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Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912

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62D CONGRESS }
2d Session }

SENATE

{ DOCUMENT
{ No. 601

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

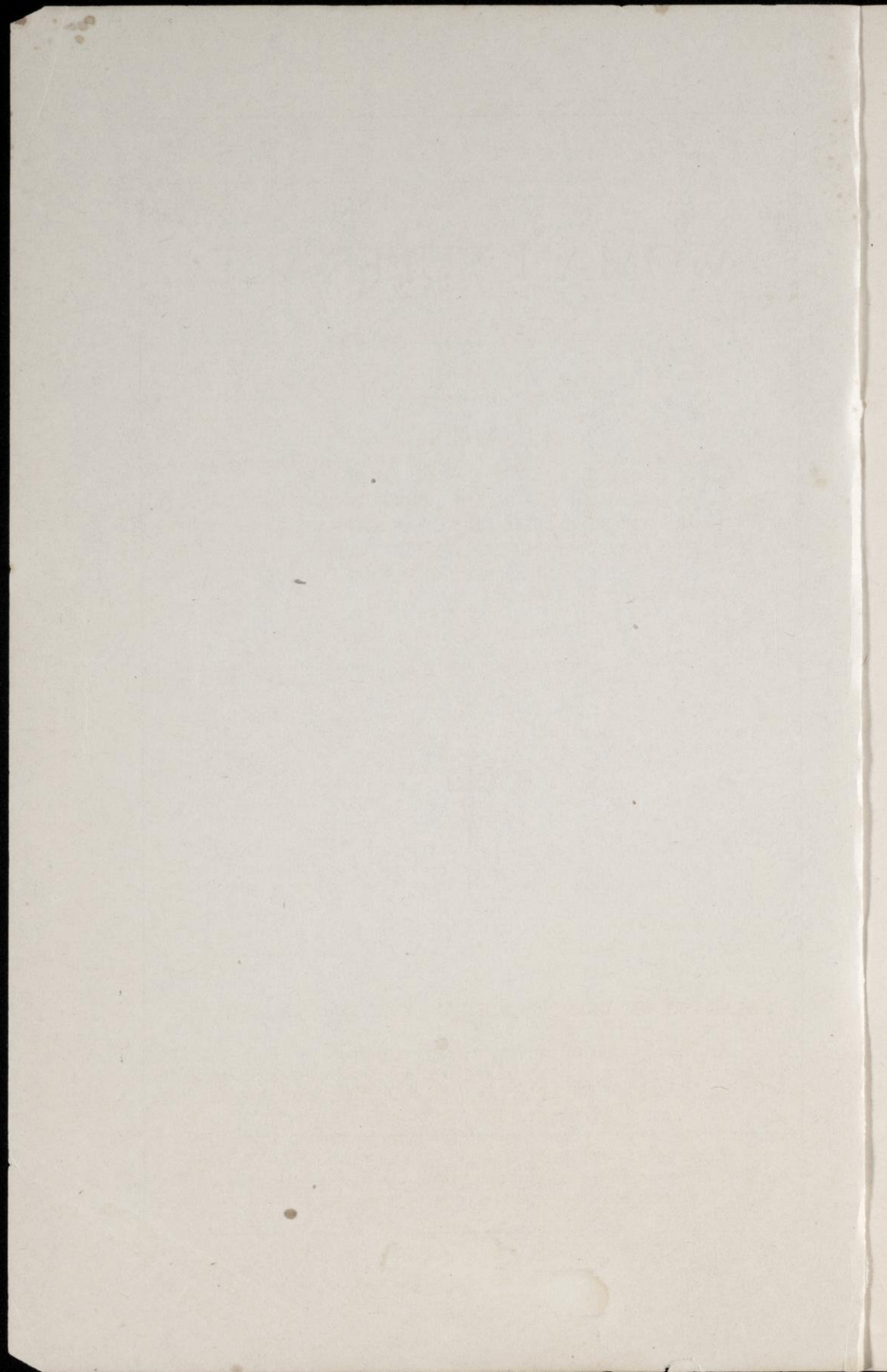
HEARINGS

BEFORE A JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY AND
THE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE
UNITED STATES SENATE, SIXTY-SECOND
CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION



PRESENTED BY MR. SMOOT
APRIL 23, 1912.—Ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1912



WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1912.

JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
AND THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Overman (chairman), Brandegee, Bourne, Wetmore, Johnston, and Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a meeting of the Joint Committee of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Woman Suffrage of the Senate, to give hearings on a resolution introduced by Senator Works, of California, which will now be published in the record.

Said resolution is as follows:

[S. J. Res. 81, Sixty-second Congress, second session.]

JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall become and be a part of the Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE —.

“SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

“SEC. 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.”

The CHAIRMAN. Now the committee is ready to hear any person who desires to be heard upon the subject of the amendment now pending before the committee.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN D. WORKS, OF CALIFORNIA.

Senator WORKS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, some one, I do not know who, asked for this public hearing upon the resolution offered by me proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting suffrage to women. I have not been asked to take any part in the hearing except to introduce Dr. Anna Shaw, who will take charge of and direct the hearing on behalf of those in favor of the resolution. Dr. Shaw needs no introduction to the committee. She is one of the best-known and most

distinguished women connected with this movement in favor of the enfranchisement of women. I take pleasure now in introducing to you Dr. Anna Shaw, who will take charge of the presentation of the views of those who are in favor of the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear from Dr. Shaw. The Chairman desires to state that the Senate meets to-day at 12 o'clock, noon, and the hearing must therefore close at that time.

STATEMENT OF DR. ANNA SHAW, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this is the forty-third year that the women suffragists have been represented by delegations appointed by the national body to speak in behalf of bills which have been introduced to eliminate from the Constitution of the United States the word "male," or to eliminate all disqualifications for suffrage on account of sex. And at each session of Congress we have appeared before committees to urge our views.

The desire of the Suffrage Association is not so much to put on record the opinions of this committee in regard to woman suffrage as it is to plead with the committee to give us a favorable report, so that the question can come before the Congress of the United States and be discussed on its merits, and then that it may be submitted to the various States for ratification.

Now, this is not so much a plea for woman's suffrage as it is a plea for man's suffrage, that the men of this country may have the opportunity of expressing their will in regard to whether they desire women to be represented in the Government directly or not. I say directly because it is assumed that we indirectly represent it—that we are represented by men, and yet the great statesmen of our country have ferreted out the real meaning of representation, but they have declared that such a thing as virtual representation does not exist; that virtual representation can not exist, especially in the case of women, for a person can not be represented by another without having given that other authority to represent them, and these women have never been in the position, except in the States where they directly help themselves, to authorize others to represent them; they can not be said to, in any event, either directly or indirectly, be represented in the Government.

Now, we are asking that one-half of the people of the United States shall have a voice in the shaping of the conditions under which they live, and in doing this we are asking no more than the Constitution of the United States guaranteed us, because one of the specific statements of the Constitution is the right—that it guarantees to every State a republican form of government. That is the guaranty of the Federal Constitution; that it guarantees to every State a republican form of government.

A republican form of government is a government in which the laws are enacted by representatives elected by the people, and that government can not be a republic in which the people—one-half of the people—are deprived of the power to select representatives; and we claim that the National Constitution has violated its own principle in refusing to protect women in their right to select their representatives, and so we are asking for no more than that the Constitution shall be carried out by the United States Government.

I am not going to make a speech myself this morning; I am merely here as the president of the National Suffrage Association. I stand here this morning in the place of a woman who gave 60 years of her life in advocacy of that great principle for which so many of our ancestors died, the right of a citizen to have a voice in making laws and directing persons to represent them in their Government.

I have stood here in these hearings before committees of Congress, and have year after year stood by the side of Mrs. Susan B. Anthony, who was our great leader for so long and whose whole life was devoted to the cause. And yet her life was laid down in vain. There is not a woman here to-day who was here at the first hearing upon our cause, when we first asked of Congress that this question be submitted to the people of this country; nor a woman alive to-day who was among those who struggled in the beginning for this fundamental right of every citizen, the right protective of all rights, the right without which no citizen is secure in a Government styling itself a Republic; and in behalf of this measure which has been introduced by Senator Works, I ask that we have this morning not only the careful consideration of the committee, but that the committee shall give us a report; that the committee shall report our measure before the Senate so that we may have it discussed. Once before it was done, and there were 16 Senators who, after discussion, voted in favor of the resolution, and these men were forever known among our women as the "Sweet Sixteen." We hope this year there may be more than 16, and that we can extend that beautiful word to more men in the Senate than 16.

I am the president and presiding officer, as far as our delegation is concerned. I take pleasure now in introducing Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald, of Massachusetts. It has been said that women can not fight. Mrs. Fitzgerald's father was an admiral of the Navy, and probably if she could not fight her father could fight for her. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be glad to hear Mrs. Fitzgerald.

STATEMENT OF MRS. SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD, OF BOSTON, MASS.

Mrs. FITZGERALD. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I came here to-day to speak a few words for that fairest and dearest interest of women, the home. The arguments that are brought out against giving women the right to vote are very often led off by the statement "As the care of the home and the family is the great duty of women, they should not be given a vote because it would interfere with their carrying on of this business which is primarily theirs," and it is because I feel that not only would voting not interfere with women doing their business, carrying on that business, any more than voting interferes with men carrying on their business, their important business, but because I feel that women can not properly do the very business of caring for their homes and their families in these modern days and under our present conditions without the vote that I am here to urge with all the force that I can, all the force that we are permitted to use [laughter], the cause of equal suffrage.

Perhaps in the earlier days of our country women were in a position to care for their homes and their families without touching directly political affairs, but anyone who gives the matter careful thought must realize that that is no longer possible, if only for the simple reason that politics are interfering with the home at every turn to-day. Government has become such a different thing. The police and the military functions of government have been largely set to one side at least, and very much of the function of government to-day has become the care of the people of the country.

The Government is dictating to us in our very homes to-day so much of what we shall do for our homes and our children that we can no longer separate the private care of the home from the public care of the home. For instance, it is the Government that establishes the conditions of education for our children to-day; that says to-day at what age we may send our children to the schools, at what age we *must* send them to school, up to what age we must keep them in school, what hours their schooling shall cover, and what courses of study shall be included in their education. It is the Government to-day that prescribes what sanitary conditions we shall maintain in our homes; what care we shall take in our homes concerning the contagious diseases that our own children may have.

It is the Government that touches upon every phase of our home life; that instructs the women in charge of the homes and the women that are responsible for the children at every turn as to how they shall do their work, and therefore it seems to me that it has become logically quite necessary that if women are to be anything but puppets carrying out the orders of the Government, if they are to have any real vital responsibility for the home and are in any way to direct and mold the conditions of the home, they must have the power to influence the legislation and the Government action which touches upon the home in its every phase.

I suppose the primary responsibilities of the home would be said to be the preparing of the food, the supplying of food and clothing, and the physical care of the children. Now, in our early days a home did not have to concern itself with the outside world to any great extent. In our colonial days the home was a unit independent of society to a very large extent. The man and woman at the head of a family could, if they so wished, by their own efforts and that of their helpers, do all that was necessary to sustain the home. All the food supply could be raised; the wool and the flax could be raised; and the woman did spin and weave the cloth and make the garments, and she made the household linens and the blankets and the carpets, and she made the candles, and the man cut the wood, and they had their own independent water supply. Practically everything essential to the care of that family was under their own control. And in these times all those conditions are changed. To-day we look to others for all those things. Each of us does our little bit of specialized work, and we turn to others with the proceeds of our work and exchange it for the many things we need for the care of our homes.

The water supply is dependent upon public action, and the woman in charge of the home can no longer assure the purity of that water supply and the safety of the water as a drink for her family by her own care of the well and the bucket and the various utensils

used. Whenever the water is impure to-day the only way that the difficulty may be remedied and the danger held off from our home is through the action of public officials, and she has no power to control the action of those officials.

The food supply in the old days, if she was careful, if she got her husband to take proper care of the farm and she gave proper care to the food, she knew was proper and clean for her children. To-day, she buys food at the store, and we know only too well that she has very little assurance that it is either clean or pure or fresh. So to-day she can not guarantee to her children proper food, safe food for them to eat, unless she, with other responsible mothers of the community, lend the direct weight of their influence upon public affairs to help secure such legislation as to make the food supply proper and to secure such officials as will enforce the legislation when it has been passed. And what is true of the food supply and the water supply is true of every other part of her home duty.

The woman is held in the public mind still to be responsible for the wholesomeness of the home, for the health of her children, for their bringing up, for their citizenship, for the standards that are given them; and yet to-day the dangers that threaten her children are dangers that come not inside the home, but outside the home; dangers that are the result of our general social and economic conditions—dangers that the woman to-day except in our six free States, have no power to influence; and it seems to me grossly unfair that the women should not only have the toil and the responsibility in their own minds for their children, but that they shall be held by the Republic as responsible for what comes to their families and what their children come to, and, at the same time, that they should not be given the means to directly work to change and modify the conditions which determine the welfare of those dependent upon them. They are working to-day with their hands tied. They are set to-day to do a task without any tools to do it with, and the task is the most important one that can be done and it is not merely of selfish interest to the women that it shall be done. It is of actual national importance that it shall be done and shall be done well, for the future of our country must rest upon the quality of our citizenship and the quality of our citizenship must rest upon the possibility that lies in us as a people to improve the conditions that surround our children and to give to them a fair start in life—a fair start physically and mentally and morally, and it is because the woman is expected to do this that she must in fairness to herself, and in fairness to the State, be given the tool with which it can be done; and it is because we consider that the vote is the tool with which public work is carried on, with which the welfare of the public is worked, that we ask for the vote in order better to do our work as women. Thank you. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I now introduce Mrs. James Laidlaw, of New York City. Mrs. Laidlaw has been very active for a number of years in the woman's suffrage work, and she, by her contact with the people and her social duties of life previously, realizes the necessity of woman's suffrage in order that these lines of work in which she has been engaged can be more effectively carried out.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be glad to hear from Mrs. Laidlaw.

STATEMENT OF MRS. HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mrs. LAIDLAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I have been asked to speak upon the effect of woman's suffrage upon the women themselves.

Now, that is not a particularly tasteful subject to me, simply because I think that we suffragists have outgrown the oriental attitude of segregating women. We do not like woman's suffrage; we believe in equal suffrage. We do not like women's schools, or "woman's pages," or "woman's sphere," or women this and women that. We want to be considered to-day in this occidental country as human beings. Now, it is not that we do not like to be women. We are proud and glad to be women, and we are glad to render the service of motherhood and wifehood and citizenship that a woman is expected to render. It is true that no man lives unto himself or dies unto himself, and eminently true is it that no woman lives unto herself or dies unto herself. Don't you know, men, that throughout the ages that we have borne the human race and run the human home, and in early days, when women *were* men's mates, when women were women and not just ladies, didn't we tread side by side with you on this globe and do all the hard, crude, heavy, productive work that was done for civilization, while the men hunted and fought? Now, that is all there is to it—this human aspect. It is not a question of woman suffrage merely. It is not a question with us of what good it is going to do us personally, though you men ought to care about that. It is a question of what good it is going to do the human race. Our interests are human.

Just in proportion as sex is emphasized in any community, or in any race or in any species, in that proportion you have an index to degeneracy. Now, sex is the very fundamental, exquisite, underlying basis of our organic life, but it can take care of itself. We do not want eternally to be spoken to as women. Moreover, why do you want to think eternally of us just as women, you men? It is very well to talk about, when pain and anguish wrings the brow, "a ministering angel thou." But how about the picture, "in our hours of ease, uncertain, coy, and hard to please"? I should think that in those hours of ease the masculine brow would be wrung with pain and anguish at the type of thing that he has to live with. [Laughter.]

Now, the effect upon woman herself is, we maintain, simply to humanize her. As I say, women have been men's mates throughout the ages in hard, stern pioneer work. Let us be your mates to-day, intellectually and governmentally. Let us stand side by side with you, and do not dare to tell us that we can not do it, that we are not capable of doing it, or we might be tempted to resort to some of that force that Mrs. Fitzgerald has referred to.

Now, of course you understand that we to-day, on any occasion of this kind, are very much on our good behavior. When we are before the committees of the United States Senate, we can not say to you all that we would like to, gentlemen, but the fact is that we are getting tired of waiting. Miss Shaw has told you in words of pathos how we have taken the place of those who have gone before us. We mothers of the rising generation are determined that our daughters

who are coming up shall not take our places in this kind of work. [Applause.] That is one of many reasons why we are suffragists; that is why we are going to be exceedingly insistent suffragists. I won't say militant suffragists, for I think the term is a misnomer in this country, and I hope we never will have to be militant suffragists; but we are persistent and insistent suffragists, and we do say to you that we are tired of bringing this plea to you year after year and having you sit and listen as if it were an abstract question a thousand miles away from you.

There has been a recent article in one of our magazines, called "The Business of Being a Woman." I defy you, in the respectable literature of the last 200 years, to find a more degenerate and shameful phrase than "the business of being a woman." There are just two cases, salient cases, of the business of being a woman, and that is the oriental harem, where a woman is imprisoned for one purpose, cut off from the life of her country; and the tolerated house of prostitution in our great cities and throughout our great country, where the white slave is imprisoned for one purpose and cut off, not only from the life but from all the justice and the hope of her country. Now, I submit to you that that is the business of being a woman, and I will submit to you also, as a phenomenon of our modern life, that it is a hard choice to give millions of our women—the choice between being a woman in that sense and being industrial slaves.

But, as an example of how women choose when confronted with that alternative, I point out to you the 30,000 striking shirt-waist girls that came under the observation of us New York people. They were subjects for careful study; and I present to you the fact that, hounded as they were by procurers and cadets, hounded by every lure of immediate comfort or luxury, they starved and froze for their principles sooner than adopt the "business of being a woman." [Applause.] To you I can not say half that I would like to say, but I will simply point out this: You men are fixing an artificial limit to the life and development of American women. In China they are doing the same; they are saying, "Oh, no; do not unbind the feet of the women; they will stray from the home"; in Turkey they are saying, "Do not take off the veils of the women, for they will cease to be women"; in Egypt they are saying to the women, "No; you must not worship in the mosque; women are not allowed." In this country women can not vote; in other countries they may not pray because they have not souls. You made your first mistake in allowing that we have souls, and in allowing women to be educated, and in admitting that they have brains. And now are you going to put yourselves on record with the reactionaries of all countries and prescribe that limit at which we must stop? We do not wish to stop ever. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. In China they are unbinding the feet of women; they are taking off their badge of slavery—and that is what we want in this country. We want our badge taken off. And in China they are going to introduce into the new constitution, Mr. Chairman, so we understand, this bit of justice for women. There are remonstrants here; there are antisuffragettes here. There are antirepublicans in China. There are always enemies of the men who want to change conditions for the better, and there will always be Tories.

I now introduce Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips, of Wisconsin, who will speak to us from the standpoint of the laboring women of that State. The CHAIRMAN. We shall be glad to hear Mrs. Phillips.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ELSIE COLE PHILLIPS, OF WISCONSIN.

Mrs. PHILLIPS. There is sometimes danger in any great question of this kind, which presents a thousand phases, that we are going to lose sight of the underlying principles involved, and I think it best, even though it seems simple, to go back to first principles and consider the real basis of the ballot.

Now, the right to vote is based, first and foremost and primarily, on the democratic theory of government, the theory of government to which this country was committed in the great phrase that "The just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed." What does that mean? Does it not mean that there is no class so wise, so benevolent that it is fitted to govern for any other class, no matter how wise or benevolent that ruling class may be? Does it not mean that, in order to have a democratic government, we must be sure that every adult in the community has an opportunity to express his opinion as to how he wishes to be governed, and to have that opinion counted? A vote is, in the last analysis, an expression of a need—either a personal need known to you as an individual, as it can be known to no one else, or an expression of a need of those in whom you are interested—sister-women or children, for instance. The moment that one gets that concept of the ballot, the moment one grants that it rests on that democratic theory—upon which is based the whole claim for any adult suffrage, men or women—that moment a large part, practically all, of the antisuffrage argument is done away with. For instance, take the theory that women are "represented" by men. The theory of republican government rests, does it not, on the theory of delegated authority? Now, it is perfectly obvious to any reasonable being that one can not delegate what he never had. Until women have the vote, they can not delegate the vote. Again, even if that were not a logical and practical impossibility, there remains the other fact that man can not know the needs of woman as women know them; and if, as is true democratically, a ballot is an expression of a need and opinion as to how that need shall be met, surely the men, having a different life experience from the women, can not adequately express woman's need or know how it should be met.

I will give an instance, right from the progressive State of Wisconsin, of which we are all justly proud. The men there are noted throughout the country for having put through the legislature the most progressive social legislation that this country has yet seen. No one doubts for a moment that the men in that progressive State desire to see justice for women just as much as for men. But there are certain frightful gaps in that legislation that show that it is impossible for men, with the best intentions in the world, to understand and legislate for the needs of women. To take an instance, there is no reformatory for women in the State of Wisconsin. If a woman commits a crime or a misdemeanor in the State of Wisconsin, it is either jail or prison; there is no halfway substitute. More fundamental, and very much more important than that, is the fact that

in this progressive State, where undoubtedly the men wish to protect the women, there still remains the fact that women have not equal guardianship of their children. In the State that is regarded as the foremost in progressive legislation women have no right in their children; not only have they no right in the husband's lifetime, but he may, in his will, will those children to anyone whom he selects, even if the child is born after his death.

Now we can have, it seems to me, no better proof of the fact that it is impossible for the women to have their needs and views expressed by the men than such facts as these concerning a truly progressive body of men, such as the Wisconsin legislators are.

Again, there is the fact that the ballot is fundamentally a means of protecting the weak. From one point of view we might say that that little slip of paper represents all that the human race has achieved in the democratic struggle, in the struggle of the democratic mass to secure for itself some control over its own living, in the struggle of the dispossessed of this earth to wrest from the possessors thereof the means of controlling their own standards of life and of work.

Now, if this is true, as it seems to be, for the pages of history show how in the workshop of time, on the anvil of life, shaped and reshaped by the hammer and blow of social experience, there has been forged at last this so potent weapon, ask yourself for what it has been forged? Is it to strengthen the hands of the strong? Oh, no; it is to put into the hands of the weak a weapon of self-protection. And who are the weak? Those, of course, who are economically handicapped, first and foremost the working classes in their struggle for better conditions of life and labor. And who among the workers are the weak? Wherever the men have suffered, the women have suffered more. That point will be brought out to you again and again in the plea of the wage-earning women.

But I would also like to point out to you how this affects the home-keeping woman, the wife and mother, of the working class, aside from the wage-earning women who have been pushed by economic necessity into the struggle of life. Consider the woman who is at home and must make both ends meet on a small income. Who better than she knows whether or not the cost of living advances more rapidly than the wage does? Is not that merely a true statement, in the most practical form, of the problem of the tariff? And who better than she knows what the needs of the workers are in the factories? Take the tenement-house woman, the wife and mother who is struggling to bring up a family under conditions which constantly make for evil. Who, better than the mother who has tried to bring up six or seven children in one room in a dark tenement house, knows the needs of a proper building? Who, better than the mother who sees her boy and her girl playing in the streets and in the gutter, knows the needs of playgrounds? Who, better than a mother, knows what it means to a child's life—which you men demand that she as a wife and a mother shall care especially for—who, better than she, knows the cruel pressure that comes to that child from too early labor in what the United States census report calls "gainful occupations"?

"But," you may say, "these women are ignorant; how can we afford to allow that ignorant vote to come into the national councils?" Well, you know, after all, ignorance is a relative term, is it

not? Certainly this body is too intelligent to think that education in the schools and colleges makes necessarily for intelligence in living. Certainly you recognize that there is a practical wisdom that comes out of the pressure of life, and an educational force in life itself which very often is more efficient than that which comes through textbooks or college.

As an example, there is a story which I think is very much in point here: Mrs. Nathan, president of the Consumers' League, of New York, an ardent suffragist, was shopping one day and, while waiting for her change, fell into conversation with the clerk who was waiting upon her. She asked the girl whether she was in favor of woman suffrage. "Well," said the girl indifferently, "I do not know; I have not thought much about it." Mrs. Nathan said, "That surprises me in a girl such as you are, a wage earner. You ought to know what your needs are, and that the only way to secure them is through the ballot." "That is all right," said the girl, "I know what my needs are, and all the working girls know what they need. They know what life is; but it just *appalls* me to think of letting in that ignorant Fifth Avenue vote." [Applause and laughter.]

Yes; it is funny, but, after all, the very funniest part of that story is that it is true; that the only thoroughly ignorant vote that is going to come in when women are enfranchised is the leisure-class woman, who has no responsibilities and knows nothing of what life means to the rest of the world, who has absolutely no civic or social intelligence. [Applause.] But, fortunately for us, she is a very small percentage of the women of this land, and, fortunately for the land, there is no such rapid means of education for her as to give her the ballot and let her for the first time feel responsibilities.

To sum up then, from this democratic point of view—to refuse women the vote, to longer keep them from this fundamental right, is not only a sin against abstract justice, against the principles of government to which this country is absolutely committed, but it is a perpetuation of two very real, immediate, serious, practical injuries, one to women themselves in the fact that they are thus deprived of an opportunity to show what their needs are, to show what the needs of their sister women and children are; and, in the second place, it deprives the State of the advantage in its councils of this accumulated experience and wisdom, which surely no one can deny does rest among the women of the Nation. No man would attempt in his own house to set aside absolutely, to ignore, the opinion of his wife as regards the running of the family, as regards the rearing of the children. Now, the time has come when the home and the state are one. We can not separate them. They are one and the same thing. Every act, every duty of the mother in the home is affected by something the state does or does not do, and the only way in which we are ever going to have our national housekeeping done as it should be done, our national child-rearing done as it should be done, is by bringing into the councils of the State this wisdom of women. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. I have pleasure now in introducing Mr. James Laidlaw, of New York, who comes here to represent the man's suffrage association of this country. All over our country men are beginning to realize that, since women were one of the prime factors in helping to secure suffrage for man, it is now the duty of men who believe in

women suffrage to organize and help us; and Mr. Laidlaw is a representative of this movement.

The CHAIRMAN. We should be glad to hear from Mr. Laidlaw.

STATEMENT OF MR. JAMES L. LAIDLAW, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. LAIDLAW. Mr. Chairman, as Dr. Shaw says, the men in this country, who are now beginning to realize that the question of woman suffrage is a vital one, have formed an organization which has spread all over the country. We have organizations in nearly all the leading cities, and they are now uniting in one great national association, which we expect will have hundreds of thousands of members.

About 100 years ago, when the question of the expediency of manhood suffrage was under consideration, women had few rights under the law; they had few property rights, not even the right to the body of their own children, and boys only were admitted to education in the public schools. At that time perhaps it was not such an obvious injustice to exclude the women from the right of franchise as it is now. Since that time the laws concerning women have been somewhat liberalized in certain of the States after a hard fight made step by step by the leaders of the women's rights movement; so that now, in the State of New York, for instance, women, either married or single, may hold property and their investments in securities and real estate, are a considerable proportion of the total.

Most important of all is the change of women's position in industrial, commercial, and educational fields. We are all familiar with the exodus of millions of women from the home to the industries which have taken them out into the world—into the mill and into the factory. To-day they may enter into business either as principal or as employee. The public schools and many of the institutions of learning are open to them. I was astonished to hear reported at a recent meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, that in the commercial high schools of New York City, where a business education is given, 85 per cent of the pupils are girls. We have to-day a great body of intelligent citizens with many interests in the Government besides their primary interests as mothers and home keepers.

If men are not going to take the next logical step, they have made a great mistake in going thus far. Why give women property rights if we give them no rights in making the laws governing the control and disposition of their property and no vote as to who shall have the spending of the tax money? Why give women the right to go into business or trades, either as employees or employers, without the right to control the conditions surrounding their business or trades? Why train women to be better mothers and better housekeepers and refuse them the right to say what laws shall be passed to protect their children and homes? Why teach women to be teachers, lawyers, doctors, and scientists, and say to them, "Now you have assumed new responsibilities, go out into the world and compete with men," and then handicap them by depriving them of the right of political expression? Women now have the opportunity for equal mental development with men. Is it right, or is it politically expedi-

ent, that we should not avail ourselves of their special knowledge concerning those matters which vitally affect the human race?

Last Saturday the President is quoted as saying:

We find that government by the people is, therefore, under our present system of government, a government by the majority of one-fourth of those whose rights and happiness are to be affected by the course and conduct of the government. This is the nearest to a government by the whole people that we have ever had.

Now, note this:

Woman suffrage will change this, and it is doubtless coming.

We then respectfully urge you to hasten this day of justice which, as the President says, "is doubtless coming," by favorably reporting a woman's suffrage amendment to the Constitution. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. Our next speaker, Mr. Chairman, is Mrs. Ella S. Stewart, of Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Stewart for many years has been a member of our national board, president of the Woman's Suffrage Association of Illinois, and has had extensive experience in realizing and knowing something about the attitude of the large mass of women of her State.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be glad to hear from you, Mrs. Stewart.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ELLA S. STEWART, OF CHICAGO, ILL.

Mrs. STEWART. Mr. Chairman, we are living in a very practical age. It is true that we do have poets and philosophers and dreamers, and I think that their service to mankind is appreciated as never before; yet one does not have to be a very close observer to realize that our age is intensely utilitarian. The scientist and inventor to-day are urged to almost superhuman efforts to invent machines rapidly enough to supply the needs of rapid transit, to do the work of many men at decreased cost of operation. We are seeking to eliminate all waste, to apply power directly.

We will find that this ideal is not alone to be found in the factory, but also on the farm. The farmer each year is demanding machines that will do the work of the farm at less expense, with less human labor than before. And even the farmer's wife in her kitchen has imbibed this spirit of the time, and she wants machines for her household work that will do her work this year in less time than last year, giving her a larger leisure, or at least the possibility of crowding more work into her day than she did last year.

Now, I think that the modern demand for the ballot has veered around a great deal from the old academic plea—from the deductive plea for the enfranchisement of women—rather to the inductive plea, from the experience which women have had. The ballot to-day we recognize as a tool, as an invention, the best machine that has been invented, or at least the one which has been adopted by government just to do a certain thing, and that is to record the consensus of public opinion, and public opinion on the very practical and commonplace matters; for instance, the kind of streets we should have and are willing to pay for, whether they shall be paved; whether they shall present menaces to childhood, for the children who must walk upon those streets to take their part in the social order, to go to school, to do

the errands upon which they are sent; whether or not the markets are inspected; whether or not pure-food laws are being enforced—all of these practical questions to-day are questions which are settled by the ballot.

There has been a great deal of loose thinking about just what the ballot is, and I find that that is one great reason for the opposition of some women and a great many of the men. There has been an idea held out before women during the past that the ballot—this instrument which, in the hands of man, has always elevated every class of men to whom it has been extended, has made them more responsible, has made them more intelligent—that this instrument which has ennobled man, if placed in the hands of a woman would be something like a dangerous firecracker, which would go off and maim her for life or injure her in some way. We have had that bogey held up to us from time immemorial. But women are trained to-day. We are also a part of this practical age, and we have been going to school with our brothers for 50 or 75 years, and have been trained according to laboratory and scientific methods, and to-day we are not inclined to be frightened by a bogey unless it really seems to have an element of danger in it. We are sometimes reminded when we think of the solicitude of our brothers in trying to protect us from this dangerous mechanism, of the little girl who was eating an apple one day, and enjoying it. Her older brother rushed up to her with a face of consternation, and he assured her that the apple was green and that the cholera was coming, and that if she ate that apple she would get the cholera and die; and the little girl threw down the apple, which her brother immediately picked up and began to eat. She looked at him for a moment in astonishment, and then she asked, "Oh, won't the cholera get you, too?" "No," he answered, with great assurance, "it is only after little girls." [Laughter.]

So, to-day, we know that the ballot is just a machine. In fact, it impresses us as being something like the long-distance telephone which we, in this scientific age, have grown accustomed to use. We go into the long-distance telephone, the polling booth, and we call up central (the Government), and when we get the connection we deliver our message with accuracy and with speed, and then we go about our business.

Now, women have been encouraged during the past to have opinions about governmental matters, and there is no denying to-day that we do have opinions. If we could submit to you to-day the list of the bills which the Federations of Women's Clubs of the various States have indorsed and for which they are working, if we could submit the measures upon which they go before city councils to plead, you would know that women have a great civic conscience and that they have an intelligent appreciation of the measures which affect both men and women and the homes. They have been encouraged to have these opinions; but during the past we have been encouraged to speak of these opinions and to try to influence legislation only in indirect ways. But to-day, being practical and scientific, we are asking ourselves all the time why should we be limited to expressing our opinion on governmental affairs in our women's clubs? Why should we breathe them only in the prayer meeting or in the parlors of our friends? Why may we not breathe our opinions directly into

the governmental ear—the ballot box? Why do we not go into this long-distance telephone booth and get connection with central, and then we know that our message has been delivered in the only place where it is recorded, for government makes no record whatever of the opinions which we express in our women's clubs and in our prayer meetings.

So we are asking for the ballot because it is simply a twentieth century tool with which to accomplish twentieth century tasks. There are some women, I admit, as well as some men, who, thinking carelessly on this question, feel that, since women have been able to accomplish something along humanitarian lines by indirect influence, that that indirect influence is better than this direct and scientific way of expressing public opinion. We find women who are just as conscientious and who have just as great public spirit, I admit, as suffragists, who would like to protect the child from the evils and dangers of mines and factories; who would like to raise the age of protection for girls; who would like to have all these great interests in which we are engaged protected by laws written upon the statute books of our land; and yet they feel that this old and cumbersome indirect influence is sufficient. They prefer to travel in an oxcart in this day of high-power automobiles and flying machines; and I suppose if one chooses to travel by those old and outgrown methods, one should not deny them the right to do so; but the injustice is in their insisting that we, who desire rapid transit, should use those outgrown methods. [Applause.]

So it is submitted as a most practical question, and we ask your very earnest consideration of it.

Last year a woman-suffrage resolution was introduced into the Parliament of Persia, to enfranchise Persian women, and the President threw it out, on the ground that the Koran says that women have no souls; and I wish to submit to this committee to-day that that is absolutely the only logical reason for disfranchising women. [Laughter and applause.]

Dr. SHAW. Our next, Mr. Chairman, is a young woman from Chicago, who understands more than any of us who are to speak to you this morning the conditions of the wage-earning women of this country. Miss Caroline Lowe, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF MISS CAROLINE A. LOWE, OF KANSAS CITY, MO.

MISS LOWE. Gentlemen of the committee, it is as a wage earner and on behalf of the 7,000,000 wage-earning women in the United States that I wish to speak.

I entered the ranks of the wage earners when 18 years of age. Since then I have earned every cent of the cost of my own maintenance, and for several years was a potent factor in the support of my widowed mother.

NEED OF THE BALLOT.

The need of the ballot for the wage-earning women is a vital one. No plea can be made that we have the protection of the home or are represented by our fathers or brothers. We need the ballot that we may broaden our horizon and assume our share in the solution of the problems that seriously affect our daily lives. There is no question

that the exercise of the right to vote on matters of public concern enlarges the sense of public responsibility. While in Colorado, visiting a friend who had formerly been a teacher in Kansas, she assured me that the average woman teacher in Colorado, where the women have the full right of franchise, is as fully informed on all political matters as is the average man teacher in Kansas, while the average woman teacher in Kansas ranks below the man in this respect.

We need the ballot for the purpose of self-protection. Last Saturday afternoon, at the closing hour at Marshall Field's in Chicago, a young woman cashier fell on the floor in a dead faint and was carried away by her fellow workers. Long hours of the rush and strain of the Saturday shopping had overcome her. The 10-hour law is not a 10-hour law for us. We must be up at 6 in order to be at work by 8. It requires two hours after work for us to reach home and eat our evening meal. Fourteen hours out of the twenty-four are consumed entirely by our daily efforts to make a living. If we secure any education or amusement it leaves us but seven or eight hours for sleep, and this generally in insanitary and unwholesome surroundings.

Does the young woman cashier in Marshall Field's need any voice in making the law that sets the hours of labor that shall constitute a day's work?

In the Boston Store, at the same hour, a delicate slip of a girl employed as an inspector was on the verge of a hysterical breakdown. The floor woman, in all kindness, said to her: "My dear, it is useless to feel like this now. The busy season is just beginning, and you will have to stand it." Receiving a wage of \$4.50 a week, has this girl any need of a voice in demanding a minimum-wage law?

Has the young woman whose scalp was torn from her head at the Lawrence mill any need of a law demanding that safety appliances be placed upon all dangerous machinery?

And what of the working girls who, through unemployment, are denied the opportunity to sell the labor of their hands and are driven to the sale of their virtue?

I met Katie Malloy under peculiar circumstances. It was because of this that she told me of her terrible struggles during the great garment-workers' strike in Chicago. She had worked at Hart, Schaffner & Marx's for five years, and had saved \$30 out of her wages. It was soon gone. She hunted for work, applied at the Young Women's Christian Association and was told that so many hundreds of girls were out of work that they could not possibly do anything for her. She walked the streets day after day without success. For three days she had almost nothing to eat. "Oh," she said, with tears streaming down her cheeks, "there is always some place where a man can crowd in and keep decent, but for us girls there is no place—no place but one, and it is thrown open to us day and night. Hundreds of girls that worked by me in the shop have gone into houses of—houses of impurity."

Has Katie Malloy and the 5,000 working girls who are forced into lives of shame each month no need of a voice in a government that should protect them from this life which is worse than death?

THE WORKING WOMAN AND THE WORKINGMAN.

From the standpoint of wages received we wage earners know it to be almost universal that the men in the industries receive twice the wage granted to us, although we may be doing the same work and should have the same pay. We women work side by side with our brothers. We are children of the same parents, reared in the same homes, educated in the same schools, ride to and fro on the same early morning and late evening cars, work together the same number of hours in the same shops, and we have equal need of food, clothing, and shelter. But at 21 years of age our brothers are given a powerful weapon for self-defense, a larger means for growth and self-expression.

We working women, even because we are women and find our sex not a source of strength, but a source of weakness and offering a greater opportunity for exploitation, are denied this weapon.

Gentlemen of the committee, is there any justice underlying such a condition? If our brother workingmen are granted the ballot with which to protect themselves, do you not think that the working women should be granted this same right?

THE WORKING GIRL VS. HER EMPLOYER.

What of the working girl and her employer? Why is the ballot given to him while it is denied to us? Is it for the protection of his property, that he may have a voice in the governing of his wealth, of his stocks and bonds and merchandise?

The wealth of the working woman is of far greater value to the State. From nature's raw products the working class can readily replace all of the material wealth owned by the employing class, but the wealth of the working woman is the wealth of flesh and blood; of all her physical, mental, and spiritual powers. It is the wealth, not only of to-day, but that of future generations, that is being bartered away so cheaply. Have we no right to a voice in the disposal of our wealth, the greatest wealth that the world possesses—the priceless wealth of its womanhood?

Is it not the cruelest injustice that the man whose material wealth is a source of strength and protection to him and of power over us should be given the additional advantage of an even greater weapon which he can use to perpetuate our condition of helpless subjection?

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST DISFRANCHISED CLASS.

You say the ballot is not a factor as a means of discrimination between the workingman and the working woman. We found a most striking example of the falsity of this statement a few years ago in Chicago. The Chicago teachers, firemen, and policemen had had their salaries cut because of the poverty of the city. The teachers' salaries were cut the third time. They organized to investigate the reason for the reduction. Margaret Haley was selected to carry on the investigation. As a result, she unearthed large corporations that were not paying the legal amount of taxes. The teachers forced the issue, and as a result nearly \$600,000 in taxes was annually forced from the corporations and turned into the public treasury. What was done with it? The policemen and firemen had the cut in

their salaries restored, while the teachers did not. Instead, the finance committee recommended and the board of education appropriated the teachers' share to pay coal bills, repairs, etc. Why was this? It was a clear case of the usual treatment accorded to a disfranchised class.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION PRECEDES POLITICAL EVOLUTION.

However, Mr. Chairman, as students of sociology we are forced to recognize the fact that the ballot has never yet been granted by a ruling class because of the needs of a serving class.

Almost without exception the extension of the franchise has taken place only when the needs of the industrial development have demanded a larger degree of freedom upon the part of the serving class, so that the serving class, driven by the very pressure of economic need, has organized as a class, and, after a struggle, has wrested from the grasp of the ruling class a larger share in the powers of government.

Instance after instance of the truth of this assertion presents itself. At the breaking up of the feudal system, the peasants, in large numbers, left the estates of their masters and entered upon the new form of industry made possible through manufacturing. To escape the robbery of the nobility, they organized in guilds. This organization was a necessity, not only for their protection, but also for the better development of their new form of industry. A larger freedom upon the part of the members of the guild was the inevitable outcome of the change in the industrial basis. As a result of the struggle, the members of the guilds forced the nobility to relinquish their exorbitant demands, and free towns came into existence. This increase in political liberty came as the direct result of the revolution that had taken place in the industrial life of a large number of the peasants of that day.

When the industrial basis of any society, or any portion of society, changes, the superstructure must change in accordance with it. This was again proved when the transition from the hand tool to machine production took place. Again it resulted in an extension of the franchise to a still larger portion of the working class.

WOMAN'S POLITICAL STATUS MUST CHANGE TO CONFORM WITH CHANGE IN INDUSTRIAL BASIS.

It is this same revolution that has taken place in the life of the working woman. Within the last two generations the woman of the working class has been forced from her home into the industries.

The weaving that we used to do with our hand looms is now done in great factories requiring the services of hundreds of thousands of women and children. The meat that we used to cure in the smoke-house is now prepared in gigantic meat-packing establishments. Our butter is made at the creamery and our bread at the bakery. Even the education of our children is placed in the hands of the kindergarten and the public schools. There has been nothing for us to do but to follow our jobs into the great industrial centers.

History has proved that industrial revolutions are inevitably followed by political and social revolutions.

The industrial basis of the life of the working woman has changed. The work that was formerly confined within the four walls of the home has gone to the centralized industries of the country, and the political superstructure must be adjusted to conform to this change. This industrial change has given to woman a larger horizon, a greater freedom of action in the industrial world. Greater freedom and larger expression are at hand for her in the political life.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the time is ripe for the extension of the franchise to women. We do not come before you to beg you to grant us a favor; we come presenting to you a glorious opportunity to place yourselves abreast of the current of this great evolutionary movement. You can refuse to accept this opportunity, and you may, for a moment, delay the movement, but only as the old woman who, with her tiny broom, endeavored to sweep back the incoming tide from the sea.

If to-day, taking your places as men of affairs in the world's progress, you step out in unison with the eternal upward trend toward true democracy, you will support the suffrage amendment now before your committee. [Continued applause.]

Dr. SHAW. I now take pleasure in introducing, as our next speaker, Mrs. Donald Hooker, of Baltimore, Md. She has been a leader of the movement in Baltimore for some years, and is quite able to speak of the situation as regards the whole State of Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. We would be glad to hear from Mrs. Hooker.

STATEMENT OF MRS. DONALD HOOKER, OF BALTIMORE, MD.

Gentlemen of the committee, fellow citizens, and would-be citizens, what the preceding speaker has said has given me my cue. Do you know what it is to be brave men? It is to step forward in the march of progress almost before your time. There are many people who say that the time for woman suffrage has not yet come. Gentlemen, you know the day when the victory will be won. Woman suffrage is coming on the day when you live up to your principles. When the men are as brave as we believe the men to be, when they support the principles which they themselves have laid down, then the ballot will be ours. And the victory will be yours as well as ours, because of the great benefits it will bring to all of us.

The reason we do not wish to delay longer is because there are two kinds of destruction going on in this world. One is the kind of destruction that the suffragists in England are bringing about; that is, active destruction. But there is a sort of passive destruction which is going on which is far more serious than all the windowpanes in all the cities of the world. It is the destruction of human life and virtue and children, and it is against this passive destruction that we stand. In my own city the destruction of children and the destruction of women's virtue is going on every day. Each year in Maryland thousands of little children die because the mothers can not pass proper laws to protect these children, and every year at least 500 virtuous girls in Maryland are forced into lives of shame because we women have not votes. If you could go back to your childhood and remember the fairy tales that were told to you when you were young, you will recall one about the minatour. The minatour was a horrible monster, and each year some virtuous young girl had to be sacrificed

to him in order that her city might be saved. There is a similar monster in the world to-day which goes by the name of the social evil, and not only one, but many, many virtuous young girls are being sacrificed to this monster to-day.

The situation is the same in Baltimore, Frederick, and many other Maryland towns; in fact, all over the world, except where women have the right of franchise. In New Zealand the women have succeeded in almost entirely eradicating the social evil, and in some of the other woman suffrage countries great progress has been made toward a better morality. None of this work could have been accomplished, so the men tell us, without the enfranchisement of women; so you see we are here to demand simply that you live up to your own principles and that you give us the power to protect these weaker sisters of ours.

Some months ago I went to a strange meeting in our courthouse in Baltimore city. The women who manage the houses of prostitution had been summoned there to pay their fines. Despite the law to the contrary, the judge said, "It is all right for you women to carry on this business under certain regulations that we lay down." The law of Maryland says that no houses of prostitution shall exist within its boundary, and yet the judge says if you keep within our regulations you may carry on this traffic. The judge was tampering with the law of the State, and yet we women, interested as we are in the welfare of the people, could make no valid protest. We could not say that his infringement of the law should be made a practical issue at some future time.

All we want is the power to protect ourselves, other women, and little children. That seems a very reasonable demand. You gentlemen admit that we women have always been the guardians of the public morals. It has always been our special duty to protect the home against the inroads of vice and shame. Immorality on the part of a woman has always been considered a far greater sin than immorality on the part of a man, for woman, from the beginning of time, has always been looked to to conserve the morals of the race.

In this day our homes are often broken up by the diseases that follow in the path of the social evil, and yet our hands are tied when we attempt to check this evil. One of the judges on the supreme bench in Baltimore city, when he was appealed to to enforce our law against the houses of prostitution, said that "nothing can be done to improve conditions until the public conscience is aroused"; but we say that the public conscience is aroused, but that that part of it that is crying out for better conditions is suppressed by our unjust laws.

Every true woman is burning with a desire to bring about a better morality, and yet without the vote they can do nothing, and I say that what the delay in the enfranchisement of women means is the loss of honor of virtuous girls. A certain number of girls will pay the price for the cowardice of the gentlemen who do not live up to the principles of their own country. These girls will be sacrificed until you give women the power to protect them. There was never a great act of injustice perpetrated that was not paid for in human life and happiness. A greater act of injustice is being perpetrated by denying women the right to vote. You gentlemen are checking this righteous reform unless you nobly and bravely support it. If

you do not you will be held to answer here or elsewhere for the happiness of the people, and you in the end will be held responsible.

There was a man here in Washington once who had the courage to stand up for his principles, and what we hope is, that you, as true Americans and leaders in our democracy, will come forward bravely and set the example for the whole world.

STATEMENT OF MISS LEONORA O'REILLY, OF NEW YORK CITY.

MISS O'REILLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: Yes; I have outdone the lady who went to work at 18 by five years. I have been a wage earner since I was a little over 13. I, too, know whereof I speak; that is the reason I do not want to play a bluff game with you any longer. You can not or will not make laws for us; we must make laws for ourselves. We working women need the ballot for self-protection; that is all there is to it. We have got to have it.

We work long, long hours and we do not get half enough to live on. We have got to keep decent, and if we go "the easy way" you men make the laws that will let you go free and send us into the gutter. [Applause.]

We can not believe in man-made laws any longer. We have gone from one assembly to another, from one State senator to another, and we have heard the same old story. You think only of output; there is not a soul among you who cares to save human beings. We have grown rich, as a nation, but we have grown very rotten. As a people—gentlemen, I use the term "rotten" advisedly—for, as far as the working women are concerned, the foundation we are building on is rotten. To purify the life of the Nation we women know we have got to do our part, political as well as industrial duty. Government, as a whole, rests on industry. You men say to us: "Go back to the home. Your place is in the home," yet as children we must come out of the home at 11, at 13, and at 15 years of age to earn a living; we have got to make good or starve.

"Pay your way" we are taught in school and in church—the greatest thing on earth is to be able to pay your way. Well, if any people on earth pay their way in life we working women do. The return we get is that most of us become physical wrecks along the roadside of life. When you gentlemen hear what it costs a working woman to "pay her way" in life, you sit back in your chairs, say "the story is terrible, but they manage to live somehow." Somehow—that is it, gentlemen. I want to make you realize the *somehow* of life to the hundreds of girls I have seen go down in the struggle. You men do not care. You want this country to get rich, and you do not know the only riches of a nation are its people. [Applause.]

We have gone before legislature after legislature making our pleas for justice. We have seen the game as you play it. What is it? We go there and we are told the same old tommyrot—let men do this for you. I tell you as a bit of business experience if you let anybody do a thing for you they will do you. That is business. [Applause.]

Now, while we have had the colleges opened to women, only one woman in a thousand goes to college, while modern industry claims one woman in every five to-day. It is industrial methods which are teaching the women the facts I am telling you. "Do the other fellow before he gets a chance to do you"—do him so hard that he can not

stand up again; that is good business. We know that, and we women are sure that there must be some higher standard for life than business.

We are not getting a square deal; we go before legislature after legislature to tell our story, but they fail to help the women who are being speeded so high in the mills and in factories, from 54 hours to 72 hours in stores in New York, and 92 hours in one week in sub-cellar laundries. Who cares? Nobody! Nobody does; nobody cares about making laws so long as we get cheap and nasty things in the market. Working women come before you and tell you these things and think you will do something for them. Every man listening is convinced that the girls are telling the truth. It is only when you think of them as your own girls that you have the right to make laws for them. Every man listening wants to do the fair thing, but just as soon as our backs are turned, up comes the representative of the big interest and says, "Lad, you are dead politically if you do what those women ask." They know it is true, and we get nothing, because all the votes are owned.

Every vote you cast is owned, and it is the owned vote which has fought our women. Go before legislatures as you will, the only argument that you can bring in to the man in politics—he is there to go up the ladder, decently if he can, but he will go up anyhow, if he can—the only argument that you can bring to that man is the power of the ballot. When we can say to him, "Man, do this and we will return you so many million votes," he will listen and act.

This is what we want, because it is for the good of the women, because it is for the good of the whole people. It is for that reason that the working woman, facing the hard facts of life and having to fight her way, has come to the conclusion that you men in politics—I am not going to give you any taffy—you men in politics are not leaders, you follow what you think is the next step on the ladder. We want you to understand that the next step in politics, the next step in democracy, is to give to the women of your Nation a ballot. [Applause.]

The working women send me to you with the plain, honest truth; because, working beside you in the same mill or factory, we know you with your evening suit off and your tall hat in the box, or wherever it belongs; you are just a competitor with us there; we tell you the truth there, as I have come to tell you the truth here. Let women have the ballot, in order that you may once more throw the burden which you have carried, or thought you carried, onto them; that is the thing you have done since the beginning of time; when the load was too heavy for you you piled it onto Eve's back. [Applause.] You have got us in a devil of a mess, economic and political. It is so rank it smells to Heaven; but we will come in and help you clean house. We will start all over again, because we belong together shoulder to shoulder. We must get on to a better time. It is only because you will not, in your prejudice and your ignorance, let us into the political field with you that the situation is as bad as it is to-day.

We working women want the ballot, not as a privilege but as a right. You say you have only given the ballot as an expediency; you have never given it as a right; then we demand it as an expediency for the

8,000,000 working women. All the other women ought to have it, but we working women must have it. [Applause.]

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, our last speaker will be Mrs. E. Jean Nelson Penfield, of New York. Mrs. Penfield is the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. They number something like 60,000 members.

STATEMENT OF MRS. E. JEAN NELSON PENFIELD, OF NEW YORK CITY.

Mrs. PENFIELD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, Dr. Shaw has said something about our party numbering about 60,000 members. This membership, I may say to you, gentlemen, has been secured in three years' time in the city of New York alone, so you may know how greatly we have grown in the State.

I feel that I am somewhat at a disadvantage in speaking after Miss O'Reilly, as I have not had the privilege of coming in contact with the working world as she has, but represent a more sheltered class and therefore may not seem to personally represent so definite and concrete a political need. The time has come, however, for such a mistaken notion to pass. We women who are not of the so-called working class not only represent a very definite political need, but must be recognized as presenting both a great menace and also a wonderful opportunity to the State. In the few moments given me I will confine myself to the handicap women have found disfranchisement to be in social-service work.

I have observed that it is supposed by a great many that because our leisure and semileisure women have been able to do so much apparently good community betterment work without the ballot, we do not need the ballot. Now, I should like to ask you gentlemen, in the first place, to remember that the important thing is not that women succeed in this kind of work, but it is the fact that where they do succeed—and let me add here that the failures are not recorded—but when they do succeed it is at tremendous and needless expenditure of energy and vital strength, and at the cost to the individual—and, of course, necessarily, in the end for society—of dignity and self-respect.

Now, the dominant thought in the world to-day is that of conservation. The great tendency of the whole business world is toward economy. The question of what we can do to lessen the cost of production, the question of how the business man can so arrange his methods, can so improve his machinery, as to reduce friction—these are the questions that you business men and you legislators are asking, not only in the business world but in the affairs of State. No intelligent man in this scientific day would try to accomplish anything by an indirect and wasteful method if he could accomplish his purpose by direct and economic method. Even the bricklayer to-day is taught how to handle his bricks so that the best results may be secured at the least possible expenditure of time and energy.

Women alone seem to represent the only great body of energy and vitality and talent which is unconserved, unutilized, and recklessly wasted. If a man wants anything—a reform in government—he goes armed with a vote to the ballot box, and also he goes to the legislature with that power of the vote behind him. But if a

body of women want these things, what do they do? They are asked to take the long, questionable, roundabout route of personal influence, of petition, and of indirection. Women have accomplished a great deal in this way. It has taken, however, a long time. For instance, let me give you an example: In New York City it took eight years for the women of the Health Protective League to convince the board of health, that it was necessary to have an antispitting ordinance; and it was a long time after a number of women had investigated the filthy stables in New York City and had made the public aware of the diseases among the cows that the great demand for pure milk spread and the present splendid system of inspection and control was established.

In the same way, the entire road to successful reform is hard and troublesome for women. Take, for instance, one class of work—the establishment of vocation, manual training, domestic science, and open-air schools; of school gardens and playgrounds (all once just “women’s notions,” but now established institutions). When we have wanted these things, nine times out of ten, we have had to establish and finance them ourselves—to demonstrate them a need and a success before cities would have anything to do with them. After the thing is on its feet the city, or State, as it may be, usually takes it over or adopts it. What happens then? Not only have the women been forced to make the demonstration of its value at personal expense, but when city or State takes over the institutions established and managed by women, the management and direction is immediately and entirely taken out of the hands of women and placed in the hands of men.

Now, we women have made little complaint against such injustice, because we are glad to see good work done, whoever does it. But I ask you gentlemen is it reasonable to suppose that we women are going to relinquish all interest in these things because they are taken over by the State? And I ask you to realize another thing: That among thinking women there is a growing consciousness of how we are being cut out, how we are being shut out from the civic life, in which we have an equal stake with men. We ask you to recognize that the time is here—especially considering the splendid growth that the woman suffrage movement has had within the last few years—for you to submit an amendment to the States for ratification. I thank you very much for your attention.

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I wish to impress the thanks of the National Woman Suffrage Association for the courtesy which has been shown us by your committee, for the attention you have given us, and especially for the large attendance by the members of the committee. I think this is the largest attendance by members of a committee that we have ever had in hearings before a committee of the Senate.

Senator BRANDEGEE. What committee of the House has before it the consideration of the proposed amendment?

Dr. SHAW. The Committee on the Judiciary.

Senator BRANDEGEE. They have no woman suffrage committee in the House?

Dr. SHAW. They have no woman suffrage committee in the House; no, sir.

Now, there are three things that we ask for this morning. They are all very important, but at the same time things that can be readily granted by our Government.

In the first place we will ask to have our hearings printed.

The CHAIRMAN. That shall be done.

Dr. SHAW. There used to be a large number of reports of hearings printed; but other people have asked too much, and the Congress of the United States has cut down the printing privilege. We want, and we need, the privilege to the very limit of the law, and some of us would like to go beyond the limit of the law to get a still larger number of the reports printed.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the usual number is 500; but we can raise it to 2,000. If necessary, the committee can publish more after the first edition.

Dr. SHAW. We have had as many as 10,000 printed in some of the former hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the usual rule; but we can extend the privilege and print as many as you want, fifteen or twenty thousand copies.

Dr. SHAW. Then we hope you will use the extension plan on this and give us all you possibly can. It is all that we get out of the Government for the taxes we pay; and it is a small return. If we had to live on such a small interest on other investments, what a poor living we should have.

Now, in the second place—or, really, this is the first and most important thing that I should ask for—is that you will report our bill favorably to the Senate; that it may be brought before the Senate, and that the Senate itself may discuss it. That is, if you have sufficient confidence in your brethren in the Senate and feel that they will be able to discuss this bill fairly and to submit it to the men whom they represent.

That is the second thing we ask for; and the third thing we ask for is this: We are told that our suffrage is a failure; that men are afraid to give us suffrage because of the fearful results which would come to both women and the Government. We have asked for years that the Government would appoint a committee to investigate the workings of suffrage in the States where it already exists; and we women suffragists are perfectly willing to risk our case on the result of that investigation; and if the Government would appoint such a committee—and we know that the Government would appoint a committee which would report fairly on the question—we are so sure of the result of a fair investigation that we will agree to stand by it. Now, then, if we could have a committee of investigation appointed of the United States Senate, or of the whole Congress together, we feel that the result would be such that we would not have to come here many more years and take your time in listening to our discussion on the subject.

Again, we want to thank you in the name of the association. [Continued applause.]

STATEMENT OF MR. FRANKLIN W. COLLINS, OF NEBRASKA.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Chairman and members of the honorable committee, I am opposed to the proposed amendment to the Constitution granting the privileges and burdens of the franchise to women, and, with your indulgence, shall outline my objections to the same in a

series of questions, intelligent and candid answer to which would seem to dispose of the plea which has been made for this so-called relief.

Why an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the preliminary steps leading thereto, when the States possess the power to extend the suffrage to women if they will?

Do a majority of the women of the United States want the ballot?

If not, and it is no where seriously contended that they do, should it be forced upon the majority by the minority?

Would it benefit womankind to have it?

Would it be wise to thrust the ballot upon those who do not seek it or want it?

Would it benefit the country?

Is it not incumbent upon its advocates to show that it would be beneficial to womankind or country, if not both?

Are there not too many stay-at-homes among the voters as it is?

After the novelty has worn away, and the privilege of voting becomes irksome, would not women be liable to stay at home in large and ever increasing numbers?

Is not this the experience of those States and communities where the experiment has been tried?

Is it not a fact that the persons we least like to see vote are the ones who invariably vote, and those we most desire to vote are the persons who often refrain from voting? Will this be changed when women secure the ballot?

Is not the influence of woman to-day greater without the ballot than it would or could be with it?

Is she not the life and hope of the home, the church, of charity work, and society, and are not her hands full to overflowing already?

In other words, is not the average good woman at the present time carrying all the burdens which she has the time and strength to carry?

Can she add to her responsibilities without materially subtracting from her efficiency in the home, the church, and society?

Is not her influence as a home-maker and a home-keeper far more helpful to humanity than it would be were she given the ballot, together with its accompaniments?

If she accepts a portion of the responsibility has she any right to balk at the acceptance of the whole? Is not this unequal suffrage?

Is it not "a sin against abstract justice" to take the ballot and decline to accept the responsibilities which are its inevitable accompaniments?

Is this in accord with the doctrine of "a square deal"?

Are the women of the Nation willing to accept it on such terms?

If, by her ballot, she should plunge the country into war, would she not be in honor bound to fight by the side of man—to accept the consequences of her own exercise of political power?

If not, why not? Is not power without responsibility tyranny?

Would not her embarkation upon the troubled sea of politics weaken her present position and influence in the home, the church, and society?

Does not experience teach that the good women of the country, if united, can secure anything within reason which they want without the ballot?

What substantial advantage, then, can they hope to gain by the use of the ballot?

Are not the rights of women protected and safeguarded under the present system?

If any evils there be, which are curable by legislation, and the women of the land unite to demand their correction, does not the experience of the past warrant the assertion and conclusion that they would be more speedily righted without the ballot than with it?

Statement has been made at the present hearing that, in the factories, women are discriminated against by reason of their sex, and that the wages paid to men are nearly twice as high as those paid to women. Is not this statement grossly inaccurate? After a most painstaking and complete investigation, covering many years and embracing all the factories of the country, made, too, in large part, to determine as to whether discrimination of the kind complained of existed, the Bureau of Labor of the United States declares most positively that the charges made are utterly unfounded, and that women for the same work receive the same wages as men. Which statement is entitled to the greater weight, that of the petitioners or that of the Bureau of Labor?

What is there to indicate that women would vote as a substantial unit on any great moral issue?

"Wisdom is justified by its fruits." Have women, when given the ballot, shown by their fruits that it has been of positive advantage to community, Commonwealth, country, or to themselves?

Judged by its fruits, has the experiment of equal suffrage proven a success in Colorado, Wyoming, or elsewhere?

Is it not unsatisfactory, particularly as tried and applied in large cities?

Is not the government of our large cities one of the very gravest, if not the gravest, of our problems?

Is not the enfranchisement of women likely to add to the seriousness of the problem, rather than take therefrom?

Is not Denver, despite the ballot in the hands of women, as badly governed as before?

Would equal suffrage accomplish for New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis what it has failed to do for Denver, to wit, clean the Augean stables?

Has the granting of the ballot to the women of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho (California being in her swaddling clothes as yet, speaking suffragetically), purified politics, uprooted fraud and corruption, or resulted in the enactment of reformatory legislation in behalf of the home or the children of the home?

One of the most effective arguments used by the advocates of female suffrage to induce the support of many women is that it will place in the hands of women the instrument with which to grind the traffic in alcoholic stimulants to powder, and that once given this opportunity, they will wipe the business of liquor selling off the map of America. After saying as they do that the abolition of this evil or its effective regulation is a total failure in the hands of man, the question is pertinent, Have the women kept their promise in this respect in a single State or community wherein they have been clothed with the suffrage? If so, would not Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho be prohibition States?

On the other hand, is it not true that in every instance in which a State or a community have banished the traffic in alcoholic stimulants the ballot has been in the hands of male voters alone?

But should it be admitted that the ballot in the hands of women has been successful in some of our Western Commonwealths, where the men largely outnumber the women, and where the percentage of illiteracy is almost nothing, and where the people are widely scattered, and the population composed almost entirely of native Americans, the foreign born among them being of the better types in the main—hardy, self-reliant, accustomed to the wind and the rain and the sun—does it follow that the experiment would work to advantage in our Eastern States (not to speak of our Southern States, with their black belt), running over as they are with swarms of ignorant and degraded people living in the slums of our great cities—vast swarms of both sexes, appallingly vicious?

Have the women who would secure this privilege counted the cost of adding not alone the vote of the good and the cultured women to the electorate, but that of the illiterate, the ignorant, and the bad?

Even if it were susceptible of positive proof that women in the mass are more intelligent than men in the mass, nevertheless should women demand the ballot unless and until she has at least convinced herself, if not others, that the things to be gained thereby are of greater value than the things to be lost in the operation?

Have the women of the United States who are waging this campaign for the ballot weighed the possible loss as against the possible gain?

May we not answer the oft appealed to aphorism that "it is absurd to call those free who have no voice in framing the laws they are forced to obey," by inquiring if woman does not indeed and in truth have a mighty strong voice in framing the laws, if only she sees fit to exert it, and that her voice is none the less felt and followed, because she does not go to the polls or sit in the Halls of Congress?

Show me a Congress or a State legislature which would dare to overlook the wish and the will of womankind when once made known. Much has been said about the suffrage being a natural right, as, for instance, "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Is the suffrage such a right?

Is it not both a privilege and a burden imposed by the sovereignty, which is the Government of the United States, under its Constitution, upon certain of the people of the country, who possess the qualifications fixed by that Constitution, and only upon those who measure up to such requirements?

If a natural or absolute right, to which all persons without regard to race or sex or color or what not are entitled to have and hold and exercise without question, why do we deprive our men of it until they arrive at the age of 21 years, why is it this so-called right is denied to the people of the Territories and the people of the District of Columbia?

If an absolute right, by what authority or color of authority does the State of Massachusetts, as well as other States, bar from the use and enjoyment of the suffrage men who do not possess certain prescribed educational qualifications?

Is it not true that every free lover, every socialist, every communist, and every anarchist the country over is openly in favor of female suffrage?

Does not the ballot in the hands of woman seem to give aid and comfort to schemes to overthrow the family and the private home?

Is not one of the saddest problems which the country faces to-day the disintegration of the American home?

Are not too many homes torn with discord and dissension, are not the divorce courts strewn with family skeletons, thick as leaves in the forests of Valambrosa?

Will the ballot in the hands of women pour oil on the troubled domestic waters?

Will not its inevitable tendency be to furnish still another cause of friction and irritation?

Speaking very seriously, and not wishing to be thought guilty of indelicacy, is it not a fact requiring no argument to support it that woman by her very organism and temperament—so fundamentally different and so delicate as compared with man—is not fitted to blaze man's trail or do man's work in the world any more than man is fitted to fill woman's sacred place and do her work in the world?

In other words, is not the so-called reform sought a reform against nature, unscientific and unsound?

Much has been said about the emancipation of woman, as if she were held in bondage through the tyranny of man or government. Are not the women of America the freest beings of their sex on the planet, and fully able to secure any of their sovereign rights, or redress any and all of their wrongs, if they will only unite and make their wants known—that is to say, if remedy by legislative action is possible?

To the statement that men have made a mess of government and women could hardly do any worse, is it not sufficient to ask the gentler sex if she has proven "by her fruits," when put to the solemn test, that she could reduce the chaos to cosmos?

There is a growing and a distinctly alarming tendency in this country on the part of women to escape the so-called drudgery of housekeeping, and particularly the burdens of child-bearing and child-rearing, so that we find many of those who are best equipped for wifehood and motherhood refusing to listen to its sacred call, while those who are illy equipped for it answering the same call unquestioningly.

Do you not think this movement has a strong tendency to encourage this exodus from "the land of bondage," otherwise known as matrimony and motherhood?

While this honorable committee is assembled here to consider the conferring of the suffrage upon woman thousands of the bonniest youths and fairest maidens of America are taking the first downward step. In a little while they will be going at a cataract pace. Would it not seem that the same energy, determination, and rare ability displayed by the advocates of this privilege and burden, of doubtful value, could be more worthily bestowed in saving the boys and girls of the land from irretrievable disaster, which, of course, means inevitably the shipwreck of country and civilization?

Is not the need of the land and the age a return to the old-fashioned, cardinal, and never-to-be-improved-upon virtues—a return to the first principles of right thinking and right living—a renaissance of the American family, which is fast being deserted by its former devotees; to speak plainly, that woman shall not flee from her high and holy mission as though it were a plague, so that no longer the

finest product of America—the children—shall, in case they are permitted to arrive at all, be turned over to the tender mercies of hirelings for their training and mothering, or be allowed to bring themselves up with the chances that in the end away they will go to perdition, across lots; but instead of that they shall be trained in their own homes by their own mothers (I never knew a father who amounted to very much in this line, though he should boost all he can in the right direction); trained in the way they should go, in the full assurance of Holy Writ that when they are old they will not depart therefrom.

Finally, gentlemen, can the good women of the land help themselves, their country, or humanity, now or hereafter, in a more effective way than by the organization of a nation-wide back-to-home movement?

Do not the present propaganda and program mean a long step in the backward direction?

Is it not emphatically a movement away from home, away from nature, and away from those exalted ideals following which man and woman have struggled upward together from the depths of barbarism to the loftiest plane of civilization and progress the world has ever known?

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I will present certain letters of protest against the adoption of the amendment from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, of New York, and also of the District of Columbia, which will also be published in the record.

Said letters are as follows:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
New York City, March 11, 1912.

Senator LEE S. OVERMAN,
*Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: We, the women of the United States who are opposed to the adoption of universal woman suffrage, desire at this time to present our earnest protest against the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would confer full suffrage upon all of the women of this country.

The object sought can be accomplished without any amendment whatever to the Constitution whenever public opinion in the several States shall be pronounced in its favor.

The proper sphere of discussion of this question is in the several States, and there is nothing whatever to prevent suitable legislation whenever public opinion shall demand it. It may be proper to add, however, that so far as we can judge, there is no general demand for such legislation. We are convinced that if the proposition to enlarge the suffrage were submitted to the votes of the women of the United States it would be rejected by an overwhelming majority. We are convinced that what is termed a "right" of suffrage is rather a duty to be performed, and a duty of such a nature that women are disqualified for many reasons from assuming this responsibility. We feel that the exemption of women from the performance of this duty is a privilege which they are not prepared to surrender, and which has been conferred upon them as a compensation for limitations and duties imposed upon them by their sex, and which can not by any possibility be transferred to the domain of masculine service.

The question of suffrage is dealt with in the first article of the Constitution, which was adopted after long and patient discussion, in which various limitations were advocated and rejected. The convention wisely left the qualifications for suffrage with the several States. This regulation of the suffrage was regarded as a sovereign right of the States, of which they could not be deprived without destroying republican institutions. It is in fact the very essence of home rule, which is ingrained in our institutions as the palladium of liberty.

Any amendment to the Constitution requires the approval of three-fourths of the States of the Union. If that proportion is in favor of the extension of suffrage to women, it can be indicated by their action at any time, without applying to Congress for constitutional amendments. While it is probable that if three-fourths of the States should enact the desired legislation the remaining one-fourth might fall into line, still if any of them should refuse to extend the suffrage to women it would be manifestly impolite and unjust for the other States to attempt to coerce the minority on a question dependent upon the expression of public opinion alone.

Respectfully, yours,

JOSEPHINE M. J. (MRS. ARTHUR M.) DODGE,
President.

The CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE,
United States Senate.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: The members of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, through their president, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, of New York, have authorized the auxiliary of the District of Columbia to present at this hearing their earnest protest against the further extension of the suffrage to women through amendment of the Federal Constitution, and they respectfully request that this protest be printed with the other statements made this day before your honorable committee.

We desire to call attention to the following facts:

First. The matter should not be one for Federal jurisdiction, as it is desirable that the States, in view of the diversity of their problems, provide in their own constitutions the qualifications for voters.

Second. The majority of the women of this country do not favor woman suffrage, and are either indifferent or actively opposed. Miss Jessie Ashley, treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, says that, according to a rough estimate, the women favoring suffrage number 3,000,000. This is a high estimate, in view of the fact that only 75,000 are organized. The last information from the Bureau of the Census gives the estimated female population of continental United States as approximately 46,000,000. This total female population and the estimate of Miss Ashley necessarily include those who are under age, but the fact remains that the suffrage party represents but a small proportion of the whole number of women.

Third. American conditions in no way resemble those of the countries in which suffrage is granted to women. If it were given to all the women of this country, the large and ignorant element among negroes and naturalized foreigners, corruptible because ignorant, would be doubled, and the difficulty of handling an already cumbersome and unwieldy electorate would be greatly increased, and the attendant expense enhanced, while the intelligent element, which ought to be a source of strength, would be overwhelmed by numbers, and lose its direct nonpartisan power of influencing legislation, which it now possesses because unsuspected of interested or selfish motives.

Fourth. There has been formed this year a National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and State associations allied therewith are being organized with rapidity, to express the active opposition of women who have recently been aroused to aggressive effort against woman suffrage. Among the members will be found very many of the sanest, most useful, and best known women of America, who desire their wishes in this matter to be presented to the governing bodies of this country in no uncertain terms, feeling sure that they will be given every consideration of fairness in the study of this question, and that their wishes and convictions will be duly weighed.

Fifth. It is manifestly unfair that a question involving so many women should be settled at the behest of a few, and that the majority should have thrust upon them duties and burdens which they are unwilling to assume.

We respectfully request that the gentlemen of this honorable committee carefully consider our protest.

GRACE DUFFIELD GOODWIN,
Chairman of the Auxiliary of the District of Columbia,
Representing the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

MARCH 13, 1912.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee thanks the speakers for the expression of their views upon the subject, and the committee stands adjourned.