



VOTES FOR WOMEN

✠ A Symposium by Leading Thinkers of Colored America ✠

THE LOGIC OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BY REV. FRANCIS J. GRIMKE

*Pastor 15th St. Presbyterian Church,
Washington, D. C.*

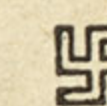
I AM heartily in favor of woman suffrage. I did not use to be, but it was simply because I had not given the subject due consideration. The moment I began to think seriously about it, I became convinced that I was wrong, and swung over on the other side, and have been on that side ever since. I do not see how any one who stops to think, who takes a common sense view of things, can be opposed to the franchise for women. What is this right to vote, after all? Is it not simply the right to form an opinion or judgment as to the character and fitness of those who are to be entrusted with the high and responsible duty of making laws and of administering the laws after they are made, and of having that judgment count in the selection of public officials? The ballot is simply the expression of the individual judgment in regard to such matters. Such being the case three things are perfectly clear in my mind: (1). The interests of women are just as much involved in the enactment of laws, and in the administration of laws, as are the interests of men. In some respects they are even more so. In many things, such as the liquor traffic,

the social evil, and other demoralizing influences, which directly affect the peace and happiness of the home, the kind of laws that are enacted, and the character of the men who are to enforce them, have for women a peculiar, a special interest.

(2). The average woman is just as well qualified to form an opinion as to the character and qualifications of those who are to be entrusted with power as the average man. The average man is in no sense superior to the average woman, either in point of intelligence, or of character. The average woman, in point of character, is superior to the average man; and, in so far as she is, she is better fitted to share in the selection of public officials.

(3). To deprive her of the right to vote is to govern her without her consent, which is contrary to the fundamental principle of democracy. That principle is clearly expressed in the Declaration of Independence, where we read: "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Under this principle, which is a just principle, women have the same right to vote as men have. Are they not governed? And being governed, can the government imposed upon them be justly imposed upon them without their con-

sent? It is simply to treat them as minors and inferiors, which every self-respecting woman should resent, and continue to resent until this stigma is removed from her sex. The time is certainly coming, and coming soon I believe, when this just claim on the part of women will be fully recognized in all truly civilized countries.

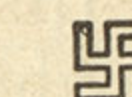


CHICAGO AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

BY HON. OSCAR DE PRIEST

Alderman of the City of Chicago

I favor extension of the right of suffrage to women. The experience in Chicago has been that the women cast as intelligent a vote as the men. In the first campaign in which the women voted in Chicago, a certain degree of timidity attended their advent. In the recent campaign, however, the work of the women was as earnest and the interest as keen as that of the men and in some instances the partisanship was almost bitter. As far as the colored men are concerned, in the aldermanic campaign of 1914 the feeling was so high that it penetrated social, church and other circles and some friendships of long standing were threatened. In the campaign of 1915 when colored men were primary candidates for alderman, the women of the race seemed to realize fully what was expected of them, and, with the men, rolled up a very large and significant vote for the colored candidates; and they were consistent at the election, contributing to a plurality of over 3,000 votes for the successful colored candidate in a field of five. Personally, I am more than thankful for their work and as electors believe they have every necessary qualification that the men possess.



POLITICS AND WOMANLINESS

BY BENJAMIN BRAWLEY

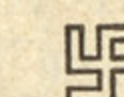
Dean of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

The argument is all for woman suffrage. More and more one who takes the opposing view finds himself looking to the past rather than to the future. Each woman as well as each man is a child of God, and is entitled to all the privileges of that high heritage. We are reminded of the heroine in "A Doll's House:" "Before all else you are a

wife and mother," says the husband in Ibsen's play. "No," replies Nora, "before all else I am a human being."

There is one objection which many honestly find it difficult to overcome. There are thousands of men in this country who are theoretically in favor of woman suffrage, but who would be sorry to see their wives and sisters at the polls. They cannot overcome the feeling that woman loses something of her fineness of character when she takes her place with a crowd of men to fight out a live issue. Her very need of a protector calls forth man's chivalry; take away that need and the basis of woman's strongest appeal to man is gone.

Even this last objection, merely a practical one, can be overcome. The finest and deepest culture is not that which keeps its possessor forever enclosed in a Doll's House. It is rather that which looks at life in the large, with a just appreciation of its problems and sorrow, and that labors in the most intelligent manner to right the wrongs that are in existence. When once everywhere woman has entered the fray and helped to clean up some of the graft in our cities and to improve the tone of our voting places, even this last fear will disappear.



CHRISTIANITY AND WOMAN

BY JOHN HURST, D.D.,

*Bishop of the African M. E. Church and
Secretary of the Bishops' Council*

The earlier civilizations seem to have conspired to limit woman's sphere; her position and functions as member of the community were to extend so far and no further. Intellectual accomplishments and graces could raise her beyond the status of the slave, but not beyond the estimate put upon a toy, a bauble or a common-place ornament. Often she was subjected to systems leading to degradation, stifling her soul and stealing away from her the qualities that make an individual and a woman. The law forbidding her to abstain from the service at the Jewish Synagogue, said she should not be seen. Amidst the civilization of classic antiquity, even down to the enlightened age of Pericles, she was subservient to the caprices and rude pas-



DR. GRIMKE

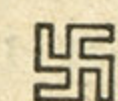
MR. LEWIS

JUDGE TERRELL

MISS JACKSON

sions of the other sex. Her fate was disposed of with little regard to her wishes. She had even no choice as to whom she should marry. The sacred fire of love was not supposed to burn upon the altar of her heart. She was but a commodity, a chattel to be bartered off. Under the Roman law, her status was hardly that of a human being. Whether under the Empire or the Republic, she had not even a first name.

But with the advent of Christianity, the path for a true, honorable and lasting civilization was laid. It discarded and upset the teachings of the past, it gave woman her freedom, and womanhood has been lifted to the place where it justly belongs. Christianity established equality and community of woman with man in the privileges of Grace, as being heir together with all the great gifts of life; receiving one faith, one baptism and partaking of the same holy table. Its thundering message to all is "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for we are all one in Christ Jesus," and the echo of its teachings the world over is to "Loose her and let her go."



"ABOUT AUNTIES"

BY HON. J. W. JOHNSON,

Formerly U. S. Consul to Nicaragua

There is one thing very annoying about the cause of Woman Suffrage and that is the absurdity of the arguments against it which one is called upon to combat. It is very much more difficult to combat an absurd argument than to combat a sound argument. The holder

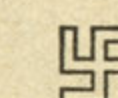
of a sound argument is generally a person amenable to reason and open to conviction; whereas, the holder of an absurd argument is always a person blinded by prejudice or bound by some such consideration as custom or sentiment, a person, indeed, to whom it is often impossible to prove that 2 and 2 make 4.

The people who oppose votes for women are divided into two classes:—those who boldly declare that women are inferior beings, neither fit nor capable of becoming fit to exercise the right of suffrage, and those who apologetically contend that the ballot will drag woman down from her domestic throne and rob her of all gentleness, charm, goodness,—this list of angelic qualities may be extended to any length desired.

It takes only a glance to see the striking analogy between these two arguments and the old pro-slavery arguments. The very ease with which they can be disproved makes them exasperating.

But, regardless of all arguments, for or against, woman is going to gain universal suffrage. The wonderful progress made by the sex in the last century and a half places this beyond doubt. This progress is nowhere more graphically indicated than by the fact that in the first edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (1771) the article "Woman" consisted of eight words, "Woman,—the female of man—See Homo." In the edition of 1910 the article "Woman" takes up seven pages. Besides there are thirty women among the writers of the Encyclopedia, and the work contains articles on more than five hundred women, distinguished in history, literature and art.

Woman has made her place in the arts, she is making her place in the economic world, and she is sure to make her place in the political world.



OUR DEBT TO SUFFRAGISTS

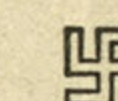
BY HON. ROBERT H. TERRELL,

Justice of the Municipal Court, District of Columbia

Of all the elements in our great cosmopolitan population the Negro should be most ardently in favor of woman suffrage, for above all others, he knows what a denial of the ballot means to a people. He has seen his rights trampled on, he has been humiliated and insulted in public, and he has brooded over his weakness and helplessness in private, all because he did not possess the power given by the vote to protect himself in the same manner as other classes of citizens defend themselves against wrong and injustice. To those who oppose the right of women to vote it may be well to quote the stirring words of Benjamin Wade, of Ohio, uttered on the floor of the United States Senate, when he was advocating Negro Suffrage. He said: "I have a contempt I cannot name for the man who would demand rights for himself that he is not willing to grant to every one else."

Finally, as a matter of sentiment, every man with Negro blood in his veins should favor woman suffrage. Garrison, Phillips, Frederick Douglass and Robert Purvis and the whole host of abolitionists were advocates of the right. I often heard it said when I was a boy in Boston that immediately after the Civil War Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other leaders of the women's rights movement at the request of these men devoted all of their efforts towards obtaining the ballot for the Negro, even to the neglect of their own dearly cherished cause, hoping, indeed, that the black man, who would be in some measure the beneficiary of their work and sacrifice, would in turn give them the aid they so sorely needed at that time. Now what our fathers failed to do for these pioneers who did so much for our cause before and after the great war, let us do for those who are now leading the fight for woman suffrage. I believe that in sup-

porting them we will render our country a great and much needed service.



WOMAN IN THE ANCIENT STATE

BY W. H. CROGMAN, LITT.D.,

Professor of Ancient Languages, Clark University, S. Atlanta, Ga.

Slowly but steadily woman has risen from a state of servile dependence to her legitimate position of respect and consideration, and it needs no prophetic vision to see that the full recognition of her civic rights is near at hand. To form a just estimate of her achievements to date one must necessarily take into consideration the point from which she started, that is to say, the condition of her sex in the ancient state.

For light on this we turn naturally to the two most enlightened nations of antiquity. In the Homeric age woman was treated, we should infer, with tender and affectionate regard, and her virtues were sung by the greatest of poets. Even today, after twenty-seven centuries have rolled by, one cannot read without emotion and a thrill of admiration the story of Penelope's conjugal fidelity to her absent husband. Nor are we less affected by the scene of Hector and Andromache with the babe in her arms. Yet it would not be safe to conclude that these instances were fairly representative of the general status of woman in the ancient state, for at the same period there also existed cruelty, brutality, treachery. Beside the fidelity of Penelope may easily be placed the infidelity of Helen and the perfidity of Paris. Women were captured in war and subjected to the unspeakable. The greatest poem of the ages is but a recital of the fatal quarrel of two brutal men over the disposal of a captive maiden. Woman had practically no part in state affairs. Her duties were chiefly confined to the home. Says one writer:

"At no time of her life could a woman be without a guardian. If her husband was not alive, it would be her nearest male relative, and this person remained her guardian even when she was married. After her husband's death her son was her guardian. She could not legally make any contract beyond a shilling or two—there was no occasion for an Athenian to advertise that he would not



MISS BURROUGHS

MRS. DAVIS

MISS JONES

MRS. TURNER

be responsible for his wife's debts—and she could not bring actions at law.”

And all this in Athens, in Athens at the summit of her greatness!

It is needless to say that a somewhat similar state of things existed at Rome where the father had the right of life and death over every member of the family. Verily it is a far cry from the rostrum of today, graced by the presence of a woman earnestly pleading for her civic rights, to that dismal period when she was a negligible factor in human affairs.



WOMEN'S RIGHTS

BY CHARLES W. CHESNUTT

Author of "The Wife of His Youth," "The Marrow of Tradition," etc.

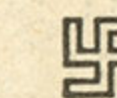
I believe that all persons of full age and sound mind should have a voice in the making of the laws by which they are governed, or in the selection of those who make those laws. As long as the family was the social unit, it was perhaps well enough for the householder, representing the family, to monopolize the vote. But with the broadening of woman's sphere the situation has changed, and many women have interests which are not concerned with the family.

Experience has shown that the rights and interests of no class are safe so long as they are entirely in the hands of another class—the rights and interests of the poor in the hands of the rich, of the rich in the hands of the poor, of one race in the hands of another. And while there is no such line of cleavage between the sexes as exists between

other social classes, yet so far as women constitute a class as differentiated from men, neither can their rights be left with entire safety solely in the hands of men. In the gradual extension of statutory rights, women are in many countries, the equals of men before the law. They have always been subject to the burdens of citizenship. The burden of taxation, generally speaking, falls more heavily upon them, perhaps because they are more honest in returning their personal property for taxation, or less cunning in concealing it. They are subject, equally with men, to the criminal laws, though there, I suspect, for sentimental reasons, the burden has not fallen so heavily upon them. Their rights need protection, and they should be guarded against oppression, and the ballot is the most effective weapon by which these things can be accomplished.

I am not in favor of woman suffrage because I expect any great improvement in legislation to result from it. The contrary, from woman's lack of experience in government, might not unreasonably be expected. Women are certainly no wiser or more logical than men. But they enjoy equal opportunities for education, and large numbers of them are successfully engaged in business and in the professions and have the requisite experience and knowledge to judge intelligently of proposed legislation. Even should their judgment be at fault—as men's judgment too often is—they have fine intuitions, which are many times a safe guide to action; and their sympathies are apt to be in support of those things which are clean and honest and just and therefore desirable—all of

which ought to make them a valuable factor in government.



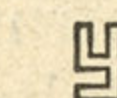
STATES' RIGHTS AND THE SUFFRAGE

BY HON. JOHN R. LYNCH

Major, Retired, U. S. Army; formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives of Mississippi; U. S. Representative, 6th District of Mississippi, 43rd, 44th and 47th Congresses; 4th Auditor of the U. S. Treasury, 1889-93; etc.

What the friends and advocates of equal suffrage have to fear more than anything else, is the dangerous and mischievous doctrine of "States' Rights." Those who are opposed to equal suffrage contend that it is a local and not a National question—one that each State must determine for itself. But what is a State? It seems to be an indefinable abstraction. "The United States," the National Constitution declares, "shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government," but this is a meaningless declaration. It has remained a dead letter since the adoption of the constitution, because some of the so-called states were and are nothing more nor less than despotic oligarchies. We have seen and now see that what is called the "State," in some parts of the country, is simply a part of the white males who obtained (it matters not how), possession of the local machinery which they call, and the National Government recognizes, as the "State Government." This government never allows any of the inhabitants of the "State" who are not identified with the ruling oligarchy to have any voice in its government. The friends of Equal Rights can hope for no favorable action from such governments as these, for they are not only close corporations, but they are determined to allow none to become members of the corporation that the managers can not absolutely and easily control. With a view of perpetuating themselves in power through the local machinery called "the State," some of them have, during the past twenty-five years, practically nullified the fifteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution. The recent decision of the Supreme Court by which some of the different schemes and devices for this purpose were declared unconstitutional and void is a most hope-

ful and encouraging indication. Let the friends of equal suffrage take on renewed hope. Victory, and that too on a national basis will ultimately be an accomplished fact.



DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

BY L. M. HERSHAW

Of the United States Land Office

As regards the ballot, men and women are equal in the District of Columbia; both are deprived of it. Citizens of the District of Columbia have not voted since 1874, the year in which the ballot was taken from them by act of Congress. From time to time since then fitful efforts have been made to recover the lost right, but there has been no properly organized sustained movement with that object in view.

The female population of the District of Columbia exceeds the male population in round numbers by 16,000. In intelligence, in public spirit, in moral influence and in support of established institutions and philanthropies the female population is the equal, and in some instances the superior of the male population. If suffrage is ever restored to the citizens of the District it should be made to include the women. The right of the woman to vote rests on the same basis as the right of the man: her humanity. "Honio sum, et humani a mi nil alienum puto;"—I am a human being, and I consider nothing belonging to the human race foreign to me is the maxim constituting the major premise of the logic of human rights. To deny woman the right to vote is so far forth a denial of her humanity.

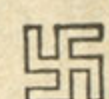
In the District of Columbia where neither man nor woman votes, the woman is as worthy a member of the community as the man. If Congress should reenact suffrage in the District it is difficult to see how it could except women from its exercise without fixing upon them an undeserved stigma. The example of women voting in the District would go a long way toward educating the backward and unprogressive throughout the country to the necessity of doing justice to the other half of our common humanity.

VOTES AND LITERATURE

BY MRS. PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR

Matthew Arnold defined literature as a "criticism of life." By that he meant life in its entirety, not a part of it. Therefore, if a woman is to produce real literature, not pretty phrasing, she needs to have a firm grasp on all that makes life complete. The completion and perfection of life is love—love of home and family, love of humanity, love of country. No person living a mentally starved existence can do enduring work in any field, and woman without all the possibilities of life is starved, pinched, poverty-stricken. It is difficult to love your home and family if you be outcast and despised by them; perplexing to love humanity, if it gives you nothing but blows; impracticable to love your country, if it denies you all the rights and privileges which as citizens you should enjoy.

George Eliot, George Sand, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote great novels because they looked at life from the point of view of the masculine mind, with a background of centuries of suffrage. Yet each was peculiarly feminine. It is a significant fact that the American and English women who are now doing the real work in literature—not necessarily fiction—are the women who are most vitally interested in universal suffrage.



WOMEN AND COLORED WOMEN

BY MRS. MARY B. TALBERT

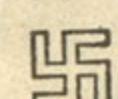
Vice President-at-large, National Association of Colored Women

It should not be necessary to struggle forever against popular prejudice, and with us as colored women, this struggle becomes two-fold, first, because we are women and second, because we are colored women. Although some resistance is experienced in portions of our country against the ballot for women, because colored women will be included, I firmly believe that enlightened men, are now numerous enough everywhere to encourage this just privilege of the ballot for women, ignoring prejudice of all kinds.

The great desire of our nation to produce the most perfect form of government, shows incontestible proofs of advance. Advanced methods in prison re-

forms are shown by our own state Commissioner, Miss Katherine B. Davis. Advanced methods in school reforms are shown by Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Education of Chicago. Advanced methods in the treatment of childhood and adolescence, are shown by the bureau of child welfare under Mrs. Julia C. Lathrop. Each of these women have been most kindly toward the colored women. In our own race advanced methods of industrial training are shown by Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, and numbers of other colored women in various lines have blazed the path of reform.

By her peculiar position the colored woman has gained clear powers of observation and judgment—exactly the sort of powers which are today peculiarly necessary to the building of an ideal country.



"VOTES FOR MOTHERS"

BY MRS. CORALIE FRANKLIN COOK

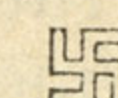
Member of the Board of Education, District of Columbia

I wonder if anybody in all this great world ever thought to consider *man's* rights as an individual, by his status as a father? yet you ask me to say something about "Votes for Mothers," as if mothers were a separate and peculiar people. After all, I think you are not so far wrong. Mothers *are* different, or ought to be different, from other folk. The woman who smilingly goes out, willing to meet the Death Angel, that a child may be born, comes back from that journey, not only the mother of her own adored babe, but a near-mother to all other children. As she serves that little one, there grows within her a passion to serve humanity; not race, not class, not sex, but God's creatures as he has sent them to earth.

It is not strange that enlightened womanhood has so far broken its chains as to be able to know that to perform such service, woman should help both to make and to administer the laws under which she lives, should feel responsible for the conduct of educational systems, charitable and correctional institutions, public sanitation and municipal ordinances in general. Who should be more

competent to control the presence of bar rooms and "red-light districts" than mothers whose sons they are meant to lure to degradation and death? Who knows better than the girl's mother at what age the girl may legally barter her own body? Surely not the men who have put upon our statute books, 16, 14, 12, aye, be it to their eternal shame, even 10 and 8 years, as "the age of consent!"

If men could choose their own mothers, would they choose free women or bond-women? Disfranchisement because of sex is curiously like disfranchisement because of color. It cripples the individual, it handicaps progress, it sets a limitation upon mental and spiritual development. I grow in breadth, in vision, in the power to do, just in proportion as I use the capacities with which Nature, the All-Mother, has endowed me. I transmit to the child who is bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh and *thought of my thought; somewhat of my own power or weakness.* Is not the voice which is crying out for "Votes for Mothers" the Spirit of the Age crying out for the Rights of Children?



"VOTES FOR CHILDREN"

BY MRS. CARRIE W. CLIFFORD

Honorary President of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Ohio

It is the ballot that opens the school-house and closes the saloon; that keeps the food pure and the cost of living low; that causes a park to grow where a dump-pile grew before. It is the ballot that regulates capital and protects labor, that up-roots disease and plants health. In short, it is by the ballot we hope to develop the wonderful ideal state for which we are all so zealously working.

When the fact is considered that woman is the chosen channel through which the race is to be perpetuated; that she sustains the most sacred and intimate communion with the unborn babe, that later, she understands in a manner truly marvelous (and explain only by that vague term "instinct") its wants and its needs, the wonder grows that her voice is not the *first* heard in planning for the ideal State in which her child, as future citizen, is to play his part.

The family is the miniature State, and here the influence of the mother is felt

in teaching, directing and executing, to a degree far greater than that of the father. At his mother's knee the child gets his first impressions of love, justice and mercy; and by obedience to the laws of the home he gets his earliest training in civics.

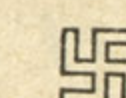
More and more is it beginning to be understood that the mother's zeal for the ballot is prompted by her solicitude for her family-circle.

That the child's food may be pure, that his environment shall be wholesome and his surrounding sanitary—these are the things which engage her thought. That his mind shall be properly developed and his education wisely directed; that his occupation shall be clean and his ideals high—all these are things of supreme importance to her, who began to plan for the little life before it was even dreamed of by the father.

Kindergartens, vacation-schools, playgrounds; the movement for the City Beautiful; societies for temperance and for the prevention of cruelty to children and animals—these and many other practical reforms she has brought to pass, *in spite of not having the ballot.* But as she wisely argues, why should she be forced to use indirect methods to accomplish a thing that could be done so much more quickly and satisfactorily by the direct method—by casting her own ballot?

The ballot! the sign of power, the means by which things are brought to pass, the talisman that makes our dreams come true! Her dream is of a State where war shall cease, where peace and unity be established and where love shall reign.

Yes, it is the great mother-heart reaching out to save her children from war, famine and pestilence; from death degradation and destruction, that induces her to demand "Votes for Women," knowing well that fundamentally it is really a campaign for "Votes for Children."

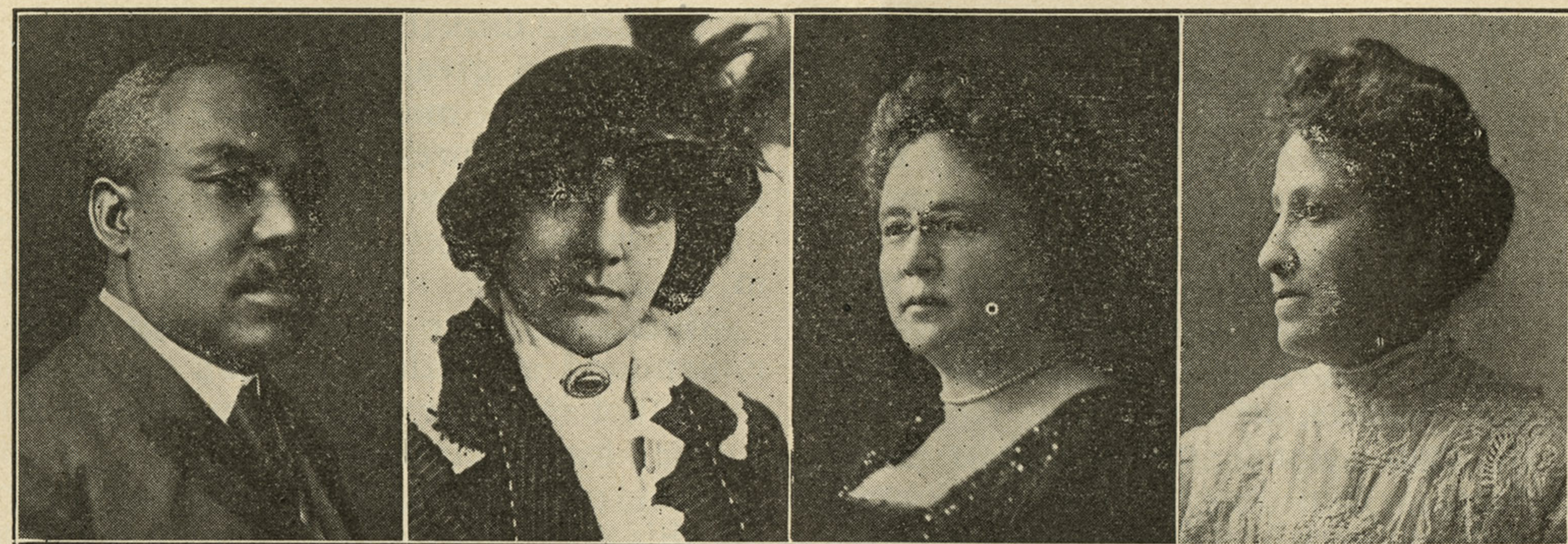


TRAINING AND THE BALLOT

BY MARY FITZBUTLER WARING, M. D.

Chairman of the Department of Health and Hygiene, N. A. C. W.

In the earlier ages, the thought was common among the nations of the world,



BISHOP HURST

MRS. ASBERRY

MRS. BRUCE

MRS. TERRELL

that woman was not the equal of man. Socially, religiously and politically she was compelled to take an inferior position and to submit to the will and wiles of man. In some countries she was not even considered as the legal parent of her own child.

The ability to weigh the merits of the persons to fill office and the value of ordinances which govern the people, requires a knowledge of men and affairs. A trained mind, no matter in what profession, is more capable of making logical deductions; therefore the people naturally turn for information to the enlightened. The question of sex is of no importance.

The work of the professional woman just as that of the professional man places her in a position to help the many with whom she necessarily comes in contact, and therefore her influence is a power to be reckoned with. The ethical relations of the professional woman makes her, oftentimes, the confidant and advisor of others and for that reason she should be well informed on political issues and aspirants for public office.

Trained judgment is needed everywhere and it should always be armed with the ballot.



DEMOCRACY AND ART

BY WILLIAM STANLEY BRAITHEWAITE

Author of Anthologies of Magazine Verse, etc.

We find that at almost every stage of its development Democracy has been betrayed by one or another of its idealist professors, except one. Democracy has its source in political ethics, but neither religion nor social justice have performed towards it, in practice, those

strict obligations which are defined by the nature of their idealisms. Art alone has kept her covenant with Democracy.

Art is the embodiment of spiritual ideals. There is no human progress without a previsioning of the aspiration through one of the symbolic languages of art. All the great craving desires of humanity have been promised and attained through the message of art. Art cannot flourish in a democracy, is the critical opinion common to a good many. I say, that in the future, art will not flourish without democracy. All that democracy has gained in the last twenty years it has owed to the ideals of art. Was the social conscience of America vitalized by religion or the justice and wisdom of political enactments? No; but by an art, the art of poetry. The undemocratic methods of industrial power, did the Christian church protest against it? No; it was a poet with a passion and a message. Now, art has seen to it that public opinion consider all the rights and demands that democracy makes towards the justification of its ideals. These have not all been accomplished. It has got to eliminate racial prejudice which has governmental sanction, and it has got to win sufferance for all citizens alike. Art is bringing democracy face to face with beauty, and beauty knows neither race, caste nor sex. The social vision of art is complete. And its light is ever shining upon the luminous figure of Democracy, the ideal Mother of human hopes, the hopes of the rejected, of the denied, of the subjected individual.

The voice of art expressing the spirit of democracy is beautifully illustrated in

this passage from Mr. Witter Bynner's recently published poem "The New World:":

"To stop the wound and heal the scar
Of time, with sudden glorious aptitude
Woman assumes her part. Her pity in
a flood

Flings down the gate.

She has been made to wait

Too long, undreaming and untaught

The touch and beauty of democracy.

But, entering now the strife

In which her saving sense is due,

She watches and she grows aware,

Holding a child more dear than property,

That the many perish to empower the
few,

That homeless politics have split apart
The common country of the common
heart."



BLACK WOMEN AND REFORM

BY MISS N. H. BURROUGHS

*Secretary of the Woman's Auxiliary to the
National Baptist Convention*

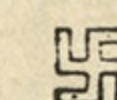
The Negro Church means the Negro woman. Without her, the race could not properly support five hundred churches in the whole world. Today they have 40,000 churches in the United States. She is not only a great moral and spiritual asset, but she is a great economic asset. I was asked by a southern white woman who is an enthusiastic worker for "votes for (white) women," "What can the Negro woman do with the ballot?" I asked her, "What can she do without it?" When the ballot is put into the hands of the American woman the world is going to get a correct estimate of the Negro woman. It will find her a tower of strength of which poets have never sung, orators have never spoken, and scholars have never written.

Because the black man does not know the value of the ballot, and has bartered and sold his most valuable possession, it is no evidence that the Negro woman will do the same. The Negro woman, therefore, needs the ballot to get back, by the wise use of it, what the Negro man has lost by the misuse of it. She needs it to ransom her race. A fact worthy of note is that in every reform in which the Negro woman has taken part, during the past fifty years, she has been as aggressive, progressive and dependable as those who inspired the reform or led it. The world has yet to

learn that the Negro woman is quite superior in bearing moral responsibility. A comparison with the men of her race, in moral issues, is odious. She carries the burdens of the Church, and of the school and bears a great deal more than her economic share in the home.

Another striking fact is that the Negro woman carries the moral destiny of two races in her hand. Had she not been the woman of unusual moral stamina that she is, the black race would have been made a great deal whiter, and the white race a great deal blacker during the past fifty years. She has been left a prey for the men of every race, but in spite of this, she has held the enemies of Negro female chastity at bay. The Negro woman is the white woman's as well as the white race's most needed ally in preserving an unmixed race.

The ballot, wisely used, will bring to her the respect and protection that she needs. It is her weapon of moral defence. Under present conditions, when she appears in court in defence of her virtue, she is looked upon with amused contempt. She needs the ballot to reckon with men who place no value upon her virtue, and to mould healthy public sentiment in favor of her own protection.



THE SELF-SUPPORTING WOMAN AND THE BALLOT

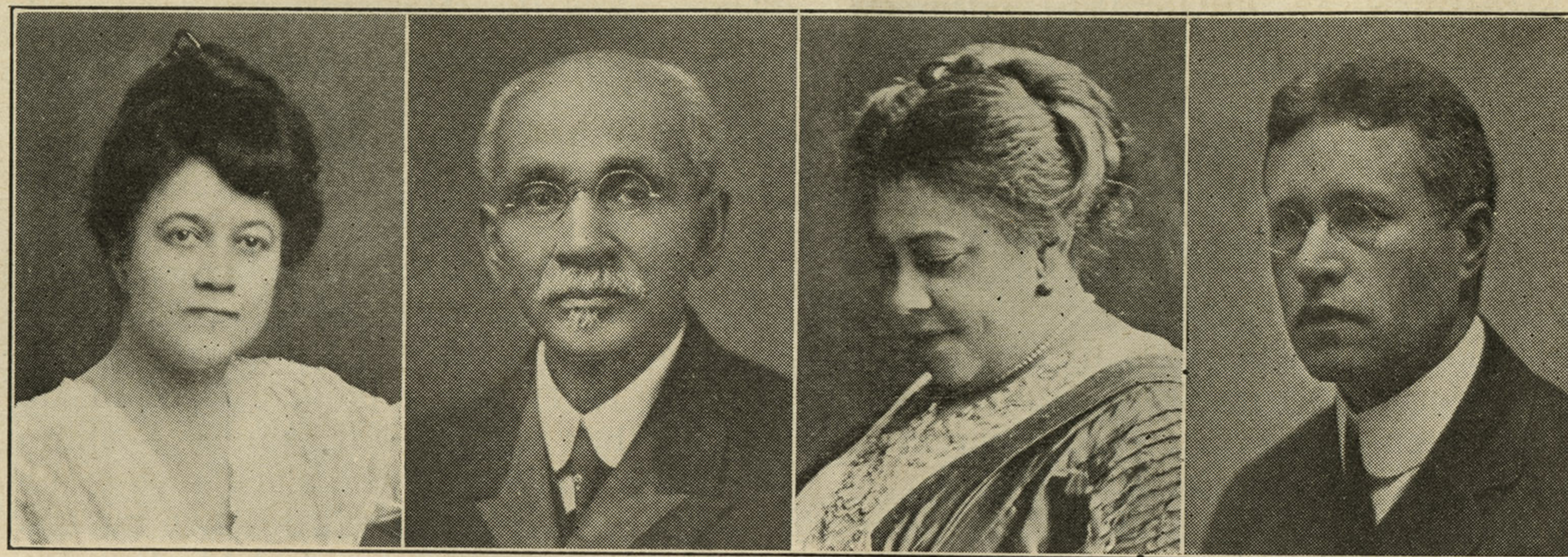
BY MISS M. E. JACKSON

*Of the Civil Service of the State of Rhode
Island, President of the R. I. Association
of Colored Women's Clubs*

Looked at from a sane point of view, all objections to the ballot for women are but protests against progress, civilization and good sense.

"Woman's place is in the home." Would that the poorly paid toilers in field, work-shop, mill and kitchen, might enjoy the blessed refreshment of their own homes with accompanying assurance that those dependent upon them might be fed, clothed, properly reared and educated.

Each morning's sun beholds a mighty army of 8,000,000 souls marching forth to do battle for daily bread. You inquire who they are? Why, the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of the men of America. "The weaker vessels," the majority of whom are constrained from necessity.



DR. WARING

DR. CROGMAN

MRS. TALBERT

PRESIDENT HOPE

There is no field of activity in the country where women are not successfully competing with men. In the agricultural pursuits alone, there are over 900,000. In the ministry 7,000 dare preach the gospel with "Heads uncovered." And 1,010 possess the courage to invade the field of the Solons, bravely interpreting the laws, although their brothers in all but twelve of the forty-five States (so far as the ballot is concerned), class them with criminals, insane and feeble-minded.

The self-supporting woman out of her earnings, pays taxes, into the public treasury and through church, club and civic organization gives her moral backing unstintingly to her Country.

Imagine if you can the withdrawal of this marvelous economic force,—the working women of America! It is a fundamental necessity of modern civilization.

The laboring man has discovered beyond peradventure that his most effective weapon of defence is the *ballot in his own hand*. The self-supporting woman asks for and will accept nothing less.

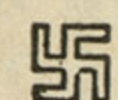


"TRUST THE WOMEN!"

BY MRS. JOSEPHINE ST. PIERRE RUFFIN
Pioneer in the club movement among Colored Women of the United States

Many colored men doubt the wisdom of women suffrage because they fear that it will increase the number of our political enemies. I have been in suffrage work in Massachusetts for forty years and more. I have voted 41 times under the school suffrage laws. I was welcomed into the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association by Lucy Stone,

Julia Ward Howe, Ednah Cheney, Abby Morton Diaz and those other pioneer workers who were broad enough to include "no distinction because of race" with "no distinctions because of sex." I feel that a movement inaugurated by men and women of such wisdom and vision as that of the early workers, cannot dwindle or be side-tracked, and that today, as in those early days, the big women, the far seeing women, are in the ranks of the suffragists. We can afford to follow those women. We are justified in believing that the success of this movement for equality of the sexes means more progress toward equality of the races. I have worked, along with other colored women with those pioneers in the Abolition movement, in the various movements to open educational opportunities for women, business opportunities for women and to equalize the laws; the longer I have been associated with them, the more deeply I have been impressed by this farsightedness and broadmindedness of the leaders, both early and late, in the Woman Suffrage Movement.



Y. W. C. A.

BY MRS. A. W. HUNTON
Formerly Adviser to the National Board of Directors, Y. W. C. A.

A membership of more than a half million, representing some seventeen nationalities, makes the Young Women's Christian Association a world movement.

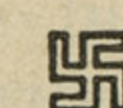
In the United States three hundred thousand members, distributed in 979 college, city and county associations have as their objective the advancement of the

"physical, social, intellectual, moral and spiritual interests of young women."

One of the most unique and wonderful characteristics of the association is the adaptability to meet the needs of all types of women, so that its membership is as diversified as women's lives and interests. This diversified membership, constituting at once the governing and sustaining force of the association, is its strongest barrier to any creed save that upon which the movement is founded.

However difficult it is to express any relation between the association and the suffrage movement, it is not difficult to understand that the association spirit dominating womanhood would count for righteousness in the solution of this important question.

Acutely suffering from the wrongs and humiliations of an unjustly restricted suffrage, it is but natural that the colored woman should feel deeply and keenly wherever the question of suffrage arises. But the colored woman within the association, in common with thousands of her sisters who have been touched by other spiritual forces, is animated by a fine spirit of idealism—an idealism not too far removed from everyday existence to find expression in service. Hence she is giving her energy largely to the development of the highest qualities of mind and soul—for these alone can give to the nation the best there is in citizenship.



VOTES FOR TEACHERS

BY MISS MARIA L. BALDWIN
Principal of the Agassiz Public School, Cambridge, Mass.

Women teachers in those states where school suffrage has already been granted them have found out that even so meagre a share of voting power has given them a definite influence, and has brought about a few notable results. In several cases local schools have been kept, by the women's vote, from the control of persons who threatened all that was best in them. Candidates for election to school boards reckon early with the "teacher vote" and hasten to announce their "rightness" on this or that issue supposedly dear to teachers. It is wholly reasonable to infer that the extension of the suffrage will enable teachers to secure more consideration for them-

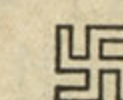
selves, and to have an important influence on the quality of the persons chosen to direct the schools.

At the outset teachers will be confronted by the temptation of power—the temptation to use it for personal or selfish ends. What, as a class, will they do with this temptation! What motives will lie behind their advocacy of men and measures? What tests of fitness will they apply to the candidate for their votes? Will they decline to recognize fine qualities for school service in one who may hold heretical views about increase of salaries, or length of vacations? These questions, which would test any group of workers, I cannot answer. I can only submit what seems an earnest that this group may stand the test.

The profession of teaching has a rich inheritance. These convictions were bequeathed to it, to have and to hold: that the dearest interests of life are in its keeping; that its peculiar service to society is to nourish and perpetuate those noblest aspirations called its ideals; that to do such work one must be devoted and unselfish.

This tradition still inspires the teacher. Some of the unrest, the dissatisfaction with conditions that are everywhere has penetrated her world, but probably no other work is done less in the commercial spirit nor any service more expanded beyond what "is nominated in the bond." Many school rooms are moving pictures of this spirit at work.

One is warranted in thinking that teachers will transfer to their use of the ballot this habit of fidelity to ideals.



WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIAL REFORM

BY MISS ANNA H. JONES
Chairman of the Department of Education, National Association of Colored Women

Of the four great institutions of human uplift—the home, the school, the church, and the State, woman has a direct controlling force in the first three institutions. In the State her influence at present is indirect. Since her control in the three is unquestioned, should she not have the legal means—the ballot—to widen and deepen her work?

In terms of today, her work is the conservation and improvement of the



MRS. HUNTON

MR. CHESNUTT

MAJOR LYNCH

MR. HERSHAW

child; child labor laws, inspection of the health of school children, safeguarding the youth in the home, in the school, in the court, in the street, in the place of amusement. Her work is the prevention of vice with its train of physical and moral evils; the enactment of laws to secure and regulate sanitation, pure food, prohibition, divorce; the care of the aged, the unfortunate, the orphan. All the questions touch in a very direct way the home—woman's kingdom.

When an experiment has been tried for a certain purpose it seems logical to refer to its success or failure. A review of the States in which women have had the ballot will show that their exercise of the franchise has been along the lines of reform mentioned above. Her ballot has not been cast against the forces of right. Is it probable that in the other, the more conservative States, her course will be less judicial?

It may take a little time for woman to learn to make the ballot count for righteousness, but her closer view, and sympathetic touch will be of material assistance in the solution of the social problems that confront her as the home-maker.

The century awaits the "finer issues" of woman's "finely touched spirit."



COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS

BY MRS. B. K. BRUCE

Editor of the official organ of the National Association of Colored Women

The national club movement among colored women began definitely in 1895, when a call was sent out from Boston by Mrs. Josephine St. P. Ruffin to a number of prominent colored women to meet in conference.

The special object of that conference was to repel and refute a vicious statement by an evil minded individual who had given currency to his false and misleading statements in book form. A national association called The National Federation of Colored Women, was formed at this conference.

The first convention of the new organization was called to meet a year later in July 1896, in Washington, D. C. In August of 1896 the first convention of the National League of Colored Women was held. The two organizations united under the name, National Association of Colored Women. In 1916 this organization will hold its tenth biennial session in Baltimore, Maryland. One year ago in Wilberforce, Ohio, the largest and most successful convention in its history was held. Over four hundred delegates, representing 50,000 women organized in clubs throughout the country, were present. The delegates came from the East, the West, the North, the South. The burden of the song of the numberless reports and addresses was social service not alone for colored people but for humanity. Miss Zona Gale said of the meeting that she had never attended a convention which so confirmed her belief in the possibilities of the common human race.

One thousand clubs are numbered with The National Association of Colored Women. In 1912-13 these clubs raised \$82,424. Over \$60,000 was spent in purchasing property for Orphans' Homes, Working Girls' Homes, Christian Association Homes, Social Settlements and so on. In 1914 the valuation of the various properties exceeded \$100,000.

VOTES FOR PHILANTHROPY

BY MRS. ELIZABETH LINDSAY DAVIS
National Organizer, National Association of Colored Women

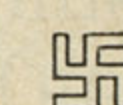
The New citizen is no longer a novelty nor an experiment. She is demonstrating at all times her fitness for her duties and responsibilities by study; by insistent investigation of all candidates for public office regardless of party lines; by an intelligent use of the ballot in correcting the evils arising from graft, dishonesty and misappropriation of public funds; by persistent agitation to arouse civic consciousness, until now she is a potent factor in the body politic.

Men recognize her intuitive ability to think and decide for herself, respect her opinions and bid for her vote.

The keynote in the music of the Twentieth Century is Social Service, and in no better way can systematic philanthropy be done than by using the power of the ballot upon the heads of the great corporations and private individuals to direct their attention to the serious consequences of present day industrial and social unrest, the crime, disease, and poverty emanating from bad housing and unwholesome environment, to train their hands to give systematically to the cause of human betterment.

Woman is a pioneer in the forward movement for Social uplift, racial and community development, whether for the abandoned wife, the wage earning girl, the dependent and delinquent child or the countless hordes of the unemployed.

The highest and most successfully developed philanthropical work depends absolutely upon the control of political influence by the best American citizenship, men and women working in unity and cooperation at the polls.



WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE 15TH AMENDMENT

BY MRS. MARY CHURCH TERRELL

Honorary President of the National Association of Colored Women

Even if I believed that women should be denied the right of suffrage, wild horses could not drag such an admission from my pen or my lips, for this reason—precisely the same arguments used to prove that the ballot be withheld from

women are advanced to prove that colored men should not be allowed to vote. The reasons for repealing the Fifteenth Amendment differ but little from the arguments advanced by those who oppose the enfranchisement of women. Consequently, nothing could be more inconsistent than that colored people should use their influence against granting the ballot to women, if they believe that colored men should enjoy this right which citizenship confers.

What could be more absurd and ridiculous than that one group of individuals who are trying to throw off the yoke of oppression themselves, so as to get relief from conditions which handicap and injure them, should favor laws and customs which impede the progress of another unfortunate group and hinder them in every conceivable way. For the sake of consistency, therefore, if my sense of justice were not developed at all, and I could not reason intelligently, as a colored woman I should not tell my dearest friend that I opposed woman suffrage.

But how can any one who is able to use reason, and who believes in dealing out justice to all God's creatures, think it is right to withhold from one-half the human race rights and privileges freely accorded to the other half, which is neither more deserving nor more capable of exercising them?

For two thousand years mankind has been breaking down the various barriers which interposed themselves between human beings and their perfect freedom to exercise all the faculties with which they were divinely endowed. Even in monarchies old fetters which formerly restricted freedom, dwarfed the intellect and doomed certain individuals to narrow circumscribed spheres, because of the mere accident of birth, are being loosed and broken one by one. In view of such wisdom and experience the political subjection of women in the United States can be likened only to a relic of barbarism, or to a spot upon the sun, or to an octopus holding this republic in its hideous grasp, so that further progress to the best form of government is impossible and that precious ideal its founders promised it would be it seems nothing more tangible than a mirage.

VOTES FOR HOUSEWIVES

BY MRS. LILLIAN A. TURNER

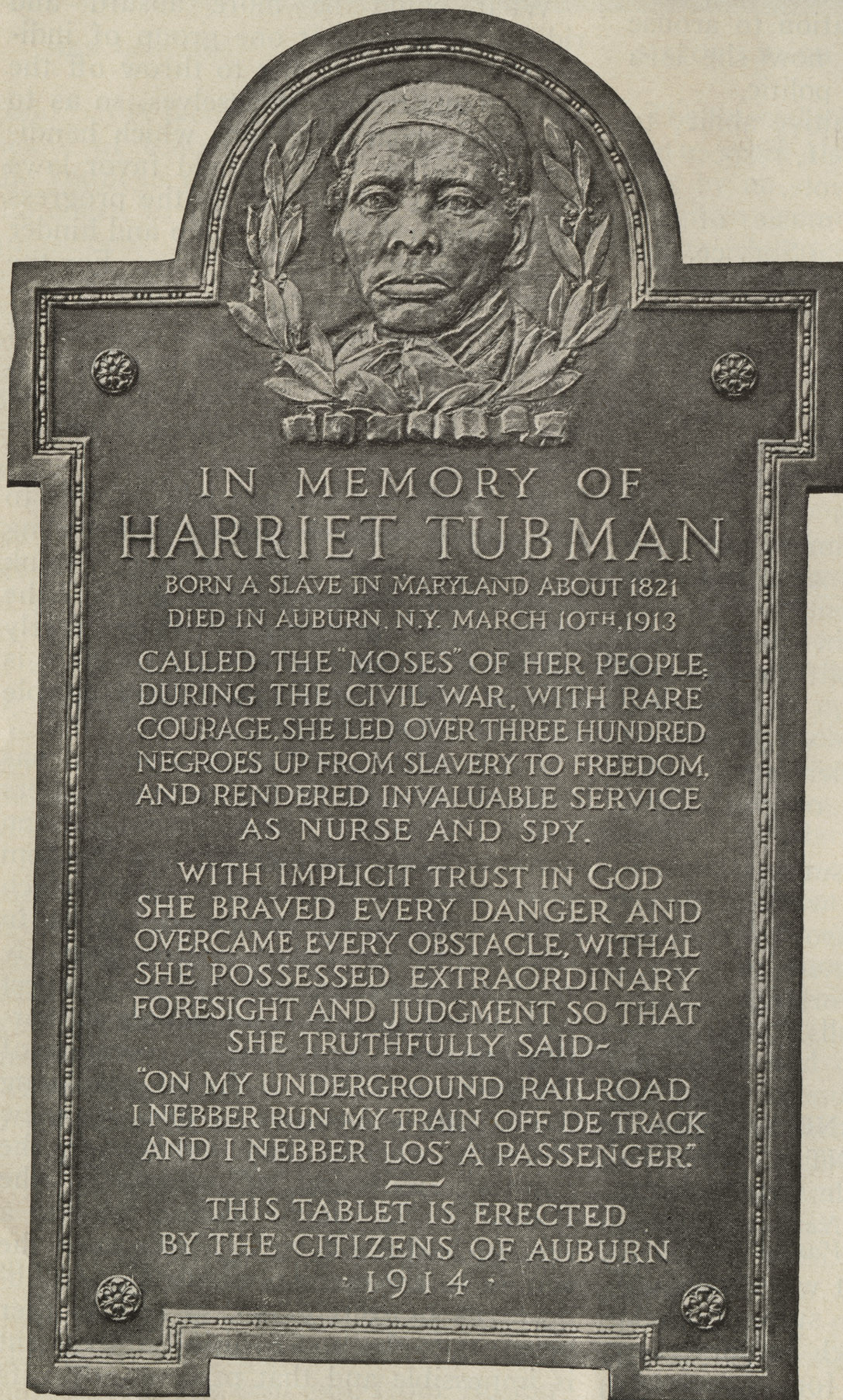
Honorary President of the Minnesota Association of Colored Women's Clubs

That the housewife, that great reasoner, will vote intelligently, is my happy conclusion, after reading the ponderous decision of a wise man, who protests that voters should be "only those who are able to substitute reason for sentiment." It is such a relief to have an impartial definition even though its close analysis

might exclude a large portion of present voters. But my concern is with the housewife, the future voter, as tested by the wise man's definition.

Now, Sentiment is the housewife's most cherished possession; to this assertion all agree—the man, the anti-suffragist and the rest of us. Furthermore, lack of excessive use will keep it so, for the housewife early learns to substitute Reason for Sentiment. When Sentiment

wails because husband walks two steps ahead instead of beside her; weeps because Boy's curls are shorn; foolishly resents the absence of the old attentions, and more foolishly dwells on an infinite variety of things, Reason comes nobly to the rescue and teaches her that none of these things are necessary to life. Reason is the constant substitute for her cherished Sentiment. But Reason's assertion, that protection from vice for Son of the Shorn Curls, is impracticable for business reasons, is too difficult for mental gymnastics. Sentiment conquers, and the housewife unreasonably demands the ballot to protect Son! However, Reason being already so well developed through "discipline by substitution" (still quoting the wise man) I have ceased to tremble when I hear dire predictions of the ruin that is expected to follow the rapid approach of woman's franchise.



The bronze tablet in memory of Harriet Tubman erected at Auburn, New York. Designed and cast by John Williams, Inc. Bronze Founders, New York.

[Articles were received too late for insertion from President John Hope, Hon. C. W. Anderson, Mrs. G. W. Morgan, Hon. W. H. Lewis and Mrs. N. J. Asberry.]