

NATIONAL PRESS DEPARTMENT
Rose Young, Chairman

INFORMATION SERVICE

I What is Suffrage?

The suffrage is the right to express by voice or vote, the individual's will in the conduct of his or her government.

II What's a Ballot?

The ballot is the written or printed form of such expression. It is now almost universally used for all public election purposes and has become the symbol of the suffrage. "To confer the ballot" upon any person is equivalent to saying, he, or she, has been granted the suffrage. To be "enfranchised" is another phrase with the same meaning.

III Has Voting Always Been by Ballot?

No. In early days voting at public elections was sometimes by the spoken word. In certain town meetings of to-day (when questions of money are not being voted upon) the vote is taken by acclamation--that is, by Ayes and Noes--or by lifting the hand.

This indicates how simple is the question of suffrage. It is the same thing that happens in a meeting of High School boys and girls to elect a class president or to decide matters of self-government where all the members of the class are on an equal footing.

Going to the polls and dropping in a ballot for city officials or for public measures is the same thing as a school election only in a more complicated form.

Boys and girls go to school side by side; they study the same things about civil government; they vote equally in school elections. Why should men and women stop doing together at 21 the things they were doing on equal terms at 18?

IV What is Woman Suffrage?

It is the extension to adult women of the same right to participate in government by the people, which adult men now enjoy.

V Who Have It?

Women in Denmark, Russia, Norway, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, England, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, Ireland, Holland, the new republics of Germany, Hungary and Poland.

In the United States there are now 15 full suffrage states and one territory. These states are (in order of their suffrage victories) Wyoming 1869, Colorado 1893, Utah and Idaho 1896, Washington 1910, California 1911, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon 1912, Alaska Territory, 1913, Montana and Nevada 1914, New York 1917, Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma 1918.

The number of women of voting age in the 15 states is 7,303,288. In addition nine states, Illinois 1913, North Dakota, Nebraska and Rhode Island 1917, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri and Maine in 1919 have won presidential suffrage.

These 24 states with Arkansas (1917) and Texas (1918), where women have full primary suffrage, give women a voice in 277 electoral votes out of a total of 531.

The total number of women over 21, in states where women have a voice in choosing the President of the United States is 14,196,675.

The total number of women of voting age in the United States is 27,238,187. Therefore more than half may vote for President in 1920.

in Vermont has municipal suffrage which adds 128,328 women, making all 14,325,003 women with a large degree of suffrage.

VI How Long Have Women Sought and How Have They Obtained The Vote?

The first state in the Union and, perhaps, the first commonwealth in the world to grant women the right to vote on public questions was Kentucky which gave school suffrage in 1838 to widows with children of school age.

Women of great intellectual gifts, like Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Lucy Stone, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Elizabeth Cady Stanton began working and talking for woman suffrage before the middle of the nineteenth century. The first woman's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York seventy years ago in the summer of 1848. There has never been a halt in woman's work for equal rights since then.

All of the states but Wyoming have been won for full suffrage by a referendum to the people, that is by a popular vote. The right of women to the ballot in most other countries has been by Parliamentary grant and the foundation for enfranchising males in the United States was, in the main, established by the original constitutions of the several states.

Since the Civil War all new state constitutions have been submitted to the referendum. Until then, this method of adoption was exceptional. Of the 34 states in the Union up to 1862 the constitutions of only ten were voted on by the people. In the whole group of Central Western States of this period, not the people themselves but the Federal Congress laid down the method of adoption of the constitutions for statehood, suffrage clause and all.

It is true that in many of the 34, later constitutions or amendments were submitted to the referendum. But the fact remains that the foundation for male suffrage in half our states was not the gift of the people themselves.

Moreover, wherever extensions to male suffrage have been granted by popular vote, it has been by a vote of males, not by that of an opposite sex exclusively, as has been the rule in the popular elections to which woman suffrage has been submitted. With such a handicap for women is it little wonder that it has taken fifty years to gain full suffrage for women in fifteen states?

* Enclosures-Map and list of State victories

What is the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment?

VII

In 1869--fifty years ago--the National Woman Suffrage Association was begun. One of its objects was to secure a federal suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States similar to the IVth. After several experimental measures, the following was first introduced into the Senate, January 10, 1878 by Senator A.A. Sargent which, fifty years later to a day, passed the House of Representatives:

"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 article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said 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.

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

*Enclosure- complete program of Congressional Suffrage acts.

Here follows a brief summary of the fate of this amendment. It was reported from Committee in the U.S. Senate twelve times between 1878 and 1917, eight times favorably, once adversely, twice "without recommendation" and once unanimously.

It was reported ten times in the House between 1885 and 1918. In 1917 the Woman Suffrage Committee of the House was formed. At that date the yes vote was 181-107 nays.

It was reported favorably again in the House on January 3, 1918, voted on and adopted on January 10, yeas 274, nays 136, (410 members voting.) It had previously been voted upon and defeated in the House on January 12, 1915-yeas 174, nays 204 (378 Voting).

The federal suffrage amendment was voted on in the Senate four times: unfavorably in 1887; favorably, but without a two-thirds majority, in 1914. On October 1, 1918, it lacked two votes of a favorable two-thirds majority and on February 10, 1919, it lacked one vote.

VIII

Is This Amendment Against State Rights?

It is not for two reasons: The federal suffrage amendment is not a law, it is a resolution to submit the question of woman suffrage to the separate states for action. When it becomes the right of any state to reject or accept it.

In the second place it is in line with the original United States Constitution which begins: "We, the people of the United States and people should justly include women. There was no qualifying word male in the Constitution until more than 75 years after it was drawn up, when the 14th Amendment was added.

IX What is the Matter With the State-By-State Method of Getting Suffrage for Women?

Every state gained for suffrage has cost the women of that state time, energy and money which they would like to have put into other social reforms. New York State had 5,000 women in official suffrage work from 1913 to 1917 (not paid positions) who gave their time through two successive campaigns (four years) to win the vote. This was in intensive campaigns only. For sixty-five years before that, many women had worked and lectured for the cause of suffrage, sowing the seed for the final harvest.

Besides the 3,000 women officials in New York thousands of other women canvassed all the men voters to get their opinions on suffrage. They also canvassed women to see whether they wanted to vote or not, getting 1,020,000 signatures of women who asked for the ballot. It cost many thousands of dollars to print and distribute circulars and to do the necessary clerical work for such a large undertaking.

In 1918 the women of three more states had to undergo the same toil and expense.

Is it sensible, or kind, or economical to put women to such hard work to gain what men have gained with little, or no work?

Women have worked harder for their enfranchisement than any class of men in the United States ever worked for any measure.

X Why Do Women Prefer Enfranchisement by the Federal Suffrage Amendment?

To give federal support to enfranchising women is to re-establish those very principles of popular government on which the original constitution was drawn. This method puts woman suffrage upon the same just and sane basis as manhood suffrage.

It avoids the hardships and laborious delays of state work, and it equalizes the political opportunities of women and men in these states. It is the democratic way.

XI How Does the Federal Suffrage Amendment Grant Women The Ballot?

If three-fourths of the state legislatures ratify the amendment, (that is vote to accept it) it will be accepted as a part of the Constitution of the United States and women's enfranchisement will become assured in a very few years, perhaps in a few months.

XII Is There Any Reason Why The Federal Method Of Enfranchising Women Is Better Than The State-By-State Method?

Yes the most important of all. Several state constitutions are very difficult to amend, and full suffrage can only be given women by the state method, by an amendment to each state constitution. This amendment must first pass the Legislature (frequently two successive Legislatures) and then be submitted to the people for their acceptance. This submission to the people is called a referendum.

Take the case of two Southern states: In South Carolina, after an amendment has been submitted by a two-thirds vote of two Legislatures and has received a majority of as many votes as were cast for representatives in the Legislature, this body at its next session may nullify the election. In Mississippi, also the Legislature may annul the vote even after an amendment has received a majority of the highest number of votes cast at the election, at which it was presented. Woman Suffrage by state action in South Carolina and Mississippi is, therefore, practically impossible. Other states whose constitutions are hard to amend are New Mexico and Indiana. Quite often voters simply omit to mark their ballots on questions which require special study, and this omission to vote (called the silent vote) is in some states counted against the amendment.

XIII Are There Any Other Ways In Which Women Are Gaining The Vote Except By The Federal Amendment and By Referendum to the People?

Yes. Legislature of ten states-Illinois, North Dakota, Nebraska, Rhode Island, Indiana, Vermont*, Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota and Missouri have given women the right to vote for presidential electors. This right may be granted, according to the provisions of the United States Constitution, by legislative action and does not need a popular vote to ratify it.

*In Vermont the Governor vetoed the Presidential bill. The State Senate then passed it by a two to one vote over the Governor's veto, but the Assembly did not sustain the Senate. The question is now (April 1919) being carried to higher authorities for final settlement.

Full primary suffrage-which in one-party states amounts to full suffrage-has been accorded the women of Texas and Arkansas by their state Legislatures.

XIV

What About The Negro Woman's Vote?

The white vote in all the states south of Mason and Dixon's line would be strengthened by woman suffrage. In fifteen Southern states there are 8,788,901 white women or 4,472,336 more white than negro, women. The total negro population, men and women, is 8,294,276 which is less than the number of white women alone.

In Georgia, negro women are 44% of all women, while white women are 56%.

In South Carolina all voters must be able to read, own and pay taxes on \$300 worth of property, and, in Mississippi, able to read the Constitution. In Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana there are educational tests. It is therefore either an unintelligent or an uncandid mind that insists that no women should be enfranchised because the negro women's vote would dominate the elections.

I Is Force The Basis of Government? People Say It Is. Is It?

The greatest war on earth has, within four years, destroyed the idea that force is the basis of Government. Germany had the strongest army of any nation; the greatest amount of ammunition; the harshest control over her armies. She had preached the doctrine of force louder than any other nation. Yet German Imperial power was crushed by the democratic forces of the world. Germany lost the Marne twice because of skill in Allied generalship. That is, intellectual powers and the will-to-win of the Allies beat her back. What could all the T.N.T. in the possession of the Allies have done towards winning the war if it had not have been for the brains of Marechal Foch, of General Haig or of General Pershing?

German and Austrian Governments lost control of their peoples because ideals of human freedom within their own countries were more powerful than were Krupp guns or Prussian Guards.

The world knows now as never before that force is not the basis of government. The just rights of all the people, and their demands for freedom will sooner or later break down every government which tries to rule by force alone.

In the second place, it is now conceded by all statesmen that women actually contributed a large share of the forces of war.

Said Lloyd George: "The battle of the Somme could not have been won without the ammunition made by women." There were 1,750,000 women in Great Britain alone doing work to free men for the front trenches during the four years of war.

We now know that no section of the war could have been won without women's help. The wounded could not have been cared for; the world could not have been fed (acknowledged by Mr. Herbert Hoover) without women's help. All industries at home, in England, France, Italy and the United States would have been imperilled but for women.

The objection to women in government because of force therefore falls down at both ends. Force is not the basis of government, but even if it were, governments cannot survive without women.

II Is Voting A Right or Privilege?

Life itself cannot be said to be an inherent, that is an in-born, right while capital punishment and military conscription exist. Suffrage may not be an inborn right of the individuals of the state but it is an inherent part of democracy which exists only in name unless it expresses the will of the people, and women are people.

Voting has become, or is rapidly becoming a right of most men in republics, democracies and constitutional monarchies. It is a right protected by the Constitution itself in the United States. "The ballot is the symbol of citizenship, given to those capable of self-government. It is the right protective of all other rights without which already obtained can be safely guarded. It is the safe channel through which the voice of an oppressed or of an exploited class may become articulate. It is the great educator, which stimulates citizens to reflect on public problems, public welfare and public characters. It is the best instrument ever devised to measure accurately public opinion in the shortest possible time. It is the necessity of the many, not the privilege of the few; the necessity of the wage-earner as of the home-keeper. It is the peaceable weapon of civilization, where ballots take the place of bullets, and can be used equally by the weak and the strong. It is the guarantee of equality before the law of every individual human being who uses it. It is the ultimate source of power in a democracy, and the foundation on which rests our entire government." Women need it as much as do men. They do not care whether the ballot is an inherent or a bestowed right. Whatever it is for the adult males of a state, it should be the same for the adult females of a state.

III Can All Male Adults Vote?

In the United States only a few men at first could vote. These were members of certain religious bodies; men holding a fixed amount of property, etc. Before the Civil War men had also to be white in order to vote. Restrictions against men have gradually been removed until now only a few remain. Adult males must be 21, they must, except

in a few states, be natural citizens. They must not be criminals or idiots; with this last exception there is now no ineradicable restriction upon men. All qualifications for the vote which now remain, except sex, can be fulfilled by anyone desiring the ballot.

V If Men Have Also Struggled for the Ballot Why Have They Hindered Women instead of helping Them?

No class of men in the United States has had to struggle so long or for so many years to gain the ballot, as have women. Most of them have never lifted their finger to gain the rights of citizenship for themselves. They have only had to grow up and become 21.

VI Have Men Generally Begun to Favor Woman Suffrage?

Judge by the ^{planks of their} national political parties. Here they are:
Democratic Suffrage Plank

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men. Adopted at the Democratic Convention, St. Louis, July, 1916.)

Progressive Suffrage Plank

We believe the women of the country, who share with men the burdens of government in time of peace and make equal sacrifice in time of war, should be given the full political right of suffrage, both by Federal and State action. (Adopted at the Progressive Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.)

Prohibition Suffrage Plank

The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendment to State and Federal constitutions. We condemn the Republican and Democratic Parties for their failure to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the national constitution. We remind the four million women voters that our party was the first to declare for their political rights, which it did in 1872. We invite their cooperation in electing the Prohibition Party to power. (Adopted at the Prohibition Convention, St. Paul, July, 1916.)

Republican Suffrage Plank

The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, ^{by the people} for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, but recognizes the right of each State to settle the question for itself. (Adopted at the Republican Convention, Chicago, June, 1916.)

Socialist Suffrage Plank

Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women. The immediate adoption of the so-called Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting the suffrage to women on equal terms with men. (Adopted at Socialist Convention and ratified by membership of Socialist Party, 1916.)

VII Have Women Had To Fight For Other Rights Besides The Ballot?

Yes, they did not have equal civil or legal rights with men in any country of the world until the latter part of the nineteenth century. They could not manage their own property; they could not control their own earnings; they were not equal guardians of their children, and they had limited educational privileges. It took a half century of hard work by American women--from 1819 to 1865--to establish advanced schools for women. Under the old common law of England, the very existence of a wife had become merged with that of her husband. She could not make a contract, nor a will to dispose of her own property. The father as head of the family had unlimited control over the children.

VIII

What Has Brought About Present Changes in the Position of Women?

First of all the invention of machinery which gathered women into factory groups instead of household groups merely. When women began to earn wages outside of their homes, it was necessary to change the laws so they could control their wages and be responsible for labor contracts. Secondly, women had a consuming desire for higher education, which they have finally gained. Educated, thinking women could not be kept in bondage. Thirdly, women realized that if they were economic somebodies in the state, educative forces (teaching was one of the first professions thrown open to women) and tax-paying citizens, they must also be political somebodies in the state and vote upon the laws under which they live and work.

TOPIC III

DEMOCRACY AND SUFFRAGE

What Has Democracy to do With Women Voting?

Democracy is based on the underlying theory that "Government derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Women are governed exactly as men are governed. They must obey laws, pay taxes, and contribute to the state. In short, they are people, and all republics and democracies boast that they believe in government of for and by the people. Imagine forbidding all women the right to mail their letters in pillar boxes. All the things said against women's putting votes in the ballot box could be said with equal sense against putting letters in letter boxes. As, for instance: Woman's place is in the home not on the street corner. Who will take care of the baby while she mails her letter? It will rub the bloom off the peach/sheltered women to stand in the streets mailing letters. They might come in contact with rough men. If moral and intelligent women mail their own letters, the immoral and ignorant will want to do so. The majority of women don't like to mail their letters in the street. Why not use indirect influence (a much more effective way) to get letters mailed? Let husbands mail them? When there are no husbands, one can always get the ash man or the baker's boy to carry the letter to the corner. Better even let letters go forever unmailed than corrupt and debase women to the level of those often seen near pillar boxes. The postman will have twice as many letters to carry if women mail them. If women are permitted to mail letters, it will increase the number of pacifists, socialists, anarchists, Mormons and Bolsheviki, because they can spread these doctrines through the mails.

This is not one whit more ridiculous than the same line of argument applied to dropping ballots in a box.

II

Will Women's Votes Increase The Radical Forces in the Country?

At the recent election in Great Britain, the woman's vote was cast for conservative men and measures and with such patriotic enthusiasm that the New York Times-usually against woman suffrage-had to congratulate the British women. On December, 30, 1918, it said: "If no other nation has taken its stand on Bolshevism and pacifism and the more pestilential types of socialism, Britain has. The women voters joined nobly in the work and did their part to show that the lioness has the same pedigree as the lion."

III

When Women Vote How Do They Line Up As To Political Parties? Do They Become Republicans, Democrats or Socialists?

The exact figures of the distribution of the new women electors by parties as reported in January 1919 by the City Board of Election (State figures being not available) are as follows: Of the 1,015,148 voters enrolled in the Greater City 408,671 are women.

Of these there are enrolled as Democrats, 222,293; as Republicans 131,246; as Socialists 22,225 and as Prohibitists 4,437. The rest are in independent groups.

To sum up: The 408,671 women voters of New York City have chosen their own party affiliations in the following proportions: Fifty-four per cent of them are Democrats; 32% Republicans; 1% Prohibitionists, and 5% Socialists; the remainder, Independent.

IV Does Woman Suffrage Result in Fresh Laws?

After New Zealand women had voted fifteen years, Hon. Hugh Lusk, Ex-Member of the New Zealand Parliament wrote this: "New Zealand stands today in the position of the most prosperous and progressive country in the world. In the year 1893 New Zealand exported produce valued at less than \$45,000,000, or \$75 a head of the people. ^{In 1908} she exported produce of her people's industry valued at nearly \$100,000,000 or close on \$110 for every inhabitant.

"Fifteen years ago one person out of every five had a savings bank account standing in his or her name, of an average value of a \$136. Last year more than one out of every three persons had a savings bank account, and the average balance standing at the credit of these accounts was a little more than \$352.

"In 1893 ^{there were} 1,948 miles of railroads in operation, the receipts from which amounted that year to nearly \$6,000,000. In 1908 2,474 miles were in operation, and the receipts from the traffic amounted as nearly as possible to \$13,000,000.

"In 1893 there were 2,069,791 telegraph messages sent over the lines in operation, which were then 5,513 miles in length, at a cost of rather more than \$500,000. In 1908 7,042,943 messages were sent over 9,656 miles of lines, at a cost to the public of \$1,521,255."

"In view of these figures, what becomes of the lurid predictions that woman suffrage would be the ruin of business prosperity?

Similar testimony, of material prosperity and economic stability has come from western states where women vote.

Colorado Springs up to a recent date was paying \$100. a month for garbage removal and two fifths of the quantity that should have been removed each month was the most that was ever collected. The Women's Club of the City made investigations as to what other cities were doing. When they finished they said to the City Council: "Do you know what you have been doing all these years? You have been paying men to cart away the City's garbage when you should have been charging them for the privilege." Because women vote in Colorado their advice was heeded. Bids were made and the old firm offered to pay \$100. a month-the sum it had been charging for the work -and got the contract.

Colorado Springs now has good service, because the firm has to collect all the garbage or forfeit its contract; and the city has an additional revenue of \$1,000. in place of an annual expense of \$1,200. This is merely another evidence that woman's place is in the City Hall and in every other department of municipal life where the problems of housekeeping and the home have to be met.

Kansas is out of debt and Wyoming is burdened with money in the bank.

On January 1st, 1916, Kansas paid its last dollar of bonded indebtedness according to the report of the State Treasurer, Mr. Earl Akers. And Wyoming, "instead of being threatened with excessive taxation is likely to be the first state in the Union where taxes are not levied for the support of the state Government"; so said the Anaconda Standard. ⁽¹⁹¹⁶⁾ The income of the state derived from fees, lands, leases, royalties and interest on investment last year was \$808,241.02; while the amount received from direct taxation was \$368,297.51. There was a cash balance on hand at the beginning of the year of \$718,426.80. The actual expenses of Wyoming were \$1,305,588.21. After paying all expenses and making some investments in permanent funds, there is carried over a cash balance of \$680,993.61. With this balance and the income which will be derived this year from oil and mining development, royalties on State lands, leases, and fees, the State will easily be able to get along a year at least without any direct taxation."

Washington is also out of debt. Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe of Tacoma said in 1916:

"Our wonderful state is without one farthing of bonded indebtedness, and this despite the fact that women have been voting in all elections since 1910! The per capita wealth is \$793.29 and the taxable wealth meets the enormous sums spent annually for public institutions and improvements. There has been expended on property for the University, Agricultural College, normal schools and state houses, \$5,987,098.94. Annually the state legislature appropriates outright \$1,264,199.95 and the instructors in higher institutions of learning are paid monthly \$85,000. No state in the Union ranks higher in college attendance in proportion to its population.

Although the State has but 1,300,000 people, the University of Washington last year had an attendance of more than 5,800 students. Our grade and high school system is one of which Washington is especially proud, since the United States Commissioner of Education has placed it second to none. Illiteracy is placed by the United States Government statistics as only 2 per cent and there are only three states in the Union with a smaller per cent." In summing up she says: "We are free from debt, yet we have the best school system in the United States."

Idaho also claims twenty-three prosperous years--from 1896 to 1919--the period in which women have voted.

V Are Those Nations and States Where Women Vote More Progressive Than Those Where Women do Not Yet Vote?

Call the roll and see:

In Great Britain and most of her colonies, women now vote. In Turkey and her appanages women have next to no civic or political privileges.

In all the states of the Union West of the Mississippi except three, Iowa, Louisiana and New Mexico--women have either full suffrage or a very large measure of suffrage. All the Western suffrage states, except Arizona, have a very low percentage of illiteracy. Of the three west-of-the-Mississippi states without suffrage--Louisiana, (the last in the Union to reject votes for women) has the highest illiteracy percentage in the United States--29%. In New York, the most populous and important state East of the Mississippi, women have full suffrage. In Illinois, one of the next greatest centres of industry, wealth, and progress, they have presidential and municipal suffrage. In these two states the percentage of illiteracy is 5.5% and 3.7%, respectively, while South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, have from 18-25%.

All but two of the Industrial Welfare Commissions to regulate hours, wages and working conditions of women and children thus far appointed in this country are in equal suffrage states. Wisconsin and Arkansas are the exceptions and of these Arkansas has full primary suffrage for women, and Wisconsin women have just gained the presidential vote.

Every equal suffrage state has state-wide compulsory education laws.

Twelve of the 15 full suffrage states have an eight or nine hour day for women. Twenty-four of the male suffrage states have no such law.

Eleven of the 15 woman voting states permit mothers to have an equal right with the fathers as guardians of their children. Twenty-three male suffrage states keep the guardianship in the hands of the father, even, in some cases, permitting him to will the child away from the mother.

On the North American Continent all of Canada and fifteen of the United States grant women equal political rights with men. Most of Mexico, all of Central America--except Belize--and all of South America withhold these rights. Which group would you count farthest along in civilization? Where would you rather have your children brought up, in commonwealths giving political liberty to women, or withholding it from women?

VI Are Women As Good Patriots As Men?

The Anzacs, whose record for courage and devotion in the great war was second to none, were for the most part sons of New Zealand mothers whose enfranchisement began in 1886 and was completed in 1893, or of Australian mothers who gained State suffrage in 1895 and full suffrage in 1902.

Does it seem as if the patriotism of Anzac women ought to be called in question?

The first act of Canadian women after their federal franchise was to vote conscription for the sake of their sons overseas. Without their vote conscription would not have been assured, said the Premier of Canada.

When the United States went into the war in 1917 the early recruiting figures showed that among the 24 states in the Union whose full quota of recruits for the army had been obtained, ten were states where women had full suffrage. Only one of the eleven states where women then voted on the same terms as men fell short.

Of the other fourteen states that returned full recruiting

quota, five were states which had given women presidential suffrage. In fifteen of the states where women then voted men responded valiantly for service. Of the twenty-nine states which were afraid to trust the vote to women, nineteen failed of their quota. That is 78.4% of the equal suffrage states proved themselves patriotic, while only 33.4% of the unequal suffrage states did so.

VII Has The Women Movement Helped Forward The Progress of Democracy

The struggle for equal suffrage has brought about almost every civil liberty ^{women} of this nation now enjoy:

When the women in Seneca Falls, New York, drew up their "declaration of sentiments" modeled on the Declaration of Independence it called attention to unbelievable restrictions then in force against women. Every door which has been opened to women -the right to practice law and medicine, to own property and make a will, the chance to earn a decent living, have been won for them through the fight for the ballot and almost always by the same groups of women, so that all the privileges now enjoyed by women--even by those opposed to suffrage--have been won by suffragists.

America is much nearer the goal of true democracy because of the long struggle which women have made for the ballot. Children have a better chance for their lives because of this struggle. Men have better (not worse) wages because of women's struggle for a living wage. As women's condition has improved, men's has been pushed up a peg higher.

VIII Have All Women Helped In The Enfranchisement of Their Sex?

By no means. There have always been some women so shielded by fortune or so ignorant or so selfish as to care nothing at all about helping other women to gain higher education, or better laws or political rights. But this is true of all social progress. There are classes of men as well as women today, who do not care what happens to other classes so long as they gain or keep what they want for themselves.

TOPIC IV ABOUT THEORY AND PRACTICE

I Even if it is True That You Can't Have Democracy in Theory Without Woman Suffrage, is it Wise in Practice to Enfranchise women?

Why not? When a woman votes she is only expressing her opinion upon public measures and upon the men who shall control these measures. If women pay taxes, just the same as men, should they not have the same right as men to say how these taxes are spent? Taxes are the public housekeeping money. They buy roads, water supply, police protection, inspection of food, public health, good housing, etc. These are all questions which every woman in the world is concerned with all day and every day. Often she knows more than her husband about them. As a trained private housekeeper she ought to be a helpful public housekeeper. Moreover she cannot keep her own house efficiently unless she can have some say about municipal affairs, because alone she cannot regulate the cost of food; the transportation of fuel to keep her house warm. She can cook her food well; but if dealers are permitted to sell poor food, unclean milk or stale eggs, she cannot make the food wholesome for her children.

She can care for her own plumbing and refuse, but if the rest of the city is unsanitary she cannot protect her children from the sickness and infection resulting.

She can take every care to avoid fire, but if her house has been badly built, if the fire-escapes are inadequate, she cannot guard her children from the horrors of being maimed or killed by fire.

Alone, she cannot make these things right; but the city can do it--the city government that is elected by the people to take care of the interests of the people.

II Does it Pay to Increase the Cost of Elections for the Value of the Women's Vote?

It does not double the cost of election for women to vote. It was computed in June 1918 that New York City could vote all its women for just one-sixth of what it has been costing to vote its men.

It cost \$300,000 in 1917 to vote 691,809 men. It was explained by the election officials that an equal number of women could be voted for an additional sum of \$50,000, making \$350,000 in all.

It had cost the city 43 cents each to vote its men, but it would only need a per capita expenditure of 7 cents more to care for as many more women at the polls.

In Chicago's experience it was found that the actual additional cost of the woman voter was about one third.

In considering this question it must be remembered that women pay their full pro rata share of the taxation for election expenses and that they have been doing so for more than a century while deprived by law from casting a vote.

Why should not women's taxes pay for women's votes instead of for men's votes only?

III Does the Use of the Ballot Make Women Restless and Homes Unhappy?

Take once more the testimony of New Zealand. Said Hon. Hugh Lusk, ex-Member of Parliament: "We find that equal suffrage is the greatest family bond and tie, the greatest strengthener of family life."

Which would make you most restless, to enter into work to remove inequalities and injustices, or to sit with hand-cuffs on and watch injustices and wrongs go on year after year?

The testimony from every state and nation where women vote is that the women and the state are both benefitted by woman suffrage. The proof is that no state which has given women the vote has ever taken it away.

IV Is It True That The Majority of Women Do Not Want The Vote?

These women have said they do want it:

International Council of Women-representing over 7,000,000 women.

General Federation of Women's Clubs-representing over 2,000,000 women.

Every State Federation of Women's Clubs where women vote, and many where they do not vote.

National Women's Trade Union League.

National Order of Maccabees.

International Council of Nurses.

World's Woman Christian Temperance Union.

American Nurses' Association.

These men and women together have said they should have it:

National Educational Association.

National Grange (men and women engaged in farming).

American Federation of Labor.

National Miners' Federation.

National Purity Conference.

National Association of Letter Carriers.

National Association of Post Office Clerks.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Farmers' National Congress.

Grand Council of United Commercial Travellers.

Together these organizations represent millions of men and millions of women.

V Is It True That They Do Not Use The Vote Where They Have It?

Although women of New York City had never voted before and many were totally unaccustomed to the methods of going to the polls to cast their ballots, women were about 40% of the enrollment for the 1918 elections in New York City.

In States where women have voted for longer periods and have become accustomed to the ballot it is generally estimated that the percentage of women who vote is about the same as that of men.

VI Is Not Politics So Corrupt As To Debase Women?

Politics is not corrupt; it is the noblest of functions--that of determining the best good for the greatest number of citizens. Corrupt men have misused politics for base and selfish ends. It is the men who are corrupt. It's not politics.

It is the universal testimony of suffrage states, even of such recent states as New York, that polling booths are more decent, general conduct on Election Day more respectable when women vote than when they do not. The 1918 election in New York City--the first at which women voted--was the quietest election in the city's history.

Since the following facts about women are known to be true, they ought to improve the electorate and make politics less corrupt:

One-third more girls than boys attend the high schools and women will soon be the more educated class.

There are in the United States over 12 times as many native-born women as foreign-born.

Only one in twenty of the criminals are women.

The growth of woman suffrage has paralleled the progress of other reform measures which are slowly dragging into the light the most corrupt factors in political and social life and trying to get rid of them. Men and women have long worked side by side for these reforms, they ought to be able to vote side by side for their realization.

The use of the ballot is of educational value to either man or woman and should increase, not decrease, the general high standing of intelligence in the community.

It is generally conceded in suffrage states that use of the ballot is making women better citizens, and that their votes are bringing about a better state,

VII Do Women Seek Office and Become Unwomanly When They Vote?

Very few women, as compared with men, have ever sought political office in equal suffrage states. Many women occupy official school positions, as would be natural in a profession in which 80% are women.

All the testimony of suffrage states is that women in those states are as good home makers as any in the world.

Why should not women who are free to do so serve the state as legislators, county clerks, commissioners, superintendents of public education, etc? The state needs its best. Sometimes that best one happens to be a woman.

III. Her

New Zealand, where women have voted for twenty-five years, has the lowest infant death rate in the world.

In Australia and in Norway, where women have full suffrage, Maternity Insurance laws have given the mother a small sum of money from the state at the birth of each child, so that it can have proper care in the first few days of its life.

"Since the women in Norway have got the vote," Says Ella Anker, "they have turned their chief attention to their rights and duties as wives and mothers. Education and economic independence are the basis of woman's freedom, but her greatest work and happiness will be as wife and mother. It is an astonishing fact that in all these centuries while men have taught us that woman's place is in the home, they have neglected to prepare us for the chief duties of our home life."

Norwegian women have also given particular strength to the work for "rational housekeeping" by the establishment of a state high school for the education of teachers for the elementary housekeeping schools, to a campaign against consumption.

Among the laws which have advanced faster in the states of the Union where women vote than they have in states where men only vote are

Juvenile Court Laws

Pensions for widowed mothers

Inspection of all kinds of food

Care of defective children, and laws preventing vice of all sorts.

One of the first laws suggested by one of the two women legislators in New York State was one to improve the children's courts of the state.

VIII What Does the Community Gain From the Double Vote of Women and Men That It Would Not Gain From the Vote of men Alone?

1. A class of persons, hitherto unrepresented --for men have never represented women, nor ever can--gets its interests before the public.
2. As the special interests of women are homes, schools, child welfare, decent conditions for their children to grow up in, this means that all the human questions of the world are bettered by women's voice in political life,
3. Besides the fact that the things women care most about are benefitted by her vote, is the greater fact that her own way of looking on those things is important to the state. Her special experience as homemaker is needed in government. Her ideals of a good city are needed for the sake of her children.

Every question discussed by Congress during the war came directly home to women, from drafting their husbands and sons to the price of bacon. And Congress as well as every state legislature has need of women's counsel on distribution of food and fuel, on price fixing, on profiteering, on employment bureaus, and even on farm loans.

Finally, complete enfranchisement of women will strengthen the Nation's morale.

The insincerity of calling the United States a Republic when half its adults only are represented will be removed.

The sense of injustice, burning in many women because of their lack of a voice in public affairs, will be remedied.

The inequality of women's political position now obtaining in the United States where some women have full voting rights, some have partial rights and some may not even vote for school trustees, will be done away with.

Justice to all people--men as well as women --demands that either sex shall be permitted to be political slackers in the creation of a better civilization in these United States.

The Nation cannot keep its self-respect before the world until it fulfills the pledge written in the Constitution and establishes a real democracy in which "We, the people," shall become a reality not a mere scrap-of-paper promise.