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VOTES *for* WOMEN

Given October 3rd, 1910, in Hall of Representatives, Olympia Capitol Bldg.—also in Seattle, Aberdeen, and Hoquiam before November 8th Election, which gave the Women of Washington the Ballot.



S. L. W. CLARK

COUNTIES REPRESENTED

Chehalis	Cowlitz	King	Mason
Clallam	Island	Kitsap	Pacific
Clark	Jefferson	Lewis	Pierce
	Snohomish	Skagit	San Juan
	Whatecom	Thurston	

Speaker recognizes members, as for instance: "Lady from Chehalis."
 Tardy members speak without waiting for recognition; *otherwise, wait for recognition.*

There should be a Secretary, two or three Clerks, two or three Reporters and two or more girl Pages, who should be instructed to bring papers and bills to proper desk or to pass communications to members. There should be at least as many members as counties represented; there may be twice as many.

Dress as for the street.

If given outside of Washington, little quips about disabilities of married women (which differ from our laws) should be inserted in the speeches, transposing them to fit men.

It is the year 2099; women have long been in power; man suffrage is the question of the hour.

Speech introducing the evening's program. The Conductor, Director, or the Speaker of the House may make this explanatory speech.

FRIENDS: Just in proportion to the amount of gray matter resident in your craniums will it be possible for you to transport yourselves into the future about 200 years. It is now the year 2099. Women have long been supreme; men are beginning to urge their own enfranchisement.

As a matter of fact you know what a man's world is like. This effort of your brain will show you what a woman's world would be like. The sensible, the wise, the logical and the best looking men of this audience will readily see that an ideal world is neither a man's world, nor a woman's world, but a human world; where man and woman labor side by side for the world's good.

First Session of House.

Speaker in chair. Reading Clerk in front of Speaker's desk. Secretary to one side engaged in work. All members in seats except three, who, upon coming in later, ask to be recorded as present. Speaker calls House to order and has Roll called. Any disorder should be seen but not heard. Members answer "Here." Only family name is called. Journal is to be read—a member interrupts—

"Madame Speaker, may we dispense with the further reading of the Journal?"

Speaker asks for and receives consent of the House.

First reading of Bills. Clerk reads titles only. Four bills can be prepared. Each must be in hands of a member, who must raise the bill high in air, motioning for a Page, who will carry same to Reading Clerk's desk.

Suggestive bills on pages 8-10 for this exercise.

Second reading of bills called for. House Bill 2023: An Act to enfranchise men. Full text to be read. A member obtains the floor, amends the Bill by striking out the phrase, "upon the same terms as women" and substituting "who have reached the age of 30 years." Member has amendment written. Page is to carry it to Reading Clerk who now reads Bill as amended. Speaker calls for remarks. Three members speak to amendment. A member moves that it be referred to Committee on Waterways. The author of Bill jumps up and expresses desire to have Bill referred to Judiciary Committee. Speaker so orders.

Third reading of Bills. House Bill 2023 is read in full; also that Committee do recommend its passage. Speaker calls for remarks. Two members speak to this Bill. The second one amends same. Amendment sent to Speaker by Page; handed by Speaker to Reading Clerk, who reads Bill as amended.

A member moves that Bill as amended be referred to Committee on Fisheries. It is seconded and carried with great enthusiasm.

Author of House Bill 2023 moves that it be made a special order of business at ten A. M. tomorrow; it is so ordered. A member moves adjournment to witness a basketball game between the Suffragers and the Antis; it carries.

Chairman of Judiciary Committee announces the immediate gathering of her committee. This committee has five members; meets on platform as though it were a committee room; but its meeting will be public for the audience. Members of the House should leave their seats and stand in back or side of room, excepting a few who may pretend to be busy at their desks. Judiciary Committee arranges 10 chairs, five for visitors. One House Member brings in a remonstrant, who should be dressed like an old foggy professor. Another member brings in a fine modern looking man who is to urge the passage of Bill 2023. Secretary to be seated by the side of Chairman. Chairman calls her Committee to order who rush in one after another to their own seats. Then members who are to introduce petitioners come in, speaking quietly to Chairman, who seats them all. Chairman now asks Committee's consent to hear petitioners; Committee consents. Remonstrant is introduced by a member, and makes his speech. Petitioner for Bill is introduced by a House member and makes his speech.

These four are now excused. Chairman says: "We will now proceed to the consideration of this Bill; remarks are in order. Each of the four members speak. Vote is taken; it is a tie. Chairman says: "It becomes my painful duty to cast the deciding vote." The two in favor of Bill should act anxious for their side and the two against it also. Chairman looks perplexed but finally votes aye because as "circumstances seem to indicate popular opinion is setting in that direction, the wise politician will be on the winning side." Chair instructs Secretary to record that measure is recommended for passage. Committee will now arise. The affirmatives will thank Chairman and shake her hand strenuously. Negative voters will leave the platform shaking their heads dolefully.

Speaker strikes gavel for re-assembling of House. Sergeant-at-Arms will take her station at doorway; all in their places (excepting four or five members who, coming in late, express their desire to be recorded as present). Roll call over; Journal read; interrupted by a member; consent of House given for interruption. Speaker says: "Time has now come when House Bill 2020 be made the special order of business. Is Judiciary Committee ready to report? Chairman reports that Judiciary Committee do recommend the passage of H. B. 2023. A member moves that report of committee be adopted. Motion stated by Speaker and remarks called for. Members now present petitions from every county for or against the measure.

A member rises to a question of privilege. Speaker grants request. When order is restored, half a dozen members orate for and against Bill. Member calls for vote by roll call. Speaker instructs Sergeant-at-Arms to close doors and bring in delinquents. Four or five delinquents may be brought in. Some give excuses. Member moves previous question; carried. When voting all vote Aye who have not spoken against it. When Speaker declares measure passed, all Ayes rise and wave tiny flags.

Cue for trio to sing, "Courage Brothers."

Note: It will be fun to have one (or two) of those voting "no" to change to "aye." One could say: "Madame Speaker, It is said women change their minds but fools never; therefore, I desire to change my 'no' to 'aye.'"

For First Session House Journal.

Olympia, Wash., April 1st, 1909.

House called to order; 29 members present. B.— excused for tardiness because street cars were delayed by overcrowding. C.—, D.—, and F.— were delayed by being Judges at a Baby Fair; they were reprimanded by Speaker. The Bill on Curbing Whiskers, 2073. Here—Interrupted by member.

Journal for Second Session.

Olympia, Wash., April 2d, 1909.

All members present but G.—, H.—, M.—, L.—, and K.—. House Bills 4072 and 7290; 4345 and 7300 were read for first time. House Bill 2023 second reading called for. Interrupted by a member. Read the first Journal clearly, but mumble the second.

Bills to be prepared. Use petition paper with strong protecting covers, write on these the numbers as follows for the four which are to be read the first time.

1. H. B. 4072—An Act to protect cats (by a member from Whatcom).
2. H. B. 4345—An Act to provide for better sanitation of our rural districts, by Representative M.—.
3. H. B. 7290—An Act to defer division of community property of childless couples until both are deceased or marry again (by member from King).
4. H. B. 7300—An Act to provide joint control of all property held in community by wife and husband (by member from Skagit).

These Bills must be in hands of certain members. They must be carried by Pages to Reading Clerk as soon as Speaker calls for "First reading of Bills." (Mark them with a figure one.)

Bill on curbing whiskers, by member from Snohomish. Should read in full as follows: No. 2073:

"Be it enacted into law on and after the date of herein named bill that all men engaged in the avocation of cooking or purveying of food of any description be clean-shaven, or in case of violation of this statute be fined for first offense the sum of Ten Dollars minimum or Twenty Dollars maximum, or imprisonment in the county jail for a period not to exceed 33 days or both, and double the penalty for every succeeding offense."

Amendment to this Bill is to read as follows: "I move to amend H. B. 2073 by striking out the qualifying phrase." Send the amendment by Page to Reading Clerk who will read Bill as amended.

Text of House Bill 2023.

An Act to enfranchise men upon the same terms as women (by W.— of King).

"Be it Enacted by the Legislature here assembled; That the Constitution of the State of Washington be amended so that all men (not afflicted with idiocy, insanity, pauperism or convicted criminals) may vote at all elections upon exactly the same terms as though they were female citizens."

Amendment: "I move that the phrase 'upon exactly the same terms as though they were female citizens' be stricken out and the phrase 'who have reached the age of 30 years' be substituted."

Amendment must be written and sent to Reading Clerk by a page. Of course Bill is now read again as amended.

"The Bills which are read for first time can be referred by Speaker to certain Committees. For example: H. B. 4072, An Act to protect Cats, can be referred to "Committee on Horticulture." H. B. 4345, An Act to provide for better Sanitation of the Rural Districts, might be referred to "Commit-

tee on Dredging of Harbors." H. B. 7290, An Act to defer division of community property until both partners are deceased or marry again, can be referred to "Committee on Foreign Relations." H. B. 7300, to provide joint control of all community property, may be referred to "Ways and Means Committee." Each Bill must be mothered by a member; for example, H. B. 4325, by "Member Wade of King." Bills referred to committees can be sent to Secretary's desk by Pages.

Speeches for Amendment to H. B. 2023.

"Madame Speaker:—It is a shame to put qualifications upon one sex not put upon the other. Does not our Constitution call for equal rights regardless of the accident of sex? Is it not purely an accident that our brothers are not our sisters? Are they in any way responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs? Thus to abuse our present power is a disgrace to our hearts and our intelligence. Men may mature slower than women, but that is no proof of their inferiority. Every mother surely loves her sons equally with her daughters. Every mother heart will bear me out in this contention, that this amendment would work gross injustice. Fairminded women, like our Judges of the Supreme Court, would most assuredly pronounce this measure unconstitutional. I am opposed to this amendment now and forever."

Second Speech on Amendment to H. B. 2023.

"Madame Speaker:—My colleague forgets that men are slower of growth than women. *It is a fact*, not disputed (except by the ignorant) that a male is *not* mature before 30 years of age. Fellow members of the House, let me urge upon your close attention this weighty fact, ere we rush into destruction by granting to the immature the same high privilege of sovereignty which our sex has so long held and so nobly fulfilled. Think of the danger to our Commonwealth by admitting males to the ballot box at the tender age of 21 years. Universal suffrage is safeguarded only as the voters are mature and intelligent. It was never, *no, never*, the intention of our foremothers to admit infants to suffrage and such *are* so-called men of twenty-one years."

Third and Last Speech on Amendment to House Bill 2023.

"Madame Speaker:—There is as much difference amongst men as amongst women. Individuals of both sexes are sometimes slow to mature. Member B.— is placing too much confidence in so-called women and men of science. It is very unwise to make the age limit differ for the sexes. Such action would open the way for class legislation, which would most surely disrupt democratic government. True, as it may be, that some men are immature at an age when most women are fully arrived at years of discretion, yet our great, nay, boundless, influence over men ought to minimize, yea, even dispel, the dangers so graphically described by Member B.—. Wherever women are in the majority there will be no danger at all from immature voters. Where men are in the majority, I would still trust to the sagacity of our political leaders, of all parties to *keep* the upper hand. Therefore maters being as they are it would be both unwise and useless to burden the Bill with an amendment.

Speech No. 1 on H. B. 2073. Title, "An Act to Curb Whiskers."

"Madame Speaker:—Why bring up a matter tending to further aggravate the restlessness so evident, so palpable, among our hitherto conservative and satisfied men folks? Why interfere with nature? Allow men the same degree of personal liberty we crave for ourselves. Let us cease rousing their resentment and righteous ire by interfering with their apparel or hirsute adornment. *All* women are not so artificial as to dislike bearded men. For

my part I love them all and am not ashamed to say so on the floor of this House. A beard is man's protection against the severities, the sometimes (?) dampness, of Washington climate. Therefore, I challenge you to pass a measure which might bring upon us all the terrors of the great white plague, which we fondly hoped we had conquered long, long ago, yet which will surely be visited again upon us if we are foolhardy enough to interfere with so wise a provision of nature as the beards of our brothers.

Second Speech on Bill to Curb Whiskers.

"Madame Speaker and Honored Fellow Members of the House:—My colleague is most assuredly suffering from historitis. We all know that conditions have greatly changed since the dark ages of the 19th century. It is purely an act of the imagination to conjure up visions of a long ago forgotten white plague. We of today know the value of fresh air and pure food. To desire that our brothers shave clean daily is so decidedly in the interests of pure, clean living that only a misanthrope could see danger lurking in such a sanitary measure. We well know that all diseases are produced by germs. Where could a more fruitful source of infection lie than in the beards of men; especially those engaged in various avocations necessary to feeding the world's population. No, indeed; the danger of infection by and for bearded men is so great that I propose to amend this Bill by striking out the qualifying phrase."

Write your amendment in full, send to Reading Clerk by a Page, who will then read Bill as amended.

Speech for Member who Introduces Remonstrant.

"Madame Chairman and Members of Judiciary Committee:—Allow me to present to you Prof. Microbus of Mukilteo, the author of a standard work on the difference between the brain of tadpoles and that of boys. His investigations into the realm of bacilli and microcosm cannot but fill our minds with astonishment that the mind of a mere man can hold such deep thoughts. No wonder a man of such calibre holds sane ideas on the question of votes for men."

Speech Introducing Mr. TuVote.

"Madame Chairman:—It gives me great pleasure to introduce Mr. TuVote, whose logic cannot fail to convince you of the necessity and wisdom of granting to men the same rights now possessed solely by women."

Speech for Member who Rises to Question of Privilege in Second Session.

"Madame Speaker:—I rise to a question of privilege." When granted continue: "I do desire that the janitor might be instructed to bring cats and traps to rid this room of mice and rats which seem to infest it. There! Madame Speaker, there is one running across your desk." Speaker should rap sharply for order, also pretend to catch mouse and throw it in wastepaper basket. "There is one on Member —'s sleeve." Said member should jump up with dignity and say, "It is senseless to be afraid of such little creatures. If I were a man I suppose I would beg someone to throw a flatiron at it."

Member continues: "But even the Sergeant-at-Arms is not exempt, for there is one in her hair." Sergeant can indignantly deny the same. Speaker raps hard for order and instructs Sergeant to find janitor at once. Member continues, "May not this room be cleared before our next session?" Speaker so instructs.

Speeches for Different Counties in Presenting Petitions.

(1) *Chchalis County*: "I present this petition for manhood suffrage from my county with great pleasure. It contains the names of 1499 men

and 950 women. The men need the responsibility of the ballot. We need them to help us in governing our state."

Each should have a petition which can be unrolled if member chooses while speaking. When through speaking tie same again and wave high in air to signal Page, who carries it to Secretary's desk.

(2) *Clallam County*. "Madame Speaker:—I hold here a petition from the most highly respected citizens of my county, who urge the passage of this Bill upon the grounds of justice. It is folly to say men do not want to vote when two-thirds of the male population of a county gladly sign a petition favoring direct influence upon legislation."

(3) *Clarke County*. "Madame Speaker:—My constituents are not one whit behind those of other counties. I hold in my hand a petition for equal rights regardless of sex signed by 999½ men and 842 women. As it should be our pleasure as well as duty to meet all *reasonable* expectations of the people I urge favorable action on H. B. 2023."

(4) *Cowlitz County*. "Madame Speaker:—There seems to be no reason why sex should be a qualification or disqualification for citizenship. It seems as absurd to disqualify because of sex as if we allowed only blue eyed people to exercise the privilege. It will advance us in the eyes of the whole world to put our men upon the same basis of freedom we now enjoy ourselves. I therefore earnestly pray that the 7993 men and 894 women who have signed this paper may be heard and their just request granted."

(5) *Cowlitz* may also have a remonstrant, who should have a very small petition, which may have a gorgeous seal with long ribbon attached to it. The speech follows: "Madame Speaker:—Do not think all males in Cowlitz County are so silly as to want to vote. Indeed, I have here the names of 18 prominent women and 23 men who urge this Honorable Body not to thrust suffrage upon men—men are too busy with money making to stop for petty politics. Heed, we pray you, this cry from our men and women of Cowlitz County."

(6) *Island County*. "Madame Speaker:—Behold this splendid array of names for equal rights: 3595 men and nearly as many women, all pleading for representation under a government which they love and cherish as the very best on earth. Do not say that men have not always voted at school elections, therefore would not take sufficient interest further. Partial suffrage is class legislation and should not be tolerated. Just try our brothers and see how faithfully they will show their interest by granting them equal rights with their female relations."

(7) *Jefferson County*. "Madame Speaker:—My county has a scattered population, yet this petition was easily filled. Not one man or woman refused to sign it. Such intelligence, especially among a long unenfranchised class, deserves the recognition of the ballot upon the same terms for both sexes."

(8) *King County*. "Madame Speaker:—It is with a proud heart that I obtained the privilege of speaking for King County petitioners today before this noble body to urge the favorable reception of the most reasonable request made by the thousands of both sexes who gladly signed this petition. One of the noted names is that of Mary A. Matthews, a direct descendant in the female line of a noted orator of the 20th century. The names of Wappenstein, Gill, Humes, Wardall, Stone, Powers and others, highly respected for their own deeds, but well known from the records of our past history by the deeds of their noted ancestry. But I wish to urge the justice of the cause because I believe that if only one man wanted to vote he should be allowed to do so." King should have a remonstrant, who, with a very small petition, speaks as follows:

(9) "Madame Speaker:—I am amazed at the blindness of my colleague. How can men be so blind to their own best interests? Men are not capable of properly exercising any function of government. Let them

first produce proof before we endanger our political structure by granting them equal power with us in the making of laws. Let them produce men the equal of a Madame Currie in science, a statesman like Frances Willard, a nurse like Florence Nightingale, a doctor like Elizabeth Blackwell, an educator like Ella Flagg Young, and I might go on until the sun set and the moon and stars arose and yet I would not be able to exhaust the list. Let men be content in the sphere laid out for them and not usurp the power of the woman lest our land be blighted and ruin stare us in the face. Without *very great* trouble I have secured the names of 21 women and 9 men to this respectful petition. Heed it is my fervent prayer."

(10) *Kitsap County*. "Madame Speaker:—The last speaker would give me the chills if it were not for the great disproportion of her words to her petition roll. I hold in my hand the petition for manhood suffrage generously signed by the majority of our citizens regardless of sex. We are human first, second and last. Let us not be so absurd as to any longer allow a sex distinction to be a disqualification for citizenship, if the sex be not ours. There are 4829 men's and 3952 women's names upon this petition."

(11) *Lewis County*. "Madame Speaker:—I consented to present this petition containing the names of 395 men and 495 women at the request of the Men's Temperance Union of Lewis County. While I am not an enthusiast on the question of manhood suffrage, I am not afraid to try the experiment. If we should desire, the power once granted is not irrevocable."

(12) *Mason County*. "Madame Speaker:—No doubt to give men suffrage should be considered a political necessity. The women who are warm friends of the suffragettes must be considered in this question. Expediency and compromise are inevitable when questions of state are under consideration. It is therefore my pleasure to bring this petition to your attention."

(13) *Pacific County*. "Madame Speaker:—It seems strange that any woman who had a man for a father can be so luke-warm in presenting a petition for their enfranchisement before such a body as the House of Representatives of our Evergreen State of Washington. My delight is evident, to be the chosen mediator for my brothers before this assembly. May my words not have been spoken in vain. Maybe next year some brother may stand here as a member of this house and urge such measures as shall be for the good of all the people."

(14) *Pierce County*. "Madame Speaker:—Pierce County is proud of the 4955 men and 3562 women who rushed the localities advertising the place where these said papers might be signed. Such urgency should be duly rewarded."

(15) *San Juan County*. "Madame Speaker:—When asked to present this petition before your honorable body I carefully examined the whole matter. It seems to be a just and reasonable cause which should receive our serious consideration. The list is headed by Robert Moran, a direct descendant of the famous shipbuilder of 200 years ago, who also built a castle on Orcas Island which still stands as a monument to his memory. I urge the serious consideration of this petition."

(16) *Skagit County*. "Madame Speaker:—Let those who doubt the wisdom of granting suffrage to the other half of the people forever hold their peace in the light of a petition like this one from Skagit County (hold up an immense roll and unroll partially). I have the names of *all the adults* in my county who are not in prisons or asylums, or unable to write their names. Is that not a proud record for our people, who certainly do believe in a government of the people and by the people, by no means excepting the men?"

(17) *Snohomish County*. "Madame Speaker:—I have here the names of 1793 men and 800 women who desire the passage of this Bill. No question will ever stay settled until it is settled right. I pray with my respected petitioners for a favorable vote on this Bill."

(18) *Thurston County*. "Madame Speaker:—This momentous question should be settled now. I have 729 names of men and 825 names of women on this paper which I take great pleasure in presenting to you."

(19) *Whatcom County*. "Madame Speaker:—I feel true to the name of our great county. I am in the position of an interrogation point. However, so many noble, so many wise, so many good-looking people, have signed the paper I hold in my hand that I feel no mistake can be made by this honorable body in acceding to their earnest request."

Speech of Committee Member Against the Bill.

"Madame Speaker:—It does seem absurd to take this petition seriously. Men are already represented. It has been given to *woman* to grasp the ideas which underlie *all successful* governments. For men to presume to be on an equality with women is reversing the laws of nature. Even as woman was first to partake of knowledge in the Garden of Eden, so was it intended that she should *keep* this prerogative, giving to man as much or as little as she pleased. We are more than willing to grant to men all reasonable privileges that do not conflict with the good of the race. The time will never come when it will be safe to surrender this duty. It is the duty of men to surround women with the material comforts necessary to the enjoyment of life and conducive to the highest development of those faculties of leadership with which *all women* are gifted by nature. When men fail of this, their highest duty, the results are always seen in multiplied cases of departure of *women* from the paths of rectitude. Men can do more to preserve the purity of state and home by quiet, unostentatious attention to daily duties than by having the doubtful privilege of the ballot thrust upon them. To the credit of the majority, he it stated they are indifferent to this question. The best men would soon tire of the novelty of attending caucuses and elections, leaving such unmanly actions to the few who are ranters, fanatical, unreasonable and untrustworthy. When men *really* want to vote it will be time enough to consider this question."

Second Speech Before Committee of Judiciary.

"Madame Chairman:—It has been said men would become partisans if they became voters and that this would be disastrous to their present beneficent influence upon the affairs of our country. In states and countries where equal suffrage prevails it has been found that men are always more interested in these things that touch them more closely. Therefore political parties must appeal to them by working for what men know is for their material interest.

"It is well known that the *material* interests of a country depend upon men. They are the foundation of material prosperity. It is only the faint-hearted, short-sighted party leaders who see night-mares in admitting men to vote upon the same terms as women. To say that men are already overburdened is evading the question. The ballot is not a burden, it is a weapon; a weapon for self-defense; the *only legitimate weapon* in a democracy. The remonstrant who came before us entirely misapprehends the whole question. But shall, therefore, the men who see clearly their condition of political serfdom be doomed to crawl long the highway to progress, waiting until *all* men, of every calibre, see the necessity of the ballot? I say no, a thousand times no. Women cannot be true to humanity's cause, who refuse to help on and on and ever upward, higher and higher their brothers, who have, at last awakened to a desire to do their part in developing a humanity, which shall do such deeds of valor and justice, that this age, called enlightened, will be dimmed as is twilight to full noon-day, in all its glory to that of the future where men as well as women are full citizens. Members of this committee, not without men can we attain our highest destiny."

Speech Again Suffrage on Judiciary Committee.

"Madame Chairman:—Few sober-minded men desire the ballot. Besides the ballot is not, as some say, an expression of opinion; but it is a command. Now whoever, in their sober senses, wants to have a man in the position of command. It is man's place to serve quietly and unobtrusively, according to all traditions of the ages. The few disgruntled, ambitious men who strive to create unrest in the minds of our stable-minded fathers, sons and brothers, should not receive the notice accorded to them by this honorable committee. For men to desire to leave their noble calling of providing the natural needs of their family for the dubious privilege of the ballot is like Esau, who, for a mess of pottage, sold his birthright. Outside of the sphere fixed for man by nature and his Creator his influence is pernicious and dangerous.

"Again, the ballot is not a natural right; it is rather a privilege, a duty imposed where and when it is good for the country that it should be so imposed. Again, men are already represented. Those who are not married are still under rightful tutelage of parents or guardians who surely know better how to protect them than they could themselves. Why should we double the vote. Either men, being so easily influenced by their wives, would vote as they were bidden, or if obstreperous and rebellious, would engender discord in the home, thus destroying the homes without which our land could not prosper.

"Let us remember that for a man to vote contrary to his wife would simply succeed in killing that valuable thing, a woman's vote. You must not think of plunging our country into such disquiet. There can be no gain, but a great, deep loss by passing this Bill. Let me urge you to think twice before rushing on to sure destruction."

Speech on Committee for Manhood Suffrage.

"Madame Chairman:—'Taxation without representation is tyranny.' Men are allowed to own property, yet, because denied the ballot, are helpless to right manifest wrongs. It is folly to say that women represent men. Men are either exactly like women, and in that case should have a vote like women, or they are unlike women, and in that case no woman can possibly represent them.

"This movement is led by representative men. From every walk of life men are being aroused to the necessity of influencing legislation directly; of having power to enforce laws which shall properly guard their special needs. The cry that the ignorant vote would be doubled is false. True, many more boys than girls leave school to go to work, but our splendid compulsory school law prevents real illiteracy.

"That men do not exercise the suffrage they now have at school elections is another statement easily disproven by statistics. It has been found that where men are women's political peers school elections are better attended than in states having partial suffrage. Partial suffrage is not; cannot be the educator in civic responsibility that full suffrage has always proven to be. There should be no restriction excepting the ability to read and write and being engaged in some useful honest pursuit. Men would soon learn that by taking an intelligent interest in state affairs they would broaden their lives and increase their power and influence in their own affairs. The larger always includes the lesser. There is no educator like the ballot. Eyes will open to the connection between every political question and the family affairs of each voter. We cannot expect men to be as broad-minded as women so long as tradition teaches that men and boys must take their cue from women. It is disastrous to men to believe that women are to decide for them what is manly or unmanly, proper or improper. Whether they are working in their own proper sphere or infringing on woman's. No man so greatly needs the ballot as he who does not care for it.

"Members of Judiciary Committee, can you not see the suicidal policy of keeping our male relatives dwarfed by refusing them the educative forces of the ballot? Away with such balderdash, fit only for the darkness of the 19th century! Give man his full freedom and know that thereby and through such action the whole world will benefit."

Speech for Man Who Presents Petition for Manhood Suffrage to Judiciary Committee.

"Madame Chairman and Honorable Committee:—I have here a petition signed by 3492 men and an equal number of women, asking for equal rights regardless of sex. Government can only exist upon the consent of the governed. There was a time when men were property; they were not considered as people. They were as truly owned by their mothers or wives as the horse or cow is owned today. Through the agitation of humane women many of these absurd wrongs have been eliminated. Juster conditions prevail today. To be short, men have (in Washington) nearly as many rights as women. The main exception being that they have no voice in the making of laws to which they owe allegiance and are held as responsible as women. Is it not about time that false sentiment and cries about political expediency be cast to the winds and this question be decided on its merits? Every act is either right or wrong. If right, no flimsy argument of expediency ought to delay its settlement. If wrong, away with it to the limbo of innocuous desuetude. No question ever stays settled until it is settled right. This being fundamentally a question of justice, it will never, no never, disappear until *all men* of intelligence shall stand upon the plane of equality with their sisters, wives and mothers. Our political peers will then no longer be the criminal, the idiot, the pauper or the insane. Would I could impress upon you the deep significance of your probable action today. We earnestly pray for the removal of our legal disabilities which are productive of much discord in the home. In the name of harmony; in the name of justice we do most earnestly pray for a favorable report from the committee."

Speech for Remonstrant Before Judiciary Committee.

"Madame Chairman and Members of the Judiciary Committee:—It is with great reluctance and almost unconquerable diffidence, as well as many conflicting emotions that I consented to represent the large number of men and women who see, in this unnatural movement, great danger to learning, as well as to all established conditions. I apprehend suffrage is not a natural right. We who wish to put our whole strength of soul and mind into higher things, such as studying the over-soul of the natural man, the bacteria and germ life in both terra firma and aqua pura, and the trigonometry of aerial navigation—how can we do our duty towards these essential things if we waste our time upon the political trivialities of the hour? We feel that the minds of women are specially fitted to the mastering of the details so essential in the carrying on of governments. Also we trust them with a deep abiding trust which has seldom been misplaced. Again we find it unnecessary for our interests to mingle in the turbid pool of politics. It is only the fanatical of our sex who desire to vote. The majority of men would cease to vote after the novelty had worn off. Many men do not vote, in those states where they do have the right. It is the less desirable who come forth on election day and disgrace mankind by their unmanly actions, thus making our sex less highly respected than we could wish. Men with their inexperience in state housekeeping would do many foolish things so that progress would be retarded and desirable emigrants frightened away.

"Then, THINK OF IT, *we would have to hold office!!* I leave it to any sane mind, are men fitted by nature for such duties? No! Those least capable would be the very first to allow their names to be used. I am sure such proceedings would hurt our country immeasurably. Corruption in politics

would greatly increase. Ignorant of politics, as most men are, they would rush in where wise woman would surely tread softly, thus bringing disaster upon our loved country. Lastly, we have burdens enough. Do not add the responsibility of the ballot to our already overburdened lives. Do not, we beg of you, as you love your fathers, your brothers, your husbands and your sons, impose this burden upon us. But continue mercifully to do our voting for us."

Speech in Second Session Against Manhood Suffrage.

"Madame Speaker:—It would ill accord with my conscience and the duty I owe to my constituents to be silent when such a measure as this is before us. A measure which if passed would be far-reaching in its deleterious influence. With all the powers of my being, with all the earnestness of a patriot, I must voice my whole-hearted disapproval of any measure which would share political honors with the other sex. My reasons are many and significant. The unwillingness of the majority of boys to continue in school after having barely mastered reading and writing is a fact which must be considered in this connection. We cannot afford to add to our illiterate vote. Again, the foreign vote would be greatly augmented as more males than females enter our country. Shall our intelligent native women citizens be out voted by illiterate foreigners? Yet this would be the result, in many localities, should we grant men the ballot upon the same terms as women.

"To permit the ideas of effete and tottering monarchies to gain ascendancy in our Union is too treasonable to be entertained for one moment. Then think of the criminal vote. In the days when men had things in their hands, many a convict was hastily pardoned so that his vote might be used by the political Boss of that day. Do you think men would not again acquire power and use it to the detriment of the morals in our communities? Nay, be not credulous! Nature's laws are stronger than any made by human beings and men would do even worse than they did do back in the dark ages of the 19th century. And we, here assembled in the House of Representatives of the noble State of Washington, we, I repeat it, would be responsible for the ruin of democratic ideals which would surround us, in such an event as surely as night follows day.

"History always inclines to repeat itself. No one, not ignorant of conditions when men had power, but what will hesitate to vote for a measure which would bring back to us all the political corruption, all the sad economic conditions of the age when the Standard Oil and kindred corporations had all workers under their vicious thumb. We would again see the tariff so manipulated that the rich would be benefited but the poor would be taxed on necessities. Again would the double standard of virtue obtain and vice would rear its head rampant, eager for its prey.

"Instead of the Speaker's Chair being filled, as today, by one who reached the honorable position through merit alone, there would be a repetition of tyranny, as history relates, of Cannonism or further than that, for men would realize *no limit* to their arrogance when once in power and therefore the future tyranny would be to Cannonism as your little finger in comparison to the late William Taft's whole body.

"Right of suffrage to men; no, never! Not if the petitions were as long as from here to Mt. Rainier and back again to our hall of legislation. We dare not forget the struggle through which we passed to obtain the precious rights we hold today. Shall we, today, tacitly admit we are no longer able to guide the ship of state? Members of the House, think well before you rashly decide to share your power with the sex which has played you false in the ages long past. Trust them not. In the name of freedom; in the name of countless privileges which you hold dear; in the name of children yet unborn, leave to men the duty of delving in the earth to bring its treasures to lay at your feet. This is their proper sphere, outside of which they can

bring us only disaster, ruin to our commerce and annihilation of all material industries. See our grand old hills crowned with growing cities; her steeped temples; her halls of science reflected in the waters of Puget Sound, a tributary of the grand Pacific, and reflect that we hold within our hand the key to commerce with all nations.

"Shall we, by weak sentimentalism, let her sink like the plains of Sodom under the weight of moral and political corruption, or shall we by a wise administration of just laws and moral reforms lift her to the pinnacle, not of questionable fame, but to that condition of righteousness that exalteth a nation, the power of the ballot wielded by the hand of woman?"

Speech Against Man Suffrage—Second Session.

"Madame Speaker:—To pass this Bill would abolish sex distinctions. Confusion would reign in our land. Men would enter avenues now occupied by women, crowding them out to the detriment of our commonwealth. Remember whenever and wherever you put in a man you put a woman out. Men are unfitted for public life. Indeed they should never appear in public but as an adjunct of their wives. It is incomprehensible how any man who is not abnormal should even desire to usurp the authority of woman. But the most serious objection is that war, the grim, bloody monster of man's so-called civilization, would be sure to reign again over the nations of earth, should we be so far forgetful of our duty to humanity as to give men equal power with us in the governing of our state. Their sphere is wisely restricted now. I pray you let well enough alone."

Speech for Manhood Suffrage—Second Session.

"Madame Speaker:—I want to go on record as being, heart, soul and body in this glorious measure. Are not our fathers, our sons, our brothers, our uncles, our cousins to the 42d degree, as dear to us as the relatives of our own sex? Is it justice to deny to them a voice in the halls of legislation simply because nature has not made them women? Upon their separate property they pay taxes, yet have not one word to say as to the disposition of moneys so collected. Taxation without representation is tyranny; then think of the humiliation of a father because the law gives to the mother sole control of the community property, both personal and real. 'How many men are asked, 'What did you do with the fifty cents I gave you yesterday?' Do not tell me most women are kind and indulgent. What does that profit the man whose wife is no better than the law allows? How can the man but feel the injustice of being legally dependent, like a minor child, on a wife who is justified (by laws her sex have made) in keeping a husband on an allowance out of all proportion to the community earnings?"

"Legally the wife has the power to say how the husband may dress, what food he shall have and where they shall reside. Is this compatible with the dignity of a husband? Oh, members, hear me and listen to this call for justice! Public opinion is already far in advance of our laws. Judges often evade deciding according to law because of their sense of what is equitable. This surely breeds disrespect for the law. Shall we not rather repeal laws that hinder justice between woman and man?"

"Never fear! Nature will work out all problems as they appear between the sexes. Let us be just and righteous—first, second and always nor fear results.

"To give our brothers votes cannot unsex them. Member —— is haunted by a phantom in fearing that this measure will abolish sex distinctions. Humanity's law has not made sex differences, therefore it cannot abolish them. The natural differences are ineradicable. The artificial, traditional, conventional ones which serve no good purpose—away with them, the sooner the better. The men who do womanish things we will always have with us, but if we give our men folks the ballot the temptation to ape women will be minimized. Men, as a rule, do not want to wear petticoats. They are

satisfied to wear trousers, which certainly are more suitable to their life, filled with self-sacrificing duties of providing the means for the sustenance of their dear ones. Men do not object to service, but they rightly object to forced service, which is tyranny. Why be afraid to give men the ballot? If the evils come to pass as the Antis prophesy, we can always repeal the measure.

"If we women are really superior to men we can just as easily control them with the ballot as without it; which we now do. Nay, I will prophesy we can do it more easily; for many men now dissatisfied, because voiceless, will, if they have it (to use or not use as they please) complacently allow things to go on as we would have them. Indeed I so earnestly believe in our superiority that simply the protective instinct of motherhood impels me to equip men with the ballot. Let us use our powers for the good of the whole race.

"Nations are watching our deliberations on this deeply important question. Just the fact that our boys, our girls will have more respect for their fathers, whose opinions will then be of equal value with that of mothers, should decide us to vote aye on this measure."

Speech for Manhood Suffrage—Second Session.

"Madame Speaker:—It does seem strange that thoughtful women need to have the *justice* of this question shown to them before they have the courage to act. To me it is plain unless men can be proven to be less than human, our foremothers included them in the immortal Declaration of Independence. If it were not for the ogres of Tradition and Superstition no one would hesitate a moment in giving to men equal privileges with women. Familiarity blinds our eyes to the gross injustice of making one human adult dependent upon another simply because the man in question was fond enough of a woman to be married to her. Our marriage service makes perjurers and liars of our people. 'With all my worldly goods I thee endow,' is carelessly uttered by the woman but soon forgotten. On the other hand, the young man heedlessly promises to obey and serve the partner of his joys and sorrows. The majority speak the words like parrots, not realizing their import, but some deliberately perjure themselves. To make vows, on either side, which no one seriously intends to keep, lowers the sacredness of the marriage rite. No wonder separations and divorces multiply. In this day of co-education we cannot expect men to believe in the feudal notion of the husband's subjection. You say this attitude will cause revolution. I say: Of course it will, because it should. A nation to prosper must be founded on truth and righteousness or we deserve to fall. And fall we will unless we reform our laws to conform to justice between woman and man. With my whole heart will I support this measure.

"Not until the perfect humanity of man is conceded by woman will we make progress in the right direction. Mark my words: To have the ballot is only the beginning, not the end of attainment. Men must *study* questions, so they may vote intelligently. But men are as able as women to do this. Let us hear no more about the indifferent ones. Rarely do more than one-half of our legal voters value their right sufficiently to use it. Shall we therefore disenfranchise women? Nay, rather let us redouble our efforts in teaching both sexes the value of full citizenship.

"To say men have more influence without the ballot is silly. The more influential any adult citizen, the more foolish is his country not to have him enfranchised. A sad day for democracy if only these could exert direct influence who would otherwise have none or little. This measure deserves the hearty support of all good citizens."

Speech for closing debate on Manhood Suffrage. Author of Bill should take it.

"Madame Speaker:—When in the course of human events men rise against the tyranny of degrading traditions to demand a fair share of power, rightly falling to each mature, sane citizen (not afflicted with idiocy or