



## **Hearing of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., January 28, 1896**

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HEARING OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION. U.S. COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 28, 1896.

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### **NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.**

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Washington, D. C., Tuesday, January 28, 1896.*

Members of the committee: Messrs. Henderson (chairman), Ray, Broderick, Updegraff, Gillett of Massachusetts, Strong, Baker of New Hampshire, Connolly, Burton of Missouri, Brown, Lewis, Culberson, Boatner, Washington, Bailey, Terry, and De Armond. All the members of the committee were present with the exception of Messrs. Ray, Connolly, Bailey, Strong, and Lewis.

The Chairman. I will state for the information of the committee and those present that the National American Woman's Suffrage Association is to be heard this morning on joint resolution No. 74, introduced by Mr. S. A. Northway, of Ohio, on the 10th of January. A similar one, in the exact words, was introduced by Mr. John F. Shafroth, of Colorado, on the 20th of January. The committee has given the ladies the time this morning to be heard on these resolutions, and they control the time until fifteen minutes of 12 o'clock. Miss Anthony will now take charge of the meeting, and we will listen.

### **STATEMENT OF MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: Allow me at the beginning to read the resolution:

*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 XVI.

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

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

You will see that this proposed amendment to the Constitution is worded precisely like the fifteenth amendment, with the exception of the latter part of the clause—"on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The woman-suffrage adherents of this nation have been coming to Congress for the last thirty years pleading for equality before the law. We first came to Congress by petition in 1866, when there was presented on the floor of the House and also of the Senate a petition asking that the word "male" should not be inserted in the second section of the fourteenth amendment, which reads:

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, 4 including Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

We asked Congress not to desecrate the national Constitution by the insertion of that little restrictive adjective "male." We were beaten! And again, when the fifteenth amendment was pending, we came with 10,000 names on the petition to Congress praying that this little word "sex" should be added

to the fifteenth amendment, making it read “on account of sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” But Congress went ahead and did not put “sex” in. From that time we have been praying before Congress—this is the fourteenth Congress before which I have appeared in person—through this Committee of the Judiciary, that you Congressmen will do as much for the women of this nation, for your own mothers, your own wives and sisters and daughters, as your predecessors did for the newly emancipated black man from the plantations of the South. It certainly is not asking very much of you; nevertheless, we have asked in vain for all these years. This question has never been brought to but one direct vote in the Senate. In 1885 it was brought to a discussion and vote. What we now ask of you, gentlemen, is to report favorably upon this resolution, if you can; and if you can not, there are certainly enough of you who favor it to make a minority report, and that will bring this subject before the House of Representatives this very Congress, that we may have the advantage of discussion and a vote, and know how far along in the progress of civilization we have moved; just where we stand—as one of your Congressmen said, “where we are at.”

The Chairman. But, Miss Anthony, what I want to know is, where do you stand with the women? We are given to understand that as a rule women do not want the suffrage.

Miss Anthony. I do not care where we stand with the women! We have been getting them for fifty years. We are after the men now. Men have the vote, and it is all nonsense to refer me back to the women.

The Chairman. It seems to me that there is a decided majority of the ladies against this legislation.

Miss Anthony. Suppose there is! The majority of children are against public schools, but we put the children in schools just the same. Women are classed as children, because they are governed.

Now, gentlemen, I hold in my hand an appeal sent to you by the honored president of this association, the woman who came here with Lucretia Mott to the very first convention held in Washington, twenty-five years ago, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. I will hand it to the stenographer to be incorporated in the remarks as a part of my speech this morning, as I will not take your time to read it.

I have been persecuting you and your predecessors all these years with my presence. If you were the same men you would be tired of me. You new members are very lucky. I am sure of some familiar faces on this committee, but the most of you are new men to me.

I now have the pleasure of presenting to you that new and beautiful Territory, Arizona, the first on our list of States, in the person of 5 Mrs. L. T. Hughes, wife of the governor of that Territory, who was

appointed by the present Administration. The old common law says that husband and wife are one, and that one the husband; but in this case the husband and wife are one, and that one is the wife.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. L. T. HUGHES, OF ARIZONA.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Doubtless you have heard a great many things of Arizona; some things not very favorable, I presume. I represent not only the women of Arizona, but our best men and the best interests of Arizona, and we all ask for a favorable consideration by this committee of this bill. As you know, we are still a Territory and have but one representative in Congress, but I am proud to say that that representative speaks in favor of the enfranchisement of woman on every occasion, and when opportunity offers he will cast his vote for it.

This bill is not going to affect Arizona particularly, for I think that certainly within the next eighteen months our men will give us the franchise without an act of Congress, but it is in the interest of the women of other States who are not so favorably located that we ask you to make a favorable report on this bill.

Miss Anthony. I next call California, which will be represented by Mrs. Stetson; and for the benefit of the committee I want to say that she is a great-granddaughter of Lyman Beecher.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON, OF CALIFORNIA.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I wish to speak a word for suffrage rather on the ground that has been taken, that a majority of women do not want it. That is perfectly true. The great advantage of woman suffrage to the world is that it will improve the race by improving the women. Suffrage is not a function which is supposed to benefit all humanity by the exercise of the superior powers of those who vote, but it is a function which develops the class who use it. You are better men because in your country you have the right of suffrage; it has improved the quality of citizenship. As a human function it develops the people who use it.

We hear a great deal of the superior mothers of great men; how about the inferior mothers of all the little men? We hear much of the mothers of Washington and Abraham Lincoln; but we should remember that Charles J. Guiteau and Jesse Pomeroy also had mothers. Mothers are not all superior. I think a great benefit would come from the improvement in the quality of the human race. You can not have as good a citizen, as good a class of people, where half the people are no part of the Government, no part of the society in which they live. Women stand in the world, but not of it;

they do not have any integral part, and that limits their development; it limits the development of the soul and brain and all activities; and that is why our men are not better, and why the world is not better. I do not rest the claim on the better quality of the women. For unnumbered thousands of years women have suffered from repression, and it has hurt them and hindered them, limited them and interfered with their development, and in checking the development of the mothers of the race you restrict the development of the race.

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There is no better way to improve the quality of the people on earth than to improve the mothers of that people. To my mind, the strongest claim for suffrage, therefore, is that women need it; it matters not whether they know enough to want it. It is for you who do know, or should know, to see to it that they have this right of suffrage, and that all other citizens have it, in order that they may become full, intelligent citizens of this country. It will add not only to human affairs, but it is the best thing of all tending to the better work of economy in government and social life. It will give you another set of people, who are now just women; it will be an advantage in every way; and every thoughtful mind of this century should look at its effect on the women, the children, and the men of the race through the development of women.

Every kind of creature is developed by the exercise of its functions. If denied the exercise of its functions, it can not develop in the fullest degree. And to debar any part of the race from its development is to carry along with society a dead weight, a part of the organism which is not living, organic matter, which is a thing to be carried instead of to help. To give suffrage to this half of the race will develop it as it never has been developed before. You know how America and England stand in proportion to the freedom and development of their women. This is the argument I wish to present to you, gentlemen. [Applause.]

Miss Anthony. I hope our delegates here will not indulge in applause, but give that privilege exclusively to the committee. I want them to clap and cheer as much as they please.

Now I shall call Colorado, represented by Anna L. Diggs, who, since Colorado has become a State and we were able to put a second star on the woman's flag, has moved to Colorado in order that she may be free.

#### **STATEMENT OF ANNA L. DIGGS, OF COLORADO.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I want to report from the women of Colorado, in answer to the question asked of Miss Anthony, "Do women want to vote?" that women who before they were

enfranchised were but indifferent are now most earnest in their desire to exercise that high prerogative. I can report from our State that the most cultivated, the most earnest, and the best women are the ones who are the most interested. I come to you this morning as an enfranchised citizen, asking this high American prerogative for the other women of States less favored than Colorado. We ask it because we believe that we as a voting constituency are able to furnish that factor which is necessary to the solution of the great problems confronting us to-day. There is not a man before me this morning but who knows that before American citizens there are great problems which you hardly know how to solve.

We ask the extension of the franchise to woman, not so much on the claim that we are superior to men, or that we shall all do exactly right, but because we believe that the work of life is differentiated. I believe that the home is woman's especial sphere; and that we as women stand normally and naturally for that which can not be expressed fully by that other half of humanity which does not specially stand for the home interest.

The problems before the country to-day are not easy of solution. There are undermining influences at work directed straight at the homes, which are the underlying institutions of the nation.

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A decade or more ago people believed that there inhered in the ballot the power to do all things; but year after year you have seen things grow steadily worse, and you have almost in your hearts, if you will confess it, become a little doubtful as to the outcome of republican institutions. It has belonged to man with his strong right arm to go ahead and do the work of pioneering; it is man's part to do the material side of things, and it is the part of woman to come later and help uprear the great edifice of home, upon which all things must rest. It is inherent in the nature of woman to do those things which are not man's chiefest work in life. You have done your part and have done it as well as you could, but God's time has come for the other half of humanity to express herself in public affairs. Women are equally competent with men and fully able to assist them in the work of meeting the difficulties of the times.

And this is the great reason why we ask you, as statesmen and patriots who love your country and desire the nation to be perpetuated, to consider this bill from that broad and fundamental basis embracing that half of humanity in governmental affairs which stands firmly for the home interest. We have had a Government that has been splendidly fathered, but it has not been mothered; and that is what is the trouble with it to-day.

Miss Anthony. You see that these ladies all know how to keep within the time, in spite of all that has been said. Kansas will appear next, represented by Mrs. Katie R. Addison, president of the Kansas Equality Suffrage Association.

### **STATEMENT OF MRS. KATIE R. ADDISON, OF EUREKA, KANS.**

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Committee: I come before you as a representative of a State that has ever stood in the van of civilization. She sprang into the light of day battling for freedom's cause, and her borders were washed with the blood of martyrs who had with their dying breath declared that Kansas, with her broad prairies and sunny skies, should know no other doctrine. In order that this might be assured, schoolhouses were established upon "every hill," and girls and boys were allowed equal privileges for enlightenment. And if there is wrong in my standing before you to-day asking your favorable report upon this measure, you must trace it back to the knowledge gained at the little red schoolhouse. Certainly you can not wonder that our daughters as well as our sons imbibe this air of liberty.

Twice have we tried for a State amendment to our constitution giving us a right to help make the laws by which we are governed. And we have failed. Our recent defeat was largely due to political exigencies, and I plead with you to save us from another such campaign by placing this great amendment favorably before Congress. I assure you that we will not be silenced, and the women of this generation are being sacrificed to prejudice and politics! You dare not say to them, even now, with their limited powers, "Be quiescent"; for you must own that their presence is needed. Who accomplished the great reforms in New York, or, indeed, in any other city, save the women, who have arisen superior to self, and, forgetting all save their country's honor, have plunged into this unequal battle of right with wrong, where right is bound with iron bands? Oh, shame upon such a condition! Can you not see what might be accomplished if our energies were allowed their proper outlet?

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When I look into the face of our revered president, Miss Anthony, and think of her lifetime of work and sacrifice, the indomitable will that has known no such word as "fail," I can not but exclaim at a government that refuses such a person a voice in its construction. Future generations, when reading the story of her life—for it will live long after the petty disputes of this age are forgotten—will do her honor and reverence. For the present, if it is any compensation to her for a lifetime of devotion to a righteous cause, she lives in the hearts of her countrywomen.

It is not from any selfish wish for aggrandizement that the women of our land are demanding the ballot, but rather that they have only roused to the existing conditions, seeing a great need. They have heard the cry of the little children in the factories and the streets; have seen the devastation by the liquor fiend, and heard the sorrowful cry of the widowed mother deprived of her little ones by the cruel edict of the law. Knowing of these and many other evils that need the mother's heart to understand, she is asking the right to assist in their suppression.

Gentlemen, you have the chance of your lives to stand forth upon the pages of history as men not afraid to do right. Should you report this bill favorably, our children's children, when telling the story of this nineteenth century, will couple your names with the revered one of Lincoln.

Miss Anthony. I must call attention to the fact that these speakers are all called in the order of States; they are not the picked orators of the nation, but the women of the homes of this nation. Mark that, gentlemen. Let us have homes.

Maine is the next State, and will be represented by Miss Elizabeth U. Yates.

#### **STATEMENT OF MISS ELIZABETH U. YATES, OF MAINE.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: We do not express an irresponsible, an idle wish, but as citizens of the United States under the Constitution avail ourselves of the privileges of this bill. We have as much interest in all legislation and government as you have. There is not a piece of legislation in Congress nor in the States but affects women as much as men, with the exception, perhaps, of the income tax, to whom it might have made little difference whether it was declared unconstitutional or otherwise. You may think that we do not understand the tariff, but let a woman come into the port of New York, returning from a trip to Europe, wearing a bustle made up of diamonds and laces, and try to bring them in without paying duty. The inspector does not say, "Poor thing, she is a woman, and does not understand the tariff." But by ways that are dark and tricks that are vain she has proven her capacity to understand the tariff; for did you ever know a woman so stupid as to smuggle in anything on the free list?

You may think that we are so well conditioned that we should be content. There was once a fugitive slave who was asked why he ran away. "What did you run away for, Sambo? Did you have an unkind master?" "Oh, no; he was a good master." "Did you have to work very hard?" "Oh, I did a fair day's work." "And did you live in a miserable hovel?" "No; you just ought to have seen my home in Kentucky." "Well, then, Sambo, if you had a good master, a good home, and were not forced to

work, what in the world did you 9 run away for?" Then Sambo answered, "Massa Jedge, I spects the situation is open if you would like it."

Gentlemen, you think we should be content to-day without self-government. How would you like the position of the American women? We ask that the home queens be given the same power as the other sovereigns in our land. It is the duty of every sovereign to extend his protecting power over his subjects wherever they may be. I have traveled in foreign lands and beneath other flags, and it was my duty and privilege as a citizen of the United States to claim the protection of the sovereign power of the United States. We have received into our Treasury millions of dollars indemnity because our citizens have been afflicted in life and fortune in foreign lands; and I claim the right as a citizen to have the home protected, and I ask of you that the home queens be given power to extend the protection of their scepters over the children who spend their time in the street or in the schoolroom; give to the home queens power to reach out and protect their children, their subjects. Is not a child of more value than all else? We ask it of you gentlemen who have the power; we pray of you to report favorably on this resolution for the enfranchisement of one-half of the citizens of the United States.

Miss Anthony. I now have the pleasure of calling Massachusetts, and of presenting to you Henry B. Blackwell, who from the incipency of our movement has been with us. Some of the gentlemen present may not know that Mr. Blackwell's wife was Lucy Stone, one of the earliest pioneers in this cause, and who was with us to the day of her death.

#### **STATEMENT OF MR. HENRY B. BLACKWELL, OF MASSACHUSETTS.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I represent to-day 86,970 men of Massachusetts and 22,204 women of Massachusetts who last November voted at the polls, at the request of the legislature, in favor of woman suffrage; and I represent a much larger number of women who did not take the trouble to register and vote, but who are in favor of it. I represent also my mother and my wife who have gone beyond, and my seven sisters and my daughter who still live, and every one of whom desires you to grant this petition. It is as much for the interest of men as women, as much the duty of men as women to advocate this cause. I ask, it first, because it simply gives to those in a free government who obey the laws and pay the taxes a right to have a voice in the disposition of the taxes they are required to pay.

Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Women are governed. Taxation without representation is tyranny. Women are taxed. All political power inheres in the people. One-half of the American people are women.

I come to you, in the next place, because a suffrage exclusively male is class legislation, and that is always unjust. Women are a class; they have special rights to protect; they have special wrongs to remedy; and so long as they are denied the right to vote they are regarded as a class unfit and incapable to express an authoritative and intelligent opinion upon all questions in which they have an equal right and an equal interest. And I ask it because it is in the order of nature. Government has developed in the course of the centuries until it is here what it is to-day in the United States. There never has been an extension of suffrage in the world, not excepting the negro 10 suffrage, that has not been in the largest sense a public benefit; and for the benefit of those who doubt whether negro suffrage has done more good than harm, I will say that there never was a free-school system south of Mason and Dixon's Line until it was established by the so-called carpet-bag legislatures.

Mr. Culberson. You are mistaken, sir.

Mr. Washington. That is not a fact; and you had better let the women plead their own cause.

Mr. Boatner. It was not so in Louisiana.

Mr. Blackwell. Point me out one such State to which may remark does not apply.

Mr. Boatner. Louisiana had a free-school system.

Mr. Blackwell. A general system?

Mr. Boatner. Yes, sir.

Mr. Washington. Tennessee had.

Mr. Culberson. Texas had.

Mr. Blackwell. The fact remains that in most of the Southern States the free-school system was established by carpet-bag legislatures. If I am mistaken in this, I wish to be corrected.

Mr. Washington. All I want to say to you is that if it had not been for the millions of which the South was robbed by the carpet-baggers, we would have had more money with which to establish schools.

Mr. Blackwell. I do not claim that suffrage benefited the negro; but I claim that on the whole the South is better off to-day than it was under the old régime.

Mr. Washington. The young men of the South thank God that the negro is free, and that he never can be put in the position he was in before the war. We pay taxes to educate the black man and his boy, to make him a better boy.

Mr. Blackwell. The next reason why we want women to vote is because they are unlike men. Women are, as a matter of fact, more peaceable, more just, more temperate, more economical, and more law-abiding on the average than men. Every class which votes makes itself felt in the Government, and these are the qualities which our Government lack.

Miss Anthony. Now we take you across the continent to Montana, represented by Mrs. Sanders, president of the Montana Woman Suffrage Association, and wife of ex-Senator Sanders, whom many of you have known while he was a member of the Senate here in Washington.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. WILBUR F. SANDERS, OF MONTANA.**

Gentlemen: I will give you a very meager idea of the workings of our association and clubs in Montana. Last June Mrs. De Voe Smith came among us and organized clubs, followed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman-Catt in September. The meetings were enthusiastically attended, and in Helena we pledged \$100—\$50 for the national association and \$50 for the State organization. We have raised money and sent for books, and we are studying and trying to educate ourselves to know something about the laws under which we live.

It is asserted by some that as women are intellectually and physically the weaker sex, they are therefore entitled to the protection of men. I can not agree that our Creator intended that we should be intellectually the inferior of the two. It is asserted by some who have made the subject a study that many of the most intellectual men of 11 the century, with the best brains and the biggest hearts, have inherited them from their mothers. But even granting that we are the weaker of the two, I think you will admit that the weaker ones stand in need of and are entitled to the best protection possible; and in our case the ballot is the protection we need, and I hope the gentlemen of the committee will listen to us considerately, and that their verdict will be in our favor.

Miss Anthony. Gentlemen, I can not refrain from calling your attention to the fact that these women keep to their time. We will next hear from Nebraska, through Mrs. Clara B. Colby, editor of the Woman's Tribune, of this city.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. CLARA BEWICK COLBY, OF NEBRASKA.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: All that has been said or may be said in favor of woman suffrage may be summed up in stating that it is a philosophy, and it underlies all the laws of progress. It is not that we have a right to vote; not that we have need to vote; not that we have any special evil to remedy, although all of these are very good reasons why we should vote; but none of these furnish the underlying reason why we must vote if there is to be an orderly evolution in things. If woman has the right to vote, man has a right and the need to have her vote.

Now, sirs, I make the point that woman suffrage is a philosophy and is in harmony with the evolution of the race, of the nation, and of woman herself. It was once said of Margaret Fuller that she accepted the universe. That is true philosophy. The trouble with man is that he has not accepted the universe: he has only accepted himself, and has thought of woman only as in relation to himself. We ask that he shall accept the universe as it is made of the two halves of the race, neither being able to represent the other.

Woman suffrage is in harmony with the evolution of the race. The progress of civilization has developed the finer forces of mankind and made ready for the entrance of woman into government. As long as man was merely a slayer of animals and men he did not feel the need of the copartnership of woman in rule. But as his fatherhood was developed he felt his inadequacy and the need of the maternal element by his side.

Man can not be both father and mother in society and the State any more than in the home. Woman suffrage is in harmony with the growth of the idea of the worth of the individual, which has its best expression in our Republic. Our nation is heir of all the struggles for freedom that have been made. In all these achievements women have borne their share. Not only have they inspired men, but the record of the past is illumined with the story of their own brave deeds. Women love liberty as well as men. The love of liberty is the corollary of the right of consent to government, and is born of the desire of the human heart to achieve what it knows it is entitled to by the very law of its existence.

Woman suffrage is in harmony with the evolution in the status of women. Women have always done their share in the development of the race. There has always been a "new woman," some woman

standing out in advance of the rest, and gaining a step for others to stand upon. While man was still only a hunter and warrior, woman had carried all the arts and industries pertaining to the support and comfort of life to a high degree of perfection. If the education and 12 elevation of woman means anything, it points to the expressing of this and making it essential in government.

The position of the educated, property-holding, patriotic, liberty-loving woman in America, deprived of all opportunity to make these qualities effective in government, is far more humiliating than is the position of women in countries in the Old World where they are less advanced.

Now that woman has made such advance in personal and property rights, educational and industrial opportunities, to deny her the ballot is to force her to occupy a much more degrading position than did the women of the past. We think the savage woman degraded because she walks behind her husband, bearing the burden, to leave his hands free for the weapon that is his sign of sovereignty. What shall we say of the woman of to-day, who may not follow her husband and brother as he goes forth to wield the sovereign weapon of civilization, the ballot?

If the evolution in the status of woman does not point to the ballot, it is meaningless. And, sirs, some men are going to do justice in this respect. We can better afford to wait than you can afford to have us wait. Will you not do yourselves the honor to give a favorable report on this resolution?

Miss Anthony. I now have the pleasure of introducing Frances A. Williamson, who represents Nevada. She owns a big ranch and a big silver mine, though she is not going to talk about them; but she understands as much about silver as any man.

#### **STATEMENT OF FRANCES A. WILLIAMSON, OF NEVADA.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I feel honored in having the great pleasure of appearing before you as representing the women of Nevada. We firmly believe that the votes of the women, not only of Nevada but of the United States, would aid in maintaining those sacred principles in which originated the Declaration of Independence and which established the Constitution of the United States of America. And we firmly hope and firmly believe that the voters of Nevada, and the voters of every State in the Union not yet fully enfranchised, will, when the question is submitted to them, stand up in the godlike majesty of their American manhood and vote such a stentorian "yes" as shall reverberate from ocean to ocean and bring justice to the nations yet unborn.

Miss Anthony. Now comes North Dakota, represented by Dr. Eaton. This young woman was born in the West, came to Boston and was educated there, and has moved back to North Dakota, where she is now a practicing physician, and she is a good one.

**STATEMENT OF DR. CORA SMITH EATON, OF NORTH DAKOTA.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: We Western people are always on the lookout for business, and I would like to prescribe for this committee a favorable report on this resolution for the enfranchisement of woman. I represent the women of North Dakota and the men. The men of that State will stand by us, and, unless you gentlemen get ahead of them, they will enfranchise their women by an amendment to the State constitution.

The women of North Dakota have banded together and are studying the questions of civil government, and we are going to ask our 13 State officers to instruct us as to our public duties as good citizens, since we are soon to be citizens. The people of North Dakota have sent me here to ask you to help us if you will; and I hope sincerely that you will make a favorable report on this bill.

Miss Anthony. Ohio is the next State, represented by Mrs. Everhard.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. CAROLINE M'CULLOUGH EVERHARD, OF OHIO.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: Very likely you have thought, if you have not already said, "Why are not these women at home looking after their families, and why have they come down here to pester us?" To come directly to the point, we have come here to pester you just because we want to take better care of our families than we have ever done, by helping to make good laws to protect our children and ourselves. Without this power, we have to submit to a great many things which we would like otherwise.

We taxpayers have not a word to say as to what shall be done with those taxes. I pay enough taxes each year to buy a farm, and yet I can not say a solitary word as to what shall be done with those taxes. We have school suffrage in Ohio, but that is not enough. The chairman said a while ago, "If only the majority of the women wanted it." That is the old objection which we have had to meet everywhere. We have met it in the State legislatures, and the press say when a majority of the women want it they will get it. It makes no difference whether a majority of the women want it or not. Several hundred thousand women in the United States want the ballot; and now women belong

to a subordinate class. It is awfully humiliating, but we must confess it to be true, that we belong to a subordinate class, and a subordinate class is always an inferior class, and therefore their wishes should not be considered.

When I sent my daughter to college she said: "Mother, I had rather die than to spend four years in college." "It does not matter," said I, "you have to go, and you will be glad one day." Now, she is very glad that she went to college. If you voters will only mother the women, and say, "You ought to have the ballot; you do not know what is good for you," we will show you how we will use it.

When you men wish to express your highest ideals in marble, you take the form of a woman. Liberty, Justice, Temperance, Wisdom, Truth, and Chastity you express in the form of woman. Why not make your ideas practical? Why not bring your ideas into public notice, into the halls of legislation, where they are needed?

We hope, gentlemen, that you will favorably recommend this amendment. It is a great matter to help fill the history of Liberty, to write your name on its pages. If this century writes your name in this history you will go down to fame, and what more do you want?

Miss Anthony. I have introduced to you gentlemen almost all sorts of women—ministers, doctors, editors, and moneyed women whose taxes run up into the thousands—but now I am going to introduce, not an LL. D. nor an M.D., but the wife of a presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Anna R. Simmons, of South Dakota.

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#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. ANNA R. SIMMONS, OF SOUTH DAKOTA.**

Gentlemen: I am so glad that I can stand to represent South Dakota, the gem of the prairies. I have gone up and down our State for a good many years, and what do I find is the condition in that State? I find on every hand enfranchised ignorance. This scepter of power is in the hands of the deadbeat and the irresponsible vagabond of society, while the intelligent, cultured women of South Dakota are held in cruel subjection to the will of this unreasoning class. Not long ago I was entertained in the home of a banker, the night after I had delivered a lecture in which I made the statement that 3,000,000 women in this country were property owners, paying taxes, and having nothing to say as to the disposition of those taxes. He took me to task, and said: "You have not put your estimate high enough, for I know it to be a positive fact, from my business relations with them, that one-half of the women of South Dakota are property owners." I can not believe it, but I do not wish to discredit this man's statement, and I shall investigate it.

I want to say that the moneyless tramps of South Dakota can vote taxes on our homesteads, which we must pay or lose our homes. We can not say what those taxes shall be, nor where they shall be levied. You respect us and trust us, and want us by your side to go through life and make your homes happy. Why not trust us with the ballot? I assure you that I believe the grand, good women of South Dakota could be intrusted with the ballot far more safely than the base class of foreigners coming to our shores to-day. It is born in every American woman's heart to love freedom. The right of your American citizenship is the thing you prize highest. And I want to say, standing here as an American woman and speaking for the women of South Dakota, that we are proud of our nation, we are proud of our Republic, and if you want to make us happy women and yourselves the richer for the gift, you will report this amendment favorably, and this great Congress of the United States will submit to the people this amendment and we shall thank you as American women. [Applause.]

Miss Anthony. I now present Utah. I wish I had brought with me our woman's flag with the three stars to show you. Mrs. Richards represents Utah, that new State just ushered into the Union.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. EMILY RICHARDS, OF UTAH.**

Mr. Chairman: In the State of Utah we are enjoying a government "for the people, of the people, and by the people," and we are very proud indeed of the clause in our constitution which makes "fellow-citizens" a term that includes both men and women.

The best word I can say for suffrage is that after the women of Utah had enjoyed the franchise for nearly seventeen years and were deprived of it by an act of Congress, the first opportunity the men of Utah had they restored it to them again. And when told if they made equal suffrage a constitutional provision that it would injure the prospects of Statehood, they answered: "If the women of our Territory can not enjoy political rights and privileges with us in the new State we will remain in Territorial vassalage until they can." I hope that our future use of the ballot may vindicate the wisdom and enlightenment of the constitution makers. Our record of past years was so good that we did not receive an unfavorable criticism from the 15 press of our Territory; but we had not divided on party lines at that time, and were not candidates for office, and we hardly hope to escape in the future.

An opponent of woman suffrage says that General Grant once expressed himself to be of the opinion that the way to get rid of a bad law was to enforce it vigorously, for by that means its evil features became apparent and its repeal was made easy. Now, we hope to see the suffrage law in

Utah vigorously enforced, and as nearly one-half the voting population are women, we do not expect that the present state of affairs will be changed in our State.

It is all very well for the women of our land to be sentimental and to say that they have all the rights and privileges they want, and that men will always be chivalrous, and so on, but many of us think justice a higher attribute than chivalry.

A recommendation has been made in our State legislature to pay women the same salaries as men for equal work, although the women are not now doing any more work than they have been doing. I assure you, gentlemen, that suffrage solves the problem of equality. And I now ask every member of this honorable committee that when the report shall go from here it shall be favorable to the question before the committee this morning.

Miss Anthony. We have now reached West Virginia, represented by Mrs. Manley, president of the West Virginia Suffrage Association. This State was the last but one organized by the national society before coming to the convention in Washington.

#### **STATEMENT OF MRS. JESSIE MANLEY, OF WEST VIRGINIA.**

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: There is no need for me to occupy your time to tell of our wants in West Virginia in the cause of freedom, only to add ours to the voice of these noble women, loyal and true, who are pleading and have so long pleaded with you to open wide the doors of liberty to us all alike. The women of our State still live under the old law of "taxation without representation," and it is from this injustice that we beg to be relieved, and that you who have it in your power may use your influence to burst these bonds that bind us, and place within our grasp this emblem of liberty and freedom which you so long have enjoyed and denied to us.

Miss Anthony. Gentlemen of the committee, we have now gone through the list of States to be represented here this morning, but I want to say to you that before the Senate committee are now being heard representatives from 20 States; so that we bring before Congress to-day representative women from 34 States of the Union, and it seems to me that that is a very large representation making this demand. Another thing, gentlemen, you will see that these women are not children. They are women who have gone through nearly all the experiences of life; and they have come to this conclusion after mature deliberation and earnest study. Even a reporter who was said to be sent to our convention for the purpose of ridiculing the whole affair had her feelings so touched by the earnestness of the women that she turned her ridicule into indorsement.

Mrs. Simmons in speaking for South Dakota brought back to my mind that campaign of 1890, when was submitted to the voters the proposition to strike the word "male" from the suffrage clause. We came here to Washington in the convention of 1890 and made an appeal for money, and \$5,000 of the hard-earned money of the women 16 of this nation was contributed that we might send our best speakers there, Miss Shaw, Mrs. Catt, and others. And when the vote of this State came in, it was after this fashion: In round numbers, 70,000 voted on the suffrage amendment; out of that, 40,000 were native-born men, 30,000 were foreign-born, very largely Russians recently come over because of the persecutions in the old country. They were men who had not the first idea of our republican institutions. The vast majority of them could neither read nor write the English language. I shall assume that there might have been 100 men out of those 30,000 men who voted for the amendment for woman suffrage, but probably not a larger number. At the same time this amendment was submitted in 1890 there was an amendment to the constitution submitted whether the Indians who had taken up their lands in severalty, etc., should be allowed to vote.

When the returns came in, 24,000 out of the 40,000 native-born men voted for the amendment; 16,000 voted against it; so that if only the native-born men of South Dakota had been counted the women of that new State would have been enfranchised. But, on the other hand, when you put the 16,000 native born who voted no with the 30,000 foreign born who voted no you make a tremendous majority against the enfranchisement of women. I only state this to show you how very cruel it is for the women of the several States of this Union to be compelled to remain in disfranchisement until the rank and file of the most ignorant men, whether native or foreign born, shall become sufficiently educated and unselfish to share the power with the women of their own households. It is unlike the question of enfranchising the men who do not live in their homes; it is like enfranchising the other half of your own families, it is a question of unselfishness.

Now, one of the reasons why we come to Congress for a sixteenth amendment is because of the almost utter impossibility of carrying this question of striking out the adjective "male" from the suffrage clause by popular vote. Since the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was adopted, our amendment has been submitted and voted upon in nine different States, and in two of these States twice over. There is just one State which has carried the amendment, and that is Colorado. Now, from the first amendment submitted in Kansas in 1867 down to the last amendment resubmitted in Kansas in 1894 there has been but one instance where the political parties, either the Republican or the Democratic—the two great dominant parties of the State—indorsed the problem. Therefore we went there with our woman suffrage meetings, because that adjective "male" is in the constitution; because the best men of the country have declared by the constitutions that woman's influence can not be respected and counted at the ballot box.

The average man considers that any kind of a meeting to be addressed by women, or by men for women, unworthy the attention of man; but as long as we are disfranchised we shall continue to talk to women. We can not help to make or unmake a single law or a lawmaker. We can not, therefore, induce lawmaking power.

Let me give you one little illustration to show the change brought about by the ballot. My friend Miss Shaw, who is at this moment presiding over the Senate committee, our vice-president at large, went to California with me last May. We held a meeting in Cheyenne, and when we were through speaking—it was a big house, and as many men as women present—one of the ladies said: “Miss Anthony, you have been introduced to the audience, and now I want to introduce the 17 audience to you,” and she began with the governor of the State, then the lieutenant-governor, followed by the judges of the circuit court and the district courts, including all the officers of the State, together with the mayor of the city government, the judges, and the attorneys; every single officeholder in Cheyenne who could get in that day was there and near me. Why? Because the women of Wyoming have the power to make or unmake the lawmakers.

When Miss Shaw and I went to St. Louis and held a meeting as large or larger than the meeting in Cheyenne, out of the 1,500 present there might have been a dozen men. That is the difference between the two conditions. Here two years ago, when Colorado came in by popular vote, every Delegate and every Senator of the State in which women voted felt it an honor to be invited to our Woman's Suffrage Convention, and they all came.

Now, do you suppose if Utah had come into the Union without woman suffrage that her Senators and Representatives would have been present at our meeting last evening and proud to speak? No; the only reason was because the women of Utah are their constituents. And, gentlemen, the minute the women of your States are enfranchised you will be at our meetings too.

Is the Representative from Colorado, Mr. Shafroth, in this room? If he is we would like to hear from him. [Mr. Shafroth stepped forward.] Don't you see how much larger and happier he looks than the rest of you gentlemen?

### **STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH, OF COLORADO.**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I want to say a word in behalf of this measure, because we have, we think, solved the question in Colorado.

There is no use of rehearsing the arguments in favor of or against the question of woman suffrage. You are all familiar with them. But in Colorado we have had a practical experience. We have had what we think is a determination that woman suffrage is a success, and a complete refutation of the arguments that are made that woman suffrage will have a tendency to degrade or lower woman. It is often said and claimed by those who are against woman suffrage that as quick as you give the power to vote to woman she will be contaminated by having to go to the polls.

Now, I want to say that in Colorado the directly opposite effect has been the experience. Instead of the caucuses for the primaries being held in questionable places, they are now held in the parlors of the most fashionable people in Denver. Instead of those caucuses being attended by a few persons, they are public and are attended by all of that political party.

One evening a man passing along one of the streets in Denver observed a number of carriages before a nice residence on Capitol Hill, and he remarked that there must be an elegant reception being held there. The answer was that a caucus for a primary was being held at that house.

As a matter of fact, the experience there has been good. The participation which ladies take in elections is in every respect full, if not equal to that of the men. In the election of 1894 a greater per cent of ladies voted than men, and instead of their being contaminated by any influence of a bad nature at the polls, the effect has been that there are no loafers, there are no drunkards, there are no persons of questionable character standing around the polls.

One of the practical effects will be that you will have injected into politics an element that is independent and does not have to keep a consistent record with the party. We find that the ladies of Colorado do not care whether they vote for one ticket or the other. They particularly vote for the men they think at least are the most deserving of the position; and we find, consequently, that the claim which is generally made by men, "I must keep my record straight with my party," does not exist with them. There is no claim of that kind that she is in favor of holding office. She is not seeking it. The one office held by a lady has been absolutely thrust upon her. The only State office now held by a lady is superintendent of the public schools, and for a time she absolutely refused to even let her name go before the convention. These ladies have no political party that they care especially about; and, consequently, if you nominate a man who has a questionable record or bad reputation, invariably they will strike that party. That tendency, I care not where it may exist, must be for the good.

Gentlemen of the committee, I wish to say that one of these amendments was introduced by me, and I would like a favorable consideration of the same. [Applause.]

Miss Anthony. I want to finish my remarks in the five minutes remaining. The reason why we want a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution is that instead of going to not only foreign men, but vicious men and ignorant men as well, we want this committee and this Congress to take the steps necessary to lift the final arbitration of this question from the popular vote to the legislatures of the respective States. We have the picked men of the States in the legislatures, and we have the picked men of the nation in Congress. I believe the men in Congress are head and shoulders above the average rank and file of their constituents. Therefore I am not talking at random. I believe it is your duty to save the women of your respective States from the humiliation of going to ask ignorant men who can not read or write any language to vote as to whether the intelligent, cultivated, taxpaying women shall have as much voice as they have in the law.

Under the old régime you used to have John Morrissey in this House of Congress from the great State of New York. At home he was called the king of gamblers. Now, John Morrissey was head and shoulders above the average of his constituents. The average citizen of his Congressional district was from the gamblers and low-down saloon men, who were not at all to be compared to John Morrissey. Now, what I would ask of you is to let our cause be decided by the John Morrisseys rather than by the John Morrissey's constituents. That is exactly what we want. We must get a two-thirds vote of the two Houses of Congress in order to pass this resolution—this Congress which is so made up from the people on direct new issues. Many of you are new men here, and I appeal to you to be governed by only this one point: To save the women of your own districts from the humiliation of going to the rank and file for their consent. Submit this question to your State legislatures, and when three-fourths of the State legislatures ratify this resolution it will come back to the Secretary of State, and the President will declare women enfranchised. Don't you think you owe that much to the mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters of your households. We ask you to pass this resolution and leave the solution of the problem with the legislatures of the several States.

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Supposing this year you pass the resolution, and the question is presented to our New York legislature, and it is voted down, I can present it next year. It is an open question, and the ratification of this amendment might take in a whole decade of years before we could get the three-fourths of the legislatures necessary to ratify the amendment. This is the self-respecting way to do. I think you would be showing a great deal of respect for the women of your States if you put them in the position to ask for the opinion and decision of the intelligent, representative men of the State, instead of their constituents. I am not declaiming against constituents, but they are numerous, and the representatives are not so numerous.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I do not know how it is, but when I look into your faces I feel a great deal of hope. I am always hopeful or I should not be here. [Laughter.] I have been pegging on this line for the last fifty years, and it does seem that this is such a simple request that you might pass this bill and trust the legislatures in this matter.

The appeal of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, presented by Miss Anthony, is as follows:

Honorable Gentlemen: It is now a quarter of a century since delegations of women began to appear annually before committees of Congress asking for a sixteenth amendment to the national Constitution to protect them against unjust and arbitrary legislation in the several States.

Of the forty-five States now in the Union, three only recognize the equality of all citizens before the law, though municipal suffrage is granted to women in Kansas, and school suffrage in half the States of the Union. As the principle is thus practically conceded, we should now have national protection in all the States to make our Government homogeneous on the most momentous question ever brought before Congress for consideration, affecting as it does the political, civil, and social status of one-half the citizens of this Republic.

You can readily appreciate the present anomalous position of woman, permitted to occupy seats in Congress to represent three States, while denied in others the poor privilege of voting for the sheriff who may hang them. In due time women from Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah will occupy places in committees such as this, and some of us may appear before them to plead for the rights they enjoy. Who can imagine the painful attitude of both parties and the humiliation of the petitioners? This is not a question, however, of feeling, says someone, but of argument. Not so. Arguments have been tried for twenty-five years, but they have fallen on dull ears thus far. Unanswerable arguments of advocates and able minority reports have been published and sown broadcast among the people. The Congressional Records show their zeal and ability. There is not a principle of our Government, not an article or section of our Constitution, from the preamble to the last amendment, that we have not elucidated and applied before the various committees in able arguments that have never been answered.

Our failure to secure justice thus far has not been due to any lack of character or ability in our advocates or of strength in their arguments, but to the popular prejudices against woman's emancipation. 20 Eloquent, logical arguments on any question, though based on justice, science, morals, or religion, are all as light as air in the balance with old theories, creeds, codes, and customs.

Could we resurrect from the archives of this Capitol all the petitions and speeches presented here by women for human freedom during this century, they would reach above this Dome and make a

more fitting pedestal for the Goddess of Liberty than the crowning point of an edifice, beneath which the mother of the race has so long pleaded in vain for her natural right of self-government; a right her sons should have secured to her long ago of their own free will by statutes, carved indelibly on the corner stones of the Republic!

As arguments have thus far proved unavailing, may not appeals to your feelings, to your moral sense, find the response so long withheld by your reason? Allow me, honorable gentlemen, to paint you a picture and bring within the compass of your vision at once the comparative position of two classes of citizens:

The central object is a ballot box guarded by three inspectors of foreign birth. On the right is a multitude of coarse, ignorant beings, designated in our constitutions as male citizens—many of them fresh from the steerage of incoming steamers. There, too, are natives of the same type from the slums of our cities. Policemen are respectfully guiding them all to the ballot box. Those who can not stand because of their frequent potations are carefully supported on either side, each in turn depositing his vote, for what purpose he neither knows nor cares, except to get the promised bribe.

On the left stand a group of intelligent, moral, highly cultivated women, whose ancestors for generations have fought the battles of liberty and have made this country all it is to-day. These come from the schools and colleges as teachers and professors; from the press and pulpit as writers and preachers; from the courts and hospitals as lawyers and physicians, and from happy, respectable homes as honored mothers, wives, and sisters. Knowing the needs of humanity subjectively in all the higher walks of life and objectively in the world of work, in the charities, in the asylums, jails, and prisons, in the sanitary condition of our streets and public buildings, they are peculiarly fitted to write, speak, and vote intelligently on all these questions of such vital, far-reaching consequences to the welfare of society. But the inspectors refuse their votes because they are not designated in the constitution as “male citizens.” So the policemen drive them away. Sad and humiliated, they retire in good order to their respective abodes, followed by the jeers of those in authority.

I imagine the feelings of these dignified women, returning to their daily round of duties, compelled to leave their interests, public and private, in the State and home, to these ignorant masses.

The most grievous result of war to the conquered is wearing a foreign yoke, yet this is the position of the daughters of the Puritans. These men from the Old World have seen women paving streets, carrying heavy hods of brick and mortar up steep ladders, harnessed with cows and dogs drawing loads, driven by men. What object lessons for those who are to govern women in a Republic, to be their judges, jurors, and municipal officers, while they themselves have no voice in the election of those who make and administer the laws. What a picture is this for serious contemplation. Does any

man of common sense believe that the influence of this class of men in public affairs is better than that of educated women?

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“The first desire of every cultivated mind,” says Matthew Arnold, “is to take part in the great work of government.” Fully appreciating the necessities of reform in every department of society, this desire grows more and more imperative day by day in the minds of educated women.

What a dark page the present political position of women will be for the future historian! In reading of the Republics of Greece and Rome and the grand utterances of their philosophers in pæans to liberty, we wonder that under such Governments there should have been a class of citizens held in slavery. Our descendants will be still more surprised to know that our disfranchised citizens, our pariahs, our slaves belonged to the most highly educated, moral, virtuous class in the nation, women of wealth and position who paid millions of taxes every year into the State and National Treasuries; women who had given thousands to build colleges and churches and to encourage the sciences and arts. From the dawn of creation to this hour history affords no other instance of so large a class of such a character subordinated, politically, to the ignorant masses. Verily, this is an anomaly in the history of governments surprising to the philosopher, humiliating to the victims.

Once more, honorable gentlemen, we appeal to you for justice to this large class of worthy law-abiding citizens. It is your right and duty to forbid the several States to disfranchise their citizens on the ground of sex, just as you have done on the ground of color.

If the States fear the great incoming tide of all classes of women, they can regulate the suffrage on the basis of education. As this is an attainable qualification, and would be an unspeakable blessing to the individual as well as to the State, and in no way conflicts with our cherished principles of universal suffrage, it would be a step in progress that many of our wisest statesmen now consider an imperative necessity, especially as ignorant foreigners by the thousands are every day landing on our shores.

One of our supreme court judges, a few days since, declared he would sign no more naturalization papers unless the applicants could read and write the English language.

If Congress will give us a sixteenth amendment, enfranchising educated women, and the States require all their citizens to read and write the English language before exercising the suffrage, the dawn of the twentieth century would find our Republic on a more enduring foundation than it stands on to-day.



ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.