

C1915?

Therefore we urge that all senators  
and members of the 64<sup>th</sup> Cong  
are hereby earnestly requested  
to immediately advise the  
President of their desires  
for him to adopt a pacific  
policy ~~instead~~ and not a warlike  
policy in the present crisis.

And a copy of this resolution  
with a request for action be sent  
to each senator and member  
of the 64<sup>th</sup> Congress.

Richmond Hobson's  
Resolution

Good Shepard, May 15, 1917.  
Woman and Citizenship.

That Woman should be consid-  
<sup>ed</sup> ~~ed~~ <sup>as a</sup> ~~as a~~ <sup>distinctively</sup> ~~distinctively~~ <sup>in relation to the</sup> ~~in relation to the~~ <sup>status</sup> ~~status~~ <sup>social</sup> ~~social <sup>relationship,</sup> ~~relationship, marks an  
advance in social conscious-  
ness. All growth is progress tow-  
ards an ~~more complex~~ organiza-  
tion, made necessary, as well as  
possible, by the further develop-  
ment of the individual units  
~~which~~ ~~composes~~ it. It needs no  
argument to show that woman  
has always been an indispen-  
sable~~~~

In the evolution of the state from  
the first small groups of tribes  
society specialization, along  
prescribed lines was one of the  
first observed steps towards  
higher organization

It is the step out of a previous

social consciousness, where  
woman's place in society  
was so limited to the family  
that any other social rela-  
tionships were almost exclu-  
ded from thought. Her citizenship  
or connection to the  
state was thought

ever connected with the family.  
The maxim that  
the family is the unit of  
the state has been and proba-  
bly always will be an ac-  
cepted maxim in theories of  
systems of government, for  
it expresses, <sup>clearly one form of the</sup> the basic truth  
that our humanity is dual,  
never wholly revealed either  
in its masculine or feminine  
half, but seen only in its  
completeness in the conjunc-

tion of the two, as in the family. The home is the natural sphere of the family; and the woman's functions there obviously are so important that ~~much~~ ~~was~~ ~~greatly~~ ~~advanced~~ ~~from~~ ~~its~~ ~~primitive~~ ~~forms~~ ~~before~~ ~~it~~ ~~began~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~perceived~~ ~~of~~ ~~social~~ ~~development~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~in~~ ~~forms~~ ~~designed~~ ~~to~~ ~~pro-~~ ~~tect~~ ~~her~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~family~~ ~~that~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~simplest~~ ~~forms~~ ~~of~~ ~~society~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ ~~absorbed~~ ~~most~~ ~~of~~ ~~her~~ ~~energies~~; and customs which took their origin in the effort to protect her in undistracted devotion to these functions after a while became restrictions which debarred her from adding to or varying them. <sup>That</sup> The family is the unit

of the state came to mean  
very nearly that men were  
the state, and that woman's  
connection with it was  
chiefly through the fact  
that she was an integral  
part of the family. But all  
growth is progress towards a  
more complex organization,  
made necessary as well as  
possible, by the fuller devel-  
opment of the individual  
units. The family can never  
be rightly regarded as the  
unit of the state except  
as it is regarded as an exem-  
plification of the co-ordi-  
nation of the two halves  
of a dual humanity; - a  
co-ordination of the mascu-

line and the feminine  
forces, which are always com-  
plementary ~~each to the other, and~~  
~~forever co-equal and forever co-ordinate~~  
~~always equally necessary~~  
and ~~equally strong~~

Society has become more com-  
plex through the developments  
of industry, of the arts, of  
science, in short, of all human  
faculties. The complexity  
has extended to the home, once  
the sphere, almost the sole sphere  
of women, and ~~it~~ no longer  
affords them the occupation  
and the protection which once  
were synonymous with  
the word. Some of the aspects  
of this change in ~~the home~~ <sup>are witnessed</sup>  
in the industrial tabulations  
of the census, where we find  
that in the United States

alone there are more than  
eight millions of girls and  
women who earn their living  
in employments outside of  
the home. Even for the wom-  
en not employed outside of  
the care of their families  
it is equally noteworthy  
that the complexity of social  
and governmental relations  
have so changed the form of  
the surroundings of the fam-  
ily that women can no longer maintain  
within the four walls of their habitations  
the control of the social conditions essential  
to their proper care of their families  
and the tension of the home. In the  
state of today, as in the  
home of the past, to meet  
the needs of a dual human

ity, there must be a co-ordination of the activities of men and of women in the forces. Men have always been recognized as citizens of the state; woman and citizenship is a more recent thought, one required by the alterations in social conditions.

Increase in human knowledge is usually not an increase in facts which we may know, but in our understanding of them. So woman as a citizen is not new; for however crude and unformed a state may have been, yet it could not have existed at all except that in it there was equally expressed the masculine and



the feminine human forces. All we can say about the newness of woman as a citizen is that we have a new apprehension of it.

The importance of women as a new element in citizenship depends very little upon the fact

It is our new apprehension of a <sup>of the efforts</sup> co-ordination of men and women in the state that is the point of interest in woman and <sup>and of its expression</sup> citizenship. If women in this new aspect were merely additions to the numbers of citizens, being repetitions more or less forceful of the men, women as citizens would not be of the importance that they are when we understand that they bring

into more prominent action  
the feminine force.

Now in order that women may ex-  
ert this feminine force for the  
greatest benefit of the <sup>nation</sup> ~~race~~ <sup>in this</sup>  
I ~~believe~~ <sup>trust</sup> that of these <sup>preliminaries</sup> conditions  
I believe that of these I would  
give the first place to <sup>and</sup> respect  
to respect for one's womanhood, in  
~~womanhood~~ <sup>in other</sup>  
a sense <sup>apart</sup> from the respect a  
woman may think is due herself  
on account of qualities or condi-  
tions she might share with men.  
If women have a special gift be-  
stowed upon them in their woman-  
hood surely the first requisite to its  
best use is an understanding  
~~of its value as would lead them~~  
~~to desire for it that it is a gift~~  
which is not ~~to be~~ discharged  
by comparison, ~~with~~  
gifts which are bestowed upon  
men; <sup>should be</sup> nor denied fair and  
equal expression because of

differences from special gifts  
~~bestowed upon~~ women and  
~~bestowed upon~~ men. Such an  
attitude of mind need not  
be aggressive towards others  
for a firm mental conviction, without  
which no one can put forth her best  
efforts, creates an atmosphere which  
wins respect from others.  
Such a self-respect must demand  
for womanhood liberty for self-  
expression. If women as citizens  
are to render their best service to  
the state it follows that they must  
possess all the rights of citizens  
without arbitrary restrictions on ac-  
count of sex. They have a right to  
the ballot, because that is the  
instrument by which citizens  
register their opinions in all af-  
fairs of the state. It is a tool  
which makes easier many  
of the duties of citizenship.

and is requisite to make  
some of them possible.  
The fact of the duality of  
humanity and that women  
have something to contribute  
in every sphere of human  
activity is an all suffi-  
cient answer to the usual  
objections to suffrage  
for women, which may  
be grouped under two heads;  
either that women are  
superfluous voters, or that  
they are fully occupied  
with more important du-  
ties, and ought not to  
be burdened with other  
Now if advance in society  
can be preserved only as the

it is the co-ordination  
of the efforts of men and of  
women, then it cannot  
be true that women are  
useless as voters. As for the other  
objection, that they are too  
much occupied in more  
important things, that is mani-  
festly untrue in many cases.  
It is perfectly apparent  
that everywhere there are  
many women who are  
not too much occupied  
to give the necessary time  
and thought <sup>to contribute the means of change</sup> to  
women any channel of  
self-expression by arti-  
ficial barriers and re-  
strictions which are not  
applied to men is evident.

placing the gifts of woman-  
hood on a lower plane than  
manhood, to the injury of  
the whole fabric of society.  
A woman who sees no injury  
there in such ~~distinction~~  
distinction, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> accepts it  
because it relieves her  
of effort which she believes  
would be beneficial  
to the state, are both  
recruant to their woman-  
hood. A woman has  
no more right to refuse  
her ~~duties~~ <sup>contribution</sup> ~~to her state~~  
to the good of the state  
than a man has.  
When we get a clear view  
of woman as a citizen

# War Work Campaign

[ Nov. 6, 1918 ]

The American people are fighting this war. Whatever success is won, whatever failure may be made, will belong to the whole people, because all have some part in it which they ought to bear. Not all the same part,- but all according to their ability.

The objects of the war are not wholly material, to be won on the battle field with shot and shell. They include the maintenance of great ideals of the whole people, which call for sacrifice from all who desire to perform their part nobly, whether in foreign lands or at home. The war must be fought daily by determined endeavor on the part of the home reserve, which stands behind the fighting men ever ready with a helping hand to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>comfort,</sup> to assuage suffering and to send always the message of high courage and comradeship from those at home to those at the front. The message is borne through the organizations united in the War Work Campaign; and it is the part of patriots at home to see that their activities are sustained abundantly until our brave boys, victorious in arms, are brought back safely to the people at home, who have proved worthy of their heroism because they also have served heroically in the home guard.

The American people are fighting this war. Whatever success is won, whatever failure is suffered, belong to the whole people., for all have had some part to bear. Not all the same,- but all according to their ability. Evry part involves self-sacrifice, if it is nobly palyed, whehter in foreign lands or at home . The objects of this war are ~~get~~ wholly material. They include the maintenance ~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~whole~~ ~~people~~ and demonstration of great ideals.; which calls for sacrifice from all those who deizare to perform their part nobly, whether in foreign lands or at home. ~~The~~ war not to be won on the field of battle with shot and shell; it is to be fought ~~daily~~ <sup>altogether</sup> by noble endeavor on the part of the home reserve, which stands behing our ~~armie~~ fighting men, ever ready with a helping hand to encourage, to assuage suffering, and to ~~send~~ always the message of high courage and comradship to those at the front from those at home. The message is borne through the instrumentalities united in the War Work Campaign; and it is the part of patriots at home to see that their activities are sustained until our boys, <sup>abundantly</sup> <sup>brave</sup> victorious in arms, are brought safely ~~back~~ to a ~~people~~ ~~worthy~~ ~~of~~ ~~their~~ ~~heroism~~ ~~because~~ ~~they~~ ~~also~~ ~~have~~ ~~served~~ ~~heroically~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~home~~ ~~guard~~. who also ~~have~~ ~~served~~ ~~heroically~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~home~~ ~~guard~~. worthy of heir heroism, because they also have served heroically ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~home~~ ~~guard~~ in the home guard.



E 19 15 J

Sen. Vardaman very cordial; will look into the measure asked us to return. Mrs. Jenkins secretary.

Sen. Chamberlain; Says he will support the bill and we may as well hear Sen. Bryan thinks safe to age by the State route is all right, but does not like the Bill, because he thinks it takes the right of providing equal locations from the States.

Mr. Raker. Brought in bill for  
Mrs. C., but not as early as  
she wanted it. He has told  
the President the Woman's  
vote must be considered.  
Thinks Sen. Fletcher would be  
good Sen. for the bill. Wants  
a number of Southern women  
to speak at and attend the  
hearing. Judge Rucker had  
to call off again. Asked us  
promised for his bill. Asked us  
Sen. Fletcher willing for  
Florida women to have suff.  
franchise if they want it. It is  
immovable against suff.  
franchise by other than State  
route. Did not say he  
thought the Bill was

unconstitutional, said  
he would consider the leaf  
let & talk with Mr. Baker.

1914

I.

What Results Have Been Accomplished by Women's School Ballot in my State.

The right to vote in all school elections was given to all in Kentucky women who can read and write by the General Assembly of 1912. It was a Democratic measure, being a plank in the party platform of 1911, and was favored by Hon. James B. McCreary, elected Governor that year. The measure was advocated by the Kentucky Federation of Woman's Clubs as a means toward improving the educational standing of our State. The investigations of the Club women had shown that schools in States where women possessed school suffrage attained a marked degree of efficiency over those in States where had no such power.

The first opportunity to use the new right was in the elections of school trustees in the rural districts, the elections occurring in the summertime, at the school houses. As these elections had failed habitually to bring out even a moderate number of the male voters all those who believe a general interest of the community is good for the efficiency of the schools were greatly encouraged by the fact that the women took a wide-spread interest in them. As the reports from the rural districts came in, the newspapers stated that the State Superintendent of Public Instruction declared that all fears that women would not use the right of suffrage had been dispelled, as they had exercised it in numbers that far surpassed the most ardent hopes of the suffragists.

In the cities, elections for the school boards were held on the general election day and the men and the women voted at the same booths, - the women casting one ballot, containing the names of the candidates for the school board and the men casting two ballots, one for the school board and the other for all the other candidates. As the first time the women could vote in the cities fell upon the day for the Presidential election there was full opportunity to test whether or not there

[1914]

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would be incidents disagreeable to women in going to the polls with men at a time of much political interest. There was no report of anything unpleasant from any part of the State. In Lexington the women endorsed a ticket composed of three men and two women. To assist in the election of their ticket women appointed workers at the polls, and as one of these workers I had opportunity for observing the polls the entire day. Any ~~objections that would meet with disorder or rudeness at the polls were~~ objections to women's voting for fear of rudeness or disorder at the polls were entirely disproved. There was no feeling evidenced by the men but a most cordial welcome to the women who helped to choose the officers of the schools where the children were to be educated. Our little city made a record for good order, for there was not a single arrest made for any cause during the day. The ticket favored by the women was elected and one of the women on it led the ticket. Before the passage of the new law women had been eligible for school boards, but with the women's vote a larger number than ever before were elected. In Paducah, at the request of the men, some women were candidates for the first time and were elected.

The election of 1913 included the election for County Superintendents in every county. A question whether women had a right to vote for these under the new law had to be decided by the Court of Appeals; and the decision, which was favorable, was necessarily handed down just a few weeks before the election. In spite of the consequent unpreparedness of the women, their votes helped to carry the election in some contested cases, with a decided advantage for the best candidate, and more women were elected than ever before.

In Louisville, bonds for one million dollars for school purposes secured the necessary two-thirds majority largely by the efforts and votes of women. It was noticeable that the number of women voting in the better residential districts was many times greater than the number

of those voting in the undesirable districts.

In the particulars that women can vote at the primaries and in all school elections, and can vote for and hold any school office except that of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, I believe the Kentucky School Suffrage law is more liberal than in any other State where women have not full suffrage. In the short time it has existed the results show an impulse given to education by the beneficial awakening of popular interest; and the woman suffrage cause has been advanced by the proof to the large class of people to whom seeing is believing that women are not liable to rudeness or contact with disorder in going to the polls with men; and that Southern women, like women of other States, will vote when given the opportunity to do so, and that the larger number of women voters comes from the classes having the highest standing in the community.

Vice-president at Large of Southern States Woman  
Suffrage Conference.

[1914]

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agreeable to women in going to the polls with men at a time of great political interest. There was no report of anything unpleasant from any part of the State. In Lexington the women endorsed a ticket composed of three men and two women. There was no feeling evidenced by the men voters but a most cordial welcome to the women who were assisting to choose the officers of the schools where the children were to be educated. Any objections to women's voting for fear of rudeness or disorder at the polls were entirely disproved. The city made a record for good order, for there was not a single arrest made for any cause during the day. The ticket favored by the women was elected, and one of the women led the ticket. Before the passage of the new law women had been eligible for school boards, but with the women voting women were elected in more cities than ever before. In Paducah, at the request of the men, some women were candidates for the first time and were elected.

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Vice-president at Large of Southern States Woman  
Suffrage Conference./

1911  
Sept-Oct

I.

CENTRALIZATION versus NATIONALISM in the N.A.W.S.A.

In the Woman's Journal of May 27th a committee for the revision of the constitution of the N.A.W.S.A. presented a report which changes every article of the constitution and by-laws by alterations or omissions, with the single exception of the by-law which provides for amendments of the by-laws.

Such a sweeping removal of the old landmarks and constitutional safeguards of the interests of the Association demands a critical inspection of the tendency, or rather the avowed purpose, of the revision. It is squarely to depart from the National character of the constitution and to substitute a system whereby the authority of the Association will be centered in one section, to be determined by the selection of the location for the headquarters .

In the W. Journal of June 3rd a writer says that Article V, section I, of the revision, which imposes the obligation upon the members of the Official Board to meet once a month except in July and August, is the most important. It may be the most important in that it contains the greatest single surrender of the authority of the Convention by limiting it in its choice of an Official Board; but the aggregate of other amendments providing for Centralization are equally destructive of Nationalism. This article and section requires that the officers shall meet once a month except in July and August. As travelling expenses are great this means practically that the officers must be selected from a circle close enough around headquarters, wherever that may be,- say San Francisco or New Orleans,- to meet once a month without considerable expense. The constitution does not need to be amended to this effect for the purpose of enabling the Convention to select its officers on this plan, for if it chooses it can do that now, without a constitutional amendment; just as it provided for the appointment of an advisory committee in the closing meeting of the Executive Committee at the Convention of 1910. The corre-

sponding secretary suggested than an advisory committee be appointed to confer on methods of work. A ~~vote~~ <sup>motion</sup> to authorize the Official Board to do so was carried, and an appropriation for the necessary expenses was voted. This advisory committee is composed of women living near enough to New York to meet once a month; and it chose a sub-committee from itself to prepare the revision of the constitution which is now under consideration. If the next convention is convinced that meeting once a month for ten months, instead of meeting once or twice a year and conducting some business by correspondence, adds such efficiency to officers as to outweigh the considerations which have hitherto governed the effort of the Association to have all sections of the nation represented on the Official Board as far as practicable, it could elect ~~the new officers~~ <sup>officers</sup> ~~taxxxxxthatxxxx~~ to come up to that qualification without a constitutional change at all. For having chosen a place for headquarters, ~~xx~~ -say in San Francisco or New Orleans- by a simple majority vote, it could elect officers within what it considered a sufficiently limited radius around it by another simple majority vote. That would give succeeding conventions, if the close circle around headquarters did not work out as was hoped it would, to take the proverbial second thoughts and select officers on some other principle than proximity to headquarters. But Centralization requires a surrender of power from the Convention to a Board; and so an amendment which involves a long previous notice and a two-thirds vote to rescind the policy of a previous convention is requisite. A further surrender of power, taking away still more of the freedom of future conventions to reconsider, is prepared for by striking out that safeguard to the equal rights of auxiliary states whereby the constitution now provides for the states to cast their full vote not only <sup>on</sup> ~~for~~ the election of officers but also on any other question whenever the delegates present from five states request it. It is true that the revision leaves this privilege untouched as far as voting for officers

goes, but strikes out that which secures the right on other questions. Yet as long as the selection of officers is limited to a close circle around headquarters that part of the privilege seems somewhat barren.

It is proposed to accompany this centralization of the Board in a close circle around headquarters, - ~~say in San Francisco or New Orleans~~, by a transference to it of a large portion of the control of the affairs of the Association hitherto reserved by provisions of the constitution or belonging to the Convention. The constitution provides for pursuing several important branches of work under the charge of Committees whose Chairmen shall have seats in the Executive Committee and in the Convention, and shall control the disbursement of funds donated or appropriated for the purposes of their committees. The revision provides that the Board close around headquarters shall appoint such committees as it deems necessary, without any other indication of their functions or their privileges, to carry on the work of the Association,

The specification of the duties of all officers, except those of the treasurer, are stricken out and included under the phrase, "~~xxxxxxx~~ <sup>they</sup> are those usually pertaining to the office". What is "usually pertaining to the office" is apparently left to the decision of the close circle; and thus it would be hard for any member of the Association to criticize the official practice of any officer. This indefiniteness in the apportionment of official duties has been found so unfortunate in public affairs that an effort to individualize responsibility is among the important reforms before the public. The treasurer's duty to disburse money is no longer to be defined as to "pay no bill of the general association except on an order of the President and the Recording Secretary", but to "pay all bills authorized by the Board". By the omission of a by-law, she is not under obligation to give bond for the funds in her charge, though it has happened several times in the history of the Association that gifts and bequests amounting to many thousands of

dollars are in the charge of the treasurer at one time.

The Executive Committee as now composed of two representatives of each state, the General Officers and Chairmen of Standing and Special Committees has real executive power. It has the right at its meeting before the Convention to make suggestions for the Convention's action; and in its closing meeting after the Convention, it casts decisive votes on the business referred to it by the Convention or originating in itself. It has been the custom to let the states make requests before it for appropriations from the National treasury for state work. If the revision carries, hereafter time must be found for these requests during the crowded and public programs of the Convention, or the right of appropriating money in response to them falls entirely in the power of the Board in the close circle around headquarters. To that Board, also, will be transferred the present prerogative of the Executive Committee to accept or reject the auxiliaryship of other national suffrage societies. The revision provides for a body to be called the advisory council which is apparently to take the place of the Executive Committee; but whose functions are reduced to the formality of giving advice to the Convention at its ante-convention meeting; and after that to giving advice to the Board. And though one fourth of its members may require the president to call a joint meeting of itself and the Board, ~~xxxxx~~ yet as even in that case it would only have the province of advising it is difficult to see what could be gained if ever such a meeting were called. There is no provision for taking votes carrying authority either from this committee or any other. All business must be transacted by the Board close around headquarters.

This is Centralization versus Nationalism.

The N.A.W.S.A. as organized now recognizes its Convention as its representative body and the source of authority for all its business. Every auxiliary is carefully guarded in its rights. It is presumed that

5.

intelligent workers from all sections of the country will form at least the larger part of the assembly, their practical experience in their varied home fields <sup>each of</sup> fitting them to contribute something to a broad and National view of the requirements of the suffrage movement. After discussion of measures in Convention their decisions are intended to guide the policy of the Association for the ensuing year. But the argument for Centralization is that such decisions are not quick enough to meet the business demands of the present. Now where has this argument originated? Has any indication of that opinion appeared in any Convention? Do the members of the Convention consider themselves such dullards that they are no longer able to keep up with the precedents of forty-two years, and plan for the larger interests of the suffrage movement? Is there not far more danger in a centralized board which may do things and undertake business which does not fairly represent the Association than there is in waiting for the Convention to decide for itself <sup>upon</sup> such new plans as it wishes its officers to undertake in its name?

The proposed revision reduces the power of the Convention to the merest skeleton by transferring its authority to a Board of Officers; and then cuts off any thing like National representation from those officers by constitutionally requiring that they shall meet ten times a year; or, in other words, that they shall be chosen from a close circle around headquarters, - <sup>wherever those headquarters may be located.</sup> say in San Francisco or New Orleans.

Laura Clay.

## Women as Wage Earners.

There is a curious misuse of words, whereby error prolongs its pernicious course under the shelter of words which are capable of two constructions, and are heedlessly used so as to make the two meanings appear interchangeable. An instance of this misuse occurs in ~~the~~ the popular apprehension of the term wage-earner, which is constantly confounded with the idea of a productive laborer. ~~But~~ by consulting the unabridged dictionary, we learn that to earn is "to merit or deserve by labor, to do that which entitles to a reward, whether the reward is received or not;" while wage is defined as "that for which one labors; meed; reward;" as well as "stipulated payment for service performed;" ~~and~~ so only when this latter meaning is intended can the term "wage-earner" be ~~applied~~ <sup>applied to women</sup> ~~employed~~ without disparaging woman as a worker; since the popular idea of the term Women as Wage-Earners limits

the productive employment of women almost entirely to the <sup>2</sup> recent period <sup>of employment,</sup> which covers the modern development of industry following the wonderful inventions of machinery, <sup>and</sup> dating back less than one hundred and forty years, of which one of the striking features in the present century is the appearance of women side by side with men as workers in the public fields of labor. To gain <sup>anything like a correct</sup> a true conception <sup>of woman as a worker,</sup> however, we must go back of this modern period, back of the Middle Ages, back of the Dark Ages, back of the Christian era, back of the ancient civilizations, <sup>yes,</sup> back of the ages of barbarism, yes, far back of the first faint legends of history, until we find ourselves in the very presence of those ape-like progenitors in whom Mr. Darwin <sup>engages</sup> demands our filial interest. We are indebted to modern research for the faint gleams of light <sup>which</sup> pierce through the <sup>horror</sup> mists of ignorance <sup>of the long age in which the race slowly evolved</sup> which hides from us the long processes of evolution before the human race emerged into even that degree of advancement <sup>which</sup> is displayed by the lowest savage tribes now existent. The higher criticism teaches that the woman was the principal agent in those incipient industries which were the starting point of the race in its upward



course out of its all but brutish state. For upon the primitive man the family instincts probably made few more demands than they do now upon that king of the beasts, the lion, which kills the prey, and then roars, to call his mate and his young to share his feast. Upon the primitive woman, however, the more intimate and constant cares of motherhood made varied demands upon her intelligence and activity. She it was who first felt the need of shelter, and sought it in clefts in the rocks and caves. She developed the domestic uses of fire. She put into practice the first rude processes of cooking. She invented the manufacture of domestic utensils of pottery, the dressing of skins, the needle, and weaving and spinning. When at last the race reached that stage of advancement exhibited by savage tribes now existent, <sup>and observe there</sup> we find a division of labor between the sexes, which broadly described, gives to the man the employments of war and the chase, and imposes upon the woman all the rest, with slight regard to the <sup>her</sup> differences of physical strength between the sexes. The Squaw of the American red man brings into camp the heavy game the hunter has killed. When the exigencies of war or the

chase require a migration, she is loaded with the wigwam, the papooses and the household stores, and patiently toils after the warrior, who is encumbered solely with his weapons. When the tribe is stationary, the time of the women is employed with their household duties, their simple manufactures, and the rude agriculture necessary to raise the scanty crops of corn or tobacco. This sketch of the red savage will answer substantially for all others. As in the advancement of the race war became less constant and the chase too precarious a means of subsistence for the increased population, the growing wants of civilization and the progress of its arts compelled the men to take upon themselves some of the labors hitherto done by the women. By natural laws, they assumed those for which their greater strength was necessary, the more profitable of the lighter tasks, and others for which the family cares of women more or less unfitted them. By these changes the industries of women gradually became better fitted to their strength and more suitable to the delicacy of the feminine character. These changes in industry, however, never had any tendency to make women any less active as workers. What they

were saved in the expenditure of rude strength they abundantly made up in the skill and energy they turned into the variety of lighter employments created by civilization. The popular conception of women's hours of labor, both for mistress and maid, in the ancient Hebrew civilization, is set forth in Proverbs, in the description of the virtuous woman, "She riseth also while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and their task to her maidens". The self-same conception prevailed among the ancient Greeks, as Aesop incidentally informs us in the fable of the woman who rose and called her maids at the crowing of the cock; and after his vengeful death, at midnight. From the time of those ancient civilizations till now there has never been, at least in our Western civilizations which sprang from them, any epoch recorded by history in which the idea of idleness, or even of leisure, ever found opportunity of lodgment in the feminine brain. For history must be read with discrimination when it touches upon the condition of women. Now that ideas of the equality of men pervade all regions of thought, we have become familiar with the criticism upon the usual course of historians, that they

devote too much attention to noting wars and intrigues of courts, leaving the great movements of thought and social condition of the masses, which are of more real importance to the race, with merely a passing or incidental comment. This criticism is doubly just when it applies to women as they figure in history. The account of the lives of the few women raised by fortune to be the ornaments of courts and of the higher circles of society, or to shine as attendant lights about the personages around whom historians centre their interest, might vitiate all our views of the condition of the masses of women, if fortunately some historians did not carry their investigations beneath this glittering surface, and show us more of the real life of the people. Thus, Macaulay tells us how recently even savage ideas of women's labor lingered in the vicinity of the very centres of civilization. He remarks that an observer in the Highlands of Scotland in 1689, "would have seen, wherever he turned, that dislike of steady industry, and that disposition to throw on the weaker sex the heaviest part of manual labor, which are characteristic of savages. He would have been struck by the spectacle of athletic men basking in the sun, angling for

salmon or taking aim at grouse, while their aged mothers, their pregnant wives, their tender daughters, were reaping the scanty harvest of oats." He gives us a picture, also of the same date, of the industrial position of the wives of English country gentlemen, who certainly must have enjoyed as much ease and leisure as any appreciable class of women in the world. He says; "The table (of the country gentleman) was loaded with coarse plenty, and guests were cordially welcomed to it" "The habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged;" and adds "The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentlemen to their ale and tobacco." And further "His wife and daughters were in tastes and acquirements below a house-keeper or still-room maid of the present day. They stitched and spun, brewed gooseberry wine, cured marigolds, and made the crust for the venison pasty." Yet withal Macaulay tells us this was the family of one who was "essentially a patrician". In our own country the undeveloped state of its resources, the sparseness of population, and the absence of inherited wealth increased the

hardships which women had to endure through the first centuries of its settlement; but they were met with remarkable energy and courage. An American historian, Winterbotham, in 1796, says of the women of New England what was in substance true in all the States, "Women of the first rank and fortune make it a part of their daily business to superintend the affairs of the family. Employment at the needle, cookery, and at the spinning wheel, with them is honorable. Idleness, even in those of independent fortunes, is universally disreputable. The women in country towns manufacture the greatest part of the clothing of their families. Their linen and woollen cloths are strong and decent. Their butter and cheese is nearly equal to any in the world." Other womanly industries mentioned are the family gardening and making maple sugar. As we all know, in those early days, many other labors for providing household stores were common in every family, but were probably taken too much as a matter of course to be mentioned by the historian. Since history bears unbroken testimony that women always have been laborious and untiring workers, an explanation of the term wage-earners now ap-

plied to some of them as if they had recently  
 appeared in a new character, must be sought  
 in the social conditions surrounding them.  
 As we have seen, as men were compelled  
 under the influence of advancing civilization  
 to take upon themselves some of the labors  
 which as savages they had left to women, they  
 naturally selected those that were the most  
 profitable; and those requiring their greatest  
 strength were also gradually forced upon them,  
<sup>as well as those for which the faculty caps of a group were not sufficient.</sup>  
~~In this way the number of employments for~~  
~~women constantly decreased; and this result~~  
<sup>At the same time</sup>  
~~was aided by~~ <sup>the</sup> requirements of civilization  
~~demanded from women more~~  
<sup>for more skill and sophistication in the discharge</sup>  
<sup>of labor which could be done around which the industry of women began to center</sup>  
~~of household duties.~~ Besides, the increasing refine-  
 ment of manners and morals made the protec-  
 tion of father or husband necessary for women  
 against lawless rudeness; until finally ~~only~~ em-  
 ployments in the household, either amidst their  
 own family, or in service of other families, were  
 almost the only occupations open to women. In  
 this way the fathers or the husbands became  
 practically the sole employers of feminine  
 labor; and as women had no means of enforcing  
 a division of the profits, the men, with large  
 liberality, to themselves, gathered into their own

hands all the profits of the family toil; and then, still generous in word—to themselves—"gave" to the women such portions as seemed suitable to them. In this way the women toilers of the earth became to be designated, not "wage-earners," but "the supported class;" even as at the present day the toiling mothers and busy housewives are known in common parlance and official census reports as the "supported class"; and ~~now~~<sup>few</sup> seem to be struck with the incongruity of the term as applied to the labours upon whom the comfort and happiness of homes and children depend.

In 1760, however, there commenced a series of events destined to work such changes in women's affairs as have no parallel since the Christian era, unless it be in the social changes inaugurated by the age of chivalry. (The first of these events was the invention of the carding machine, by James Hargreaves, and followed four years later by his invention of the spinning-jenny, for spinning cotton, which took the place of spinning by hand or on the wheel. It requires a vigorous effort of the imagination to conceive the immensity of the advance made <sup>in women's labors</sup> and of the overthrow of <sup>their</sup> ancient habits and ~~thought~~<sup>notions</sup> involved in these inventions of this machine. (Since man appeared upon the earth,



clothing has been one of his prime necessities. Where skins of animals were not sufficient or available, textile fabrics had to be used, and any but the very coarsest require spinning. The most primitive spinning apparatus is the spindle and distaff, of which representations are to be seen on the earliest Egyptian monuments. ("The distaff was a stick upon which a bundle of the prepared material was loosely bound, and which was held in the left hand, or stuck in the belt; the spindle was a smaller tapering piece to which the thread was attached. By a dexterous twirl of the hand the spindle was made to spin round and at the same time recede from the spinster, who drew out between the forefinger and thumb of the right hand a regular stream of fibers so long as the twisting of the spindle lasted. It was then drawn in, the new length of thread wound upon it, and the operation was renewed.") By this simple apparatus the thread for weaving all the clothes of the race was spun from the immemorial time recorded by the Egyptian monuments, until its first improvement, the common spinning wheel, was invented, as late as 1530, it is said, in Nuremberg. The next improvement was Hargreaves' machine in 1764, followed rapidly

cast for her in the monotonous round of ~~unvarying~~<sup>old</sup> housework, regardless of her natural tastes, this alone would justify us in calling this era one of the most momentous in history. But this is far from all that has been attained. Woman's subordinate and depressed industrial position was in entire accord with her mental and social position. The law regarded the married woman as a non-entity. She had no property rights, no rights to her children, no rights to her own person. As late as 1818 instances are on record in England of wife-selling in the public market. Her intellectual standing was equally low. In the American colonies a protracted struggle had to be made before it was an admitted principle that girls had a right to the advantages of the public schools, which were very early founded for boys. The first institution for their higher education was established as late as 1820, by the heroic efforts of Mrs. Emma Willard, assisted by the <sup>Governor of New York</sup> noble De Witt Clinton. Colleges for women there were none, the first ever opened to them being Oberlin College, in 1833. Only since the war <sup>have</sup> the many excellent institutions of which we can now boast been erected for women, and the doors of others thrown open to them which originally admitted only men.

Now, of the 345 colleges noted by the Bureau of Education, <sup>as last reported, ~~more~~ <sup>more than one</sup> ~~thousand~~ <sup>rapidly falling up to nine.</sup></sup> 204 are co-educational. With every step in woman's industrial advancement, she has gained in education, legal rights and social consideration. One of the most valuable recent contributions on the status of women in industry is the address of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, delivered at the ~~last~~ <sup>in 1892</sup> convention of the Nat. American Woman Suffrage Association. His long study of labor statistics and his position as Labor Commissioner of the U. S. give his statements a weight possessed perhaps by no other one person in the country. I will make one short quotation from that address. He says:

The first question that might arise under a statement of facts relative to woman's entrance upon the industrial field concerns her moral and intellectual condition, as arising from the new environment. To my own mind, this is an entirely one-sided question. Each step in industrial progress has raised her in the scale of civilization rather than degraded her. As a result, she has constantly stepped up higher and gained intellectual advantages, such as the opening to her of universities, colleges, and the higher institutions of learning, which have in turn equipped her for the best professional employment. The moral plane of the working woman is certainly higher than of the woman engaged in domestic service, and she stands on a plane of purity equal to that of any class of women in the community.

<sup>see Philadelphia, page 26, 27, 28,</sup>  
I would fail to give due notice to all the great influences which have combined to bring about the hopeful state depicted in Col. Wright's words if I neglected the labors of a ~~class~~ <sup>the</sup> of philanthropists, which have played a considerable part in the result reached <sup>the party</sup> by main-

an industrial revolution than they could set a mountain  
torrent into motion, but it is possible to guide and direct  
a torrent which could not be produced. Hencein lies the  
claim of Woman Suffragists to the gratitude of the people.  
They felt the advancing tide of necessity which pressed upon  
woman. They boldly claimed the right of women to do every

~~tained~~ what is best described as the Equal Rights <sup>advocates</sup> movement. The first convention held by these philanthropists was as late as 1848, and as the particular right for which the convention was called, the right of women to the ballot, was then permanently set before the public, they have chiefly been known since as <sup>chiefly</sup> woman suffragists. But they had already done much toward fostering the idea of equal rights for the sexes in all spheres of life, and they have never for one moment since withdrawn their attention from this fundamental principle. (I have no doubt that all my hearers have from time to time read in the popular prints a wail over the entry of women into competition with men in industry, with reproofs for the discontent and misdirected ambitions to which such writers ascribe this industrial movement; and the woman suffragists are fortunate if they are not blamed as the inciters and the cause of women's so largely deserting domestic employments.) It ought to be patent to such writers that woman suffragists could no more produce such an industrial revolution than they could call a mountain torrent into existence. But it is possible to guide and <sup>control</sup> direct

a torrent which could not be set in motion. Herein lies the claim of Woman Suffragists to the gratitude of the <sup>would</sup> people. They felt the advancing tide of necessity which pressed upon woman. They boldly claimed the right of women to do every thing they had capacity for. They knocked at the doors of colleges, which <sup>would</sup> finally opened, and gave women educational qualifications for more lucrative employments. They braved the outcries of conservatism, and furnished argument and example to prove that innovation was not necessarily harmful. They maintained at all times woman's equal right to every facility for the full development and exercise of all her faculties. They besieged legislatures to repeal unjust laws, and to enact others for the better protection of women. Had they not labored unceasingly, watching with eternal vigilance every opening of hope, and lending a helping hand to enter in; <sup>had they not been</sup> alive to every threatening of adverse legislation or combination, and warding it off by arousing a sluggish public opinion, <sup>then</sup> women would not have advanced in educational and social consideration with every turn of the industrial wheel; but we might have seen in America something approaching the spectacle often beheld in European countries, where women

Wage Earners.

have been forced by <sup>21</sup> the same causes into com-  
petition with men; but where, because the idea of  
equal rights has gained little or no footing, we see  
women, not as editors and professors in colleges, but  
as hod carriers, bearing burdens of brick and mor-  
tar to the tops of houses; not as physicians and  
lawyers, but hitched in carts with dogs draw-  
ing loads to market, and employed as scavengers  
of the streets. There is nothing degrading in any  
form of honest labor, however hard or repulsive,  
when it is voluntarily undertaken; but it is de-  
grading when one sex is thrust into uncongenial  
and unremunerative employments in order that  
the other shall have a monopoly of choice. There can  
be no sliding scale in rights; either they must be  
equal, and ~~each~~ <sup>both</sup> sexes protected in liberty and oppor-  
tunity to do the best of which each is capable; or the  
one must be placed at the mercy of the other, to be  
pushed up or down, as his caprice or interest dictates.  
Happily, America has chosen equal rights in indus-  
try; and the end is not yet; (for equal rights in indus-  
try, merely held by popular allowance, are not secure  
until the holders can throw around them the equal  
protection of the law, through the equal possession of the  
crowning right of citizenship, the elective franchise.)

Saura Clay,

White Hall, Madison County, Kentucky.

August, 1873.



Women and  
Wages - Casual.