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TRUE TEMPERANCE

BY

The Nestor of the Woman
Suffrage Movement

Mrs. ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY



A Real Temperance Alliance

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Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, of Portland, Oregon, the leading suffragist of the coast familiarly known as the "Susan B. Anthony of the West," was one of the speakers at the Progressive Luncheon, given at the Portland Hotel, Portland, Oregon, on February 25, 1914. Mrs. Duniway went into the history of the woman suffrage movement, recounted its struggles, and told how the churches, the Temperance Alliance and the Prohibitionists fought it at every step of the way, until finally, seeing in the movement, "a short cut to prohibition, these forces came out, 'half-heartedly,' for the cause."

"Going back through the years that are gone," said Mrs. Duniway, "I recall my early childhood and the time when

my father and my mother raised their family upon the strength of individual character. They said to us, and our children have echoed the sentiment all along the line, that the very strongest prohibition that could come to any one came from himself, from within, not from the outside. They taught us that the very first official act of which the Adamic period has any record, was that God placed temptation in the way of the people and commanded them to resist it. I have never yet been able to see any stronger or better argument in favor of the broadest liberty of all the people and of the individual himself, than in that wonderful rule laid down for humanity in the very beginning of its history.

"Finally, coming into this Equal Rights movement, I came into the first temperance work, being Secretary and Acting Chairman of a constitution gotten up by the State Temperance Alliance, sending a delegation from the Equal Suffrage Association to attend the Temperance Alliance. We were prohibited from entering the Alliance as delegates, and pandemonium broke loose for two successive years when the Alliance met.

"The enfranchisement of women had carried in the Territory of Washington in 1883. The prohibition movement came up immediately thereafter, to prohibit the liquor traffic.

"There sprang up by this time a band of agitators, men and women who undertook to make money by a new movement, some of them being honest, many of them demagogues.

"At last, after the troubled meetings in the Temperance Alliance to which I have only had time to allude, Judge B. F. Caples, whom many of you doubtless yet remember, made an arrangement with me, by which we organized what we called the Open Temperance Meeting, of which Judge Caples was chosen president, and I, vice-president. It was not a prohibition meeting. It was a temperance meeting. Finally, Judge Caples came to me one day, his face dark as a thunder cloud.

"'Mrs. Duniway,' he said, 'a new movement has arisen in this country; they call it prohibition. It is a fad; it is not going to hurt the liquor traffic; it is

not going to hurt anything but temperance, and I am in favor of quitting this open temperance movement while our credit is good, because fanaticism will not hesitate to lie, man may grow lachrymose over the bar of drunkenness, and it will all be like the mountain that was in labor to produce a mouse.' Finally we concluded to disband the open temperance meeting and follow the advice of the men who said: 'Let this prohibition movement run its course, like measles or any other contagious epidemic that the people want to shun and can't,'—and so our temperance campaign was sidetracked for the prohibition movement, and the reform of the drunkard was lost sight of, under the new dispensation. Men and women began to work from the wrong end of the reform. They tried to lay the blame of drunkenness, not upon the man, not upon the one who indulged in it, but upon the liquor.

"Here, as in Washington Territory after the enfranchisement of women, came this prohibition movement, centering itself upon Oregon as a storm center, and men who had discovered their

volubility to be equal to the Falls of Niagara, grew intoxicated with one idea.

"I am old and stricken in years; my next birthday will make me eighty years of age. I have raised a large family of sober sons, who have passed the drug store and the saloon every day of their lives on their way to school and to office and in the larger work of business men that has brought them out into the country, in educational institutions, in commercial activities, in legal action and in literature.

"Some people say: 'Doesn't God prohibit everything that is evil? Aren't the Ten Commandments full of prohibition?' Yes, the Ten Commandments say: 'Thou shalt not steal,' but the Ten Commandments do not hide away in the bowels of the earth everything that man can steal. On the contrary, the Ten Commandments place temptation in your way and in mine, and say to us: 'resist or take the consequences.' The Ten Commandments include, 'Thou Shalt not Kill,' but you shall not take everybody and shut them in the penitentiary to prevent it because now and then some person is killed. What you

want to do is to place all the safeguards of protection you can around every individual, however high or low, rich or poor, teaching him that he who conquereth himself, taketh a city. We can never have temperance in its truest sense until we have raised men and women who are willing to abide by the rule of self-protection. If we are to cure the evil of intemperance, let us be rational, let us be reasonable. When a man becomes afflicted with the small-pox, we send him to the pest-house and put him in quarantine; but we don't put all the rest of the population in quarantine with him. We stay on the outside and do all that we can to cure or to at least relieve the suffering of the man who is afflicted. Just so with the drunkard who hasn't stamina to control himself. Let us take charge of him, but let us not compel everybody else to go to the pest-house because he must. Let us not compel all the men in the land to carry crutches because now and then one walks lame. That is not philosophy, that is not common sense; and I speak the convictions that come to me through long experience.

"California will not destroy the grape industry by voting prohibition. Oregon's duty is to decide that it is not wise to destroy the hop industry, which enables thousands of women to get money to pay taxes and educate their children. Let us be sensible, let us be temperate, let us be logical, let us be free, and remember that our first duty is to see that everybody registers to be able to do their part in the great climax that is before us. Common sense will prevail. Education, opportunity, knowledge, liberty,—above all things liberty is what is to enable us to raise families of self-supporting, self-sustaining, self-protecting men and women."

(Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, in addressing the United States Senate on March 4, 1914, on the question of woman suffrage, paid a tribute to Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, of Portland, Oregon.

"As evidence of her splendid qualities," said Senator Chamberlain, "I call attention to the fact that one of her sons is president of one of our Western Universities, and is highly respected and honored wherever known. Another is a prominent lawyer in my own city, distinguished for his ability, refinement and training; another is a distinguished business man of the west; another was elected State Printer of Oregon on two separate occasions and discharged every duty that devolved upon him up to the time of his death, as the son of a splendid woman should discharge these duties. I feel honored in this opportunity to say this much of this distinguished woman who lives today, beyond the age of eighty, loved, respected and honored."

Terse Comments of a Noted Suffragist
on the Fallacy of Attempting to
Legislate Sobriety.

Mrs. Duniway Replies to Critics.

Portland, March 17.—To the Editor of the Journal.—I am pleased to see that my sisters, Mesdames Carter and Adams, exhibit a spirit of toleration toward my humble self, but for whose long years of effort to secure for them their right to vote they would now be trying to wage an unnatural warfare against the inalienable rights of men.

The present cry of "no quarter" against an evil which is inherent in human nature and can only be overcome by divine grace, is an evil within itself, inviting men to lawbreaking, infidelity and duplicity, to the end that the non-taxpaying agitator may fill his pocket and his appetite at the expense of the unthinking multitude, who fill themselves with a species of mental intoxication, as narrowing to the human soul as any other species of intoxication the liquor traffic can devise. It is not a pleasant thing for a life-long temperance woman

to be accused by women who ought to know better, of "defending the saloon." "It is by their fruits we shall know them," said the higher law, and my proof lies in a large family of sober sons. . . . The militancy of prohibition under its present form is like the militancy of Carrie Nation or Mrs. Pankhurst, an impossible means to create a desirable end. Meanwhile, let us follow the advice of the once famous Mrs. Partington to her son Ike: "the best anecdote for pizen was not to take the stuff." I sincerely hope Mrs. Carter's sons are being taught this salutary lesson by their devoted mother, who ought to be able to convince them that (to quote my late brother, H. W. Scott): "the fault is not in the whiskey, but in the man."

ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY.

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