

Speech at Mass Meeting, Jan. 22 1908

We find in Colorado an instructive example of what women can do, or help to do, for the schools when they have the right to vote in school matters. We are accustomed to seeing only the ~~women teachers~~ <sup>the ~~direct~~ charge of children</sup> representing any womanly influence in the public school ~~education of children~~; in Colorado, ~~in addition to the influence of the women teachers~~ <sup>it is a part of the duty as well as the privilege</sup> the mothers of the children and other women have ~~an equal voice~~ <sup>to share</sup> with men in the legal direction of all school ~~interests~~ <sup>affairs</sup>. Surely, partly ~~from~~ <sup>as a result</sup> this power of the women, Colorado has one of the very best school systems in the United States, so pronounced by ~~well-informed authority~~ <sup>well</sup>. It has ~~introduced~~ <sup>recent</sup> into its schools those ~~modern~~ <sup>teacher</sup> methods and branches of instruction which mark the progress of modern education. It is of interest to note that in Colorado kindergartens and domestic science and manual training were ~~established~~ <sup>introduced</sup> some years sooner ~~than in Kentucky~~, and are more widely established now than in Kentucky. I select for mention these ~~two~~ <sup>branches</sup> because ~~I think~~ <sup>there is more than fancy in</sup> seeing a connection between their earlier introduction in a state where women ~~can~~ <sup>can</sup> vote in school matters than in Kentucky, where women can only use indirect and personal means to secure measures which they think are good for the public schools. For these ~~two~~ <sup>branches</sup> were at last introduced into some, at least, of Kentucky's public schools through the efforts of women. It was right here

in Lexington that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union took the lead and bore the expense of the first free kindergarten, with a <sup>department for</sup> ~~teacher~~ <sup>training</sup> ~~school~~ <sup>department</sup> for teachers. After proving it a successful experiment the Board of Education took over its classes and teachers and incorporated the kindergarten into the school system of Lexington. In the same way to Louisville club women ~~belongs~~ the state owes the experiment of a school of domestic science, which those women supported by private effort for years, until its complete success won over the Louisville Board of education and it became a part of the Public School system there. The introduction of domestic science and manual training in the Lexington schools, and the part women took in securing them, ~~are~~ too recent history to need recapitulation. Women have done good things for Kentucky schools, but with all their efforts Ky. ~~has~~ <sup>is</sup> lagged years behind Colorado. And Colorado has modern methods ~~in her schools~~ which our State Educational Association is just speaking of longingly as things to hope for in the future. For instance, it has the consolidated rural schools, ~~which have given such an uplift to higher education of the children of rural districts; and it has the system of free transportation for children living at a distance from the schools, making it practicable for every child to obtain the rudiments of an education.~~

*with*  
*giving children of rural*  
*states to children living in towns*

Colorado spends more money per capita for its school children than any other state except Massachusetts, another state where women have school suffrage, and Colorado ~~possit~~ <sup>for a generation</sup> chiefly self-taxation, a system which is yet only the dream of Kentucky educators. A part of its school money, ~~is~~, is the revenue from its endowment of school lands. It was Mrs. Helen Grenfell, who, while State superintendent of Public Instruction, established the admirable system of leasing, instead of selling, the school lands, a system which is bringing in a constantly increasing income for the schools. ~~But this system is only a makeshift and is not a permanent one. It is only a makeshift and is not a permanent one.~~ This

~~income is only a makeshift and is not a permanent one.~~ But there is no state tax for the ~~schools~~, and most of the money is raised by local taxation. The women are willing to vote money and large sums of money, out of their own pockets for the schools. And why not? Those schools are for the benefit of the children, and every where, all the world over, where the interests of children are concerned, women are alert and self-sacrificing. When Kentucky

*are endowed with the same power ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~stand by~~ <sup>stand by</sup> women have the same chance as Colorado women to help the education of women passus, they will prove that they are no children, we will not see Kentucky at the wrong end of the educational ~~whit~~ <sup>whit</sup> behind in zeal and progressiveness, procession.*

Called Meeting of  
Woman's Auxiliary  
in Lexington  
I.

Jan 6, 1914

Madam Chairman and Friends,

address  
The remarks I have the honor to ~~address~~ give before  
on our  
you this afternoon have had no title given to them in our printed pro-  
I shall speak  
gram; and so I will say that ~~will be~~ in advocacy of the Wom-  
en of the Diocese of Lexington taking steps to ask that women be made  
as deputies  
eligible to election to the Diocesan Council. It is my deep desire to  
turn to the advancement of the Church the best powers of mind and ener-  
gy of women. The subject of how to do so has been one of much thought  
with me for many years; and one result of my study is the belief that  
the time has come when the Church beneficially to itself can offer to  
women a more responsible position in its organization than hitherto it  
has done. The particular step in that direction which I submit to your  
attention is ~~the amendment of Canon II, Section 3, which now reads as follows:~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ Diocesan Can-  
ons of Canon II, Section 3, which now reads as follows: The Vestry of  
each Parish in union with the Council and the Church Committee of each  
Mission in union with the Council, and which is assessed for the sup-  
port of the Diocese, may elect three Lay Deputies from the resident  
male communicants of their respective Congregations, who shall be mem-  
bers of the Council until the election of their successors". I advocate  
that the one word "male" be struck out of this clause, thereby making  
women equally eligible with men for election.

In our organized efforts to evangelize the world it is surely a part  
of wisdom to watch the signs of the times so that we may gain impetus  
to our work from all the currents of human society. As women we should  
mark and ponder especially the social movements among women. In doing  
so it is impossible to fail to observe a worldwide movement impelling  
~~tearing away~~ tearing away from women many of the limitations of  
the past. Without attempting to analyze its causes we see that its ef-  
fects have been greatly to enlarge the field for the activities of women

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and to draw them into business, literature and social and civic service in forms unknown to them a few decades ago. <sup>Paragraph</sup> This woman's movement is so recent that it is hard to cast off from our minds the traditions of the past, in which the home and domestic occupations practically absorbed the whole attention of women. But however these traditions may affect our theories the facts are that easily within the memory of many of these present the time was when ~~women had no outlook upon broader social service nor outlet to enter into it except where~~ <sup>their respective churches afforded women</sup> ~~their broadest outlook upon social service and their chief opening to~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~respect to churches.~~ Now all this has changed. There has been an outburst of womanly energy and under ~~its~~ <sup>its</sup> impulse women are engaging in a surprising degree in all philanthropic endeavors for social and civic uplift. The Church, also, ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> undoubtedly ~~sharing in~~ <sup>letting feeling</sup> this new spirit in womanhood and such share of its work as is assigned to ~~its~~ women has taken on new vigor and success. Yet I believe a discriminating survey of the woman's movement will disclose at least two sources for solicitude on the part of the Church, which should impel it to take some forward steps to meet the new, great, demands of women. It is a well recognized principle in social philosophy that the people demand leaders; and when they have found ~~them~~ <sup>them</sup> they follow with more or less devotion. Now as women as well as men demand leaders, we see that all these organizations which are enlisting women are continually reaching out, as it were, and selecting from the Church, as elsewhere, the women whose advantages of leisure, disposition or natural abilities fit them for assuming leadership, and placing them in positions of responsibility in their own ~~work~~ <sup>circles.</sup> Hence, the Church is continually ~~losing~~ <sup>losing</sup> from its own enterprises many of the women who are best suited to manage them successfully; ~~and~~ <sup>Moreover</sup> these women naturally attract, ~~exactly in proportion to the amount of their own~~ <sup>they must give their best efforts</sup> ~~to the objects to which they are directed~~ <sup>in the directions in which they have become leaders</sup> ~~an account of the positions they have assumed,~~ a considerable part of the interest of the women left ~~with~~ <sup>to</sup> the Church.

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The inevitable result is that the Church is losing too much of its vitality by these constant drains upon it from the outside.

Another disquieting aspect is this: that while there is much to be commended in these activities, and they are really manifestations of the Christ spirit, yet it is true that many of them, even some of them which might be properly nurtured in the very bosom of the Church, own very little or no allegiance to the visible Church. I will take only one instance to illustrate my meaning,- that of the fact that though some of our cities the Social Settlement work is Christian in its teachings in other cities the Social Settlements make no attempt in their contact with the ignorant, untaught people to whom they minister to point to the Saviour as the source of the love they are manifesting in sympathy, education, fellowship and charity. They are in a measure building up a civilization in which Christ is not acknowledged as the chief corner stone. Surely this is not in accordance with Christ's injunction, "Even so let your light shine that men may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven".

To counteract these tendencies which appear to me ought to arouse our solicitude the Church must take some steps to make more room within itself for the newly liberated energies of women. While I would not for a moment claim that giving women a place in the councils of the Church will entirely meet the requirement I do believe it is a step in the right direction and will give women as well as men a vantage ground for studying the further needs of the situation.

If we look for the charm which clothes the organizations outside of the organized church we do not find it in the promise to an indolent mind of ease and irresponsible enjoyment of variety, but in the stern joy of development of a greater self in the accomplishment of a high purpose under the weight of responsibility, labor and sacrifice.

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~~under the weight of responsibility, labor and sacrifice~~

~~purpose~~ In so far as the Church does not offer within itself opportunity to women of initiative, responsibility and achievement worthy of the best that is in them, opportunity which is offered outside, the Church does not measure up to the demands of the new woman movement.

~~XX~~

Let us see how much of such opportunity ~~we might expect~~ <sup>would be offered</sup> if women are made eligible to become members of the Council. We find, on studying the <sup>such</sup> Canons, that the Council deliberates on ~~the~~ duties of the Laity as the exercise of family worship; the instruction of families in the principles of the Christian religion and of the Church; the keeping of the Lord's Day; and of contributing of ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup> means for the support of the Gospel. Through its committees, laymen have a share in the care of the educational and charitable interests of the Diocese; of the Sunday School work; of the Mission work. It is authorized to make assessments for Church purposes upon the congregations; and in addition to these duties involving both the spiritual and material interests of the Diocese, it has the entire supervision of its business affairs. Now it is evident that much of the duty of the Council is as interesting to women as it is to men; and that they are just as capable of performing <sup>ing</sup> it. Therefore, membership in it would afford some women an outlet for energies which may <sup>be</sup> now spent in ways which are of no direct benefit to the Church; ~~and which~~ <sup>while</sup> ~~yet~~, if the Church does not offer women a field for the best use of their abilities, women ought to exercise them elsewhere, as otherwise they would be burying talents God has given them for service. But the Church can make room for much ~~womanly talents~~ <sup>of</sup> woman's talents which now seek exercise elsewhere by simply removing outgrown restrictions; and by doing so ~~following~~ following the Christian spirit, which is the spirit of liberty,- for "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty".

It is no argument against the amendment that it would be an innovation. Women are doing many things which are new and doing them well. Conven-

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tions of women or of men and women together, are gathered for other purposes and conduct successfully business as arduous as that done in the Councils; and the women do their share equally creditably as the men; The Church could be only a gainer by the move. I have heard it urged as an objection to women's taking on any new church work that if they did so the men who are now doing it would leave it entirely to the women and merely do less themselves. In meeting this objection I hardly know whether to say that it speaks too poorly ~~for~~ the men or too highly of the women. True work in the church is inspired by love of service to the Master, and there is no difference in men and women in that love; If the objection means that men are less earnest than women in their desire for service it underrates them and overrates women. But I suppose the idea is that there is really not enough work of the kind for both men and women and that men will simply yield what women seem to want to do. In this form it is worth while to give the objection due weight, which I am convinced can be shown to be not much. I believe we will all grant that women are no fonder of work for work's sake. Therefore there are three classes of work that no one need fear women will ever take away from men; 1st, Work that men can do better than women; 2nd, Work that men can do more easily than women, even if women can do it as well; and 3rd, Work that women want done and can induce men to do with less effort than is required to do it themselves. If this classification is ~~correct~~ correct, whenever women work freely side by side with men they will naturally take that part which they can do better than men; or more easily than men, or what they want done but cannot induce men to do. Let us remember that in the Divine order it was never meant that men and women should work separately, and when they work together they supply inspiration and incentive to each other and more and better work is accomplished than ~~either~~ <sup>either</sup> can do separately. <sup>Paraphrase</sup> As it happens in the case we are considering the laymen of this Diocese stand greatly in need of re-enforcements



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in the Council. The Journal of last year's Council, held in Ashland in June, records that of 29 congregations in the Diocese only nine had lay deputies; and of possible 87 lay deputies only 15 were in attendance. I am told this is a fair average of the lay attendance. Now when we reflect that anywhere from three fifths to two thirds of <sup>the</sup> church members are women, and none of them are in the Council; and that of the men entitled to seats very few go, it is easily seen that the work in the Council designed by the Church to be done by lay members cannot be done efficiently for lack of sufficient numbers. If these unrepresented or partially represented congregations were represented by some of the sensible and devoted women who are so much of their life, can we doubt that ~~they would not only find a new zest for their church duties from a wider view of their possibilities, but that they would add greatly to the life and spirit of the Council, and carry back to their congregations, now too often isolated and spiritless, new courage and new inspiration to more effective work?~~ these women would not only find a new zest for their church duties from a wider view of <sup>their</sup> possibilities, but that they would add greatly to the life and spirit of the Council, and carry back to their congregations, now too often isolated and spiritless, new courage and new inspiration to more effective work?

My friends, as we are members of the body of Christ, and owe to His Church our best thought and wisest action, let us face with clear vision the problems of this new woman's movement; and <sup>recalling</sup> ~~recognizing~~ that this very Auxiliary is one of its products, let us not fear to seek for new Christian liberty into which this new force of womanhood may enter and <sup>develop into</sup> ~~be guided and led by~~ new forms of Christian service.

Jan 6, 1917

Madam President and Friends,

The subjects of consideration in the remarks I have the honor to address to you this afternoon are certain aspects of what has come to be called the new woman's movement, and some suggestions for turning to the advancement of the Church the newly manifested powers of mind and energy of woman. The study of how to do this has been one of much thought to me for years, and one result is my belief that the time has come when the Church beneficially to itself can offer to woman a more responsible position in its organization than it has done hitherto. The particular step in that direction which I submit to your attention as desirable is an amendment to the Canons of the Diocese of Lexington which would make women eligible to be elected as deputies to the Diocesan Council. The amendment required is on to Canon 11, Section 3, which now reads as follows; "The Vestry of each Parish in union with the Council, and which is assessed for the support of the Diocese may elect 3 Lay Deputies from the male communicants of their respective Congregations, who shall be members of the Council until the election of their successors". I advocate that the one word "male" be struck from this clause, thereby making women equally eligible with men for election.

In our organized efforts to evangelize the world it is surely the part of wisdom to watch the signs of the times so that we may derive impetus to our work from all the currents of human society. As women we should mark and ponder especially the social movements among women. In doing so it is impossible to fail to observe that the new woman's movement is tearing away from women many of the limitations of the past. Without attempting to analyze its causes we see that its effects have been greatly to enlarge the field for the activities of women and to draw them into business, literature and social and civic service in forms unknown to them a few decades ago.

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Another disquieting aspect is this: that while there is much to be commended in these activities, and they are really manifestations of the

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Christ Spirit, yet it is true that many of them, even some which might properly be nurtured in the very bosom of the Church, own very little or no allegiance to the visible Church. I will take only one instance to illustrate my meaning/-that of the fact though in some of our cities the Social Settlement work is Christian in its teachings, in other cities the Social Settlements make no attempt in their contact with the ignorant untaught people to whom they minister to point to the Savior as the source of the love they are manifesting in sympathy, education, fellowship, and charity. They are in a measure building up a civilization in which Christ is not acknowledged as the chief corner stone. Surely this is not in accordance with Christ's injunction, "Even so let your light shine that men may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in Heaven."

To counteract these tendencies which appear to me ought to arouse our solicitude the Church must take some steps to make more room within itself for the newly liberated energies of women. While I would not for a moment claim that giving women a place in the councils of the Church will entirely meet the requirements I do believe it would be a step in the right direction and would give women as well as men a vantage ground for studying the needs of the situation.

If we look for the charm which clothes the organizations outside of the organized Church we do not find it in a promise to an indolent mind of ease and irresponsible enjoyment of variety, but in the stern joy of development of a greater self in the accomplishment of a high purpose under the weight of responsibility, labor and sacrifice. In so far as the Church does not offer within itself opportunity to women of initiative, responsibility and achievement worthy of the best that is in them, opportunity which is offered outside,-the Church does not measure up to the demands of the new woman's movement.

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It is no argument against the amendment that it would be an innovation. Women are doing many things which are new and doing them well. Conventions of women or of men and women together, are gathered for other purposes and conduct successfully business as arduous as that done in the Councils; and the women do their share equally creditably as the men. The Church could be only a gainer by the move.

I have heard it urged as an objection to women's taking on any new church work that if they did so the men who are now doing it would leave

it entirely to the women and merely do less themselves. In meeting this objection I hardly know whether to say that it speaks too poorly of the men or too highly of the women. True work in the Church is inspired by love of service to the Master, and there is no difference in men and women in that love. If the objection means that men are less earnest than women in their desire for service it underrates men and overrates women. But I suppose the idea is that there is really not enough work of the kind for both men and women and that the men will simply yield what the women seem to want to do. In that form it is worthy while to give the objection due weight, which I am convinced can be shown to be not much. I believe we will all grant that women are no fonder than men of work for work's sake. Therefore there are three classes of work that no one need fear that women will ever voluntarily take away from men: 1st, Work that men can do better than women; 2d, Work that men can do more easily than women, even if women can do it as well; and 3d, Work that women want done and can induce men to do with less effort than would be required to do it themselves. If this classification is correct, whenever women work freely side by side with men they will naturally take that part which they can do better than men; or more easily than men; or what they want done but cannot induce men to do. Let us remember that in the Divine order it was never meant that men and women should work separately, and when they work together they supply inspiration and incentive to each other, and more and better work is accomplished than either can do separately.

As it happens, in the case we are considering the laymen of this Diocese stand greatly in need of re-enforcements in the Council. The Journal of last year's Council, held in Ashland in June, records that of twenty-nine congregations in the Diocese only nine had lay deputies; and of a possible eighty-seven lay deputies only fifteen were in attendance. Now when we reflect that anywhere from three fifths to two thirds of the church members are women, and none of them are in the Council;

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and that of the men entitled to seats very few go, it is easily seen the work in the Council designed by the Church to be done by lay members cannot be done efficiently for lack of adequate numbers. If those unrepresented or partially represented congregations were represented by some of the sensible and devoted women who are so much of their life, can we doubt that those women would not only find a new zest in their Church duties from their broader view of their possibilities, but that they would greatly add to the life and spirit of the Council, and carry back to their congregations, now too often isolated and spiritless, new courage and inspiration for more effective work?

My friends, as we are members of the body of Christ, and owe to His Church our best thought and wisest action, let us face with clear vision the problems of the new woman's movement; and recollecting that this very Auxiliary is one of its products, let us not fear to seek for new Christian liberty into which this new force of womanhood may enter and develop new forms of Christian service.

(1905)

(1) +  
Today you are assembled to  
see the presentation of the portrait  
of a great woman to this school.

Now of all I have been saying  
you have an example in  
the life of the great woman  
whose ~~photo~~ ~~life sized~~  
~~photograph~~ ~~business~~  
is presented to this school  
today. Miss Susan B. Anthony  
is a type of the self-re-  
specting American woman  
of today. She was born in  
Massachusetts in 1799, so that she is  
a little past 85 years old at this  
time. She was born in  
Adams, Mass; but the family  
moved to New York state when  
she was only six years old,  
so she is now claimed as



(2)

a New Yorker. She and her sister Mary, seven years younger than she, have lived together for many years in their own house on Madison Street, in the city of Rochester. From the time that Mr. Anthony was quite a young girl she commenced teaching school in the summer time, and after she had completed her education she taught school regularly, for ~~many~~ years, 15 years in all. After that, she managed her father's farm for a while, as he was called to be absent from home on other business. She never resumed teaching again, but she became greatly interested in questions of reform.

has given her life to working for them ever since. She believed that the negro slaves should be free, and she worked to help on the Anti-Slavery cause; so that it was a great happiness to her when they were all freed on Jan, 1863; though she was sorrowful that their emancipation should have to come through a dreadful civil war between the states. She has always believed in Temperance, also, and she was the secretary of a society called the Daughters of Temperance; and on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1849, when she was 29 years old, she made her first appearance on the platform to make a public speech. This was

very courageous in her, for at that time it was a thing scarcely heard of for a woman to speak in public, and women who did so were very severely criticized. But know it creates no more comment than for a man to speak. But if the first woman who spoke had not had courage to do a thing that was right, though unusual, it would still have been the custom for women not to speak in public.

Miss Anthony's great life-work, however, has been given to advocating the equal civil and political rights of women. It is very hard for the young people

of the present day to understand how much better a place for women this world is today than it was before the labors of what are called the Woman's Rights people began to bear fruit. In those days it was not generally thought necessary for girls to have much education and there were very few places where they could get a high-school education. Now there are as many or even more girls educated in high schools than there are boys. Then it was almost impossible for a young woman to get a college education. There were no institutions of really a college grade for women; and only

(6)

one or two of colleges for  
young men which allowed  
women to study there, too.  
But now most of the colleges  
admit women, as well as  
men. Miss Anthony never  
had a college education  
herself, but she has done  
a great deal towards bring-  
ing about the opening of  
colleges so that the young  
women now can study in  
them. Then, too, when the young  
women had to earn their  
living, it was unusual for  
them to work at many other  
occupations except sewing,  
mending, school teaching,  
and all these occupations were  
overcrowded in a few factories; so that  
it was hard for them to get  
good places or earn good  
wages. Miss Anthony has a -

(7)

ways advocated the right of women to work at any honest employment for which they were capable, and insisted that there ought not to be any custom or law to make it harder for a woman to earn her living. Now, women can enter every occupation except the army and the navy, and consequently nearly all of them find it is easier to get good work and wages, and many of them make fortunes for themselves.

But Miss Anthony's greatest work has been in advocating equal political rights for women. She knew the history of our country, and she knew that the thirteen original colonies threw off

(8)

the yoke of England because they were taxed without representation and governed without their consent. She always thought it was a glorious thing for the colonies to do. She loved her country and loved to think that here men were free to say by their votes what taxes they should pay, and what laws should be made to govern them. But when she was still young she observed that women had not these political rights. It was true that they had to pay taxes when they owned property; or the sheriff would take it and sell it for taxes. And women had to obey the laws, too;

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or they were punished for it. And yet women could not vote either on the taxes or the laws. So she began to think why it was that women should be treated so in this country where all the statesmen affirmed that Taxation without representation is tyranny, and Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. She soon came to the conclusion that it was not right to deny women <sup>equal</sup> <sup>with men</sup> vote any more than it was right to deny them equal education and an equal chance to earn a living. So she became an advocate of Woman Suff-



Suffrage, which means the  
 right of woman to vote, and  
 that has really been her  
 life-work, in which she has  
 not yet succeeded, except  
 in four states, Wyoming,  
 Colorado Utah and Idaho,  
 where women do vote on  
 equal terms with men.  
 Yet though only four states  
 vote, the people have begun  
 to think and to realize that  
 the political position of women  
 is not right. They see the time  
 must come when this injus-  
 tice to women must be  
 done away. And they see that  
 honorable and self-sacrificing  
 life of a self-respecting woman  
 has done much to bring about  
 this better sentiment. So that  
 though she began her

life work amidst great  
difficulties and assailed  
by ridicule and condemna-  
tion, the world at this time  
honors and reveres the  
name of ~~the~~<sup>great</sup> woman  
whose portrait today is  
presented to this school,  
Susan B. Anthony.

Address Jan. 6, 1911, to called meeting  
of Woman's Suffrage, in Lexington,

~~Madam Chairman and Friends,~~

In our organized efforts to wangle  
the world it is surely a part  
of ~~our duty~~ <sup>wisdom</sup> to watch the signs  
of the times so that ~~from~~ <sup>we may</sup>  
~~our~~ <sup>imperious</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>in</sup> our work ~~from~~ <sup>at</sup> all the  
~~time~~ <sup>time</sup> ~~clashes~~ <sup>clashes</sup> in human soci-  
ety. And women especially we  
should mark and ponder the  
social movements among women.  
In doing so it is impossible to fail  
to observe a world-wide impelling them  
towards a ~~larger~~ <sup>more</sup> ~~improvement~~ <sup>improvement</sup> ~~in~~  
~~the~~ <sup>field</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~activity~~ <sup>activity</sup>, ~~in~~  
~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~world~~ <sup>world</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~every~~ <sup>every</sup> ~~class~~ <sup>class</sup>  
to ~~bring~~ <sup>bring</sup> ~~away~~ <sup>away</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> many of their limitations  
without attempting to analyze ~~it~~  
of the part.  
Hence we see that ~~in~~ its effects have  
been greatly ~~to~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>field</sup> ~~for~~  
of women, and to bring ~~them~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~front~~ <sup>front</sup>  
~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~business~~ <sup>business</sup>, ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~education~~ <sup>education</sup>, ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~social~~ <sup>social</sup>

and civic service in forms which were  
 unknown to the women only a few dec-  
 ades ago. In ~~this meeting for a discus-~~  
~~sion among church women~~ ~~the subject~~  
 will all feel that ~~the direction~~  
~~from the church~~ ~~towards the respect of the~~  
~~woman's movement, as a woman~~  
~~body called, is eminently a fit subject~~  
~~for our consideration in its relations~~  
~~to the church and the church's mis-~~  
~~sion to the world, especially~~  
~~the movement which to devote the time~~  
~~allotted me by address you~~  
~~of our church to the cause of woman's~~  
~~purpose to confine myself wholly to~~  
~~the church.~~ This woman's move-  
 ment is so recent that it is hard  
 for our minds to cast off the power  
 of the traditions of the past which  
 the home and domestic interests practically  
 checked the whole attention of women. But  
 however these traditions may affect  
 our theories of the past in ~~action~~ ~~for years~~  
~~and in the past~~ ~~on the work of~~  
~~the church,~~ the facts are that

easily in the memory of many of those present ~~that~~ the time was, when, ~~outside~~ ~~circumstances~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~usual~~ ~~mode~~ ~~of~~ ~~work~~ ~~of~~ ~~large~~ ~~and~~ ~~great~~ ~~numbers~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~concentrated~~ ~~upon~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~point~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~public~~ ~~interest~~ ~~centered~~ ~~in~~ ~~this~~ ~~parity~~ ~~of~~ ~~interest~~ ~~and~~ ~~no~~ ~~other~~ ~~outlets~~ ~~upon~~ ~~society~~ ~~at~~ ~~large~~ ~~than~~ ~~what~~ ~~was~~ ~~afforded~~ ~~them~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~Church~~ ~~They~~ ~~had~~ ~~not~~ ~~much~~ ~~time~~ ~~to~~ ~~give~~ ~~to~~ ~~other~~ ~~things~~; ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~experience~~ ~~who~~ ~~had~~ ~~the~~ ~~desire~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~disposition~~ ~~to~~ ~~give~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~uplift~~ ~~of~~ ~~society~~ ~~had~~ ~~no~~ ~~outlet~~ ~~for~~ ~~their~~ ~~desire~~ ~~than~~ ~~what~~ ~~was~~ ~~afforded~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~Church~~; ~~In~~ ~~fact~~ ~~few~~ ~~of~~ ~~them~~ ~~had~~ ~~any~~ ~~idea~~ ~~that~~ ~~nations~~ ~~had~~ ~~other~~ ~~than~~ ~~the~~ ~~Church~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~State~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~family~~ ~~as~~ ~~outlets~~ ~~for~~ ~~their~~ ~~desire~~ ~~to~~ ~~serve~~ ~~the~~ ~~community~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~at~~ ~~large~~ ~~and~~ ~~no~~ ~~outlook~~ ~~upon~~ ~~broader~~ ~~social~~ ~~services~~ ~~or~~ ~~outlet~~ ~~for~~ ~~their~~ ~~desire~~ ~~to~~ ~~serve~~ ~~them~~ ~~except~~ ~~what~~ ~~was~~ ~~afforded~~ ~~by~~ ~~their~~ ~~respective~~ ~~Churches~~ ~~and~~ ~~States~~ ~~Now~~ ~~all~~ ~~this~~ ~~has~~ ~~changed~~. ~~There~~ ~~has~~ ~~been~~ ~~an~~ ~~outburst~~ ~~of~~ ~~womanly~~ ~~energy~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~multitude~~ ~~of~~ ~~forms~~ ~~of~~ ~~activity~~ ~~for~~ ~~social~~ ~~and~~ ~~civil~~ ~~betterment~~, ~~organized~~

attract to ~~itself~~ <sup>the Church</sup> its due share of  
this great outpouring of womanly  
power. In short, we would offer  
greater opportunity for responsibility  
and self-developing activity in  
the Church; and to that end ~~I~~  
~~do~~ ~~to~~ ~~lay~~ ~~before~~ ~~you~~ ~~invite~~ this Aux-  
iliary meeting to consider the ad-  
visability of seeking to have the  
canons of the Diocese of Lexing-  
ton so amended as to make women  
eligible to election to the Annual  
Council of the Diocese.

Under the impulse

Women are now engaging in a sur-  
prising ~~number~~ degree in all philan-  
thropic endeavors for social + civic uplift.  
The Church, also, has undoubtedly shared  
in this new spirit in womanhood, and  
such share of work as is assigned to it  
~~has~~ women has taken on new vigor

and success. Yet I believe a discriminating survey of the woman's movement will reveal two causes for solicitude on the part of the Church, which should impel it to take some forward steps to meet the new, great demands of modern women.

In the first place ~~human nature is~~ It is a well recognized fact ~~that the~~ ~~people demand~~ ~~leaders, and that~~ ~~when they find them they will~~ ~~principle in social philosophy~~ ~~that whole body~~ ~~of people, but the people demand~~ ~~leaders, whom they follow more or~~ ~~less devotionally.~~ ~~As women as well~~ ~~as men demand leaders, it follows~~ ~~that all these organizations~~ ~~feeling the need of capable~~ ~~women are continually reaching~~ ~~out, and attracting~~ ~~and taking from~~ ~~the Church as elsewhere, the women~~ ~~whose natural qualities~~ ~~be natural abilities, advantage of~~ ~~character, disposition or natural abil-~~ ~~ity fit them for assuming leadership.~~

continually women ~~from~~ the  
Hence the Church has continually drawn  
Church who are best fitted to ~~maintain~~ <sup>draw</sup>  
from it almost insensibly to take the  
enterprises are drawn almost insensibly  
lead our interests outside of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~range~~  
proportion of the women who are  
best suited to inspire successfully  
its own enterprises, and these women  
~~inevitably~~ <sup>naturally</sup> attract to those objects  
to which they <sup>must</sup> give their best thoughts  
a large share of the interest of  
women not so actively engaged in  
it. The inevitable result is that the  
Church is losing too much of its  
vitality by these constant drains  
upon it from the outside. Another  
disquieting aspect is; that while there  
is much to be commended in all  
these normal activities, and they are  
really manifestations of the Christ  
spirit of love of mankind; yet it is  
true that many of them owe no  
allegiance whatever to the Church,





for the newly liberated energies of  
women. While I would not for a mo-  
ment claim that giving women a place  
in the councils of the Church will  
entirely meet the requirement, yet  
I do believe it is a step in the  
right direction. If we look into the  
charm which clothes the organiza-  
tions outside of the organized Church  
we do not find it in the promise of  
ease and irresponsible enjoyment of  
variety to an <sup>indolent</sup> ~~mind~~ <sup>mind</sup>, but in the  
stern joy ~~of purpose~~ <sup>of purpose</sup> ~~of a high~~  
~~purpose conceived by one's <sup>intellectual</sup> ~~own~~~~  
and ~~weight~~ ~~it~~ ~~under~~ ~~the~~ weight  
of responsibility, labor and ~~of~~ sacri-  
fice ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~development~~ ~~of~~  
greater ~~self~~ ~~which~~ ~~develops~~ a greater  
self, ~~the~~ ~~accomplishment~~ ~~of~~ a high  
purpose ~~conceived~~ ~~in~~ ~~one's~~ ~~own~~ ~~mind~~  
and.

and development of a greater self in  
working out under the weight of responsi-  
bility, labor and sacrifice the accomplish-  
ment of a high purpose, ~~and~~  
~~in our own mind~~. On the other  
hand, what ~~does remain~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~is~~  
~~the~~ ~~place~~ ~~for~~  
originality, initiative ~~and~~ the ~~desire~~  
~~not~~ for growth for self and for  
others is the inspiration of the  
woman's movement; and the first  
necessity of growth is liberty.

In so far as the Church fails to offer  
within itself  
woman opportunity of initiative,  
responsibility and ~~advice~~ ~~rights~~  
~~participation~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~work~~  
of ~~the~~ ~~Church~~ is ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~opportunity~~ ~~which~~  
is offered outside, the Church  
itself does not measure up  
to the demands of the ~~new~~ ~~woman~~  
movement. As the Council is the  
governing body of the Diocese, ~~and~~ ~~as~~

at present no woman is a member  
of ~~it~~ we can gain some idea of the  
<sup>new</sup> opportunities for such service which  
would be offered to women by ma-  
king them eligible to become members  
of ~~the same~~. We find, ~~then~~, on studying  
the Canons that it ~~is~~ deliberates on the  
duties of the laity as ~~touching~~ touching the exercise  
of family worship, instruction of members  
to instruct <sup>or</sup> their families in the principles  
of the Christian religion, and of the Church,  
in the keeping of the Lord's day; and of  
contributing of their means for the support  
of the Gospel. Through its committees, it  
has all the ~~power~~ <sup>power</sup> given to ~~laymen~~ <sup>laymen have a share</sup> church mem-  
bers, to have <sup>in the</sup> care of the educational and  
charitable interests of the Diocese; of the  
Sunday School work, with its Mission Work,  
~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> make assessments for church purposes  
upon the congregations; and in addition  
to these duties involving both the spiritual

and material interests of the ~~Church~~ <sup>Society</sup>, it has  
the entire supervision of its business affairs.

The women have an <sup>equal with men</sup> voice in the parish  
meetings, in voting for members of the Vestry,  
and are themselves eligible for election to  
the vestry. The vestry elect the lay deputies  
to the Council, and therefore in a very in-  
direct way women might possibly be said  
to have some part in the election of the lay  
deputies, ~~though they may not be deputies themselves~~. Now it is evident that much of  
the ~~business~~ <sup>duties</sup> of the Council is as inter-  
esting to women as it is to men; and that  
they are just as capable of ~~performing~~  
it. ~~and~~ <sup>an opportunity</sup> ~~to do so~~ <sup>would</sup> afford some of them an outlet for en-  
ergies that are now spent in ways not  
~~conducive~~ <sup>do not redound to the</sup> ~~benefit of~~ <sup>benefit of</sup>  
the Church; and ~~yet~~ <sup>if</sup> the Church does  
not offer women equal opportuni-  
ties ~~to women~~ for healthful use of

their <sup>best faculties</sup> talents, ~~there is no doubt~~ <sup>happy</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>they</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>would</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>using</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>talents</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>God</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>has</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>given</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>them.</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>But</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>greater</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>liberty</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>in</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>Church</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>can</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>allow</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>room</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>for</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>growth</sup> ~~no doubt <sup>of</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>exercise</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>women's</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>talents</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>must</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>now</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>seek</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>exercise</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>elsewhere</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>simply</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>removing</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>obstacles</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>from</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>liberty</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>; and</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>doing</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>so</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>following</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>leading</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>Christian</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>spirit</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>principle</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>spirit</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>liberty</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>— for</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>where</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>spirit</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>word</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>is,</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>there</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~no doubt~~ <sup>liberty.</sup>~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

It is no argument against the amendment that it would be an innovation. Women are doing many things which are new, and they are doing them well. Conventions of women, or of men and women together, are gathered for <sup>conduct business</sup> ~~conduct~~ <sup>business</sup> ~~business <sup>as</sup> ~~as <sup>apostles</sup> ~~apostles~~ <sup>other</sup> ~~other~~ <sup>purposes; and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>women</sup> ~~women~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~~~~~



women. When either man or woman  
is impelled to work for love of  
~~Christ~~ Work in the Church is inspired  
by love of service to the Master, and there  
is no difference between men and women  
and this objection ~~seems to me~~ means that  
men in that love. But ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~idea~~ <sup>idea</sup> is that there is really not enough  
work of the kind for both men and  
women, and that men will simply  
yield what women seem to want to  
do. In this form it is worth while to ~~meet~~  
~~the objection~~ give the objection its  
due weight, which I am convinced  
can be shown <sup>is not much</sup> ~~is not much~~. I believe we will all  
~~agree~~ <sup>agree</sup> that women are no fonder  
of work for work's sake. There are three  
classes of work <sup>that, perhaps, not fear</sup> that women will ever  
take away from men; 1<sup>st</sup> Work that men  
can do better than women; 2<sup>nd</sup> Work  
that men can do more easily than  
women, even if women can do it as well,  
and thirdly, Work that women <sup>want done and</sup> can  
N



not induce men to do without <sup>using</sup> greater  
effort than <sup>required for</sup> doing it themselves. If  
this classification is correct, and I believe  
you will concede that it is, whenever  
women work freely side by side with  
men they will naturally take that  
part which they can do better  
than men; or more easily than  
men, or what they <sup>would do and</sup> ~~cannot do~~  
cannot induce men to do. Let us  
remember that ~~in~~ the Divine  
order ~~there is~~ ~~no~~ ~~distinction~~  
~~between~~ ~~men~~ ~~and~~ ~~women~~  
~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~complements~~ ~~of~~ ~~each~~ ~~other~~  
it was never meant that men and  
women should work separately, and  
when they work together they supply  
inspiration and incentive to each  
other, and more and better work  
is accomplished than either can  
do separately. As it happens in  
the case we are considering the

Laymen of this diocese stand  
greatly in need of reinforcement  
in the Council. The journal of last  
year's Council, held in Scotland in  
June, records that of 29 congregations  
<sup>in the Diocese</sup>  
~~entitled to deputies~~, only 9 had lay  
<sup>deputies</sup>  
representatives; and of a possible  
87 lay deputies, there were only  
15 in attendance. <sup>I am informed this is a fair average of the lay attendance</sup>  
Now when we  
reflect that anywhere from three  
fifths to two thirds of the church  
members are women, and women  
voice in the Council, and that the  
~~remainder~~ of them are  
in the Council, and that ~~very~~  
~~few men go~~ the men entitled  
to seats very few go, it is easily  
seen that the work <sup>in the Council</sup> designed by the  
Church to be done by lay members  
cannot be efficiently done for lack  
of ~~enough~~ <sup>enough</sup> members. If there are



facts of this new woman's move-  
ment; and recognizing that this  
very Auxiliary is one of its pro-  
ducts, let us ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~fear to~~  
by ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> ~~promise~~ <sup>promise</sup> of ~~Christian women~~  
The duty of guiding and leading  
this new force of womanhood  
into new forms of Christian service,  
and let us take the initiative  
~~to seek~~ <sup>Christy</sup> for it new liberty into  
which this new force of womanhood  
may <sup>enter and</sup> be guided into new forms  
of Christian service.

Madam President and Friends,  
 The subject of the remarks I have  
 the honor to address to you this  
 afternoon is <sup>the consideration of</sup> certain aspects of  
 what has come to be called the  
 new woman's movement, and  
 some suggestions as to how to  
 turn to the advancement of the  
 Church the newly manifested  
 powers of mind and energy of  
 women. The study of how to do so has  
~~to do so~~ has been one of much  
 thought to me for many years, and  
 one result of it is the belief

Gentlemen,

*speaking to*  
 In ~~presenting~~ our petition for a submission of a Sixteenth Amendment ~~it is impossible for me to say anything in advocacy of the right of women to suffrage which has not already been better said; and also quite unnecessary; for, since their right rests on the same foundation as that of men, it must be that all who are loyal to the fundamental principles of our government are convinced of the soundness of the claim.~~

I take it, therefore, that in your capacity as law-makers I should urge ~~What I say, therefore, will be simply something simply that the people be given the means ~~would~~ to imprint their convictions upon the political laws of the land. because both men and women are ready for this extension of the franchise, and should be given this means to imprint their convictions upon the Constitution.~~  
*we believe our people*  
*to women*

It is reported that in a recent interview with a delegation of Equal Suffragists a very distinguished statesman of New York said to them "The settlement of this question depends finally upon the woman". I will remark first, therefore, upon how the women are speaking for themselves.

More petitions have been made by women for suffrage than have ever been made before by any class seeking to be admitted to the electorate. They have given every proof that if they possessed the ballot they would use it ~~freely~~ *dutifully* ~~and discreetly in~~ *public* ~~the vast and varied number of questions which are brought before the voters. We have four states, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, where women vote; and the records prove that they vote as gener-~~

*Besides these voters,*

ally as the men do. There is a long list of associations, composed of women or of women and men, outside of the suffrage associations proper, which have endorsed the right of suffrage for women. The call of their names will show the widely varied interests of those they represent. Among them are the National Women's Single Tax League, National W.C.T.U., International Women's Union Label League, National Purity Conference, National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, United Textile Workers of America, Ladies of the Modern Maccabees, Ladies of the Maccabees of the World, National Council of Women, Nurses Asso. of the Pacific Coast, Native Daughters of the Golden West, Women Workers of the Middle West, International Council of Women (representing twenty countries and upwards of 6,000,000 of members), and many others. There is but one of which I know that opposes it,- The Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women. And this Association is not opposed in such a radical manner as at first sight appears; for the fundamental principle of the Woman Suffragists is the right of women to have *an* equal ~~right~~ <sup>*voice*</sup> with men in deciding the conditions and laws under which both ~~women and men~~ live. If there should occur such a change in governmental methods as that something should be substituted for the ballot to express that right for men, then the woman suffragists would simultaneously change their demand and ask for the new mode of expressing an opinion on equal terms,

without in the least affecting the essential nature of our present demand. Now though the Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women nominally set themselves in opposition, really in their way they also are asserting our underlying principle, because they are organized to ~~express~~ <sup>They</sup> their opinion on one question of public interest, and do not disclaim a right to act in the same <sup>way as every other</sup> ~~way~~ public question. <sup>In ~~the same way~~ ~~claim~~ ~~to~~ ~~these~~ ~~rights~~</sup> ~~Indoubtedly~~ they agree with us, - it is only in method they disagree. They prefer to form an association, collect funds <sup>pay salaries to</sup> and employ secretaries and others to distribute literature <sup>in such ways</sup> and to bring to bear their influence. - a costly method and one not within the means of the majority of women. The suffragists prefer to use the ballot, which is the established method of exercising choice of opinion, is open to the poorest and has its machinery already paid for out of the taxes levied upon women as well as men. ~~If there ever were intelligent women who did not think it proper to understand and and try to decide matters of general interest they disappeared at least as early as the first decades of the last century?~~ <sup>of our day</sup> Now intelligent women are informed upon, and most often feel a personal responsibility in some degree, on all public matters; and perhaps without calling themselves suffragists they do maintain the fundamental principle of suffragists, and are now, as shown by their petitions and other public expressions of opinion, fully committed to the principle that women ~~have a~~ share in public interests, and



~~not~~ ought to help in deciding them. Through all grades of legislative bodies, from city councils, where women petition for police matrons or street cleaning ordinances, to the National Congress, where they petition for Child Labor laws, <sup>Pure Food or Interstate Commerce Regulations</sup>, the desire of women

to be heard in public affairs is constantly brought into evidence. The toll,

expense and humiliation which women thus endure in their enforced attitude

of perpetual petitioners <sup>public-spirited</sup> is converting more of them to <sup>for what they believe is for the good of the people</sup> ~~public-spirited~~ <sup>hosts of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>desires</sup> the ~~simple direct,~~

easy and dignified means ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ advocated by the suffragists

to attain the same ends, ~~and the leading of the suffrage societies.~~ The ~~number~~

demanding <sup>for</sup> the ballot is growing as surely as the <sup>among women</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>their</sup> interest

~~of women~~ in questions affected by law is growing.

Just as among women the Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women constitutes the only definite opposition to be found against equal suffrage, while ~~the~~ ~~majority~~ of other associations, representing hundreds

and industrial of thousands of women engaged in philanthropies and intellectual pursuits <sup>Our friends among them are increasing constantly.</sup> have endorsed it, so it is among men. <sup>In</sup> The four states where women have the

franchise it has been given by the votes of men; and in many other states constitutional amendments, though defeated so far at the polls, still have received affirmative votes from large minorities. Again, many associations, organized for a large variety of social, industrial and reform objects, official

ly endorse woman suffrage. Just as there is only one woman's association opposed to woman suffrage, though not very consistently, so there is but one among men <sup>avowedly</sup> opposed to it, with the difference that that one is thoroughly consistent. The organized liquor traffic is, I believe, the only Association which in its newspaper organs, its public acts and its unvarying ~~opinion~~

~~its general political attitude~~ political attitude, really embodies that antagonism to the ~~fundamental principle~~ of woman suffrage which goes deeper than the mere method by which <sup>its</sup> ~~that~~ principle shall be <sup>made</sup> ~~put~~ into operations. The saloons

and the dens and dives which are too often allied with them know that self-respecting and thoughtful womanhood is a more dangerous enemy to their business than prohibitory laws on statute books; and so they always oppose the right of women to any voice <sup>or power</sup> in the government under which they live. Their <sup>They prefer women to be dumb & helpless</sup>

opposition has defeated equal suffrage amendments in several states, as the <sup>But</sup> If the liquor forces want nothing which leads women to think, and fears suffragists know to their cost. ~~Many~~ Many strong associations of men, ~~however~~ value their influence upon law,

value the intelligence of women, and desire to enlist it in their own behalf.

Educators see that suffrage for women would help the schools, temperance men

see that it is what the liquor interest most fears, labor men admit that it

is necessary to secure and maintain the best wages for themselves as well

as women; <sup>Grangers find their help needed in organizations</sup> and so all these and many others endorse suffrage for women. There

<sup>is done</sup> <sup>confessedly in the</sup> <sup>by confining it to flattery</sup> is not much in these practical hopes of benefitting themselves to flatter <sup>men</sup>

the sentimental theory that men are only waiting to find out that women want the ballot to give it to them; but there is much to rejoice the philosophy which holds that the union of the interests of men and women is so vital that it is impossible ever to separate them,- a philosophy whose outcome is likely to speed the day when woman suffrage will be a very live issue for party consideration. <sup>For</sup> when ~~extensive~~ bodies of men possessing votes apprehend that their own interests demand the right of suffrage in the hands of women, it follows that they will quickly take measures to give it to them. Our allies, men whose interests are wrapped up with ours, are increasing so greatly in numbers that already the time seems drawing near when one or the other of the dominant parties will declare itself <sup>for its own profit</sup> on the side of this last great enlargement of the electorate. <sup>For</sup> Woman Suffrage is bound to come,- perhaps is bound to come soon; ~~and because gratitude is a strong attractive power,~~ and the party which soonest declares itself in its favor must benefit most from the votes that large class of women whose political opinions are not yet crystallized on party lines; or whose minds <sup>are of the type of</sup> ~~correspond~~ to those of the independent voters among men. ~~Gratitude will be a strong attractive power.~~ We believe the time is not far off when our people will desire to express themselves on this question, and ~~tax have their legislatures~~ the submission of such an amendment to the National Constitution. <sup>For</sup> we petition for will give their legislatures an opportunity to do so in the manner in accordance with the National precedents.

[Clay Report on Oregon  
Campaign]  
[1906]

Friends,

I have been asked to tell something of the campaign in Oregon for a constitutional amendment to grant suffrage to women. where I spent a year in the work of the campaign.

The political situation in Oregon is very interesting ~~ixxxxxxxx~~. In the first place it is the first state which has adopted the Initiative and Referendum law, to which political reformers are now turning their eyes as the most hopeful means to restore to the people the political power which the political machines have by little and little robbed them of. This law was adopted by constitutional vote in 1902, the statutory laws to make it effective were amended in 1904, and immediately the woman suffragists looked to this law to bring their question before the people. For they have learned that one of the most powerful obstacles to the success of their cause is the insuperable opposition of political machines in every state to the introduction into the body politic of a mass of voters whom they do not know how to control.

The law as it is in Oregon requires the petition of eight percent of the legal voters to any proposed constitutional amendment. When the ~~xxxxxxx~~ specified number is obtained and the secretary of state certifies that the legal ~~xxxxxx~~ requirements ~~xxxxxxx~~ have been fulfilled, the governor, without further delay must proclaim that at the next general election the votes of the legal electors will be taken upon the proposed measure, and a majority of the votes cast upon the amendment will decide whether it becomes law or not.

It happened that the Lewis and Clark Exposition, to celebrate the cen-

ennial of the expedition which resulted in the addition to the United States of a vast Northwestern territory, occurred in 1905, <sup>just before</sup> the year of the general election, which comes every second year.; and the Oregon suffragists

thought it would be an effective ~~step~~ to invite the National Suffrage Asso.

in 1905. The Board of Directors of the Fair were eager to induce as many National bodies as possible to hold the same view of it; and decided to hold the convention in Portland in June their conventions in Portland; and they extended a cordial invitation to the of 1905, considering it as the first move in the campaign. ~~Accordingly the~~

Suffragists to come. The very favorable railroad rates and the wonderful scenic attractions of

the great far west made it easy to induce about the usual number of dele-

gates to go to the convention, and A very successful one was held. The fair

made it possible for the visitors to come in contact with a vast number of

the people; and all were impressed with the strong sentiment favorable to our

cause. There are many elements combining to produce this undoubtedly strong

sentiment. Oregon is a new state. Many of its oldest and most respected

citizens came in ox-trains across the immeasurable and ~~barren~~ <sup>desolate</sup> plains and the

terrible mountains which divide that now beautiful state from the far east.

There was not one danger or privation endured by men whether from inhospitable nature, or from wild beasts or from the still more cruel red man, that

was not shared by the faithful and devoted women who braved all these terrors that they might stand side by side with the husbands and the sons they

loved. The recollection of the dangers which drew the first settlers so close together is still a living force in the minds of the people; and the Pioneers

are honored everywhere. There is a Pioneer Association; and it was solid for

the amendment. For the Pioneers cannot believe, what some further east think,

that the women who could endure all the hardships of helping to make a howl-

ing wilderness a land of fruitful fields and sweet homes, and that without losing one charm of true womanhood, are ~~so~~ fragile mentally, morally or physically <sup>that they are liable to be</sup> injured by having a voice in the government which would <sup>it</sup> not have been possible to establish without their aid. The Pioneers were strong in their advocacy of equal suffrage.

Then there were the Labor Unions. Perhaps the greatest factor in the movement for woman suffrage is the vast change in the industrial conditions of women, which has forced them out of their old sheltered positions under the protection and care of their homes and their families into the labor markets of the world; where they must compete with every other laborer for the daily wage that buys their daily bread. Only they must compete under all the legal disadvantages of disfranchised citizens. The exclusion of Chinese cheap labor is a burning question with the Pacific Coast states; yet after all, the most formidable competition the American laborer has <sup>cheap</sup> to fear is not the Chinese, nor the imported foreign cheap laborer, but the six millions of American women, the women of their own land, the women of their own homes, who under the industrial system of machinery, which has taken away their old home employments, must now work side by side with men, with no sort of privilege to their sex, but, on the contrary, because they have not the equal protection of the laws, which only a share in the law making power can give them, are too often forced into unwilling competition with the men who should be their best allies in all movements for improvements in their condition and wages. I wish my time allowed me to dwell upon this phase of the Equal suffrage argument, so that I might bring

before your minds the connection there is between the comparatively low wages of working women and their status as disfranchised citizens. But it must suffice to point out that ~~socialist~~ those who <sup>make a study</sup> study most carefully the

causes of rise or depression of wages do not fail to recognize the importance of a ballot ~~in the hands~~ in protecting industrial interests, as well

as every other interest of free citizens. I will only quote the conclusions familiar with it, I cannot do better than read the conclusions of the

of the National Federation of Labor Unions, who have now for a number of years put into their national platform a declaration in favor of Industrial Advisory Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs on his point. This report, signed by such names as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley,

and others with national fame as keen students of social questions, says,

The labor Unions of Oregon endorsed the Suffrage amendment. And the State Federation of Women's clubs did so, too. The State Grange was in favor of it, as

the Grangers there as, well as in Kentucky and throughout the nation, stand

loyally for the equality of the sexes in every right and privilege. The Prohibition and Socialist parties endorsed the Amendment, and of course, our firm

allies, the W.C.T.U. besides various other smaller organizations of benevolent

or professional character. There are two other great influences which back the

people of Oregon to favor the amendment. As I have said before, the state has

been recently settled; so that many still have a vivid recollection when

women formed a comparatively small proportion of the population; and the social

and moral conditions of a society composed principally of men and then one when

there are enough women for them to perform their normal part in moulding the

civilization has come under their observation. As a consequence, the men are

ready to accept the claim of the suffragists that the help of women in gov-

ernment would be as salutary as they have already observed it to be in social

conditions outside of the government. Then the neighborhood of the four

enfranchise states had an observable influence on public opinion. Every where one met men and women who had lived in an enfranchised state; and almost without exception these gave warm testimony in favor of its working. I spoke in about fifty towns and villages; and I was usually entertained in the homes of the citizens. Frequently one of the incidents of a meeting would be the testimony of a former citizen of an enfranchised state who would tell what he knew of the workings of equal suffrage. As they would say, when I hear that suffrage would make women coarse and quarrelsome around the polls ~~orxxxxxxx~~ would do them or society some harm, I know it is not so; for I seen it tried, and it does not work that way.

All these influences had the effect of making a large number of the leading politicians advocate the amendment. We found Mayot Lane of Portland, the Governor, George Chamberlain, and others, all pronounced suffragists. Indeed, it was observed that there were but one or two names of candidates who were successful in the primaries who had not publicly committed himself to the amendment. And yet it was lost! I have mentioned the various associations whose principles sustained the amendment. In opposition there was an association of women called the Association opposed to the extension of suffrage to Women, which consistee of about eighteen or twenty women in Portland and a few scattered elsewhere over the state. I doubt if they had any appreciable effect on the campaign. Then the corporations, as represented by some of the firms in Portland got out an open letter/, claiming that suffrage would injute the business interestsof the state. This was confuted by a statistical comparison of business in the neighboring suffrage states and Oregon, which showed Oregon



to be not nearly so prosperous as they. Undoubtedly, though, the instincts of those whose grasp of the political situation enables them to pass legislation for favored interests must be against any extension of the suffrage. All their interests are in favor of limiting suffrage, and controlling it when it is limited. These no doubt, injured the suffrage amendment, though they began what work they did very late in the campaign. But there was one enemy which began its campaign against us quite as soon as we began it; and which took the first steps; an enemy strongly entrenched in law, with vast sums of money at its command, and more than all, with votes to fight us. You will readily surmise that I mean the Liquor Trusts. While the National Suffrage Convention was still in Portland, in 1905, there appeared an article in the Newspapers, which our officers at once declared was the first gun of the enemy. It was a statement that the liquor interests were going to side with the suffragists in working for the amendment, on the score that they would gain by it, because there were more bad women who would vote for saloons and its associated evils, than there were good women who would go out to the polls and come in contact with this class of women, for the defence of their homes and children. Is it not a travesty on the idea of what some people call a good woman/ that any woman ~~exists~~ is held up to public praise who would be so incapable of thinking of anything else but her own comfort that she would not vote for fear she would meet ~~XXXXXXXX~~ unpleasant persons at the polls? This was the first shot of the enemy, but it fell harmless, as testimony from the suffrage states is abundant that the good women do go to the polls, and make their ~~power~~ <sup>duty</sup> felt for good and wholesome laws. The liquor men never, I believe, renewed this

form of attack; for as the campaign advanced, and organized societies of good one after another, women endorsed the amendment, they saw the uselessness of it, and turned their efforts in other directions. I consider that one of the valuable results of the campaign in Oregon is the fact that ~~the liquor interests are~~ that it is revealed so indisputably that the liquor interests are immovably antagonistic to woman suffrage. It has been well known to the Suffrage associations that a number of defeats to our cause have been the direct work of the liquor interests. To them we owe the defeat in California; to them the veto of the suffrage bill in Arizona, in Oklahoma, and other places. But while we knew this, they were cautious enough not to work so it could be proved upon them. But in Oregon the campaign was so vigorous that they were forced from under cover, and there is abundant documentary proof that they combined against us. Quite recently the temperance forces had succeeded in passing a stringent local option law, which of course aroused the antagonism of the liquor interests. The Initiative and Referendum law offered them an opportunity to try so to amend the law as to make it ineffective. Accordingly, next to the suffrage amendment, which got its quota of signatures in first, the liquor trusts had their amendment, so called, though it was virtually a repeal of the local option law. This gave them a plausible reason for a campaign; which they used skillfully to fight the suffragists at the same time; though, as I say, not so skillfully but that the world may know exactly where to look for them. The suffragists were careful to take no steps to antagonize the liquor interests, for we desired to hold up the principles of political rights which have a wider scope than merely putting down one traffic, however harmful. But

But our forbearance had no effect on our enemy. We got in the signatures for Equal Suffrage in December. A few weeks after the So. called Local option amendment was filed; and the campaigns of both ~~were~~ were on in full force. I could take up more time than is at my disposal if I enumerated the means, often unfair and corrupt, which were employed; but I wish only to mention ~~two~~ which we have documentary evidence. One ~~of~~ was a letter dated May 21, from ~~read~~ letter). About this time the association which claimed to represent the business men of Portland, was formed, but in the names which appeared those of liquor firms were cautiously omitted. When the election day came, the suffragists tried to have women at every polling place with tickets, asking the voters to vote for our Amendment, which was no. 3020. I was one of among others who stayed at one of the polling places in Salem. The liquor men were there also in force; and as I did not know them I handed one of them my cards several times. Occasionally one of them would say courteously enough, Will you take one of my cards?: so I and other women made quite a collection of the cards, which I wish you all to look at, so you may never again doubt that the Liquor interest hates woman suffrage with a double distolled hatred. Does not some cynical say that there are people who love to be humbugged? I think he might have made the remark when ~~he~~, when excellent women and men tell that they are opposed to woman suffrage in the interests of home and true womanhood. ~~They~~ think of keepers of saloons, gambling dens and dance halls, all arraying themselves in defence of home and womanhood; and spending money in their defence, for it was currently said that the anti-suffrage campaign cost the enemies of the amendment between two and three hun-

dred thousand dollars. The campaign did not cost the suffragists a tenth part of that sum; and already they are preparing to renew the fight in 1908. For a most fortunate part of the Initiative and Referendum law is that it allows a constitutional amendment to be submitted every two years as often as the supporters can secure the requisite percentage of signers to the petition. The suffrage victory is, we hope, only postponed, and not lost.

Written Febr., 1911.

We have all been more or less interested in the series of Jubilee Mission meetings which in this good year of our Lord 1911 have stretched across the continent. They mark fifty years of loving labor for the heathen, especially for the women, by the Christian women of America, who have not looked for any earthly reward. Yet in knowledge, knowledge of deep laid principles of universal human nature, an abundant reward may be reaped, if we lay to heart the lessons learned from the heathen world. These social conditions differing from ours have been brought into sharp review. Nothing more significant, or more surprising to many people, has been demonstrated than that the heathen women acquiesce in their low social condition assigned to them, and are the first to resist any effort to lift them out of it. Does their social sentiment hold the feminine intellect as unworthy of education? The women accept the verdict and will not allow their daughters to learn to read. Does their religious system pronounce that women have no souls? No protest comes from the women and none laughs with more glee when the missionary tells them they have souls equal to men's.

There are two great truths underlying the Christian system of ethics of which the heathen knew nothing; - one is, that each human soul is made in the image of God, and the other, that the Son of God was manifested in the flesh to show us how to develop the soul. Out of these two truths there grows a self-respect which is of a different quality from self-seeking; and which we see is glaringly deficient in heathen women. Every dominant class is pleased with subserviency from the less favored whether the dominance comes from sex or some other class circumstance. And there is always some apparent gain of ease or present privilege which tempts to subserviency those whose self-respect is not grounded on a sure and enduring foundation. So women in heathen lands have become depressed by short-sighted ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ acceptance of such petty gains ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and just. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

And how about the men? The heathen

c Feb 1911

man far more than the Christian imagines that Nature has endowed him with an elevation in the scale of being over the woman. He has entrenched himself for ages in laws and customs which pre-suppose such superiority. And now the missionary's labor reveals to us another truth; when the heathen man sees our civilization which he acknowledges is higher than his own, i.e. he finds that he cannot approach it until he undoes all that work of ages and raises the woman to his own level. Perhaps to his astonishment he finds that what he has considered a slight and feeble creature is yet able to hold down his own civilization to the low level which is suited to her narrow view. If we in our more advanced civilization have not awakened to this truth among ourselves it is because we have not the heathen's advantage of observing a civilization superior to our own. Our philosophers, it is true, have adopted as the measure of the civilization of a nation its treatment of its women. It would be ample reward for all women's labors for the heathen if the masses of our own people should become thoroughly imbued with this truth through the lessons learned in the Mission field.

In these Jubilee meetings the Christians at home have been exhorted to do missionary service; and it has been wisely pointed out that they can do so by helping at home to make our civilization such as it would be worth while for the heathen to accept. For they do not readily admit that the ethics of Christianity are superior to that of their own religions; but Christian civilization is an argument they cannot rebut.

In Political Economy there is a phrase, "the Standard of Living" used to describe a varying and somewhat intangible social requirement, but nevertheless one which is a fair measure of industrial enterprise. There is an analogous requirement for social development which may be described as "a Standard of Self-respect". Just what the heathen women need to raise them up is what we need for missionary work in ~~raising~~ <sup>maintaining</sup> a civilization at home worth the acceptance of the heathen, and that is a higher stan-

[Feb 1911]

dard of self-respect. I do not wish to press the analogy between Standard of Living and Standard of Self-respect too far; but it think it is worth while to observe that where the standard of living is low industrial enterprise is hampered because the people will not put forth more exertion than what is necessary to support life according to their low standard. A process of education must be accomplished to raise the standard of living before such a population can be induced even for commensurate earnings to put forth more prolonged and more intelligent labor. The standard of self-respect of heathen women is on a level with such a standard of living. They need to learn to value education, personal rights, the dignity of their human soul. On the other hand, where the standard of living is high, such a class finds it possible, even under adverse circumstances, to enforce a scale of earnings commensurate with the standard of living. Without arrogance American women may claim to occupy that position in their standard of self-respect. Yet though they have attained much, yet if they would rise yet higher and lift our civilization higher, American women must do exactly what the heathen women need to do,- and that is to raise still higher their standard of self-respect.