

be conscious of much poorer showing than those who enter and bring small but definite results.



WOMAN SUFFRAGE

THIS month 200,000 Negro voters will be called upon to vote on the question of giving the right of suffrage to women. *THE CRISIS* sincerely trusts that everyone of them will vote *Yes*. But *THE CRISIS* would not have them go to the polls without having considered every side of the question. Intelligence in voting is the only real support of democracy. For this reason we publish with pleasure Dean Kelly Miller's article against woman suffrage. We trust that our readers will give it careful attention and that they will compare it with that marvelous symposium which we had the pleasure to publish in our August number. Meantime, Dean Miller will pardon us for a word in answer to his argument.

Briefly put, Mr. Miller believes that the bearing and rearing of the young is a function which makes it practically impossible for women to take any large part in general, industrial and public affairs; that women are weaker than men; that women are adequately protected under man's suffrage; that no adequate results have appeared from woman suffrage and that office-holding by women is "risky."

All these arguments sound today ancient. If we turn to easily available statistics we find that instead of the women of this country or of any other country being confined chiefly to child-bearing they are as a matter of fact engaged and engaged successfully in practically every pursuit in which men are engaged. The actual work of the world today depends more largely upon women

than upon men. Consequently this man-ruled world faces an astonishing dilemma: either Woman the Worker is doing the world's work successfully or not. If she is not doing it well why do we not take from her the necessity of working? If she is doing it well why not treat her as a worker with a voice in the direction of work?

The statement that woman is weaker than man is sheer rot: It is the same sort of thing that we hear about "darker races" and "lower classes." Difference, either physical or spiritual, does not argue weakness or inferiority. That the average woman is spiritually different from the average man is undoubtedly just as true as the fact that the average white man differs from the average Negro; but this is no reason for disfranchising the Negro or lynching him. It is inconceivable that any person looking upon the accomplishments of women today in every field of endeavor, realizing their humiliating handicap and the astonishing prejudices which they face and yet seeing despite this that in government, in the professions, in sciences, art and literature and the industries they are leading and dominating forces and growing in power as their emancipation grows,—it is inconceivable that any fair-minded person could for a moment talk about a "weaker" sex. The sex of Judith, Candace, Queen Elizabeth, Sojourner Truth and Jane Addams was the merest incident of human function and not a mark of weakness and inferiority.

To say that men protect women with their votes is to overlook the flat testimony of the facts. In the first place there are millions of women who have no natural men protectors: the unmarried, the widowed, the deserted and those who have married failures. To put this whole army incontinently out of court

and leave them unprotected and without voice in political life is more than unjust, it is a crime.

There was a day in the world when it was considered that by marriage a woman lost all her individuality as a human soul and simply became a machine for making men. We have outgrown that idea. A woman is just as much a thinking, feeling, acting person after marriage as before. She has opinions and she has a right to have them and she has a right to express them. It is conceivable, of course, for a country to decide that its unit of representation should be the family and that one person in that family should express its will. But by what possible process of rational thought can it be decided that the person to express that will should always be the male, whether he be genius or drunkard, imbecile or captain of industry? The meaning of the twentieth century is the freeing of the individual soul; the soul longest in slavery and still in the most disgusting and indefensible slavery is the soul of womanhood. God give her increased freedom this November!

Mr. Miller is right in saying that the results from woman suffrage have as yet been small but the answer is obvious: the experiment has been small. As for the risks of allowing women to hold office: Are they nearly as great as the risks of allowing working men to hold office loomed once in the eyes of the Intelligent Fearful?



HAITIAN AND OTHER SAVAGES



SHORTLY after the declaration of hostilities between Turkey and Great Britain the Turkish authorities forcibly entered the Italian consulate somewhere in Arabia and removed the

British consul, subjecting him to many indignities. Italy has entered into war against the Ally of Turkey but, although her own vital interests and the salvation of her Allies would seem to demand her participation in the attack upon the Dardanelles, Italy has not yet found sufficient cause to pick a quarrel with the Ottoman Empire.

Quite recently the governor of one of the most highly developed states of the United States was forced to resort to martial law to protect his own life and that of his family at the hands of citizens who opposed one of his public acts. Failing to lynch the governor of the chief of the lynching states, the habitual lynchers of Georgia burned him in effigy and, despite the efforts of a loyal and well organized military establishment, they continued to riot for several days, the governor meanwhile escaping into perhaps permanent exile.

Governor Slaton of Georgia was nearly killed because he had commuted to life imprisonment the death sentence of a man as to whose guilt of murder the governor claimed to have grave doubt, although this man had been convicted by the highest court in this great land. President Guillaume, of Haiti, was killed because he had ordered the execution without trial of more than one hundred men whose only crime was their alleged opposition to his governmental policies. Chief among the causes of opposition was President Guillaume's reputedly favorable attitude toward American administration of Haitian finances, and the people found little assurance of his sincerity or the success of his plans in face of the fact that, not many years before, citizen Vilbrun Guillaume had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to a term in prison for fraudulent transactions with foreign banking interests.

In view of the fact that a man who