



A G A I N S T
WOMAN SUFFRAGE

AN ARGUMENT BY

MRS. CLARENCE HALE
OF MAINE

[illustration]

ISSUED BY
THE MAINE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED
TO SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

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Date: ca. 1915

Description: Anti woman suffrage booklet

The Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women exists as a protest against the agitation for the extension of the franchise to women in this State. The reasons for the anti-suffrage position are numerous. To some of these reasons the Association wishes to call the attention of the men and women of the State, asking a fair-minded consideration of what is believed to be a logical presentation of their argument.

Demanded by Minority

It is believed that suffrage is demanded by a small minority of women. This government is based upon the principle of majority rule.

The women of Maine have given to society sons who have stood in the front rank; in camp, court and council, both in State and Nation, and while the voice of these women is raised in protest against entrance into political life, it is unjust to force upon them the ballot, which they regard, not as a privilege, but a grievous burden, imposing upon them duties which they urge would exact of their time and strength without compensating results.

Remember it is not always those who make the loudest noise who have the most to say. The great majority is silent. The bare-footed hike, the street procession, the soap-box oratory, the suffrage "melting pot," prove only the extreme methods to which agitators ~~are~~ in their efforts to recruit their ranks.

Service to the State

It is believed that men and women can best serve the State by a just distribution of the duties of life. Man is given superior strength that he may contend with the forces which hamper his development, and that he may protect his women and children. To woman Nature entrusts the rearing of the child, and to that end the care of the home falls to her lot. Its duties, though demanding less physical force, are no less exigent.

Man's interest and woman's interest are one and the same. They cannot be separated, and only when they attempt to usurp one another's natural powers do they work at cross purposes.

Opponents of suffrage believe that political life with its antagonisms, its jealousies, its excitements, its strivings would be inimical to the repose of life, which is essential to woman's nature if she would bring to her task that poise of nervous and physical strength which insures the best development of the race which she bears.

Furthermore, in the activities outside the home it is believed woman's influence is far greater free from the entanglements of party and faction. Woman's single-minded disinterestedness is unquestioned when she has no political favors to ask and none to bestow. With no political end in view she can give her labor and support to social, philanthropic and charitable usefulness, un vexed by the demands of ward and county, of legislature and lobby. Neither would political differences work for harmony in the efforts for organized work for society.

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In all moral issues the women voter make a larger figure than men do. They are brought to the forces of life, and less workmen are brought - we are in campaigns against the best. The good they do in case election is a great gain to a community & the powerful aid to reform. I believe that when we women are the best they are to the best to all do what believe that in this we success fully campaign against the men's interests.

Even the agitation for and against suffrage has impaired woman's usefulness. Were the time, strength and means expended in the last sixty years upon suffrage campaigns expended on legitimate benevolences it is well nigh certain humanity's needs would be better advanced. It is well known that substantial aid has been diverted from natural channels by the demands of suffrage. In witness of this, one example will serve to show this contention, and that is the "Pledge of Will and Won't" which has been signed by many in New York State. The following is the pledge:

"I hereby promise I will give what I can and do my share of work to gain votes for women. I will not give either money or services to any other cause until the women of New York State have been enfranchised."

If in zeal for social betterment it is felt that legislation comes too slowly, the remedy is not to take man's task from him, but to exact that he do his best. Did women vote they would find themselves confronted with the same difficulties that beset men, plus the handicap of their sex.

If there is to be a constitutional change in our method of government it should be proved that the change would be of advantage to the State. This, woman suffrage, wherever it has been tried, has failed to do.

Colorado has had woman suffrage for twenty-one years. Judge Lindsay, who should be able to judge of its workings in his own State (he is a friend of equal suffrage, remember,) said in an article in *Everybody's Magazine*: "No, I can't say that the women's vote has helped things much in Colorado. . . I have found that women in politics are no better and no worse than men. Don't forget that when a question narrows down to a bread line, to selfish interests, both sexes follow the same line of action. They look out for number one. If a woman wants a political job, she'll stand for iniquity; if she is afraid of losing her job, she'll do the same thing."

If there is one place in the broad United States where women might with some justice claim that she had not a fair chance under existing conditions it would be in Utah, where Mormonism is entrenched, in Utah and Idaho, both suffrage States. What are the facts! Has she shaken off the institutions of Mormonism? No, her vote helps to sustain them. Utah women have had the vote since 1896.

Denver, Colorado, "beautiful for situation," which under the rule of woman suffrage should be the "joy of the whole earth," is one of the most corrupt cities of the country. In Seattle and Tacoma, both suffrage cities, the women helped to recall corrupt mayors, only to reinstall them within a few months. Even in the much vaunted election in Chicago last spring the notorious ward boss, "Bath-House John," would have been elected by the women alone, so great was their vote for him, and the candidate opposing him was a woman, Miss Marian Drake.

While admitting the sincerity of many suffrage adherents, we believe that they overestimate the value of the vote. The vote is only one method of expressing opinion. Opinion does not follow legislation. Legislation follows opinion, and woman has a unique opportunity for moulding public opinion. The women of Maine are a potent factor in its development, and we believe that our men recognize that fact and are willing to advance the causes which women have at heart as fast as the agencies at hand will permit.

Women defeated 7 bad aldermen in Chicago. They are planning to move now. Had 15,000 signatures by 1st election day.

Prohibition -

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5

Laws Concerning Women and Children

While there are many improvements to be made in the conditions surrounding women and children in industry, it is believed our State will compare favorably with many others, and that each year will see an advance in legislation and enforcement.

Already no minor under fourteen years of age can be employed in our State, and no child under sixteen during school hours, only upon certificate that he can read and write and perform simple arithmetical processes. The certificate must be signed by a school superintendent, committee, or teacher. He must also have a certificate of age, thereby preventing fraudulent statements on the part of parents. (Chapter 40, Revised Statutes, as amended by Public Laws, Sections 52 and 53.)

Among the States which do not require such documentary proof are the suffrage States of Colorado, Utah and Idaho.

In a report of the proceedings at Birmingham, Ala., March, 1911, Mr. Owen Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, said: "Our agents have frequently found eight, nine and ten year old boys applying for work in these States upon affidavits certifying them to be fourteen or sixteen years of age."

The National Child Labor Committee has prepared a model child labor law for uniform legislation. It followed the principle of embodying in the text the best provisions contained in the laws of the various States. The bill contains forty-nine sections, and the following table shows the number of these model provisions already enacted in the suffrage States and those of similar locality and conditions:

EQUAL SUFFRAGE	MALE SUFFRAGE
Wyoming contains none	Oklahoma contains 15
Idaho contains none	North Dakota contains 15
Colorado contains 7	Minnesota contains 20
Utah contains 8	Nebraska contains 25
California contains 12	Wisconsin contains 27
Oregon contains 14	

Child Labor Bulletin, 1911-12.

Women and children cannot be employed in factories or mechanical establishments in Maine more than ten hours a day, and in no case more than fifty-eight hours a week. (Chapter 40, Section 48, Revised Statutes.)

One or more of the prominent political parties is committed to a policy favoring a fifty-four hour law for women and children, and a federal law prohibiting child labor.

The State appoints a Commissioner of Labor and Industry, and it is his duty to cause to be enforced all laws regulating the employment of women, children and minors, laws for the protection of life and limb, laws for the payment of wages and all laws for the protection of workers. This Commissioner must also employ a woman factory inspector.

*No right to challenge the statement of
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The 1914 Child labor report puts Maine
in the last of 16 states which allow children
under 16 to work at night.

6

Proprietors of shops, hotels, restaurants, etc., are obliged to furnish seats, for female employees.

There are other laws jointly protecting men and women, such as those protecting against fire, egress from public buildings, tenements, etc.

The State Department of Labor and Industry in the report for 1911-12 recommends the prohibition of night labor for minors, street traffic for boys under ten and girls under sixteen, also the reduction of hours of labor for minors. The U. S. Census reports show that the per cent of child labor is decreasing. In Maine it is now 1.7 per cent under sixteen years of age.

Teachers' Pensions

By the Provisions of Chapter 75, Public Laws of 1913, any teacher of either sex who, on September 30, 1913, shall have reached the age of sixty years, and shall have taught thirty-five years, twenty of which, including the last fifteen, must have been within the State, shall be entitled to an annual pension of \$250, on retirement from teaching. Teachers with thirty and twenty-five years, complying with the other provisions of the act, shall be entitled to \$200 and \$150 respectively, while teachers already retired are entitled to one-half the amount allowed active teachers, provided they have satisfied the other requirements of the act.

The public conscience is alive to the temptation and sin which beset the young, and throughout the State there are organizations which make it their duty to study sad and shameful conditions and make recommendations for their control and correction. Such an one is the Citizens' Committee of Portland, which published its first report in February, 1914. These recommendations are the stricter enforcement of existing laws, particularly the curfew law, the passage of certain city ordinances, and the organization of social agencies, and they are urgent in demanding of the State a reformatory for women. For more than twenty years good men and women have been working to this end, and now the reformatory seems likely to be realized, as the question is in the hands of a committee who will probably report favorably to the legislature.

That there has been delay in securing this institution is doubtless due to the many excellent and necessary institutions already supported wholly or in part by the State, and Maine is not a wealthy State. Among these institutions are those of similar character such as Industrial School for Girls, State School for Boys, and the following charitable associations, the list of which is furnished by the State Auditor:

Appropriations for Charitable Institutions for Year 1914

Androscoggin Anti-Tuberculosis Association,	\$ 500.00
Augusta General Hospital,	5,500.00
Bar Harbor Medical and Surgical Hospital,	2,000.00
Bath City Hospital,	2,000.00
Bangor Anti-Tuberculosis Association,	1,000.00

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Central Maine General Hospital, Lewiston,	7,000.00
Children's Protective Society, Portland,	500.00
Children's Aid Society, Belfast,	1,500.00
Children's Hospital, Portland,	20,000.00
Children's Heart Work Society, Portland,	500.00
Central Maine Association, Control of Tuberculosis, Fairfield,	7,500.00
Daughters of Wisdom, St. Agatha,	500.00
Eastern Maine General Hospital, Bangor,	6,500.00
Eastern Maine Orphans' Home, Bangor,	500.00
Good Samaritan's Home Association, Bangor,	1,200.00
Girls' Orphanage, Lewiston,	2,500.00
Greenville Young Men's Christian Association,	1,200.00
Hayes' Young Woman's Home, Lewiston,	1,000.00
Holy Innocents' Home for Infants, Portland,	2,000.00
Healy Asylum, Lewiston,	3,500.00
Knox County General Hospital, Rockland,	2,500.00
Lewiston and Auburn Children's Home, Lewiston,	750.00
Maine Eye and Ear Infirmary, Portland,	3,500.00
Maine State Sanatorium, Hebron,	12,500.00
Maine Children's Home Society,	1,250.00
Maine General Hospital, Portland,	9,000.00
Maine Home for Friendless Boys,	1,500.00
Maine Institution for the Blind, Portland,	15,000.00
Maine Anti-Tuberculosis Association,	1,500.00
Maine Mission for the Deaf, Belfast,	200.00
Northern Maine General Hospital, Eagle Lake,	2,000.00
Old Town-Orono Anti-Tuberculosis Association, Orono,	100.00
Presque Isle General Hospital, Presque Isle,	750.00
St. Mary's General Hospital, Lewiston,	8,000.00
St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic Asylum, Portland,	2,000.00
Trull Hospital Aid Association, Biddeford,	1,000.00
Temporary Home for Women and Children, Portland,	2,500.00
Waldo County General Hospital, Belfast,	1,000.00
Webber Hospital Association, Biddeford,	3,000.00
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Temporary Home for Children, Gardiner,	750.00
York County Children's Aid Association, Saco,	500.00
York Hospital, York,	1,200.00
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	\$137,400.00

It has been said up and down the State in the suffrage campaign that if women had the vote the appropriation for the reformatory would have been secured in one year instead of twenty. It is noteworthy in this connection that not a single suffrage State has such a reformatory.

It is also noteworthy that these Citizens' Committees have not universally recommended woman suffrage as a valuable agent in effecting desired reforms. If it were of such value as its adherents hope and believe, it would certainly be recognized by all Vigilance Committees.

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The Temperance Question

Cat. 100

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It is also often urged by the suffragists that the liquor evil would be eradicated, or nearly so, by the woman's vote. Here again there is no evidence to sustain the promise. Not one of the suffrage States is a prohibition State save Kansas, which had prohibition before it had equal franchise.

"Colorado is a wet State, prohibition having been defeated, with women voting, by a majority of 40,867 in 1912.

Oregon has four dry counties out of thirty-four.

It is contended there are seventeen States in which half the people live in dry territory. Only two of these are suffrage States. The other suffrage States are far behind that.

In an election in San Francisco in December, 1912, an amendment providing for local option units was defeated four to one. Of fifty-seven incorporated cities in California, thirty-seven voted for the saloon. In Los Angeles, the vote in favor of the saloon was three to one. In Boise City, Idaho, where women have had the ballot seventeen years, a proposal to decrease the number of saloons was defeated overwhelmingly.

It was hoped by the suffragists that Illinois would give a sweeping victory, but Chicago and many of the large cities remain wet. *22 Counties 1000 Saloons
11 Large Cities*

TROUTDALE, Oregon, is probably not a place of much importance otherwise, but it has the distinction of having a woman mayor. A Salem paper has the following to say concerning it:

"In Oregon, women having been voting since 1912, and yet on the 27th of March, last, Governor West served notice on Mrs. Hilda Larsen, mayor, and the members of the town council of Troutdale, that unless the violations of the liquor law by saloon men ceased immediately, he would himself close the saloons. Sheriff Thomas Ward was requested to call on the mayor and council personally and demand that the laws be enforced."

The California legislature, in 1912, rejected a bill prohibiting the sale of liquor within a mile and a half of the universities, while for the first time in a hundred years Harvard College has forbidden the use of anything stronger than beer at class day spreads or class reunions.

Many towns and cities in the State of Colorado held municipal elections. There was not much interest in the contests generally, and scarcely half the normal vote was polled. The license element had the better of the contests." So says the Report of the United States Brewers' Association in the issue of 1913. The same authority says: "In Phoenix, Arizona, with women voting for the first time, six of the seven precincts of the city voted for the continuance of saloons, while in the seventh a tie was recorded. Three of these precincts had formerly been dry. Of the votes cast more than half were women."

San Francisco has 2,103 saloons, in a population of 417,000.

Temperance movements are making a wide sweep through the country, and State after State is coming into line with temperance legislation. Good men and women are united in their efforts to secure temperance, but they have always been divided in their ideas as to the best method of securing results.

Legislation avails little if the sense of the community does not support it. The greatest effort must always be used to educate the community and attempt

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San Francisco has 2,103 saloons, in a population of 417,000.

Temperance movements are making a wide sweep through the country, and State after State is coming into line with temperance legislation. Good men and women are united in their efforts to secure temperance, but they have always been divided in their ideas as to the best method of securing results.

Legislation avails little if the sense of the community does not support it. The greatest effort must always be used to educate the community and attempt

to raise men from the domination of the drink habit. It is hard to believe that where women cannot influence the erring as mother, sister, wife or child, the same woman could prevail as a politician.

It will be remembered that in 1912, sixteen States turned down woman suffrage amendments, notably Michigan, which rolled up a majority against it of 90,000. Let us take this as an example. *Official Returns were 762*

*May only 9
Fulton
30000 to
12,026
Against*

Now it is asserted over and again that this result was obtained by the "Liquor Interests" who "poured money into the State;" but an analysis of the vote shows that nearly all the "dry" counties voted against suffrage and the "wet" counties for it. Of the seventeen counties that voted for suffrage twelve are "wet." Of the thirty-three counties in the State in which the sale of liquor is prohibited, twenty-eight voted against woman suffrage. The same day on which woman suffrage was voted upon in Michigan, twelve counties voted on the liquor question. The aggregate majority for prohibition was 2,519, while every county of the twelve voted against suffrage with an aggregate majority of 7,026.

To quote again from Ben Lindsay. In an interview given the *Boston Sunday Post* he is reported as saying: "Here is another point in which men are mistaken. They believe, most of them, down in their hearts, that women would at once close up the saloons. That's also lately disproved by what has happened in Colorado. Colorado is a 'wet' State and Denver is a 'wet' city. The 'wets' won by 50,000 in Colorado last year with women voting. Women, good women, got out and worked for the 'wets.' Why did they do this? Because women are human. Arguments that appeal to men appeal to them. Cries of 'prohibition doesn't prohibit,' 'don't lose the revenue,' 'personal liberty,' etc., appeal to many men, and I shall not say they are ignorant or vicious men. Why should not these same arguments, therefore, appeal to a great many women! They do. Women are human."

Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, President of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association and one of the leaders in the lobby at Springfield, which brought about the enactment of the suffrage bill, said in the *Chicago American* of June 28: "It is a great pleasure to remember that some of the firmest supporters of the suffrage measure in the Forty-eighth General Assembly were some of the so-called wets."

Women Will Not Purify Politics

The anti-suffragists are not detractors of their sex. They yield to no one in their admiration of women and in desire for her advancement in usefulness and power, but they believe the road to that event is not by the political highway.

Woman now has her share in politics in the way most consistent with her task in life and her environment. Someone, speaking of suffrage, has happily put it in this way: "Somewhere within the borders of this country to-day there are mothers who are bringing up four Presidents, 100 Cabinet officers, 300 Senators and 5,000 Representatives, who between the years of 1930 and 1950 will be making the history of this country and measurably the history of the world. Woman can have her share in politics if she will. The ballot is not for all.

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The mere ballot she is so eager to clutch does not in the balance of politics count for more than an ounce in a ton."

At the best, woman could only hope to be man's political duplicate. Remember that if she had the ballot she would be:

*Actuated by the same motives;
Influenced by the same impulses;
Prejudiced by the same envy, jealousy or ambition:
Deceived by the same fallacies;
Intimidated by the same despots;
Corrupted by the same graft.*

Human nature is a great leveler. It places men and women on the same plane, and establishes the general law of averages. Good women would be as good as good men, as wise as wise men. Weak women or malignant as weak and malignant as the same class of men.

There is a note in all suffrage arguments which is discordant to the ears of women whose family life has been passed in the companionship of good men. The ballot is most generally spoken of as a "weapon" with which woman is to "defend" herself. She is to be "liberated from a suppressed class" or "emancipated from bondage." She lives in a "man-made-world." She can develop no "free personality." She is the "subject of despotism." All this phraseology indicates a spirit of antagonism to man and even to the Creator who made woman and gave to her the office of bearing and nurturing the child which necessitates self-sacrifice. It is this rebellious spirit which has flowered in England into militancy — if so beautiful a metaphor may be used for so ugly a fact.

*Militants in America
but Confined to the
United States*

The militants of England threatened a year ago that the "militancy of the past would be the merest pin pricks compared to what will happen at once all over the country," and they have kept their word. The activities of the militants have ranged from throwing pepper on Premier Asquith and a dead cat at Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, to burning the Midland Railway station at Bradford, with a loss of \$500,000, and attempting to blow up part of the Bank of England in London. They have endangered hundreds of lives and destroyed millions of property. In their campaigns they have used fire, bombs, mines, hatchets, hammers, revolvers, pokers, knives, bludgeons, stones, tar, paint, riding whips, horse whips, dog whips, umbrellas, foul smelling chemicals, corrosive chemicals, barbed wire entanglements for the police, besides using their fists, nails, teeth and feet.

Would such conditions have been believed possible had they been predicted ten years ago? And is it not almost impossible now to believe that women, who are called the "gentle sex" can so degrade themselves? And is it not a shame to American women that they have recognized and countenanced the leaders of such a movement? Twenty thousand of our American dollars were carried back to England by Mrs. Pankhurst, and contributed toward the accomplishment of this campaign of destruction.

If the mere agitation for suffrage has produced such an exhibition, what might we look for among the inflammable in time of public excitement?

The suffragists are now claiming that if woman had the ballot, this terrible European war would not prevail; but how they can claim this in face of the

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Miss Annie Kenney, who with Christabel Pankhurst made the first militant demonstration in England, came to this country, August, 1914. She spoke at Mrs. Belmont's Marble House at Newport at a suffrage conference, and is expected to address suffrage meetings in New York.

The Woman's Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage has engaged in a campaign for defeating such candidates for Congress as are considered by them as detrimental to the progress of the suffrage cause in Congress. A "black list" is being prepared. "If the political opinions of certain of our opponents is immovable, at least they themselves are not," is the significant comment of Miss Alice Paul, Chairman of the Congressional Union. In an editorial the *New York Sun* says:

"This catalogue of the wicked contains such names as ROOT, LODGE, BRANDEGEER, UNDERWOOD, MANN, FITZGERALD. Experience, knowledge, transcendent or high talents, blameless character, what are these? The one thing needful is to be pliant to the commands of the National Woman Suffrage Association. Such of the offending Senators and Representatives as shall again be candidates for their posts are to be hammered and tongued by the suffragists. They are to be beaten, if beaten they can be, solely for their opposition to woman suffrage or to woman suffrage emanating from Washington. That is the cardinal test of fitness for public life and service.

"It is the right and privilege of these ardent female souls to make these insistences and this sort of campaign. Will it persuade the doubtful or reconcile the scorers to see honorable and able men attacked for refusing to take a course to which they are bound by no mandate save that of certain imperious ladies, not untouched perhaps with a monomaniacal wrongheadedness? Does this essay in bulldozing tend to an increased appreciation of the mental sobriety and wisdom of word and action to be expected from votes for women?"

Would the Working Woman Benefit by Suffrage?

No! The ballot cannot do for women in industry what it cannot and has not done for man in industry. The ballot cannot eradicate or over ride the laws of efficiency or those of supply and demand. Were that the case, man who has the ballot would not be crying out for work. The census of 1910 gave the number of unemployed as nearly 6,500,000. If man could vote employment to himself would this condition exist? From forty to fifty per cent of the women in industry are employed in domestic service, and it rests with woman herself to make their wages and surroundings as good as possible. No need of the ballot to do that.

A very large proportion of working women are under voting age, and a great proportion of them are at work merely to tide over a time until they shall marry and have homes of their own. The proportion of adult female wage earners has been the same at each census. (13th Census, page 457.)

*Educated women are not choosing marriage
or matrimony; but they are declining to live
matrimony as a profession; as the sole vocation
or to become merely club bearing animals —*

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In thirty-nine States, the Territory of Alaska and the District of Columbia, the earnings of a married woman are her own absolutely and cannot be required by law, as can those of a married man for the support of the family. Her wages are not subject to debts of parents or husband. (27th Annual Report United States Commissioner Labor, pages 81-82. Bulletin Bureau Labor.)

Maine is one of these States. (Revised Statutes, Chapter 63, Section 3.)

All industries are open to women, subject only to her own ability and efficiency. These opportunities have not been secured by the ballot, but by general advance in ideas.

If the ballot alone could advance wages we should not have Labor Unions and Federations, with all their attendant organization and expense.

*1000 ballots now off the ballot world wide
give up men's pols.*

Property Owners

Women holding property sometimes urge that under our present system they are not "represented." While this may be true in letter, it is not true in spirit, for women's advantages are secured by the votes of male property owners, whose interests are identical with their own. The number of women holding property is comparatively small, and the number who have themselves amassed any considerable sum is still smaller. It will readily be seen that if all women voted the percentage of property owners in the electorate would be much smaller and be so much less influential.

*Their tax of insurance
is now 45% less than
men's*

An Experiment

Woman suffrage in our State can be, at best, but an experiment. It is a new trial in political government. If it proves a mistake, it has been wisely pointed out that it would be well-nigh impossible to retrieve it.

Believing with our whole hearts that neither woman nor the State would benefit by her entry into political life, we beg readers not to listen to sentiment alone, to unfounded hopes, to arguments without support, but to place dependence where dependence belongs, upon the experience which results in confidence.

The great body of women who do not favor suffrage are often accused of lack of public spirit, of indolence or selfishness. That this is not true of the anti-suffragists of Maine may readily be determined by a list of the activities of the officers and prominent members of our organization.

The President, Mrs. Sidney W. Thaxter, is Vice President of the District Nursing Association and Vice President of the Female Orphan Asylum of Portland.

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