirations?" Does a lad treat his lass with more or less respect and gallantry when, on bended knee, he avers that her "consent" is necessary to his future happiness? What sort of a figure would he cut, musket in hand, marching and shooting with the rebellious minority, with his mother, sister and lady-love standing unarmed on the other side to be shot? Such absurdities belong to the ethics of savagery, or to the narrow suffrage countries of the world. The units of civilized society are dual, yet united; consisting of the strong right arm of man, the warm beating heart of woman, and the union of intellectual and moral forces. Show me an institution of society where a man delights to enter into company with his mother, sister, wife and daughter, and I will show you an institution which tends to civilization. Show me an institution where man does not desire to meet his mother, sister, wife and daughter and I will show you an institution that

tends to barbarism. Show me the voting places where women are excluded and I will show you places repulsive to the best elements of society, and frequently in need of police guardianship. Show me the place where women cast their ballots and I will show you carpeted rooms and tables embellished with flowers; and not requiring police protection.”—Selected.

Dr. John A. B. Wilson, in a sermon replying to Dr. Parkhurst’s attack on womans suffrage, says :

“ The ballots of women would have prevented the necessity for the work of the society which Dr. Parkhurst’s personality has rendered so famous, and the present herculean task upon the hands of the Doctor could better be accomplished, and perhaps never will be done without their aid.

I know what is said about giving the ballot to vicious women. I am more afraid of it in the hands of the vicious men, who with it control absolutely the government of this city. I want to see the ranks of the conscience voter strengthened, and how can that be so effectually done as by making voters of the most moral half of the nation? With a whole line of crimes for which women are imprisoned and men go free, yet in the prisons and penitentiaries of this State there are fourteen men to every woman incarcerated. What moral question is to suffer from it when this tremendous moral force is let loose with the ballot in hand?

We are told of women in the home, as her world,

Her sphere - why not tell of the man in the shop, the counting-room, the office, as his sphere? The home the realm of women? Yes, it is her realm. But it has been invaded by man-made laws.

The Doctor is reported to have said: 'It would be a rude shock to our ideas of Mary going to the polls to vote,' had there been voting in Nazareth, but not half so rude a shock as to think of her fleeing into Egypt with her babe in her arms to save its life from the vengeful Herod. Rather let us picture her with all her womanhood aroused for the defense of her offspring hurrying to the polls in Nazareth voting to prohibit the slaughter of children. I know she would not vote to license the business as men do in these days—even preachers.

Woman's sphere is the home, is it? and it is her sphere that is invaded with the accursed creation of male suffrage. Then, in the name of everything equitable and holy, let us give her the right to protect her own.

But she will become unwomanly?

I abominate all this paternal attempt to protect the sanctity of her own womanhood and make her respect herself. She needs not the advice of our lips or the touch of our hands to teach her that lesson. Woman will respect her own womanhood without our self-constituted guardianship to compel her to do so.

I often think I would like to know with what kind of women some of these anti-suffrage men have been in association all their lives to have convinced them

that the whole sex must be put and kept under legal disabilities to prevent them from unsexing themselves. Think of it, women—judged by those they know the most about, must be kept womanly by statutory enactment. They must be prevented from becoming manish by a disabling clause in the organic law of the land. I have heard of a stingy deacon's prayer for his pastor, 'Keep him humble and we will keep him poor.' And these self-constituted guardians of female modesty and delicacy no doubt prey, or ought to, to be consistent, 'Keep her weak and we will keep her womanly.' And to this class of patent self-adjusting, double-action duplex, ball-bearing, nickle-plated adjusters of female propriety, belong all the men we meet every day on the 'L' and surface cars, who sit and read their papers while weary working women swing by the straps. You may take your Bible oath, that every one of these is opposed to womans suffrage.

But it is not her sphere to vote? Is it then her sphere, for lack of men to do it for her, to go out into the professions and in the marts of trade as a bread-winner, and daily submit to evil suggestions if her salary be small; and not have even the poor privilege of expressing her choice for law-makers whose enactments will protect her own delicacy, while with feeble hand she fights the wolf of hunger back from herself and loved ones? Who shall deny her the poor privilege of winning her own way on equal terms, or the right of contending for them? But she does not have

equal terms, nor the privilege of asking for them in any effective way; and never will have until she has the ballot.

Young women teachers, after passing college examinations and securing diplomas, must then submit to another examination before they can even substitute. Then she must substitute one hundred days under daily surveillance of the principal, who must watch and report upon her. At the end of that time she must again go through another rigid examination before she can secure a permanent position. All of which the man teacher is saved from, because he is a man and has the vote in his hand.

Now, after all these humiliating conditions, if she takes a school it must be for a sum little more than half what a man would receive for the same work and in the same grade.

A few years ago a bill was before the New York Legislature to increase the salaries of women teachers to 55 per cent. of men. That Legislature of men—men made, voted it down. Could this have been had they held ballots in their hands? Yet we are asked, 'What do women want to vote for anyhow?' What for, to be sure. Possibly because they want to become men. Who knows?

To-day women are receiving from three to six dollars in stores for work that men receive from five to twelve for doing.

And it will never be better until political power is theirs. There is only one State in this Union with a



statute providing that men and women shall receive equal pay for equal work done, and that State is Wyoming, where for twenty-five years they have had equal suffrage.

But what do women want with the ballot?

For the same purpose that men want it—to voice their conceptions of truth and duty to themselves, their families, their country and their God. They want it because they need it to protect their own rights. Witness the settlement of the question of equal pay for equal work by a protective statute in one State of this Union only, and that the one where equal suffrage obtains. Governor John H. Hoyt, of Wyoming, as far back as 1878, stated: ‘Attendance upon schools is obligatory; teachers are equally paid, male and female alike, for the same service.’ Where else in this country have we compulsory education and equal pay for teachers of both sexes but in this State with equal suffrage?

Governor Hoyt’s testimony with regard to the direct benefit of woman’s suffrage was also very strong in 1872. In his official report he said: “Elsewhere objectors persist in calling this honorable statute of ours—an experiment. We know it is not; that under it we have better laws, better officers, better institutions, better morals and higher social conditions in general, than could otherwise exist—that none of the predicted evils, such as loss of native delicacy and disturbance of home relations, have followed in its train; that the great body of our women, and the

best of them, have accepted the elective franchise as a precious boon and exercise it as a patriotic duty—in a word, that after twelve years of happy experience, woman's suffrage is so thoroughly rooted and established in the hearts of the people that, among them all, no voice is ever uplifted to protest against or in question of it.'

Governor Francis E. Warren said, in 1885: "I have seen much of the workings of woman suffrage. I have yet to hear of the first case of domestic discord growing therefrom. Our women nearly all vote. As the majority of women are good the result is good—not evil." In the same year he reported to the Secretary of the Interior, 'The men are as favorable to woman suffrage as the women are. Wyoming appreciates, believes in, and endorses woman suffrage.' In his official report next year, he said: "Woman suffrage continues as popular as at first. The women nearly all vote, and neither party objects." And in 1889 he reported: "No one will deny that woman's influence has always been on the side of the Government. The people favor the continuance.'

This official evidence as to the beneficial effects of woman suffrage is supported by the universal testimony of residents and the personal experience of visitors. And there are (28) other States where limited suffrage for women obtains, with like testimony of similar results as in Wyoming. Massachusetts, to-day, has the Bible in the public schools of Boston by the power of woman suffrage alone. To the ex-

tent of her permission woman always goes where she is wanted in defense of truth and virtue.

Two-thirds of the members of the Christian Church in this State are women. And while they, by many thousands, form the major part of the population, and while there is a class of crime for which they are imprisoned, for which the men, who are a thousand-fold more guilty, have immunity, yet, in this State of New York, the jails and penitentiaries have fourteen times as many men as women incarcerated.

And this statement of their higher moral status warrants the inference that a free government can never come to its best from the making of whose laws the best element of society is excluded."

#### THEY ARE REPRESENTED.

---

**I**N four out of five cases where men represent wives, daughters, mothers and sisters, they misrepresent them. They never consider their constituents. They would do almost anything for the dollars and drinks. No man or set of men would be willing to send them to a caucus or convention as their representatives. No candidate would trust his interests with them. They would betray for less than Judas received. The very people who say the women are already represented would never think of trusting their affairs to the same men. How many of the masses of men

who are representatives of their wives, daughters, sisters and mothers would be in any degree influenced by suggestions made by these feminine friends? A very small proportion. Their suggestion would not amount to any more than their names on a petition or protest to our Councils, our Courts or our Congresses, in most cases. Women's petitions are generally cautiously referred to a fool committee of fools, or carefully laid on the floor of the committee room to be a target at which to spit tobacco juice. And the committeeman who can hit the mark oftenest is regarded as having done the most to kill the petition.

Tobacco juice will either kill a thing or make it so sick that it would feel better if it were dead and could not feel at all. If Legislatures, Judges and Councils pay no attention to women's requests, how can we expect brutish men to do so. Is it any wonder women do not know anything about politics? What good would it do if they knew everything about politics?

Carter Harrison threw away the long petition of thousands of names asking for the closing up of the bad, illegal saloons of Chicago because most of them were women? They were not voters—that was all. A woman's name is as good as a man's on a petition in Arkansas and some counties in Pennsylvania. Why should it not be so everywhere? She is affected in the same way as man by good or evil. She ought to be able to tell whether a thing injures her or causes

her to suffer or not. But then "She's nothing but a woman," and that covers a multitude of men's sins. ♦

When the women began to look into how they were represented, they found they had no more rights than animals or slaves owned by their masters. No right to their children; could neither buy nor sell, make a will nor own property, had to obey all the laws men were subject to, or be punished as if they were men. The "age of protection for girls" runs as low as seven years in several States. These are some of the affairs that exist under laws made by the women's representatives—or rather by their *misrepresentatives*. No one can satisfactorily represent women but women.

Men specially represent material interests. Women will specially represent the interests of the home.

James Otis said: "No such phrase as 'virtuous representation' is known in law or constitution. It is altogether a subtlety and illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd."

"If they are represented, when was the choice made? Nobody pretends that they have ever been consulted. It is a mere assumption to the effect that the interest and affection of men will lead them to just and wise legislation for women as well as for themselves. But this is merely the old appeal for the political power of a class. It is just what the British Parliament said to the Colonies a hundred years ago, 'We are all under the same government,' they said; 'our interests are identical. We are all Britons;



Britain rules the wave; God save the King! and down with sedition and Sons of Liberty!' The Colonies chafed and indignantly protested, because the assumption that therefore fair laws were made was not true; because they were discovering for themselves what every nation has discovered, that there is no class of citizens, and no single citizen, who can safely be entrusted with the permanent and exclusive possession of political power. 'There is no instance on record,' says Buckle, in his history of civilization in England, 'of any class possessing power without abusing it.' It is as true of men as a class as of an hereditary nobility, or of a class of property-holders. Men are not wise enough, nor generous enough, nor pure enough, to legislate fairly for women. The laws of the most civilized nations depress and degrade women. The legislation is in favor of the legislating class."—Selected.

Wives, mothers, sisters, maids and widows have interests peculiar and special to themselves. And how can any man or any set of men, however good and generous, know what is good for all these? How can they know as well as the women themselves what women need for their best government and happiness? It is now time for men to say: 'Let us be generous to our sisters. Let those who are educated vote if they choose.'

"It is true that women can secure the repeal of bad laws by indirect influence. It is also true that people can get from New York to San Francisco by

going around Cape Horn. But if women were forbidden to travel by rail across the continent, and if they complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that there were many authentic instances of women who had reached San Francisco safely by way of the Cape. The last persons who would be likely to use this argument would be the old sea-captains who had made many voyages around Cape Horn. Thus we find that the men and women who have worked longest and hardest to secure the present improved laws for women in regard to property, the professions, etc., would be the least to say that indirect influence is as good as a vote.'—Selected.

Besides this: "Why does not this argument in respect to woman's influence hold just as good in everything else as in public affairs? Why do you not say, 'A woman ought not to be a school-teacher; if she wishes to teach the race, let her influence her father and brothers and husband, and act through them?' Why not say, 'A woman ought not to be an artist and daub her fingers with paints; let her influence her father and brothers and husband to paint?' or, 'A woman ought not to waste her strength in writing; let her influence her father and brothers and husband to write?' Why do you not say, in short, 'Woman is a mere silent, inferior, reserved force, and man is the universal engine to be set in operation by her.'

There is, undoubtedly, such a thing as indirect

influence, as general influence; but I have noticed that men who wish things to remain as they are, are in favor always of general influences, in distinction from directly applied forces. It is open, direct, applied force, that abates evil or promotes good.

Nobody makes out a bank account under the general influence of commerce. Nobody farms on this principle. The general influence of husbandry never drained a swamp. It is the theory of cultivation applied that brings harvests. The general progress of health never cleaned a street; it is sanitary ideas applied that do this work. General influences are nothing but the sum of particular influences. If these men who propose leaving evils to be corrected by general influences were to talk to the clouds, they would say, 'Oh, never rain! Leave all things to the general influence of diffused moisture.'—Selected.

"It is also to be noted that a good law, once obtained, does not always 'stay put.' Mr. Hale boasts, for instance, that in New York fathers and mothers are equal guardians of their children. But the vicissitudes of the law of equal guardianship in New York furnish a striking instance of the insecure tenure by which the rights of a disfranchised class are held.

New York women began to agitate for equal rights in 1848. It was not till 1860 that a law making fathers and mothers equal guardians of their children was secured. Two years later the father was again made the sole guardian, with only a restrictive

clause forbidding him to part with the custody and guardianship of a child without the mother's consent. Nine years later, even this restriction was removed, and from 1871 to 1893 the New York law read :

‘ Every father, whether of full age or a minor, of a child likely to be born, or of any living child under the age of twenty-one years and unmarried, may, by his deed or last will, duly executed, dispose of the custody and tuition of such child during its minority, or for any less time, to any person or persons in possession or remainder.’

Under this law, some flagrant cases occurred in which fathers willed away their unborn children from the mother to a stranger.”—Selected.

In an address by Mary T. Lathrap of Michigan, she says: “I do not know what you may think of the woman's crusade, but let me say, as a woman who stood inside it, that the women of this nation never laid such a tribute at the feet of its womanhood. If you want to know what a boy is worth, go ask his mother. By the time she goes into the jaws of death to give him birth, and then puts into him her days of love and nights of care, and he stands before her strong and clean and tall at 21, she can tell you what he is worth, from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet, and when the legalized dramshop takes hold of him and tears him down, fiber by fiber, and puts oaths on the lips she used to kiss, and crushes out his mother's hopes, it is no wonder she makes outcry.

“If you want to know what a home is worth, go and ask a loving woman who has kept herself as pure as lilies for her marriage day, when, with a great shine in her eyes, she puts herself over into the hands of one man, for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, until life’s end. And when the dramshop, with its fearful curse, crosses the threshold of the home they built together and takes down her strong tower of hope, stone by stone, and degrades the father of her children, it is no wonder woman makes outcry.

“What was the woman’s crusade? It was a long smothered sob breaking into a cry; it was a midnight prayer coming abroad at noonday. You men sometimes say to us, as we stand in places like this, ‘Home’ is your kingdom.’ We do not dispute it; we know it better than you know it, but it was our kingdom that was outraged. You say to us, standing ballotless and defenseless before this vampire of our civilization, ‘you do not need the ballot; we defend you by love and by law.’ Do you, when for 85 years, by well defined license legislation, motherhood has been uncrowned and her children slain by law, and you have made no protest against it? you have prayed about it in prayer-meeting, but when it comes to the sweep of empire in the ballot box and in political organizations you have made no protest.

“Oh men, I do not believe a civilization is worth much that cannot protect its women and its babies!



## THE TAXATION TYRANNY.

BY GEN. E. ESTABROOK,

TUNE—"The Red, White and Blue."

**T**o tax one who is not represented  
 Is tyranny—tell if you can  
 Why woman should not have the ballot?  
 She's taxed, just the same as a man.  
 King George, you remember, denied us  
 The ballot, but sent us the tea,  
 And we, without asking a question,  
 Just tumbled it into the sea.

Chorus:-Then to justice let's ever be true,  
 To each citizen render his due,  
 Equal rights and Protection forever  
 To all 'neath the Red, White and Blue.

That man shall not rule another  
 Unless by that other's consent,  
 Is the principle deep underlying  
 The framework of this government.  
 So, as woman is punished for breaking  
 The laws which she cannot gainsay;  
 Let us give her a voice in the making,  
 Or ask her no more to obey.

And grand as you are, and strong as you are, and true as you are, you will never be able to protect your women and your children and the dramshop at the same time. Oh, in shame, in very shame, either get up and strike down this enemy of the home, and of wifehood, and of childhood, or else put the ballot into the hands of your women for their own protection.'"

### BAD WOMEN ONLY WILL VOTE.

---

**B**AD women are fewer than bad men, and yet no one ever said that about bad men. Women would not likely stand around the polls all day, shivering, waiting for some one to give them a dollar or a drink for their vote. Many men do that at every election. Probably women would not know enough to vote that way. Do the bad men not vote? If the franchise were taken from the bad men, and men who do not know enough to vote, the tally sheet would not be very long. Under our present system of the franchise one saloon has more power in politics and the government of our country than ten churches. Give woman her rights that she has been deprived of and there will be three good women voting to every good man—at least to every Christian man. Eleven men on the average are in our prisons to every woman. So that will give about thirty-three chances to have a good woman at the polls to every chance for a good man. With three times as

many Christian women as men it is not probable that bad women will do all the voting.

The Governor of Wyoming, John E. Osborne, says :  
“ I agree with the resolutions passed by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Wyoming,\* advising the Legislature of New York and other States to enfranchise their women. Our experience in the State for nearly twenty-five years is highly satisfactory in every way. Not one of the objections made in the East has proved true, and great good has been done in many directions by the possession of the suffrage by our women. I cordially hope that New York and other States will soon follow our example.”

“ I take pleasure in saying, that in my judgment, the action of our people in giving to women municipal suffrage has a good influence upon the politics of our State. The vote of the women has increased at each election, and it may be truthfully said that it is a factor in securing purer and better municipal government.

Yours very respectfully,

Lyman U. Humphrey,  
Governor of Kansas.”

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

A New York woman tells the following incident: "I was at a woman suffrage parlor meeting," she said, "and I saw one of the most charming society women in the town among the guests. She always seemed to me as if she ought to be kept in a glass case, she was so exquisite and refined. After the meeting was over, I said to her, 'How do you happen to be here?' 'Well,' she said, 'I'll tell you. Last fall I talked to fifteen men of my acquaintance, urging them to stay in town to vote at the election. Not one of them did, and I came to the conclusion that if the respectable men wouldn't vote, the respectable women ought to.' "

If the men take care of the bad men, the other sex will not have half as big a job to take care of the bad women. If nobody but good men voted women would not feel so much the necessity of having the ballot. It is the ballot of bad men that we want to counteract by the ballot of the good women. Here is a story that illustrates our position. A boy once complained that he never was served with as many pancakes as he wanted. His mother and sisters determined to silence his complaint, and so prepared an extra supply. Again and again and again they helped him. When he hesitated his sister said persuasively, as she held out four more on the fork: "Don't you want some more?" With a look of agony on his face and his hands on his stomach he replied, "Don't want what I've got." Let us make an educational or property basis or both for the franchise,

and we will get rid of what we've got that we don't want, and what otherwise we would get that we would not want.

The Danville News says: "There is but one drunken woman to every thousand men, and one criminal woman to twelve criminal men. And yet they tell us that woman isn't to be trusted with the ballot."

The Christian Statesman says: "The Parkhurst crusade shows that impurity is very closely related to the saloons, and is directly promoted by them. The matron of the Florence Night Mission, of New York, being asked how the evil could be reduced, replied: "Honest men might be put in power who would enforce the laws. That would decrease the evil. The saloons might be regulated or driven out. One-half of the social evil is due to drink. Why, the other night I asked some of the girls here what use they would make of the ballot if they were permitted to vote. And the answer was "Close the saloons." They are all drunkards. They say they have to be half drunk to get the "cheek" necessary for their horrible trade. There is something of the woman in all of them, which they have to deaden with drink or drugs." "

Mrs. Elizabeth B. Grannis says: "From my personal experience with the 'common woman' and the common man, I am convinced that the 'common woman's' conscience is superior to that of the common man's, and she would therefore exercise her



moral sense in a majority of cases in casting her ballot. A wicked woman, or the women that Dr. Ry-lance refers to as 'those whom Dr. Parkhurst is hunting,' is no better than the same grade of man, but not one step lower, and I believe not nearly so dangerous as the murderers, thieves and the great variety of reckless men who are given over to every phase of evil. 'The women who are hunted by Dr. Parkhurst' are quite as safe and well qualified to cast a ballot as their male partners in crime. Women would certainly not be more likely to aid in the election of 'low, ignorant men' than those who have already put them in power. This is a false accusation, and nothing more unjust against women could be assumed. A very large majority of women have a far keener sense of the duty of citizenship than the rank and file of reckless men. Dr. Ry-lance is at least very presumptuous in declaring that 'woman has to reach perfection at a bound.' He cannot prove his assertion. Women who have aimed to reach perfection have sought it by patient plodding, prayer and self-sacrifice, trusting in God's help to quite as large an extent as men. Dr. Ry-lance's experience differs somewhat from that of many other pastors, who will testify that women are as patient and self-denying while seeking to gratify a noble or ignoble ambition as the average man. Men voters have been beating the air for generations, and if they have accomplished no more than is apparent, and as Dr. Ry-lance acknowledges, how

does he know that we should have 'confusion confounded' by bringing in the better element and the greater half of the people to aid in settling these perplexing questions to which he alludes? It is only in the name of justice to the people we ask for suffrage."

The Colorado Legislature, at its extra session, provided for a house-to-house registration of women who wished to vote. The Denver Republican gives the following interesting facts about the registering in Denver: "The line is very clearly drawn. It is parallel with the line of culture and intelligence. In the central Capitol Hill precincts, in the better part of Highlands, and in the best other residence districts of the city, the proportion of ladies who are registering is very large. Among the middle classes the proportion is good—better, in fact, than any other. Below these classes it grows less and less, till the bottoms are reached, with their miseries and dirt. Here women know nothing of registration, and only a meagre percentage are induced by persuasive canvassers to become voters. The negro women, as a class, will have nothing to do with registration. The male population in black does not encourage it. Among the Italians the same tendency is manifest--very few of them are registered. And, finally, the shadow women, the women of Market street and of the blocks on Lawrence and Larimer, refused to give their names for registration. . . . From an estimated ninety per cent. in the cen-

tral district, the proportion decreased to probably seventy per cent. in certain places around the edges. There are two or three little negro settlements in this fringe. Less than half a dozen colored women registered in all these places; they knew nothing about it, and would not be convinced. On the other hand, there was an increase in the percentage among the middle classes, so called, where intelligent faces greeted the canvassers. The line is very clearly drawn parallel with that dreadful line of ignorance. The brighter the faces, the greater the proportion of registrations."

In Boston, for the past fifteen years, the school vote of women has been largest in the good wards of the city, and smallest in the ignorant and degraded wards. In the twenty-one other States where women have school suffrage, the women who have voted have been, almost without exception, of the intelligent and respectable class. In Kansas, where women have had municipal suffrage since 1887, and in Wyoming, where they had full suffrage since 1869, this fear, that the bad and ignorant women would be found more willing to vote than the good and intelligent, has nowhere been realized.

It is sometimes urged that if political equality be given women, the good women who avail themselves of it will be outnumbered by the bad. This is simple conjecture. If good women do not rally when they can do good, it will be something new under the sun, and if bad women wish to vote, it is surely as

proper for them as for bad men. But the facts show that it has not worked in that way. Wretched, fallen women are not much found where respectable women go.

It is said, by careful observers in Kansas and Wyoming, that women of degraded life do not go to the polls, for the very good reason that good women being there in vast majority, candidates for election dare not bring those of another sort, knowing that should they do so, they would be mercilessly boycotted by the massing against them of reputable women's votes. The registration of the women in Chicago, Boston, Denver and other places proves the fallacy of the statement that "Bad women only will vote." The registration is largest in the best wards, and smallest in the ignorant and degraded parts of the cities. The five wards of North Chicago foot up less than either 12th or 34th. Evidently the strength of woman suffrage is in the American wards. The best women are readier to vote than the worst every time. The latter are not generally ready at all.

The women who have asked the franchise represent the highest culture, virtue and intelligence of these United States. They are the women of the universities, the schools, and the professions. The very great majority of them are the mothers of families, devoted and faithful wives, who, in their efforts to secure their political rights, have the hearty support and aid of their husbands. The great number

of women who went to the places of registration accompanied by their husbands proves the truth of this. They are not the vicious, the silly, the irresponsible. There has never been an advocate of equal suffrage upon the platform who was a woman of notorious character; there have been none who did not possess more than average ability.

A report from the first women's voting in Colorado says: "Almost everywhere the elections turned on local issues, chiefly anti-gambling, local option and high license, and, as a rule, the women favored the reform ticket, and voted solidly for it. The only disturbance reported was an accidental dog-fight, which happened inside a voting place in Highlands. The women were made heartily welcome, and it is said that one judge of election, an old bachelor, devoted the day to taking care of the babies while the mothers voted. The judges were greatly surprised to find that the new voters needed no instruction, and voted in half the time usually taken by men."

"As fuller returns from the spring elections come in, they demonstrate anew the fallacy of the idea that 'the ignorant women will be the first to rush to the polls.' In the Mexican counties 'about eighty per cent. of the American women voted,' but 'almost no Mexican women appeared at the polls, as their husbands objected.' In the cities, the three classes of women who almost universally stayed away from the ballot-box were the very ignorant, the ultra fashionable, and the demi-monde. Outside of these



classes, the vote of women was very large. Of those registered, 'from eighty to ninety per cent. voted.' As in Wyoming and Kansas, 'The women voted for the candidates of the best character.' They were everywhere treated with courtesy, and the elections were 'the most orderly ever known in Colorado.' So say the reports. An ounce of experiment is worth a ton of theory.'

### DIVIDING A HOUSE.

---

**T**ALK about dividing houses! Could houses be divided more than at present. There is not much now that is common to husband and wife. The children belong to him. He only allows her the privilege of caring for them. The property all belongs to him. The pocket-book is his. The politics are his, too, and she has nothing left entirely to herself but religion, and some men have even taken a little of that. But they generally do so at the expense of some of the other things they might have had more of if they had left the religion to their wives. Now, would it not be a good plan to divide up all these things and hold them all in common? If the man finds that civil suffrage and church suffrage would be too much for him, let him take only half of each, and his wife the other half. They should be family affairs. She is one half of the family, and that the better half. Is it right for women to raise

the children for men to ruin with rum? But they are compelled to do it under the existing laws, and they dare not, cannot lift up their voice against it. They choose their own religion and often connect themselves with other churches than their fathers and husbands. There has always been more contention over religion than over politics, yet frequently a woman is a communicant of one church and her husband of another or none, or a non-church-goer. But this does not disrupt many families. They "agree to disagree."

Not one man in a thousand would object to woman suffrage if he thought he could control the vote of the whole family. Everybody knows this, and yet they say the women would vote the same way as their husband's do. If the men really thought so, there would be no opposition to their voting. It is the way men think women would vote that they object to, more than to the principles. When the great Methodist church in '92 decided by over 80,000 of a majority that women should sit in the Conference with men, the Bishop (and would-be-Bishops) decided to the contrary. Dr. Buckley gave as a reason for debarring them from the Conference, "Whenever you put a woman into the Conference you put a man out." (N. B.—He did not say: For every bite a woman took some man must do without a bite. His reasoning is almost as wise as the carpenter who said, if the sill had been too short he could have spliced it, but when it was too long he did not know

how to fix it. If Dr. Buckley's Conference should be too short could he not call in the carpenter and have him splice it?

The Lincoln (Kans.) Beacon says: "Not a home in Kansas has been broken up and probably not an iota of domestic discard has ever resulted from municipal suffrage for women during the past seven years."

The women of Wyoming have been voting on an equality with men since 1869. From 1870 to 1890 divorces increased in the United States at large three times as fast as the population. In the Western States, omitting Wyoming, they increased four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming they increased only one-half as fast as the population. In other words, divorces increased six times as fast elsewhere in the United States as in Wyoming from 1870 to 1890; and during the same time, in the average other western States eight times as fast as in Wyoming; and again "an ounce of experiment is worth tons of theory."

#### WOMEN WILL VOTE THE SAME AS THEIR HUSBANDS.

— — —

**W**HAT if they do? If the husbands vote right it will be all the better. And she probably will vote the same as he does. But the women have shown that they have more independence

in voting than men. She votes more for the man and less for his party, his barrel of beer and barrel of money, which generally carry the elections at present where women are excluded from the polls.

Many more women bring their husbands into their church than go with their husbands to their church. And the same thing will be true in politics when they are allowed to vote. Men know this, and that is the reason they object to their having the ballot. Not a man would object if he thought he could control the family ballot. Here are some samples of how women will come to vote the same as their husbands, given by Vandelia Varnum in the "Corner Stone":

'We take all the Prohibition papers,' said one woman, 'and they always lay at the head of the lounge. When my husband comes home tired, he lies there and picks up the first paper he finds, and I see to it that he always finds the kind he needs. Little by little the scales fall off his eyes, and to-day he is as strong a Prohibitionist as I.'

'He likes to have me read to him,' said another, 'and so I read him to sleep every night. Sometimes it seems as though he didn't take much of it in, but I kept at it, and in two years he voted the straight ticket.'

'I suppose your husband is as strong in the faith as you?' was asked a third. 'Not quite yet, but he will be soon. I must tell you my experience. Perhaps you know I have been married three times. My

first husband was an old-time Democrat. It was pretty hard for him to turn, but he did at last and became a very earnest Prohibitionist. My second husband was a Democrat, too, but he became so tired of his old party that during the last years he always voted for me, he said, and that was straight Prohibition. My present husband is or was a Republican. We have been taking several Republican papers and just as many Prohibition papers. Every night we read together, I doing most of it. I'll read the New York Tribune awhile and then say, 'Now let's take a bit of The Corner Stone, and so he, too, is almost there.'

'Say, marry some more men, will you?'

'Well, I'm awfully ashamed to think I've married so many times, but I don't know but that is my mission. Some can preach it from the platform and I can—— convert husbands.' And we all drowned the words in a laugh.

'But how do you get around this matter during courtship?'

'Oh it never comes up— hasn't a thing to do with it.'

'Maybe not, but I should think, sometimes, that it would loom up like a ——

'There's where you show your inexperience.' And the listening company all agreed with her."



## IT WOULD DRIVE MEN FROM THE POLLS.

SO let them go, and we will sing the Doxology. The Elder Brother, as he stood on the outside, disgruntled because his brother returned, was the worse of the two. What a sulky disposition! Did you ever see the selfishness of the child that would never divide anything with a companion? What kind of a brute does it most remind you of? Some men, whose brains are equal to their UNselfishness, are too boorish and brutal and bearish to be fit to have companions. Was woman made out of the sole of a man's foot that she must be beneath him? Or was she taken from a man's side that she might stand up beside him? Was she not taken from nearest his heart so that she would be the dearest thing to him? About how many men who regard a wife as the dearest thing would quit voting because the wife wanted to go along to the polls?

The men who have the highest regard for woman are in favor of woman suffrage. It is only those men who regard women as their inferiors that are opposed to their equality. Can it be possible that so many of them stay away from the churches because their wives go? Will they stay out of Heaven for the same reason? If there be no marriages in Heaven, may it not be because the men will be too scarce?

LET THEM VOTE ONCE.  

---

ALMOST any man would be willing to let his wife and daughters vote on the whisky question. The old fable of the mice and the cat is very applicable here. The mice met and decided to put a bell on the cat so that they could hear her coming. But when the cat was to be belled not a mouse would venture to do it. The men admit that the liquor traffic deserves to be put to death, but when the first stone is to be cast they depart, from the eldest unto the last, and leave it alone. The very same men would be willing to let their women cast the stones and kill it, provided they would not vote any more until they would get another job on their hands that they were afraid of. They would be willing to use their wives and daughters as the cat's paw to pull all the chestnuts out of the fire that they were afraid to pull out. Brave men! They need women to protect them.

Can it be possible that Rev. Anna Shaw's theory of woman being taken out of man's backbone (instead of out of his rib) is true? If not, what has so weakened his backbone?

The Turkish women have to wash their husband's feet with scented water, but there are men in this country that would allow their women to do the same—anything they would not dare or stoop to do themselves.

MOTHERS CARE FOR THE YOUNG.

---

A LITTLE boy asked his mother which character in "Pilgrim's Progress" she liked best. She could not tell until she thought about it a little. He replied, "I like Christiana best." "Why?" she asked. "Because she took the children along," said he.

A heathen woman brought a little child to the missionary and besought her to keep it. When asked why she wanted her to keep it, the woman said: "Because your God is the only God that cares for children." But is it not also true that the missionary's Devil is the only Devil that cares for children? Is it not also true that the missionary's Devil gets many of the missionary's people's children because the men will not allow the mothers to protect them? If a mother's influence is so great that she can control the nation through the children, she ought to have more influence on the "children of a larger growth." Who needs to be afraid of the mothers when their influence is so great and so good? Is not much of a good thing better than little of it?

An educated Hindoo once said that his people did not fear missionary schools, or missionary books, or missionary teachers. "But we dread," said he, "your women, and we dread your doctors; for your doctors are winning our hearts, and your women are winning our homes."

BETTER CAUCUSES, BETTER CANDIDATES,  
AND BETTER CONDUCT OF OFFICERS.

— — —

WHEN a caucus is held under the present condition of things, the whisky interests control the convention, and do as they please. They elect their convention officers, they appoint the committees, and they draft platforms, draw up resolutions, demand their own candidates, and domineer the convention to their nomination or election. So that the good people who ought to go to the nominations and elections despair of any good they may do, and if they do go, they are used only as so much steam to run the machinery to grind out the grist turned into the hopper by the saloou interests. A certain man, either a whisky-interested man or a money king is turned into the hopper because of the "fire-water" and steam they can furnish to run the election machinery. Barabbas is still in demand by the caucus, and, alas, too often released unto them. But now he is wanted for mayor, chief of police, councilman, constable, or to be sent to Congress.

But in a campaign where women's votes would be counted, candidates would have to have clean characters. The principal question in the convention would not be, as now, "Can the candidate furnish enough money or whisky to carry the election?" but it would be, "Will the candidate command the respect and receive the support of the women?" Who

would dare to run for an office with public sentiment against him voiced by women? Even the worst classes of women would not support bad men for offices. Women never get so low as to be void of admiration for the good, the noble and the true, and to admire the bad, the ignoble and the false. If we want better government we must secure it through the ballot. And nothing will hasten it so fast as the power and presence of the women at the polls.

Information from Auckland, New Zealand, says: "The first elections under the female suffrage law resulted in favor of the Government. The women voted in large numbers, giving their support mainly to the candidates who professed Christianity and favored temperance, and every candidate whose morals were of a dubious standard were unmercifully cut."

In Glasgow, Scotland, last year, woman's vote gave five total abstinence candidates to the Municipal Council, and this year three out of four.

A Denver dispatch says that ever since Colorado gave women the right of suffrage the Women's Christian Temperance Association has been actively engaged in getting their members and sympathizers to register, for the purpose of fighting the liquor law, and eventually making Colorado a Prohibitory State.

Another paper from Denver says: "The woman with her little vote is disturbing the politician's little game. He has a new element to deal with, and it will be a long day before he will know what to expect from it."



The "Prohibitionist," of New Zealand, asserts that by the first exercise of woman suffrage in that country, the question of Prohibition has been thrust into the very forefront of burning questions for the new Parliament to act upon, and the lower house has banished all intoxicating drinks from the bar of the Chamber. And if ever a reformation was needed, it is in our present political plans and practices."

The following little dialogue is suggestive: One angel met another on the jasper street, taking earthly observations.

"What are you looking at?"

"Men," said the other.

"And what do you see?"

"I see wise men living under laws made by fools and knaves, and submitting of their own free wills."

"Strange!" said the other. "And how do they justify it?"

"They say it's all wrong."

"And why do they submit?"

"That I cannot tell."

"And what do they call such a strange anomaly?"

"Politics."—Kate Field's Washington.

Emma Hardman, in the Southern California "White Ribbon," says:

"I once heard a minister tell how he was converted to woman suffrage. He went to the polls, and found a filthy polling-place, filled with half-drunken, foul-mouthed men, the air thick with tobacco smoke and heavy with curses. One fight after another made

the day hideous. The next year he went again. The women had been there before him. The place was clean. Flowers stood in vases here and there. In one corner were tables covered with white cloths, and women, good women, gave out coffee and cakes to the voters. 'I staid all day,' said he, 'and not a man swore, or smoked, or fought. The place was clean in the morning and clean at night, and I said: If women can do this in one day, what could they do in a year, in a lifetime? This is what we need, the women to help us in political matters; and, God helping me, I'll vote for it from this day on.' And he did."

Every Governor of Wyoming, for more than twenty years, has testified to the good results of woman suffrage, and many of the judges and highest officials have done the same. In fact, all testimony goes to prove that wherever women have had the ballot, they have used it in the interests of the home, against the saloons, the gambling houses, and the haunts of infamy.

"The two most strongly marked instincts of woman," forcibly says Miss Willard, "are those of protection for herself and little ones, and of loyalty and love for her husband and her son. On the other hand, the two strongest instincts that defend the liquor traffic and the drink habit, are avarice in the dealer and appetite in the drinker.

"It has been said that civilization has nothing with which to offset these two tremendous forces.

But may it not be found in the home, through the reserve power, not yet called into government on a larger scale, woman's instinct of protection and love will prove a sufficient offset, and will outvote both at the polls."

'The State would surely be benefited by entrusting the ballot to that class of citizens who are most numerous in colleges and prayer meetings, and least numerous in the saloons.

Notice what the whisky advocate, "Wine and Spirit Gazette," says about it:

"The clamor for female suffrage, of which we hear so much at present, is merely a prohibition movement in disguise."

Dr. Wilbur Crafts, in the "Christian Statesman," under "Suffrage Reforms that are rapidly ripening," says: "Thirty-five States since the last presidential election have adopted ballot reform. It is a cheering symptom, the swiftness with which ballot reform has swept the land; and although the politicians, who dared not oppose it altogether, have in some cases weakened it, there will be less chance this year for the treason of bribery than four years ago. A politician who had been seen to pass \$10 to a voter just before he cast his ballot was asked in court for what he paid that money. 'For a hog,' he replied, which was both true and false. Ballot reform will check this traffic in 'hogs,' by making it impossible for a man to know whether the 'hog' he bought was delivered. Joseph Cook sums up his

suffrage views in the motto: 'No sex, no shirks, no simpletons in suffrage.' By 'no shirks' he means compulsory voting. It must not be overlooked that some abstain from conscientious reasons, and others because in some elections the Devil has all the candidates. Let every voter who does not vote be required to record his reason. Such a record would furnish some wholesome reading for politicians. As to 'simpletons,' it is bad enough to have them monopolize the jury box, without giving them the ballot box also. One of the best celebrations of the discovery of America would be to decide in this year 1892 that no more 'simpletons' will be registered as voters after the opening of the 20th century, six years hence, which would give time enough for every youth and immigrant to get ready for citizenship. Not only ability to read, but the use of that ability on American history and the Constitution should be required. I saw recently twenty of the Huns and Cossacks that have invaded our country as they did Italy of old, made into American citizens in thirty minutes—one and a half minutes a piece. 'They were no more fit to be made citizens,' said the judge to me afterwards, 'than so many cattle.' No man should be naturalized until he is Nationalized."

## SCHOOL SUFFRAGE

NOT one reason can be given against a woman voting at school elections. Every reason is on her side. The way our public schools are governed and teachers treated sometimes is a disgrace even to the politics that runs them. It is supreme folly to change the superintendent of a school or a professor in a university every time the politics of the board changes. And yet in many places it is the case. We have known several superintendents and quite a number of teachers in different schools that have been discharged by the change of the politics of directors. In two superintendents' cases the outgoing men were Christian men and the incoming men were skeptics, and instead of building up character and strengthening the religious home teaching in the children, they were made to doubt, and fear that their parents were wrong religiously. Would Christian men be turned out for political reasons if the school affairs were managed by women, or at least if women helped to select persons to manage the schools?

Who are more interested, and who would do more for the children left to the mother's care and training, than those mothers would do? The schools are practically in the hands of women to-day. Over 65 per cent. of the teachers are females. In our large cities there is generally a male superintendent, and



female teachers do the work. And most of the cities will not have a male teacher at all. They want only one of that kind, to be boss and draw the big salary. And who could be more capable and adapted to choose teachers for the young than those who have spent most of their lives in teaching, or training children at home? In Liverton, R. I., all the members of the school board are women; and the superintendent says the schools of that town are the best conducted schools in the State

Many school houses are ill-ventilated and wholly in an unsanitary condition. The children die of diphtheria and scarlet fever. If the mothers, who cannot help caring for their children, could add their votes to those of the fathers who also care, the schools would be made healthier.

In a certain town of the West, where New England men and women made their home, a log school house, worn out and old, had holes in the floor through which the cold wind gave the children chilblains, and great cracks in the walls gave them colds. There was need of a new school house. But many men did not want to pay the tax necessary to build it, and the vote for a new school house could only be carried by adding the vote of the mothers (who all wanted a new school house) to that of the men who wanted it. To the women, their children were more than money. They voted, with the men who wanted it, for the new school house, and to-day the children are snug and warm in the new building. And thus

it will ever be. Give the women the school ballot, and they will give us better schools.

But then it is strange we would give the school ballot and not the ballot for county and state officers. I can scarcely understand it, unless this is the reason: Giving them the ballot means they can have the office, too. But men will not lose any money by that office for the directors generally get no pay. If this be not the reason, why did the Republicans of Ohio allow them to vote for school directors and hold the school office that pays no salary, and refuse to allow them to vote for and hold the school office (State school commissioner) that pays a salary?

According to the wise heads in the Ohio legislature last winter, the women are capable of electing a committee, and even of composing that committee which performs the most responsible duty of selecting a teacher to train young minds and souls for both time and eternity. And yet they are neither capable nor are they to be trusted to decide who would be a fit man (for sheriff) to care for criminals. 'O, consistency thou' art a jewel.' But the women, of Ohio should be thankful for small favors, and that may bring larger ones. Use what they have without complaining that they got so little. Prove that so much is good, and that will certainly beget more. It will be like the widow's oil—increase by using. Every woman who loves home and children ought to take an interest in the election of good school officers, and the selection of good school teachers. Such will have much to do with the happiness of the home and the training of the children in both home and school.

## MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE.

WOMEN have had municipal suffrage now for many years in hundreds of cities.

Everywhere experience has shown the truth of Henry Ward Beecher's prediction, uttered nearly forty years ago, when woman suffrage was still an untried experiment. Mr. Beecher said:

“Does not every man at all conversant with public affairs know that you are obliged to choose men for office with reference to those who are to vote for them, and that, if men were selected whose election depended as much upon the votes of women as upon the votes of men, not one bad man would be put up, where there are fifty selected now?”

Popular government in the city is degenerating into government by a “boss.” When Herbert Spencer was visiting this country he said. “You retain the forms of freedom; but, as far as I can gather, there has been a considerable loss of the substance. It is true that those who rule do not do it by means of retainers armed with swords, but they do it through regiments of men armed with voting papers, who obey the word of command as loyally as did the dependents of the feudal nobles, and who thus enable their

leaders to override the general will, and make the community submit to their exactions as effectually as their prototypes of old. Manifestly those who framed your Constitution never dreamed that twenty thousand citizens would go to the polls led by a "boss."

Judge Valentine, of the Kansas Supreme Court, after observing for some years the effect of the woman's vote in municipal elections said:

"The women's vote have generally been cast in favor of good officers and good government. When it is known that women may vote at city elections if they choose, only the names of fairly good men or fairly good women will be presented for offices, for, as a rule, only such can be elected."

There are more good women than good men in any town, city or community. If the good women of the locality could unite with the good men they could accomplish something in reforms. Would such wicked men as Mayors Harrison and Hopkins be elected to rule cities if the women had a voice? The former rejected a petition of many thousands for closing the illegal Sabbath saloons, because many of the petitioners were women. They had no vote. What did they amount to? Hopkins, his successor, vetoed a bill for closing the stores and business houses and places on the Sabbath. He gave his reason for his veto, "cannot sanction a measure which, under the guise of a police regulation for the preservation of the peace and good order of society on the Sabbath, so radically interferes with the private affairs of cit-

izens;" meaning by "citizens" his ward masters and their apprentices and servants in wickedness.

"In the early settlement of Wyoming Territory, the necessity to secure shelter and places in which to live compelled men to work on Sundays as well as other days. When houses were built, the habit of every-day work with open shops and business all the time continued, when there was no longer any need of it. Many men desired a quiet Sunday. But they could not elect a city government in Cheyenne which would not permit business on that day unless the women, who all wanted a quiet Sunday, should vote with the men who wanted an orderly Sunday. The women voted, and their votes, added to those of the men, secured the right city government. After Wyoming women found what they could do with their votes, they have never since been afraid to vote."—Selected.

Dr. Lyman Abbott published in the Outlook a statement that there are disreputable resorts in Cheyenne, as an illustration of 'how woman suffrage works in Wyoming.' It would be as fair an argument to quote the existence of disreputable resorts in Brooklyn as an illustration of the workings of Plymouth Church.

No one supposes that women suffrage will bring in the millennium. The Christian church has not yet succeeded in bringing the millennium, either, but that does not prove that the Christian church is not a beneficent institution. There is as clear evi-



dence that woman suffrage has done good in Wyoming as there is that Dr. Abbott's church has done good in Brooklyn. The influence of woman suffrage has been wholly good so far as it has reached, though it has not reached far enough to abolish everything bad.'—Selected.

To see the importance of municipal reform we need but read Dr. Strong's "New Era," (pages 179-183). To know what the women can do and will do, even with a tithe of a chance, we need but recount the defeat of Breckenridge and Tammany in the last elections. If the women can do so much without the ballot, what could they not do with it? If Breckenridge could have bought 150 votes more of the votes cast he would have been nominated, and all the women's work thwarted because they could not express themselves at the ballot box. But by that expression he would have fallen behind more thousands than he did hundreds without their votes. The same to Tammany. It is simply an outrage and imposition on the women to expect them to do the unpleasant work of campaigning and electioneering and refuse to let them do the nicer and easier work of registering their protest against iniquity and political corruption at the polls. Shame on the men who ask and expect such! Here is what Dr. Strong says about the corruption of cities that need reforming.

I. The government of the city is by a "boss," who is skillful in the manipulation of the "machine," and who holds no political principles "except for

revenue only.” His sentiments and practice accord perfectly with the brutal and infamous utterance of Senator Ingalls? “The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. In war it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries, to mutilate, to kill, to destroy.”

The “boss” is the natural product of a vicious political partizanship, together with a large foreign population which has not sufficient character and intelligence for independent or individual judgment and action. While in the aggregate there are many foreigners to whom this remark does not apply, we still have the “Irish vote,” the “German vote,” the “Roman Catholic vote” and the like, which by appeals to race or religious prejudice or for “value received” may be cast in great blocks—which of course constitutes the city, the demagogue’s Paradise. Human nature is no weaker in the city than in the country, no more corrupt in America than in Europe. The existence of great masses of votes which can be easily bought and sold or otherwise controlled is sure to find unscrupulous men who are only too willing by such means to seize power and plunder.

European cities are in population remarkably homogeneous and native; ours are remarkably hetero-

geneous and foreign. London is deemed a little world, because one may meet there the representatives of almost every race; and yet "out of every one hundred Londoners in 1880, sixty-three were natives of London, ninety-four of England and Wales, and ninety-eight of Great Britain and Ireland. The Emerald Isle furnished but 2.1 per cent of London's population; and all foreign countries put together, only 1.6 per cent."—[Census of England and Wales, 1881, Vol. IV. p. 59. Quoted by S. L. Loomis in "Modern Cities."] Contrast this with the foreign element of our cities. The Tenth Census showed that of our fifty principal cities 29.8 per cent. of the population were foreign-born, while those who were foreign by birth or parentage often constituted three-fourths or four-fifths of the population.

Most of these foreigners have little understanding of our political issues and less of our institutions. They see nothing to be gained by independent action at the polls and much to be gained by concerted action. They accordingly follow their leaders, and are led into whatever camp bids highest in patronage and plunder. Doubtless in every city the good citizens who want honest government are in a majority, but with fatal folly they divide on political questions which have no more to do with municipal government than with the moon; and this division enables the "bosses" to hold the balance of power and dictate their terms. The perfectly natural result is a debauched city government.

The officials of European cities are often eminent men, the fittest possible for the place, who honor their office and are honored by it. But such is the corruption of municipal politics here that only now and then will a man of high character accept office. Many of the more intelligent are so disgusted that they will not even go to the polls. Others stay away, because, as they say, "Its no use;" while others are "too busy" to vote. A few years ago there was an important election in New York, the result of which would determine whether criminals were to be vigorously prosecuted. And though there was more than usual interest in the election three miles of brownstone fronts on Fifth Avenue furnished but twenty-eight votes. It is quite possible that Cherry Street and the "Bend" furnished more votes than they had voters. Some one has said with as much truth as wit: "The mediaeval sovereign hired a fellow to be his fool; but the 'popular sovereign' often hires the fellow to be his master, and is his own fool."

To how great an extent he is his own fool who absents himself from the polls or who respects party lines in municipal elections, does not appear until he reckons up how much it costs to hire the fellow to be his master.

It costs a heavy burden of debt and taxation. Ten of our larger cities, whose aggregate population is 6,466,000, have a total indebtedness of over \$351,000,000, or fifty-four dollars per caput for each inhabitant. Mr. Bryce gives the following table of

the increase of population, valuation, taxation, and debt in fifteen of the largest cities of the United States, from 1860 to 1875.—[The American Commonwealth, Vol. I. p. 607.]

Increase in population, . . .	70.5	per cent.
“ “ taxable valuation, 156.9	“	“
“ “ debt, . . . . 270.9	“	“
“ “ taxation, . . . , 363.2	“	“

The increase of the municipal debt of New York in a single generation was from \$10,000,000 in 1840 to \$113,000,000 in 1876. The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, in a comparison of Birmingham and Boston, shows that of these two cities, having about the same population in 1870, the latter expends more than six times as much as the former for the same objects. After examining the management of a hundred of our cities, great and small, he says: “Americans pay for less efficient service in their large towns nearly five times as much as is paid in the case of a well-managed English municipality.” (Municipal Institutions in America and England, “The Forum”, November, 1892.)

If the objects for which these great expenditures are made were really secured, the waste would be less lamentable; but they are not. The streets are generally ill-paved and filthy, sanitary provisions are neglected, the public health is involved, and public works are rarely creditable. An extremely able commission, of which Hon. W. M. Evarts was chair-



man, referring to the debt of New York City, said: "The magnitude and rapid increase of this debt are not less remarkable than the poverty of the results exhibited as the return for so prodigious an expenditure. . . In truth, the larger part of the city debt represents a vast aggregate of money wasted, embezzled, or misapplied." (Quoted in "The American Commonwealth," Vol. I, p. 609.)

A memorial presented to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1883 by a number of the leading citizens of Philadelphia contained the following: "Philadelphia is now recognized as the worst paved and worst cleaned city in the civilized world. The effort to clean the streets was abandoned for months, and no attempt was made to that end until some public-spirited citizens, at their own expense, cleaned a number of the principal thoroughfares. The system of sewerage and the physical condition of the sewers are notoriously bad — so much so as to be dangerous to the health and most offensive to the comfort of our people. Public work has been done so badly that structures have had to be renewed almost as soon as finished. Others have been in part constructed at enormous expense, and then permitted to fall to decay without completion. Inefficiency, waste, badly-paved and filthy streets, unwholesome and offensive water, and slovenly and costly management, have been the rule for years past throughout the city government." One might naturally ask, If we must have dangerous pavements and foul streets, unsani-

tary sewers and pestilential tenements, wouldn't it be possible to secure them for less than four or five times as much as the English pay for good service?

Another part of the cost of hiring "the fellow" to be our master is the "giving away" of valuable franchises which ought to bring the city many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

But the cost in money is a small matter compared with the sacrifice of health, physical, intellectual and moral.

The public health has been intrusted to "sanitary inspectors," who not only lacked special training and fitness, but also common intelligence—rumsellers and low pot-house politicians. A few years ago some of these "health-wardens" in New York testified before an investigating committee of the state that there were cases of "hyjinnicks" (hygienicks) in their wards. Some of these guardians of the public health thought the people "had the hyjinnicks pretty bad," while others were of opinion that the patients "got over" them quite easily. ("The Government of American Cities," by Andrew D. White. "The Forum," December, 1890.)

In different wards of the same city different sanitary conditions sometimes cause a variation in the death-rate of ten or more in a thousand. A rise of two in a thousaad for the entire city of New York would mean over 300 additional deaths. In our large cities doubtless thousands of lives are sacrificed to **POLITICS** every year, not to mention the sickness

and suffering which do not cost life.

Our public schools are often sacrificed in like manner. The school board is made a political prize; and men take charge of the education of the city who, in some instances, I am assured, are unable to read or write. Many thousands of children in our cities are forced to grow up in ignorance for lack of school accommodations. It was stated not long since that a recent investigation in Chicago revealed the fact that in one ward there were 4500 more children than there were school sittings. ("The Christian Union," June 12, 1892.)

But the most serious part of the cost of such government is the price which is paid in moral character. Criminal houses flourish so openly that it is impossible not to infer official complicity with vice. Strange that officers whose business it is to ferret out crime are unable to discover moral slaughter houses which respectable citizens cannot help knowing! Instead of making vice difficult and dangerous, every facility is afforded for corrupting the youth.

This unspeakable folly is all but universal. Occasionally outraged citizens become sufficiently indignant to rebel against party leaders, and, in a moment of sanity, set up an independent candidate. But usually a partisan press succeeds in whipping enough good men back into line to defeat the reform movement. Returns from 127 cities show only ONE independent or non-political mayor. Politics is so thoroughly rooted in our system of municipal government,

and has so vitiated that system, that its failure has become notorious. "There is no denying," says Mr. Bryce, "that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Mr. Andrew D. White, who has enjoyed exceptional opportunities of observation, says: "Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt."

Florence M. Adkinson gives the following reasons for women wanting the municipal ballot:

1. Because, as mothers, they are concerned in the maintenance of law and order in the suppression of disorderly places, immoral shows and obscene posters and publications.

2. As home-seekers, they are interested in gas and water rates, in the quality of gas and water supply, in sewer construction and connections, in the removal and disposal of garbage, and in the cleaning of streets, gutters and offensive places.

3. As citizens and philanthropists, they are interested in city charities and corrections, in hospital service, in relief work and care of the poor, in the management of penal and reformatory institutions, in the appointment of police matrons, the care of dependent or incorrigible children, in the disposal of tramps and offenders, and in the preservation of historic places.

4. As tax-payers and property-holders they are interested in the degree of protection afforded by the fire and police departments, in the construction and improvement of streets, sidewalks and parks, and in all expenditures affecting the rate of taxation.

The municipal ballot gives a voice in these and other municipal affairs in which the women who live in cities are deeply concerned.”

Dr. Anna Shaw writes in the “Woman’s Tribune” as follows:

“Take the great cities of the country that are so badly mismanaged, and you find organizations of women banded together, not to do harm to the city or to put forth temptations that degrade and drag down its inhabitants, but to secure clean streets, and to do the best good they can. Take New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities, and you find women banded together for that purpose. As to the suffrage taking up women’s time and putting upon us responsibilities, I believe that it will be much easier for women of a city to go to the polls on election day and vote for the men who will see that these things are brought into the life of the city to make for it good health than for them to take the extra work of nursing children suffering from diphtheria and scarlet fever. It is much easier to vote for a good condition of the town than to take care of the bad condition. We have here a lady who was elected to the school board of Quincy, Mass. She went to work



at a certain school. She asked the privilege of doing so, simply because the children who attended that school were so unhealthy, and so many of them died. The disease seemed to be of the worst character. The discoveries that she made in the building were enough to shock any good housekeeper. She went to work, cleaned the house from top to bottom, and found in the cellar a sunken tub, into which had been dripping water from leaks until the entire tub had rotted away and the stench had permeated the whole building. The children were dying by the score. She went to work and did the general housecleaning of that school. And I submit to you she was much better adapted to it than any man in the city of Quincy, and the work was certainly not an added burden to the city of Quincy, but a great relief."

And Laura M. Johns said at the N. S. A., Washington, in Feb., '94:

"The effect so far as the women themselves are concerned has been all gain and no loss. They have learned that power, not feebleness, brings respect. They have gained in self-respect, sex-respect, and sense of public justice. I should consider woman suffrage an ample success, if only for its effect in opening to women new fields of work and more equal wages. Above all, it has broadened woman's mind, and fitted her better for motherhood and for comradeship. She has lost nothing. She is no less fine because she is stronger. She has met with no loss of chivalry. The voting women of the West do not

have to stand in street cars any oftener than the non-voting women of the East—not so often in fact; for even slight courtesies shown to voters often produce a great effect. We have not exchanged privileges for rights, but have added rights to our privileges. Homes are not less beloved, and woman suffrage has not proved the leveller that was expected.

The women have exhibited no greed for office. Eleven women have been elected to mayoralties during the seven years in which women have been eligible. Kansas has only two women mayors now. One of these was elected recently in Pleasanton, a county seat town, to fill out an unexpired term; the other, Mrs. Mary Barnes, was elected mayor of Geuda Springs at the regular election of 1893. Mrs. Barnes's 'aldermen' are all women. This feminine administration is strongly supported and warmly endorsed by the solid business men of the town, who declare themselves entirely satisfied with it, and say that they never had a better city government.

Women as members of city councils are not unusual. Mixed councils meet with most favor among suffragists. Many women serve as members of school boards. Women are even clerks, treasurers, and directors of these boards; they are also city clerks and treasurers. These two last-named are salaried offices, and women in them receive the same pay as men.

We have this year our first woman city attorney, Mrs. Ella W. Brown, of Holton. She was admitted

to practice in the Supreme Court a year ago. She is an active member of the firm of Brown & Brown, being her husband's partner, and she has the respect of the bar of her county, and is declared to be a very efficient city attorney.'

### WHY WOMEN WANT TO VOTE .

---

**M**RS. ZARELDA WALLACE says a gentleman once asked almost sneeringly, "What have you women ever done for the State that it should give you the ballot?" We were in a parlor with a company, and I did not care to be drawn into a discussion; but he persisted, till at last I said: 'Napoleon realized fully the value of women to the State when] he said, 'The great need of France is mothers.' If women do not fight, they give to the State all its soldiers. A woman who goes down into the valley of the shadow of death every few years, who gives up her health, her beauty, her means of improvement, her social pleasures, that she may furnish soldiers for the State, certainly does as much for the State as the father who buys bread and shoes for the children.'

'Ah, ahem, I never thought of it in that light,' he said.

'No.' I responded, 'I told you it was all a matter of growth and enlightenment.' "

A dozen years or more ago the State of Illinois passed a Home Protection law. It provided for an election in which all adult inhabitants should participate and express themselves for or against license. The municipal authorities could condition their action at will. They were asked to condition it on the expressed will of the people. In twelve towns of the State the W. C. T. U. worked the ordinance into law. In each of these towns the combined vote of the women and the order-loving men carried for No license. In only one of them would the same result have been without the women's votes. They tried it in Rockford, a city of 14,000 inhabitants. And here is the account of the election of that city, for and against license, written by Mary B. Willard:

“I wish there were more space here to tell of the heroic persistence of the women of Rockford, of their patient tramp from house to house and street to street for signatures to their petition for the ordinance, of their successful suit with the City Fathers, led and championed by such men as Mayor Wilkins, Congressman Lathrop and others; of their efforts on election day, and other preparations for the triumphant vote for Prohibition. There were places of rendezvous in every precinct, where the timid women might rally, and from which they might go to the polls in company; there were carriages to bring the sick, infirm and aged women, and then a bevy of fair young girls, not old enough to vote, who, anxious to do somewhat for the great issue of the day, said, ‘We will

go to the homes where there are little babies, that the mothers may go to the polls.' There were women of fashion and social leadership who drove the street all day, bringing women voters to the ballot boxes, their carriages placarded with such legends as 'Vote for Home Protection;' 'Vote for your homes this day.' There were strong cries and tears in many a home for the success of No License, and mothers plead with sons, wives with husbands and daughters with their fathers that every ballot might be a pure one, a vote for the safety of the street, the school, the church, and the home. In every voting place there were two ballot boxes—one for the reception of votes cast by men and women for License or No License; the other for votes of men only, for municipal officers. Over both, judges were appointed by the City Council. At night when the ballots of the first box were counted it was found that No License had triumphed by a large majority. It was also found that more than 2,000 women had voted at this extraordinary election and only **FOUR** of the 2,000 had voted for License. This, coupled with the fact that not more than 2,500 votes were polled at the ordinary election when only men vote, indicated the general movement to be expected of the women of this and every city when so vital an issue is presented. The Scandinavian women, the German and the Irish women ranged themselves by the side of their American sisters in the Prohibition ranks, and against the enemy which has done so much to make their homes so uncom-



fortable, and their lives desolate and dreary. Katrina came with her ballot, as determined to save Fritz from his beer as Bridget to keep whisky from Patrick. And so in the might and love of motherhood and wifeness 2,000 women marched to the polls and—delivered the city? Nay, verily. There was the other ballot box to be opened, which done, it was found that the votes of the male citizens had elected the License ticket, so far as the Councilmen were concerned, and this Council at its first session repealed the Home Protection ordinance and made the will of the people of none effect.

There was but one conclusion possible from such premises. The W. C. T. U. of Rockford accepted it, as has the W. C. T. U. of the State: **WOMEN MUST VOTE IN BOTH BOXES!** They must vote for the men as well as the measures. For the officer behind the ordinance—for the law and for the law-enforcer.

Conservative women, who had believed in the temperance ballot only, now became convinced that the temperance ballot is the whole ballot.

Conscientious Christian women, many of them, came to believe for the first time that God's plan for the overthrow of the liquor traffic includes the **FULL BALLOT FOR WOMEN.**

The W. C. T. U. seeks the ballot for no selfish ends. Asking it only in the interest of the home, which has been and is woman's divinely appointed province, there is no clamor for 'rights,' only prayerful, persistent plea for the opportunities of **duty.**

The fear in our hearts is not of unwomanly action, but of responsibility unfulfilled. The dreadful shadow of a gigantic evil is over us. Up to this time the efforts of good men have failed to cut it down or to repress it. Year by year it grows faster than our nation's growth, and no power has yet been applied to check its fearful encroachments.

Men of America, will you call us to your side in this irrepressible conflict without weapons for the fight? We ask only to help you in the overthrow of this universal enemy of the home. You have called us queens of home, and home, the woman's kingdom. But we are uncrowned even there while this foe menaces us."

"Set over against the appetite of the drinker and the avarice of the saloonkeeper the undying mother-love of the home."—Frances E. Willard.

Here are "Eight Reasons why Women should want the Ballot," by Mrs. S. M. Perkins, editor of "A True Republic," Cleveland, O.:

1. Bright, thinking, progressive women, can put two and two together and know that they make four. They can see on the pages of history that a disfranchised people never had their rights. The disfranchised are always held in subjection by the enfranchised. Women do not propose to be held in subjection.

2. "Taxation without representation is tyranny," to-day as in 1776. Many of our women are tax-payers. They are scholarly, but Pat, their hired man,

can go to the polls and help dispose of their money, while they have no voice in the matter. Pat can say how much the appropriation shall be for the schools and the prisons, while he cannot read his own vote. Is not this serfdom humiliating to the women of our country?

3. Women have homes, and they love them better than any other places upon the broad earth. Many of them have sons that they have early consecrated to God, and have prayed over them every day from their birth. These sons are nice and gentle and obedient till they reach the dangerous age of fifteen. Then the cradle influence has waned. She that rocks the cradle cannot rule the world, because she cannot keep the world in the cradle. The boy outgrows the cradle, he kicks over the cradle, and though he loves his mother, he sees that she has no great influence in the outside world, and he is going to be a man and a voter. The mother's influence has departed. If the father drinks, the boy will drink. If the father smokes, the boy will smoke. He loses respect for his mother because she is so powerless, and goes with the other boys to the saloon and house of prostitution, and is lost to honor, to virtue, and to decency.

4. Many of our women are temperance workers. Some of them were crusaders twenty years ago. They look over our city of Cleveland and see 2,000 saloons, all of them doing good financial business. If each saloon ruined only ten boys per annum—and they do much more than that—there are twenty thousand

ruined each year. Can we afford that ruin? If a man was mean enough to poison a stream where cattle drink, the law would take the matter in hand and the mean man would be punished. Cattle must be protected. They are so much more precious than the boys and the homes. The officials of our large cities are standing committees for saloonkeepers. Indeed, the officials, they tell me, are sometimes carried home in an unconscious condition. Do you wonder that the schools in Cleveland graduate five girls to one boy? Do you wonder that the saloons graduate nineteen boys to one girl? Cities reach their climax of iniquity—the cup becomes full to the brim, and they go slowly to decay and ruin.

What caused the fall of ancient Tyre and Sidon, of Greece and Rome? Was it their virtue, their temperance, their Christianity? Nay, it was their vices, their idleness and their intemperance and dissipation. Our nation will go down with them, and the future traveler will look over the ruins of Euclid avenue and sigh over the crumbling viaducts, unless some redeeming influence is brought to bear in our political life.

Twenty years ago our temperance women imagined that their tears and prayers would close every saloon, but when they had tried it a score of years and the saloons increased in number in every community, they had a clearer vision given them. They perceived that God works by means, and they had got to do something themselves to rid our land of the curse.

Then they murmured, I WOULD like to vote for temperance but nothing else. But they soon saw the fallacy of this. The temperance question touches all other questions, and good men are needed to enforce the laws. Now they say give us the full ballot, give us

“The weapon that comes down as still  
As snowflakes fall upon the sod,  
But executes a freeman’s will,  
As lightnings do the will of God.”

5. Women should want the ballot, because they are, some of them, wage-workers, and they know, full well, the small pittance, called wages, that is held out to them and is an insult to their womanhood. “Equal pay for equal work” will never be given while women are disfranchised. If we travel we must pay the same fare as do the men. We pay the same for our rent. Our food and our clothing cost the same, but if we keep a school or make a vest, they give us one-half or two-thirds the pay that men receive for doing the same work. Two women have just been dismissed from physical culture work in our public schools. A man is put in the place, at double the salary. Is that fair?

They tell us that there are ten thousand tramps in our country that beg from door to door, a terror to peaceful homes. Women are not tramps. If a woman cannot get a dollar a day she will work for fifty cents, and when she fails to get that she will work for 25 cents, rather than beg her bread.



6. Women should want the ballot because they hear the silly, selfish remark from the outsiders, "Oh, I have all the rights that I want; why need I trouble myself about the ballot?" It is a very selfish woman who says that. If she be a favored one, and has a beautiful home and a kind husband and sweet children, and servants and horses and carriages, and all that makes a woman happy, should she not do a little reform work as a thank-offering for her happy lot? Should she not think of that other woman, just as good, just as pure as she, in some dark attic, up three or four flights of stairs, sewing on shirts at a sixpence apiece, and dreading to hear at the door the step that once thrilled her with pleasure? If the ballot would help that other woman in closing saloons; should she not seek to give it to her? No man liveth unto himself; no woman should live to herself, but do earnest work for humanity.

7. Women should want the ballot because they compose two-thirds of the church-members of the country, and as the care of all the churches devolve upon them, they should have greater facilities for raising the money to support the church services. Now if the salary of the minister falls behind, or church needs repairs, the poor, tired women resort to crazy quilts, lotteries and oyster suppers to eke out the money needed. When, were they voters, could put men into office, the men would all be at church, just to show these voters what nice office-holders they would make, and what a beautiful

thing it would be to cast for them a ballot. The men would then give the money.

8th. Some women are popular society people. They should have the ballot because this reform is becoming immensely popular, and they should not get left when the chariot wheels of progress are passing by. Good men, men whom cultivated women all honor and respect—these all say, Give women the ballot. Men of honor and cultivation all favor the reform. The opposer is the man who hangs around saloons while his wife supports him. The saloon-keepers, the brewers and distillers all dread the ballot in woman's hands much more than they dread the Asiatic cholera. In convention assembled they said this a year ago: "Do not fear the ministers; two-thirds of them are perfectly silent about our business. Do not fear the Young Men's Christian Association; they are perfectly silent about our business. But I will tell you whom you may fear—the W. C. T. U. and the suffrage societies. Do all in your power to keep the ballot out of the hands of the women. Should women vote, the death-knell will be sounded to our business." Now, you tell us any time what the saloonkeepers want, and I will tell you what women do not want. They want to destroy lives; we want to save them. May God help us all to see our duty clearly and work while the day lasts, for the night cometh when no man can work."

THE DUTY OF WOMEN TO VOTE.

---

IT is as much the duty of a woman to vote and be interested in good government as it is a man's duty. It is her country as well as his. Her children have to live in it as well as his. She should be even more interested than he; for on her falls principally the care and training of the children. And every one ought to make it as hard for others to do wrong and as easy to do right as possible. And what right has a woman to accuse a husband for not arraying himself against the saloon, or any form of sin and iniquity, when she will not do it herself?

We are all under obligation to contribute whatever faculty God has given us to make and keep our land a pure, safe and happy land. How dare women with good homes and husbands, resting on roses, say they "have all the rights they want," when they see so many thorns in the lives of others, and are not lifting a finger for their relief? It is a strange attitude for the followers of the lowly Nazarene.

Gladstone writes: "All those who live in a country should take an interest in that country; and the vote gives that sense of interest, and fastens that love."

Do these women who "have all the rights they want" forget the 250,000 licensed schools of vice in their country that make their own door-yard fence

the dead-line beyond which the darlings of their bosoms pass with danger to their souls? Will not God sit in judgment against those who, amid brighter light and greater privileges, sit at ease in Zion while such snares are laid for souls? Have they nothing to return to God and humanity for his wonderful goodness in making their lot so happy in life? "In as much as ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto me."

Their condition and blessings in life have come from the pioneers who had many hardships to endure before the present conditions have been reached. Will they not help to make it easier for those who are to come after them?

A few women now get equal pay with men for equal work. But it was not always thus. Neither is it everywhere thus yet. A lady said to the writer some time ago: "I gave up a position last week at eight dollars a week, and a man took it at sixteen dollars a week." And yet that woman thought she did not want to vote. A manufacturer some time ago turned off his bookkeeper. He hired a lady to take his place. A friend was in the office one day and said: "How do you like your new bookkeeper?" He replied, "First rate. She does her work better and neater, and is always at her post punctually, and never goes off on a spree, as the former one did." "Well, I suppose you pay her more than you paid the former one?" "No," he replied, "she's a woman, and women don't get as much as men."

When two children are left orphans, and turned out into the world to make a living, the laws, customs, usages and prejudices of the people are all against the girl, and in favor of the boy. Put them to doing the same kind of work, in the same establishment, under the same employer, and can we not easily see that the one is "nothing but a woman." And only when women help to make the laws that regulate wages will women get equal pay for equal work.

We now have one standard of morals for men and boys, and another one for women and girls. Girls must be kept under the influence of their mothers, but boys go where they wish, and do as they please. They smoke, chew and drink, and not much is thought of it. But it would be terrible for girls to do the same. When Madeline Pollard answered an advertisement in New York for a nurse in a wealthy family, and told who she was, she was insulted, and the door slammed in her face. But when her male partner in her crime, Breckenridge, returned to Congress, a bouquet of flowers greeted him from his desk.

A woman disgraced is a woman ostracised from society, and an outcast forever. A man disgraced only makes him "smart" in the eyes of the people, and they give him some high office.

Read what Samantha Allen says on this in "One Standard for Both Sexes," further on.

Do women really have all the rights they want? Has a married woman a right to her earnings?



Has she a right to make a will? Has she a right to her own children if left a widow? Can her husband not bequeath them to strangers if he desires? If a wife and husband together acquire a farm, can she dispose of her half of it? How much of it would she have after the death of her husband?

Does she not want a vote and voice in saying how much taxes she must pay, and for what purpose they are to be spent? Does she not want to vote for school and temperance laws? If under the present condition of things women have all the rights they want, they are either easily satisfied or ought to be ashamed of themselves. Yea, verily both of them. Here are a few good facts, gathered from a tract in circulation:

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

We grant that immense changes have already been made in the laws for women. They have been made by the woman suffrage agitation, however, and no changes were proposed till women began to demand the ballot. Some of the laws that most oppress women still defile the statute books of the various States. Only six of the States of the Union allow the married mother to be an equal legal owner and guardian of her minor children with her husband. In all other States the father has the legal control and ownership. The laws everywhere declare that the wife's services belong to the husband, and accord to them no money value, only stipulating that she shall receive at his hands such board and clothing as he chooses to furnish, thus making her a pauperized dependent upon him. If she have leisure and ability to earn money, in fully half the States of the Union the law gives the husband her earnings also. They are his, because he owns the wife and her services. In almost all respects the laws give to the husband almost complete and irresponsible power over the wife, which it is never safe to bestow on any one. Is it strange that there is unhappiness in married life and frequency of divorce?

A recent decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa expresses the condition of women in most States to-day. Mrs. Hall, of Manson, Iowa, sustained serious injuries from a fall caused by the carelessness of the town authorities, and sued the town for damages, and received a verdict for \$3,000. An appeal was

taken to the Supreme Court and sustained, on the following assumption: "A married woman being a 'mere housewife' for her husband, and he being bound for her support, her earnings belong to him; and any loss of time occasioned by the wife's injury is solely HIS loss; therefore, the husband only can recover damages, and the wife's claim is not valid, as the time lost is not her time." Mrs. Ellen B. Dietrick in the "Twentieth Century," says: "This remarkable decision (rendered in June, 1894) places the wife in that Asiatic category which speaks of a man's wife, and his ox, and his ass, or ANYTHING WHICH IS HIS. It deals with the wife as a chattel, not even possessing the measure of individuality conceded to the average modern man-servant or maid-servant. It degrades housekeeping below the level of all self-supporting occupations, for the 'mere housewife' is not credited with earning even her own support! It reeks of the ignorance of the days of barbaric depotism, when parents sold their boys for one purpose and their girls for another; or, of the days of savagery, when captives became their captor's property, male captives being broken to one form of yoke, female captives to another. Behold how far the rights of woman have traveled in the year of our Lord, 1894, in a land which wishes to be considered as Christian!"

THE DUTY OF MEN TO LET WOMEN VOTE.  
-----

SOME one gives us the following good thoughts: "We see constantly in political papers a lamentation that our young men are growing up ignorant of republican institutions, and as a remedy they are proposing that civil government be taught in our public schools. The public schools are largely in the hands of our young girls. Woman has the education of the future citizens committed to her, even before the child sees the light. Do you expect these women to educate boys in the duties of citizenship; and more, do you expect woman to honor the government that first dishonors her? If you wish our republican institutions to be a permanency, you must take this badge of inferiority and dishonor off her brows. It is not a question of woman's rights at all; it is a question of human rights; it is a question of the success or failure of republican institutions. A danger now threatens the commonwealth through committing the education of its children to a disfranchised class. One element of Rome's decay was in her placing Greek schoolmasters over Roman boys. All the culture of Greece could not make

amends for the lack of interest the disfranchised Greeks took in Roman affairs of State. 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 is complete."

"Think of the effect of this dishonor upon the boys of the land. The mother tries to teach her boy that he must be pure and temperate and honorable; that he must control his passions, and walk as a man among men, if he would succeed in life. That boy goes out from his mother, and the first thing he meets with neutralizes and gives the lie to all his mother's teachings. He says to himself, 'Why, mother says so and so;' but he finds men in high places violating all those teachings, and he begins to conclude that his mother does not know much about it. From that moment the boy discounts his mother's judgment, and though she must still have a hold on his affections, she does not have a hold upon him in any other way. There is where you wrong us, gentlemen, and cripple us in training men who will make the statesmen of this nation. If you want us to make statesmen, you must give the women an interest in the government, and you must count their opinions."



“A little boy of five or six years old last fall, hearing the earnest talk all around him in regard to the election, looked up in his mother’s face, that face to which he had ever looked for decision and counsel, authority and strength, and asked, ‘Mother, how are you going to vote?’ And her heart was too full to answer as she might have done, ‘My son! you will some day vote, but I perhaps never! for I am allowed only to give my sons to fight for my country, and my money to pay its expenses, but it does not recognize that I have any part or lot in its affairs.’”

“You trust your dearest interests to woman; you confide to her keeping your honor, your children, the sacred interests of your home. Why fear to trust her with the ballot, by which she can serve and defend all these? You call her the queen of home, and so she is; but without the ballot she is an uncrowned queen, and her sceptre but a broken reed. Call this the home of the free! So long as its women are classed with criminals, idiots and paupers it can never be free.”

Dr. Gregg says: “I am in favor of woman suffrage because of certain axiomatic truisms which are in my mind, and which I cannot expel. The denial of suffrage to women clashes with these. They are such as these: Suffrage is the badge of equality. Now, while woman is differently endowed from man, yet she is equally endowed. It is a matter of right and justice and logical consistency that the same franchise should be given to all who meet the conditions

of franchise. No one should have the power to take advantage of another. Taxation without representation is tyranny. The consent of the governed is necessary to a just government. Laws based on principle are better than those based on sex. An aristocracy of sex is repugnant to a republic. Suffrage is as much the natural right of woman as it is of man. A class compelled to accept of inferior rights is a class that is always relegated to inferior duties. A class deprived of a vote, which is the great American power, is placed upon a lower labor-plane. There should be the largest liberty of the individual consistent with the equality of all. Woman is interested in the very same questions that interest man. They affect her with equal intensity. Therefore, she should have the same weapon with which to deal with them. The labor question is a woman question; so is the marriage question. The divorce question is a woman question, and so is the question of legislation, which makes laws for the home and for society. The question of education is a woman question. Shall it be co-education or non-co-education? On all these questions the practical value of woman's vote is precisely the same as the practical value of man's vote. To keep woman under legal disabilities; to make her a cipher, at the left-hand-side of the unit, man; to govern her by arbitrary laws, and block her progress by arbitrary barriers; to make her a political nonentity, or a political outcast—all these things clash with the ax-

iomatic truisms which are throbbing within me, and my whole nature cries out: Away with them!"

"The world is looking at America's experiment of self-government. The women of this nation must do their duty, or the experiment will prove a failure. I believe that this is the last great struggle which the race is to make for freedom—the struggle for the rights of woman; that secured, the perpetuity of the nation is secure. A gentleman said to me recently, 'Mrs. Wallace, you are too sanguine. Rome took five hundred years to die. America may be even now dying.' I answered, 'America need not die for five thousand years.' What does the Bible say of the cause of decay in nations? 'The nations that will not serve me shall perish. Woe to him that buildeth a city on iniquity, and foundeth it in blood.' Has the highest attainment of your wisdom, after centuries of culture, reached only to the licensing of evil, and with this blood money paving your streets, building jails and penitentiaries to hold the natural products of the evil you have licensed? O, my sisters! have you not a responsibility in this matter?"

"We have in this country the best men on the face of the earth, still it is true that the overwhelming majority in the prisons, and almost all those in the dramshops, are of their sex; while women are in the majority in the churches and all good work. God never would let the war between freedom and slavery end until the slaves were put into the army; and He will never let the conflict between good and evil now

going on in the nation end until all the virtue of the Republic is expressed at the polls."

John G. Woolley, looking over his audience, congratulated himself that he spoke to a mixed audience; and then he paid a glowing tribute to the influence of woman, and demanded fair play for her. "I never heard a man wish he were a woman," he said, and then added sorrowfully, "I have heard many women wish they were men." A few young men tittered at this, whereupon he leaned forward and said slowly and impressively, "Shame upon a civilization that makes a woman feel that she has a grudge against God for her sex!" And again he says: "You can't win a case by singing hymns to the jury, or pronouncing a benediction on the judge. You must produce the evidence, which is your vote."

#### WORDS ABOUT WOMEN.

---

ACCORDING to "A True Republic," Thomas A. Edison declares that women have more quickness and insight into machinery than men have, and he prefers to employ them in carrying out the details of his electrical inventions. He is credited with saying that "Women have more sense about machinery in a minute than men have in a lifetime," and he shows his faith in them by keeping 200 women on his pay-roll.

Two women, Misses Alice T. Wright and Eliza D. Seymore, of New Haven, out of curiosity took the

Yale examinations last fall, and surpassed at least seventy per cent. of the young men. And most of the fellowships of the Chicago University last year were held by women.

The woman who invented the clothes-pin started a manufacturing establishment that sold for more than would purchase the whole machine shop where her husband had worked as a day laborer for twelve years. It is a wonder that he did not have the patent taken out in his own name. Many men do that, and don't even say, "See what Betty and me did," but "see what I did." In the case referred to above, which should control the property and cast the ballot? Which manifested the brain power?

"Go to my office, sit in my place, and do my work until my debts are paid," were the dying words of Mr. Frank Leslie to his wife. He had already made an assignment. She sat at her desk like a Napoleon over his war maps. She was left with a debt of \$50,000 confronting her, and paid off the last dollar. No other woman has ever illustrated feminine executiveness and capabilities better than she. And yet "She's nothing but a woman." As merchants, physicians, attorneys, professors and workers in whatever professions or business they have entered, they have proven themselves equal in every respect to their male companions. But no matter what she has done, or can do, some men would say, "She's nothing but a woman." She is often referred to as a goose. "Such a goose of a thing to vote!" Very



well, I am only your companion; what are you, then?"

A little boy says a goose is the bravest thing in the world, because she would fight till she died for her goslings. But her companion will not always do that. Where is the justice of withholding from the goose the only weapon she could accomplish anything with, all because "She's nothing but a woman?"

"The Beacon" says: "It now devolves upon the opponents of woman suffrage to show, not that women are incompetent to vote, but that women, BECAUSE THEY ARE WOMEN, are incompetent to vote. It will not do to show that SOME women cannot exercise that right, or that ignorant women, or crazy women, or criminal women cannot safely exercise the right; for ignorance, insanity, etc., are not attributes of womanhood. Before the justice of our declaration can be questioned it must be proven that the fact of being a woman IN ITSELF makes it impossible for a citizen to exercise the right of suffrage without injury to the community.

It will not do to present the argument on this question that the exercise of the right of suffrage by women would be injurious to themselves. While the talk on that subject has been of the most imbecile description, yet whether it be so or not does not apply to this question. Women have an inherent right to the ballot. That right can only be interfered with on the ground that its exercise will interfere with

the rights of others; whether its effect will be a detriment to themselves or not will be a question which each woman has a right to determine for herself. The public has a right to protect itself, but it is not the business of the public to look after the private affairs of its citizens.

It is argued that if women were allowed to exercise the right to vote they would spend their time in voting, and the men would have to stay at home to rock the cradle and wash the dishes. This argument, with its force, clearness and logic, reminds us greatly of one of the stock of arguments in the sixties against giving the negro the right to vote. We were a Democrat in those days, but all the same believed that every citizen should have the right to vote on the same terms, but whenever we would get into an argument with our Democratic friends on the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the doctrines laid down by Thomas Jefferson, we were always met by the absolutely incontrovertible and unanswerable argument, "Would you like to have your sister marry a nigger?" To this day we have not been able to observe the connection between the exercise of suffrage by the colored people and miscegenation. Our reply usually was, the right to vote did not confer upon any man the right to marry our sister. So we fail to discover any connection between the exercise of suffrage by women and the washing of dishes and rocking of cradles by men. We have been exercising the right of suffrage for a

quarter of a century, voting as often as the law would allow, but it has never taken as much time for us to go to the polls and cast our ballot as it does to go to market and buy provisions for dinner. Going to the polls is a duty that occurs but twice a year at the utmost, while going to market, which takes longer each time, occurs four times a week. As we have not been compelled to wash dishes and rock cradles because our wife goes to market four times a week, we presume that were she to go to the polls twice a year, the additional time required would not necessitate our abandoning our editorial duties.

Women carry on the chief work of the church; they go to prayer meeting, and missionary meeting, and class meeting, and working society meeting, and get up socials to pay the church debt, and get up entertainments to buy the church carpet, and can go around the community soliciting funds to pay the preacher's salary—they can do all this; they DO do all this; they have been doing all this for a hundred years or more, and it has not yet resulted in men rocking the cradle or washing the dishes. We would suggest as a happy compromise for those who are troubled in this matter that instead of rocking the cradle and washing the dishes all the year round, the men should agree, if it be found necessary to secure time for the women to go to the polls, to take their wives' places at prayer meeting, two meetings a year, which would more than compensate for the time required by their wives' political duties."

## EMINENT OPINIONS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I take it Americans never gave any better principles to the world than the safety of letting every human being have the power of protection in his own hands. I claim it for women. The moment she has the ballot I shall think the cause is won.—Wendall Phillips.

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

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

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

I am in favor of woman suffrage.---Phillips Brooks.



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

It is very cheap wit that finds it so droll that 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.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

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

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

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

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?—Francis E. Willard.

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

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

Just as woman in literature, both as authoress and as audience, has effected a radical reform, all 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.—Prof. Wm. T. Harris.

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

And I do not ask this for woman's sake. My plea is not for woman; my plea is for man. We need an enlarged sphere for women. The world, human society, man's own comfort (if it be brought to the basis of a selfish calculation), every material interest of human life, demands that man and woman should be united, as much in intellectual as in social, in civil affairs as much as in personal, in public as much as in private interests. Men rob themselves and society by prohibiting woman from doing things which she is able to do, and fitted to do.—Henry Ward Beecher.

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

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

I leave it to others to speak of suffrage as a right or a privilege; I speak of it as a duty. What right have you women to leave all this work of caring for

the country with men? Is it not your country as well as theirs? Are not your children to live in it after you are gone? And are you not bound to contribute whatever faculties God has given you to make it and keep it a pure, safe and happy land?—James Freeman Clark.

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

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. This is the Golden Rule put into practical form.—Rev Dr. David Gregg.

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

upon it. If our mothers are not fit to vote, they ought to stop bearing sons?—Geo. W. Cable.

A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a road 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, she may not vote upon the industrial regulation of the State.—George William Curtis.

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

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

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

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



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

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

John Stuart Mill said that wherever he found an Indian province especially well governed, he usually found that a woman was the governor. Look at the famous queens of modern times; Elizabeth of England; Maria Theresa of Hungary, Isabella of Castile; Victoria. With three or four exceptions, every decent sovereign in Europe since the dark ages has been a woman. Even the sensual Catharine of Russia will compare very favorably with most of the rulers of her race.

Chief-Justice Green, Seattle, Washington, says: "The practical working of joint suffrage has developed very definitely the lines between its supporters and its opposers: First and chief, that immoral element which is, the world over, sustained by the drinking-saloon, the gambling-house, and the brothel; second, a much smaller element, the high-toned class which finds its delight in the frivolities of fashionable life; and third, a small but eminently respectable element, that is bound by traditional no-

tions of man's superiority and woman's sphere, and seems unable to open its eyes or get its head straight, or go, and lies curled up upon itself, altogether like a chick in an egg-shell which ought to hatch, but doesn't. To the last element belong those which think they read in the Bible a divine right of man to rule woman.'

Hon. L. G. Adams, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, said: "As the election came on, there were comments upon the orderly and quiet character of the elections; there was no dissent from the testimony on this point; comments upon the unexpectedly large vote of women; upon the healthy influence of their presence in banishing riot and disorder from the polling-places; remarks upon the courtesies everywhere extended the lady voters—always spoken of as ladies; statements of how the men of all races vied in activity in escorting the ladies to the polls in carriages; how the ladies came often accompanied by their husbands, sometimes singly; sometimes in groups; quietly deposited their votes and returned as quietly to their homes; how sometimes they came by scores and fifties from points of assemblage, and in some instances from churches where they had met and prayed together before coming; the reading of these newspaper statements and the comments upon the incidents of this election—these all have impressed me with the conviction that the half of the lesson taught would not be made apparent by a mere exhibition of the numerical results.

The figures, though potent and essential, are but the skeleton, the outline, and the newspaper reports, discussions and comments should be embodied with them."

Russell Sage, millionaire and financier, says in *Demorest's Magazine* for January: "I believe when women vote we shall have wiser government, clearer politics, more ballots, and fewer bullets. I have not formulated my views as to what reforms woman suffrage would effect, but I fancy good would accrue, not only to women, but to men. When men and women labor together there is compactness, completeness, thoroughness in the result that is often wanting when the sexes work separately. If men have experience women have insight; if men use logic and reason, women use instinct and intuition; if men are hasty, cruel, brutal, women are diplomatic, merciful, refined. Combine these qualities and you have a unit that approaches perfection. Women look at suffrage through the spectacles of morality and spirituality; but, men, being more practical, very naturally see the question from a material, a financial point of view. As for myself, I do not believe that the ballot of women would bring about any radical reform of the code of ethics which now governs financing—at least not for a long time. For the average woman, and this I say with much deference, is seldom as successful in business as her male escort, because woman is usually more generous than man. Yet women are remarkably far-sighted in business

matters, and doubtless many of the immense fortunes made by men are largely due to the counsel of women possessing the characteristics which I have named.”

“I have seen the error of my ways. That is, I think that times have changed. The position of woman has changed. Woman herself is different in some respects from what she used to be. . . . I think the beginning of my change of opinion was in Wyoming a few years ago. I was travelling through the State, and met a great many very prominent men. I asked them about the workings of woman suffrage. I heard of nothing but praise for it. I found that my old ideas about all the bad things which would happen if women voted were unfounded. I think she has a just right to the suffrage, and to enfranchise her will do her good rather than harm, and I signed the petition.”—Chauncey Depew.

## HOW IT WORKS WHERE TRIED.

**T**HE editor of the Rawlins (Wy.) Journal, under date of March 3, 1884, writes as follows to one of the editors of the Woman's Journal:

“Dear Madam: Woman suffrage has elevated politics, has a beneficial influence in the way of temperance, and makes our elections as quiet as a Sunday school. If the question of woman suffrage were to-day left to a vote of the people of the Territory, four out of five would vote for its continuance; and among the best people there is not to exceed one in fifty who is not in favor of it. Woman suffrage is very popular. There has been no opposition to it since the first year, and the men who opposed it then are among its warmest supporters now—the writer among the number. JOHN C. FRIEND.”

Dr. T. H. Hayford, editor of the Laramie City Sentinel, March 3, 1884, writes:

“Dear Madam: I have been a continuous resident ever since before its organization; have been six years auditor of the Territory, seven years postmaster of this city, and fifteen years editor of the Laramie ‘Sentinel.’ After fifteen years of woman suffrage here, I do not know of a person in the Territory who does not most heartily endorse its results, and I do not think one could be found who would consent to its repeal, unless it be some one who belongs to that class who do not want to see good laws faithfully executed.”



After 20 years experience with woman suffrage it was left to the men to vote whether it was satisfactory or not. They voted 8 to 1 to put it in the Constitution when admitted into the Union, and ever since they vote and hold office there on the same conditions as men.

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

"I came to Wyoming three years ago from Missouri, and brought with me fully the usual amount of conservatism; and I regarded with peculiar suspicion the idea of woman's entering the political arena. My observations have materially modified my views upon this subject. The women are less governed by party considerations than men, and both political parties have come to recognize the necessity of nominating their best men, or at least not nominating bad men, if they desire to succeed. The only element that would desire its repeal is the vicious and corrupt."

The Speaker of the Wyoming House of Representatives said in 1879:

"I came to this Territory, in the fall of 1871, with the strongest prejudice possible against woman suf-

frage. The more I have seen of it, the less my objections have been realized, and the more it has commended itself to my judgment and good opinion. Under all my observations it has worked well, and has been productive of much good. The women use the ballot with more independence and discrimination in regard to the qualifications of candidates than men do. If the ballot in the hand of women compels political parties to place their best men in nomination, this, in and of itself, is a sufficient reason for sustaining woman suffrage.”

“ But there is another qualm you have in regard to giving this crowning liberty to your sister, which shall raise her at once from the level of the idiot, the lunatic and the criminal. For think, my brothers these are the unfortunates by whom you place us, in withholding from us the right of expression at the ballot-box. ‘Negro women will be rushing to the polls,’ you fear. How easy to tide over that danger. Give us suffrage with an educational qualification, or, if you will, a property qualification. With the former you would at once add 76,000 educated white women to your 96,000 educated white men voters and settle the vexed question of white supremacy by a majority of 54,000 over the 118,000 colored voters of South Carolina.”

Here are the resolutions that the State Legislature of Wyoming passed on February 16, 1893:

Be it Resolved by the Legislature of Wyoming, That the possession and exercise of suffrage by the

women of Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism and vice from this State, and that too without any violent or oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order, and we point with pride to the fact that after nearly twenty-five years of woman suffrage, not one county in Wyoming has a poor-house, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that by strangers in the State, is almost unknown, and as the result of experience we urge every civilized community on the earth to enfranchise its women without delay.

Resolved, That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Governor of the State to the Legislature of every State and Territory of this country and every legislative body in the world; and that we request the press throughout the civilized world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions."

Iceland has a population of 73,000 in which men and women are political equals. Men and women vote together. These voting mothers have produced a nation in which there are no prisons, no police, no thieves, no army, no very rich, no very poor, but plain, temperate, educated, intelligent people. The future citizens are taught by their mothers. and in the whole island not a single illiterate person is to be

found, every child being able to read, write and cipher by the time it is seven years old. Since such is the practical working of full woman suffrage in Iceland why should men fear it in our country.

A movement is now on foot to make them members of the National Assembly of Parliament. Does it seem possible that the women of faraway little Iceland are so far ahead of us in political privileges? Yet such is the case. How long are they to remain ahead.

In the last election in Colorado, Wyoming, Illinois, Kentucky and New York women were powerful political factors, turning the elections in favor of good government.

In the Woman's Calendar for 1891 appeared a suggestive picture: A peasant of the middle ages, with a primitive plow of that dawning civilization, drawn by a woman and a milk cow; above appeared the face of Miss Fawcett, who surpassed the senior wrangler.

#### ITS POPULARITY.

---

MRS. BRIGGS-WALL, who was the daily companion of her group, "American Woman and Her Political Peers" for many months at the World's Fair, writes: "It does seem as if fully seven-tenths of the elderly and nine-tenths of the younger people are decided equal suffragists. This sentiment must have spread like wild-fire. An occasional opponent passes by, and it has almost become refreshing to hear his objections, antiquated and unsound

as they are. Thousands of Kansans have remarked with great earnestness that 'Kansas women will have THEIR full freedom in 1894. \* \* One gentleman, who has been three times Governor of his own State, said he came to the Kansas building purposely to order one of the photographs of this group. He would go home, go on the platform with his photograph in his hand and would work to get women out of that company.

Legal journals in this and foreign countries have asked the use of the group for reproduction. But photographs only can be secured at present.

Not long ago woman suffrage was despised and rejected of men. The Prohibition party picked up the ugly, despised, forlorn, friendless female, and have ever since been unswervingly advocating a better treatment of her, notwithstanding her unpopularity. (They are always advocating something that is unpopular.) And now where is the political party that dares to oppose her fast growing popularity? The Democrats are trying to flirt with her. The Republicans came near being introduced to her at the Ohio State Convention in Columbus, June, '93. The people's party actually kept company with her during the campaign of '93. But the Prohibitionists married her long ago, and she who was ugly and hated at first is becoming more popular, beautiful and lovely every day because, "She's nothing but a woman."



The Equal Suffrage Association of Denver, Colorado, met the next day after the election that decided in favor of woman suffrage in Colorado, and passed resolutions thanking the leading Republican and Populist papers, the Trades unions and the ministers for help rendered during the campaign. The resolution to the ministers reads as follows: "We thank the churches of this city. There is hardly a minister of prominence who has not nobly aided the cause of woman's rights from the pulpit."

We have before us the opinions of over forty noted clergymen of nearly every important denomination in existence who have had any experience with woman suffrage and they are unanimously in favor of it.

Rev. James Freeman Clark says: "It is sometimes assumed that fighting, bullying and grumbling are the natural concomitants of voting. But why so? In a hundred thousand country towns men go to vote every year as orderly and quietly as they go to church. Have we not enough skill in this Yankee nation to contrive a way for women to vote without their being ill-treated? Hitherto, wherever woman has gone she has introduced order, civility, good behavior. Greece was the advanced country of the earth in civilization when Christianity arrived. There, respectable women were confined to their houses and were not seen abroad. To the Greek it would have seemed dangerous to hear of women walking in Washington street, riding in horse-cars,

going to churches and theaters. But their advent has introduced civility into the streets, the horse-cars, the theaters; and so, in the future, it will introduce civility at the polls. Every terrible prediction which men now utter of the bad effect on women voting, would be to-day made in all Mohammedan countries if it was proposed to let women walk unveiled in the streets. It would be argued that it was the nature of women to **stay at home**; that all modesty would disappear if her face was seen in-public; that she would become loud voiced, rude, vulgar, if she talked familiarly with the men in public assemblies, and sat by the side of strangers with uncovered face. It would be said that her indirect, unseen influence on society through her husband and sons was far greater and better than she could exert directly. How many Mohammedan predictions would be made of the awful consequences to women of leaving off her thick veil! Her feminine grace would disappear. And yet I do not suppose that our ladies, who are seen everywhere in public, are any less feminine, refined and pure, than the women of Egyptian and Turkish harems.

According to the Christian idea, men and women are to act together, in all industries, all arts, all literature; in the church, the home, and the State. 'What God has joined together, let not man put asunder.' Man's nature and woman's nature will always remain different, but because different, complementary; each supplying what the other needs. There

are three ways of treating women; the savage way, which makes her a slave and drudge; the Asiatic way, which makes her an ornament and plaything; and the Christian way, which makes her a companion and fellow worker with man in all things. In Christ Jesus 'there is neither male nor female.' Let us not be afraid of carrying out this Christian principle to its ultimate results. The results will be that woman will become more truly womanly, more refined, because better satisfied, and more fully unfolded. Society will become more pure, the State more virtuous, the people happier and better."

There were at least 13 women candidates for State School Commissioner at the last election in the different States; 12 for the State Legislature; 7 for University Trustees; 2 for Lieutenant Governor; 1 each for State Senator, State Treasurer, Reporter of Supreme Court, and U. S. Congress. They were nominated and endorsed by Prohibitionists, Populists, Democrats and Republicans. Three women, Mrs. Clara Cressingham, Mrs. Frances Klock and Mrs. Carrie Clyde Holly, were elected to the Legislature in Colorado at the last election, Nov. 6th, 1894.

In the campaign of '94 in twelve States woman suffrage was adopted, women nominated or endorsed as State candidates by the different parties as follows:

All parties in Colorado and Wyoming; Kansas, Populist and Prohibition; Illinois, Prohibition, Democrat and Republican; North Dakota, Populist,

Prohibition and Republican; Nebraska, Populist; Missouri, Prohibition, Populist and Democrat; California, Prohibition, Populist and Republican; Montana, Populist, Prohibition and Democrat; Idaho, Republican; Utah, Populist, Democrat and Republican.

New York Democrats adopted woman's suffrage plank in '93. The National Convention of Republican Leagues have two years in succession adopted it, and recommended it to all Republican clubs in the United States.

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IS COMING.

ALEXANDER DUMAS says: "It (woman suffrage) will at first make a sensation, then it will become fashionable, after that a habit, then an experience, then a duty, and at last a blessing."

Years ago, Henry Watterson said: "Woman suffrage will come, if ever, on a wave of popular discontent. With 50,000 Democratic majority in Kentucky and 50,000 Republican majority in Massachusetts, you cannot hope to succeed, because people are not satisfied with the status quo." In Colorado man's extremity has been woman's opportunity. The Populist uprising has broken the party machines, and ideal justice has come to the front.

The strong support given to woman suffrage by the clergy is a significant straw. Forty years ago it was



the exceptional clergyman who upheld it. To-day it is the exceptional clergyman who opposes it. The principles of the movement have not changed, but the churchmen have become more enlightened, more receptive to the great fundamental truth embodied in the declaration: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

At the Cleveland, (Dec.) monthly preachers' meeting, the Executive Committee reported that they could find no one to take the negative in the proposed discussion, "Should Women Vote?" all of them being in favor of them voting.

The matter was brought very favorably before the last Congress and received a strong support, but was defeated. But the defeat showed there was very great progress made during the last few years.

Rev. Chas. G. Ames, at the New England Woman suffrage festival said:

"I have one faculty of great value, for which my friends have never given me full credit. I can hold my ear down to an egg and hear the cock flop his wings and crow. I believe there is more coming in this world, more good on the way, than we think; and that the American eagle is sometime going to fly with both wings. It will be a good thing for the wings, and a great thing for the bird. Viva the eagle, and both of the wings attached thereto! We must work on long lines, and by broad methods, for great things, and the greatest thing is not govern-



ment nor politics, but the humanity for which government and politics exist, if they have any justification. And, looking toward the completeness of humanity, we should also work toward it. Two hundred and fifty years ago Nathan Ward, who is described by the chronicler as a revered and judicious servant of Christ, who fixed his station in the town of Ipswich, on a fair and beautiful river, wrote a book, 'The Cobbler of Agawam.' In it he said that 'women, having but a few squirrel brains to help them, frisk about from one ill-favored fashion to another.' Some 3,000 years earlier, a great king, who had a good right to report on the subject, said, 'One man among a thousand have I found, but a woman among all those have I not found.' There are other testimonies that come down from former times, when men were a little bolder to express their contempt of women than now, which show that during the long past the relations between men and women, however necessary, have not been very satisfactory on either side, and if the returns were all in, they would doubtless make a very sad page of history. Since Nathan Ward wrote his book about the squirrel-brained women of New England of 250 years ago, women have learned the alphabet, which they then hardly had the command of, and it has been thought by men on the whole to be a good thing that women know how to read and write. The year in which I was born,—a good year for this country,—witnessed the admission of girls to the public schools of Boston on the same terms with

boys; and Boston, on the whole, though timid about entering on such a rash innovation, would probably be disinclined to return to the old order of things, which gave to girls an inferior course of instruction to that assigned to boys. Well, those were steps in our direction. Many more steps have been taken in that direction, and all that has ever been gained by concessions to the rights of women, literary or educational, and in the practical field of labor and employment, and by the popular provisions of law, though gained with great resistance, and through much opposition, is looked on by the mass of men who belong to that class that once would have resisted it as being, on the whole, good. If you would reform a man, if you would civilize a man, we are told you must begin with the grandmother. We propose to begin with the grandmothers of the people who will be here in the middle of the twentieth century, and it is none too early to begin to work on those long lines, by these broad methods, for those large results.

It is Guyot who says that plants have three periods of growth. The slowest and longest is that of the root; the next fastest is that of the stem, and the last and quickest is that of the blossom and fruit. We have been wont to think that the world grew by the root till the advent of Christ; that from the advent of Christ to our day, it has been growing by the stem; and that in the period in which we stand it is growing by the blossom and the fruit. Changes that

formerly required a hundred years for accomplishment, now require scarcely a score. Things rush to their accomplishment. And we make our plea in behalf of women, not without hope that we may, ere long, see great improvement in her condition."

Persons who are grossly ignorant on the woman suffrage question ask: 'Do you think women will ever get the suffrage?' And yet every intelligent observer of human affairs knows that the women have the suffrage already in countries representing 19,000,000 square miles of territory, and a population of 354,000,000.

And yet some people are ever asking, 'Do you think women will ever get the suffrage?' The world keeps moving while they neglect to inform themselves. They wonder if something is coming which, to a large extent, has already come.

[For the places in which woman suffrage prevails, see a future chapter on "Progress by States, Territories and Countries."]

Scarcely a State or Territory in the United States that has not legislated on the question already. And there is no other reform movement keeping pace with this one, and none has ever made such progress as this during the last seven years.

## LECTURE ON WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

BY A WOMAN.

Political history proves—

Be it Hebrew, Grecian or Roman—  
That man is unfitted to rule,  
When he tries it unaided by woman.  
Great Empires have fallen to ruin,  
Broad Republics have gone to decay,  
Because, in their councils of state,  
Egotistical man held the sway.

To preach these political truths,  
And gain for them just recognition  
At the hands of Columbia's sons,  
Is the aim of my highest ambition,  
And if, in fulfilling this role,  
I am forced to allude to man's weakness,  
These allusions I hope you'll receive,  
With man's philosophical meekness.

You style yourselves "Lords of Creation,"  
(Vain creatures! I will not call you fools,  
Had you woman's perception you'd know  
You were used by us merely as tools.)  
On what grounds are you claiming to be  
Superior to us, I would ask?  
We'll examine this matter and see;  
It's not such a difficult task.

First, you boast of your mental endowments,  
And prate of your reasoning powers,  
And fool yourselves into believing  
Your mind's superior to ours;  
While history for ages has proven—  
Aye! and will prove it at every turn—  
When man tries to outwit a woman  
His fingers he's certain to burn.

Then you boast of your genius constructive,  
Your mechanical skill, and all that,  
Pshaw! there isn't a man in this crowd  
That could rig up a woman's spring hat.  
Your telegraphs, railroads and bridges,  
Your printing machines and your presses,  
Don't display the refinements of skill  
That we do in making our dresses.

You excel in physical strength,  
But strength is an ignoble feature.  
The mule is far stronger than man is;  
Is he therefore a more noble creature?  
No! no! that mind should govern muscle  
Is a part of Dame Nature's great plan.  
The strong brute must to man's mind submit,  
Therefore woman should rule over man.

It's not my intention to marry,  
But if into a marriage I'm fooled,  
That man may instruct the Parnellites



On the blessings of being home-ruled.  
 He'll learn that we women have genius,  
 Ay! genius that fits us for ruling;  
 And, mind you, he won't have to travel  
 From home to acquire his schooling.

In THAT home Nature's law will prevail,  
 And woman will show she can govern.  
 THERE, one man, at least, will discover  
 Which sex Nature meant should be sovereign.  
 And, if women can rule in her home,  
 Is it not an illogical fate  
 That she should be silent, while brainless dudes  
 Have a voice in controlling the state?

When political progress assigns  
 To woman her place at the helm,  
 Then every nation and every clime  
 Will point to this God-beloved realm.  
 They'll point to Columbia, and ask  
 Why she is earth's foremost nation?  
 Her sons then can answer, "Because  
 She is ruled by the gems of creation."

Political mountebanks seek  
 Our Woman's Rights movement to smother,  
 By claiming "The same hands must handle  
 The ballot and bayonet together."  
 They thus think to appeal to our fears,  
 And our movement to drive from the field;

But our colors are nailed to the mast,  
 And Columbia's daughters won't yield.

None but fools would assert that we women  
 Fear death by sword, bayonet or ball.  
 We dislike the effects of burnt powder;  
 It would spoil our complexions—that's all.  
 But the aid we could render in war  
 Would be of more value than fighting.  
 At the helm of state we could stand,  
 And there give instructions in writing.

Thus our dear flag, of dual design  
 A dual support would obtain.  
 WE could flaunt its bright stars at the foe,  
 YOU the consequent STRIPES could sustain.  
 Thus, doubly supported, how proudly  
 "Old Glory" would float on the breeze;  
 And tyranny, all the world over  
 Before us would fall to its knees.

Give woman admission to Congress,  
 And she'll show you some wise legislation.  
 She won't go there to fight for the spoils  
 And re-tax an overtax nation.  
 We lay claim to the President's chair,  
 And in it you'll find we will be.  
 If brave Belva DID fail to get there,  
 Next time you can all vote for me.

## WARNING—GET ON THE RIGHT SIDE.

A FEW years before steam railroads came into use the question of their possibility and importance was often discussed in debating clubs. Many men were then as much prejudiced against steam railroads as they are now against woman suffrage. Their prejudice forms a cataract over their eyes so that they cannot see to the end of their noses.

In 1828 a club of young men wanted the privilege of debating the Railroad question in the public school house of Lancaster, Ohio. The board's ignorance and prejudice will easily be recognized in the reply which they sent to the club. It reads as follows:

“You are cheerfully welcome to the use of the school house to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads are impossibilities. There is nothing in the word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles per hour by steam, He would clearly have foretold it through His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to hell.”

The farmers of Pennsylvania declared that by superseding horses, railroads would destroy their market for hay; fishermen of the Potomac bemoaned the first steamer that came puffing into view, lest it frighten all the fish; Dr. Lardner, one of England's ablest scientists, put forth a book to prove that Rob-

ert Fulton was a lunatic, and the first copy was brought over on Fulton's first steamship voyage.

The late Prof. Bishop, of St. Petersburg, was a violent opponent of woman suffrage, his chief argument against it being that the average weight of a man's brain was 1,350 grams, while that of a woman's was only 1,250. When his own brain was weighed it was found to be five grains less in weight than what he declared to be the average for woman's brain.—*Woman's Herald*, (London.)

Feelix does not pretend to be either a prophet or the son of a prophet. But he can discern the signs of the times. Two Irishmen were in jail. Pat had stolen a watch and Mike had stolen a cow. Mike thought to joke Pat a little, and said, "Pat, about what toime is it?" Pat replied, "I dinno can tell exactly, but I think its about mulkin' toime." And so the signs of the times indicate that it is about women's voting time.

A prominent minister of Ann Arbor, Michigan, not long since preached a sermon against woman suffrage. His great concern seemed to be that the bad women would out-vote the good women. The *Ann Arbor Democrat* reviews the sermon, and calls attention to the fact that "there are so few bad women, comparatively speaking, that, as a class, they never attempt to assert themselves in any public place of civil government whatever." The *Democrat* says the Reverend's sermon carries little conviction to his hearers and proceeds to console him on

this wise: "Be sure women will vote, the conservatives to the contrary notwithstanding; and when that does come, bad men and bad women will largely become a factor of forgotten history, while the present opponents of the cause will grasp the hand of the pioneer, and prondly exclaim, "we killed a bear, did'nt we, Peggy?"

The National Convention of the Republican Leagues, at Denver, June 27th, 1894, congratulated the women of Colorado and Wyoming on the possession of the ballot, and cordially invited the women to help them to rescue the country from Democratic and Populist misrule.

Those two parties pitched into the papers that printed the above and told them that they were the ones that brought about the ballot for the women, and claimed that they had a right to their votes. They all see the importance of saying "we did it." The men and parties who oppose them the strongest will likely be spotted by them when they do get the ballot. A man in Massachusetts, sometime ago, sent a check to help the Suffragists, and said, "I do not favor women voting, but I see it is coming and I might as well help it along." He may want an office some day. He acted wisely. It would be better for more men to do likewise.

Ben. Hill, Georgia's great Senator, feared that America would be ruined if the negro was set free. He lived long enough to say that, "while once he would have given one life rather than have slavery abolished, he now would give ten lives rather than have it re-established." So the opponents of woman suffrage should learn from the past.



Those who visited the encampment of the South Sea Islanders at the World's Fair, probably noticed a placard posted there by the managers which read thus: "Visitors will please refrain from asking these people any questions about Cannibalism, as it is very annoying to them to hear it spoken of." Doubtless our children's grand-children will be annoyed by hearing of many of the practices of their ancestors. How will they enjoy having it thrown up to them that their grand-parents bought and sold men, women and children as if they were so many dumb animals; dealt in lotteries, practiced Mormonism, suppressed and oppressed women in their legal rights; bought and sold suffrage and service at elections as so much butter and cheese—paying a price according to the strength; used God's day for profit and pleasure; killed and ruined men, soul and body, with rum, and made many miserable widows and helpless orphans for a small tax or license fee?

Are we not hastening with mighty strides towards the Millennial Dawn? Slavery has been suppressed, duelling done away with, lotteries outlawed; Mormonism is on its last legs; ballot reform has been inaugurated; politics and the pools are being purified. Several States have sexless suffrage and several more soon will have. Sabbath desecration is suffering from the attack of the reform forces. And the dawn of the twentieth century will see some of the greatest reforms the world has ever known.

And many of the evils that men once thought and said had come to stay have gone and many more are flopping their wings and bobbing their heads to qick out a direction in which to sail. There is more mcney spent and more energy exerted to-day for good than ever before. And with the young people all over this land studying Christian Citizenship as a special work of the Christian Endeavor movement, and the W. C. T. U's., the Temperance Alliances and the Anti-Saloon Leagues of all parties and sects, the Prohibitionists, and the Christian churches that are fast getting awakened and alarmed and their consciences quickened and everybody saying, "something must be done," we will soon say to Satan and his imps who are trying to run this world to ruin, as said the old Quaker to the robber who broke into his house and disturbed his quiet slumbers. (The Quaker will not harm any one if he can get out of it in any way.) He quietly reached down under his bed and pulled out the old shot gun and slowing lifting it up into range with the intruder's body he said: "Friend I say to thee, thee had better move a little, for I intend to fire this gun just where thee stands." And "thee" moved.

PROGRESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY  
STATES AND GOVERNMENTS.

---

**T**HE countries of the world where women have some suffrage rights cover 19,000,000 square miles and has a population of 354,000,000.

They have full suffrage in two States, Wyoming and Colorado, and six foreign countries, Iceland, Isles of Mann and Pitcairn, Jersey Islands, New Zealand and South Australia. They have partial suffrage in thirty other States and nineteen other foreign countries.

The States that have partial suffrage and the time they received it are: Arizona '87, Connecticut '93, Delaware '89, Idaho '87, Illinois '91, Indiana (?), Iowa '94, Kansas '87, Kentucky '45, Louisiana (?), Maine (?), Massachusetts '79, Michigan '75, Minnesota '75, Mississippi (?), Missouri (?), Montana '87, Nebraska '83, New Hampshire '78, New Jersey '87, North Dakota '87, New York '89, Ohio '94, Oregon '78, Pennsylvania '89, South Dakota '87, Texas (?), Vermont '80, Washington '86, Wisconsin '85. The degree of suffrage in the different States is as follows:

School suffrage in various degrees is granted to women in Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

In Arkansas and Missouri women vote, by petition, on liquor license in many cases.

In Delaware suffrage is exercised by women in several municipalities.

In Kansas they have equal suffrage with men at all municipal elections.

In Montana they vote on all local taxation.

In New York they vote at school elections; in many places on local improvements, such as gas and electric street lighting, paving, sewerage, and municipal bonds.

In Utah women voted until disfranchised by the "Edmunds Law," when they promptly organized to demand its repeal.

In Pennsylvania a law was passed in 1869 under which women vote on local improvements by signing or refusing to sign petitions therefor.

In Wyoming women have voted on the same terms with men since 1869. The Convention in 1889 to form a State Constitution unanimously inserted a provision securing them full suffrage. This Constitution was ratified by the voters at a special election by about three-fourths majority. Congress refused to require the disfranchisement of women and admitted the State July 10, 1890.

And in the Senate of the United States, February 7, 1889, a select committee reported in favor of amending the Federal Constitution so as to forbid States to make sex a cause of disfranchisement. Congress adjourned, however, on March 4th following without reaching the subject.

In Vermont, at the Constitutional Convention of 1870 there was but one vote for women suffrage, and yet in 1893 a municipal bill passed the House 149 to 83 and was lost in the Senate 10 to 8.

West Virginia and Kentucky have granted women enlarged property rights, and New York unanimously made mothers and fathers equal guardians of their children. About three-fourths of a million people petitioned the New York Constitutional Convention to remove the barrier in the Constitution to women voting on an equality with men. Their opponents sent in only a few thousand names.

Some one writes: "In Ontario last year, the Legislature passed a bill to allow women to practice law. In Nova Scotia, for the first time, a woman was elected a delegate to the Methodist Conference, and she was received with all the honors. In the Ontario Legislature, full Parliamentary suffrage for women was defeated last year by only three votes, and this year by only one vote. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island, there is not a village or hamlet, however remote, where woman suffrage is not a live question with the women, and with the men, too, and they are mostly in favor. The farmers, the fishermen, the churches, and nearly all societies endorse it. Almost the only opposition comes from the fashionable 'society' set in the cities and small towns. We are gaining ground all the time. The Dominion W. C. T. U. stands for 'Women Continually Troubling Us.'"



In Denmark, a bill granting municipal suffrage to women lately passed the Folkething, or popular branch of the Danish Parliament, by a vote of 39 to 13, but was defeated in the more conservative upper House, 25 to 12.

And they should continue to trouble them until they are made politically as good as Dagoes and Dudes.

In Austria the women have petitioned for full suffrage. South Australia granted woman suffrage, in 1894, and Great Britain allowed women to vote for and sit on the Parish Councils, District Councils, and Vestries, marriage being no disqualification.

In France, business women have been empowered to vote for Judges of the Tribunals of Commerce, and the British House of Commons has compelled the ministry to insert in the Parish Councils Bill a clause extending suffrage to women, both married and single.

Miss Frances Willard says: "Equal suffrage is before the English Parliament to-day. English women already have municipal ballot under conditions like men - they vote in the parishes; and I shouldn't wonder if the cable would flash the news within a few weeks of woman's privilege to vote for members of Parliament. Within five years we need not be surprised to hear of Lady Henry Somerset in the Cabinet; and by it she will lose none of the womanliness for which we love her."

The foreign countries where they have partial suffrage are Austria, Hungary, Canada, Cape Colony, Croatia, Dalmatia, England, Finland, France, Hindoostan (Madras and Bombay), Ireland, Italy, New Brunswick, Norway, Ontario, Prince Edward's Island, Russia, Scotland, Sweden and Wales.

The degree of suffrage is as follows in the order given above: (1) by proxy for all elective officers; (2 and 3) municipal suffrage; (4 and 5) all elective officers; (6) all except Parliament; (7)—see 4 and 5; (8) teachers have school franchise; (9)—see 2 and 3; (10)—see 6; (11) widows vote for Members of Parliament; (12)—see 6; (13) school suffrage; (14) all elective officers except to the Legislature and Parliament; (15)—see 6; (16) householders vote for elective officers and on local matters; (17)—see 6; (18) all elective officers, Representatives, and, indirectly, for Members of the House of Lords; (19)—see 6.

#### ADVANCES ELSEWHERE.

Full suffrage bills have been before the following Legislatures, with the results mentioned:

A full suffrage amendment bill passed the assembly of both California and Arizona in February, '95.

Both houses of Oregon have passed a similar bill.

Submission in Iowa Senate was defeated February 28th, 1894, by 26 to 20.

Minnesota, passed House 31 to 19, and it came up in the Senate too late for action without suspending the rules. A motion to suspend the rules was lost by

54 to 40, lacking a few votes of the required two-thirds.

Nebraska, defeated in the House 76 to 42. A municipal bill passed, but was indefinitely postponed in the Senate.

New Mexico, passed by a large majority in the House, but did not reach a vote in the Senate.

North Dakota, passed the Senate 20 to 9 and the House 23 to 22, but was reconsidered and lost..

Washington, territorial government twice passed a full suffrage bill, but the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. The Constitution limits suffrage to men.

In Arkansas, a school suffrage bill passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House.

In California, a school suffrage bill passed the House 31 to 6, and the Senate 42 to 27, but was vetoed.

In Illinois, a bill to repeal the school suffrage received the vote of the mover only, while a bill to extend township suffrage passed the Senate 27 to 11, but was lost in the house by a few votes.

In Maine, the municipal woman suffrage bill passed the Senate and failed in the House by only 9 votes.

In Pennsylvania, women have been made notaries-public and admitted to the bar.

Rhode Island amended her property laws for women.

In South Carolina, the woman suffrage question was up for the first time, and three votes changed would have passed it.

In 1894, woman suffrage planks were in the Republican State platforms of three States and one Territory; in the Democratic platform of one Territory, and in the Populist and Prohibitionist platforms of nearly every northern State.

The Republican National Clubs in 1893 passed a resolution in favor of woman suffrage, 350 to 120. The National Republican platform adopted at Minneapolis, 1882, contains these words, "We demand the ballot for every citizen of the United States." The National Grange resolved in favor of it. Many Ministerial associations have done likewise, and also the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress. And many other great bodies of thinking men that we have not the space to mention. Never before has the press, the pulpit and platform given so much time and space to the discussion of it. Good sensible people are beginning to see good sensible things in a good sensible light.

#### PROGRESS IN THE CHURCHES.

WHEN Neal Dow set himself to work for Prohibition, manufacturing and selling distilled liquors were as reputable a business as manufacturing and selling Bibles and hymn-books. The employer was under as much obligation to furnish his employees with some liquor to drink as with meat to eat. The public bell in the city of Portland, Maine, was wrung twice a day at the expense of the

public, at 11 A. M. and 4 P. M., to notify the people that it was time to drink. It was counted very discourteous to have the preacher visit his people and go away without the drinks, as much so as for him to be present at meal-time and be allowed to go away without something to eat. These conditions have changed wonderfully, and now there is scarcely a church that does not hold it an offense needing discipline for its members, and even more heinous for preachers. It is only a few years since the churches have begun to take advanced ground on the temperance question. It took a long time before it did so on the slavery question. But when the pulpit, the press and the platform began to discuss slavery, its foundations were soon torn asunder and the fall soon followed.

Likewise they are taking hold of the temperance question, and when we leave the women out of the temperance movement we reckon without our host. Fifty years ago women voted in very few churches. Now there are scarcely any in which they do not vote. In the M. E. churches they are on an equality with men in discussing and voting, not only in the churches but also in the conferences. The United Brethren and Baptists, Unitarians, Universalists and thirteen other denominations go farther and ordain them to the gosple ministry.

The conservative United Presbyterians have permitted them to pray in public without either their faces or the faces of the men veiled, and no great



harm has resulted therefrom yet. The Presbyterians have done even better; their women are allowed to act the part of a deacon—collect money and distribute to and take care of the poor—in addition to praying, scrubbing the meetin' house and raisin' the preachers salary. The Cumberland Presbyterians at their last General Assembly came within four votes of deciding to ordain them to preach. And the Episcopalians decided at the last Annual Convention of the Diocese of Maine, by a vote of 21 to 18, to allow them to vote in the parish meetings.

If the women should boycott the church it would end its existence in less than a generation. It is only a little over thirty years ago that there was no Woman's Foreign Missionary Society in the church. Now there are in all denominations about 40,000 Missionary circles and bands in the world, from which flow the great streams of missionary influence and activity. Then there is the Christian Endeavor Societies, with 2,000,000 consecrated young men and women, working in a way never witnessed before, and probably twice as many in the unions and leagues of other denominations, in which they all speak, vote, hold office and lead meetings equally. The males have not a single right or advantage that is not possessed by the females. These constitute the church of the near future. Now it is only a step from equality between man and woman in the Church to equality in the State. Make them one in the Church and it will be impossible to make them two in the State.

We read of one Joshua Verin, of Rhode Island, who, in colonial days, refused to allow his wife to attend religious meetings as often as she wished, and he was publicly censured and deprived of his vote, "for restraining of the liberties of conscience."

And also the following taken from "John Halifax, Gentleman":

"The poll was held in the church, a not uncommon usage in country boroughs, but from its rarity struck great awe into the towns' folk. The church warden was placed in the clerk's desk to receive votes. Not far off, the sheriff sat in his family pew, bare headed; by his grave and reverent manner imposing due decorum, which was carefully observed.

The custom of the Southern M. E. church was to appoint men as stewards, and women as assistants, who did all the work, while the men bore the honors and represented the church in the quarterly conferences. When this doubtful honor of assistant was tendered Mrs. Reese-Pugh, she very promptly declined, and most clearly set forth the reason why. After this, all the other women declined, and now the stewards are doing the work that belongs to their office, and are wiser if not better men.

"My friend, Mrs. Hoxie, has just been reading aloud from the August Century the views of Messrs. Hoar and Buckley upon woman suffrage. As she read 'The [Right and Expediency of Woman Suffrage,' my inner woman could not be restrained from voicing an occasional note of admiration; but as a

dumb spirit seemed to possess me during the reading of "The Wrongs and Perils of Woman Suffrage," my friend turned to me as she closed the book, inquiring, 'Well?'

'Oh!' I answered, 'Mr. Buckley's attempt to exclude the light from woman suffrage reminds me forcibly of an instance that occurred when I taught at the —— Springs, over in the Chilhowee.'

'Tell me about it.'

'Why, among the mountain women that frequented the hotel, to sell nuts, fruits and 'pretties,' was the Widow Brown. She was the only mountain woman thereabout that could read and write, and there was an air of intelligence and refinement about her that contrasted so sharply with her worldly surroundings that I was moved to make some inquiries concerning her previous history. I learned that her father's family had been 'good livers,' and that her descent in the social scale was due to the fact that the man whom she chose to be her 'head' was 'no 'count,' and that through weary years, by her own hard, honest labor, she had supported her children and the 'head of the house.' My heart went out to her, and I became one of the constant purchasers of her wares. Later, accepting her hospitable invitation, I called upon her at her windowless hut.

'Not long afterwards, it was said, 'The widow Brown has moved; she has gone to live in Happy Valley.' Subsequently, encountering her in the hotel grounds, I inquired if she liked her new home. 'Oh,

yes,!' she said, 'I have a right comfortable cabin.' 'And,' I queried, being always drearily affected by the windowless mountain cabins, 'have you windows?' 'Yes, two.' 'I am glad; it must be very pleasant.' 'Why,' hesitatingly, 'I never was wonted to windows, and they didn't seem natural, and I nailed boards across them.' 'And now does it seem homelike?' 'Well,' dubiously, 'it is better—especially when I sit with my back to them; but it aint to say plumb homelike, for a right smart chance of light gets over the edge, for all the boards I could get were a heap too narrow.'" Eliza R. Shier.

#### PROGRESS IN THE MINISTRY.

---

REV. DR. AUGUSTA J. CHAPMAN, Chairman of the Woman's General Committee on Religious Congress in the World's Congress Auxiliary, discovered there are at present seventeen denominations that have ordained women to the ministry. And the quaker theologian, Gurney, says: "We well know that there are no women among us more generally distinguished for modesty, gentleness, order, and a right submission to their brethren, than those who have been called by the Divine Master to the ministry."

"By what a wonderful chain of paganism we are bound, when, in the face of all that Jesus did for women, and in face of the facts of the Friends' ex-



perience, our great theological seminaries are still closed to women! They profess to exist to save the world, while their doors are shut to the talented, educated, consecrated women who are going forth as missionaries and evangelists. At this time, there are about 400 lady students in the colleges and seminaries of this country who are looking forward to foreign mission work. Millions of women in heathen lands can only be reached by women missionaries. Thousands of churches in our own country are without pastors; and women, with all the other necessary qualifications, are ready to enter the world for it."—Selected.

### PROGRESS IN MEDICINE.

---

**L**ESS than fifty years ago, Harriet Hunt and Elizabeth Blackwell studied medicine, and it resulted in complete social ostracism impossible to be endured by any but the strongest and most courageous women. No woman doctor earned a living before 1860. No respectable family in any common respectable neighborhood would let rooms to a woman physician. Even when her friends gave her shelter, a business card or sign was not allowed. Prejudice personified! There were fifty-two women graduated from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania last year. They were also numerous in other colleges, and according to recent statistics,



there are about 2,000 women practicing medicine on the continent of North America. Seventy hospital physicians or surgeons, 75 professors in the schools, 610 specialists for the diseases of women, 60 alienists, 65 orthopedists, 40 oculists and aurists, and 30 electro-therapeutists.

There are three women doctors—Alice Mitchell, Helen Knight and Francis G. Deane—now among the sanitary corps of the New York Board of Health, and it is agreed that the board is all the healthier for their work.

### PROGRESS IN EDUCATION.

---

NOT long since, the souls and minds of women were squeezed by our educational institutions almost as badly as the Chinese squeeze the feet of their children. Some years ago when some girls spoke of studying Greek and Latin, a reverend divine was heard to say, "I don't like Plato in petticoats." But now "Plato in petticoats" is as well liked as Plato in pants, and many times more so. And Plato in petticoats is fast pushing herself to the front and carrying off many of the choice prizes both in colleges and practical life. Where competition has been allowed between the sexes on equal terms the females have generally shown themselves the superior. The first year of the great Chicago University, eleven of the scholarships were won by wo-

men, and yet they constituted but one-third of the membership.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore says, "When I got through the grammar school in Boston there was nothing more for me. If my father had not been able to provide me with private tutors my education would have ended there. Now in eight-tenths of the colleges women are admitted, besides having colleges of their own. When I was married, until 20 years afterwards, a woman could not own a penny. Everything belonged to her husband, even when she earned the money herself. Now all is changed. It has all come about within the last 50 years.

How? That is the question. Men have done it. We could not change laws. We could not open colleges. Men have done it. That shows how men have improved. They have become juster and fairer to women. It shows that men have improved. To be sure women wanted these things done, but if men had not grown they would not have done it.

I think it is about six of one and half a dozen of the other. Men sin in one way, women in another. Men drink, fight and are immoral. Women are narrow, envious and jealous. When I look around the world and see the great works men have done, the libraries they have founded, the medical colleges they have endowed, the hospitals they have established, the churches they have founded and have paid for, even when they did not care to go, but to give others the opportunity they wanted, and all the

other great human work they are doing, it is simply nonsense to say they are not improving. But there is only one standard by which to judge men and women. There is no immunity from crime. There is no sex in guilt and sin. It is as bad for a man to get drunk as for a woman. It is as bad for a man to be immoral as for a woman, and we are fast approaching that single standard. See the progress as witnessed in the Breckenridge case. The stage would not have Miss Pollard. The political world would not have Breckinridge."—Selected.

“A Mohammedan mufti (a religious chief) told a missionary in 1859, ‘You might as well teach a cat to read as to teach a girl.’

I read in a book of Moslem traditions that Mohammed once looked down into hell and saw the greater part of those confined there to be women, and that he directs his followers to watch women as if they were children; they must be kept up in a harem, must be kept veiled; above all, never allow the teaching of girls to read. It was alleged not only to be useless, but very dangerous. A few years ago, a prominent Moslem of Tripoli, on his return from Constantinople, asked the consent of the mufti for the opening of a school for girls of the better class of Moslems. It was referred to a council, and voted down almost unanimously. The leader then got the mothers interested. They argued so successfully that consent was obtained from the authorities to open a small school for girls. Now they have a large build-

ing and there is a daily attendance of nearly five hundred. Among the number are some of the relatives of the mufti who had such a poor opinion of female mental capacity. In Tripoli many of the graduates of the girls' seminary of the mission, many of whom are of the better class of Greek Christians, hold great influence in the formation of public opinion. They direct the education of their younger brothers and sisters or children, act as correspondents for their fathers, brothers or husbands, assist in many ways to add to the prosperity of the family. They have inaugurated reading circles, and although they do not all become identified directly with our mission church, they do show by their life that they are more devoted Christians than they were before. A few years ago the Syrians regarded the education of the women as utterly impossible.

In the humble villages results of Christian education is more marked even than in cities. Here the graduate of the Tripoli girls' school is the best educated person in the village; is often called upon to decide important questions. A man in speaking of one of these girls, remarked, 'She is the best man in the village.' The education of the girl works complete change in her home. The food is better cooked, clothes better made, more attention paid to the surroundings, much better hygienic conditions within and without the home. But what is better than all, she has a new light in her heart, the light that comes

from a conscience quickened and a knowledge of a Savior and his salvation.”—Selected.

Certainly God did not make a mistake when He placed boys and girls in the same family. And if they live together in the same houses why not attend the same schools and recite in the same classes and deposit their ballots at the same polls? Answer if you can.

Many of the higher educational institutions are now either open to women or are opening, since they have proven themselves equal to the tasks there imposed. There are 35 women taking the post-graduate course of Yale. There were 35 in Brown University last year. At Wellington, Cape Colony, there is a seminary not many years old with a faculty numbering 20, and it has more than 1,000 graduates. The Board of Regents of the State University of Michigan has resolved “That, henceforth, in the selection of professors, instructors and other assistants for the University, no distinction be made between men and women, but that the applicant best fitted receive appointment.” Many of the same objections that are now brought against the ballots for women were once used against the higher education for women. And since the “awful” things did not occur in the one case they are not likely to in the other.

Col. Higginson said, at the Boston Tea Party: “I want to add something, because not one word has been said to-night, and very little in the woman suf-



frage journals, about that great step which has been taken for the cause of women in Massachusetts and in this country by the creation of Radcliffe College. I do not think the advocates of woman's higher education themselves appreciate how great a step it is. Still less do they appreciate how great the debt is that women already owe, as I myself predicted ten years ago that they would yet owe to the public spirit and the determination of Charles William Eliot, the president of Harvard University. The man who, six years ago, risked all his influence with the Board of Overseers to obtain the admission of women on equal terms to the medical school, though he failed in that, should have secured more of the confidence of women than he seems to have won, and he is now the person upon whom this whole great movement has turned, without whose skill and judgment it never could have been accomplished, and under whose guidance a great and permanent step has been taken. It is a comparatively easy thing for a young college or a small college, with a few hundred students only, and not governed by its graduates, as Harvard is, to admit women, were it only as an experiment. But for an institution 250 years old, with 2,000 pupils in its various departments, and a vast body of graduates, largely conservative, to give to women their full rights at once, is no such easy thing. You perhaps do not realize that, if Harvard College were fully to admit women on an equality to-morrow, it would not be merely conceding the opportunity of the higher

education to women, but the principles of woman suffrage as well, because it would be impossible to admit women there and not give them the right to vote every year on the overseers who govern the college; and it is that necessity, more than anything else, as I have reason to know, which holds back the graduates of the college from conceding everything at once. The essential thing has been conceded. It makes but little difference whether a man gives you his note for a thousand dollars or whether he endorses your note for the same amount. The seal of Harvard College on the Radcliffe College diploma, the signature of President Eliot upon that diploma, makes that diploma as valuable a possession to every young girl who goes out from that institution to the farthest extremes of the country as if it proceeded from Harvard College itself. It is, therefore, in my judgment—as a citizen of Cambridge, as a co-educationist, which neither the corporation of Harvard College nor the corporation of Radcliffe College yet is—one of the greatest steps that has been taken for women in Massachusetts within my memory; and it is in order to bear my testimony to this point, and to the signal services of President Eliot in securing this point, that I have ventured thus far to take up that branch of the subject.”

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL RELATIONS.

---

**T**HE relation of woman to man was a relation of inferiority, and of incapacity to act for herself in all the important transactions of life. Woman was not permitted to vote; she could hold no office, except that by a strange anomaly she could occupy the throne of some of the most powerful and highly civilized monarchies of the earth. The married woman could not hold property; could not make a contract; had no lawful control over her own children or her own person; she could not make a will; the custom of society shut her out from the learned professions and from all profitable occupations. It was deemed unbecoming for her to speak in public, and in many parts of the world to appear in public without an escort. On the continent of Europe and in the mines of Great Britain she was condemned to the most brutal and degrading occupations, and was sometimes harnessed to the plow with bullocks, or on all fours drew loads over the tramways of mines. If those who ask now that the vote of the woman shall be counted in the United States have any prejudice to encounter, let those who feel it remember that forty years ago it would have seemed far more monstrous to them to do away with the condition of things that I have described than it does to-day to count the votes of their wives, or their sisters, or their mothers.—Selected.

NON-POLITICAL PROGRESS.

---

**I**N the recent debate on woman suffrage in the Massachusetts Legislature, Mr. Darling, of Hyde Park said.

“Whether it is a right born in woman or not, does not matter to me in the slightest. I urge the passage of this bill as MY right, as the right of the men of this Commonwealth. Look over all the departments of life with which you and I come in contact every day, and you will believe with me, that there has been a steady march of progress and advancement in the last generation in every department except one, and that is the political department of our government. No man will deny that our political life has been abased, and is being abased more and more every day that we live. It may be a remarkable coincidence, but it is the only element of our life into which woman has not been allowed to enter.”

## FEMALE FILOSOFY NOT FAR-FETCHED.

A FAST young man decided to make a formal offer of his hand and heart—all he was worth. He cautiously prefaced his declaration with a few questions.

Did she love him well enough to live in a cottage with him? Was she a good cook? Did she think it a wife's duty to make home happy? Would she consult his tastes and wishes concerning her associates and pursuits in life? Could she make her own clothes? etc.

The young lady said that before she answered his questions, she would tell him of some negative virtues she possessed.

She never drank, smoked or chewed; never owed a bill to laundress or tailor; never stayed out all night playing billiards; never lounged on the street corners and ogled giddy girls; never "stood in" with the boys for cigars and wine suppers.

"Now," said she rising indignantly, "I am assured that you do all these things, and yet you expect all the virtues in me, while you do not possess any yourself;" and she bowed him out and left him on the door-step a wiser man.—Anon.

## A FABLE—THE VIRTUOUS GANDERS.

In a large field there lived a great many Geese and Ganders. Now in one corner of the field there was a muddy pond, and if any Goose dabbled in it ever so



little, many other Geese and all the Ganders hissed at her, and no Gander even so much as thought of asking to marry her. But all the Ganders played in the mud as much as they liked, and not one of them, not even the worst, who was covered with mud to the top of his head, thought that was the least reason why he should not ask the wisest Goose in the flock to be his bride.

Moral—What is sauce for the Gander is sauce for the Goose.

ONE STANDARD FOR BOTH SEXES.

Josiah Allen's children have been brought up to think that sin of any kind is just as bad in a man as in a woman; and any place of amusement that was bad for a woman to go to was bad for a man.

Now, when Thomas Jefferson was a little feller he was bewitched to go to circuses, and Josiah said:

“Better let him go, Samantha; it hain't no place for wimmen or girls, but it won't hurt a boy.”

Says I: “Josiah Allen, the Lord made Thomas Jefferson with just as pure a heart as Tirzah Ann, and no bigger ears and eyes; and if Thomas J. goes to the circus, Tirzah Ann goes too.”

That stopped that. And then he was bewitched to get with other boys that smoked and chewed tobacco, and that Josiah was just that easy turn that he would have let him go with 'em. But says I:

“Josiah Allen, if Thomas Jefferson goes with those boys, and gets to chewin' and smokin' tobacco, I shall buy Tirzah Ann a pipe.”

And that stopped that.

“And about drinkin’,” says I, “Thomas Jefferson, if it should be the will of Providence to change you into a wild bear, I will chain you up and do the best I can by you. But if you ever do it yourself, turn yourself into a wild beast by drinkin’, I will run away, for I never could stand it, never! And,” I continued, “if I ever see you hangin’ ’round bar-rooms and tavern doors, Tirzah Ann shall hang too.”

Josiah argued with me. Says he: “It dosen’t look as bad for a boy as it does for a girl.”

Says I: “Custom makes the difference; we are more used to seeing men. But,” says I, “when liquor goes to work to make a fool and a brute of anybody it don’t stop to ask about the sex, and makes a wild beast and idiot of a man or woman, and to look down from Heaven I guess a man looks as bad layin’ dead drunk as a woman does.”

Says I: “Things looks differently from up there than what they do to us—it is a more sightly place. And you talk about looks, Josiah Allen. I don’t go on clear looks, I go on principle. Will the Lord say to me in the last day, ‘Josiah Allen’s wife, how is it with the soul of Tirzah Ann—; as for Thomas Jefferson’s soul, he bein’ a boy, it hain’t of no account?’ No! I shall have to give an account to him for my dealin’s with both of these souls, male and female. And I should feel guilty if I brought him up to think that what was impure for a woman was pure for a man. If a man has a greater desire to do wrong—

which I won't dispute," says I, lookin' keenly onto Josiah, "he has greater strength to resist temptation. And so," says I, in mild accents, but firm as old Plymouth Rock, "If Thomas Jefferson hangs, Tirzah Ann shall hang too."

I have brought Thomas Jefferson up to think that it was just as bad for him to listen to a bad story or song as for a girl, or worse, for he had more strength to run away, and that it was a disgrace to him to talk or listen to any stuff that he would be ashamed to have Tirzah Ann or me to hear. I have brought him up to think that manliness didn't consist in having a cigar in his mouth, and his hat on one side, and swearin' and slang phrases, and a knowledge of questionable amusements, but in layin' holt of every duty that comes to him with a brave heart and a cheerful face; and helpin' to right the wrong and protect the weak, and makin' the most and best of the mind, and the soul God has given him. In short, I have brought him up to think that purity and virtue are both feminine and masculine, and that God's angels are not necessarily all she ones."—Samantha Allen.

#### A ONE-SIDED CONTRACT.

There are generally two parties to a contract The editor of the New York "Tribune" lately received the following letter from a so-called victim of misplaced confidence, and who is doubtless only one of a vast multitude: "Sir: Are contracts morally binding after they have become distasteful and unjust. Be-

ing the victim of a contract, I ask for information. Ten years ago I entered into the followiug compact with a man whom I will name Mr. A.— : In return for various services on my part, which may be summed up as duties of a general manager of an estate, real and personal, I was to receive my support, including my board and clothes, in a style befitting my employer's means and position. Though not a lucrative prospect, it had some attractions for me, not the least of which were the certainty of leisure for the indulgence of scholarly tastes and relief from fear of future struggles with poverty.

Mr. A.—, having no son, induced me to adopt his name. Now, I am just forty years old, a graduate of college, fairly good-looking—at least ladies give me a quick glance as they pass me in the street--strong in health and energetic in spirit, but penniless and helpless and tired of my covenant. Look at a list of my duties. I am my master's confidential clerk and typewriter, copying law-papers and looking up authorities, If he writes an article for the press, I revise it. If he is tired of a book agent or an office-bore, I dispatch him or her. I make the disagreeable calls and placate the disagreeable people. I manage the servants and pay the bills. I am also Mr. A--'s valet and nurse, and sometimes my duties are onerous and ill-rewarded with smiles-- on the principle that no man is a Chesterfield to his valet. The entertainment of his company usually rests on me. From writing a political speeoh to adjusting a picture

book nothing can be done without me. I am everywhere. My coveted leisure was never known, and the only chance of earning a dollar I ever find is by giving a few painting lessons. But I cannot give myself up to art as my tastes would dictate, for I have no time. And for all these duties what am I paid? Nothing. I eat at my master's table. My clothes he gives me grudgingly, and money I never have, not a cent. As to other rewards: I enjoy his respect and a little of his company. I enjoy the reputation of being the bob on the end of the tail of a rather great kite. I enjoy the approval of my conscience. Of course it is noble to sacrifice self and live for another, but a free-born American citizen likes to have five cents in his pocket when a street car comes along. My self-respect suffers daily pangs. My lot is unendurable. This contract is for life. I hear you say 'How could a sane man make such a bargain?' My dear sir, I am not a sane man, I am not a man at all. I am my employer's (?) wife."—C. E. Ames.

## NO MONEY IN IT.

The following anecdote, from "The Household," puts in a shrewd way a much-needed lesson. The unselfish house-mother, however, cares little whether "there's money" in it or not; what she wants is appreciation:

"My mother gets me up, builds the fire, gets my breakfast, and sends me off," said a bright youth,



“Then she gets my father up, and gets his breakfast, and sends him off. Then she gives the other children their breakfast, and sends them off to school; and then she and the baby have their breakfast.”

“How old is the baby?” asked the reporter.

“Oh, she is ’most two, but she can talk and walk as well as any of us.”

“Are you well paid?”

“I get two dollars a week, and father gets two dollars a day.”

“How much does your mother get?”

With a bewildered look the boy said: “Mother? Why, she doesn’t work for anybody.”

“I thought you said she worked for all of you.”

“O, yes! for us she does; but there’s no money in it.”

#### WOMEN DO NOTHING.

“The guileless man who asked how women kill time, got his answer from a woman, who, with her husband, two children, and a servant, lived in a house with nine rooms. Having kept a statistical account for one year, she gave the results as follows: Number of lunches put up, 1,157; meals ordered, 763; desserts made, 172; lamps filled, 328; rooms dusted, 2,395; times dressed children, 768; visits received, 879; visits paid, 167; books read, 88; papers read, 543; stories read aloud, 534; games played, 229; church services attended, 1,251; articles mended, 1,237; letters written, 429; hours in music, 20;

hours in Sunday School work, 208; hours in gardening, 49; sick days, 44; amusements attended, 10; besides the thousand and one duties too small to mention.'—Selected.

## OUR DAUGHTERS.

“The curse of our modern society is that our young women are taught that the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, fiftieth, thousandth thing in their life is to get somebody to take care of them. Instead of that, the first lesson should be, how, under God, they may take care of themselves. The simple fact is that the majority of them have to take care of themselves, and that, too, after having, through the false notions of their parents, wasted the years in which they ought to have learned how to successfully maintain themselves. It is inhuman and cruel for any father or mother to pass their daughters into womanhood having given them no facility for earning their livelihood. Madame de Stael said: ‘It is not these writings that I am proud of, but the fact that I have facilities in five occupations, in any of which I could make a livelihood.’ We should teach our daughters that work of any kind, when necessary, is a credit and honor to them. It is a shame for a young woman belonging to a large family, to be inefficient when the mother and father toil their lives away for her support. It is a shame for a daughter to be idle while her mother toils at the wash-tub. It is as honorable to sweep the house, make beds, or trim hats, as it is to play the piano, twist a watch-chain or embroider a slipper.’—Selected.

## GIRLS SHOULD BE TAUGHT TO CARE FOR CHILDREN.

Mrs. Alice Moore McComas, of Los Angeles, says: "Nowadays, when women are entering the professions, it is well to look at the Mother question. Motherhood should be looked upon as a high and holy profession. It is so regarded by the mothers who are most successful in rearing children, but with the appalling death-rate among children that stares us in the face, one can hardly say that many women have so succeeded. Girls are sent to school to be trained as teachers. They are drilled by the hour, by the day, in music and 'the arts.' They draw, and sketch and daub; they murder the King's English, and as many foreign tongues as they can form a speaking acquaintance with, and they take a 'course of lessons' in all sorts of fads, but it does not yet seem to have become fashionable to teach girls to take care of babies."

She advocates the study of motherhood for all intelligent women, and her own blooming daughters are indications that she puts some of her theories into practice.

## GIRLS WHO SIGH FOR THE CITY.

"We all know the girl who writes: 'I want to come to the city and earn my living; what chance have I?' She writes from Timbuctoo and from the country town where we used to live ourselves. She can 'do most anything, you know,' to earn money, from painting a plaque to writing editorials on the eccentricities of the tariff; and the town she was born and

brought up in, where everybody calls her by her first name and likes her, where she has a sunny little room all to herself and a new gown whenever she cries for it, won't hold her any longer. Now, here is an answer to that girl that a woman wrote who knew what she was talking about. There should be a special act of Congress providing that this letter should be printed, framed, and hung in every schoolhouse, every village seminary, every small city high school. The woman's name is Martha Everts Holden, and the ambitious girl of whom she writes had written to her:

“I felt like posting an immediate answer and saying: ‘Stay where you are.’ I didn't do it, though, for I knew it would be useless. The girl is bound to come, and come she will. And she will drift into a third rate boarding house, than which, if there is anything meaner---let us pray. And if she is pretty she will have to carry herself like snow on high hills to avoid contamination. If she is confiding and innocent, the fate of that highly persecuted heroine of the old-fashioned romance, Clarissa Harlowe, is before her. If she is homely the doors of opportunity are firmly closed against her. If she is smart she will perhaps succeed in earning enough money to pay her board bill and have sufficient left over to indulge in the maddening extravagance of an occasional paper of pins or a ball of tape. What if, after hard labor and repeated failure, she does secure something like success? No sooner will she do so than up will step

some dapper youth who will beckon her over the border into the land where troubles just begin. She won't know how to sew or bake or make good coffee, for such arts are liable to be overlooked when a girl makes a career for herself; and so love will gallop away over the hills like a riderless steed and happiness will flare like a light in a windy night.

O, no, my little country maid; stay where you are if you have a home and friends. Be content with fishing for trout in the brook rather than cruising a stormy city for whales. A great city is a cruel place for young lives. It takes them as the cider press takes juicy apples, sun-kissed and flavored with the breath of the hills, and crushes them into pulp. There is a spoonful of juice in each apple, but cider is cheap. The girl of whose success you read is in nine cases out of ten the girl with a friend at court who gives her the opportunity to show what she can do. Without such a friend the path of the lone girl in a great city is a briery, uphill track."—Selected.

#### MELANCHOLY.

"Why do so many women have melancholia?" repeated the doctor, who had a large practice among the 'depressed' and 'nervous' feminine population. "Because they don't care to avoid it. Because they absolutely disregard the rules of mental and physical well-being. Because they would rather eat what they like and suffer indigestion and the blues afterward than to eat what is good for them but doesn't tickle their palates. Because they'd rather sit around on



downy cushions than take a tramp six miles through the open air. Because they read too much sentimental stuff. Because they haven't enough to occupy their minds and their hands.'

Then the doctor paused to take breath, and began again somewhat less aggressively :

“It is never the women who have cause to feel blue,” she said, “who indulge in blues. The women who have shiftless husbands, hard-hearted landlords, sick babies, and all the usual accompaniments of poverty, never grow so depressed that they have to be treated for it. They are too busy. It's the woman with an adoring family, social position, and a comfortable income who doesn't find life worth living. It isn't the servant girl who gets up at six to kindle the fire, and who slaves all day who indulges in melancholy, but the daughter of the family, who arises at 8, dawdles over her breakfast, shops a little, craves excitement with all her heart, and is melancholy because she doesn't have it.”

“There is no habit which grows upon one so rapidly,” went on the doctor. “It becomes a disease in a very short time. My own plan, whenever I feel an attack coming on, is to put on my walking boots and tramp vigorously as far as I can. It is simply impossible to exercise and feel blue at the same time. Of course a general care of the health is necessary, and work is the chief factor in effecting a cure. Every woman should have an occupation which, if it doesn't entirely absorb her, will at least keep her

busy. And she should give up her mind to practical rather than theoretical affairs. She should study how to put an extra shelf in the closet or how to stop a squeaking door, or how to make an overshoe that won't come off at the heel, rather than the teachings of the theosophical school, or the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. Ordinarily good health, plenty of exercise, plenty of work, and an interest in the affairs of this world rather than the next are the great preventives and cures of melancholia."—Selected.

#### AGE OF CONSENT.

---

BY "age of consent" is meant certain statutes that set a certain age at, or after which a female child may be ruined, by her own consent, and the man committing the crime go unpunished. Only two States in the Union (January, 1895) that put the age of consent as high as 18 years.

Girls under the age of ten are now protected by law in all the States, but not long since some had placed that age at seven years. But what girl at the age of ten, twelve, fourteen, or even sixteen, understands the consequences of consenting to such a thing? These young girls, just blooming into the beauty of womanhood, are allured by some vile wretch, with promises of presents, position, influence or money, to consent to a crime that from that time on makes her an outcast from society, and the laws regard him as

committing no crime. Glance at the following table and you will see how high an estimate the legislators of the different States put upon virtue and morality, and the encouragement they give to the same; the little interest they have in little girls and the protection they give to libertines. In January, 1895, the age of consent in the different States stood as follows:

Ten years in Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Twelve years in Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas and Wisconsin.

Thirteen years in Iowa, New Hampshire and Utah.

Fourteen years in Arizona, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Vermont and West Virginia.

Fifteen years in Delaware and Montana.

Sixteen years in Arkansas, Colorado, District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee and Washington.

Seventeen years in Florida.

Eighteen years in Kansas and Wyoming.

[Since the above was written, Colorado, with three women in the Legislature, has raised the age of consent to 21 years. And New Hampshire has placed the age of consent of both girls and boys at the same—21 years.]

Think of it! Here is a little girl 16 years old that has inherited a little property and she wants to trade it for another one that suits her better, or she wants to sell it, or give it away, or even join herself in marriage with some one, and in thirty States the law steps in and says she is not capable of doing business for herself and must be protected from fraud, and decides her consent is not sufficient to make the action binding. Yet in almost all the States her consent can be secured for immoral purposes, and the law makes that "consent" a justifiable reason for allowing her male partner to go unpunished. Is it not strange that her consent to a contract involving the exchange or disposal of property, or herself in marriage, is not sufficient to make such exchange, disposal, or union legal, and yet that consent is sufficient to make an immoral act legal? Such laws that protect old sinners, hardened in vice, in alluring and disgracing and ruining innocent girls of ten, twelve, or even sixteen years old, just because in their innocence and ignorance they consent to the act, and that ignore such consent in other contracts, are a disgrace to any heathen nation, much more so to a civilized and enlightened country.

If the mothers and sisters of the innocent girls had votes and voices in making the laws of the States, would it be possible that such legislation would disgrace our statute books? Nay, verily. For the two States now that protect them till they reach eighteen are Wyoming, where the women have voted the same

as men since 1869, and Kansas, where they have had municipal suffrage since 1887. Can any one conceive of any mother consenting to such laws that put the age of consent of girls below the age of majority? Indeed, it is pretty hard to conceive of the fathers and brothers doing such a thing. And no legislature should ever pass a law, or kill a bill on this question unless they record the vote of every member. Let them defend their action before their constituents.

We have read of a certain legislature that had a bill before it to raise the age of consent. The Senate debated the question a whole afternoon "behind closed doors and for men only." That poor, young, innocent thing never saw the light after those doors were closed on it. "Men love darkness better than light because their deeds are evil." It died because it could not stand to breathe the atmosphere saturated with tobacco, whiskey, vulgarity and profanity. Now, if men can justify themselves in the slaughter of the innocents in this way, let them stand forth and do it. Let the friends know the reasons for administering such poisons and killing such bills. Why commit the deed in the dark? Why in secret, - in the absence of its friends? Should mothers and sisters not hear the arguments in favor of laws that protect libertines and blacklegs in despoiling their children? And how can men justify themselves in the presence of wife, sister or little daughter? Now, legislation that is so bad that it cannot meet the approval of pure minded mothers, sisters and daughters, cannot bring much



good to a nation. And what that legislature needed was a few female legislators, and that bill would have passed without discussion.

I hereby challenge any member of any legislature to justify himself in voting for a law that makes the age of consent below the age of majority, to do so over his own name in good faith, in any reputable book, newspaper or magazine, and if permitted I will answer him for the benefit of the public, who ought to know why such laws are upon our statute books. And the public has a right to, and it is its duty to demand the repeal of such disgraceful, unreasonable and uncalled for laws. And the fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters of these innocent girls ought to not give themselves any rest until these laws are erased. At whose instigation are such laws made, and ages lowered? To whom is there any profit in them? To none but the lewd fellows of the "baser sort," who want to prey upon the ignorance and innocence of impotent childhood. In other words, they are in the interests of the brothel and saloon and their frequenters.

Most of our social evils grow out of a double standard of morality fostered by us. We can watch a boy chewing, smoking and drinking; hear him swearing and using vulgar language; know of him going in bad company, and attending obscene shows with little or no compunction of conscience, and even think it "smart." But of course a girl that does any of these unfits herself for the respect and company of

men, and much more so for the company of women. Women will look over badness in men, but in women never. Chastity is an absolute essential in a woman for social distinction and position with either men or women, but it is not essential in men. How often do we hear men, and women too, say: "Oh, boys must sow their wild oats. They will settle down all right after awhile and make excellent husbands."

Just look at the man who has been "sowing wild oats" for a number of years. He is unworthy to become the head of a home, much less to lead to the altar a pure souled maiden. He brings to the marriage altar only the dregs of his being. The holy flame of purity and the vitality of innocent youth are gone forever. He brings nothing but a body dissipated with vice, a spirit dwarfed by crime, a mind weakened by indulgence, and a constitution sapped of all its reserved strength—and in lieu of such he demands the purest and most virtuous girl in the land. And from men so marked with sin, what can be expected? Children shrivelled in soul, inheriting evil propensities, marked with sin before their eyes see the light. A boy who sows wild oats sacrifices his nobler self and is not worthy the love of any high minded, pure and noble souled girl.

Our moral standard must be changed and elevated. They have so biased the minds of the men who make laws for men, women and children, that they seem almost over solicitous to protect from prison the crimson colored libertine, that they have almost ig-

nored the helpless, defenseless, innocent girls, just when and where they need protection the most. They are still in short dresses, and playing with dolls, and so young they would scarcely be trusted to buy their own clothes, own a watch or drive a horse. And yet they are trusted to decide things that pertain to their happiness or unhappiness, their glory or shame, their honor or disgrace for time or eternity. Shame on a people who allow such statutes to stand on the books.

Friends of God and humanity, shall we allow this stream of iniquity to flow on and we stand by in silence. Let us demand a white life for two. Let us set the standard for consent at least side by side with the majority. Let us not rest till mothers, daughters and sisters help to make the laws, fix the penalties for their violations, and help to protect these innocent little girls. Let us raise the age of consent, or which is better, let us erase it. Dr. A. H. Lewis says: "It is unchristian; it ought to be un-American. It is a shame and a crime against manhood, and a triple crime against girlhood. It outrages motherhood. It leads boys and men into vileness and degradation. It should no longer remain that our statutes, for the sake of protecting male animals, thus make war on the purity of both sexes, and all that is best in our civilization which bears the name of Christian. Let such facts as these fan the flame of public opinion until all age of consent laws mingle with the ashes of the dead past."

## THE GAINS OF FORTY YEARS.

BY MRS. LUCY STONE, BOSTON, 1891.

I AM to speak to you of some of the gains of forty years, and one of the most emphatic gains that presents itself, as I rise here now, is the difference between that convention, forty years ago, and this. This morning we were in the Meionaon holding our meeting there. Before us were the reporters, faithfully reporting the meeting, and doing their best to report it fairly. Forty years ago, when our convention met in Worcester, except the New York "Tribune," the papers, far and wide, laughed at it as a "hen convention." That was what they called it. One of the gains between that time and this is that women can meet and sit in convention and find themselves fairly and well reported; not ill treated because they are women.

Among the first and best gains that have been accorded to us is free speech for women. Up to that time and before it, the women speakers had been hailed with mobs, brick-bats and stones. Angelina and Sarah Grimke and Abby Kelly had met that kind of warfare. The odium which the press poured out upon them was without stint, and the pulpit roused itself particularly in the effort to silence women. Free speech has been gained by the persistent fidelity of those earlier women, who made the way for all those who followed. I came fourteen or fifteen years after; but when I held a meeting in Malden, Mass., the pastor



of the Orthodox Congregational church, being asked to give notice of the meeting, (this meeting was under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; Wm Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips were officers of the society,) this minister in Malden held the notice up before his face and he said: "I am requested by Mr. Mowry to say that a hen will undertake to crow like a cock at the Town Hall this afternoon at five o'clock. Anybody who wants to hear that kind of music will, of course, attend." So unpopular and unwelcome was the idea of a woman speaking in public, that, after years of effort by Angelina and Sarah Grimke and Abby Kelly, that was the welcome that came to a younger worker. The consequence was, I had a very large meeting. Everybody came, and Mr. Mowry was asked what kind of a hen it was, and all about it; and altogether it was a very good advertisement of the meeting.

Then see the different tone of the press. Deacon Samuel Bowles, editor and founder of the Springfield "Republican," a most excellent man, said of me in his own paper: "You she-hyena, don't you come here!" To-day the Springfield "Republican" is one of the staunchest advocates of woman suffrage, and it publishes a department every week concerning woman and her interests.

Women can go anywhere now, and never in any place, perhaps not anywhere in this country, meet with a welcome like that which greeted the early speakers. Only a few months ago, the national W.



C. T. U. met in Atlanta, Ga., where neither the temperance movement nor woman suffrage, certainly not suffrage, had been advocated; but when Mrs. Wallace, "the mother of Ben Hur," raised the question of woman's rights, a great audience that packed a large hall, arose almost as a body in response to her request, saying that they approved it. So you see, even at the South, and everywhere now, free speech is gained for women. Having gained that, in the long run everything else is gained for women; because when you can go and tell an intelligent and fair minded people the claim you have to make, in the long run you are sure to get it carried.

The next gain is the right of education. In that earlier time, a learned woman was not at all acceptable. She was called a blue-stocking. Oberlin then was the only college open to women. It admitted women and negroes on the same terms as white men, and wore its share of odium for it. But after these forty years we now have Boston University, and Wellesley and Smith and Byrn Mawr, and Vassar and Cornell in New York, and Michigan University, and the Western colleges everywhere, welcoming women.

Then we have gained opportunities for occupation. In that earlier time, there were so few things that women could do to earn a living! I remember with what agony women stood, as in contracting chambers, and looked out upon the world. The spinning-wheel and the loom had ceased to be used in the house. That which had occupied the women was taken away,

and something else had to come in its place; but the women were not welcomed to anything else. If they entered other things, they were warned that they were getting out of their sphere. Those who urged women to take up new occupations were told that their effort was to get women out of their sphere, and that was flying in the face of Providence. And so, when women were driven to undertake occupations that hitherto had not been engaged in by women, they were met by opposition, ridicule and obstacles. Printers said they would not work for anybody that would employ a woman to print. At the convention forty years ago, Abby H. Price read a paper that is curious to read to-day. She asked that more occupations should be opened to women. She asked that they might work in stores—where multitudes of women are now employed and nobody thinks anything about it. I remember the first woman who kept a store, so far as I know, in this State—Mrs. Young, of Lowell. She was obliged to earn her own living, and she said, “All women and children must wear shoes;” and so she decided to open a little shoe store. She went to Lynn and bought the best stock of shoes she could find; she got good material so that she could get good customers. She went back to Lowell, and, not willing to make an extensive venture, she took a few shelves in a store already occupied. When she had arranged her shoes and put out her sign, “Mrs. Young, Misses’ and Childrens’ Shoes,” she said she heard a loud guffaw outside and people wondered

what kind of a looking woman it was who would keep a store. They thought a woman could not know enough to keep a store. Mrs. Tyndall, of Philadelphia, carried on a china-ware business; her husband had been a china merchant. She sent ships to China, and enlarged the business, and carried it on, and it was a matter of newspaper comment, it was thought to be such a remarkable thing that a woman was keeping a store and sending ships to China. But now Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his statistics of labor, reports nearly three hundred occupations open to women. Behold the change! It was necessary to go from city to city, and from State to State, creating in the women that wholesome discontent which made them dare to seek for those occupations which would pay them. How hard it was for the women in that earlier time. The women who sewed got such small pay for it, and the women who taught had such little compensation. I remember being a teacher. My first teaching was done for a dollar a week, and later, when I had sixteen dollars a month, a person said to me, "Why, what a good salary that is for a woman!" When my brother, who was receiving thirty dollars a month, fell ill, and I took his school for two weeks, the committee gave me \$16 a month, because that was "enough for a woman." From teaching and sewing think now of the many lines of occupation that are free to women. How much is gained! But you do not find that there are too many. The women crowd each other still by keeping too much in the

same lines. Margaret Fuller said, "Let women be sea-captains if they will." What she meant was, let them do anything they are fitted for. Whatever was fit to be done at all might be done by anybody who could do it well. The tools belong to those who can use them, and if women could use a tool, she had a right to use it.

I never speak on this point without thinking of Harriet Hosmer, whom you all know, whose father lived in Watertown. She was an artist, and she wanted to study anatomy; but there was not a medical school anywhere that would allow her to do so. She went all over New England and New York and the Middle States, and finally crossed the Mississippi river and went to Dr. McDowell, the dean of the Medical College in St. Louis. He told me about her coming to him, with her eager face, and how anxiously she watched to hear him say she might study anatomy. She said to him, "I am an artist and need to study anatomy, but there is no medical school that will admit me. May I study anatomy in your college?" Dr. McDowell was a slave-holder, and died in the Confederate service; but he said to her, with all the chivalry of a Southern man: "You shall study anatomy in my college, and if anybody interferes with you, he will interfere with me first."

There was this difficulty in regard to all the professions. Now the legal profession is open to women. The ministry is open—not very wide, but it is open. All these opportunities have been gained

for women in these forty years; not one of them existed before, and not one of them would have been regarded as possible.

In the laws, perhaps we have gained still more, We found women at an infinite disadvantage under the laws. Wherever the word wife or woman or widow or mother occurred in the law, the word was almost sure to be surrounded with some disability—with some cruelty, I think I may say. The law counted out in many of the States how many cups and saucers and spoons and knives and chairs a widow might have when her husband died. I have seen many a widow who took the cups she had bought before she was married and bought them again after her husband died, so as to have them legally, because she could not do otherwise. The law gave no married woman any right to a legal existence at all. It said she should have no legal existence. Her legal existence shall be “suspended” during marriage. She could neither sue nor be sued; she could not own personal property. All the personal property she had at her marriage the law gathered up remorsefully and put in the pocket of the man who married her, just as though it had never been hers in any way whatever. If she had a child born alive, the law took her real estate and gave her husband the use of that as long as he should live, and called it by the pleasant name of the “estate by the courtesy.” When the husband died, the law gave his widow the use of a third of his real estate, and it



was called "the widow's encumbrance" While the law dealt thus with her in regard to her property, it dealt with her more hardly in regard to her children. No married mother could have any right to her child, and in this dear old Commonwealth of Massachusetts she does not have it to-day, as long as she lives with her husband. We have asked the Legislature to secure to mothers the same legal right to their children that the father has, but we could not get it. That old-time law which allowed a widow to stay only forty days in the house of her deceased husband without paying rent, remains to-day. We have asked the Legislature year after year, without avail, to decree that a woman need not be turned out unless she pays rent, when her husband who has helped her can help her no longer. But a wife can now own all the personal property she had before she was married. She can own all she acquires after marriage. In the old time she could not; if a woman earned a dollar a day by scrubbing, she brought it home and her husband had the right to take the dollar and go and get drunk with it and beat her afterward. It was his dollar. If a woman wrote a book, the copyright of the book belonged to her husband, not to her. If she broke her leg and her husband sued to recover damages, the money belonged to him, because her leg was his leg. Now she owns her own legs. She has now a right to her own clothes, though we petitioned the Legislature for ten years to get the law.

The laws are changing and are growing better in many ways. The old ducking stool, to which, when a woman was worn with hard work and with bearing many children, and talked a little sharply, her husband had the right to take her, is nearly abolished. Yet, within twelve months, one man in Delaware brought his wife to the ducking stool, and another in Canada proposed to bring his, but the judge said he doubted whether he had the right to. So public sentiment is not smiling on the ducking stool any longer.

We have not only gained in the fact that the laws are modified (and we are very grateful to the men who have done it), but we have gained in the fact that women have acquired a certain amount of political power. We have now in twenty-two States school suffrage for women. In most cases the school suffrage is much larger than here in Massachusetts, Here women can only vote for members of the school committee, but in many States they vote on all questions that appertain to schools. In twenty-two States women have school suffrage. Forty years ago there was but one; Kentucky allowed widows who had children of school age to vote on school questions. Then we have also in Kansas municipal suffrage. There women vote in every city and town election, and a letter has come to us from ex-Governor Robinson of Kansas, saying that it works well and there is no idea of repealing it. Then in Wyoming we have achieved full suffrage for women. For

twenty-one years women have been voting there just the same as men, and two senators now sit in Congress, Carey and Warren, whom women helped elect. From Senator Warren came a telegram this morning to say how thoroughly well woman suffrage had operated in Wyoming, and he could give no better word for Massachusetts than to advise her to follow the example of Wyoming. Having now twenty-two States where women have school suffrage, municipal suffrage in one State, and full suffrage in another, a State larger than all New England, you see how much has been gained. And these things could not have occurred except as the great movement for women has brought them about.

In the church, how different things are now from what they used to be! I remember very well how in the church at West Brookfield, Mass., many years ago, a question arose about the anti-slavery views of one of the deacons. I was very young. I was a church member, but did not know that women did not vote in the church; and so, when an important vote was taken, in the innocence and ignorance of my heart, I held up my hand to vote with the rest, supposing that it was all right. But the minister, tall and large, pointing over to me, said to the man counting the votes, "Don't you count her." And the man counting the votes looked a little surprised himself, and said "Isn't she a member?" "Oh, yes," he said, "she is a member, but she isn't a voting member." And the scorn that was in his tones!

I felt it to the tips of my toes. That afternoon they took six other votes, and every time I held my hand up high and every time they did not count it. All the same I held my hand up. But to-day look at the great Methodist Episcopal church; its members have voted by more than 80,000 majority in favor of admitting women to its highest councils. See in how many churches concessions are made looking toward equal rights for women, and then consider what it was in that time forty years ago, when one uncounted hand was the only protest against the injustice done to women. All through the churches the change for the better is coming. See the question of deaconesses in the Presbyterian church. In Pennsylvania and New York the general assembly has made the overture, advising the smaller bodies to vote for women as deaconesses for the help they may give the church. It is rich to read the reports and see how some people still hold to the old idea, and also to see coming in more and more the force of a liberal spirit that stands all the time for equal human rights. That idea of equal rights is in the church. It is in the State. It is everywhere, and the gains can hardly be reckoned up in a single speech on the platform. But all these important gains, in freedom of speech, in opportunities for education, in wider choice of occupations, in the professions, in better conditions of the law, and the great movement in the churches, have not come of themselves. They could not have come of them-



selves. They could not have come without a great deal of effort, but they have come. They are a part of the eternal order, and they have come to stay. Now what we need is but to continue to speak the truth fearlessly, and to add to our number those who will turn the scale to the side of equal and full justice in all things.

### OPPONENTS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

---

ZANG'S brewery was headquarters for the opposition to equal suffrage in Colorado, and the leaflets they sent out were mailed from a prominent liquor house.

The brewers of Chicago in convention assembled (1891) resolved against woman suffrage, saying it was the last hope of the Prohibitionists. Congressman Breckenridge would never think of trying to ride into office on women's ballots. They would make the standard a "white life for two." Fifty congressmen were interviewed in 1893, in Washington by Florence Huntley, for the New York Press. Breckenridge was one of them. To the question, "Was he in favor of woman suffrage?" he replied with emphasis: "I have no leaning toward this so called universal suffrage, which would affect the present relations of husband and wife." What a guardian of the home, the friendless, the orphan and the young girl! How much interest he has in them. The relations and chastity of the homes are



dependent on too many representatives such as Breckenridge. And if ever the homes needed the ballot to make them pure, holy and just, it is now. Bad men know that woman's ballot means the downfall of their craft and they will resist it till the end. They do not doubt the justice of woman suffrage, it is the expediency that troubles them. The arguments and means used to carry their points against the movement are so insulting, coarse and disgraceful that often those who sympathize with them are turned over to the other side. One paper in Boston that was an "anti" became so disgusted with the meanness of its methods used for the defeat of its bill in the last legislature that it came out denouncing them in the strongest terms. There is not an argument used against woman voting that cannot be urged with propriety and justice against men voting.

(1.) Would bad women vote?

So do bad men, and there are more of them.

(2.) Are women ignorant in politics?

Yes. But not nearly so much so as men in general.

(3.) Is the home a woman's place?

Where is the man's? Is it in secret societies and saloons?

(4.) Would a woman be influenced by her husband, brothers, father or friends?

And are not men influenced by politicians for dollars and drinks?

(5.) Are the polls not a fit place for a woman?

Why have two standards of morality? What is good for the goose ought to be good for the gander.

(6.) Would women not read and consider both sides of political questions?

Neither do men do it.

(7.) Would sympathy govern women?

Not more than the saloon governs men.

(8.) Would passion control women? No more than prejudice controls men.

(9.) Are women too busy? Why should men be less so?

(10.) Is politics beyond her sphere? Has not a woman as much right to decide a man's sphere as he to decide her's?

(11.) Are women not able to fight? Many men are not, and yet they vote.

(12.) Is she the weaker sex? What does sex have to do with voting? Give her more room for outdoor exercise to develop and strengthen her. The conditions for the development have not heretofore been equal.

The common objections to woman suffrage are all old hackneyed prejudices fossilized centuries ago. And men do not give any good objection to it, for the same reason that Jack did not eat his breakfast.

The reasons given by some men remind us of a story told during the last cholera scare, about a boy whose little sister had found an apple and was about to eat it. Her brother rushed up to her with a face

of horror and consternation and assured her that the apple was green, that the cholera was coming, and that if she ate it she would have the cholera and die. The child, in alarm, threw down the fruit, and her brother at once picked it up and proceeded to eat. She watched him with round eyes for a few minutes, and then asked, "Won't the cholera catch you?" "No," answered the urchin, with his mouth full, it is only after little girls. Boys don't have cholera." It is only women that they want to keep from the ballot box.

The platform of the Liquor Dealers of Illinois, says: "We have a right to demand protection for our trade." And the mothers' platform also declares: "We have a right to demand protection for our boys."

Feelix has been keeping his eyes open and has observed that generally speaking, the opponents to woman suffrage can generally be depended on for being on the wrong side of all reforms and opposing the right, the good and the Godly.

"Horace Greeley, speaking for his own section, once said: 'I do not say that every Democrat is a horse thief, but I do say that every horse thief is a Democrat,' and I do not say that every opponent of woman suffrage is a scoundrel, but I do say that every scoundrel is an opponent of woman suffrage.' In opposing it Doctor Parkhurst will not only be accompanied by the respectable and formalized conservatism of his State, but by every saloon,

pauper, unrepentant convict and scoundrel in the State without exception. They know what is against them if the Doctor does not know what is for him and his high standards?"---Selected.

After several years experience of equal suffrage, Chief Justice Greene, of Washington, said:

"The opponents of woman suffrage in this Territory find themselves allied with a solid phalanx of gamblers, pimps, prostitutes, drunkards and drunkard-makers—with all in each of these classes who know the interest of the class and vote according to it."

When respectable people find themselves in alliance with all rascaldom, it is worth their while to pause and consider whether they have not taken a mistaken position.

Dr. Charles Parkhurst in account with the women:

DR.	CR.
To "She is not posted well enough to vote."	By "She should post the men how to vote."
"She should be saved from such druggery."	"She should make house to house visitations to awaken interest."
"She is not interested in political affairs."	"She should distribute literature in these points."
"Her home cares are more than sufficient for her strength."	"Let her organize in large numbers and meet weekly for the discussion of these questions."

“She should not be dragged into the miry pools of politics.”

“She would lose her sweet womanly influence.”

“Dear women, we could not do without them! The church, the home, the social life—they are the light and joy of all, but never let the smirch of the caucus or of the electioneering booth rest upon the hand that rocks the cradle.

Total, 94 words.

“Serve lunches as near as the law allows to the polling place.”

“Plead with the men on the street and in the home to vote right. It is your influence that counts.”

“Women of New York, the success of this election rests upon you! If the mothers in our city sit by idle, indifferent, then our cause will languish and “Wrong will be forever on the Throne.” Remember it is your homes we are pleading for.”

Total, 116 words.

94 “

Balance, 22 words in favor of women, due on demand, thirty days after date, interest, the highest legal rate in the State from which the demand is made. Selah.



## A CALL TO THE W. C. T. U.

BY MRS. JENNIE E. GRAVES.

**W**OMAN has been defeated in every real encounter. Why? Because the weapon of the ballot, that is so powerful in the hands of her enemy, is denied her; and she must fight, if she wars at all, with empty hands.

O, shame upon the civilization which has become so corrupt that women are compelled in self defense of all they hold dear to rise up against its sins, and do battle with hands fettered by the galling chains of past ages!

Shame upon those **FEMALES** who rattle their chains, seeking to drown the appeal of the nobler spirited of their sex for justice!

Shame upon legislators, who cover with the soft glove of political favor this rotting cancer, which is eating out the heart of National prosperity! Shame upon the executive, whose hand could be used to help desecrate the school-houses; nay, worse, the house of God itself, with the fumes of liquor shops in direct opposition to the will of the people, that a "Shoreham" might not be deprived of its share of blood money from the sale of alcohol! And double shame upon the Christian voters of the country, who stay with parties so lost to all sense of what the rights of a free people mean. My friends, I see to-day but one solution of this problem. One force strong enough to overthrow the enemy and destroy him root and branch.

Let me illustrate it by a legend which tells how, in the days of the Roman Empire, an earthquake rent the earth apart near the imperial city. Upon consulting an oracle, it declared that the chasm never would close till the most priceless thing Rome held was cast into it. Gold without measure, and gems above price, were sacrificed in vain. At last Rome's most heroic youth plunged down the black abyss, and it was closed forever.

So it is with us of to-day. 'The foul wound of intemperance stretches its putrid length across the bosom of Christian civilization, and not till the most priceless gem of the 19th century, the womanhood of America, shall be able to crystallize its will in ballots at the polls, will that festering wound be healed. Until this victory is won, and women are armed as are the whisky sellers and all who support the liquor trade are armed, not the outmost gate of the enemy's citadel will be broken down, though the noise of our trumpets reach heaven.

It is time, beloved, that we awake to the fact that the hour has struck when the W. C. T. U. must swing the whole splendid force of the organization towards placing the crown of suffrage upon woman's brow. It is time that we realize that until woman, with the Bible in her bosom and the ballot in her hand, shall march with holy courage to the polls, and meet the enemy where he is to be found, he will sit behind his defenses, and while destroying us and our loved ones, "laugh at our calamity, and mock when our fear cometh,"

We have done noble work in the past, seeking to purify the black stream of vice; putting a dam here and there across the river of intemperance, to be swept away at flood tide, but we have come to the parting of the ways, and our next step must carry us clear over body and soul on to suffrage ground, or from now on we will be only marking time.

Did you ever see a company of soldiers, standing still, perfecting drill? Nationally and locally, we have drilled long enough. **THE TIME HAS COME FOR ACTION**, and to act we must be **ARMED**.

But it is urged, men have debased the privileges of the ballot; they have sold it for money. They have sold themselves for it. They have bartered for it every principle that should have been held sacred. Will not women put the power when gained to as base uses? The answer is found where women hold the balance of power. Look at their kingdom, the home! The power that rules her there, and makes the homes of our country its holiest possession, will sway her at the polls. Look at our churches, two-thirds of the members women. The power that keeps her at the wounded side of her Lord will help her to bind up the wounds of her country.

As an organization we have defined our position on this question. It remains for us to make it the burning question, till the prize is ours. The task is no light one. To clear the scales of ignorance and selfishness from our own eyes, that we may see how to help others—to unswathe from ourselves as a sex

the swaddling bands of social customs and ancient traditions—to learn and teach the new gospel of the ballot, will be seed sown in the name of Jesus for the healing of the nations.’’

HOW TO WIN WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

---

**B**EGIN to agitate and keep on agitating until you get what you want. The real opponents to woman suffrage are comparatively few. The great majority of men and women have never given the subject any consideration. We could count on our fingers the real opponents to this cause we have met during the last year. Nearly every one admits not having given the subject any thought. The prejudices, customs, usages and traditions of our forefathers bound them in a strait-laced jacket, so they did not dare turn either to the right or left lest they break something. But this corset of traditions is about worn out now and ready to go to pieces, and all that is needed is a little stirring exercise, agitation and education and a new reform dress will be doomed.

Advocates of any cause scarcely realize the importance of having their cause brought before the public in the newspapers of the country. They fear opposition and criticism. Better be opposed and criticised than no discussion at all. People will take sides and prejudices will be broken down and the real reasons for men's positions will come out, and the right will prevail.

If the W. C. T. U's. would secure a column or more in the newspapers available to them, they would accomplish much. Many do this, but not so many as might. And again those who furnish



news for these columns should at least report the news on the suffrage question. The editor might object to opinions on the question, but not many will object to the news on it. And sometimes this very news converts the editors. We have in mind the editor of the most influential paper in a large State, who started this way. He first forbade anything but news. After a few months he found himself writing long editorials on the subject.

Never let a W. C. T. U. convention, great or small, go without something on the subject. There is scarcely a popular lecturer of reputation, now, who does not weave into his lecture woman's wrongs, or rights if you wish. And it is always done with applause. And if this be true, why do the women need to fear to refer to it in their meetings?

If the women in their W. C. T. U. weekly meetings would have allotted a certain time, and have some one appointed to read something on this subject at such meetings, it would accomplish much. And there is nothing better for this purpose than "Female Filosofy." One woman writes: "I took my 'Filosofy' to the meeting last Friday, and as we have readings, I read several pages, and they were all captivated with it. And one of the ladies arose immediately and moved that I continue my reading at each meeting until I had finished the book." Another one writes: "I heard some quotations read from your book, at our meeting last week, and we enjoyed it very much. Please send me one." Van-

delia Varnum writes in the Corner Stone: "Female Filosofy is crowded with points and every point bristles. If you want a good laugh, get it. If you want something bright for your W. C. T. U. meeting, get it. If you want to interest your children in a righteous cause, get it. If you want to convert a friend to woman suffrage, get it. If you want to shame out the opponents of equal rights, do not fail to have them read it."

Another important work is petitioning the legislatures. The people must ask for what they want. In almost every State, school, municipal and township suffrage is regulated by the Legislature, and not by the constitution.

In all States Presidential Suffrage is regulated by the Legislature, under the express words of the Federal Constitution, viz.: "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a certain number of electors, etc." This power is not derived from the State constitution.

In all States the Legislature may submit to the voters a constitutional amendment extending suffrage in all elections to women, either on the same terms as are now required of men, or on educational or property qualifications approved by the Legislature.

There should be a State enrollment officer in the W. C. T. U. and other organizations for suffrage. This officer should see to it that an enrollment officer is at work in every district, county, township, city

and village, and when the people who are in favor of it express themselves as such, it will make it unwise for any one who is opposed to woman suffrage to run for a legislative office. Here is the form of a petition to have signed :

We, the undersigned legal voters of the —— Representative district, —— County, —— State, believing that intelligent women, interested in good government, should have the legal right to vote, hereby promise to do what we can consistently with our other political duties, to secure the nomination and election of State Representatives and State Senator from this district in favor of woman suffrage.

Signed, Date, Name, Number, Street, Postoffice.

On the opposite page is printed a similar promise, beginning :

We, the undersigned women citizens of —— Representative District, —— County, —— State, etc., etc., as above.

Send to the "Woman's Journal," No. 3 Park street, Boston, for the enrollment books, and further instructions.

Whenever the suffragists get a majority of the Legislature and a Governor that will sign the bill on their side, they are pretty sure to get either woman suffrage directly from the Legislature or have it submitted to the people to vote on it at some future time. By all means get as many men interested in the work as possible. By the world at large the woman suffrage cause has been, and still is popu-

larly regarded as only a "woman movement," or as a movement of women against men. This impression that it is an "anti-man" movement has retarded its advance and postpones its triumph. It is false in fact. Woman suffrage has among its supporters as many men as women, and this will be shown by a systematic enrollment of both.

Mrs. Carrie Lane Chapman tells how Colorado was carried for woman suffrage:

"With much sentiment already existing all over the State, the only thing that was necessary was to gather it up and organize it. This was done by a systematic plan. A meeting was held in every county in the State where there was a population sufficient to warrant it, and a league was formed there, with an executive committee of seven. This committee always consisted of four men and three women, or three men and four women; and right here is a lesson for every State in the Union. We shall never carry woman suffrage anywhere until men and women learn to work together. Our women seem to say to the men, 'We are running this association. We shall be very glad of your help, but we do not want to have you hold any of the offices nor take the lead in the matter at all.' In Colorado, fortunately, the women did not make this mistake. They were very glad to have the men take the lead in the campaign. Men always have more political influence than women, because they are voters. The men took the lead in the associations, and it was because they did that at last we won.

The women in each locality were canvassed, and a week or two before the election a petition from a large majority of the women was published in the papers, asking the voters to vote for equal suffrage.

“The men were also canvassed, and were classified as opposed, doubtful, or in favor. The opponents were let alone, and the doubtful were labored with. The editors of all the newspapers were seen, and the press of the State was on our side. . . . .

The best thing you can do to carry woman suffrage in your State would be to import a few hundred people from Wyoming and plant them in all your cities and towns. Next, go to your labor organizations. Get all the friends of equal suffrage together, and organize them into a strong band that can dictate terms to political parties and to candidates, as our enemies do.”

By all means present every legislator and editor with a copy of Female Filosofy. Scatter tracts and speeches knee deep all over the country. Use the press, the platform and the pulpit wherever it is possible to do so.

On one of the anniversaries of Bunker Hill, so great was the crowd that, as it surged to and fro, there was danger that the platform on which the speakers were should be overturned. Appeal after appeal was made to the people to sway back and save the platform, but in vain. When all appeals failed, Daniel Webster, who was there, arose, and cried to the people: “Move back! Yield! Save the



platform." The reply was: "We cannot move back. It is impossible!" Lifting his stentorian voice again, he shouted with electric effect, "On Bunker Hill, nothing is impossible!" Thrilled by his words, the crowd did move back, and the platform was saved.

Using this incident as an illustration, I would say to you, women of Bunker Hill, that in this cause of yours, with principle upon your side, and with a splendid federation of women with forceful and opulent lives upon your side, and with Wyoming and Colorado cheering you on, "Nothing is impossible!"

Federate, consolidate, agitate, canvass, memorialize, petition, vote!

The title is the weakest thing about it.—N. Y. Voice.

It is, indeed "*much in little.*" Whoever desires to study the suffrage question and be armed against its opponents should have it. I have given my copy to a young man preparing a speech for the amendment campaign in Kansas. I could give him nothing more helpful.—HELEN GOUGAR, LaFayette, Ind.

Quite an addition to our suffrage literature. It has an extra value, treating the subject from a *man's* standpoint, hence the element of selfishness is eliminated. His treatment of the Bible on the subject is felicitous and will have great weight as coming from a clergyman.

MRS. LOUISA SOUTHWORTH,

Supt. of Franchise Ohio State W. C. T. U.

"Is a woman more unwomanly in protecting her children than a hen is unhenly in protecting her chicks?" is the opening sentence to the preface in "Female Philosophy." The author says: "In most states, the following persons cannot vote, viz: Criminals, idiots, insane men and sane women." Fact, sentiment and humor are happily interspersed in his very interesting volume, which brushes away the cobwebs of prejudice.—Mansfield (O.) News.

The book is crowded with points and every point bristles. If you want a good laugh, get it. If you want something bright for your W. C. T. U. meeting, get it. If you want to interest your children in a righteous cause, get it. If you want to convert a friend to woman's suffrage, get it. If you want to shame out the opponents of equal rights, do not fail to have them read it.—VANDELIA VARNUM, in the W. C. T. U. column, of The Corner Stone.

It is filled with solid arguments against the objections frequently made to the right of woman to a voice and a vote in the government that holds her amenable to its laws equally with man; it gives a brief history of the rapid growth of the sentiment in favor of woman suffrage in the last forty years, contrasting the time when women who essayed to speak at a public meeting were hailed with mobs, brickbats and stones, their meetings spoken of by leading pastors as "hen conventions," with the present conditions, where pulpit and press are equally interested in the work and results of women's conventions. The author is a clergyman and knows whereof he speaks. There is a vein of humor running all through the book, and the arguments are unanswerable. If you want "much in a little," a good laugh and the most complete refutation of all the reasons ever invented why woman should not share equally with man the duties and responsibilities of life, get it.—Vie H. Campbell, Pres. Wis. W. T. C. U. in the Wis. Motor.

"Excellent.—Marion H. Dunman, Pres. Iowa W. C. T. U.

I have read it over with much interest and amusement. It certainly puts that side of the question in an effectively popular way. I am on the other side,—Rev. Wm. E. Roe, Marietta, O.

Just the thing at the right time, and in the right place. It is big enough, and little enough. It reminds me of a barbed wire fence, it is so full of points.—Rev. B. F. Danford, Doherty, O.

I consider it most excellent. Right to the point. The author understands the question, and his ideas are clear cut and forcible and ring with no uncertain sound.—Mrs. Florence D. Richards, (Lecturer for the I. O. G. T.)

Please allow me to congratulate you most heartily on your venture. The book will do much good. I shall read every sentence of it with great interest.—Rev. Gideon P. Macklin, Prohibition Candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1893.

"Female Filosofy" is a capital setting forth of the question of woman suffrage, and ought to be in the hands of every thoughtful and intelligent man and woman.—JOSEPHINE E. NICHOLS, Indianapolis, Supt. Exposition World's W. C. T. U.

"Felix Feeler" has "Fished Out" a weight of sound "Filosofy" and "Fried" to a crisp all the opponents to woman's enfranchisement. It will be a book of profit to every reader of it.—HENRIETTA G. MOORE, President Ohio State W. C. T. U., Springfield, O.

Between its attractive covers a fund of bright sayings and sound reasoning on every phase of the question of equal rights. Besides this it contains the condensed expression of great minds on the subject of woman suffrage from Plato down to Josiah Allen's wife.—Cumberland (O.) Echo.

I have never read anything on the suffrage question so thoroughly to the point, or written so interestingly and forcibly as Female Filosofy by Felix Feeler. It ought to be read in a million homes, for with such literature bristling with interest, always logical and convincing, the cause of Equal Suffrage would soon be an accomplished fact. DAVID H. BURWELL.

The Chicago Inter-Ocean violates no confidence in saying that FELIX FEELER is a nom de plume. The author is Rev. L. E. Keith, Caldwell, O. His little paper coverlet is richly worth the 25 cents. The woman question has seldom been more pointedly presented than in his quaint style. American men, by the million, should read this little book. The ballot is coming to the women of America. It today needs her purifying influence.

Shafts of truth, well and forcibly aimed.—The Pres. of Waynesburg College, (Pa.)

DEAR BRO. KEITH.—You have written a capital book. It will make many converts to a righteous cause.

DR. J. W. BASHFORD, Pres. of O. Wes. Univ'y.

I wish I could place one in the hands of every opponent to the cause, and be assured he would read it. Then Florida would be another star in *our* flag.—Ella C. Chamberlain, Pres. Fla. W. C. T. U.

Thanks for your racy, witty, and withal philosophical words. Cannot the Constiitutional Convention of New York, and the State of Kansas be "sown knee keep" with the conquering argument?—MARY A. WOODBRIDGE, Cor. Sec. Nat'l W. C. T. U.

An argument for "woman's rights" made by a Presbyterian minister who chooses to write anonymously. It is in much the same style as the books of "Samantha Allen," from whom many apt quotations are made. The whole field is covered with short, pithy chapters and sharp, caustic sentences. The pamphlet will no doubt have many readers.—Herald and Presbyter, Cincinnati, O.

It is a grand and a good book. It touches the "right spot" every time. Wish I were the author of it. Hope it will have 10,000,000 circulation in this country. I shall recommend it in my lecture work and through my paper. I shall take the liberty of quoting from its pages in my lecture talks.—Hastily yours,  
HOWARD CARLETON TRIPLE, The Popular Lecturer, "Icwa's Poet Laureate."

Every opponent of woman suffrage ought to read "Female Filology." They will find their objections answered in such a humorous, quaint way, but nevertheless with such force and unanswerable argument as to take all the wind out of their sails. Friends of the reform will be delighted with the splendid presentation of sound sense, bright sayings, and keen logic.—JOHN A. NICHOLLS, Poet, Author and Lecturer, Lowell, Mass.

MY DEAR SIR:—I write to thank you for your wonderful book, "Female Filology," which is at hand. I consider it one of the best things produced on the suffrage question; full, not only of "filology," but of logic of the keenest edge, fun with pith and point, seasoned with sound sense and in such compact shape that whoever will take it up will read it, and reading must be convinced. I wish you could put it into the hands of every legislator, every voter, every woman in the State.

Very Truly,

YOUR MOTHER STEWART, (Leader of the Temperance Crusade,)











LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 029 809 782 5