

Manual of woman suffrage principles. 1901

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MANUAL

OF

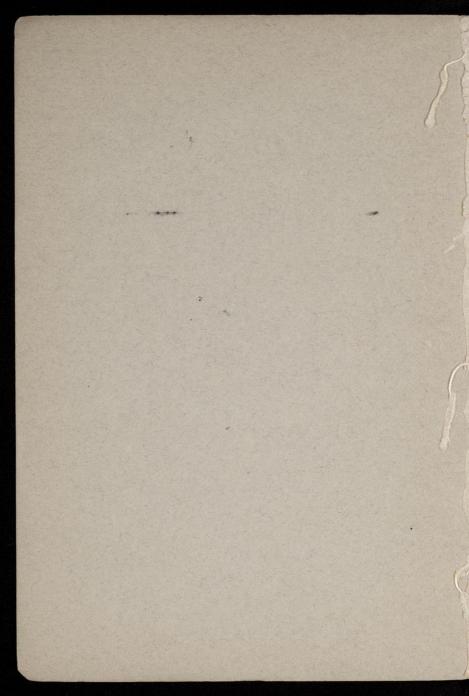
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PRINCIPLES

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

HEADQUARTERS, 926 WEST GENESEE STREET SYRACUSE, N. Y.

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PREFACE

In offering this little manual on woman suffrage, we address ourselves directly to the young people for whom it is intended.

We hope that these facts will arouse your interest, and lead you to seek further knowledge upon the subject. It is a subject vital to you all. One of our greatest men, William Lloyd Garrison, has said, "I doubt whether a more important movement has ever been launched, touching the destiny of the race, than this in regard to the equality of the sexes." In studying this movement you must lay aside all inherited or acquired prejudice, and investigate and decide for yourselves. You will not find it tedious; it tells of burning faith, of highest courage, of patient endurance, and unmurmuring sacrifice, and teems with adventures. tles have been men and women of highest ideals. You cannot know them without gaining a clearer vision and larger love for right and justice and an inspiration to a higher plane of living.

J. MARY PEARSON.

The foregoing is part of a preface intended for a manual of much greater scope, in which Mrs. Pearson was assisted by noted and earnest workers in the cause of suffrage. Circumstances have made it impossible to publish the manuscript in its component parts, with names attached.

The whole has therefore been gleaned from in compiling the manual in its present condensed form, and some other authorities have been consulted. This makes it impossible to singly acknowledge the indebtedness, but we trust the contributors will understand and pardon this seeming lack of recognition.

The book owes its present form to the painstaking labor of Mrs. Mary E. Haines of Brooklyn.

MARIANA W. CHAPMAN.

LESSON I

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

1. What was the legal status of women in the United States, sixty-five years ago?

Women were without a recognized individuality in any department of life.

2. Why?

Because they had no voice in the government.

3. What is government?

It is the direction and control of human interests.

4. In the United States how is this direction and control accomplished?

By the ballot.

5. By whom was the ballot used?

By male citizens.

6. Was there a class of male citizens especially educated and fitted for the purpose?

No. All male citizens over twenty-one years of age were competent, excepting idiots, lunatics, criminals, and, in some States, paupers.

7. In what did the male citizen discriminate against the female?

He denied her equal opportunities in education

and in commercial and professional employments. He allowed her if married no control of her wages or property, real or personal, or guardianship of her children. Women had no voice in the administration of schools, hospitals, prisons or asylums.

8. Have women suffered from that discrimination?

Bitterly. Each of these disabilities has been the subject of repeated protest and petition.

9. How were these protests and petitions received?

They were met with such apathy and incredulity, or, such bitter derision, that only those of an heroic spirit, or those rendered desperate by suffering could contend against such opposition.

10. Did this reception crush the protestants? No. The unexpected cruelty and coarseness of the opposition aroused the sympathy of generous natures, and attracted general attention. The advocates of "Woman's Rights" steadily increased and in 1848 they first organized at a convention held at Seneca Falls, N. Y.

11. What did this convention request?

Following the advice of Daniel O'Connell, who said: "Demand the uttermost and you will get something," they asked for "equal rights in colleges and universities, trades and professions; the right to vote; to share in all political offices,

honors, and emoluments; to complete equality in marriage; equal rights in property, in wages for equal work, and in minor children; to make contracts; to sue and be sued; to personal freedom, and to serve on juries, especially when women were tried."

12. What has been the result of these demands?

In the fifty-three years that have elapsed since that convention, full suffrage has been gained in four States: Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah; partial suffrage in thirty-one; and many legal disabilities have been removed in all. The organization has expanded into a great association under the title of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. These results were gained primarily by agitation, education, and organization.

LESSON II

DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

1. What has been the greatest factor in the progress of the United States?

Its system of free schools.

2. Why?

Because education develops the higher faculties and elevates its possessors to positions of power and enjoyment.

3. When were our schools established?

From the first the colonists recognized the advantage to men and boys of an education, and the importance to the country of intelligent citizens, and in 1635, just one year after the founding of Boston, a schoolmaster was appointed by the town. In 1637, a grammar school was established at Salem, and in 1642 a law was passed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony requiring that schools be established. A fine was imposed upon parents neglecting to send their children to school.

4. Were these schools free?

No. At this time a small fee was charged, and the well-to-do were required to defray the

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The immense value our forefathers set upon education for men.

8. What arrangements were made for girls? Were they sent to school with the boys, or did they have separate departments?

Girls were not considered at all. The terms "youth", "children", and "people", employed with reference to education, meant males only.

9. Did the girls of that day desire an education? As eagerly as those of to-day.

Hannah Adams, born in Massachusetts in 1755, speaking of her youth, says: "I remember that my first idea of the happiness of heaven was of a place where we could find our thirst for knowledge fully gratified."

10. What reasons were given for this discrimination?

The chief objections raised were the expense of providing school accommodations, and the "delicacy of the female health".

11. What effect did it have upon women?

It assigned them to a lower condition, and thus degraded them in their own eyes and that of the community.

12. How long was it after free schools were established before girls were admitted to them? One hundred and fifty years.

LESSON III

DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

1. How was admission to the free schools finally secured?

By repeated protest and petition.

2. How were these demands for educational rights received by the male voters?

In 1788 in answer to such a request, the selectmen of Northampton voted "not to be at any expense for schooling girls". The courts were appealed to and the town was indicted and fined. Consequently, in 1792 it was decided that girls between eight and fifteen years of age should be admitted to the schools during the summer months, from the first of May to the thirty-first of October.

3. Was this an exceptionally harsh attitude? Not at all. The universal sentiment of the school boards was to provide for the boys at the expense of the girls. In 1790, in answer to an appeal made for the girls of Newburyport, the authorities, after a year's reflection, proposed establishing three or four dame schools, for girls between five and nine years old.

4. How was this concession received?

With another petition for instruction for girls over nine years. In reply to this it was voted, in 1792, that "during the summer months, when the boys in school had diminished, the master shall receive girls for instruction in grammar and reading, after the dismission of the boys, for an hour and a half."

- 5. Was this provision satisfactory?
- No. Another petition was presented in 1804, asking that the town should provide instruction for girls over nine years of age, in arithmetic and writing. After long discussion four of the boys' schools were opened to the petitioners from six o'clock to eight in the morning, and on Thursday afternoons, Thursday being the boys' half holiday.
- 6. When were schools opened to girls for the entire school year?

In 1836, when it was voted that "one female grammar school be kept through the year." Six years later, in 1842, a high school for girls was established.

7. What controversy occurred regarding that school?

A considerable fund known as the "Putnam Fund" had been bequeathed for the advancement of the education of youth, and when it was distributed, a portion was claimed for the Female High school. The town committee maintained that the testator had not designed it for female education, but the trustees asserted that the term "youth" applied to females as well as males. The matter was carried to the Supreme Court, where it was decided that "youth might include both sexes."

8. Was this the first high school for girls?

No. In 1825, the city council of Boston granted an appropriation for a high school for girls, but the number of candidates for admission was so great, and increased so largely during the year of the school's existence, that the girls were relegated to the grammar schools again, although these were open to them for the half year only.

9. The number of applicants proved the need of the school. Why then did those assuming the girls' interests close it against them?

On the ground of civic economy. Reviewing the experiment in an address to the board of aldermen, Mayor Quincy said that "no funds of any city could endure the expense." But the English High school had been supported for boys for four years, and the Latin school for boys for almost two hundred years.

10. Were all the States as harsh in their discrimination as Massachusetts?

No; New York and Pennsylvania were more liberal, but the liberality was merely comparative.

11. Who gave the first strong impulse to the higher education of women in New York?

Mrs. Emma Willard, who in 1819 petitioned the legislature to extend its bounties to its daughters, as well as to its sons, and provide them with an education, that "the daughters of the rich might not be frivolous, and those of the poor drudges."

13. What is most indicative of the spirit of the times in the wording and presenting of the petition?

The deprecation of ridicule. Governor Clinton, in presenting the address, says: "As this is the only attempt ever made to promote the education of the female sex by the patronage of government * * * I trust you will not be deterred by common-place ridicule from extending your munificence to this meritorious work."

14. Was this ridicule vented on the pupils?

Yes; Mrs. Willard taught the higher mathematics and when, in 1820, a young woman was publicly examined in geometry, the community was shocked at the spectacle, and pupil and school were assailed with a derision as coarse as that vented on the exponents of woman suffrage twenty years later.

15. What does this discrimination exercised against women in education go to prove?

That men legislated against and not for women.

LESSON IV

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENTS.—INDUSTRIAL

1. How does the United States rank among the nations of the world?

As one of the greatest.

2. Why?

Because of its wealth and intelligence.

3. What is the source of its wealth?

Its great industries, especially its manufactures.

4. Are women represented in these industries? They are not represented in the sense of having a voice in legal adjustments but they are represented by the fruits of their labor.

5. Why have they no other representation in a matter so vital?

Each woman is supposed to be represented by a man who works for her, and provides her with food, clothing, and shelter.

6. Who supposes this?

The general public. It is a theory by which male suffrage is justified.

7. Have not male legislators supplied an alternative by providing industrial education and suitable employments for the women obliged to support themselves?

- 8. No. Men have always guarded their handicrafts jealously and would not appoint legislators who did not respect their prejudices.
- 9. How then have women found employments to support them?

As they found schooling, slowly and in the face of bitter opposition.

10. Have there not been always certain crafts open to women?

Yes. Sewing, weaving, spinning, household and agricultural labor.

11. Were not these sufficient for those obliged to support themselves?

Yes; in the early days of the colonies; but the Revolution made many widows, some with dependent children. It also made many girls fatherless, forcing them to earn for younger brothers and sisters as well as for themselves.

12. Did they find work?

Yes. The war with Great Britain closed her markets to us and obliged us to manufacture for ourselves. Clothing was the first necessity and with the production of this women were identified from the beginning.

13. Where did they work?

At home for a time, but the cultivation of cotton opened so large a field for labor that the homes no longer sufficed as workshops and factories were built. 14. When was the first factory built?

In 1790. By 1810, there were eighty-seven more.

15. How many women were employed in these factories?

In 1816, there were 66,000 women and girls.

16. How many men?

34,000 men and boys.

17. Under what conditions did women work in regard to wages, hours, and accommodations?

The wages were from a third to a half less than those paid to men. The hours were the same for both. The accommodations in some of the large New England mills were good, the owners conscientiously trying to consider the physical, moral, and mental welfare of the employees.

18. Then why did not this industry, supplanted by domestic and agricultural labor and needle-work suffice for women wage-earners?

Because the number was constantly increasing. In 1836 the tide of Irish immigration set in, bringing a host of applicants for work. This competition lowered all domestic, agricultural and factory wages.

19. Was not the number of factories constantly increasing?

Yes; but under bad conditions. Emigrants from other countries came, not driven from their

homes by famine like the Irish, but with capital and eager to make fortunes quickly. These built factories on the cheapest plan, hired women and girls, as their labor was cheapest, and men as overseers to extract the maximum of work. Children were cruelly whipped and women often urged or punished by blows. Accustomed to seeing women in Europe degraded to the level of beasts of burden in the mines, the factories, and the fields, these owners provided neither for health nor decency.

20. If there were thousands of women contributing by their labor directly to the revenues of the State, why did they not appeal to the State for protection?

They had no status, legal or social. They had no vote to command the interest of politicians, and they were not included in any of the protective unions of the male workers.

21. Since women were identified with the textile manufactures of the country from the beginning of it, were there schools of Industrial Art where they could learn the higher branches of the craft?

No; there were many such schools open to men, but no teaching was available to women, until the Cooper Institute was opened to them in New York in 1859.

22. Was that a provision of the male legislat-

ors for ameliorating the condition of female labor?

No; it was an individual philanthropy of inestimable help, but it could reach only a few. The general condition was hard, to judge from the statement of a manufacturer who said that he exclusively employed women at his mechanical looms; and that he preferred married women, especially the mothers of families which depended upon them for support, as they were more attentive and more tractable than the unmarried women, and were compelled to exert their strength to the uttermost to earn the means of subsistence.

23. What does the discrimination exercised against women in industrial employments prove? That men legislated against and not for them.

LESSON V

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENTS.—COMMERCIAL

1. Why did not women do clerical work, go into shops as sales-women, book-keepers, and cashiers?

Because of the opposition of the men engaged in those callings. They declared the entrance of women would be an infringement of their rights; that it would take the bread out of their mouths.

When merchants proposed employing women the male clerks threatened to leave in a body. It was not until after 1860 that women were employed to any extent in shops.

2. Was their employment in other branches of commerce hindered in the same manner?

Yes. It was declared a moral and physical impossibility for them to engage in any department of commerce or transportation, other than the various kinds of factory work, and the scrubbing and cleaning of business offices, railway stations, ferry and steamboats.

3. What were the moral objections to women taking charge of the books or correspondence of

offices, telegraphing, counting money, or following any of the other vocations they now do?

One was that women could not work in offices with men without being subjected to insult.

4. Why should they be insulted?

The theory was that when they invaded man's domain, they invited and deserved insult.

5. Were women insulted?

Yes, the pioneers were frequently insulted. Miss Clara Barton was the first woman clerk employed in the Patent office, and the men clerks objected to her intrusion. "They ranged themselves every morning in two rows, against the walls of the long corridor through which she had to pass on her way to her desk, staring hard at her, and whistling softly as she went by. Miss Barton felt the insult keenly, but she determined to bear it for the sake of the principle involved."

6. What was another moral objection?

That she neglected her home. Also that such employments degraded woman and in entering them she passed out of her sphere and unsexed herself.

- 7. What were the physical grounds? The delicacy of the female health.
- 8. How would these employments affect it? The concentration of vital energy required by such mental occupations as telegraphy, the

counting of money, keeping of books, above all, short-hand, would, it was said, inevitably re-act upon the delicate female constitution.

9. Who said this?

Physicians proved it theoretically in books and treatises. These were repeated and endorsed by press and pulpit.

10. Was scrubbing and cleaning, or factory work better adapted to women's constitutions?

In a branch of the work in the thread mills, women were obliged to stand on a stone floor in water the year round, with a spray from a revolving cylinder playing constantly against the breast. Every night, even the coldest in winter, they were forced to walk to their homes with the water dripping from their clothing because they were allowed no place or time in which to change.

11. Were the physicians, who feared the mental strain of commercial employments for women, aware of the physical strain of the industrial employments?

Perhaps not; Mr. Cooper said of a clergyman who preached against teaching women telegraphy, and stenography, "Dr. —— is of the wealthy class, and he has been used to deal with wealthy women. The world does not look like the same place to him that it does to me. If he could be in my place for a month, and read

the letters I get from poor and suffering women, he would think it best to have them taught anything they could learn to enable them to lessen all this trouble."

12. How was the fallacy of these moral and physical objections proved?

By the success of women in those branches of work.

13. What does the discrimination exercised against women in commercial employments prove?

That men legislated against and not for them.

LESSON VI

DISCRIMINATION IN PROFESSIONS.—TEACHING

1. In what professions had women gained distinction sixty-five years ago?

In the only ones opened to them, the drama and literature.

2. Why were these more suitable than teaching, medicine, the law, or the ministry?

They were not more suitable, but they were the only ones to which women were admitted.

3. Why were women admitted to these?

The pleasure the presence of women on the stage afforded the great and wealthy, secured their protection, and enabled the actress, songstress, or dancer to develop her talent and assume her natural position as the equal of men in the same profession.

4. Was that the case with women in literature? No; they were not protected in following it, neither were they prevented from engaging in literary work since it could be done independently in seclusion and without expense. Women were greatly hampered, however, by the difficulties placed in the way of their education.

5. When did women begin to teach?

Women taught from the earliest days of the colonies, but they were not legally entitled to wages until 1789. Before that they were obliged to trust to the honor of their employers.

6. After women were legally recognized as teachers, did the number increase?

Very rapidly. In 1837, the ratio of women teachers to men in the common schools was as five to three.

- 7. What was the cause of the rapid increase? Teaching was the only resource for women of Men of the same grade found conintellect. genial and remunerative employment in the church, in law, and in medicine, as well as in educational work.
- 8. Had these women sufficient intelligence to distinguish themselves in their work and reach an equality with men in the same profession?

Yes. Emma Hart Willard, born in 1787, began to teach in 1804, and while teaching continued to study, finding masters for the higher branches generally inaccessible to girls. In 1821 she established the Troy Seminary, introducing a higher curriculum than had ever been proposed for girls. She taught successfully until 1838, when she retired. Her influence was still felt as an educator in New York and Connecticut, where she superintended the public schools,

mrs.

and suggested new plans and methods of teaching, advising normal schools long before they were introduced. She wrote several historical and geographical text-books. Her "Temple of Time and Chronographer of Ancient History" received a medal at the World's Fair of 1851. Her treatise on the "Motive Powers which produce the Circulation of the Blood" attracted the notice of the medical faculty and placed her among scientific discoverers.

9. Did not Miss Willard stand alone among women educators?

No. Mary Lyon accomplished as much.

10. How was she distinguished?

As the founder of the first women's college in America. Mary Lyon was born in 1797 and began to teach about 1818. She was obliged to work for the money to pay her tuition, and to study while teaching, in order to acquire the higher branches. For some years she allowed herself only four hours out of the twenty-four for sleep. In 1828 she opened a school at Ipswich. Her pupils were from the wealthy class, but her desire was to place an education within the power of poor girls. The result of this sympathy was the building of Mount Holyoke Seminary. She planned it, travelled to gather subscriptions for it, superintended the building, helped to clear away the rubbish and put in the

furniture. When the corner-stone was laid she said: "I have lived to see a body of gentlemen venture to lay the corner-stone of an edifice which will cost about fifteen thousand dollars for the education of women." The work was accomplished in 1837, and a college was opened to women two hundred years after the opening of Harvard.

11. Were not these women exceptional?

They were exceptional in that they were pioneers. They were not exceptional in ability or earnestness. From their entrance into educational work, women have placed themselves on an equality with men, although two hundred years behind them in opportunities.

12. Did they receive the same pay as men for the same work?

No, it was never the same, always from a half to a third less.

13. Did they pay from a half to a third less for the commodities they worked for?

No, they paid the same as men.

LESSON VII

DISCRIMINATION IN PROFESSIONS. - MEDICINE

1. When did women enter medicine?

They had always practiced one branch, that of mid-wifery. In a colonial town register of 1663, mention is made of a Dr. Sam Fuller and his mother, he a general practitioner, she a midwife. No doubt such partnerships often existed between husband and wife as well as between mother and son.

2. Did women practice medicine independently also?

Yes. Many were noted for their ability and devotion, as Mrs. Whitmore, who frequently travelled "through the woods on snow-shoes from one part of the town to another by night and by day, to relieve the distressed."

3. Were they graduates of medical schools? No. There were no schools of medicine in the colonies, nor was medicine developed as a science until after the Revolution, when the disease and mutilation engendered by war gave an extraordinary impulse to medical art and opened a much broader field to the profession.

4. Since the founding of colonies is generally attended with hardships and consequent illness, why were not more physicians needed during that period?

Because the women of the households distilled herbs and doctored as well as nursed the sick. Many were also skilled in rudimentary surgery, could dress wounds, reduce swellings, and even care for dislocations and fractures.

5. When schools were established for the scientific study of medicine, were not these women, already fitted by their experience in nursing, among the first to avail themselves of instruction?

They desired to study but were not permitted. In the words of a physician of the time: "It was one of the first and happiest fruits of improved medical education in America, that females were excluded from practice; and this has only been effected by the united and persevering efforts of some of the most distinguished individuals of the profession."

6. Why did these distinguished individuals unite to drive females from the profession? Did the sick desire to be delivered from women doctors and nurses?

No; women nurses were never driven from the profession and could not be while human relationships existed; nor were women doctors obnoxious, since women composed the great major-

ity of the sick, and many of these desired women to attend them.

7. What reasons were given for excluding women from the study of medicine?

The immodesty of the study for women. The mental incapacity of women. The financial injury to men of women's competition.

8. Why was the study of medicine more immodest for women than for men?

It was not. It was simply incompatible with a sentimental theory.

9. Was the allegation of mental incapacity better founded?

No; but there were grounds for it. The Latin schools, high schools, and colleges established for young men prepared them for scientific study. The lack of such provision for young women partially justified the accusations of ignorance made against them.

10. Was the competition of women dangerous financially?

Yes. With the advancement of medical science, mid-wifery developed into obstetrics and became one of the most remunerative branches of the profession. A leading medical journal stated that "the serious inroads made by female physicians into obstetrical business, one of the essential branches of income to a majority of

well established practitioners, make it natural enough to enquire what course to pursue."

11. What was the method adopted?

That of debarring all women from any course of medical instruction.

12. How was this barrier removed?

By the pioneers, who proved women's ability to study and practice medicine. Their courage and perseverance won sympathy and aid; schools were opened or built for them; and finally they were admitted to the universities.

13. Who were the pioneers?

Harriot K. Hunt, born in Boston in 1805 was the first. She studied under private tuition and in 1835 began to practice. In 1847 she applied to the Faculty of Harvard for permission to attend a course of medical lectures but was refused. In 1850 she applied again, hoping that the graduation of Elizabeth Blackwell at Geneva, N. Y., might have created a more favorable feeling. Her application was considered and it was voted "that Miss Hunt be admitted to the lectures on the usual terms, provided that her admission be not deemed inconsistent with the statutes." A week later it was announced that the "statutes of the Medical School offered no obstacles to the admission of female students to their lectures." The students threatened a revolt, however, and Miss Hunt withdrew her request. She continued

Longshore were equally interesting. Mary Putnam Jacobi received her diploma from the Paris École de Médecine. Her graduating thesis was awarded the second prize. In 1876 she won the Boylston prize, conferred by Harvard University. The prizes were awarded in ignorance of the writers, and consequently of their sex.

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LESSON VIII

DISCRIMINATION IN PROFESSIONS.—THE LAW

1. When did women first practice law in the United States?

There is one instance cited of a woman, Mistress Margaret Brent, acting as attorney in Maryland, in 1648. No one else is mentioned until 1869; and from that time until the opening of the universities to them, the story of the women who through inherited talent, conviction, or intellectual prediliction desired to enter law is the same as that of the women who desired to enter medicine.

2. What do you mean by inherited talent?

That daughters receive their mental and spiritual characteristics as often from their fathers as from their mothers. Instances of the talents of the lawyer, the clergyman, or the physician reappearing in their daughters are so common as hardly to excite comment.

3. What do you mean by conviction?

The belief that when crimes or misdemeanors in which women are implicated are to be judged, women should be among the judges; that the unrestrained power of one sex to make laws for the other is subversive of justice.

4. Are the laws more favorable to men than to women?

Yes; especially those relating to marriage.

- 5. How do they discriminate against women? According to the Common Law which is at the basis of English and American jurisprudence: "Unity in marriage is made the cardinal point. To secure this unity the law starts with the assumption that the wife's legal existence becomes suspended or extinguished during the marriage state; it sacrifices her property interests and places her almost absolutely within her husband's keeping so far as her civil rights are concerned. Her fortune passes by marriage into her husband's hands for temporary or permanent enjoyment as the case may be; she cannot earn for herself, nor, in general, contract, sue, or be sued in her own right; and this because she is not, in legal contemplation, a person."
- 6. Do not these laws place a woman absolutely in the power of her husband?

Yes; in summing up these laws, the commentator says: "And if her life has been, legally speaking, at her husband's mercy, her constant study to please has kept him generally merciful."

7. What does the law demand of the husband?

That he shall pay her debts contracted before marriage, "and while coverture lasts shall be liable for all just debts incurred in her support. He has even been held guilty of murder in second degree when he has suffered her to die for want of proper supplies." Also, "the husband is liable to be sued in conjunction with the wife for wrongs perpetrated with her . . . he takes the benefit of such injuries as she may suffer by suing with her and appropriating the compensation of damages to himself."

8. Then if a man married a rich woman did her property immediately become his to dispose of?

Yes; he could appropriate it to his own uses, or it could be seized to pay his debts. An instance occurred in Kentucky, where the sheriff waited at the church door until the conclusion of the marriage ceremony and then seized the carriage and horses of the bride to satisfy the bridegroom's debts.

9. When was this?

Previous to March, 1894; for then a bill was passed in Kentucky giving married women control over their property, and enabling them to will it away.

10. Did marriage also deprive a woman of the power to make a will?

Yes; to quote the common law again: "She

cannot restrain his rights by will. She is not allowed to administer on his personal estate in preference to his own kindred, though the whole of it was once hers; while he can administer on her estate for his own benefit, and exclude her kindred altogether, even from participation in the assets."

11. Are these laws still in force?

No; they have been changed or ameliorated in almost every State by what are familiarly known as the "married women's acts". These are due to special legislation since 1848, and have been largely effected by the advocates of woman suffrage. Even before the convention at Seneca Falls, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had been working to secure independent property rights for married women in New York State.

12. Was she interested in law?

Yes; she was the daughter of an eminent lawyer, and inherited from him a clear judicial insight and forensic eloquence.

13. Did Mrs. Stanton study law?

No, she took no regular course of study, but she says: "In my earliest girlhood I spent much of my time in my father's office. There, I heard many sad complaints made by women of the injustice of the laws. In our Scotch neighborhood many men still retained the old feudal ideas of women and property. Fathers, at their death, would will the bulk of their property to the eldest son, with the proviso that the mother was to have a home with him. Hence it was not unusual for the mother, who had brought all the property into the family, to be made an unhappy dependent on the bounty of an uncongenial daughter-in-law and a dissipated son. The tears and complaints of the women who came to my father for legal advice, touched my heart and early drew my attention to the injustice and cruelty of the laws. One evening my father said to me: 'When you are grown up, and able to prepare a speech, you must go down to Albany and talk to the legislators; tell them all you have seen in this office—the sufferings of these Scotch women robbed of their inheritance and left dependent upon their unworthy sons, and, if you can persuade them to pass new laws the old ones will be a dead letter."

14. What did those who called the convention at Seneca Falls expect?

They expected that a revelation of the inequalities of the laws concerning women, and of the cruelties to which wives, widows, and mothers could legally be subjected, would awaken universal sympathy, and that action would be taken for the elimination of the obnoxious statutes. They also expected that the desires of intelligent women for liberal education, and professional

training, which would fit them for congenial work, would be received with sympathy and respect. They even expected that they might ask with impunity to share in the local, State, and national government conducted by their fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons.

15. What did they find?

They found their statements and requests received with a storm of ridicule and abuse. The "terrible example", which had figured as the "college-bred woman", or "blue-stocking", when Mrs. Willard opened the Troy Seminary twenty years earlier, re-appeared as the "strong minded woman". Each possessed the same characteristics: short hair, spectacles, lank proportions, and hybrid costume. No epithets were too coarse to describe this creature, which bore, indifferently, the features of Susan Anthony, Lucretia Mott, the Grimke sisters, Lucy Stone, or any woman identified with the movement. "No words," Mrs. Stanton said, "could express our astonishment on finding, a few days afterward, that what seemed to us so timely, so rational, and so sacred, should be a subject for sarcasm and ridicule to the entire press of the nation."

16. When was the bill passed which gave the married women of New York State the control of their property?

In 1860, as the final result of a series of enactments dating from 1848. The women of West Virginia and Rhode Island did not receive this right until 1893; those of Kentucky until 1894, and of Alabama until 1895. There are still five States, Florida, Idaho, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas, where the husband has control of the wife's property; and three more, Alabama, New Mexico, and North Carolina, in which the wife's control is not complete.

17. Did the same bill give married women the right to will their property?

No. That was not conferred in New York until 1867; but in 1860 they were permitted to have control of their wages in that State.

18. To whom had the law previously given the wages which women earned?

To their husbands. To quote again from the common law: "She cannot earn money for herself. She cannot, jointly with her husband, or alone, sign or indorse a promissory note, so as to bind herself, nor execute a bond or other instrument under seal, nor purchase on her own credit, nor agree to keep a money deposit payable on demand, nor bind herself by a recognizance, nor execute a letter of attorney, nor otherwise make a valid contract. So her earnings belong to her husband. Marriage, therefore, acts as a gift to the husband; this privilege of

the husband lasts as long as the marriage relation continues, even though he be living apart from his wife, and she acquire the property by her own labor or by bequest. Neither divorce from bed and board nor separation takes away his right, but divorce from the bonds of matrimony, or the death of either party, puts an end to the gifts of coverture." By this same law the wife's clothing belongs to the husband, though the law further states that this clothing is for the "wife's use like her victuals and other necessities, and he must not wantonly deprive her of it so as to leave her destitute."

If one considers the number of laboring women whose religion prohibits divorce it will be seen that the laws have builded a straight and narrow prison for them.

19. Have women the right to their wages in all the States now?

No. "In Louisiana and Texas there has been no statutory change, and wages are community property and in the husband's control. In a number of States, special acts have granted the wife control of her wages under certain conditions. In Arizona, California, Idaho, Oklahoma, North and South Dakota, they are only her own if she is living separate from her husband; in Georgia, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, Oregon, and Virginia, only if she is separate or a

registered free trader; in Missouri, only if she is not supported by her husband; and in Tennessee, only if she has been permitted by her husband to receive and retain them." One of the most cruel discriminations of all, that against women as mothers, has been and still remains the most difficult to remove. It was not until 1893 that married mothers in New York State were allowed an equal right to their children.

20. How could a mother be deprived of her right to her children?

The common law asserted that she had none. According to Blackstone: "Mothers, as such, are entitled to no power, only reverence and respect." The father's power was absolute at every period of the child's existence. A nursing infant might be taken from its mother's arms and given over to the husband's relatives, or to any person whom he chose to appoint as guardian. If the mother resisted, the power of the law could be invoked to compel her obedience. The unborn child might be willed to the father's family, or, to whatever guardian he chose to assign it. In accordance with this law, the child might be removed from its mother at birth and withheld from her during its minority. The father was protected in the exercise of these rights, the mother legally restrained from following her child or annoying the guardians appointed by the father.

21. How could such a law be framed?

The statute regulating Testamentary Guardianship provided that "any father, whether a minor or of full age, might by deed executed in his lifetime, or by his last will and testament, dispose of the custody and tuition of his child whether born or unborn, to any person, or persons in possession or remainder—such custody to last till the child attained the age of twenty-one, or any less period, and to comprehend meantime the entire management of his estate both real and personal. But a mother could not appoint, nor a putative father, nor a person in loco parentis."

22. In what States have mothers an equal

right to the control of their children?

In seven; these are Colorado, since 1895; Kansas, since 1868; Maine, since 1895; Nebraska, since 1895; New York, since 1893; Pennsyl-Jowa vania, since 1895; Rhode Island, since 1896, Ill. These are the only States in the union where consideration. These are the only States in the union where consideration. Against this cruel law, "brind full of mother's tears", the women of the United States and Great Britain have appealed and protested for years. The History of Woman Suffrage, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, gives many details of the struggle in this country,

and shows why Kansas is almost thirty years in advance of her six sister States in repealing this iniquitous law.

23. Why is the expression "married mother" used? Does the law differ in regard to the control of legitimate and illegitimate children?

It does materially. The illegitimate children are placed in the control of the mother. According to the common law "The illegitimate child follows the settlement of the mother," and "The putative father is under no legal responsibility to support his illegitimate offspring."

24. If the father is released from all obligation, what becomes of the child?

We are told, by the same law that relieves the father, that "the mother is, in any case, bound to maintain her bastard child under sixteen, unless such child meantime marries or acquires a settlement of its own; and that such child shall follow the settlement of the mother. And if, being of ability, she neglects to support such child, whereby it becomes chargeable to the parish, she may be punished under the Vagrant Act." The mother upon whom this responsibility is forced may not, in some of our States, be a day over fourteen years of age, an age at which the law holds her, in every other relationship, an infant and under tutelage. Thus the children of mature, educated mothers, with

moral standing, may be deprived of that mother's care and tuition, while the children of immature, ignorant mothers, poor, and without moral standing, are debarred of all claim upon their fathers and forced to follow the "settlement of the mother".

25. How do the laws of the State affect the age of the mother?

The State sets an age limit to the protection of its female children. This limit varies in different States; in twenty-nine, the limit originally set was ten years of age. This law also has been for years a subject of appeal and protest, but little change has been effected. It is to the existence of such laws as these, and the tragedies consequent upon them, that many women owe their convictions as to the necessity of women in law.

LESSON IX

DISCRIMINATION IN PROFESSIONS.—THE MINISTRY

1. Have women taken any part in founding, developing or maintaining the various religious organizations in the United States?

They have taken a prominent part in all. There is not a church of any denomination that does not, to a great degree, owe its successful establishment to the enthusiasm of women; whose extension is not due to the efforts of women; and which is not largely maintained by women.

2. Was the founding of churches in this country attended with hardship or danger?

It was attended with great hardship and imminent danger, to which the women were exposed equally with the men. They were as liable to captivity, death, or torture at the hands of the savages, or to persecution on doctrinal grounds by members of their own or other communities.

3. Were any of these women ordained to preach and in receipt of a salary?

No; none were ordained or received a salary. One woman did preach, that "master-piece of

woman's wit", Anne Hutchinson, and the struggle of that brilliant woman of the seventeenth century resembled the struggles of brilliant women of the nineteenth century. Mrs. Hutchinson came to this country in 1635. At that time "The Intellect of New England" was active in religious things, and Sermons and Lectures were the staple of conversation. It was common for the Listeners on the Lord's day to take notes, and during the week to meet once, or oftener, and discuss the doctrines advanced. The vigorous and daring mind of Mrs. Hutchinson conceived the idea of supplying a want, and she began to hold weekly meetings for women, where her eloquence and earnestness greatly moved her She at once collected all the best hearers. women in the town and from the country round about, to the number of seventy, and her meetings rivaled even the "Great and Thursday Lecture ". Mrs. Hutchinson introduced new watch words, such as the "Covenant of Works" and the "Covenant of Grace". Under one or the other of these she and her friends classified the "Ministers of the Bay". She was supported by Sir Harry Vane, the minister John Cotton, and nearly the whole people of Boston, while she was opposed by the great body of magistrates and ministers, headed by Winthrop. The situation became so critical that a grand Synod

or Council of all the ministers was convoked at Newtown-Cambridge. As a result of this conference it was decided to deal with Mrs. Hutchinson "in a Church way, and she was afflicted with infinite discussions, but upon some points, she maintained her own; and so she could not be brought 'to see her Sin'." The church, with one consent, cast her out. After Mrs. Hutchinson's excommunication, her spirits revived, for she had been much dejected, and she gloried in her sufferings. Vane and those who supported her were put out of power. The women too, who, under Mrs. Hutchinson, had begun to aspire to a voice in church matters at least, were also put down. The Synod resolved: "That though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another, yet such a set assembly (as was then in practice in Boston) where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a prophetical way, by resolving questions of doctrine and expounding Scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly and without rule." Mrs. Hutchinson was banished to the wilderness, but was followed by such numbers that the wise men of Massachusetts accused her of witchcraft. Driven constantly farther by persecution, she advanced to the borders of the Dutch settlements and fell a victim to the Indians. "So perished in the

prime of her years a woman fitted to adorn and enlighten any society by the elevation of her character and the superiority of her intellect. But death was no protection to her. Few who had opposed her, doubted that God had forgotten his majesty, and had instigated the Indians to punish her for her heresies." Mr. Hooker, who was a kind man, "The Light of the Western Churches", said, "The expressions of Providence against this wretched woman hath proceeded from the Lord's miraculous mercy, and his bare arm has been discovered." As her memory was clouded for years by slander, so have been the memories of other women of the nineteenth century, who had the courage to protest against certain laws which were considered too vile for women to discuss, but which were not too vile to remain upon the statute books.

4. Who followed Mrs. Hutchinson?

No one in New England for many years. The resolutions of the Synod were strictly enforced, and the only women who disobeyed them, members of the Society of Friends, who also sought toleration and freedom in the new world, were publicly whipped by the hangman and driven out into the wilderness. The sight of these lacerated creatures did not encourage other women to take any part as religious leaders.

5. Were women more successful in the other colonies?

Barbara Heck, called the "Founder of American Methodism", who came to New York in 1760, was apparently not interfered with by the authorities. She probably did not preach publicly, but animated Philip Embury, the preacher who accompanied her and built up the church by her zeal and perseverance.

6. Who was the first woman ordained to preach in the United States?

Antoinette Brown in 18253. From her childhood she had expressed the desire to be a preacher. When she was twenty-one she went to Oberlin to study theology, teaching while there to pay for her collegiate course. It was the custom for the theological students to receive a license to preach, and before finishing their course they often spoke in the neighborhood. When Miss Brown asked for this license the professors decided "that she was a resident graduate, pursuing the theological course, but not a member of the theological department, and, consequently, she needed no license from the institution, but must preach or be silent on her own responsibility." She assumed the responsibility of speaking and preached in many places in Ohio. 1853, she was ordained pastor of a Congregational church in South Butler, Wayne County, New York. Mrs. Blackwell and her South Butler church members were branded as infidels by

a prominent New York clergyman. The church papers which published in full his accusations only gave fragments of Mrs. Blackwell's reply. In 1854, she was a delegate from the Wayne County Society to the World's Temperance convention. She was denied her seat because she was a woman, although Wendell Philips and William H. Channing made eloquent speeches in favor of her admission. It is just forty-seven years since Antoinette Brown Blackwell was howled down by an assembly of men in the Christian ministry, members of her own church, because she desired to enroll her name with theirs in a World's Temperance convention. It also marks the progress of events that it was not until 1891 that Oberlin printed the names of its women theological students upon the triennial catalogue.

7. Have any women in the United States, since Anne Hutchinson, been celebrated as preachers?

Yes; Lucretia Mott. Robert Collyer says, "I once heard her at a wood-meeting up among the hills. She was well on in years then, but the old fire still burned clear, and God's breath touched her out of heaven and she prophesied. For two hours she held the multitude spell-bound, waiting on her words. I have said she prophesied, No other term would answer to her speech."

8. How did Lucretia Mott defend a woman's right to preach?

In answer to the standard arguments against women's preaching founded on citations from Saint Paul, she said: "Even admitting that Paul did mean preach when he used that term, he did not say that the recommendation of that time was to be applicable to the churches of all aftertime. . . We should find, comparing text with text, that a very different construction might be put upon them. . . . In the same epistle to the same church, Paul gave express directions how a woman shall prophesy, which he defines to be preaching, 'speaking to men for exhortation and comfort'. He recognized them in prophesying and praying. The word translated servant is applied to a man in one part of the Scriptures, and in another it is translated 'minister'. Now that same word you will find might be applied to Phœbe, a deaconess. . . . In this same epistle the word prophesying should be preaching—preaching godliness. . . . The language of the Bible is beautiful in its repetition - 'Upon my servants and my hand-maidens I will pour out my spirit and they shall prophesy.""

9. In what words did she state her call to be a preacher?

In stating her call as a preacher she says: "I searched the Scriptures daily, often finding a construction of the text wholly different from that which has been pressed on our acceptance.

The highest evidence of a sound faith being the practical life of a Christian, I have felt a far greater interest in the moral movements of the age than in any theological discussion." The path of duty which Lucretia Mott elected to follow led through dangerous ways, and more than once during anti-slavery days she was threatened with a violent death; but she never wavered in her steadfastness or lost her serenity.

10. What event occurred in 1840 to impress upon her the indignity of the treatment of women?

In 1840 she was one of the four delegates chosen to represent the Philadelphia branch of the American Anti-Slavery Society at the World's convention. This convention was held in London, but when the delegates reached that city Lucretia Mott was denied her seat because she was a woman. Speaking of this experience in her notes, she says: "In 1840 a World's Anti-Slavery convention was called in London. Women from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were delegates to that convention. I was one of the number, but on our arrival in England our credentials were not accepted because we were women. This brought the woman question more into view, and an increase of interest in the subject has been the result."

It was in London, at the time of this conven-

tion that Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton met, and the direct result of that meeting was the call for the first Woman's Rights convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, July 19 and 20, 1848. "And from that gathering of earnest, brave, but inexperienced women, who made written additions to the Declaration of Independence to meet their own special demands, wrongs, and needs—fifty-three years ago, have evolved by a natural law the great, splendidly-organized, wisely-regulated yearly conventions of women of to-day."

LESSON X

THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1. What do the facts given in the previous lessons show?

They show the injustice inflicted upon one sex when wholly governed by the other. They show that under the laws made exclusively by men for women, women have been cruelly oppressed in every condition of life; that they have been systematically deprived of education, and then despised and ridiculed for their enforced ignorance; that when a few intrepid women secured an education for themselves, and sought to lift other women to their level, their efforts were opposed and mocked by the mass of men; that when women were forced by the circumstances of their lives to labor, they were relegated to the kind of toil which paid the least, and though their hours were as long as those of the men who labored with them, and the amount of work required was the same for men and women, the women were paid one-half the sum that men were paid; that when women sought work of a higher and more remunerative kind they were

met with derisive or abusive opposition; that when, with marvellous self-denial and industry, women fitted themselves for professional work their claims to enter upon it were harshly or insultingly rejected by professional men; and that in the domestic relations, those relations in which women were supposed to be enshrined and which formed their "sphere", injustice degenerated into the worst of tyranny. It is upon the laws regulating and defining this "sphere" that the compiler, commentating upon them, observes: "And if her life has been, legally speaking, at her husband's mercy, her constant study to please has kept him generally merciful."

2. What general progress has Woman Suffrage made?

The most recent compilation of statistics, beginning at the beginning says: "Sixty-five years ago, women could not vote anywhere. In 1838 Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows. In 1850 Ontario gave it to women both married and single. In 1861 Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867 New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869 England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows, Victoria gave it to women both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women. In 1871 West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was

granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880 by New York and Vermont. In 1880 South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. In 1881 municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883, Ontario and Tasmania gave them municipal suffrage in 1884, and Wisconsin gave them school suffrage in 1885. In 1886 municipal suffrage was given in New Zealand and New Brunswick, and school suffrage in the State of Washington. In 1887 municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, and New Jersey. In the same year Montana gave taxpaving women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers. In 1888 England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the North West Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889 county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891 school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894 school suffrage was granted in Ohio, a limited municipal suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women both married and single. In 1895 full suffrage was granted in South Australia to women both married and single. In 1896 full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho. In 1898 the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all officers except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; French women engaged in commerce were given the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce, and Louisiana gave taxpaying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpavers. In 1900 West Australia granted full Parliamentary suffrage to women both married and single. Verily, the world moves." (A. S. B. Woman's Journal.)

3. Does the movement extend throughout the civilized world?

Yes, and its progress proves its necessity as its gathering momentum proves its vitality. The barriers erected to check its course only add to its impetus. Every successful reform passes through the same phases. The change effected in the status of women during the last sixty years is little short of marvellous, and as a result of this change women are told that they do not need the ballot because they have all they require without it. They can, they are told, go

through college, enter the professions, make a will, carry on a business, have control over their own property; but the manner in which these rights have been acquired is not stated. The fact that they are due to the life-long labor of such women as Susan B. Anthony, who has consecrated herself to the uplifting of women, is not mentioned, but the facts are to be found in contemporary history, a history, as yet, confined principally to biographies and special articles. But from those and the *History of Woman Suffrage* can be learned how and when each concession was obtained. It will be found too, that generous, liberal-minded men have helped in each step of the painful upward progress.

4. Is it true, according to the statements of those opposed to suffrage, that women now have all the rights essential to their happiness, and that the ballot would prove a painful and embarrassing responsibility?

The lesson on law shows that in seven States only have married mothers a right to their children. That is a right that would seem essential to most women's happiness. The arguments used to prove the embarrassment, suffering, or degradation consequent upon the ballot in the hands of women, have all been used before. The educational and professional papers in Woman's Work in America, quote them all and the

accomplished events prove the falseness of every promise. The woman collegian is, on the average, mentally and physically sound; the business or professional woman is, on the average, morally and mentally sound. Neither the woman exponent of the higher education, or the woman exponent of the broader life is repulsive in appearance or freakish in dress; yet these results were pronounced inevitable by the self-elected prophets who have been standing in the path of women's progress since the movement was inaugurated.

5. Is there a history of the inception, use, and progress, of the movement?

Yes, the *History of Woman Suffrage* records it very fully. With that, as with all histories, collateral reading is essential to a full knowledge of the people and times and for that purpose the following books are suggested:

Eighty Years and More, Stanton, E. C.

Eminent Women of the Age, Parton, James. History of Mount Holyoke Seminary.

History of New England, Elliot. Vol. 1 for Anne Hutchinson.

Law of Domestic Relations, Schouler, James. Law of Married Women in Massachusetts, Ernst.

Life of D. A. Dix, Tiffany.

Life and Letters of Lucretia Mott, Halowell.

Life of A. G. Weld, Birney. Life of Dr. Marie Zakrzewska Dall. The woman question in Europe, Stanton. Women of the War, Moore. Woman's Work in America, Meyer.

Woman's Work in the Civil War, Brackett and Vaughan.

Women Wage-earners, Campbell.

These books can be found in most free libraries. They do not cover the field but there are many more on the same subject and all that is needed to prove the absolute necessity for woman suffrage is an intelligent study of the question.





