



FEBRUARY 4, 1912.

Jane Addams Tells Why Women Should Vote

By Jane Addams

(Speech Delivered at Madison, Wisconsin, January 23, 1912.)

The exclusion from all political rights of millions of working women is not only a source of industrial weakness and poverty to themselves but a danger to national industry.

Working women cannot hope to hold their own in industrial matters where their interests clash with those of their enfranchised fellow workers or employers.

England is developing an entire class of homeless women, too poor to pay for continuous shelter.

No one is more needed at the present time than the expert in the application of recent scientific discoveries to practical affairs.

Women are bound to feel more and more the disadvantage of being shut out from the sphere where questions connected with their wages and hours of labor are being fought out.

Never since the days of Pericles has politics included so wide a portion of human interests.

The fate of the unfortunate's suffering and the criminal is daily forced upon woman's attention in painful and intimate ways.

As the first woman suffrage association was planned in 1840 after the women had been refused seats at the anti-slavery convention which met in London, so doubtless these new suffrage societies which are approaching the situation with such valor and heroism are also rooted in a genuine protest that women are not allowed to participate in the legal and formal effort to right ancient wrongs as they arise to the national consciousness, first to disturb it and later to be redressed. Much of the new demand for political enfranchisement arises from as passionate desire to reform the unsatisfactory and degrading social conditions which are responsible for so much wrong doing and wretchedness. The fate of the unfortunate, the suffering, and the criminal is daily forced upon woman's attention in painful and intimate ways. But because of the tendency to nationalize all industrial and commercial questions, to make the state responsible for the care of the helpless, to safeguard by law the food we eat and the liquid we drink, to subordinate the claims of the individual and the family to the health and well being of the community, contemporary women who are without the franchise are much more outside the real life of the world than any set of disenfranchised men could possibly have been in all history, unless it were the men slaves of ancient Greece, because before has so large an area of life found civic expression; never since the days of Pericles have politics included so large a portion of human interests.

Franchise Necessary to "Players." The college woman, whether she has made a specialty of economics, of the humanities, or of science, or whether she is leading a purely domestic life, in spite of her widest interests and disciplined mind, if she is without the franchise will find herself outside of the real game. She will find herself trying to win a battle without arms, and resents being obliged to stop in the midst of it in order to forge her weapons with which the men all about her are supplied.

This may be easily illustrated. To take first the college woman who has made a specialty of economics and industrial questions—and their names legion—they quickly discover that political disability has ever worked itself out in industrial weakness and social impotence; that while the wages of working men have increased from 70 to 100 per cent during the last sixty years, the wages of working women have remained stationary.

In that awful "sweating exhibition" held several years ago in London it was shown that skirts were made for 7 1/2 pence per dozen and that women were working nineteen hours a day for 1 shilling. The latest government investigation in England discloses a number of working women so ill paid that England is perforce developing an entire class of homeless women, too poor to pay for continuous shelter. The exclusion from all political rights of millions of working women is not only a source of industrial weakness and poverty to themselves, but a danger to national industry. Working women cannot hope to hold their own in industrial matters where their interests clash with those of their enfranchised fellow workers or employers, in whose hands lie the solution of the problems which are at present convulsing the industrial world. They are bound to feel more and more the disadvantages of being shut out from the sphere where questions connected with their wages and hours of labor are being fought out.

Women Are Not Consulted. In the solution of these problems women themselves are not consulted, even in the laws designed to protect their own health and comfort. Such are: Anti-sweatshop laws. Prohibition of tenement house work. Inspection and licensing. The minimum wage board first established for woman's work. Limitation of hours of labor. Prohibition of night work. Protection of child bearing women. Industrial insurance and all of that new legislation embodied in employers' liability acts.

Legal status of trades unions. Free employment bureaus. Trade training. Liquor legislation. Industrial conciliation and arbitration and that scientific management of industry which goes to show that so often efficiency is only applied mechanics. To consider next the college woman who has devoted herself to science. The desire for the amelioration of the conditions of human life comes, so to speak, in gusts, and no one can doubt that the wind is now blowing with strength and impelling us onward. It is sweeping into this worldwide effort those who are supposed to represent the least of enthusiasm and the most of cold research—the men and women trained in pure science. No one is more needed at the present moment than the expert in the application of recent scientific discoveries to practical affairs. Much of this application is identified with legislation, and while the researches of scientific women are taken with absolute confidence they are given no vote when it comes to the civic application of their knowledge.

Some Cases in Point. One can readily instance: Bacteriological knowledge in relation to the milk supply, to the examination of foods, and to the public water supply. Prevention of infant mortality. Care of newborn infants—prevention of blindness. Regulation of midwifery. Registration of trained nurses. Control of contagious diseases. Vaccination and administration of anti-toxin. Care of tuberculous. Medical supervision of school children. Housing, sanitation, and ventilation. Disposal of waste. Prevention of industrial diseases. The college woman who studies literature, history, philosophy, whatever treats of the development of human life, of that vast and checked undertaking of its own moralization to which the human race is committed, quickly feels the need of the franchise. It is inevitable that humanitarian women should wish to vote concerning all the regulation of public charities which have to do with: The care of dependent children. Pensions to mothers in distress. Care of the aged poor. Care of the homeless—municipal lodging houses and poorhouses. Care of the mentally defective. Conditions of jails and penitentiaries. Conditions of police stations. Gradual elimination of the social evil. Extended care of young girls—the age of consent. The establishment of juvenile courts. The suppression of gambling. Protection of the immigrant. Decent advertising—regulation of bill-boards. Municipal art. Public baths and wash houses.

"Who Keeps Your House?" To consider next the college woman who is absorbed in domesticity. It is said that certain women are still indifferent to political freedom, quite as oriental women are indifferent to personal freedom because they have never seen the implications and consequences which the lack of the franchise entails. A chart has recently been prepared by the Woman's City Club of Chicago entitled: "Madam, who keeps your house?" showing the connection which the most domestic woman has with civic affairs. This chart shows a series of sketches of home life connected by a string with the various departments in the city hall that controls them. A couple being married. Marriage license bureau. A couple hunting a home. Building department. Buying household goods for it. Factory inspection. New wife buying a lot of bread. Inspection of food and markets. Housekeeper taking in milk. Milk inspector; city health. Lighting gas stove. Commissioner of public works. Putting garbage in pail. Minister of necessity fall to deal with them adequately, that all the remedial powers, all the understanding and training which society possesses must be brought to bear upon them if our nation would hold its own in this complex modern world in which we live.

Smoke pouring out of window. Smoke inspection. Men cleaning streets. Streets and alleys signs for contagious diseases. Health department. Crêpe on the door. Burial permit.

Some Needed Domestic Laws. Even the most indifferent woman who keeps house cannot fail to see this connection and the disaster which must result when she is forced persistently to turn the regulation of such affairs over to others. It is said that the moral trustworthiness of women in their sense of domestic relation is accepted in our everyday life as part of the natural order of things on which we can rely as implicitly as on the continuity of the forces of nature, but the continuity is wronged when so much of the activity is absorbed in domestic selfness that a sense of obligation toward the community is never developed. And, perhaps, the women who lead the domestic life more than any other, are in need of the franchise. One could easily name the regulations of the state which define her status in the community.

DOMESTIC. Laws regulating marriage and divorce. Laws defining the legitimacy of children. Laws defining married woman's property rights. Exemption and homestead laws which protect her when her husband is bankrupt. Laws concerning non-support, which so intimately affect the lives of poorer women and which alone enables them to rear their children. Laws concerning the co-guardianship which gives a woman an equal right in the care of her children and which unfortunately have been so manifestly unjust to women. Laws concerning widows' awards. If we consider next the acts of the state regulating her functions as mother of her children and head of her household there are: Laws concerning the preparation of food by which alone her children maybe protected from poisoning. Those concerning the manufacture of clothing. Provision for the education of her children made by the public schools, state universities, etc. Provision for the recreation of her children, which have lately come to include only playgrounds but small parks with field houses and gymnasiums. Child labor laws which protect her children from premature labor. The newly established laws for vocational guidance and employment supervision which many cities are instituting gradually in connection with their public systems. Even the factory child averages between six and four-tenths years of education before it enters industry, and it might well seem the duty of the state to keep a supervision over them lest the education which they have gotten at such expense be utterly quenched in work ill fitted for the young.

Tariff Greatly Concerns Woman. These laws I have mentioned defining her status and facilitating the functions of the domestic woman are the most obvious ones. I have not gone into the great question of the tariff and all that it means in raising the price of household commodities for if woman is less the producer than formerly, she still determines the kind and quality of production because she is the consumer and purchaser. It is said that English women are most eager to get into the game before the tariff policy is established in England. Because the college woman is the triumphant heir to the long struggle to secure wider and wider opportunities and economic freedom for women, she, above all others, is able to testify that the ever changing state inevitably brings about great modifications, not only industrial and social, but domestic and personal as well.

The college woman will know that under the impulsion of new political ideas the legal forms of society are gradually changing and fresh civic institutions are constantly developed to meet these new wants, and that a government controlled and administered almost exclusively by men, in dealing with these new and peculiar problems which affect all aspects of life, must of necessity fail to deal with them adequately, that all the remedial powers, all the understanding and training which society possesses must be brought to bear upon them if our nation would hold its own in this complex modern world in which we live.



MISS JANE ADDAMS.

State of Wisconsin to Be Pivotal Point of Woman's Suffrage in November

By Mary Isabel Brush.

IMPORTANT as may be the movement in other parts of the world, no person from Timbuctoo to Arkansas, who is interested in suffrage, omits to inquire in even the briefest conversation as to the situation in Wisconsin. One of the most important crises in the history of the cause is pending in this northern state. Whether or not women will be given the ballot in an area east of the Mississippi river depends on the vote of the people in November. The bill passed the progressive legislature of Wisconsin with such dispatch that even the few women who have been working for it there scarcely realized that was happening. Other women in some of the remote quarters of the state scarcely knew the meaning of the word. There seemed to be no deep seated prejudice against it, but there was a mighty, dense ignorance as to the meaning, the significance of the situation. The state society had but little money and none too much time in which to spread the propaganda of the cause. They sent out the cry of alarm and enlisted the help of several large, influential organizations, of great importance, they secured the help of the women of Illinois. Miss Jane Addams began the work which this state means to contribute to a brief campaign in Madison and Milwaukee. She spoke three times in one day in the latter city, and the crowds that demanded to hear her indicated a departure from the indifferent attitude at first reported. She stood on a dais covered with an oriental rug in the residence of one of the wealthiest women of Wisconsin and answered questions hurled at her from an interested if not a wholly converted audience of fashionable women. They prefaced their demands with the qualifying statement "I am not opposed, but

am taking the negative attitude in this question because I wish to be informed, I wish to be persuaded to the contrary position if I may be. One deduces from accompanying Miss Addams on that tour that the women of Wisconsin are not yet in the attitude of easy acceptance as are large numbers of the women of Illinois, but that they are going to be. They give the impression of pausing in that uncomfortable position of trying to make up their minds.

On one occasion, when Miss Addams spoke before the Men's City Club on Chicago playgrounds, the audience expressed loud disapproval that her subject was not suffrage, although the other topic had been assigned to her. The women of Wisconsin are going to have what the women of California won their battle without organization. Mrs. Chrystal Eastman Benedict of Milwaukee, the state campaign manager, and Miss Ada James, president of the state organization, are organizing the state by counties. They secure the names of a few interested women in a county and then promptly move into it where they remain until they complete their organization by townships. Where only a few weeks ago they had to scurry around for names to begin their missionary work with, they now receive scores of letters and telegrams every day. Four counties are in fine working condition, these being of course those communities in which there are educational institutions, such as Dane and Kenosha counties.

The one serious obstacle standing between the women of Wisconsin and the ballot is money. The women of Illinois have pledged themselves to raise a large sum, and Mrs. Benedict, who spends nearly all of her time at the headquarters of the Political Equality League in Milwaukee, will go east shortly to

try to raise funds.

Attitude of Women's Clubs. Scarcely any influence on the suffrage movement has as great significance as the attitude of the women's clubs toward it. As some one said last week: "If they would only put in a suffrage department and work for this measure as they do for the conservation of the forest, etc., women would get the ballot in about twenty minutes." The reason they do not put in such a department is because it has never been demanded by a majority of the clubs of the national federation and the reason it has not been demanded is because a majority of the clubs do not wish it. The reason they do not wish it is because they have not progressed as a whole beyond the self-educational period into the self-abetting attitude of disinterested work for women less well provided for than themselves. One might say either this is the situation or else that the women have settled down into that attitude of concentrated selfishness (the phrase is borrowed from Miss Jane Addams) in which they are wrapped up in their own children, their own husbands, and their own interests exclusive of any concern for other people's welfare.

But Miss Addams did not coin her phrase to describe the club woman. No one ever accuses the club woman of being selfish. She simply, therefore, has not reached the point in her activities when she runs against the stone wall of politics, which stops them just this side short of completion and makes all that she has done before practically ineffectual. She has not yet realized that she has to do at least twice as much work without the ballot as she would need to do if she had it to attain her disinterested aims of bettering

cond. us for a great world of women whom she has never seen. One of the questions of suffrage propaganda is whether to fall to and persuade the women's clubs to participate in some definite, active capacity in the movement.

Larger Clubs Indorse Suffrage. The larger clubs of Illinois have almost without exception indorsed suffrage and the individual members belong to organizations having for their aim active service in the cause. The situation as elucidated by Mrs. John O'Connor, president of the Chicago Women's Club, one of the largest of the organizations in the United States, is interesting and significant. She herself has worked for years for the civic improvement of her city, and as her statement indicates, believes strongly in suffrage. It is a part of a five minute address given at the banquet of the Political Equality League of Chicago.

"Increased interest in woman's suffrage on the part of the women's clubs has been," she said, "as I believe it has been with them in general in proportion to the amount of political work which they have undertaken. Most women's clubs have developed from a small literary circle and most of the members of such a circle would, I believe, have been opposed to woman's suffrage. The majority of these women were mainly interested in the home and its needs and at that time a good housewife had little time for anything else. As time came to them they began to be interested in educational measures, closely allied to the home; then philanthropy, and reform, and philosophy, and the science to teach them why and how things should be done. Departments were added and their clubs virtually became civic institutions, the mem-

bers of which were interested in and connected with all matters pertaining to the growth and welfare of the city and its people.

"These awakened interests and the work which they demanded made these women feel the need of the ballot. They could go so far and no farther. So today the woman who is doing things needs the ballot and demands it. It is the woman who has done nothing outside her home and who has not deeply thought of the people's needs who feels no desire for the ballot. Opposition to woman's suffrage comes from prejudice only; there is not one single, good argument against it. Many men believe in it whose wives do not.

"If only one woman in the world wanted to vote, I believe she should have the right to do so. If the large majority of women wanted to vote, I believe that they should be given an opportunity to do so."

Southerners in the Field. Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott, recently elected president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage association, is the daughter of the late Bishop Stephen Elliott of the Episcopal church. She comes from a distinguished family known to be conservative. She lives in Sevierville, the pretty town in the Tennessee mountains famous as the seat of the University of the South. She is well known in this country and in England as the author of several successful books and short stories, a play that was produced in London, and a number of historical works. Women of the type of Miss Elliott in the south are taking the lead in the suffrage movement. Miss Mary Johnston, author of "To Have and to Hold," "The Long Roll," and other novels, is at the head of the organization in Virginia. She says that Virginia will be the first southern state to give

women the ballot. Miss Ellen Glasgow, another southern writer, is an active suffragist. Miss Laura Clay of the famous Clay family of Kentucky, is president of the Equal Suffrage association in that state; Miss Kate Gordon, also of a prominent southern family, was a pioneer of the suffrage cause in Louisiana. In Tennessee Miss Elliott is not alone, as Mrs. Corra Harris, author of "The Circuit Rider's Wife," is a member of the organization, and Mrs. Thompson Davies, author of "Miss Selma Lee," and other books, is a state officer and a hard worker. The southern workers promise that by the next annual convention they will lift a voice that will be distinctly heard.

Answers to Suffrage Queries. "Can a woman who has forfeited her citizenship by marrying an alien, regain it, after having been divorced from him, and upon again marrying would she become a citizen of the country in which her present husband lived and claimed citizenship?" J. S. "Section 3 of the act of congress in reference to the expatriation of citizens and their protection abroad, approved March 2, 1907, provides: 'That any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband. At the termination of the marital relation she may resume her American citizenship, if abroad, by registering as an American citizen within one year with a consul of the United States, or by returning to reside in the United States, or, if residing in the United States at the termination of the marital relation, by continuing to reside therein.'

It will be seen, therefore, that both questions contained in the communication above referred to are answered by this section; that is, at the termination of the marital relation by divorce or otherwise, an American woman, if residing in this country, may resume her American citizenship; and if she again marries a foreigner, she again takes the citizenship status of her husband. "I take the liberty of writing for information on the suffrage question of begging for advice as to where I can buy or beg literature on the movement. I am an unknown playwright wrestling with a play on the suffrage theme, and now that it has taken shape and form, ready for dialoguing, I am up against the dearth of facts, figures, and fancy-material to place in the big scenes where the opponents of woman's suffrage are challenging the idealists to show why, what, and how woman is not in an ideal station in American life. What I am after are arguments, reasons, epigrams. E. V. S. "If you will kindly inform me where I can procure tracts; written speeches; and any other available literature dealing with the question. My home is in an anti-suffrage state, Michigan, and the intelligent women of the town are indifferent, if not actually opposed to the movement. I am anxious to become well informed on the subject. I N. "I am planning to run in this column from week to week the reasons which well known suffragists give for thinking that woman should have the ballot. You will be able to get further information by writing to the addresses given in the paragraph above. E. D. and N. M.: You will find your questions answered in the accompanying address of Miss Addams and in the answers to the above question."