

**HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON
RULES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS, SECOND
SESSION ON RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING
A COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.
DECEMBER 3, 4, AND 5, 1913**

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Hearing before the Committee on Rules, House of Representatives Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session on Resolution Establishing a Committee on Woman Suffrage. December 3, 4, and 5, 1913 by Committee on Woman Suffrage

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THE COMMITTEE ON RULES

H. S. G. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING A COMMITTEE
ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER 3, 4, AND 5, 1913



WASHINGTON
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COMMITTEE ON RULES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION.

ROBERT L. HENRY, Texas, *Chairman.*

EDWARD W. POU, North Carolina.
THOMAS W. HARDWICK, Georgia.
FINIS J. GARRETT, Tennessee.
MARTIN D. FOSTER, Illinois.
JAMES C. CANTRILL, Kentucky.

HENRY M. GOLDFOGLE, New York.
PHILIP P. CAMPBELL, Kansas.
IRVING L. LENROOT, Wisconsin.
EDWIN A. MERRITT, Jr., New York.
M. CLYDE KELLY, Pennsylvania.

W. E. CLARK, *Clerk.*

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COMMITTEE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON RULES,
Washington, December 3, 1913.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Robert L. Henry (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Campbell, Garrett, Lenroot, Hardwick, Kelly, and Pou.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. The Committee on Rules has assembled to-day for the purpose of having a hearing pertaining to a series of resolutions on the subject of woman's suffrage. Dr. Shaw will take charge of the proceedings on the part of the proponents of the resolutions.

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Chairman, before proceeding with the hearing I wish to introduce the following resolution, which I will ask the clerk to read:

The clerk (reading):

Whereas the question of equal suffrage is one of vital public interest and the people of the Nation have an inherent right to full knowledge of the action upon it by their representatives in Congress and the committees of Congress; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all hearings upon this subject before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives be open to the public and that all executive sessions of the committee be dispensed with in order that discussion in the committee and the final vote shall be a matter of public record.

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of the resolution is simply to give what seems to be an inherent right, and that is the right of the people to realize the attitude of their representatives. I introduced this resolution with the hope that the committee will pass it, so that all executive sessions will be dispensed with and the final vote will be a matter of public record. I ask for a vote on the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania, a member of the Committee on Rules, has offered a resolution and the chair will take the liberty of reading it again (reading):

Whereas the question of equal suffrage is one of vital public interest, and the people of the Nation have an inherent right to full knowledge of the action upon it by their representatives in Congress and the committees of Congress; therefore, be it

Resolved, That all hearings upon this subject before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives be open to the public, and that all executive sessions of the committee be dispensed with in order that the discussion in the committee and the final vote shall be a matter of public record.

To this resolution Mr. Lenroot of Wisconsin offers the amendment to strike out the words "and that the executive sessions of the com-

mittee be dispensed with in order that discussion in the committee," so that the resolution would then read—

Resolved, That all hearings on this subject before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives be open to the public, and the final vote shall be a matter of public record.

Mr. LENROOT. Now, Mr. Chairman, in support of the amendment—in this particular matter I have no objection whatever to all the executive sessions being held public, as well as the final vote, but I do not like to create a precedent that there shall be no executive sessions of this committee. I believe that every vote of this committee upon any matter should be a matter of public record and the public right is fully safeguarded if the final vote is made a matter of public record, as I believe it always ought to be.

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Chairman, the theory of this amending resolution is simply that a committee of Congress is a creature of Congress and its deliberations should be in public on all occasions. However, it only applies to this particular case, and I think that this resolution regarding woman's suffrage is a matter of such vital importance that it should be considered in open sessions of this committee. I feel that there can be no doubt but that Representatives in Congress, who are elected by the people—and the people are the sovereign power—I feel that there can be no doubt that the people have a right to have the attitude of their Representatives in committee known. I am perfectly willing to have a vote taken on this resolution, but I will certainly oppose any change in it permitting executive sessions on this proposition to be held behind closed doors, and I therefore hope that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin will fail.

The CHAIRMAN. Those who are in favor of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin will manifest it by saying "aye." (The members of the committee in favor of the amendment voted "aye.")

The CHAIRMAN. Those who are opposed will say "no."

(The members of the committee opposed to the amendment voted "no.")

The CHAIRMAN. If you prefer a roll call, Mr. Kelly, we will have it.

Mr. KELLY. I ask for a roll call.

The CHAIRMAN. The clerk will call the roll.

(Upon roll call the following members voted "aye": Lenroot, Garrett, Foster, and Campbell. The following voted "no": Kelly. Not voting: Hardwick, Conry, Merritt, Cantrill, and Pou.)

The CHAIRMAN. The "ayes" have it, and the amendment is agreed to. Those in favor of the resolution as amended will say "aye"; opposed, "no."

The "ayes" have it, and the resolution is adopted.

Dr. Shaw, we will hear you now.

STATEMENT OF DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

Dr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Rules Committee, before addressing you may I address a word to my constituents here? I am quite sure that the ladies who are members of our association will understand the rules which govern here, and that is that they are not to call "louder" the person speaking, because those persons

are not addressing the audience, but are addressing the committee, and if they can not be heard by the audience, the audience must be very quiet and not interrupt, and there must be no applause during the hearing. I am saying this for our own women, and I am sure the visitors will gladly comply with the rules of the committee.

Our purpose in coming before you this morning is to make no attempt whatever to convert the members of the Rules Committee, if they need converting, to the democratic principle of the right of the people to have a voice in their own government. Our real purpose is to ask your committee to appoint a committee in the House on woman's suffrage, a committee which corresponds with the like committee of the Senate, in order that we may have hearings and have these hearings discussed by a committee which is not so burdened with other business as is the Committee on the Judiciary, the committee before which we have appeared for many years, and which is so burdened with other business—and the business of Congress, like everything else, is growing all the time—that we feel that this committee has not the time to consider our measure in the way in which it ought to be considered, since it is a measure of so vast importance, and in order that it may have the consideration which it deserves, the consideration which should be given to a question when in 10 States of the Union the men have enfranchised their women and those women are voting for Members of Congress and for the President of the United States, when all over the world similar bills have been passed in other legislative bodies and in other parliaments, when this question has been brought before various legislative bodies of the great nations of the world which have considered and voted upon it. It seems to the women of these United States that a question of so much importance that the parliaments of Europe feel under obligations to discuss and act upon it is at least of sufficient importance in this great Republic of ours, so that the committee which has it under consideration shall be such a committee as shall be able to give time to its consideration and report it to the House.

Year after year we have come to Congress asking the Judiciary Committee for a report. We have not asked the Judiciary Committee that they should believe in woman's suffrage or that they should express any opinion upon the question whatever. We have only asked that they would report our measure either favorably or unfavorably. We were so eager to have it reported that we were even anxious that they should report either for or against, anything to bring it before the Congress of the United States, in order that the representatives of the men of this country might be able to discuss it. It has thus far been impossible to secure any sort of a report by the Judiciary Committee. Now, we are not here to blame the Judiciary Committee; we are not here to criticize it. We realize that this is a body of men who have a great many questions before them, and that their time is taken up with the discussion of those questions, some of which they consider of more importance than the freedom of one-half of the people of the United States, and therefore we can not expect them to do more than they can, but if a committee is appointed for this specific purpose, I am quite sure it will be able to give time to its consideration and at least make a favorable or an unfavorable report to the lower House

of Congress. It is for this purpose that we appear before your honorable body to-day, and, as the first speaker, I would like to introduce, Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Helen Gardner, of the District of Columbia.

STATEMENT OF MRS. HELEN GARDNER, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mrs. GARDNER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Rules Committee, as I understand it, this hearing is not to be a forum for the discussion of the general question of woman suffrage, but is to be confined to the one point for which this committee has appointed this time for discussion, namely, whether or not the Rules Committee shall recommend to Congress the appointment of a committee on woman suffrage for the House of Representatives, whose duty it shall be to give such of its time and attention to this question as it shall find desirable or necessary.

This is not much for the women of America to ask of you. You may think of the expense. That is a mere trifle as compared with the millions of dollars which women pay and have paid to sustain this and other governmental committees, departments, and institutions.

We are called upon to help pay for all of the others, why should we not have one of our own?

We do not hesitate to pay, or object to, the tax upon us for many and varied committees. Are men less generous and considerate of the needs and special interests of women?

You may remind me in this connection that for so many years—none of you gentlemen can recall when it was not so—we have been sent before the Judiciary Committee once a year for a constitutional amendment looking toward that end. You may say that the Judiciary Committee is a fine and able committee. In that, gentlemen, we agree with you and are not here to find fault with or to criticize the Judiciary Committee—a fine, able committee, of course. But our special needs and problems are not its object of existence. We are purely and solely a side issue to it. We appear before it, year after year, on one day for two hours, and that is the end of it. That committee is a very busy one. The President has notified it that it is to be still busier this session. He has even gone the length of giving its chairman notice that the heavy weight of this session is to fall upon the Judiciary Committee, even as the heavy weight of the special session just closed fell upon the Ways and Means Committee, and we all know that the work of that committee last session was entirely too heavy for it to have borne another straw. Those of us who live here and have known Congress from our childhood know that an outside issue would have less chance to get any real consideration by such a committee under such conditions than has the proverbial rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as never before, the Judiciary Committee is warned by the President that it is to be more heavily burdened during this Congress than is any other part of Congress. As never before, the question of woman suffrage, of the legal and political status of one-half of the population, is pressing for solution. There is and will be much beside and beyond the mere perfunctory yearly hearing henceforth until the end.

We need, as we never before needed, a special standing committee to look into many conditions, to familiarize itself with many points which the simple annual hearing does not involve.

Why, gentlemen, more than one-fifth of the Senate and more than one-seventh of the House to-day are elected by women's votes—yet we have not one little committee among the entire group of many.

More than one-sixth of the electoral vote comes from woman-suffrage States. At least one of the members of this Rules Committee was elected by the votes of women, and three other members come from States where campaigns are now on, and at least in one of these the chances are all on the side of our success.

Under these circumstances, and with the various questions involved, the rapidly developing and changing conditions, do you not realize that the committee for which we ask is overdue?

You will remember that there is a Committee on Indian Affairs. Now, why? Are the Indians so far more important than are all of the women of America? Are their affairs more vital?

They did not always have a special committee. They used to be a mere incident, as we now are. They used to be under the War Department, and so long as this was the case nobody ever doubted for an instant that the "only good Indian was a dead Indian"—just as under the incidental administration of the Judiciary Committee it is not doubted by some that the only good woman is a voteless woman. When the Indians got a committee of their own they began to get schools, lands in severalty, and the general status of human beings and not merely that of targets.

Now, I am not saying this in derogation of the War Department nor of the judiciary. It is a perfectly natural and a perfectly inevitable result of the situation.

It was the same general situation with labor before it achieved the dignity and status of having its own committee and now its department as well.

In the case of the Indians it was the business of the War Department to keep order. It was its business, when the Indians committed outrages or wandered from some special tract of land that had been designated by the Government or by the white settlers thereabouts as their "reservation," to chase them back, punish them for leaving it, and also for any depredations which they had committed. And, by the way, there is always an army of reactionaries to try to chase woman back to her "reservation" or "sphere" which somebody else has fixed for her in some passage and without her consent.

But when a special committee on Indian affairs was created it became the duty of that committee to begin back of the depredations and to inquire into what had caused the trouble, as well as the mere leaving of the reservation. In short, it became the duty of the committee to investigate the real condition, the needs, the grievances, and the best methods of promoting the interests of the Indians, as well as of keeping them in order from the side of mere force.

That was the beginning of the end of Indian wars. That was the first hope of a possibility—previously sneered at—of making real and useful citizens of this race of men and women from whom we now have Representatives in Congress side by side with you gentlemen.