

TITLE

[Rights of Suffrage (Permitting Women to Vote).]

Prop. No. 4

1911 General Election

Summary

[Rights of Suffrage (Permitting Women to Vote).]

4. SENATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 8.

CHAPTER 16. - *Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 8, a resolution to propose to the people of the State of California an amendment to section one of article two of the constitution relation to the rights of suffrage.*

NOTICE TO VOTERS.

In the matter following, the provisions of the constitution as they now exist are printed in the ordinary faced type; the proposed changes in the constitution and new provisions thereof are shown in **black-faced type**. The reasons given by the legislature for the adoption or rejection of such proposed constitutional amendments are shown enclosed in border.

FRANK C. JORDAN, Secretary of State.

Proposition type: Senate Constitutional Amendment

Text of Prop.:

The legislature of the State of California, at its regular session commencing on the second day of January, nineteen hundred and eleven, two thirds of the members elected each of the two houses of the said legislature voting in favor thereof, hereby proposes the section one of article two of the constitution of the State of California be amended so as to read as follows:

**Section 1.** Every native citizen of the United States, every person who shall have acquired the rights of citizenship under or by virtue of the treaty of Queretaro, and ever, naturalized citizen thereof, who shall have become such ninety days prior to any election, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been resident, of the state one year next preceding the election, and of the county in which he or she claims his or her vote ninety days, and in the election precinct thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or may hereafter be, authorized by law; provided, no native of China, no idiot, no insane person, no person convicted of any infamous crime, no person hereafter convicted of the embezzlement or misappropriation of public money, and no person who shall not be able to read the

constitution in the English language and write his or her name, shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this state; provided, that the provisions of this amendment relative to an educational qualification shall not apply to any person prevented by a physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to vote, nor to any person who shall be sixty years of age and upwards at the time this amendment shall take effect.

Section one of article H, proposed to be amended as above, now reads as follows:

SECTION 1. Every native male citizen of the United States every male person who shall have acquired the rights of citizenship under or by virtue of the treaty of Queretaro, and every male naturalized citizen thereof, who shall have become such ninety days prior to any election, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been resident of the state one year next preceding the election, and of the county in which he claims his vote ninety days, and in the election precinct, thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or may hereafter be authorized by law; *provided* no native of China, no idiot, no insane person, no person convicted of any infamous crime, no person hereafter convicted of the embezzlement or misappropriation of, public money, and no person who shall not be able to read the constitution in the English language and write his name, shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector in this state; *provided*, that the provisions of this amendment relative to an educational qualification shall not apply to any person prevented by physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to vote, nor to any person [...] sixty years of age and upwards at the time this amendment shall take effect.

#### REASONS WHY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO.8 SHOULD BE ADOPTED.

Women have the intelligence, the perseverance, and the honesty of purpose to assist in the uplifting of the state. They have a strength which should not be cast aside the struggle for better things. They are the complement of men and in the purest sense their co-workers. In this belief I earnestly ask the consideration of the following reasons why the proposed amendment granting, equal suffrage to women should be adopted.

The reasons why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote, the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. To vote is simply to express one's opinion. A ballot is the instrument used. Speaking generally, the only real qualification governing its usage is intelligence, for without intelligence one's opinion on any subject is worthless. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of educated voters. The high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys--often twice or three times as many.

There are, in the schools of California, over ten thousand teachers, of whom 85 per cent are women. The teaching of civics is obligatory. Is it fair to expect a woman, without that last sign of civic responsibility, the ballot, to possess such comprehending and practical knowledge of public affairs and machinery as would make her an inspiring teacher of civics for boys who already feel their

importance as future voter's and officeholders? Is she in a dignified position to do so? How can she teach the great truths of democracy-that it derives its authority from the eternal rights of nature; that a nation includes all its social elements and forces; that a true national representation, therefore, must include all these ; that if one of these forces is neglected, the desire of this neglected force to be represented will inevitably lead to the necessity for a radical change that the very purpose of the existence of the nation is the progressive development, happiness, and activity of all its social elements and forces- -how can she teach these truths and explain the non-representation of women to clear-sighted boys and girls?

Women are conscientious, and it would create a large reserve vote for civic righteousness. Those elements of the community who are least controlled by the dictates of conscience are always found among the opponents of equal suffrage. She is interested directly in good government; bad laws, and the non-enforcement of good laws, directly affect her in all of her relations, as home-keeper, wage-earner, and man's co-worker. Property rights should be represented on the same basis for men and women. It is fair and right that those who must pay taxes should have a voice as to the size of the tax and the way it shall be spent.

The inalienable rights of person as they are affected by legislation must be preserved to women, and no one can fully represent her in framing laws, which deal with them. Representative democracy without equal suffrage is impossible, because it is only through this form of government that people who are subject to laws may have a voice in making them. Restriction of the franchise tends to encourage aristocracy, while: equal suffrage will encourage democracy.

*Indirect influence.* Women all over the United States have accomplished much civic work without the ballot. Many of the laws and reforms of the present day relative to the welfare of the child, the protection of women, and of public health and morals have been inspired and secured by women, but they have had to arrive at this result by getting some one else to do the work for them. That is what an appeal to a city council or a state legislature means to a woman without a vote. She must get some one to adopt her views and do the work for her. Women should have the right to express their opinions on public matters in a straightforward, simple, direct manner, and they should receive such consideration as every citizen desires. Woman can take part in public affairs in a womanly way, and it is because she is a woman that her counsel and opinions are valuable.

*Woman's place is the home.* She is the happiest among women who is blessed with a home and a family. If women vote it will not destroy the home. It only means a short time once or twice a year to go to the polls and deposit a marked piece of paper, and during these few minutes she wields a power that is doing more to protect her home and all other homes than any other possible influence, and she need not neglect her household nor her children in order to do it. Almost any woman has enough time to go to the polls, and enough time to inform herself so she can vote intelligently. It has been said that to enter the political arena woman must give up her home interests. This fear is only imaginary. On the contrary, she will stick closer to her home after having reached the goal of her ambition. Her personality, enlarged by the proofs of her extended activity, will raise the standard, of home higher than ever. Having become an individuality herself, she will respect the individuality of her husband and children. There will be fewer misunderstood husbands and more understanding wives.. The home, far from suffering, will gain by woman's extended sphere of activity.

Governor Bryant B. Brooks of Wyoming said: "In the first place, let me say that nothing can be so far from the truth as the idea that woman suffrage has the slightest tendency to disrupt the home. Indeed, it has the very opposite effect.!" Governor Francis E. Warren of Wyoming testified: "I have seen much of the working of woman suffrage. I have yet to hear of the first case of domestic discord therefrom." Chief Justice Joseph W. Fisher testified: "I have seen the effect of woman suffrage. Instead of encouraging fraud and corruption it tends greatly to purify elections." Theodore Roosevelt says: "I believe in the rights of woman just as much as I do in those of man, and indeed a little more. She can do the best work in her home, if she has healthy outside interests and occupations in addition."

Women in their homes are responsible for the health, cleanliness, and the comfort of their families. Many of the industries which women formerly controlled in their own homes have become matters of city and state administration, so it is not fair to hold woman responsible for the cleanliness and healthfulness of food, and the prevention of disease, unless she has a right to an opinion about these matters, now that they are public questions. The solution of the problem of cities, which involve unsanitary housing, poisonous sewage, infant mortality, impure milk, juvenile crime, prostitution and drunkenness, should have the help of minds which have in the past attempted to care for children, clean homes, to prepare foods, and isolate the family from moral dangers. However much all California women would like to stay in their homes, they can not do so. Economic conditions have forced women to support themselves and others. They have been carried by necessity into all the professions and industries. These relations are constantly affected by restraining or remedial legislation which women have a right to be heard.

*Woman suffrage a success.* Woman suffrage never has failed where it has been granted. No state or nation has ever repealed it when once conferred. Brazen

*Woman suffrage not an innovation.* Suffrage can not now, when considered in its broad aspect, be called an innovation. In more than half the states in the Union women have the school ballot, and their votes occasionally turn the scales in a school election in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Kansas, Sweden, and elsewhere, women have the municipal ballot, and their votes have effectively influenced such elections. In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, Finland, Norway, Australia, and New Zealand thousands of women vote for all elective officers, including the highest. Statistics show that where women have equal suffrage with men as large a proportion of women vote as men, and a recent census in New Zealand showed that in the last general election trifle larger percentage of women voted than did the men. New Zealand gave women the ballot in 1893, and sociologists declare that all the magnificent reforms which have put New Zealand in the foremost rank of civilization have had the support of women often in opposition to the timid conservatism of men. The other, Australasian states have given suffrage to women, and recently the senate of Federated Australia adopted resolutions expressing satisfaction at the beneficial workings of woman suffrage, and urging that all nations enjoying a representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women.

*Julia Ward Howe's canvass.* All people ought to be willing to trust the fairness of Julia Ward Howe. Mrs. Howe wrote to the ministers and editors of the enfranchised states, asking them impartially

whether the results of equal suffrage had been good or bad. She received 624 answers, 62 opposed, 46 on the fence, and 516 in favor.

*Colorado.* Judge Lindsey writes in the February *Delineator*: "It, woman suffrage, has been one of the great bells that has aroused Colorado to the work of flushing filth from its politics, bettering economic conditions, mitigating the cruelties of industrialism, promoting equal and exact justice, and making a more wholesome and expansive environment. To these ends, in the short space of seventeen years, it has aided in placing score of needed laws on the statute books - it has raised new standards of public service, of political morality, and of official honesty."

*Reform workers favor suffrage.* It is highly significant that the women who are doing either volunteer or paid social work all over this country are almost unanimous in their belief that they could do their work better if they could vote. The women, who are doing valiant service on civic committees and playground commissions, those working for a proper milk supervision, the probation officers, those on the housing commissions, all the noble women who are giving time and consideration to philanthropic work, these women know actual conditions; they come in contact with realities. Jane Addams feels that she could do her work better with the ballot. So does Florence Kelley, Ella Flag Young, and the other hosts of women who are devoting their lives to the welfare of women and children and the uplift of the race.

All the arguments against woman suffrage have been answered by the operation, of equal suffrage in New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho and Utah. Hon. W. P. Reeves, agent general for New Zealand, after commending the good influence of women suffrage in that country said: "And this, widens women's lives, brightens their intellects, makes their lives fuller and more useful to the country and none the less charming in the domestic circle." Charles Edward Russel said, "I have seen a great many New Zealand households, and they seemed exactly as well ordered, as bright, cheerful and happy as any other households anywhere on this celestial globe." J. B. Connally, United States Consul at Auckland, New Zealand wrote: "The late election refutes the charges made by the opponents of female suffrage that women are incapable, owing to their inexperience in political affairs, to exercise the privilege intelligently; they have fully demonstrated their unmistakable capacity in this respect beyond the possibility of a doubt, by their keen appreciation of the issues involved and the sensible discrimination they have displayed in the selection of candidates. The Right Honorable Sir Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand, said: "In my opinion the results of enfranchising the women of New Zealand have been wholly beneficial. The statement that the power to vote renders a woman less attractive or less companionable is utter nonsense. \* \* \* It enlarges their mental horizon and inculcates tolerance \* \* \* A proposal to establish a sex line in politics would now be laughed at."

Mr. Louis Brandeis is an eminent publicist; whose devotion to the common welfare has brought him fame for many years past, he is also a keen lawyer and a practical man of affairs. 'That is proved by his brilliant handling of the Pinchot-Ballinger case and by his remarkably successful presentation of the claims of the eastern shippers in the recent much discussed investigation of railway rates before the Interstate Commerce Commission. When, therefore, Mr. Brandeis, after frankly admitting that he used to be opposed to equal suffrage, says: "My change of opinion has been the result of my own experience in various movements with which I have been connected, in endeavoring to solve the

social, economic and political problems which have presented themselves from time to time," his words ought, to carry conviction.

In courts of law expert evidence is regarded as strong proof. Hereafter, when "expediency" of woman suffrage is in question, the experience of these men and women whose public services have made them known all over the country can not be overlooked.

*California women want to vote.* That many thousands of women in this state do want the ballot, and want it very much, is shown by the activity of the suffrage organizations. There are fifty of them in this state working hard for this reform. Many other clubs and organizations of women in California have endorsed the suffrage movement, among them the State Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 30,000 women; the Women's Parliament, representing nearly 8,000 members; the Mothers' Congress, representing 7,500 women; the State Federation of Nurses, and the Federation of College Women Clubs. These are only a few of the organizations which have formally signified the desire for the ballot. There are many others, so that the statement that only a minority of women want to vote, is shown to be unsubstantiated. In fact, more women are asking for the ballot than have any disfranchised class of men in the history of the world. I have heard it contended that woman suffrage would bring to the polls a mass unreasoning voters who would become the prey of unscrupulous politicians. But unscrupulous politicians, however bad, are not fools. They have given a higher estimate of the ability and virtue of women voters than many good men and women. Almost to a man they do not want women to vote. And who ever heard unscrupulous politicians complaining that ignorant or vicious people are allowed to vote? Unscrupulous politicians are more concerned lest women will vote for morality and decency than they will vote at the bidding of bribers, tricksters, and grafters. Conceding, as we must do, that the ballot is a moral force - that morality has entered our politics - the moral force of women is crippled by the denial of the ballot, and hence that denial retards the advancement of truth and justice.

It is only after strenuous efforts that California bids fair to restore the government of this state to the people. But in these conditions I find a reply to many opponents woman suffrage who affect to distrust the ability and integrity of women in the exercise of the franchise, and assert that women are sufficiently represented by men and that women can rely upon men to right their wrongs! I think it is notorious that the most persistent objections to woman suffrage have come from that element which has given public utility corporations power over the people.

*Summary.* Summing up the matter if there were no question of manhood suffrage or womanhood suffrage, if all citizens of this republic were confronted with the task of government, and the suffrage had not as been conferred on any of them, would there be any hesitancy in awarding the privilege to men and women upon some basis of equal qualification?

The world needs women's influence in public affairs, and women need the influence of a larger world, a larger responsibility, than they have been allowed to feel. Only with men and women developing and progressing side by side can we expect an approximation of that splendid destiny which awaits the arousing of all citizens to the exercise of the privilege and responsibility of cooperation in a government for all the people by all the people.

For (au) CHAS. IV. BELL, Lt Senator, 36th Senatorial District.

Women should have equal political rights with men, as provided for in Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 8, because-

Women are equal to men intellectually. In fact, if we, take the number of graduates from our schools and colleges, we must admit that they are farther advanced mentally. Women should not be subject to taxation without representation any more than men. Consent of the government means woman as well as man; for they are subject to government as well as men. Women are recognized in the family as a large part of the governing force, the state is only a large family composed of both sexes. Why should she not be considered in the government of the larger family?

Women have been given suffrage in numerous countries and in several states in this Union, and partial suffrage in nearly all civilized countries. We have no knowledge of such action having proved to be a failure or of such laws being repealed, which, of course, would be done were the experiment not a success. Women are better morally, as is evidenced by the number of criminals in the penitentiaries. For example: In penitentiaries in California we have about three thousand men and about thirty women and the cases tried before the police courts probably average about the same. We must, therefore, admit that women would be a great factor in promoting honesty, equality and morality if given the ballot.

It is argued that all women do not wish to vote. The same argument applies to men for it has become a common practice on election days to send conveyances for a large per cent of the male voters, and many who go voluntarily do so from a sense of duty. Women being more faithful to duty, will exercise their right of franchise and do it cheerfully; besides, their presence on such occasions will make the whole occasion more enjoyable, as well as a guaranty that everything will be carried on respectably. Women who are in touch with public affairs are none the less womanly; but, on the contrary they are better and more companionable wives, more interesting mothers, because they have a common interest with their sons.

The time was when it was thought that to allow girl a high school education would ruin her morals, destroy her religion, impair her health, make her more masculine, a take away her desire to be a good wife and mother. Such theories are long since exploded, and, as we have progressed in these matters, let us progress in reference suffrage; let us show the saloon element, the gambling element, the selfish element (for these are the opponents of woman suffrage), that this great State of California is real a progressive state in every way.

For (au) H.G. CATTELL. Lt Assemblyman, 67th District.

**REASONS WHY SENATE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT NO. 8 SHOULD NOT BE ADOPTED.**

Suffrage is not a right. It is a privilege that may or may not be granted. Politics is no place for a woman, consequently the privilege should not be granted to her. The mother's influence is needed in the home. She can do little good by gadding the street and neglecting her children. Let her teach her daughters that modesty, patience and gentleness are the charms of woman. Let her teach her sons that an honest conscience is every man's first political law; that no splendor can rob him nor no force justify the surrender of the simplest right of a free and independent citizen. The mothers of this country can shape the destinies of the nation by keeping in their places and attending to those duties that God Almighty intended for them. The kindly gentle influence of the mother in the home and the dignified influence of the teacher in the school will far outweigh all the influence of all the mannish female politicians on earth.

The courageous, chivalrous, and manly men and the womanly women, the real mothers and home builders of the country, are opposed to this innovation in American political life. There was a bill (the Sanford bill) before the last legislature which proposed to leave the equal suffrage question to the women to decide first before the men should vote on it. This bill was defeated by the suffragettes because they knew that the women would vote down the amendment by a vote of ten to one. The men are able to run the government and take care of the women. Do women have to vote in order to receive the protection of men? Why, men have gone to war, endured every privation, and death itself in defense of woman. To man, woman is the dearest creature on earth, and there is no extreme to which he would not go for his mother or sister. By keeping woman in her exalted position man can be induced to do more for her than he could by having the mix up in affairs that will cause him to lose respect and regard. for her. Woman does not have to vote to secure her rights. Man will go to any extreme to protect and elevate her now. As long as woman is woman and keeps her place she will get more protection and more consideration than man gets. When she abdicates her throne she throws down the scepter of her power and loses her influence.

Woman suffrage has proven a failure in the states that have tried it. It is wrong. California should profit by the mistakes of other states. Not one reform has equal suffrage effected. On the contrary, statistics go to show that in most equal suffrage states, Colorado particularly, that divorces have greatly increased since the adoption of the equal suffrage amendment, showing that it has been a home destroyer. Crime has also increased among the children, and more young girls have gone wrong, all doubtless due to the lack of the mother's influence in the home.

Woman is woman. She can not unsex herself or change her sphere. Let her be content with her lot and perform those high duties intended for her by the Great Creator, and she will accomplish far more in governmental affairs than she can ever accomplish by mixing up in the dirty pool of politics. Keep the home pure and all will be well with the republic. Let not the sanctity of the home be invaded by every little politician that may be running up and down the highway for office. Let the manly men and womanly women defeat this amendment and keep woman where she belongs in order that she may retain the respect of all mankind.

Against(au) J. B. SANFORD, It Senator, 4th District.



