

EMINENT OPINIONS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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

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

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

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

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

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.

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

The Wage Earners' Need of the Ballot

By MAUD YOUNGER

THE wage earning woman needs the ballot because her every gain in the past, has come through her own effort, and every future victory she must win for herself.

She has two means through which to work, the union and the ballot.

The union is the more effective. In organization it is strength, and the wage earner's strength is a surer basis for fair conditions than the goodwill of an employer or of a lethargic public. But it is difficult to unionize women. With eyes on the shores of matrimony they look upon work as a temporary affair. They do not seek to better their craft. They do not realize the large percentage of married women who are inevitably swept back into the channels of industry.

It is stated that in New York city 27,000 women support their husbands. One-third of all young women in this country are engaged in industry alone. Six million women in America earn their living. Let men who urge that their "place is at home" provide the homes for them to stay in.

Women entered industrial life from necessity. Forced to share with men the hard work of the world, they more than any other women—more than any man—need the ballot's protection. A woman's work determines her health, life, home and children. She must not work long hours nor at night. Her place of work must be sanitary, with protection for life and limb. Working women are largely the mothers of the race. Their health concerns the whole community. Yet today, when the development of business seems of greater importance than the development of men, fair conditions for working women rest solely upon their own power to secure and maintain them.

With the wage earner, the ballot is not so much a question of sex as of class. She needs it to help her industrially. California has no law limiting the hours of women's work. Laws are not made for the weak, but for the strong. They respond to the greatest pressure. Women have never gained by influence, however gentle, what men have gained by vote. The eight hour law for men is constantly extending, but women average 12 hours, Colorado alone having an eight hour law. A bill before a recent southern legislature provided an eight hour day for men and a 10 hour day for women and children! Was it because the women could better



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work long hours than men? Or was it because they had no vote?

Even should men enact the needed laws, they would be ineffective unless those who know conditions had the power to enforce them. In New York the 10 hour law for women is a dead letter. A working girl who agitated for its enforcement would lose her job. Moreover, all her time and energy spent in going about to influence men would be far less effective than her secret ballot on election day—and then, it would be less womanly.

The working women of San Francisco have had a hard uphill struggle. By constant vigilance do they hold their position. At any time there may come a slip, a landslide and down they will go to the bottom again. One can not say the world does not go backward. Masters were forbidden to work slaves more than 14 hours a day. Yet, only eight years ago, in San Francisco, white women toiled 16 and 17 hours. And public opinion and the government sat back silent. Organization was the women's only help. Their advance inch by inch through the union they now must secure through the law, not only for themselves, but for their weaker sisters. And they can not do it without the ballot.

For over 40 years I have not hesitated to declare my conviction that justice and fair dealing and the democratic principles of our government demand equal rights and privileges of citizenship, irrespective of sex. I have not been able to see any good reason for denying the ballot to women.—J. G. Whittier.

The natural right of a woman to vote is just as clear as that of a man and rests on the same ground. Since she is called on to obey the laws she ought to have a voice in making them. And the assumption that she is not fit to vote is no better reason for denying her that right than was the similar assumption which has been urged against every extension of the franchise to enfranchised men.—Henry George.

Woman has as much interest as man in controlling the government, in legislation and in voting taxes. That means that she has the right to political suffrage.—Max Nordau.

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

In my opinion suffrage for women is bound to come. There are many arguments against it, but no reasons.—William Dean Howells.

The Object of the Petition

By MARY SIMPSON SPERRY

President California Equal Suffrage Association

BY unanimous vote the National American Woman's Suffrage association agreed at its recent annual convention to make a national petition to congress asking the submission of a federal amendment, it being one of the chief lines of work for this year.

For the first 25 years of the organized suffrage work in the United States such petitions were presented annually to congress.

For the last 20 years no national petition of this nature has been attempted. In 1896 the women of England presented a woman's suffrage petition to parliament of 257,000 names. The same year the suffragists of New York presented a petition to the constitutional convention of 300,000 individual signatures. Last winter the women of Sweden, a country with a small population, supported their request for full suffrage by a petition of 100,000 names. The petition now undertaken, to be of value to the cause, must not only surpass all previous woman's suffrage petitions in point of numbers, but it must be the largest petition ever presented to congress upon any subject.

The petition reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned citizens of the United



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States over 21 years of age, hereby petition your honorable body to submit to the legislatures of the several states for ratification an amendment to the national constitution which shall enable women to vote."

Now the congress of the United States by a two-thirds majority can refer the question of woman's suffrage to the legislatures of all the states and when three-fourths of these have ratified it, the women of the entire country will be enabled to vote on exactly the same terms as men. This is the shortest and most direct method, but congress never will take such action until directed to do so by the people.

The object of this petition is to prove to its members that public sentiment now demands that women shall have a voice in the government. Let it be signed by every man and woman who believes in political liberty and equality of rights.

Now in this state we are trying to carry this petition into every one of the 58 counties for signatures. The names of men and women will be entered on the same petition and all signers are requested to enter their full names and postoffice addresses. The petitions will be classified by counties within this state. Let every one interested in the welfare of this state sign this petition and with a "strong pull, a long pull and a pull altogether," we will bring the results we desire.

I have been asked why I believe in woman's suffrage. One might as well ask why I believe in the sun or the stars or the ocean. I believe that women should vote because they are women, just as I believe that men should vote because they are men.—Brand Whitlock.

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

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

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

Republican Government as It Is —Is It a Failure?

By ELLEN CLARK SARGENT

Honorary President California Equal Suffrage Association

THE opinion of the writer of this paper is that women will do well henceforth if in their general meetings they make it a point to educate themselves as to the mysteries of government—what it really is and what it will mean to them when they become a part of the body politic as they are likely soon to be unless the signs of the times are misleading. We need to educate ourselves to make the best use of our new powers of citizenship.

We must step out into the open and make ourselves so well acquainted with government in all its bearings that we will be considered authority upon the points we shall have investigated and thus command the respect of the most intelligent people, men and women.

Our watchword should be duty—not what we individually want, but what will be for the general good. Victor Hugo has well expressed this sentiment in his admirable book, "Les Misérables." I quote: "It is a terrible thing to be happy! How content



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one is! How all sufficient one finds it! How, being in possession of the false object of life, one forgets the true object, duty!"

This will save us from the pettiness of selfishness and induct us into the true largeness of living. Not to think only of mostly of ourselves, and how matters affect us individually, but how they may affect the larger outside world—the majority. This would make us truly but "a little lower than the angels."

This has ever been the greatest need of the world, love for our neighbor—helpfulness toward those not so well situated as we ourselves may be. Then we shall not hear so often from those self-satisfied people who tell us they have all the rights they want.

Speaking with and for women of the present day with whom we hold new and dearer relations than ever before in these glad days of our emancipation from the restricted duties of the past, we look about for a new way in which to express our surplus energy and, thanks to the independent press of the country, it points out numerous duties and ways of employing the time that has heretofore been spent in arousing and interesting women in new lines of duty which are to replace the old and worn out systems of the past. "New occasions teach new duties." Now it behooves us to study the structure and nature of our government from its inception to the present. Politics—the part that women were supposed to know and to care nothing about.

They have learned that affairs of government touch their interests at every point, and if they do not look after them no one else will do it for them, and they will continue to suffer wrong as they have in the past. They do not like our one-sided government, all done by one-half of the people.

They have experienced and studied it enough to know that it is not good, that it lacks an element which women alone can supply. They know or believe that this nation will soon die of its own rottenness, unless that part of it which has had no voice in its councils comes to the rescue and that speedily.

Women are not altogether ignorant of the defects of this government.

Let us teach and tell what we know for the good of the community at large.

Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does picket duty by his cradle. Later on she is his quartermaster and gathers his rations. And when that boy grows to a man shall he say to his mother, "If you want to vote you must first go and kill somebody?" It is a coward's argument!—Lucy Stone.

I have never regarded the desire (now as widespread as civilization itself) that woman should take her share in the duties and labors of the national life as in any sense a movement of the sexes against each other, but rather as a great integrative movement of the sexes toward each other.—Olive Schreiner.

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

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.

The Seattle Convention

The National Woman Suffrage Convention of the United States is now in session (July 1 to July 7) at Seattle, Wash., with President Anna Howard Shaw presiding. The sessions are being held in the Plymouth Congregational church. The Lincoln hotel is the headquarters for the delegates, who come from everywhere. California is ably represented by delegates from every club in the State. Among them are Mrs. Mary Simpson Sperry, Mrs. Francesca Pierce and Mrs. Lloyd Baldwin, of San Francisco; Mrs. A. N. Chapman, executive delegate, Alameda; Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, Mrs. Sanborn, Berkeley; Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, Mill Valley; Dr. Charlotte Baker, San Diego; Miss Willis, Los Angeles; Mrs. Katherine T. Bingham, San Jose; Mrs. Alice L. Park, Palo Alto; Mrs. Julia Churchill, Yreka.

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.—George W. Cable.

"If Molly Donahue went to vote in a livery stable, th' first thing she'd do wud be to get a broom, sweep up th' floors, take th' harness from th' walls, an hang up a picture iv Niagara be moonlight; chase out th' watchers an' polis, remove th' seegars, make th' judges get a shave, an' p'raps invalidate th' illection. It's no job fr' her, an' I tou her so."—Mr. Dooley (F. P. Dunne).

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

If we are ever going to have a state of society whose progress shall be up and not down I believe it must be through woman suffrage. Apart from the justice of the right conceded, the practical part must appeal to most men of unbiased minds.—Hon. Thomas W. Palmer.

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

The Declaration—What Is It?

By MARY McHENRY KEITH

Second Vice President California Equal Suffrage Association

ONE hundred and thirty-three years ago the declaration of independence was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled. Year after year, on each succeeding anniversary, the people of this country listen to its reading and hear that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—to secure which governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter



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or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

And because the enlightened men and women of this country, its truest patriots and best citizens, urge that women should be included as sharers in the rights and privileges of government, as they are in all of its burdens and penalties, and because they seek by all peaceful means to alter and to abolish these unjust features of that government, they are, as a matter of course, reviled, ridiculed and misrepresented by all the unthinking, the shallow pated and every class of undesirable citizen, including the corrupt politician, the grafter of every description, and those who live by pandering to the vices and corruption of the masses.

Well has Elbert Hubbard said in a recent issue of his journal of affirmation, the Fra: "When man tells you that the majority of women do not want to vote, and therefore equal suffrage should not be granted, set him down as a polliwog, that has been instructed by a monkey."

So long as the law of the land makes women political aliens in their own country, so long should they consider it their holiest duty indignantly to protest and loudly to "clamor for their rights." "Let freedom shriek" be heard in the land and let those who are battling for a voice in their own government consider themselves as the only true daughters of the American revolution, a revolution which has yet to be fought and won, amid the opposition of the ignorant and the lukewarmness of the selfish.

And because "woman's cause is man's," we urge every stump speaker in California today, every orator from every literary platform, to declare himself on this great question, which in reality is, "shall we establish a republic in fact, as well as in name," and "shall we bring into our voting constituency, a great moral element for the lack of which this country has already entered upon the path of retrogression?"

Does the American man's blood boil when he reflects that his mother, his wife and his sister are classed politically with the criminal, the pauper, the idiot and the infant? Then let him take his stand for right and justice. Let him show himself a true lover of his country and refrain from such platitudes as "equal rights to all, and special privileges to none!"

It is, on the other hand, so blindly conservative, so cowardly, so afraid to uphold the truth because it is not yet popular, because as yet there are not enough rich women like Mrs. Mackay, nor prominent men, to make it safe and respectable? If he is such a weak brother, he will not, on the other hand, have the courage to attack the proposition that women are living under a tyrannical form of government, nor will he try to prove that only men are entitled to be exempt from taxation without representation.

One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other age after age, has been this: that in almost every case they have ignored the rights and powers of half the human race—viz, women. I believe that politics will not go right, that society 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.

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

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

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

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

Individual conscience and judgment are the foundation stones of a republican government and a true civilization. Whatever lessens woman's self-respect or the respect of others for her is demoralizing to the entire race. The ballot is a citizen's tongue and hands. Without a ballot, and the dignity and power that scepter gives, the moral influence of the city mothers is essentially crippled in combating the evils of society. If educated, intelligent and virtuous women had the right of suffrage our best men would always find in them a reserve moral power to establish a safe and stable government.—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

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

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

I advocate woman suffrage because I believe it to be profoundly reasonable. Women as a whole are as well qualified for the suffrage as men; they have as much at stake, and it can not be seriously claimed that the extension of suffrage would put a burden upon women which would overtax their mental or physical strength. It will hardly be called unwomanly. Under the Australian ballot it has become a delightful feminine function.—Prof. George G. Gardner of the Boston University Law School.

I can state from experience and observation that (municipal) woman suffrage is satisfactory in its results in every respect.—Former Chief Justice Albert H. Horton of Kansas.

Why I Wish to Vote

By MRS. NELLY L. SCOVILLE

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WHY do I wish to vote? A personal question, but I will answer it.

In 1776 my grandsires shouldered their flintlocks and went out and fought the British to a finish in an endeavor to establish a democracy. My grandmothers stayed at home, knit yarn stockings, molded bullets, held the plow in the fields, while the little brother, too young to go to war, truded along barefooted and drove the oxen.

Eighty-five years later, a young boy of 18, who later became my own husband, went out and for four years fought in a heart breaking war, to perpetuate that same democracy, which we have not yet achieved, have never had, and never will have until men and women alike stand free and equal before the law.

I wish to vote because every great force for good in our country is disenfranchised, while every



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power for evil is enfranchised and fully organized. Not one will deny that our public school is the greatest force for good in our country, but its voting power is practically nothing, as the women teachers outnumber the men 10 to 1.

Next in value, the church, with all its allied societies of Sunday school, social science service, Christian Endeavor and philanthropy. If all the women connected with these diverse organizations stepped out and folded their hands, the whole fabric would go to pieces like a house of cards. The kindergarten association, the Women's Christian Temperance union and many others too numerous to mention, are all carried on by women who can not vote.

Against these we must place the racetrack, the saloon, the prize fight and all forms of organized vice—all voters.

I wish to vote because of the insistent cry of the children and their tired, overworked and half fed mothers, and because our men do not seem able to cope with this situation.

I wish to vote because I desire to be a part of the great moving force around us.