

It is a fitting and noteworthy coincidence that the officers and members of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association should assemble with so many of our living co-workers and friends under this spacious roof, to enjoy the hospitality of this historic home, erected and long occupied by our late lamented adviser and attorney, United States Senator Dolph, who, with the assistance of the late Honorable Solomon Hirsch (who at one time also resided within these capacious walls), championed my first humble efforts the State Legislature to secure the blessings of equal rights for the mothers of men, so long and so strongly denied us at the ballot box by the adverse votes of the sons of women.

It has been often said by such women as Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. Clarence Mackay and many others who have recently joined our ranks, bringing with them the accessories of great wealth and high social position, that the question of why women want the ballot no longer needs agitation or argument. With women everywhere being driven from their homes to secure the gainful occupations without which a rapidly increasing number could have no homes at all to keep, it is indeed encouraging to see women of great wealth coming to the front and declaring, in the interest of the women working without salaries and on the farms, wives and mothers of the children of the land, that "taxation without representation is tyranny" for women just as it was for men in Revolutionary times, before women were compelled to engage in gainful occupations outside of home. Although few women in this new Far Western part of this great and growing Union are as yet the possessors or custodians of great wealth, and are therefore not in a position to come forward with open assistance in forwarding our enfranchisement, and whose gifts to the cause are for that reason accepted in secrecy, there are hundreds and hundreds of business and wage-earning women, in the professions and trades, who realize to their cost when payday comes that their salaries are from 5 to 25 per cent lower every month than the salaries received by voters for the same service. It is the rank and file of salary-earning women, as suffragists, who are aiding us with contributions to carry on the work, without which no modern organization could survive a twelvemonth.

Nor is this assistance and co-operation confined to women. Enrolled among our allies are our United States Senators, Congressmen, state officers, many ministers, judges, lawyers, teachers, editors, merchants, physicians and a constantly increasing army of farmers, laborers, mechanics and philanthropic thinkers, who see not only the justice of our demand for "no taxation without representation" and "no government without consent," but the absolute necessity for our enfranchisement if we would conserve the perpetuity of the home and the government which rests upon it. The progress toward equality before the law, which women, by the aid of far-seeing and justice-loving men, have already achieved, except at general elections (where we are handicapped by many votes of timid or selfish men, and by the votes of the debased and criminal classes) is most significant.

When Dr. Woods Hutchinson was in Oregon he was a violent opponent of equal

rights for women, chiefly, as he is said to have stated, because, as he supposed, all women would vote for prohibition. If the learned doctor had been as well acquainted with the women suffragists as he ought to have been, he would have known that, while all good women are naturally in favor of sane and sober husbands and sons, we are quite as distinctly divided in our opinions as to the proper methods of dealing with the liquor traffic as men are. The prohibition propaganda rages more violently and with effects more significant in states where equal suffrage is prohibited than in the four states where it exists. It is a question wholly without the pale of the suffrage movement; yet such are the inconsistencies of human nature that men who ought to know better, and who differ radically as to the merits and demerits of the liquor traffic, unite as a practical unit to prohibit the enfranchisement of women, being inspired by a common desire to indulge in the prohibition of liberty and justice for all the people, which finds its root in barbarism. That Dr. Hutchinson's heart is all right toward women, and only needs touching in the proper place, is proven by his late utterances in prominent magazines, and favorably commented upon in leading newspapers, wherein, without seeming to realize the cause of women's uprising and discontent, he graphically portrays the hapless lot of the disfranchised sex, in hundreds of thousands of homes—a lot which, if men as a class could only comprehend it, would gradually adjust itself to improved conditions of homemaking. Then child-bearing would be looked upon as a remunerative occupation, quite as important and far more necessary than raising pigs or poultry, horses or cattle. So long as men are pensioned for having been enlisted in the Army, whether they have smelled gunpowder in battle or not, and women imperil their lives to give birth to soldiers, to be killed in battles against the mothers' protest, why wonder at women's constantly growing discontent with the unequal conditions that so vitally concern them, in which they are allowed no voice?

A significant factor in the growth of the equal-rights movement has come to the front in the leading newspapers and magazines, which, although paying far more homage than is due to the opposition of a few notoriety-seeking women, who, like the worm in the fable, are vainly hoping to "eat us after we're dead," they do, as a rule, wind up their articles with irrefutable arguments in favor of votes for women. Among the more notable of the many men who thus espouse our cause is Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, who, in a widely circulated article in a popular ladies' magazine, says: "Female suffrage will come. Not fully, at once, but by varying steps.

Women's education, her increasing familiarity with business and public affairs, will lead to it. And why not? The chief reply is the home. . . . In it woman must ever be the established queen. . . . But female suffrage (why doesn't he call it woman suffrage?) will not debase the home or lessen its influence. On the other hand, it will introduce a refining and uplifting power and influence in our political life. It will not stop marriage. . . . The great natural laws of our being will always assert themselves. But woman, conscious of her ability to support herself, will demand true manhood in her husband. Children will come, but the glory of the home will not be in the number, but the quality, of the offspring. . . . To load a home with so many children that the mother cannot give to each the full blessing of a mother's care is far worse than race suicide."

There exists no longer any doubt in the mind of any reflecting man that woman suffrage will come. That it will and ought to come by safe, conservative steps is self-evident.

Oregon women do not look with favor upon the militant or suffragette movement which originated in England under conditions not at all applicable here, at the present time. We have faith in the justice and patriotism of Oregon men. Although there was a largely increased vote against in 1908 over the vote of 1906, caused by an influx of immigration from older states, the affirmative vote for full suffrage more than held its own. And we believe the men of Oregon will prove themselves wise enough, at the next general election, to consider discretion the better part of valor. Then by a strong vote and a vote all together for liberty and righteousness, they can allay all acts of violence such as have arisen in England, and by so doing prove themselves worthy of the pioneer mothers of the land, who helped them to hew out this mighty state from the unbroken wilderness. By so voting they will place themselves in the lead in their departure from conditions that will no longer class men and women as one, and the men as that one.

Now for a concluding word to women, the unballoted and helpless watchers behind the ramparts of old conditions. You have an important, though inconspicuous, part to play in this great, bloodless drama. In the words of Carrie Chapman Catt, the gifted president of the Woman Suffragists of the World, "Don't antagonize men. Meet their hoary arguments against justice for their mothers with womanly sweetness and smile, smile, smile."

Don't imagine that you can ever make laws to govern men. All you can hope to do through the law of liberty, is to so elevate the standard of morality, through expanding opportunities for yourselves, that men will strive instinctively to meet, from within their own consciousness, the higher laws that are innate within even the lowliest and most depraved man or woman, and only await the soul of development under the laws of liberty and responsibility. Our platform is strictly nonpartisan and nonsectarian. It welcomes to its standard every Jew and Catholic, Protestant and Mormon, Christian Scientist, Spiritualist, Theosophist and Pagan who will support our plea against taxation without representation. It appeals for support at the polls to every Democrat, Republican, Prohibitionist, Socialist, Anti-Prohibitionist, Anarchist and Union Labor partisan. Every one of you has a right to express your own opinion at every convenient time and place. But not one of you has any right whatever to dictate mere and bounds, whether civil, religious or political, to the women who pay taxes to support the Government and are, equally with every man, amenable to its laws.

Men and women are the two natural halves of the great equation of humanity. To subjugate one half of humanity to the will of the other half, whether through bodily enslavement or the confiscation of the means of subsistence, is usurpation of individual rights for which men alone are responsible. The remedy lies in their ballots, and to them alone can we look for its application through votes for our enfranchisement.