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To be read at the INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN at Washington, United States, March 25th, 1888. To celebrate the Fortieth Anniversary of the Women's Suffrage Association.

NEWINGTON HOUSE, EDINBURGH,
March 8th, 1888.

My Dear and Honoured Friend,
SUSAN B. ANTHONY,

It would have been a great privilege to have been able to accept your gratifying invitation to be present at your Congress. My pen is too weak to express all I feel of sympathy with you, in the idea which stimulated you to inaugurate this grand expression of the progress which has been made towards the emancipation of women from the fetters which law and custom have woven round them—the world over.

It would have been a beautiful closing to a long life, fraught with much blessing, to have become personally acquainted with the large-hearted and gifted women, not only of your own country, but from other lands, who will gather round you on this great occasion. But it is no small pleasure to be one amongst the many thousands who will be represented there from our nation by the Deputation which has been appointed to go in their name. There are two noble women in Edinburgh whom we would have liked to have sent to your Council—Elizabeth Pease Nichol and Eliza Wigham. They both worked in the Anti-Slavery struggle at a time when even Wilberforce shrank from women taking an equal part with men in that holy work, lest it might lead them to seek for their own emancipation. I mention this to show what time and effort have accomplished for women—when the prophetic spirit of so good a man as Wilberforce dared hardly face such an unfolding of the principle of freedom, we can understand how it was that Christ, in a much darker day, said to His disciples, "I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now."

We send to your Congress, women, amongst the most eloquent and gifted of our workers. Mrs Alice Scatcherd and Mrs Ashton Dilke represent the latest and greatest of our political associations, the outcome of our Women's Suffrage Societies,—associations which possess the virtues and additional strength which youth and growing intelligence give to the offspring of an honoured parentage. Newcastle-upon-Tyne sends Mrs Ashton Dilke to represent their "Women's Liberal League." She has the double honour of accompanying your venerable and venerated President, Mrs Cady Stanton, in her voyage home from this country, who feels truly, as she crosses from us to you, to be a holy link joining the two nations together. Mrs Scatcherd's worth and ability are best attested by the many credentials she brings over as the representative of the Women's Liberal League, not only for her own great county of York, but for Darlington in the county of Durham, Southport in Lancashire, and Crewe in Cheshire; and she also represents the women in her native town of Leeds on the great and burning question of Social Purity. There is no question, from the lowest condition to which woman can fall, to the highest to which she can aspire educationally, which has not had the benefit of her earnest voice, and the assistance of her wonderful power for practical work.

Mrs Steward, full of years and noble work, in the great moral question of this age, of which Mrs Josephine Butler is the leading spirit, is sent by the Bristol Committee of the Ladies' National Society for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice; thus manifesting her earnestness in the cause to which she has devoted the best years of her life, Mrs Steward crosses the ocean when she might have claimed the rest which her years demand.

And now I come to Mrs Ormiston Chant. We in Scotland have not inaugurated "Women's Liberal Leagues" as they have done in England; one reason being that there is less need, as the Conservatives do not possess much political strength in Scotland. Mrs Chant, therefore, represents our Edinburgh and Glasgow National Women's Suffrage Society, pure and simple, which is a strong and united body. She is also sent as the representative of the Social Purity, Peace and Vigilance Associations here, and also of the British Women's Temperance Associations, both in Scotland and England.

I believe in *inspirations*. The other day I was led to look into a little volume of poetry, called "Verona, and other Poems," written by this gifted lady, to find four lines which had much impressed me a year ago when her book was first published. I had forgotten what the verse was, but knew I should recognise it when I came upon it—I was not a little struck to find it was part of a poem entitled "England to America." It seemed to me as though the lines had been almost prophetic when regarded in connection with our having appointed the Author as our delegate to your Congress. I got them printed in the form in which I send them to you, with the Dove bearing the Olive Branch, which comes as the emblem of our feeling towards you. I thought they might serve as a little souvenir of your great Congress, and Mrs Chant will be the bearer of her own beautiful message to you.

Before closing, let me tell you this little story of love and goodwill. Mrs Marie Müller, the mother of Henrietta Müller and of Eva M'Laren, and of two other daughters devoted to good work, in proof of her full appreciation of the far-reaching meaning of your Convention, sent me £30 in aid of it with these eloquent words—"For God and my Country." And it is in the full meaning of these words, and with this great sentiment in our hearts, that we send forth our representatives to your Congress. When I think of all the questions and all the hopes and aspirations which they go to represent, I feel that I may quote, with a slight alteration, the words of one of our poets, and say they bear—

"A freight
If prayerful thought and *mind* were weight
For Him who bore the world."

That they may contribute something of good from us to you, and bring back much from you to us, is the blessing which I hope an approving God will give to their mission.—I am, dear Miss ANTHONY, your loving friend,

PRISCILLA BRIGHT M'LAREN.

NOTE.—As the *Women's Suffrage Journal* has given its readers no information respecting this very important Congress, Mrs M'Laren sends this letter and enclosures to show the deep interest which it has excited both in Scotland and England.

WILLCOX 396. 11 (∞)

Freedom's Conquests;
THE GREAT SPREAD
— OF —
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
THROUGH THE WORLD,
WITH A
ROLL OF HONOR
SHOWING OVER
One Hundred Regions
WHERE IT NOW EXISTS,
IN AMERICA, AFRICA, EUROPE, ASIA AND OCEANICA.

By HAMILTON WILLCOX, M. S., L. L. B.,

*Chairman State Executive Committee of New York Woman Suffrage Party,
and Author of*

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| <p>"Suffrage a Right, Not a Privilege." (1867.)
"First Argument before House Committee of Congress Against Women's Disfranchisement in the District of Columbia." (1868.)
"Review of the Judiciary Committee's Report on Woman Suffrage New Jersey Assembly." (1868.)
"First and Subsequent Arguments Before Congressional Committee Against Disfranchisement of Women of the Territories." (1869, etc.)
"Woman's Sphere." (1870.)
"Fifty Reasons Against Woman's Disfranchisement." (1880.)
"A Law Repealing the Disfranchisement of Women at School Elections, Passed by the New York Legislature, 1880."
"Brief on the Legislature's Power to Extend the Suffrage, For the Assembly Judiciary Committee." (1880.)
"Reply to Attorney General's Opinion Against School Suffrage in Cities." (1880.)</p> | <p>"Reply to Superintendent of Public Instruction's Opinion Against Mothers' Right to School Suffrage." (1880.)
"Objections to Amending the Constitution." (1880.)
"Woman Suffrage Constitutional." (1881.)
"Reply to Attorney-General Russell." (1882.)
"Circular to School Commissioners Regarding Woman Suffrage at School Elections." (1883.)
"Why Attorney-General Russell Should Not be Re-elected." (1883.)
"Buffalo Platform of N. Y. Woman Suffrage Party." (1884.)
"Bills to Prohibit Disfranchisement, and Protect the Common Law Rights of Women, in the New York Legislature, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884 and 1885."
"Cases of the Legislature's Power Over Suffrage." (1885.)
"Text of New York Suffrage Law, with Notes." (1885.)
"Women's Common Law Right To Vote." (1887), etc.</p> |
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SEE POSTSCRIPT ON BACK.

FREEDOM'S CONQUESTS;
THE GREAT SPREAD
—OF—
WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By HAMILTON WILLCOX.

[The author desires to make his acknowledgments for much of the important information here condensed, to Lord Knutsford, of the British Colonial Office, Downing street, London, and his subordinates, Messrs. Edward Wingfield and R. H. Meade; to Viscount Cross, of the India Office, Whitechapel, London, and his subordinates, Secretary C. A. Bernard and Mr. J. A. Godley; to Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada; to Hon. John Robson, Premier of British Columbia; to Hon. Joseph A. Defoy, Assistant Attorney General of Quebec; to Miss Caroline Ashurst Biggs, editor of the *Englishwoman's Review*, London; to Miss Lydia E. Becker, Secretary National Society for Woman's Suffrage, Manchester, and editor of the London *Women's Suffrage Journal*; to Miss Helen Blackburn, Secretary West of England Woman Suffrage Association, Bristol, compiler of the "Women's Suffrage Calendar;" to Miss Isabella M. S. Tod, Secretary Woman Suffrage Society of Ireland, Belfast; to Mr. Henry B. Blackwell, Secretary American Woman Suffrage Association, Boston; to Mr. George Kennan, the distinguished explorer of Russia and Siberia; to Mr. Theodore Stanton's "Woman Question in Europe;" to Baroness Gripenborg, of the Board of Education, Helsingfors, Finland; to Mrs. Caroline Healy Dal's "Woman's Rights Under the Law;" to Sir Charles W. Dilke's "Greater Britain;" to Mrs. Lucy Stone's *Woman's Journal*, Boston; to Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby's *Woman's Tribune*, Beatrice, Neb.; to Mr. George W. Olney, compiler of the *World Almanac*; to Mrs. Mary McDonell, President District W. C. T. U., Toronto, Ont.; to Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage, Fayetteville, N. Y., and her "History of Woman Suffrage;" to Hon. James A. Bayard, Secretary of Arizona; to Mr. James L. Hughes, Inspector of Schools, Toronto, and others.

He will be very grateful to any one who will send him farther information on this subject.]

Both foes and friends of woman's freedom are unaware how far her suffrage has been gained. They never dream that her liberty covers an area greater than any of the famous empires of history, and than any of to-day. Both fancy that it exists mainly in one or two obscure nooks. To inform both, to abash foes and cheer the workers for the Right,—and to enlighten and rouse the indifferent—the following facts have been toilsomely gathered. What a labor it is, none know who have not tried.

Foes of woman's freedom hold that she is inherently and hopelessly unfit for any voice in government; that she has no right whatever to any share in the State which she lives under, and must obey and help support; that the principle of the Declaration of Independence, that all are entitled to a share of political power, does not apply to her. They hold that her endless disfranchisement is ordained of God; that any objection to it is impious, silly, and presumptuous, to a degree that justifies exclusion of the objectors from respectable society, warrants persecution of these objectors in business and the church, and entitles themselves to disregard the commonest rules of courtesy and truthfulness, and to heap on those who claim political liberty for women, every kind of insult and slander. Wherever these "chivalrous" men have power, this is the rule by which they act—that women never shall have the least degree of political suffrage.

This being the principle, the slightest concession of suffrage to any woman abandons the principle of sex disfranchisement. The matter then becomes merely a question how far such disfranchisement continues, and how long it will.

How far, then, has the disfranchisement of women been abandoned? Briefly survey the world.

NORTH AMERICA.

The large province of ONTARIO touches the whole northern bounds of New York and Michigan, and part of those of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and reaches to the shores of Hudson's Sea. This great region, throughout which women vote (unless married) on like terms with their brothers for all elected officers save two, has a *hundred and*

two thousand square miles. It is more than twice the size of New York, nearly equals New York and Michigan together; equal to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey and Maryland; much larger than Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island; greater than Pennsylvania and Ohio; than Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland; than South Carolina and Georgia; than Kentucky and Tennessee; than Illinois and Indiana; than Alabama and Mississippi; than Louisiana and Arkansas.

Crossing the ocean, ONTARIO is more than double the size of England; about equals England, Scotland, Wales, Belgium and Holland; larger than Ireland, Portugal, Denmark and Switzerland; than all the German Empire outside of Prussia; nearly equals Italy and Sicily; is about the area of Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia; greater than Turkey, Greece and Montenegro; much larger than Barca; almost as great as Tripoli; larger than Tunis, Nubia and Natal; than Liberia and Orange Free State; than Cuba and all the West Indies; than Uruguay or Paraguay; than British Guiana, and than French and Dutch Guiana together.

In the adjoining province of QUEBEC, which lies immediately north of New England and stretches to Hudson's Sea and Labrador, women are voters in the famous cities of Quebec and Montreal, and in various other cities, by provincial law.

Next, WYOMING, where women vote for every office for which their brothers do, and on the same terms. This great Territory has *ninety-eight thousand square miles*, so near the size of Ontario that most of the above comparisons apply to it. But some others will be interesting.

It is half as large again as all New England, and nearly as large as New England and New York. It is about as large as New York, New Jersey and Virginia; more than twice Pennsylvania and Delaware; larger than North and South Carolina; than South Carolina and Florida.

WYOMING is over three and a fourth times the size of Scotland; about an eighth larger than all England, Scotland and Wales; more than three times the size of Ireland; nearly half the area of France or Germany; over half that of Spain; above two and a half times that of Portugal; much larger than Italy or Hungary; four-fifths that of Norway; half as large again as Turkey; larger than Bulgaria, Montenegro, Rumania, and Servia together; five-twelfths the extent of the whole Austro-Hungarian empire; nearly nine times that of Belgium; seven and a half times that of Denmark; nearly four times that of Greece; eight times that of Holland; two-thirds that of Finland; above five times that of Servia; more than six times that of Switzerland; a fourth larger than Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Greece and Switzerland together; about nine-twentieths the mileage of Morocco; five-eighths that of Algeria; over double that of Tunis; a fourth that of Egypt; above a third that of Afghanistan; five-sevenths that of Beloochistan; a sixth

larger than Corea; two-thirds the area of Japan; half that of Anam; half that of Burma; a third that of Siam; five-sevenths that of Syria; in excess of that of Nepal and Ceylon combined; two-fifths greater than Malacca; about half that of Abyssinia; four-ninths that of Cape (of Good Hope) Colony; seven times that of Liberia; four-ninths that of Madagascar; more than double that of Mozambique; four and a half times that of Natal; nearly thrice that of Nubia; two-fifths more than Orange Free State; nearly ten-elevenths that of Transvaal; about five-ninths of Sumatra; a third greater than Celebes; nearly double the size of Java; almost equal to that of all New Zealand; nearly an eighth larger than Victoria (Australia); almost four times as big as Tasmania; two and a fourth times as much so as Cuba; larger than Chihuahua, Sonora, or any State of Mexico; double the size of Nicaragua, and larger than Guatemala, Honduras and San Salvador conjoined; two-fifths of Chili or Ecuador; greater than Uruguay, Paraguay or British Guiana; and than French and Dutch Guiana united; more than half as large as Quebec; five times as large as Nova Scotia; three and a half times as large as New Brunswick.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, where women likewise vote for all elective officers but member of Parliament, contains *three hundred and forty-one thousand square miles*. It is larger than eleven of the Atlantic States together; than Texas, Louisiana and Missouri united; than the combined extent of Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan; than the joint area of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nebraska; than the total mileage of Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona; than Texas and Indian Territory; than the whole of Utah, Idaho and Nevada; equal to California, Oregon and Washington. It exceeds the British Islands, France, and Switzerland; it surpasses the size of Germany, Italy and Holland; of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Greece and Montenegro; of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. It equals Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sicily and Sardinia combined; also Madagascar and Transvaal. It is greater than Siam; than Afghanistan and Nepal; than Syria and Beloochistan; double the Japanese Empire; larger than all Mongolia; than Nubia, Abyssinia, Mozambique and Zanzibar; than Cape Colony, Orange Free State and Natal; than New South Wales; than the vast island of Borneo; than Sumatra, Java, Celebes and Mindanao; than New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario; than Chili and Uruguay.

KANSAS, the State where municipal woman suffrage exists, contains *eighty-two thousand square miles*. It is thus greater than New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; than all New England, New Jersey and Delaware. It equals Pennsylvania, Maryland and West Virginia; is nearly double Virginia; equals both Carolinas; exceeds Ohio and Indiana; equals Kentucky and Tennessee; exceeds Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Belgium; also Turkey and Servia; also Greece, Belgium, Holland, Denmark,

Switzerland, and Montenegro; also Bulgaria and Rumania; also all Germany but Prussia; it equals Corea; exceeds Nepal; is more than treble Ceylon; larger than the whole Malay peninsula; than Tunis and Mozambique; nearly equal to Orange Free State with Liberia added; larger than the great island of Celebes; than the other great island, Java; than the three Central American States of Nicaragua, Costa Rica and San Salvador; than the other two, Guatemala and Honduras; than all the West Indies; than British Guiana or Uruguay. KANSAS is one-fourth greater than all New England; sixty-seven per cent. greater than New York; eighty-two per cent. greater than Pennsylvania; greater than the joint extent of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and Rhode Island—of nine States of the Union combined, and greater than either of the original thirteen; than a majority of the thirteen together, and than either of thirty-two of to-day's thirty-eight!

But there is a greater region in the United States where women exercise suffrage, though not at the polls. Many will be surprised to learn that this is—TEXAS! In that State the school officers are chosen by petitions to the county judge for their appointment, and he of course appoints those whose petitions are most largely signed. These petitions women, on the same terms with their brothers, can sign, and thus practically vote without leaving home. TEXAS has *two hundred and sixty-five thousand square miles*, and is larger than California and Oregon; nearly equal to all the Atlantic States but three; to all the other States on the Gulf; larger than Ontario and Dakota; than Montana and Arizona; than the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire, with Switzerland added; than the whole German Empire, with Belgium, Holland and Denmark; much larger than France, and than all the British Islands added to Norway; nearly equal to Asia Minor, almost as large as the vast island of Papua, and well-nigh the size of all Poland; larger than Tunis, Barca and Fezzan; equal to Algeria and Tripoli; larger than the other great island, Madagascar; than Tunis and Morocco; than Ecuador, Chili, or all Guiana; than all the Eastern States north of the Carolinas.

But this is not all. For five thousand miles, from Atlantic to Pacific, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Puget Sound, without one gap, stretches a belt of thirty States, Territories and provinces where women have begun to exercise some degree of self-government. In every Territory but one (New Mexico) some law has been passed, more or less relieving women from disfranchisement! When the sun's rays at Cape Breton first touch the shore of civilized America, they fall on women whom Nova Scotia's laws make free; as those beams light up a long range of communities, they strike but one spot (Maine) where women are wholly enslaved; and when they fade from the beach of Queen Charlotte Islands, they bid farewell, in sunset's glowing hues, to thousands of women whom British

Columbia has enfranchised. This vast realm is wondrous too for breadth. From Cape May to Hudson's Sea; from the Tennessee border to the Saskatchewan river; from the Alaska boundary to the Mexican Gulf, reaches this mighty region where woman is in some measure free! and beside its splendid length of five thousand miles, its greatest breadth is two thousand! From the petition-vote for Texas school officers, the petition-vote of Arkansas and Mississippi for and against liquor license, the taxpayer's school vote of Vermont and the widow's school vote of Kentucky, to the full, free, equal suffrage of Wyoming, the degrees of woman's enfranchisement vary; but everywhere is the principle rejected, that never may women vote; the iron rule of relentless, endless disfranchisement is broken! Behold the figures; the facts exceed the power of words:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BELT.

Arizona,.....	113,000	square miles.
Arkansas,.....	54,000	“ “
British Columbia,..	341,000	“ “
Colorado,.....	104,000	“ “
Dakota,.....	149,000	“ “
Idaho,*.....	64,000	“ “
Indiana,.....	36,000	“ “
Kansas,....	82,000	“ “
Kentucky,	40,000	“ “
Manitoba,..	123,000	“ “
Massachusetts,....	8,000	“ “
Michigan,.....	59,000	“ “
Minnesota,.....	83,000	“ “
Mississippi,.....	49,000	“ “
Montana,.....	146,000	“ “
Nebraska,.....	77,000	“ “
New Brunswick,...	27,000	“ “
New Hampshire,...	9,000	“ “
New Jersey,.....	8,000	“ “
New York,	49,000	“ “
Nova Scotia,	21,000	“ “
Ontario,.....	102,000	“ “
Oregon,.....	96,000	“ “
Quebec	188,000	“ “
Texas,	265,000	“ “
Utah,*.....	85,000	“ “
Vermont,....	9,000	“ “
Washington,*.....	90,000	“ “
Wisconsin,.....	56,000	“ “
Wyoming,.....	98,000	“ “

2,630,000 square miles.

In round numbers TWO AND A HALF MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES! Equal to six-sevenths of this country without Alaska, and to five sevenths with it; nearly equal to the enormous Northwest (Hudson's Bay) Territories, nearly treble the organized Dominion of Canada, much larger than Russia, far larger than all the rest of Europe! larger than China, Mongolia, Mantch'ooria and Siam; larger than all Asiatic Turkey, Arabia and Persia; greater than all India, Thibet and Afghanistan; larger

*Idaho, Utah and Washington are included because, though their woman suffrage laws are temporarily inoperative, their Legislatures have not repealed them, public sentiment in those Territories favors them, and as soon as the wicked pressure from without ceases, those laws will again operate.

than the Great Sahara; than all the organized states of Africa; than Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia!

810,000 square miles of this are in the Dominion of Canada; all its organized provinces but one (Prince Edward's Island).

1,820,000 are in the United States, and, even counting Alaska, are more than half our area, and larger than the whole of thirty-six of our thirty-eight States!

EUROPE.

In ENGLAND, SCOTLAND and WALES, women (unless married) vote for all elective officers but one (member of Parliament), on like terms with their brothers. They will soon vote for Parliament too.

In IRELAND women vote everywhere for poor-law guardians; in Dundalk and other sea-ports, for harbor boards; and in Belfast for all municipal officers.

In SWEDEN their suffrage is about the same as in Britain; and they vote, too, indirectly for members of the House of Lords.

In RUSSIA, women, heads of households, vote for all elective officers and on all local questions.

In AUSTRIA-HUNGARY they vote (by proxy) at all elections, including members of provincial and imperial Parliaments.

In CROATIA and DALMATIA they vote at local elections in person.

In ITALY widows vote for members of Parliament.

In FINLAND women vote for all elective officers.

ENGLAND, whose common law has for ages recognized the right of women to vote on the same terms as their brothers, has fifty thousand square miles. It is about the size of New York; larger than New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland; than Pennsylvania, Delaware and Rhode Island; than any Atlantic State but North Carolina, Georgia or Florida; than Louisiana or Mississippi, on the Gulf; than Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, West Virginia, or Indiana; than either of twenty States of the Union. It is larger than Ireland and Switzerland together; than Scotland, Wales and Holland; about equal to Portugal and Denmark; larger than Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony and Baden together; than Rumania; than Greece, Servia and Montenegro together; than Guatemala or Honduras; almost equal to Nicaragua; greater than Cuba and Jamaica together; than Hayti and all the rest of the West Indies; than Orange Free State; double Bulgaria; a fourth larger than Iceland; nearly double Tasmania.

IRELAND equals all New England but Maine. It is almost as large as Maine; as West Virginia and New Jersey; nearly equal to Indiana; much larger than New Brunswick or Nova Scotia; larger than Scotland; than Sweden proper; than Galicia; larger than Belgium and Holland joined.

RUSSIA has two millions and sixty thousand square miles. It is a third larger than all the rest of Europe; larger than all the States of the Union but California; half as large again

as all the Territories; nearly as much greater than all India; a fourth more extensive than China; over double Arabia; more than treble Persia or Thibet; four times the size of Egypt; four times that of Assyria; as large as the Great Sahara; more so than Venezuela, Peru, Chili and Colombia.

ASIA.

In BRITISH BURMA women taxpayers vote in the rural tracts.

In MADRAS PRESIDENCY (Hindoostan) they can do so in all municipalities.

In BOMBAY PRESIDENCY they likewise can.

In all the countries of RUSSIAN ASIA they can do so wherever a Russian colony settles. The Russians are colonizing the whole of their vast Asian possessions, and carry with them everywhere the "mir" or self-governing village, wherein women heads of households vote.

AUSTRALASIA.

Some of the largest conquests of Freedom have been made in Australasia. Municipal suffrage exists in NEW ZEALAND, and the Legislature has resolved that women shall vote for members of Parliament. It also exists in VICTORIA, NEW SOUTH WALES, QUEENSLAND and SOUTH AUSTRALIA. The latter, whose Parliament has declared for women's voting at Parliamentary elections too, and where they are soon to do so, has *nine hundred and sixteen thousand square miles*. It is larger than all the United States east of the Mississippi; greater than Texas, Indian Territory and Alaska; than California and Mexico; larger than the British Islands, France, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland and Belgium; than Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Turkey, Finland, Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro; greater than all British India; than Persia, Syria and Beloochistan; than all native India, Nepal and Siam; than Asiatic Turkey and Japan; than Mongolia, Manchuria and Afghanistan; than Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt and Nubia; than Abyssinia, Madagascar, Cape Colony, Transvaal, Mozambique, Zanzibar and Natal; than all the provinces of the Dominion of Canada; more than double the organized part of the Northwest Territories; equal to Bolivia with Uruguay added; greater than Colombia, Ecuador, British and French Guiana; than Peru, Chili and Paraguay; than Venezuela, Dutch Guiana and Uruguay. The area of municipal suffrage in Australasia is over *two millions of square miles*; almost equal to Russia, a third greater than all the rest of Europe; greater than all the States of the Union but California; fifty per cent. larger than all the Territories; forty-three per cent. greater than all India; twenty-five per cent. greater than China; double Arabia; more than treble Thibet or Persia; quadruple Egypt; quadruple Assyria; equal to the Great Sahara; greater than Colombia, Venezuela, Peru and Chili.

ISLANDS.

On opposite sides of the globe are two small islands; one in the British seas, the other in the South Pacific, both so small as to be mere specks on the ocean—the ISLE OF MAN, with but two hundred and eighty square miles, and PITCAIRN ISLAND, with not a tenth as many—where women have full suffrage. The Manxmen have had women voting about five years, the Pitcairners about a hundred. The ISLE OF MAN, though, has over fifty thousand people.

There are also two great islands, opposite each other on the globe, where women are free to vote. TASMANIA, or Van Diemen's Land, in the South Pacific, has twenty-six thousand square miles; ICELAND, in the North Atlantic, has thirty-nine thousand. TASMANIA, with municipal suffrage, is larger than Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island; than New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware; than West Virginia; than Nova Scotia; about equal to New Brunswick; larger than Belgium and Holland; twice the size of Denmark; thrice that of Wales; larger than either Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Switzerland or Wurtemberg; than Baden, all the Saxon States and Elsass-Lorraine together; twice the extent of Liberia; larger than Natal; four times the area of all the Sandwich Islands; larger than Costa Rica; six times the size of Jamaica; eight times that of Porto Rico; nearly equal to Hayti; thrice the extent of British Honduras.

ICELAND, where women have full suffrage, is larger than Maine; larger than all the rest of New England; nearly double New Jersey and Maryland; almost as large as Virginia; much larger than South Carolina; nearly equal to either Tennessee, Kentucky or Ohio; larger than Indiana; larger than Scotland and Wales; larger than Ireland and Wales; larger than Belgium, Holland and Denmark; than Portugal; than Switzerland and Servia; much larger than Greece and Montenegro; much more so than Bulgaria, or Ceylon; more so than Mozambique or Nubia, or than Liberia and Natal together; equal to Croatia, Servia, and Dalmatia; nearly so to Tunis; it much exceeds New Brunswick, is almost double Nova Scotia, and exceeds Hayti, San Domingo, Porto Rico and Jamaica united; also Costa Rica and San Salvador; is equal to Honduras; to Bavaria, Wurtemberg and Hesse, and larger than Saxony, Baden, Mecklenburg and all the rest of the German Empire but Prussia!

The ISLANDS ROUND GREAT BRITAIN are mostly parts of the kingdom and subject to its law. The Isle of Wight and the Scilly Islands off the English shore; Anglesea, and the famous isle of Holyhead, off the coast of Wales; Arran Bute, the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetlands, adjoining Scotland; all are under the noble common and statute law that gives single women and widows the power to vote on the same terms with their brothers. The Hebrides have seventy inhabited isles; the Orkneys thirty; the Scillys a hundred and forty; the Shetlands thirty-two; total two hundred and seventy-five smaller islands, surrounding the great island of Britain, wherein woman's liberty

is in great part accorded. There are over three hundred more which are not permanently inhabited; but whenever they are settled, it will be under the same wise, just law. In Achil, the Arrans, the Rosses, and numerous smaller islands that surround Ireland, the women taxpayers are free to vote for poor law guardians.

This freedom of woman in the British archipelago, compared with her disfranchisement in the adjacent Continental countries, inclines one to pray with Whittier:

"Come once again, O blessed Lord!
Come walking on the sea!
And let the mainlands hear the word
That sets the islands free!"

In the large island of SARDINIA widows can vote as in the Italian mainland. It is larger than Wales, larger than New Jersey, larger than any New England State but Maine. So they can in the greater island SICILY, which is nearly equal to Greece, double the area of Belgium, larger than Bohemia, Croatia, Transylvania, Servia or Nova Scotia, and much larger than Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Hanover or Piedmont; nearly equal to West Virginia; equal to Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey; and to Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. So they can in the Aegades, the Lipari islands, Ischia, Giglio, Elba, the refuge of the first Napoleon, Capra, the home of Garibaldi, Capri the beautiful—and in all the multitude of isles that lie near Italy, Sardinia and Sicily.

Gotland and the other islands of WISBY, in the Gulf of Bothnia, are parts of Sweden, and women can vote there on the same terms as on the mainland. So they can in Oeland, on the Baltic Sea, and Holmon in the Gulf of Bothnia.

The Aland Islands in that Gulf are part of Finland, and subject to its municipal suffrage laws.

Dagol and Oesel in the Baltic, and the large island of Saghalien on the Pacific coast of Siberia, are under Russian law. So are the multitude of islands in the Caspian Sea.

Grand Menan, and its surrounding islets, in the Bay of Fundy, are under the law of New Brunswick. The Isles of Shoals are under that of New Hampshire. Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Naushon, and the many other islands of Massachusetts, are under the school suffrage law. Grand Isle in Lake Champlain is under that of Vermont. The famous Thousand Isles of the St. Lawrence River, Grand Island and Goat Island in Niagara River, Staten Island in New York Harbor, Green Island on the Hudson, Long Island, Shelter Island, and many smaller islands on the sea, are under that of New York. The multitude of islands in Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior and Michigan, and in Green and Georgian Bays, are all parts of communities where woman suffrage in some degree exists. Ship Island, and the other islands of the Gulf of Mexico, belonging to Mississippi, are under that State's license law. Galveston Island, and others belonging to Texas, are under its school law. The small islands around Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand are under those colo-

nies' laws. The number of islands where women can vote must be two thousand.

For the whole world, the figures are astounding. Behold them:—

FREEDOM'S ROLL OF HONOR.

	Square Miles.*	Population.
Abruzzi.....	6,676	1,302,966
Amoor.....	173,552	44,400
Anglesea.....	346	51,040
Apulia.....	8,541	1,464,604
Arran.....	185	5,234
Arizona.....	113,020	90,000
Arkansas.....	53,850	1,200,000
Austria.....	12,288	2,727,265
Baltic Russia.....	58,931	3,268,169
Basilicata.....	4,122	517,069
Bohemia.....	19,983	5,557,134
Bombay.....	123,142	23,325,053
British Burma.....	88,556	3,707,646
British Columbia.....	341,305	49,459
Bukowina.....	4,036	548,518
Bute.....	60	10,064
Calabria.....	6,663	1,206,302
Campania.....	6,937	2,754,592
Carinthia.....	4,006	378,705
Carniola.....	3,857	469,996
Caucasus.....	178,839	5,749,509
Central Asia (Russian).....	1,286,874	4,505,876
Colorado.....	103,925	325,000
Croatia.....	13,129	791,845
Dakota.....	149,100	600,000
Dalmatia.....	4,937	476,937
Eastern Russia.....	546,983	15,143,715
Emilia.....	7,926	2,113,828
England.....	50,879	24,608,391
Finland.....	144,222	2,728,021
Galicia.....	30,212	5,951,954
Gothland.....	35,335	2,567,194
Great Russia.....	835,031	24,155,534
Hebrides.....	3,000	115,000
Holyhead.....	15	5,916
Hungary.....	87,045	11,530,397
Iakutsk.....	1,517,063	251,977
Iceland.....	39,543	71,300
Ieniseisk.....	992,832	372,862
Idaho.....	64,800	97,250
Indiana.....	36,350	2,400,000
Ireland.....	32,529	5,159,839
Irkutsk.....	309,177	358,629
Isle of Man.....	280	53,492
Kansas.....	82,080	1,600,000
Kentucky.....	40,400	1,940,585
Kustenland.....	3,074	582,079
Liguria.....	2,055	843,812
Little Russia.....	86,429	7,635,361
Lombardy.....	9,086	3,460,824
Madras.....	138,856	38,839,181
Manitoba and Keewatin.....	409,275	65,954
Marches.....	3,751	915,419
Massachusetts.....	8,315	2,005,763
Michigan.....	59,915	2,078,658
Military Frontier } (Austria) }	7,239	679,228
Minnesota.....	83,365	1,400,000
Mississippi.....	46,810	1,400,000
Montana.....	146,080	130,000
Moravia.....	8,555	2,151,619

	Square Miles.*	Population.
Naples.....	429	907,752
Nebraska.....	76,855	1,000,000
New Brunswick.....	27,174	321,233
New Hampshire.....	9,305	378,000
New Jersey.....	7,815	1,330,000
New South Wales.....	325,000	750,000
New York.....	49,170	5,709,969
New Zealand.....	106,260	463,729
Norrland.....	99,673	598,819
Nova Scotia.....	20,907	440,572
Ontario.....	101,733	1,923,228
Oregon.....	96,030	250,000
Orkneys.....	2,448	31,774
Piedmont.....	11,200	2,899,564
Pitcairn Island.....	8	200
Poland.....	54,356	6,136,792
Primorsk.....	731,910	500,512
Quebec.....	188,688	1,359,027
Queensland.....	678,600	226,077
Rome.....	4,553	836,704
Salzburg.....	2,757	153,159
Sardinia.....	9,399	636,660
Scillies.....	9	2,090
Scotland.....	27,463	3,556,448
Shetlands.....	5,000	31,608
Sicily.....	22,200	2,600,000
Silesia (Austrian).....	1,981	511,381
Slavonia.....	3,656	400,000
South Australia.....	914,730	279,865
South Russia.....	172,585	6,089,302
Styria.....	8,671	1,217,367
Sweden proper.....	32,469	1,323,526
Tasmania.....	26,215	115,705
Texas.....	264,780	2,705,967
Tobolsk.....	531,959	1,086,848
Tomsk.....	329,024	838,756
Transbaikalia.....	240,770	430,780
Transylvania.....	21,159	2,101,727
Tuscany.....	9,287	2,142,525
Tyrol.....	11,287	911,887
Umbria.....	3,719	549,601
Utah.....	84,970	200,000
Venetia.....	9,060	2,642,807
Vermont.....	9,565	336,000
Wales.....	7,377	1,359,895
Washington.....	90,000	143,669
West Russia.....	162,442	9,822,259
Wisconsin.....	56,040	1,750,000
Wyoming.....	97,883	85,000

GRAND TOTAL... 14,057,230 292,719,851

The "cold facts" are, as usual, beyond the greatest achievements of fancy. This magnificent list of *one hundred and nine* States, Territories and provinces, shows that the idea that womanhood is a necessary and hopeless bar to freedom and self-government; that all women, whatever their genius, must forever be politically slaves of all men, however stupid and criminal,—is rejected by communities whose extent is over **FOURTEEN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES**, and whose population is nearly **THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS!** and that in this immense territory law, public sentiment, or both, admit that under some circumstances

* These figures are from the latest official returns and estimates.

women may properly vote. It is also remarkable that many of these parts are those whereto immigration is flowing, and whose population is most rapidly growing; so that soon there will be several great empires where the women vote equally with the men.

"But why then does woman suffrage not work the benefits its advocates promise?" It does. From every quarter comes the same report, that women's partaking in elections, brings purer politics, better government, and fairer play for women. But this is under great disadvantages. In large regions women's political freedom is still limited to school or village elections; in many it is confined to mere municipal ones; only in Wyoming is it equal in extent to masculine suffrage. In many of these numerous communities the mass of men are still disfranchised, and so are the mass of women.

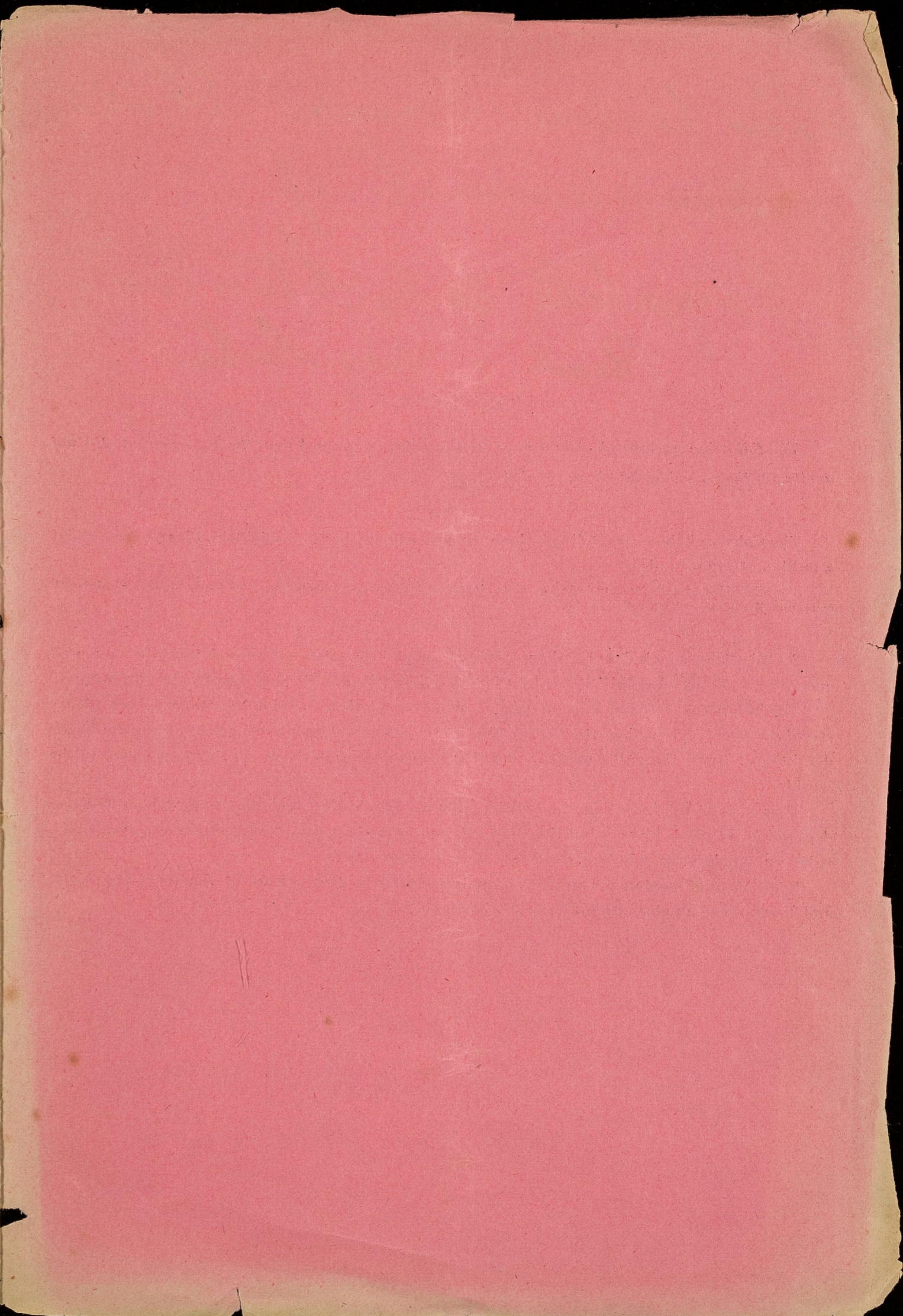
Only in America has the grand idea of universal suffrage been put in full practice for men; but in all these communities the idea that womanhood necessitates life-long, exceptionless disfranchisement, has been abandoned; women vote to some extent or another in most

of them, and soon will vote to the same extent as men in all.

The area Freedom has already in some degree conquered, is half as large again as the enormous British Empire; seventy-five per cent. greater than the vast dominions of the Tsar; four times the size of all Europe or Australasia; double that of both combined; almost equal to the North and South American continents together. Its population equals that of all North America, South America and Africa; and almost equals the population of all Europe.

Oh weary toilers for freedom, take courage and rejoice! Through years of ridicule, slander, and persecution we have kept alive the holy fire, proclaimed Liberty to all the earth, and warred on mighty wrongs. The seed we have sown bears splendid crops, the harvest day draws near. Despite your weariness the worst is past; despite the hindrances that remain, take courage and press on! Let the splendid measure of success the cause has won, inspire us to fresh toil; till the awful wrongs we strive against are withered at their roots, and the glory of real civilization blesses all the world!

Faint, illegible text on the left page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.



Mrs Helen Bright Clark
Compliments of
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Read & Circulate

POSTSCRIPT.

The following paragraph should have been inserted on page 4, but the information did not arrive till the pamphlet had been printed :

AFRICA.

The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, where women have municipal suffrage, has about a million of square miles.

[For this information the author desires to make his acknowledgements to the Governor of Cape Colony, and his courteous subordinate, Mr. Charles S. Dawkins].

As this Colony includes also about 1,500,000 people, the totals on page 6 must be increased accordingly, to over FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF SQUARE MILES, and over 294,000,000 people.

The last paragraph but one on page 7 should read that Freedom's Conquests are nearly *seventy* per cent. larger than the British Empire ; nearly *ninety* per cent. greater than the Tsar's dominions ; larger than all America ; and that woman suffrage exists on every continent in the world.

It is also ascertained that the petition method of electing and removing School Trustees does not cover *all* of Texas ; but this does not change the fact that the law making power which rules the whole State, admits women to vote in certain cases.

Some form of woman suffrage has been introduced in *twenty-four* of the forty-five States and Territories—an absolute majority of the whole.

CATT

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PAMPHLET
THE WORLD MOVEMENT
for WOMAN SUFFRAGE
1904 to 1911

Being the Presidential Address delivered at Stockholm
to the Sixth Convention of the International Woman
Suffrage Alliance, on Tuesday, June 13th, 1911, by



Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT

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IS WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROGRESSING ?

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

BY CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

IN the debate upon the Woman Suffrage Bill in the Swedish Parliament, a few weeks ago, a University Professor said, in a tone of eloquent finality: "The Woman Suffrage movement has reached and passed its climax; the suffrage wave is now rapidly receding." To those who heard the tone of voice and saw the manner with which he spoke, there was no room for doubt that he believed what he said. "Men believe for the most part that which they wish," wrote Julius Cæsar. With patronising air, more droll than he could know, the gentleman added: "We have permitted this movement to come thus far, but we shall allow it to go no further." Thus another fly resting upon the proverbial wheel of progress has commanded it to turn no more. This man engages our attention because he is a representative of a type to be found in all our lands: wise men on the wrong side of a great question—modern Joshuas who command the sun to stand still and believe that it will obey.

Long centuries before the birth of Darwin an old-time Hindoo wrote: "I stand on a river's bank. I know not from whence the waters come or whither they go. So deep and silent is its current that I know not whether it flows north or south; all is mystery to me; but when I climb yon summit the river becomes a silver thread weaving its length in and out among the hills and over the plains. I see it all from its source in yonder mountains to its outlet in yonder sea. There is no more mystery." So these university professors buried in school books, these near-sighted politicians, fail to note the meaning of passing events. To them, the woman movement is an inexplicable mystery, an irritating excrescence upon the harmonious development of society. But to us, standing upon the summit of international union, where we may observe every manifestation of this movement in all parts of the world, there is no mystery. From its source, ages ago, amid the protests which we now know barbaric women must have made against the cruel wrongs done their sex, we clearly trace the course of this movement through the centuries, moving slowly but majestically onward,

gathering momentum with each century, each generation; until just before us lies the golden sea of woman's full liberty. Others may theorise about the woman movement, but to us has been vouchsafed positive knowledge. Once, this movement represented the scattered and disconnected protests of individual women. In that period women as a whole were blinded by ignorance, because society denied them education; they were compelled to silence, for society forbade them to speak. They struggled against their wrongs singly and alone, for society forbade them to organise; they dwelt in poverty, for the law denied them the control of property and even the collection of wages. Under such conditions of sexual serfdom, what wonder that their cries for justice were stifled, and that their protests never reached the ears of the men who wrote the history of those times? Happily those days are past; and out of that incoherent and seemingly futile agitation, which extended over many centuries, there has emerged a present-day movement possessing a clear understanding and a definite, positive purpose.

This modern movement demands political rights for women. It demands a direct influence for women upon the legislation which concerns the common welfare of all the people. It recognises the vote as the only dignified and honourable means of securing recognition of their needs and aspirations.

It pins its faith to the fact that in the long run man is logical. There may be a generation, or even a century, between premise and conclusion, but when the premise is once stated clearly and truthfully, the conclusion follows as certainly as the night the day. Our premise has been stated. The world has jeered at it, stormed at it, debated it; and now what is its attitude toward it? In the secret councils of every political party and every Parliament in the civilised world, this question is recognised as a problem which sooner or later must be solved; and the discussion is no longer upon the justice of our claims, but how to avert final action. Our opponents may not recognise this fact, but we who have watched the progress of this movement for many years, we who are familiar with every symptom of change, have seen the opposing forces abandon, one by one, each and every defence, until nothing remains but pitiable pleas for postponement. Such developments are not signs of a receding wave.

To follow up the advantages already won, there is to-day an army of women, united, patient, invincible. In every land there are trained pens in the hands of women, eloquence and wit on women's lips to defend their common cause. More, there is an allied army of broad-minded, fearless, unyielding

men who champion our reform. The powers of opposition, armed as they are with outworn tradition and sickly sentiment *only*, are as certain to surrender to these irresistible forces as is the sun to rise to-morrow.

These are the things *we know*. That others may share the faith that is ours, permit me to repeat a few familiar facts. A call for the first International Conference was issued nine years ago, and it was held in the City of Washington. At that time the Woman Suffrage agitation had resulted in nationally organised movements in five countries only. In chronological order of organisation these were: The United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, the Netherlands. Two years later, in 1904, the organisation of the Alliance was completed in Berlin, and associations in Canada, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden were ready to join. These nine associations comprised the world's organised movement, and there was small prospect of immediate further extensions. To-day, seven years later, however, our Alliance counts 24 auxiliary national associations, and correspondence groups in two additional countries. Are these evidences of a wave rapidly receding? It would be more in accordance with facts should we adopt the proud boast of the British Empire, and say that the sun *now* never sets upon Woman Suffrage activities. More, the subscribing membership in the world has increased seven times in the past seven years, and it has doubled since the London Congress. Even in Great Britain, where the opposition declared at that time very confidently that the campaign had reached its climax, the National Union, our auxiliary, has tripled its individual membership, tripled its auxiliary societies, and doubled its funds since then. A similar increase of members and funds has come to the two militant groups, and twelve independent suffrage societies have been organised in that country. The membership and campaign funds have likewise tripled in the United States, and every president of an auxiliary national society has reported increase in numbers, funds, and activity. This army of Suffragists is augmented by new and enthusiastic converts every month and every week. We welcome to this Congress fraternal delegates from men's leagues of five countries, four of which have been organised within the past two years. The movement grows everywhere by surprising leaps and bounds. Two things are certain: first, Woman Suffrage is not a receding wave—it is a mighty in-coming tide which is sweeping all before it; second, no *human* power, no university professor, no Parliament, no Government, can stay its coming. It is a step in the evolution of society, and the eternal verities are behind it.

Those unfamiliar with our work may ask, what does this

great body of men and women do? They do everything which human ingenuity can devise and human endurance carry out, to set this big, indifferent world to thinking. When John Stuart Mill made his famous speech in the British Parliament, in 1867, he said: "I admit that one practical argument is wanting in the case of women: they do not hold great meetings in Hyde Park nor demonstrations at Islington"; and the Parliament roared with amusement at the droll idea of women doing such things. But John Bull and Uncle Sam, and all the rest of the brotherhood of law-makers, are slow and stubborn. They have scorned the reasonable appeals of women and have spurned their signed petitions. So demonstrations of numbers and earnestness of demand had to be made in some other form. In consequence, Hyde Park has witnessed many a demonstration for Woman Suffrage, one being larger than any other in the history of England, and on Saturday of this week a procession longer than any which has yet upheld the standard of an aspiring cause will pass through the streets of London. There are no examples among men in their long struggle to secure suffrage rights of such devotion, self-denial, and compelling earnestness as has been shown by the British women. I believe more money has been contributed, more workers enlisted, more meetings held, more demonstrations made in Great Britain alone in behalf of Woman Suffrage than in the entire world's movement for man suffrage. Certainly the man suffrage movement never brought forth such originality of campaign methods, such superb organisation, such masterly alertness. Yet it is said in all countries that women do not want to vote. It is to be devoutly hoped that the obstinacy of no other Government will drive women to such waste of time, energy, and money, to such sacrifice and suffering, as has that of Great Britain.

Nor are demonstrations and unusual activities confined to Great Britain. Two thousand women swarmed to the Parliament of Canada last winter, thousands flocked to the Legislatures of the various capitals in the United States. A procession of the best womanhood in New York a few weeks ago marched through that city's streets in protest against legislative treatment. Sweden has filled the great Circus building in Stockholm to overflowing. Hungary, Germany, France, "demonstrate," and in my opinion no campaign is moved by more self-sacrificing devotion, more passionate fervour, than that in Bohemia. Teachers and other trained women workers are holding meetings night after night, willingly carrying this burden in addition to their daily work that the women of Bohemia may be free. In our combined countries many thousands upon thousands of meetings are held every year, and millions of pages of

leaflets are distributed, carrying our plea for justice into the remotest corners of the globe.

There are doubtless hard encounters ahead, but there are now educated women's brains ready to solve every campaign problem. There are hands willing to undertake every wearisome task; yea, and women's lives ready for any sacrifice. It is because they know the unanswerable logic behind our demands and the irresistible force of our growing army that Suffragists throughout the world repeat in unison those thrilling words of the American leader, Susan B. Anthony, "Failure is impossible."

It is not the growing strength of our campaign forces alone which has filled us with this splendid optimism; there are actual gains which in themselves should tell the world that the goal of this movement is near. Of the nine associations uniting to form this Alliance in 1904, eight have secured a permanent change in the law, which is a step nearer the political suffrage. Of the 24 nations represented in this Congress the women of 15 have won more political rights than they had seven years ago. These gains vary all the way from the repeal of the law which forbade women to form political organisations in Germany; ecclesiastical suffrage in Switzerland, suffrage in Trade Councils in France, Italy, and Belgium, up to municipal suffrage in Denmark, and political suffrage and eligibility in Australia, Finland, Norway, and the State of Washington.

Among our delegates we count women members of Parliament from Finland, a proxy member from Norway, a factory inspector from each of these two countries, and several town councillors from different countries; and to none of these positions were women eligible seven years ago. There are victories, too, quite outside our own line of activities.

A new organisation has arisen in Portugal which has conducted its campaign in novel fashion. Observing that the new constitution did not forbid the vote to women, Carolina Angelo, a doctor of medicine, applied for registration as a voter, and when denied appealed her case to the highest Court. The judge, Dr. Affonso Costa, sustained her demand, and one woman in that country possesses the same political rights as men. This lady has just cast her first vote. She was accompanied by ten ladies and was received with respectful applause by all the men present. This movement developed out of an organisation composed of 1,000 women members whose work was to further the cause of republicanism in Portugal. The suffrage organisation is small and new, but the President of the Republic and three members of the Cabinet are favourable to a further extension of political rights to women, and the new workers are con-

fidest of favourable action by the Parliament. It would be curious indeed if the women of Portugal, without a struggle, should be crowned with the political power so long withheld from the long-suffering women of other lands. But justice, like the physical forces of nature, always moves on by the "paths of least resistance," and therefore it is the unexpected which happens. It is with especially affectionate and tender cordiality that we welcome this newly organised and already victorious group into our Alliance. With pride and gratitude we have ordered a Portuguese flag to be added to our international collection, and hope to number Portuguese women in our future Congresses.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, by the new constitution of February 20th, 1910, authorised by the Austrian and Hungarian Empire, four classes of men may qualify to vote. The first is composed of landowners who pay a tax of 140 crowns on their estate, and widows and spinsters are included in this class. They vote by proxy only, but that is a mere detail. The first election took place in May, 1910. Seventy-eight women voted, seventy-six being Mohammedans, one Servian, one Roman Catholic. When it is remembered that this Mohammedan land has so far forgotten the injunctions of the Koran as to extend this small portion of justice to women, this achievement, though seemingly unimportant, becomes a very significant straw which unmistakably shows the way the wind is blowing in this twentieth century.

As the direct result of our organised movement there has been an important triumph to celebrate at each International Congress. The most significant gain of the past year comes from the United States. In point of wealth, population, and political influence, Washington is the most important American State yet won. It will be remembered that in the United States Woman Suffrage must be secured by the vote of a majority of the men voters in each State. The question in Washington was carried by a vote of three to one. The most gratifying factor in this victory was the common testimony that this remarkable vote was due to the influence of men and women who had formerly lived in one of the adjoining suffrage States, notably Idaho and Wyoming, and who met the theoretical opposition advanced upon every side with facts and figures drawn from experience.

Undoubtedly the five full suffrage States of the United States seem insignificant gains to people of other lands. It is true these States are new and the population small. So new are they that when I was a child the greater part of the territory covered by these States was indicated on my geography map as "The Great American Desert." But a

generation has wrought wonderful changes. Modern irrigation has transformed the desert into fertile land, and its delicious fruits have found their way into the markets of the world. Bread made from its grain may be eaten upon the tables of any land. Its mines send gold and silver to the mints of the world; its mountains supply semi-precious stones to all countries; its coal and iron give thousands of factories work and enterprise. Masts from the great forests of Washington are found upon all seas, and a network of railways covers the territory and carries its vast produce to the ocean, where one of the largest and deepest harbours in the world receives it. All the elements which in other lands have contributed to the up-building of cities and the support of great populations are to be found there. Even now the total number of voting women in these sparsely settled States is half the number of women who would receive the Parliamentary vote by the Conciliation Bill in Great Britain! The territory of these five States is equal to that of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and half of the Netherlands. So unlimited are its resources that time will surely bring a population as large as that found in these older countries. Remember that the vote is guaranteed to all those generations of unborn women, and realise that these victories are of mighty significance.

It is impossible to think of that far-off future without bringing to mind an antipodal empire, that island continent, our best beloved suffrage achievement—Australia. Old monarchies may scoff at its newness, but look to its future. Its territory is nearly as large as that of all Europe; its resources are as varied and rich. Mankind, ever restless, and ever seeking fresh fields with easier undertakings in its struggle for existence, will not fail to supply a population as large. Asia held the cradle of civilisation; Europe was the teacher and guide of its youth; but its manhood is here. It looks no longer to Europe *alone* for guidance. The newest developments come from new lands, where traditions and long-established custom have least influence. As Europe supplanted Asia, so it is not only possible, but quite probable, that Australia, with its new democracy, its equality of rights, its youthful virility, its willingness to experiment, may yet supplant Europe as the leader of civilisation. Look to the future, and remember that over these new lands "the glad spirit of human liberty" will rest for centuries to come; and be convinced that our victories already won are colossal with meaning.

These are the achievements of our cause reached within the past seven years. From history we may turn to prophecy, and ask what are the prospects of our cause? In Great

Britain, the United States, and the four Scandinavian countries further extensions of suffrage to women are sure to come soon. It is not easy to make prophecy concerning the outcome of the Woman Suffrage campaigns on the Continent. Certain it is that the victories which are near in England and Scandinavia will greatly accelerate the rate of progress there, and since the surprising developments in Portugal, prophecy becomes impossible.

As all the world knows, an obstinate and recalcitrant Government alone stands between the women of Great Britain and their enfranchisement. A campaign which will always be conspicuous among the world's movements for human rights for its surpassing fervour, sacrifice, and originality has been maintained without a pause. Ninety towns and county councils, including the chief cities of Great Britain, have petitioned Parliament to pass the Bill, the Lord Mayor of Dublin appearing at the bar of the House of Commons to present the petition in person. Three hundred thousand men during the late elections petitioned Parliament to the same end, and complete evidence has been presented that there is a tremendous public sentiment demanding Parliamentary action. The chief men of Australia and New Zealand have sent their strongest and unreserved approval of the results of Woman Suffrage in their respective countries. The Parliament of Australia has cabled its endorsement to the British Parliament, and now Australian and New Zealand women voters are organising to aid their English sisters. The Government evidently nurses a forlorn hope that by delay it may tire out the workers and destroy the force of the campaign. It little comprehends the virility of the movement. When a just cause reaches its flood-tide, as ours has done in that country, whatever stands in the way must fall before its overwhelming power. Political parties, governments, constitutions must yield to the inevitable or take the consequences of ruin. Which horn of the dilemma the English Government will choose is the only question remaining. Woman Suffrage in Great Britain is inevitable.

In the United States five Legislatures have submitted the question to the voters, and we await the result. One decision will be given this year in October, the others next year.

In Iceland, one Parliament has already passed an amendment to the national constitution, and it now only awaits the action of the next Parliament to become law. In Denmark, there are two suffrage organisations whose combined membership make the suffrage organisation of that country, in proportion to population, the largest in the world. A few weeks ago, I had the pleasure of visiting the Parliament,

and speaking with many men representing all the political parties. The Premier, the speakers of both Chambers, the leaders of parties, and many others, assured me that the Parliamentary vote for women would not be long delayed. It requires three years to amend the constitution in Denmark, and the question is confused with other problems, and we must therefore be patient. The women have voted wisely and well; they are serving with dignity and public spirit in town councils; they are doing womanly and intelligent political work, and the evidence presented by the actual experiment has destroyed nearly all the serious opposition. The final step cannot in reason be long delayed.

It was my pleasure also to visit Norway. I wish every doubting Thomas could see what I saw in Norway. More than all else, I wish the Parliaments of all nations could pay that country a visit. One feels the difference between the enfranchised and unenfranchised countries rather in the spirit of things than in tangible form. That sex antagonism which everywhere exists, whether we like to admit it or not, is gone, and in its place has come a comradeship on a high moral plane. It seems like the peace and relief of mind which is always manifest after the satisfactory adjustment of an irritating difference of opinion. The men have been just to the women, and they are proud of their act; the women have had justice done, and they are grateful. In this state of mutual good feeling, the men promise that they will remove the tax qualification and make the suffrage universal for women as it is for men. The Prime Minister assured me that the four political parties differed widely on many questions, but they were quite of one mind in their approval of Woman Suffrage. Norway presents an ideal example of Woman Suffrage in practice, and is an achievement of which we may boast with no reservation of doubt. Two hundred and ten women sit in its town and county councils and three hundred and seventy-nine serve as alternates for councillors. Everywhere, women as officers, as jurors, as voters are patriotically and intelligently working for the public welfare of their country in dignified and womanly fashion.

I have reserved Sweden, the land of our hostesses, as the last country to be mentioned. Sweden has had a Saint Birgitti, a woman who was canonised because of her goodness and religious work. The guide books tell us that she was the first woman's rights woman in the world, for she was outspoken and emphatic in her demand for Woman's freedom. Later Fredrike Bremer, well known in all lands, advocated rights for women. She was a woman ahead of her times. Her last book, "Herta," published in 1865, set forth the reforms she considered necessary in order to estab-

lish a correct and fair status for women. Many of these proposed changes have now been made, but so new were these ideas then that the book was received with a storm of disapproval. Her former admirers became critics, and her friends thought she had lost her balance of mind. Two weeks before her death she wrote a friend, "I have lost all my popularity, my countrymen no longer approve of me, my friends are lost, and I am deserted and alone; nevertheless I wrote that book in response to the highest duty I know, and I am glad I did it." It is sad to think of that wonderful woman dying in this enlightened land, with possibly no true companion of her great soul to understand the service she had rendered womankind, or the motive which inspired it. But her "prophecy of yesterday" has "become the history of to-day." Municipal or communal suffrage was granted to taxpaying widows and spinsters in 1862, undoubtedly as the result of her teaching. Later the Fredrike Bremer Association was organised, and cultivated education and independence among women. In 1899 two of its members petitioned the Parliament for an extension of suffrage rights, and when our first international conference was held in Washington, it sent a delegate. Measures concerning women were pending in Parliament, and it was determined to organise an association which should have Woman Suffrage as its sole purpose. That was in 1902, and from that date the movement has made amazing progress. The municipal suffrage has been extended to married women, and eligibility secured. Organisations exist in 170 towns, some of them north of the Polar Circle, and there is a paying membership of 12,000; 1,550 meetings have been held since the London Congress. A member of Parliament tells me it is the most thoroughly organised undertaking in Sweden. Does this history indicate a receding wave? Instead, from the days of St. Birgitta this movement has been marching forward to certain victory. No country has made such progress in so short a time. Two political parties now boldly espouse the cause, and the third merely pleads that the times are not ripe for it. It requires three years to amend the constitution here, as it does in Denmark. The women are intelligent, sympathetic, alert and active; worthy descendants of Birgitta and Fredrike Bremer. They will not desert the cause, nor pause in their campaign. It is not difficult to predict the outcome.

The Suffrage Association is not the only force at work in Sweden for the desired end. It has an interesting ally in the many curious inconsistencies in the law which defines the status of women. These must appeal powerfully to the common sense of the people, and thus hasten the conversion of the country to political suffrage. I shall name a few.

1. Women may vote for town and county councils, and these bodies elect the Upper House of Parliament. Women, therefore, have as much suffrage for the Upper House as most men, but they are accounted wholly unworthy by the House they help to elect to vote for members of the Lower House.

2. Women are eligible to municipal councils, and thirty-seven women are now serving as town councillors. Eleven women are members of Councils which have a direct vote for the Upper House, and these women, therefore, have a higher suffrage right than most men; but these same women may not vote at all for members of the Lower House.

3. A gifted woman who will speak at our Congress has secured the Nobel prize in recognition of her rare endowments. Her name and her quaint stories are known the world over. She may vote for a municipal or county councillor, but with all her genius Selma Lagerlöf is not permitted to vote for a member of Parliament.

4. The President of the Swedish Suffrage Association is a learned lady. By the ancient ceremony at Uppsala she has been crowned with a laurel wreath in acknowledgment of her wisdom. Yet with all her learning she is not considered by her Government intelligent enough to cast a vote for a member of Parliament.

5. In Sweden people possessed of a certain income may qualify to cast many votes, the highest number of votes allowable being forty. There are many women who have 40 votes in the municipal elections, and I have myself met several who started in life with nothing in their pockets, but who, by their own initiative and enterprise, have accumulated enough to entitle them to 40 votes. Yet these same women cannot cast one vote for Parliament. A Parliament which sees nothing amusing in these illogical discriminations has no sense of humour.

The Scandinavian peoples represent a race which does not forget that its ancestors were Vikings, who sailed the seas without chart or compass. There are modern Vikings in all these lands as fearlessly ready to solve modern problems as were those of old. It is unlikely that all the people were bold and courageous in those ancient times. There were undoubtedly pessimistic croakers who declared the ships would never return, that the men would be lost at sea, and that the enterprises were foolhardy and silly. It is the antitype of this class which we find in the university professor, but we recall that it is the Vikings who are remembered to-day.

In order to learn the whole truth concerning our movement I sent a questionnaire to all our presidents. Among the questions was this: "What are the indications that the

woman movement is growing in your country?" Not one president of our 24 countries found signs of backward steps. Instead, such volumes of evidence of onward progress were received that it is quite impossible to give any adequate idea of its far-reaching character. In a number of countries the entire code of laws affecting women are under revision, and liberal measures are proposed to take the places of the old. Denmark will take the oath of obedience out of the marriage ceremony. The Bishop of Iceland has supported a Bill to make women eligible to ecclesiastical offices, and declared St. Paul himself would have favoured the change were he here. In Silesia, where women landowners have the right of a proxy vote in the communal election, which, however, has not been usually exercised, nearly 2,000 women availed themselves of this privilege in the recent elections, to the amazement of the people. Unusual honours have been given women in all lands. Simultaneously women were elected presidents of the National Teachers' Associations in Great Britain and the United States for the first time. Positions heretofore closed have opened their doors to women. Equal pay for equal work has been granted the 13,000 women teachers of New York City after a splendid campaign of several years. The Press is everywhere more friendly. Distinguished people are joining our ranks. The argument has changed ground, and the evidence is complete that women are no longer the forgotten sex. King George, in his accession speech, spoke of his wife as "a helpmate in every endeavour for our people's good." It is believed that no other King in English history has thus publicly acknowledged his Queen Consort as sharing responsibility. I can only say that evidence is overwhelming that the walls of the opposition all along the line are falling down like those of Jericho of old before the blare of our suffrage trumpets.

Some may ask why we are not now content to wait for the processes of reason and evolution to bring the result we want. Why do we disturb ourselves to hasten progress? I answer, because we refuse to sit idly by while other women endure hideous wrongs. Women have suffered enough of martyrdom through the false position they have been forced to occupy for centuries past. We make our protest now hotly and impatiently, perhaps, for we would bequeath to those who come after us a fair chance in life. Modern economic conditions are pushing hundreds of thousands of women out of their homes into the labour market. Crowded into unskilled employments for want of proper training, they are buffeted about like a cork upon a sea. Everywhere paid less than men for equal work, everywhere discriminated against, they are utterly at the mercy of forces

over which they have no control. Law-making bodies, understanding neither women nor the meaning of this woman's invasion of modern industry, are attempting to regulate the wages, the hours, the conditions under which they shall work. Already serious wrong has been done many women because of this ill-advised legislation. Overwhelmed by the odds against them in this struggle for existence, thousands are driven to the streets. There they swell that horrid, unspeakably unclean peril of civilisation, prostitution—augmented by the White Slave Traffic and by the machinations of male parasites who live upon the earnings of women of vice. Inaction is no longer pardonable. Prostitution is no longer a moral outcast to be mentioned with bated breath or treated as a subject too indelicate for discussion. It has become a problem actual with an entirely new significance, and demands immediate attention. It is now well known to be the breeding-ground of dangerous and insidious diseases which are surely and steadily deteriorating the race. They enter the palaces of kings and the hovels of the poor. Something must be done; the race must be preserved, while there is time. In accordance with modern discoveries concerning tuberculosis the nations have organised campaigns against it; we women, armed with ballots, must attack this far more serious foe. These wretched women, designed by nature for the sacrament of motherhood, have been told off by distorted, unnatural conditions and degraded into a class which is slowly destroying the race. We must be merciful, for they are the natural and inevitable consequence of centuries of false reasoning concerning women's place in the world. We may, perhaps, draw the curtain of obscurity over those women who because of inherent evil have voluntarily sought this life, but investigation has proved that at least two-thirds of them have been driven to this last despairing effort to live by economic conditions. Upon these women we have no right to turn our backs. Their wrongs are our wrongs. Their existence is part of our problem. They have been created by the very injustices against which we protest.

It is the helpless cry of these lost women who are the victims of centuries of wrong; it is the unspoken plea of thousands of women now standing on the brink of similar ruin; it is the silent appeal of the army of women in all lands who in shops and factories are demanding fair living and working conditions; it is the need to turn the energies of more favoured women to public service; it is the demand for a complete revision of women's legal, social, educational, and industrial status all along the line, which permits us no delay, no hesitation. The belief that we are defending the highest good of the mothers of our race and the ultimate

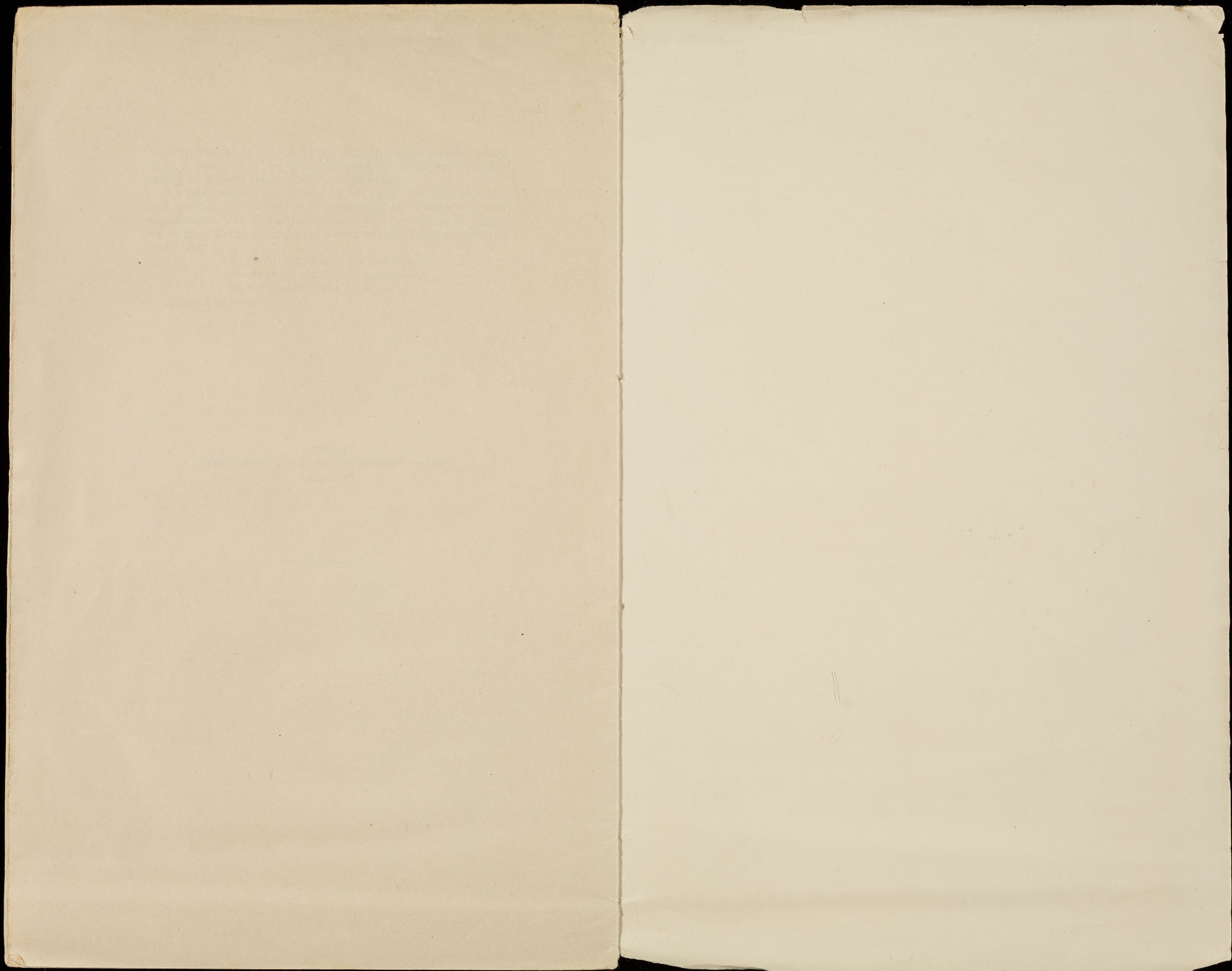
welfare of society makes every sacrifice seem trivial, every duty a pleasure. The pressing need spurs us on, the certainty of victory gives us daily inspiration.

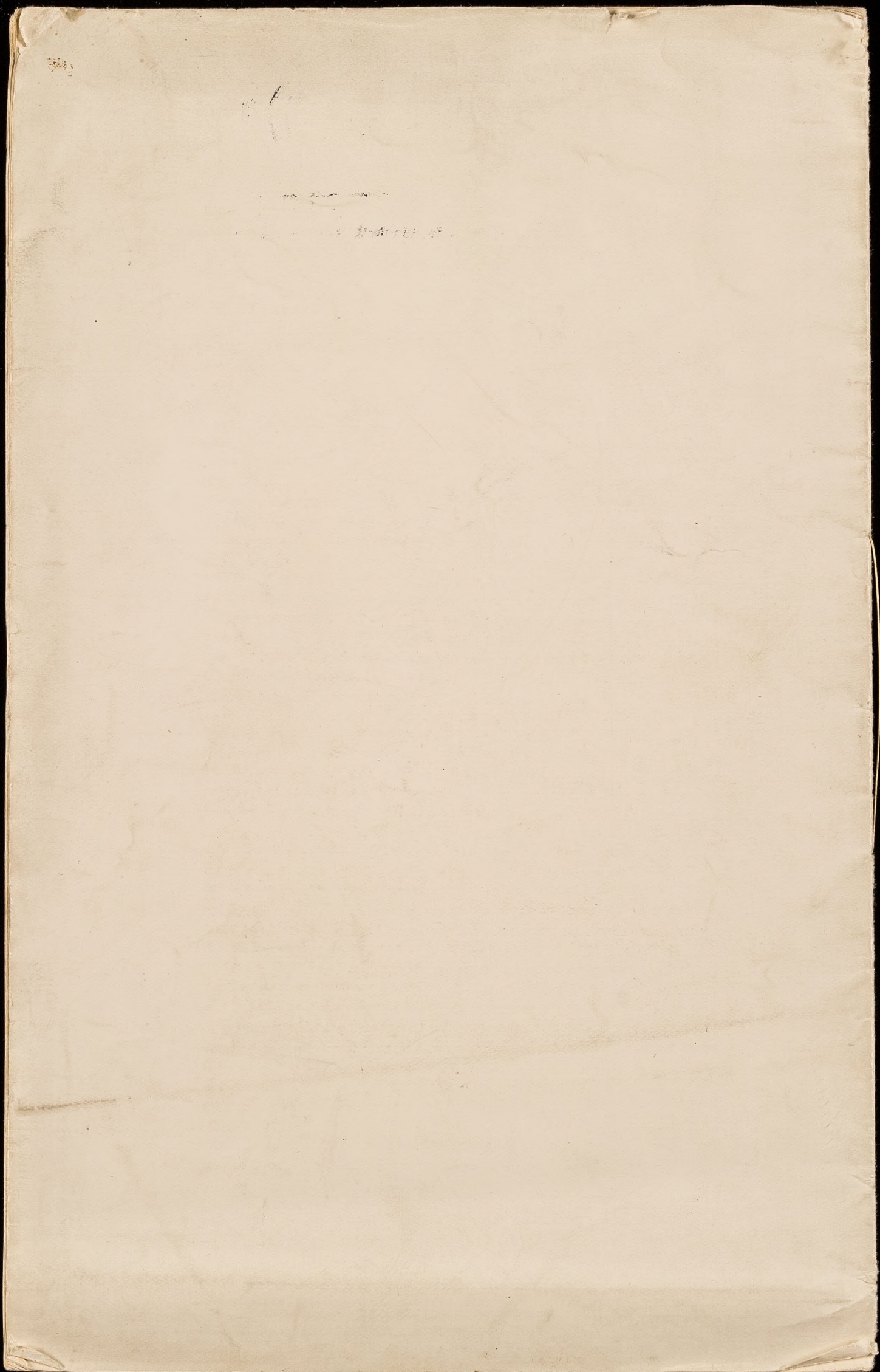
We have come upon a new time, which has brought new and strange problems. Old problems have assumed new significance. In the adjustment of the new order of things we women demand an equal voice; we shall accept nothing less. So

To the wrong that needs resistance,
To the right that needs assistance,
To the future in the distance

we give ourselves.

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A/E ✓

CANTATA

SUNG AT THE

RECEPTION

GRAND HOTEL ROYAL

MONDAY JUNE 12TH 1911.

WORDS BY

SIGRID LEIJONHUFVUD.

MUSIC BY

ELFRIDA ANDRÉE.



BIRGITTA.

Birgitta, the noblest flower
of a race of heroes born,
Sweet mother, by pity's power
To the Kingly presence drawn,
with righteous anger fired,
She spoke as one inspired
And heedless of shame or scorn.

»No more by flatterers guided,
By falsehood's snares o'erthrown,
Thy realm by feuds divided,
Be worthy of thy crown!
Thy rule on law depending,
Thy sword the right defending,
Trust in the Lord alone!»

Birgitta, the clear fire burning
Her people to scourge and to cure,
She followed without returning
Her spirit's guidance sure;
And far and near she lighted
The flame by Heaven ignited
That dwelt in her bosom pure.

FÖRR.

I.

Till strids de karska hövdingar drogo,
byggde vårt välde och fiender slogo,
för Sverige stridde var redlig man —
mor satt hemma och spann.

Till tings de myndiga herrar drogo,
om landets öden råd de slogo,
i fredens dag och när striden brann —
mor satt hemma och spann.

Till främmande länder männen drogo,
lärdom och konst i byte togo,
mången med ära sin lager vann —
mor satt hemma och spann.

II.

Väl hände det stundom, att den svaga
måste de hårdaste bördor draga,
orätt lida och orätt se,
maktlös stå emot våld och ve.
Varför? — Det var ej lätt att svara;
det måste väl så vara.

Hur myndigt hon hemma styrde och ställde,
hur kraftigt hon tog ett tag, när det gällde,
i samhällsfrågor var blicken skum
och handen domnad och rösten stum.
Varför? — Det var ej lätt att svara;
det måste väl så vara.

FREDRIKA BREMER.

Höres en ensam stämma tala:
»Vakna upp ur din långa dvala,
känn ditt ansvar, du svenska kvinna,
medborgarinna!

Ej må försagd du längre dröja!
Du behöves ditt land att höja.
Klar må ditt väsens låga brinna,
medborgarinna!

Töcken hölja vår framtids bana;
lär dig mot höga mål att spana,
hinder att röja, väg att finna,
medborgarinna!

NU.

Det faller en tändande gnista,
det ljusnar runt om land,
och tusende lågor brista
med ens i brand.

De stiga, de smälta tillsammans
i rymd, som vidgas; ny
och mäktig höjer sig flamman
med ens mot sky.

Brinn högre och liva och ena,
du våreld på bergets topp!
Brinn högre i väkter sena
Tills dag går opp!

□

THEN.

I.

To war the valiant chieftains were faring,
Building our power, our foemen daring;
For Sweden fought bravely each freeborn man:
The wife sat at home and span.

To the nation's *Thing* her men were faring,
Each trusty son in her councils sharing.
In the day of peace, or when strife began:
The wife sat at home and span.

To far off lands our scholars were faring,
Temples of science and art uprearing;
And their fame throughout the nations ran:
The wife sat at home and span.

II.

Oft it befell, the weak and tender
Still must the hardest service render;
Suffer wrong without relief.
Helpless stand amid pain and grief;
Wherefore? The reason was hard to see —
Only that thus it must be.

Though wisely and well her house she guided,
Careful for every want provided,
At the people's need her glance was blurred,
Her hand restrained and her voice unheard.
Wherefore? The reason was hard to see —
Only that thus it must be.

FREDRIKA BREMER.

Hark! Where a lonely voice is speaking,
»Rise, from thy age-long sleep awaking,
Know thou thy strength, thy fetters breaking
Woman enfranchised!

Never again in bondage pining,
Links of freedom and peace entwining,
Clear shall thy spirit's light be shining,
Woman enfranchised!

Clouds in the future may hang o'er us,
Rise thou and clear the way before us,
Point to the goal, our strength restore us,
Woman enfranchised!»

NOW.

A spark divine has fallen.
It shines throughout the land.
A thousand fires have kindled
One burning brand.

Together in concert blending,
O'er widening space they rise,
The mighty flame springs upward
Toward the skies.

Burn high O living splendour,
Foretell the coming dawn,
Till shades of night are vanquished,
And day is born!

TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH BY
MISS J. E. KENNEDY, SHENSTONE, CAMBRIDGE.

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INTERNATIONAL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
ALLIANCE.



Constitution and Proposed
Amendments.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

The name of this Federation shall be the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

ARTICLE II.

Object.

The object of this Alliance shall be to secure enfranchisement for the women of all nations, and to unite the friends of Woman Suffrage throughout the world in organised co-operation and fraternal helpfulness.

ARTICLE III.

Members.

Sec. 1. One National Woman Suffrage Association, or one Federation of National Woman Suffrage Associations, in a country possessing the authority to enfranchise its own women, may become Auxiliary to the Alliance, and thus secure representation by twelve delegates in all International Meetings. Each Auxiliary National Association having 2,500 members or under shall pay £1 annually to the Alliance; National Auxiliaries having more than 2,500 members shall pay £2 annually to secure the same representation. Each Association within a National Federation shall pay at the rate of a National Auxiliary.

Sec. 2. To gain admission into the Alliance, applicant Societies must be National Associations which possess the following qualifications:

(a) They must make the demand for the enfranchisement of women their sole object, except where local circumstances prevent such organisation, or where woman suffrage already is granted.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

AMENDMENT I.

ARTICLE III.—Sec. 1.

To delete the words "by 12 delegates"; to insert after the words "annually to the Alliance" the words "and shall be entitled to 12 delegates"; and to insert after the words "the same representation" the words "National Auxiliaries having more than 10,000 members shall pay £3, and shall be entitled to 18 delegates, and those having over 20,000 shall pay £4 and be entitled to 24 delegates."

The Section would then read:—

Sec. 1. One National Woman Suffrage Association, or one Federation of National Woman Suffrage Associations, in a country possessing the authority to enfranchise its own women, may become Auxiliary to the Alliance, and thus secure representation in all International Meetings. Each Auxiliary National Association having 2,500 members or under shall pay £1 annually to the Alliance, and shall be entitled to 12 delegates. National Auxiliaries having more than 2,500 members shall pay £2 annually to secure the same representation. National Auxiliaries having more than 10,000 members shall pay £3 and shall be entitled to 18 delegates, and those having over 20,000 shall pay £4 and be entitled to 24 delegates. Each Association within a National Federation shall pay at the rate of a National Auxiliary.

Proposed by Mrs. Chapman Catt.

(b) They must either have local branches, or admit individual members all over the country.

Applicant societies from countries already affiliated must possess the following additional qualifications:

(c) They must have a membership of at least two-thirds of the number of the original Auxiliary at the time the application is made.

(d) They must differ from the original Auxiliary in politics, religion, or the sex of their members, or in important distinctions of constitution or tactics.

Sec. 3. If in a country already affiliated one or more new societies desire to become affiliated with the Alliance, they shall apply for affiliation to the Committee on Admissions, which shall test the applications and decide upon them. If they comply with the regulations for Auxiliaries, this Committee shall notify the existing National Society (or Societies) of the application, with a view to joint representation in the Alliance by means of a National Federation for International purposes. If after notification by the Committee on Admissions the Societies shall fail to form a National Federation, the whole case shall be referred to the Executive Board of the Alliance, which, after having tested their reasons, shall, if necessary, at once call a meeting of the Societies in question, and any Society which shall fail to respond to this call shall not be affiliated with the Alliance. The number of the delegates to the Alliance shall be divided among the Associations composing a National Federation in proportion to their membership; such membership to be reckoned on the basis of individual annual contributions paid directly or indirectly into the central funds of their National Society.

Sec. 4. In any country where no National Woman Suffrage Association has yet been formed, but where local Woman Suffrage Associations exist which give evidence of their intention to form a National Woman Suffrage Association, such Associations may elect a temporary National Committee, which may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by payment of twelve shillings and sixpence to the Alliance and shall be entitled to two voting delegates in all International Meetings.

Sec. 5. In any country where no Woman Suffrage organisation exists, a Committee of not less than ten persons which has been formed to further the cause of Woman Suffrage in that country, and which gives evidence of its intention to form a National Woman Suffrage Association, may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by the payment of ten shillings annually, and shall be entitled to one voting delegate in all International Meetings.

Sec. 6. In countries where women possess equal suffrage with men, and where no Woman Suffrage Societies exist, a

AMENDMENT II.

ARTICLE III.—Between Sections 5 and 6 to insert the following new Section:

In a country where no Woman Suffrage organisation exists and where the status of women renders woman suffrage agitation impracticable, as it is in most Oriental countries, a Committee of not less than ten persons, which has been formed of persons engaged in forwarding the women's movement, may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by the payment of ten shillings annually, and shall be entitled to one voting

non-partisan committee may be formed, consisting of delegates from organisations for the advancement and protection of the political and civil rights of women, and such a committee may become Auxiliary to the Alliance by the payment of annual dues at the rate of a regular Auxiliary, and shall be entitled to the same number of voting delegates.

Sec. 7. International Presidents who have served one full term of office shall be Honorary Members of the Alliance, and shall be entitled to all the rights of regular delegates.

Sec. 8. Any person may become an Honorary Associate Member of the Alliance by the payment into the International Treasury of one pound annually, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of regular delegates in all International Meetings, except the right to make motions and the right to vote. Honorary Associates must have become members at least three months before an International Meeting to be entitled to the privileges of membership at that meeting.

ARTICLE IV.

Conventions.

Sec. 1. The Alliance shall hold a Quadrennial Convention for the election of officers and the transaction of business, which shall be combined with public meetings for propaganda. If so desired, the programme for the latter shall be arranged by the Auxiliary of the country in which the Convention is held.

Sec. 2. Executive Sessions may be held in the interim of the Quadrennial Conventions.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

Sec. 1. The officers of the Alliance shall be a President, two Vice-presidents-at-large, three Secretaries, and a Treasurer,

Sec. 2. The seven elected officers shall constitute an Executive Board, authorised to conduct the business of the Alliance in the interim of Conventions.

delegate in all International Meetings. * Whenever such a country secures the authority to enfranchise its women, the Auxiliary Committee must conform to the conditions for regular auxiliaryship.

Proposed by Mrs. Chapman Catt.

Seconded by Dr. Aletta Jacobs.

AMENDMENT III.

ARTICLE V.—Title.

To substitute for the word "officers" the words "Executive Board of Officers."

Proposed by Great Britain.

AMENDMENT IV.

ARTICLE V.—Sec. 1.

To substitute for Section 1 the following Section:—"The officers shall be a President, three Vice-presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Corresponding Secretary, an Honorary Recording Secretary, and four Interpreters.

Proposed by Great Britain.

AMENDMENTS V. AND VI.

ARTICLE V.—Sec. 2.

(V.) To substitute for the word "seven" the word "eleven."

(VI.) To substitute for the words "Executive Board" the words "Executive Board of Officers."

Proposed by Great Britain.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall appoint a Committee on Admissions for the quadrennial period, which shall consist of the President of the Alliance and two members.

ARTICLE VI.

Ex-officio Vice-presidents.

The Presidents of National Auxiliaries shall be *ex-officio* Vice-presidents.

ARTICLE VII.

Finance.

Sec. 1. The fiscal year of the Alliance shall close on December 31st.

Sec. 2. In addition to the regular report, the Treasurer shall present at each International Meeting a statement of the finances of the Alliance from January 1st to the close of the month prior to such Meeting.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer of the Alliance shall be *ex-officio* member of the Credentials Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

Votes and Elections.

Sec. 1. The persons entitled to vote at the Quadrennial Convention of the Alliance shall be the seven elected Officers, the International Ex-Presidents, and the regular delegates from Auxiliaries and National Committees. In the election of Officers the delegates present from each nation shall cast the full vote to which that nation is entitled. The votes shall be taken in the same way upon any other question, whenever by majority vote the delegates request it; in all other cases each delegate shall have one vote.

Sec. 2. Any Auxiliary whose dues are unpaid one month previous to the opening of a Convention shall lose its vote in that Convention.

Sec. 3. The Officers of this Alliance shall be elected at the regular Quadrennial Convention. They shall be nominated by an informal ballot. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes for any office shall be considered the nominees, and the election shall be decided by a formal ballot.

AMENDMENTS VII. AND VIII.

ARTICLE VI.

(VII.) To substitute for the title "*Ex-officio* Vice-presidents," the title "Advisory Committee."

(VIII.) To substitute for Article VI. the following:—The Executive Board of Officers, together with the Presidents of the National Auxiliaries, shall constitute an Advisory Committee.

Proposed by Great Britain.

AMENDMENT IX.

ARTICLE VIII.—Sec. 1.

To substitute for the word "seven" the word "eleven."

Proposed by Great Britain.

AMENDMENT X.

ARTICLE VIII.—Sec. 1.

To delete all words after the words "National Committees."

Proposed by Mrs. Chapman Catt.

AMENDMENT XI.

ARTICLE VIII.—Sec. 3.

To delete all words after "Quadrennial Convention," and to substitute the following:—"The Honorary Corresponding Secretary shall send a blank nominating ballot to the President of each Auxiliary, six months previous to the Quadrennial

Sec. 4. The term of the officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the Quadrennial Convention, and the term of the newly elected officers shall commence immediately after its adjournment.

Sec. 5. In case death or resignation shall create a vacancy upon the Executive Board, the new appointment shall be made by the National Auxiliary of which the former officer was a member. If this is not done within six months, the Executive Board shall fill the vacancy.

ARTICLE IX.

Amendment of Constitution.

The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any regular Quadrennial Convention, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the President six months, and by her to the *ex-officio* Vice-presidents three months, before the Convention. In the event of failure on the part of the officers to forward the notice, the amendment may be considered, three days' notice having been given the Convention.

BY-LAW.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, by mutual consent of its Auxiliaries, stands pledged to observe absolute neutrality on all questions that are strictly national; to respect the independence of each affiliated association, and to leave it entirely free to act on all matters within its own country.

Convention. Any Auxiliary may return nominations for any or all offices, and these must be in the hands of the Honorary Corresponding Secretary one month previous to the Convention. Nominations may be made from the floor of the Convention, and admitted by consent of a majority of the delegates. A Nominating Committee, consisting of the Honorary Secretary and two additional members appointed by the President, shall prepare a printed ballot containing the names of all nominees, to be ready for use on the day set for the election.

A Board of Election consisting of six delegates—three to be appointed by the President and three by the Convention—shall conduct the election. They shall prepare a ballot box to receive votes for a period of hours determined by vote of the Convention two days previous to the election. After ascertaining that the voter's name is on the official list of delegates, they shall provide her with a printed ballot. She shall then place a cross opposite the name of the candidate of her choice, fold the ballot once, and drop it into the ballot box. The Board of Election shall open and count the ballots in the presence of each other.

Proposed by Mrs. Chapman Catt.

AMENDMENTS XII., XIII., AND XIV.

ARTICLE IX.

(XII.) To substitute for the word "President" the words "Honorary Corresponding Secretary."

(XIII.) To substitute for the words "*Ex-officio* Vice-presidents" the words "Presidents of the National Auxiliaries."

(XIV.) To substitute for the word "officers" the words "Honorary Corresponding Secretary."

Proposed by Great Britain.



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ADDRESS
... OF ...
THE PRESIDENT



AT THE
SEVENTH CONGRESS
OF THE
International Woman
Suffrage Alliance,
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,

JUNE 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 1913.

PRICE - - TWOPENCE.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

MRS. CHAPMAN CATT,

Academy of Music, 15th June, 1913.

The period which has elapsed since the last Congress has been one of phenomenal growth for our movement. When the organisation of the Alliance was completed in 1904, it was decided that national woman suffrage associations only should be admitted to membership. Its founders foresaw a difficulty, and met it at the outset by freeing the new organisation from the embarrassments which beset international diplomacy and defined a nation as a country which possesses the independent right to enfranchise its women. At that time eight such nations had woman suffrage associations. Now, nine years later, with the exception of the Spanish American Republics, there are in the entire world only seven constitutionally organised independent nations without an organised woman suffrage movement. Only three of these are in Europe—namely, Greece, Spain, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. The remaining four are the Negro Republic of Liberia in Western Africa, Turkey and Persia, which are not well established self-governing nations, and Japan, which is still more autocratic than democratic. To-morrow we shall admit to membership the National Chinese Woman Suffrage Association, and the standard of the Alliance will then be set upon five continents. Twenty-five nations and two additional countries without full national rights will be counted in its membership. Organised groups also exist on many islands of the seas, among them being Java, Sumatra, the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands. Truly this is a good record for our Alliance, which has been at work only nine years. Like Alexander the Great, we shall soon be looking for other worlds to conquer! Borrowing the familiar boast of the British Empire, we may with truth say that the sun never sets on the Woman Suffrage Alliance. The North Star and the Southern Cross alike cast their benignant rays upon woman suffrage activities. Last winter, when perpetual darkness shrouded the Land of the Midnight Sun, women wrapped in furs, above the Polar Circle, might have been seen gliding over snow-covered roads in sledges drawn by reindeer on their way to

suffrage meetings, from whence petitions went up to the Parliament at Stockholm asking a voter's share in the Swedish Government. There is something thrillingly exalting in the fact that at the same moment other women, in the midsummer of the Southern hemisphere, protected by fans and umbrellas, and riding in "rickshas" were doing the same thing under the fierce rays of a tropical sun; and petitions poured into Pretoria asking suffrage for the women of the Union of South Africa, from every State and city of that vast country.

Since our last Congress not one sign has appeared the entire world around to indicate reaction. Not a backward step has been taken. On the contrary, a thousand revelations give certain, unchallenged promise that victory for our great cause lies just ahead. To the uninitiated these signs may sound prosaic, but they thrill those who understand with the joy of coming victory. It is reported of every land that there are more meetings, larger audiences, more speakers, more writers, more money, more influential advocates, more space in the press, more favourable editorials, more earnest supporters in Parliaments, more members, more and better organization, and, best of all, more consecration—all unflinching signs of the growing power of a great movement.

For a century the thought of the civilised world has been making ready for this time, and now upon the wall of progress the handwriting has been chiselled large and clear: "Governments take heed, woman suffrage is bound to come, *when* are you going to act?"

Probably there is no more certain indication of the status of our movement to-day than the attitude of Governments when they read that handwriting. When movements are new and weak, Parliaments laugh at them; when they are in their educational stages, Parliaments meet them with silent contempt; when they are ripe and ready to become law, Parliaments evade responsibility. Our movement has reached the last stage. The history of the past two years has demonstrated that fact beyond the shadow of a doubt. Parliaments have stopped laughing at woman suffrage, and politicians have begun to dodge! It is the inevitable premonition of coming victory.

Statesmen, be it remembered, are men who serve their country and great causes regardless of consequences to themselves; politicians are men who serve their parties and themselves regardless of consequences to their country or great causes. The twentieth century has produced a far larger crop of politicians than statesmen, and it is the politicians who are creating the delay.

During the past winter woman suffrage Bills have been considered by seventeen national Parliaments, four Parliaments of countries without full national rights, and in the legislative bodies of twenty-nine States. Honest friends and honest foes the cause has had everywhere, with a true statesman here and there to defend it; but the "whips" of political parties have controlled the situation, and women wait.

There is nothing in this world so nearly like another thing as one politician is like another—whether he comes from Sweden or Hungary, Russia or Portugal, Great Britain or China. In consequence there is no history so much like another history as that of a suffrage Bill in one Parliament is like that of another Parliament. The certain evidence that the present status of our movement is that which immediately precedes success is that it has required political jugglery, shrewd Parliamentary tactics, conspiracies, with now and then a downright contemptible political trick, to prevent favourable action. How amusing is it to see men plot and contrive to keep from doing a thing to-day which they know they must do to-morrow! There have been no defeats, but there have been disappointments in the outcome of the campaigns of Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland.

In Iceland the Bill was neither defeated nor tricked. It was involved with other measures and honourably postponed. In order to make partial reparation to the women for their disappointment, the Government made an appropriation to defray the expenses of two delegates from Iceland to Budapest to explain just how it happened. Iceland is a very small country, but no braver, more democratic people does the world know. I bid its delegates take back the message that the Government of Iceland has set an example worthy of imitation by the largest and proudest Governments of the earth.

The Parliament of Norway has been the only one to pass the suffrage measure—the removal of the tax qualification for the Parliamentary suffrage of women. At every Congress of the Alliance, the delegates from that sturdily democratic country have come bearing the news of some fresh victory. This time it comes with the satisfying news that its task is now completed. Two hundred and fifty thousand women have been added to the list of enfranchised women, and universal suffrage for both sexes has been established. More, these apostles of woman's freedom come bearing the further good tidings of much helpful forward legislation accomplished as the direct result of women's votes. Two heroic leaders of the movement, to whose devoted and intelligent guidance much of the success of the woman's movement is due, have come to Budapest as

official delegates of the Norwegian Government. All hail, brave and victorious Norway!

The largest gains for the past two years have been in the United States. Five States and the territory of Alaska have followed the example of the four former suffrage States, and have enfranchised their women. Two millions of women in the United States are now entitled to vote at all elections, and are eligible to all offices, including that of President of the United States.*

Although these American States are the newest and most thinly populated in the United States, the victory is far more significant than most people realise. The territory covered by these nine States, excluding Alaska, is one-third that of the whole United States, and more than two and a half times as great as that of the original American Colonies. Each suffrage State is considerably larger than the so-called "Empire State" of New York, and several are twice as large. If France, Germany, Great Britain, Austria, and Hungary could be set down in the middle of this territory, there would be enough territory left uncovered to equal the kingdom of Italy. The population now is about eight millions. The resources are extremely varied and valuable.

I have dwelt upon the size and resources of these States for two reasons. First, I wish every delegate to realise that whatever fate the changing destiny of races and nations may bring to the North American Continent in the centuries to come, this vast section is bound to take a conspicuous place in history; and that, whatever comes, woman suffrage is securely established there for all time. Second, I want each delegate to know that this Great West is a guarantee of ultimate woman suffrage for all the North American Continent. It is a notable fact that the last eight States extended the suffrage as the direct result of the beneficent operation of woman suffrage in contiguous States. Each new victory has been an endorsement of the experiment already tested and proved. These nine States will now collectively exert the same influence on the remainder of the United States, and also upon their neighbouring nations.

Since the last Congress your President, accompanied by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, President of the National Suffrage Association of The Netherlands, has made a tour around the world, the object being to learn, if possible, what position the women of Asia occupy in the new upward movements of that Continent. The work we did may be briefly summed up: We held public

*The news came during the Congress that another State, Illinois, had been added to the list.

meetings in many of the towns and cities of four continents, of four great islands, and on the ships of three oceans. We had innumerable private conferences, and had representatives of all the great races and nationalities in our audiences. The tangible results of our trip are that we are connected with correspondents representing the most advanced development of the woman's movement in Egypt, Palestine, India, Burmah, China, Japan, Sumatra, Java, and the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, and also in Turkey and Persia, which we did not visit. As to the effect upon the movement in the countries visited, we shall claim little more than that we have blazed a trail which we may point out to other women willing to carry the inspiration and sympathy of our movement to the women of Asia. They, knowing the way, will be able to accomplish much more than did we. It is our earnest hope that other women, comprehending the unity of the women's cause, will be led to carry our greetings to the women of Asia, who just now need the encouragement which Western women, emancipated from the most severe mandates of tradition, can give in practical advice to these women, who for many years must continue to struggle under conditions which obtained in our Western world some generations ago.

It is conceded by all those familiar with Oriental conditions that there has been no example in all history when such enormous and portentous changes have taken place in so brief a time as those now in progress in Asia. Upon that vast continent, containing twice the population of Europe, and half that of the entire world, civilisations so unchanging that they have been regarded by the West as veritable fossils, have suddenly stirred with new and modern life. Worn-out customs are being cast aside like old garments, and new standards of thought more in keeping with modern enlightenment are being boldly adopted. The present result is a curious and bewildering confusion of the old and the new, the East and the West, with all the puzzling odds and ends of a transition period.

To gain a clear idea of the woman's movement in the midst of this confusion is no easy task. There are, however, a few central facts, of which we shall do well not to lose sight. (1.) The women of the Orient have never been the satisfied, contented sex the world has believed them. Authors, European and Oriental, have declared that the women of this or that Eastern nation were the happiest in the world. Men said so, and we believed them. It was never true. Behind the purdah in India, in the harems of Mohammedanism, behind veils and barred doors and closed sedan chairs, there has been rebellion in the hearts of women all down the centuries. There, compelled to inactivity, they have been waiting, waiting for a liberator. Like captive birds many have beaten their wings

in despair against the unyielding walls of their cages; but now and then a bar gave way, a woman escaped, and whenever she did she made her protest.

We spoke with many women all over the East who had never heard of a woman's movement, yet isolated and alone they had thought out the entire programme of woman's emancipation, not excluding the vote. We heard them repeat the steps of the necessary evolution to freedom, now with eyes blazing with indignation, now illumined with hope. I left such women with the feeling that I had been in the presence of God. Verily a spirit above and beyond our finite selves has gone forth to all the women of the earth calling upon them to arise, to burst the shackles of tradition, and to demand the freedom which is the just heritage of every human being. This is no evidence of a sudden awakening. Instead the star of hope has dimly lighted the way of these women of the East through all the dark centuries. In this twentieth century, as a reflex effect of the common movement of these nationalities and races, that star has become a Great Light.

(2.) Out of sight and hearing, these secluded women have wielded a far greater influence upon their nations than we have been led to believe. They are doing much to keep the spirit of the present-day movements alive. Whoever attempts to estimate the force and meaning of the awakening East without reckoning upon the influence of women will fall far short of truth. Whatever Western nation attempts to rule the East without taking women into account is sure to meet defeat from an enemy its agents have never seen.

(3.) Men may honestly believe that women should be cloistered and veiled, silent, and subject; but when a national interest arises which needs aid, all through the ages, such men, black, brown, white, or yellow, have forgotten their reasons, and become not only willing but anxious that women should come out of the cloister, take off their veils, break their silence, and cease their servility. At such times they encourage women to plunge their nimble fingers into the nation's fire and to bring out the roasting chestnuts of the nation's liberty. These men then take the chestnuts, and send the women back to the cloisters and veils, the silence and servility. Just now Asiatic men, not a whit more selfish than Western men have been and will be, are beginning to desire a taste of those chestnuts, and all the surveillance is weakening in consequence. Women are organising, speaking, working. It is our business to encourage these women to demand their share of the chestnuts when they have been won. It is now a crucial time, when our Western help may give impetus and permanence to the movement of Eastern women, and when delay may mean a much longer continued oppression of women.

The main fact to understand is that there *is* a serious woman's movement in Asia. It is true that it is in an unorganised, incipient stage. So was our Western movement a hundred years ago.

The ignorance, apathy, and hopelessness of the masses of women in Asia are appalling; but on many a hill top the beacon lights of the reformer are aflame, never to be extinguished.

There are native women physicians in many countries, a woman lawyer in India, women's papers in India, Burmah, and China; many well-educated women in all lands, and a greater demand for girls' schools than any authority is able to provide. They vote, too, upon the same terms as men in the municipal government of Rangoon, in Bombay, and other Indian cities; nor must we forget that nine Chinese women have served a term in the Assembly of the great Province of Kwantung, of which Canton is the capital.

No one can visit the Orient without recognising the obvious fact that religion occupies a far more influential place in the life and thought of the people than with us. Perhaps this is not strange, since all the great religions of the world had their origin in Asia; and it is probably natural that these indigenous religions should have become immovably entrenched in the land of their birth. All customs contributing to the subjection of Oriental women have had an element of religion in them, and by popular belief have been the command of the gods. The surest and healthiest sign of a better time for women is therefore found in the fact that the heads of the great religions are beginning to explain. As leaders of Christianity a generation ago, under "the higher criticism" movement, publicly repudiated the misinterpretation of the Christian Scripture concerning women, which had been accepted for centuries, and sought a loop-hole through which they might pass from under the blighting edicts of St. Paul; and as the most enlightened Jewish Rabbis are now pointing to the fact that the Oriental status of women in the Jewish Scripture has no place in these modern times; so Brahminism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, the great religions of Asia, are alike repudiating the seclusion and oppression of Eastern women as no part of their dogma. All declare that the Mohammedans alone are responsible for it. Under the banner of the Crescent war was waged everywhere, they say, until no woman's life or virtue was secure, and they were driven to seek safety behind the walls of their homes. What had been a necessity in time became established custom, and no one asked its origin. With all these religions disclaiming responsibility for the subjected position of women, and all bestirring themselves to right past wrongs, it is left for the Mohammedans to defend themselves against the charge which all the

others lay at their door. And they are doing it! A Princess of Turkey has made a careful study of the Koran, and is an acknowledged scholar in Arabic. She has declared that she finds nothing which demands a secluded life for women. A Princess of Egypt has taken up her weapons, and over her own signature in the public vernacular press has contended for women's liberty in such emphatic terms that all Egypt knows her views; and now a society of Mohammedan women has been organised in Cairo to work towards the emancipation of their sex.

But far more important than this agitation of women, even though the leaders may be royal princesses, are the new virile positive sects which have arisen within the older religions. One of these is Theosophy. It is making great gains in India, and wherever it goes is holding aloft the torch of woman's emancipation.

In the school for teachers at Madras, and its schools for Hindu boys and girls at Benares, and for Buddhist boys in Ceylon, some truly wonderful things are being accomplished. Twelve hundred orthodox Hindu boys in Benares are learning their old philosophy with a modern application. Among other things, they are being taught that the freedom of women is consistent with their faith, and they are setting out to correct the age-long wrong endured by the women of India. Thirty of these boys, without pay or reward, while they are themselves in school, are conducting schools for little girls, and this I thought the most significant thing I learned in India. In Bombay, too, we found men lawyers, doctors, and teachers, who were Theosophists, without pay, teaching in an overcrowded girls' school. I do not profess to understand or to endorse Theosophy. Those Hindus who do not like it say it is Buddhism, and the Buddhists, who do not approve it, say it is Hinduism. Whatever may be one's personal opinion of Theosophy, the true feminist must feel a sense of gratitude to Mrs. Besant, who has established these Eastern schools.

The Bramah Samaj, a great Hindu sect in India, is pledged to equality of rights for men and women, and is so consistent that an almost equal percentage of its own men and women followers are educated. It is an active force for the abolition of caste, the elevation of women, the extension of education, and the unification of the entire Indian people. It has schools and newspapers, devoted leaders with sane and noble ideals which, were there no other influences at work, would in time revive and reinvigorate the peoples of India. Its women are free from Purdah, as the custom of seclusion is called. One, Miss Kumudini Mitra, a beautiful, high-souled young woman, who was expected to come to this Congress, edits a paper for women, and leads the movement in Bengal for women's education.

The Parsees, a sect which fled from Persia to escape Mohammedan control, educate their women and grant them every liberty of the Western world. One of their women, Miss Sorabji, has not only studied law, but is permitted to practice by the British Government, which denies this privilege to its own daughters at home.

The Maharanee of Baroda, a state north of Bombay, has written a book in which she appeals to the women of India to come forth and seek a more useful life, to encourage education, to take up employment for the common welfare. She has travelled much in Europe, and has studied the conservative efforts of European women, which she believes to be in accord with Indian thought. The picture of the unveiled Maharanee herself, in a preface to the book, is a bolder example to her countrywomen than those unfamiliar with Hindu custom can realise. All over India Hindu women have started and are maintaining schools for girls. They have organised many societies for the care of child widows, and various enterprises for the uplift of women. They have organised the Siva Sedan Sisterhood, composed of Hindu, Parsee, and Mohammedan women, the object being to break down the barriers of religious prejudice, and to enable women to meet upon the common ground of their common demand for relief from disabilities put upon them. All these uplifting influences are within the old religions of Asia, and quite apart from Christian teaching, which has likewise established schools all over Asia, and is preaching by example and precept improvement in the position of women.

What Theosophy and other sects are doing for Hinduism, the Bahais are doing for Mohammedanism. Its founder, Abdul Baha, called the Bab, came some sixty years ago in Persia, but he and his followers were cruelly persecuted, and many were put to death. What makes this sect of peculiar interest to us is that among his early disciples was a rare and gifted soul, Kurret ul Aine. What fateful coincidence of dates it was, that while American women in 1848 were founding the beginning of an organised suffrage movement, this Persian woman tore her veil from her face, and declared rebellion against all the tenets of Islam which relegated women to a position of subjection. Her eloquence encouraged the timid, and women followed her example. The priests came to put difficult questions, but she knew her Koran better than they, and she made converts by the score. Her success was too great, the priests were alarmed, and they applied that world-old but vain check to the growth of truth—they put the teacher to death. A Bahai in Cairo told me that 20,000 men and women had given up their lives for this new faith, but it has followed the universal rule of truth under persecution, and has steadily marched on and

on, until fully one-third of the people of Persia have espoused it.

Doubtless the greatest influence of the Bahais has been upon Persia—there the memory of Kurret ul Aine is still fresh, for she kindled an undying hope in the hearts of the women of her country. Under the influence of the new movement schools for boys and girls were established over all Persia, and the idea of self-government was rapidly growing in the minds of the people. Women, freed for a time from traditional custom, agitated and organised and even spoke in public. Emancipation for women and self-government for Persia seemed not far distant. In the movement women had become a mighty and a recognised power. Vassel el Rayiaith, another Bahai, in recognition of their services, introduced a woman suffrage Bill in the Persian Parliament.

Five hundred women, led by Nouradojah Kahnoum, a brave, intrepid heroine, and nine comrades, besought Parliament not to accept the ultimatum of Russia, and it was this group which appealed for aid to the women of England. It is a tragedy unspeakable that the splendid forward movements in Persia should have received a check through its recent difficulties. Now the women are prohibited from political work. Their organised groups are disbanded; their voices, eloquent a few months ago with their plea for liberty, have been silenced. One woman who dared to appear upon the street with a slight change in an outer garment was reprimanded by the police, and threatened with arrest if she appeared in it again. Dead reaction has settled over the scene where all was life and hope. Do not forget, women of the West, that this is a Mohammedan nation, and that a modern liberal element within that religion was slowly but surely lifting the people to enlightenment and self-respect. Do not forget that all this came to an untimely end through the interference of Western Christian nations.

The most picturesquely unique woman's movement in Asia is that of China. For centuries Chinese women have been sold at an early age into wifedom, or concubinage, to husbands they had never seen. Many such women rode in the red sedan-chair of the marriage procession to the door of the husband's house, and never again passed over the threshold until carried to their graves. Utterly illiterate, and trained to belief in the most absurd superstitions; accustomed to hear the most scathing ridicule of their sex as the opinion of the wisest philosophers and religious leaders of their land, their environment reduced them to the most abject dependence. With feet bound so that they could neither walk nor exercise, natural growth and health were impaired, and the dangers of maternity greatly increased. Among the poor, little girls were commonly sold into slavery,

where they served master or mistress until the marriageable age, when they were sold again into wifedom or prostitution, with a comfortable profit to the first owner. The murder of female infants was common, and the sad lot of Chinese women seemed the most soul-deadening and pitiful in the world.

Yet, for reasons difficult to understand, they bear the reputation of always having been the most spirited women in Asia. A curious custom existed there, and whenever a woman reached the point when she could endure her life no longer, public opinion permitted her to seek a quiet spot and to pour out her wrath to her heart's content. As there are not many quiet spots in China, the roof of her own house or the banks of a river were favourite resorts. We saw a few of these exhibitions of women protesting against the inevitable. At first we thought them insane, not understanding what they said. We recognised a mighty flow of language, eloquent and indignant tones, and afterwards learned that they were merely "freeing their minds." There were always many men who paused to listen, and we never saw one laugh at the women. I am inclined to think that this opportunity to let off restrained and accumulated rebellion has had a tendency to preserve the spirit of the women; and that the eloquent condemnation of every hampering custom of their lives, which these individual women had been pronouncing for centuries, has had a wholesome educational influence upon the men.

Behind the stone walls and barred doors of their homes there was more spirit and more rebellion than the world knew. So it happened that when a secret society was organised some twenty years ago, with the object of overturning the Manchu Government, and substituting a government which would be Chinese and at the same time more progressive, many of the women of China, to whom were offered equal rights in the deeds of risk and danger, became as ardent members as men.

As propagandists, they manifested great gifts. Many were renowned for their eloquence and successful organisation. When the time came to take more definite steps they formed "Dare to Die" clubs, and secretly carried arms and ammunition from Japan to Canton; they went all over the country as messengers to bear important and secret orders, and when the revolution broke out, before its time, they demanded the privilege of performing the last service for the cause of Chinese liberty, and enrolled as soldiers. They were armed and drilled by trained generals, but were officered by women. Girls in mission schools and daughters of revolutionary fathers ran away to join the general movement. Already several young women had been put to death by the Manchu Government as the result of suspicion that they were involved in a conspiracy against the Government. Their fate stimulated instead of

checking the patriotic motives of these spirited women. They were encamped together, but they were never called into active service. Impatient at this delay many rushed into the lines and threw bombs into the enemy's ranks, and many were killed and lie buried upon the battlefield. How many of these women soldiers there were no one seemed to know definitely. There was no time for orderly records. Some said there must have been between three or four thousand of them. None knew how many had been killed, but it is known that there were a considerable number. Many women who possessed a little patrimony of their own put it all in the treasury of the Revolution. The leaders of the movement generously acknowledge the debt they owe these women, and admit that they have earned the right to demand a share in the new liberty of China.

The Manchus, as a tardy concession to the growing liberal sentiment, granted Legislative Assemblies to each Province. When the Revolution closed, elections for new members of these Assemblies were ordered, and during the transition each Province was permitted to conduct these elections according to its own rules. The Revolutionists of the great Province of Kwantung decided to reserve ten seats in their Assembly for women, and to permit women to elect them. Universal suffrage was temporarily established, men voting for the men members, and women for the women members. As a matter of fact, few, if any, men or women outside the Revolutionary Society voted. The ten women were elected. One, a young Christian, resigned. It was our understanding that the others were Confucianists. They were women of mature years and educated. Some were teachers, and several were the wives of prominent merchants of Canton. We had the privilege of seeing these women sitting in the Assembly, and of talking, by means of interpreters, with several of them. We found them dignified, self-respecting, intelligent women, with an abiding faith in the new China and the coming emancipation of Chinese women.

No other Province seems to have even considered giving women a vote in these first elections. Canton had been the seat of propaganda for the Revolutionists. It was the home city of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, its founder and chief promoter. It had also received the most effective proof that women were not satisfied with their lot. It was in this province that secret societies of young women had been organised in increasing numbers. These young women pledged themselves to end their lives rather than to surrender to marriage with a man they had never seen. Their membership was unsuspected, and was never revealed until the suicide took place. Hundreds of young women had suicided in response to these vows. Protest can go no further, and apparently it had had an effect upon the Revolutionists of the Province.

After the elections to the Provincial Assemblies took place, a National Convention was held at Nanking for the purpose of establishing a provisional constitution. The women appeared in considerable numbers to present their claim for a share in the new Republic. They received the usual concession—that is, a resolution from the Convention acknowledging their services and the theoretical belief in woman suffrage, but with the further declaration that the women were not yet ready! That resolution shows that in some things the East is a faithful follower of Western example!

There is yet another chance for woman suffrage in China, as a permanent constitution must be adopted if the Republic lives. Meanwhile the women, who a few months ago were bold members of the "Dare to Die" clubs, have turned aside from their campaign, and are giving their entire attention to the problem of education with a devotion and a self-sacrifice that must inspire the admiration of all who know them. Each and every one has become a volunteer teacher of a girls' school. We found these women of China intelligent, well-balanced, and determined. Their comprehension of the woman's movement was sane and normal. They are organised as women are everywhere organised, and work in exactly the same way that Western women work. I have every confidence in the permanence and the ultimate success of the woman's movement in China. Their great need at this time, as they themselves declared to us in every town we visited, and as they now write, is a university for women. There is no advanced institution of learning in that country where they may go. Heretofore those desiring an advanced education have been obliged to go to Tokio. To study there they must learn a new language. They want the opportunity to study medicine, and some of them desire to study law. The new Republic is moneyless. Its first endeavours in the field of education must be the establishment of common schools, and it is not likely that the Government will be able to build such a university for many years to come. Is it impossible for the West to supply this need?

The freest women in Asia are the Burmese. In that land rights for men and women are practically equal. The influence of the matriarchate, which was once common to the entire Malay race, is seen in the fact that the women own their own property, and most of them are engaged in business and carry their own pocket-books. The only political privilege accorded to men of this nation is in the municipal governments. In Rangoon there has been a governing municipality for thirty years, and during that time women have had a vote upon the same terms as men.

The women of Japan are more advanced than other women of Asia in the matter of education. Many of them are highly educated, and there are many schools for girls. There is a sympathy with the Western suffrage movement, but the women there feel that it is not yet time to demand the vote for themselves, as only a limited number of men have yet been accorded that privilege, and the National Parliament has not been permitted to exercise a large degree of independence. The woman's movement, however, is developing rapidly, and little by little the old barriers which limited the lives of women are being demolished.

Into the desperate Asiatic battle of transition from the old-established order to the new Unknown, the West both consciously and unconsciously is forcing its ideas. Under one's very eyes the economic transition, which has taken a century in the West, is being accomplished in years. Women are deserting the distaff and home-loom and responding to the temptation of wages which Western manufacturers offer in the effort to secure cheap labour. In great buildings filled with buzzing, whirring machinery, floor after floor are filled with young women, who are driven the pace of Western labour at cotton and silk looms, and in the making of cigars. Here there are no child labour laws, and babies scarcely out of arms are at work in the hot, greasy-smelling rooms. Here laws set no time limit, and fourteen hours is considered a fair day, and is regarded as a Western standard of Christian justice. Eastern avarice has been stirred by Western example, and many an Eastern master has learned to play the game of the sacrifice of the life and health of employees for his own profit as unscrupulously as any of his Christian mentors. Western nations engaged in the rivalries of international politics have planted the seat of their activities in Asia, and are believed to be actuated by no nobler motive than the exploitation of the East for the selfish benefit of the West. Suspicion, already an over-exaggerated quality of many of these people, is aroused towards everything Western. Saddest and most terribly tragic of all these influences, the "Slave Traffic"—white, brown, and yellow—has received a tremendous impetus through the demand of Western men living in the East. Slavers—Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, Confucian, Shintoist—ply their common trade with ceaseless activity, and girls by the thousands are annually sacrificed upon the altar of the common lust of East and West. The condition is indescribable, almost unbelievable. The so-called Heathen East and the so-called Christian West have met in the commitment of a common crime against the race. This unspeakable barbarism, so out of place in the twentieth century, would never have existed had not the men of the world, regardless of race, colour, or religion, united in the preachment of doctrines

concerning women, wickedly false in every particular, and enforced those teachings by physical force. No solution of this problem is there except the vote in the hands of Western women.

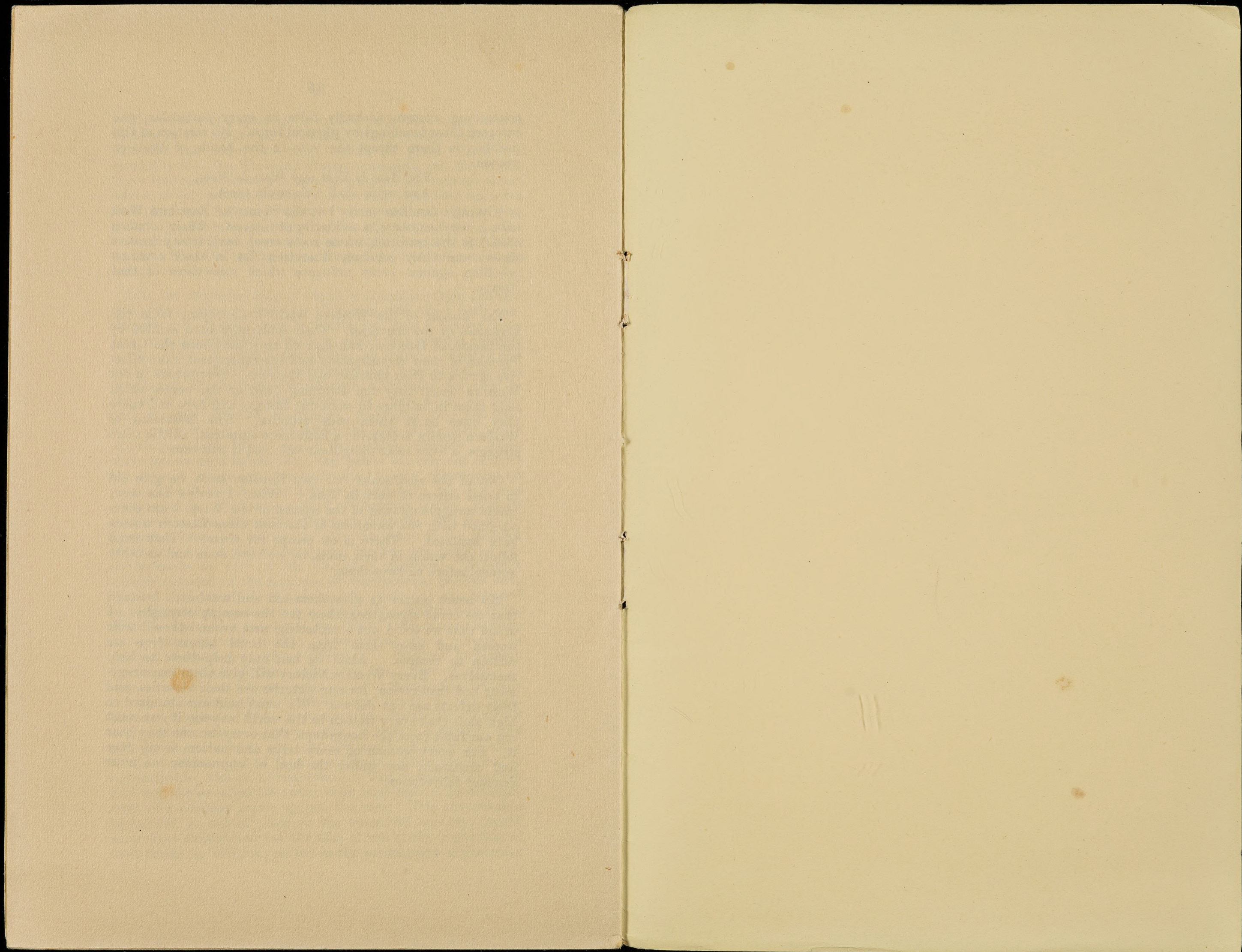
The East is East and West is West,
And ne'er shall this twain meet,

is Kipling's familiar verse; but the women of East and West have a common cause, a solidarity of interest. Their common enemy is the tradition whose roots creep back into primitive times, and their common liberation lies in their common rebellion against every influence which robs them of that liberty.

The women of the Western world are escaping from the thralldom of the centuries. Their souls have been exalted by the breath of freedom, and afar off they have seen the Great Promise of their emancipation and the consequent more effective service to their children and the race. Everywhere in our Western world they are straining hard at the bonds which hold them in tutelage to worn-out custom, and here and there they have burst them wide asunder. The liberation of Western women is certain; a little more agitation, a little more struggle, a little more enlightenment, and it will come.

Out of the richness of our own freedom must we give aid to these sisters of ours in Asia. When I review the slow, tragic struggle upward of the women of the West, I am overwhelmed with the awfulness of the task these Eastern women have assumed. There is no escape for them. They must follow the vision in their souls, as we have done and as other women before us have done.

My heart yearns to give them aid and comfort. I would that we could strengthen them for the coming struggle. I would that we could put a protecting arm around these heroic women and save them from the cruel blows they are certain to receive. Alas! we can only help them to help themselves. Every Western victory will give them encouragement and inspiration, for our victories are their victories, and their defeats are our defeats. We must hold our standard so high aloft that every woman in the world may see it; we must cry our faith from the house-tops, that every woman may hear it. For every woman of every tribe and nation, every race and continent, now under the heel of oppression, we must demand deliverance.





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The International Woman Suffrage Alliance

ITS HISTORY FROM 1904 TO 1929

By

REGINE DEUTSCH

on behalf of the Board of Alliance

190 VAUXHALL BRIDGE ROAD, LONDON, S.W. 1

1929

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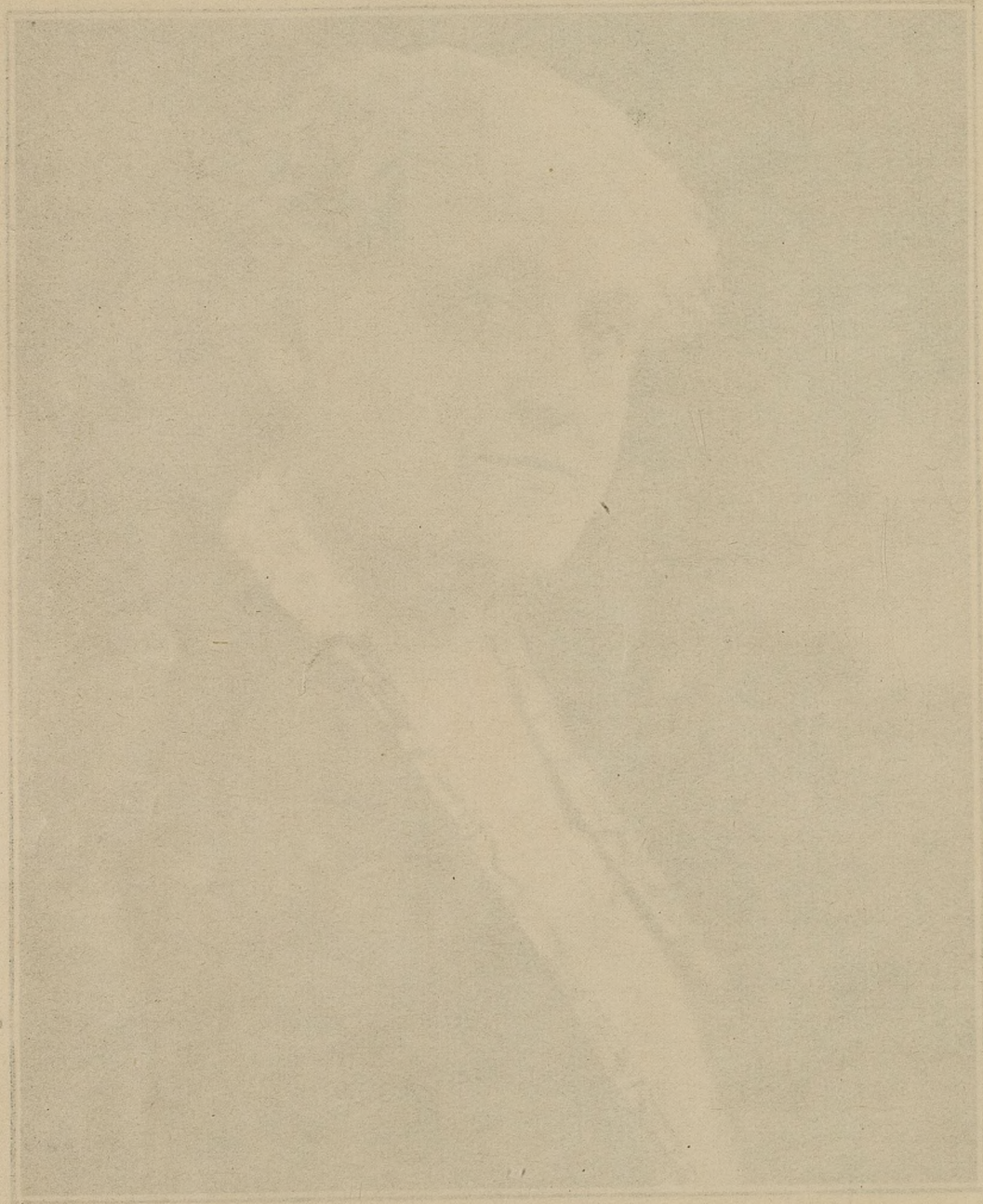
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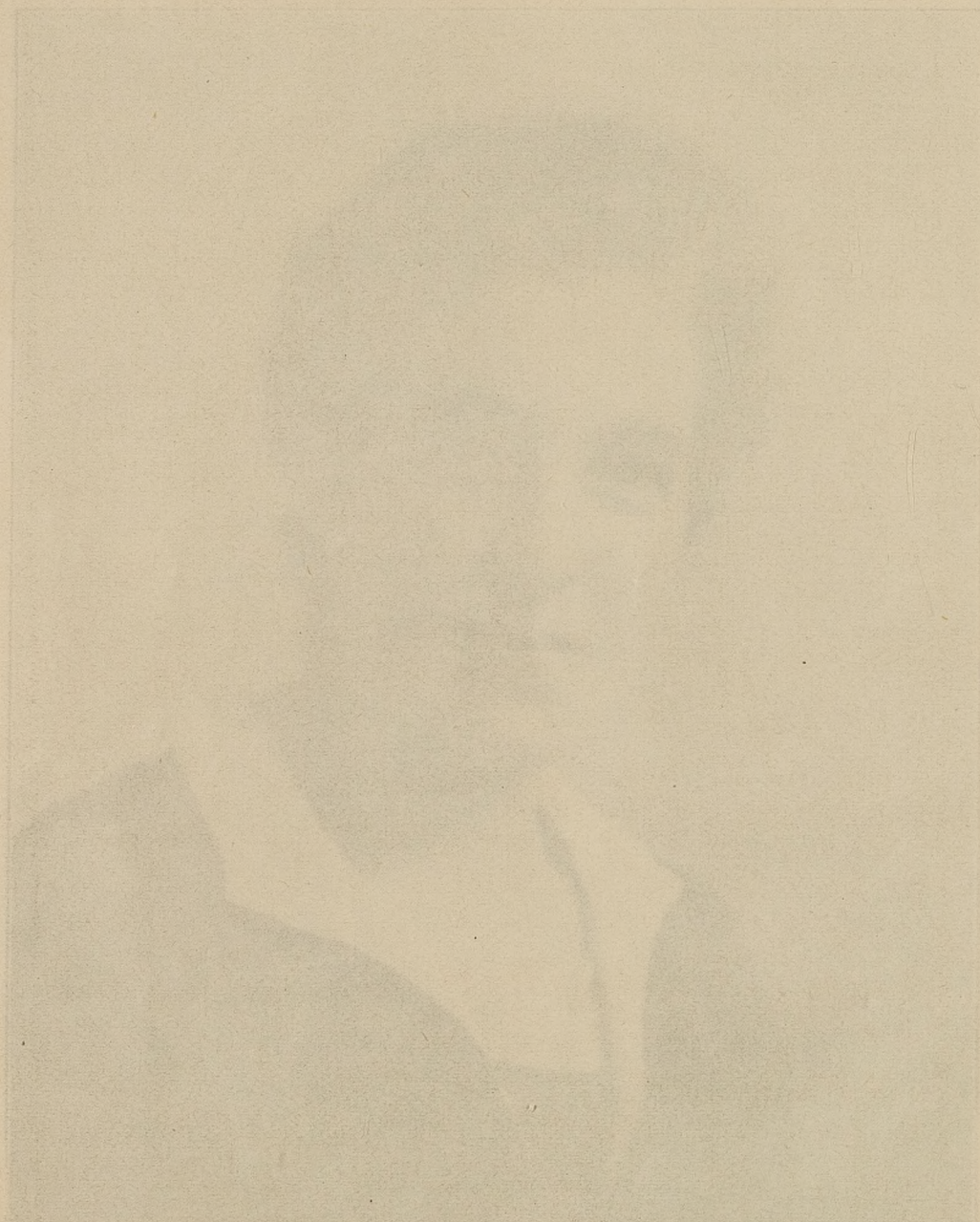
Carrie Chapman Catt



Barrett Chapman



MARGERY CORBETT-ASHBY



In Memoriam



Susan B. Anthony

born 1820, died in Rochester, U.S.A.,
1906.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw

born 1847, died in Philadelphia, U.S.A.,
1919.

Minna Cauer

born in Freyenstein, Brandenburg,
1841, died in Berlin, 1922.

Marie Stritt

born in Schässbürgen (then in
Hungary) in 1855, died in Dresden,
1928.

Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger

born in Paris in 1852, died at Val
Richer, Normandy, 1924.

Anna Wicksell

born in Oslo in 1863, died in Lund,
Sweden, 1928.

Edith Palliser

born in Comragh, Ireland, in 1859,
died at Hartfield, England, 1927.

Vilma Glucklich

born in Vagujhely, Hungary, in 1872,
died in Vienna, 1927.

Ein Gedenkbuch

✠

Susan B. Anthony
 born 1820, died in Rochester, U.S.A.,
 1906

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw
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Marie Cauer
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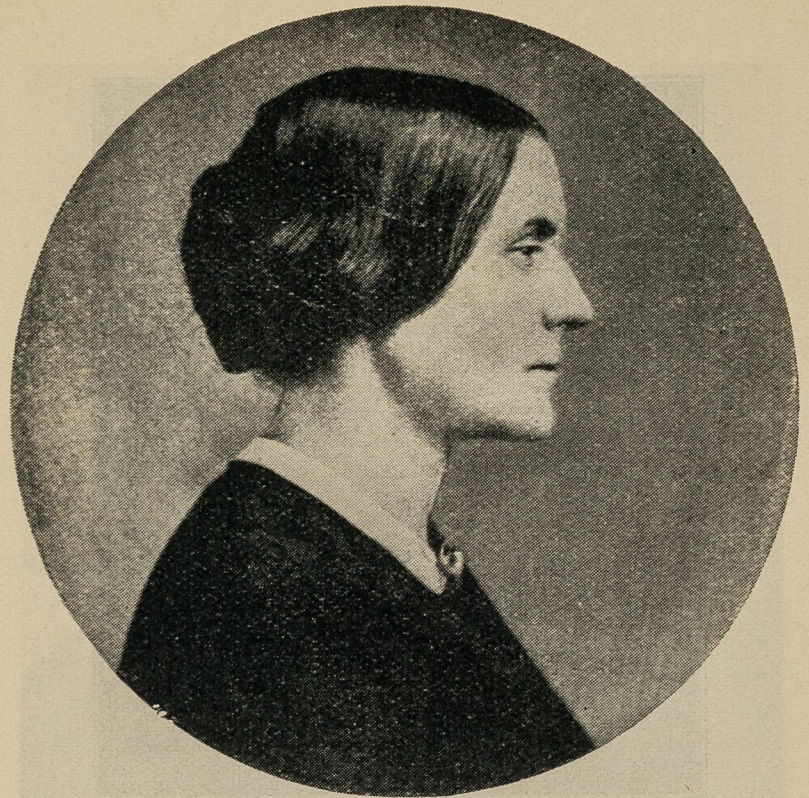
Marie Stern
 born in Schönbühnen (then in
 Hungary) in 1825, died in Dresden,
 1908

Marguerite de Witt Schumberger
 born in Paris in 1822, died at Val
 Richer, Normandy, 1924

Anna Wickell
 born in Oslo in 1869, died in Lund,
 Sweden, 1928

Edith Palliser
 born in County, Ireland, in 1859,
 died at Harfield, England, 1927

Vilma Glücklich
 born in Veszprém, Hungary, in 1872,
 died in Vienna, 1927



SUSAN B. ANTHONY



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW



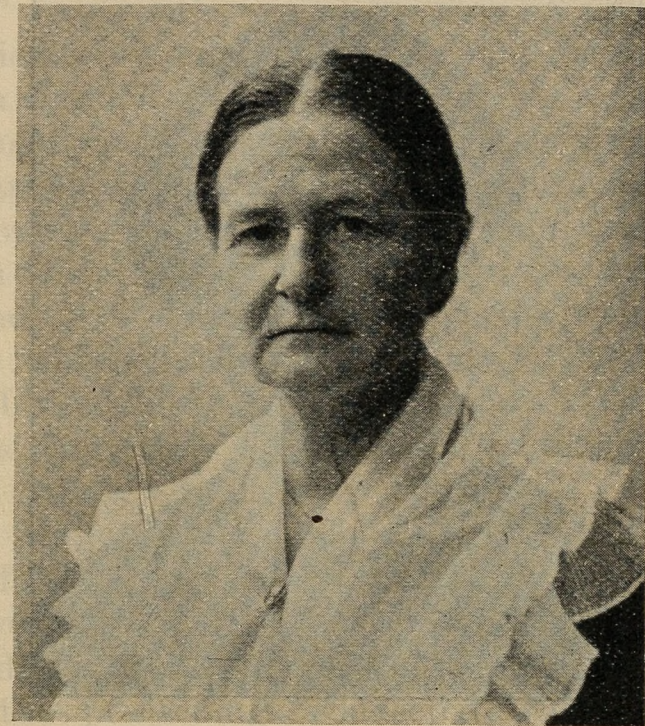
MINNA CAUER



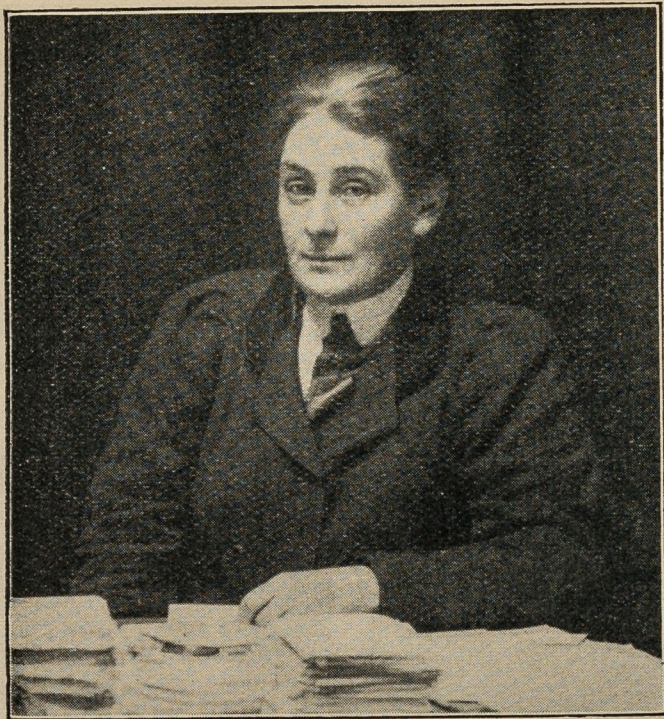
MARIE STRITT



MARGUERITE DE WITT-SCHLUMBERGER



ANNA WICKSELL



EDITH PALLISER



VILMA GLÜCKLICH

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance

How fast the wheel of world-history has turned during these twenty-five years! In this period, the greatest change of all has been in the position of women in all countries. When the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was founded in June, 1904, women's organizations came forward from eight countries: the United States of America, England, Australia, Norway, Holland, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. Of these, four of the North-American States already had woman suffrage for the legislative body: Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah; as had also the Commonwealth of Australia. New Zealand, Hungary, Switzerland, and Austria were able to unite their individual associated members into affiliated societies. In the year 1926 the Alliance added the words: "For Equal Citizenship" to its title, since, by then, a great number of national societies no longer needed to fight for woman suffrage in their own countries.

To-day, countries without woman suffrage are more quickly counted than those in which it is established. In Europe, the only countries without Equal Citizenship are the Southern and Western States and Switzerland. In England, in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe the war opened the way to the enfranchisement of women. The whole of the forty-eight United States of America have Woman Suffrage, and it seems likely that it will also be established before long in Asia and Africa.

Susan B. Anthony, the enthusiastic pioneer of Equality of Citizenship for Women in the United States, did not hesitate, in her 84th year, to take the long journey to Berlin to be present at the founding of the International Alliance. She personally conducted the proceedings connected with the foundation of the International Alliance, but declined the presidency, which was taken over by Mrs. Chapman Catt; the Vice-President being Dr. (of Law) Anita Augsborg, of Hamburg,

foundress of the first German Woman Suffrage Union. In Berlin, Susan B. Anthony received grateful congratulations, and was greeted with rejoicing wherever she appeared. On being presented with a beautiful bouquet of roses, she exclaimed with deep feeling: "When I was young men threw stones at me in the street—now that I am old they shower roses upon me." Closely associated with Mrs. Catt and Susan B. Anthony was the American woman preacher, the Rev. Anna Shaw, who excited the greatest interest in Berlin. Anna Shaw wore an original piece of jewellery—a brooch, in which from time to time a new small precious stone was set in token that yet another State of the American Union had granted Woman Suffrage. To Miss Shaw was given the joy of living to see their complete enfranchisement. Her death, at the age of 72, took place in July, 1919, quite soon after the success of the cause for which she had done so much.

The foundation of the International Alliance occurred at the time of a great meeting of the International Council of Women in Berlin. In consequence, many interesting meetings were thrown open to the public, while the Alliance confined its energies to holding business meetings.

The Congress at Copenhagen in 1906 presented, however, quite a different scene. Here, for the first time, the International Alliance presented itself to the general public, whose interest had already been aroused by a clever propaganda, and for the first time business proceedings were blent with social activities, which lent future Congresses of the International Alliance their characteristic and especial charm.

Meanwhile, the Canadian, and Hungarian Suffrage Societies had joined the International Alliance, so that by 1906 ten countries sent representative delegates. In addition, twelve friendly international and national organizations sent fraternal delegates. Both Russia and Hungary announced their affiliation. A sympathetic demonstration was held on behalf of the imprisoned suffragettes, and a memorial celebration for the great leader, Susan B. Anthony, who had lately died; and enthusiastic congratulations, sent to Finland as the first European country to give full rights of citizenship to women, marked the importance and many-sided character of this Congress.

When the International Alliance met again in 1908, in Amsterdam, the joyful tidings were announced that sixteen countries were represented, including Finland, Switzerland, Bulgaria, and South Africa. There were, besides these, seven delegates from unaffiliated franchise organizations and representatives of twenty-four other friendly national and international Societies. The delegates of seven Societies were able to report on very important gains during the last years. The Norwegian women came to Amsterdam as fully-fledged citizens; delegates from Finland as the first women members of Parliament. Both Sweden and Norway had granted the right of election as Town Councillors to women, Denmark had given them complete municipal eligibility. Great Britain had conceded them the right to become Mayors and to sit on County and Town Councils. In Germany, through the passing of a new law, the barriers, which had hitherto excluded women in Prussia and other German States from all political unions and meetings, and had entirely paralysed their aspirations for the vote, had fallen at last. It seems almost a paradox that, as early as 1904, a German Union for Women's Franchise (then transformed into a Federation) had been able to join the International Alliance in spite of these restrictions. The law governing societies happened to be freer in Hamburg than in other States, and it therefore became the seat of the first Suffrage Society. From 1918 onwards the movement spread throughout the Reich in ever-widening circles, just as we perceive its growth in later days in other countries, and, thanks to the efficient work of Minna Cauer, in Prussia. But the storm-centre of the warfare waged from East to West, from Lapland to Italy, from Canada to South Africa, was England, in the throes of the revolutionary suffragette movement. From 1867 onwards, when the National Union for Woman's Suffrage was founded, women had fought with increasing ardour for their cause. They petitioned the House of Commons with 52,000 signatories, including women of all classes, demanding the franchise, and Bills had been discussed in Parliament, but without making any headway. At this juncture, several women decided to take drastic means to win public opinion to their cause. Thus began the Suffragette Movement, which echoed throughout the world. These women did not ask for

audiences with Ministers, but rather forced them. Delicate women did not shrink from violence; they allowed themselves to be thrown into prison, went on hunger-strike to the verge of death. They suffered for their principles as no women in any other country have done, and they evinced astounding energy, constancy, and courage.

Due recognition must be given to the above-named and oldest organization, which would neither join those who loathed and sought to ridicule the new methods nor consider them as unwelcome rivals. They moved on separate lines, but they never forgot that their aims were one. Hence both shared the sympathies of the Congress, which found expression not only in the wonderful speech of Mrs. Catt, but also at every opportunity in the negotiations and resolutions. At this meeting the suffragettes were the great sensation. Hitherto they had held aloof from the Alliance, but were now represented by well-known leaders, who came forward as fraternal delegates. A second sensation was provided at the open meetings by the appearance of women from the enfranchised countries (Finland and Norway). Eleven months later, the Alliance being now five years in existence, the delegates and guests who came to the great gathering in London from 26th April to 2nd May, 1909, received quite another impression of the Suffrage Movement. It was then that they realized what a great popular movement the question of Woman Suffrage had become—the focus of public interest. The highest point of the proceedings was reached with a procession of workers, from University women in their brilliant robes to industrial women in their overalls, and cotton-operatives earning four shillings as weekly wage for sixty hours. All this vast crowd of women, with banners and emblems, marched into the Albert Hall to the sound of jubilant greetings from the women of all nations already assembled there. Renewed acquaintance with the most prominent suffrage leaders was of great value to the delegates, who saw in them the women who shrank from no sacrifice for their ideals.

During that year, four more countries were added to the sixteen already affiliated. The national societies of France and Belgium were acclaimed with general rejoicing. As the Austrian and Bohemian laws forbade the foundation of women's political organizations, these countries had to attain their

object by affiliating as Committees. Thirty-seven fraternal delegates came from national and international societies, and for the first time a Government—the Norwegian—sent an official delegation.

In Stockholm two years later (1911) the International Alliance numbered twenty-four Societies, and Mrs. Catt could state with pride that the sun never set on lands in which the Woman Suffrage organizations existed. The International Alliance was now meeting for the first time in a country possessing municipal rights for women, which had meanwhile been won by Denmark also, a country which possessed a Woman Franchise organization equal to the English. 30,000 women were by then united in Woman Suffrage Societies, and a petition with 140 signatures had been presented to the Swedish Government. All this news delighted both delegates and guests. But the greatest event at Stockholm was undoubtedly a speech made in the theatre by the famous Swedish writer, Selina Lagerlöf, on "Home and State".

In it she asks, "What have women been doing for thousands of years?" and replies: "They have been striving to make good homes. And what has man produced in his sphere of activity? The State. Though one cannot assert that the ideal home has been generally realized, yet good happy homes do exist, they are not an empty dream. But has there ever been a State which satisfied all its members? Does not every State government give cause for discontent and bitterness? And now again, as to the home? Although it is the woman's creation, she has not built it up alone; fortunately for her, and for all concerned, she has always had the man at her side. Had she striven single-handed her task could never have been achieved. But man, in creating the State, stood unaided and alone. That small masterpiece, the home, was woman's masterpiece aided by man. The great masterpiece, the ideal State, will be created through man when he takes woman in good earnest as his helpmate."

In Stockholm the question of women's entrance into men's political parties, and their relative position, was discussed in debates which were continued in 1913, at Budapest. The peculiarity of this Congress was that it opened not at Budapest but in Berlin. A large number of delegates and visitors from

non-European countries had arrived in Hamburg and Bremen, and betaken themselves thence to the German capital, where they were hospitably received and fêted by the German Society for Woman Suffrage, the Prussian National Society, and the Berlin Organization. The body of women then went on to Dresden, where they were welcomed in like manner, thence to Prague. There they were addressed by the woman Deputy, Vikova Kumeticka, elected in 1912, for Jungbunzlau-Nymburg, though she was not allowed to take her seat. The Bohemian women had already the right of active and passive suffrage for the Diet in the Kingdom of Bohemia, since 1861, excepting in the two cities with independent government, Prague and Reichenberg.

From Prague they all proceeded to Vienna. The Viennese women, themselves debarred from all their rights and represented only by a committee, were the more anxious to welcome in their own city those who had long been fighting for women's rights. A banquet which took place on the first evening proved that the committee knew how to honour its guests as nobly as any full-fledged Woman Suffrage Society, and the public meeting held on the following evening with speakers from the different States made a great impression on the audience, and no doubt furthered the cause. After a splendid river journey down the Danube, and full of all they had seen and heard, the party finally reached Budapest; here, too, there were many surprises awaiting them.

The President of the I.W.S.A., Mrs. Chapman Catt, with Dr. Aletta Jacobs, President of the Dutch Women's Movement, had undertaken a voyage round the world in order to become acquainted with the condition and status of women in Asia and Africa. The results of this tour were memorable. We heard for the first time of woman's awakening in the East. In China a Woman Suffrage Society was already in existence, and asked for admission to the I.W.S.A. and had presented a beautiful banner, which Dr. Jacobs now handed to the Association, at the same time giving a vivid account of the Chinese women and their state of bondage. It was touching to think of these women, who all lacked the simplest rights, seeking for help through union with the Association whose members were aiming at the highest freedom.

Again, in South Africa, the visit of the President and her companion had led to a reorganization of the Society already existing; greetings, too, from Persia justified the title of "International". The President further reported that in the U.S.A. five more States, as well as the territory of Alaska, had granted equal civil rights to women. Already, since 1913, one-third of the Union States had woman suffrage; considering that the men's vote had been adverse, and that no political revolution had smoothed the way as in other countries, this result must be highly appreciated.

Another notable feature of this congress was the co-operation of men's societies in favour of Woman Suffrage which had been formed in several countries.

This many-sided and brilliant congress was arranged and carried through with the greatest courage and skill by a handful of enthusiastic women, of whom we may specially name Rosika Schwimmer and Vilma Glücklich.

In May a great many members of the Alliance met in Rome for a session of the International Council of Women. The recollection of the I.W.S.A. founded 10 years earlier offered them the occasion for a great public Suffrage demonstration in the Teatro Nazionale under the chairmanship of Mme. de Witt-Schlumberger. The meeting was addressed by women from various countries, the most notable utterance being an impassioned speech by the Parisian barrister, Mme. Vêrone; who inveighed with courage against the Italian system of colonization and warmly advocated the peace of nations. She expressed her gratification that in following the German speaker (the present writer) she could show that both French and German women were united in a common ideal; she then embraced the German speaker, an act which caused much comment in the Italian Press. After this friendly re-union there followed, alas, the long and distressful break caused by the war. The attitude of the I.W.S.A. during this period is a crown of honour for the women who controlled the cause of its affairs, proving that women's solidarity can surpass all mere national boundaries. Foremost in merit stands Mrs. Fawcett, the first Vice-President of the Alliance in London. Aided by Miss Macmillan, the Secretary, and Rosika Schwimmer, secretary of the Press Committees, she made herself responsible

for the communication of Aug. 3rd, 1914, which she forwarded to the representatives of Foreign Powers and to the English Foreign Office. It ran thus:—

“We, as women from all parts of the world view the present situation in Europe with fear and horror, threatening as it does to plunge one quarter and possibly the whole of the world into the terrors and disasters of war. At this awful crisis, when the fate of Europe hangs upon decisions in which women have no voice, we, as mothers of the present generation, cannot stand calmly by; politically powerless as we are; we can only implore the Governments and Powers of our respective countries to avert the unparalleled misfortunes which threaten us.”

“In none of the States immediately concerned in the threatened outbreak of war have the women any direct political influence on the fate of their own country. They are in the almost intolerable position of seeing that which is nearest and dearest to them—home, family and offspring—not only menaced, but exposed to inevitable and endless injury, which they, in their powerlessness, can neither hinder nor alleviate. Whatever were the outcome of war, it could but impoverish humanity, throw back civilization, and effectually check all those efforts to improve the lot of the masses on which true prosperity depends.”

“We women from 26 countries who are united in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance with the aim of sharing with men the power that shapes the fate of nations, turn to you with the petition to neglect no means of reconciliation, such as the Court of Arbitration, in order to prevent half the civilized world from perishing in a sea of blood.”

When once the disaster had begun, Mrs. Fawcett wrote, in the next number of *Jus Suffragii*, the organ of the International, as follows:—

“We stand face to face with the enmity, the misunderstandings caused by the war, yet despite the cruel spirit which fills the world, we must keep our Union firmly united. In spite of all, we must uphold the faith that justice and mercy are stronger than hatred and the frenzy of destruction.

“The women who have worked in common for a great cause, share common hopes and ideals, and these are the indestructible

bands that bind us together. It is for us to prove that which binds us stronger than that which separates.”

These were no idle words, and in this noble spirit the committee strove to carry on through the difficult years which ensued, and to maintain the connexion with other societies in fighting countries by means of the neutral States.

Thus *Jus Suffragii* was carried on, reaching women of enemy countries through the neutral States. This international paper, under the editorship of Miss Sheepshanks, continued to be obtainable by the women of all nations, maintaining its complete neutrality with perfect tact. When war broke out the London committee busied itself in giving practical help to those who needed it. At the time, a great number—over 1,000—of German women and girls in London found themselves practically without means in an enemy country. They were first received into families and then gradually, under the protection of neutral women, got to Germany by way of Holland. Their escort then brought back English girls who had been at school, professional women, and those in private employ, etc.

But the most important aid was that given to the Belgian refugees in Holland. In the middle of October, 1914, a crowd of refugees, some 80,000, had collected in the neighbourhood of Flushing. It was impossible to provide for these adequately in Holland; they had neither shelter nor food, and their plight was terrible. The very day on which the Help Committee received this news they dispatched four large railway vans with food to the English Consul at Flushing for distribution among the needy. A speedily organized subscription brought in £4,500, half of which was forwarded in money and half in foodstuffs. For about a year the International Aid Bureau, which had been started with a number of International organizations by the I.W.S.A., continued working until having fulfilled its beneficent mission it was closed.

The women of the different National Societies had not lost touch with each other; there were but few presidents of affiliated Societies from whom nothing was heard. News came through Mrs. Chapman Catt from the President of the Chinese group, Mrs. Sopley Chang, who had met her in the United States.

Frau Schichkina Yawein, President of the Russian organization, wrote after a three years' silence that she had long ago been forced to fly from her country. Such were the sad consequences of the war!

The Committee of the I.W.S.A. endeavoured as soon as possible after the conclusion of peace to convene a congress, which met at Geneva in June, 1920. So vivid a picture of its proceedings is given by the English paper, *The Woman's Leader*, that some sentences may well be quoted. "To those who assert that everything repeats itself, and that there is nothing new under the sun, let us retort that the I.W.S.A. Congress of June, 1920, disproves this saying, for never in the world was such a gathering nor ever will be."

The Congress was important not so much on account of the speeches as for the fact that it was taking place at all; for it proved a witness to the surprising development in our civilization, through which the women of so many nations have been suddenly called to the legislative bodies, and formed the initial step in a new international community of work amongst women.

The Congress began with an announcement of the Woman Suffrage victories since 1913 (the date of the last Congress, in Budapest), and revealed an almost incredible advance. Twenty countries had granted the vote to women since then! Among them are great States and small, nearly the whole of Europe, excepting the Latin countries. Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Russia, form a great block of Woman Suffrage countries; round these are grouped the lesser, newly formed States. Iceland has regained the suffrage with her independence. Luxemburg has been drawn into the current; the new States of Poland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Lettland, Czecho-Slovakia, the Ukraine, even the Mussulman Crimea have all built up their new, free life on the basis of equal rights for the whole community. To these successes are to be added those in the United States and in Canada.

It was a moving sight as the representatives of all these States came forward in turn to describe how and under what conditions they had obtained the franchise and how many of them were now active in parliaments and on city councils. With many of them success had been achieved in bitter circumstances, amid revolu-

tions, revolts, and disasters of every kind; with others it came peacefully, new and fresh in the beginning of national life, and as a natural thing. Germany stood at the head with 39 women members at first, 41 at the close of the last national assembly, 155 in the State Parliaments, and about 1,400 in city councils. In Denmark the women had utilized their success in a surprisingly speedy manner. "We have attained to what we aimed at," said the Danish speaker, "we have equal pay for equal work, and equal rights under the marriage laws. Our equality of rights is complete."

In 1919 the American women, pioneers of Woman Suffrage throughout the world, had been winning all along the line. In 1917 one woman only, Mrs. Jeanette Rankin, sat in Congress at Washington for Montana, a State which had granted women the vote in 1914. She had voted against war, following the principles of the I.W.S.A. and her own womanly heart.

Though these successes had come about in troublous times of war, the rejoicing had nothing of envious feeling; from beginning to end of the Congress there was no sign of enmity or estrangement, not that the delegates had ignored or forgotten the past. They had not met together in any imaginary Paradise. They were fully conscious of the difficulties which they and their countries had gone through, they neither forgot, nor would forget, the ruined lands, the wretched, starving children, and all the suffering impoverished nations of the world. Differing though they often did in national sentiment, experience, and opinion, they were nevertheless resolved on agreement in matters where agreement was possible, or an understanding where it was feasible, resolved to work together with all their powers for the future safety of the world. Resolutions affirming the fundamental principles of the I.W.S.A. were passed with enthusiastic unanimity, and equally such as proposed help for the starving children and search for deported women and children in Asia Minor and the Middle East. Twenty-one Governments had sent official delegates, among them the Town Councillor Marie Stritt, Dresden, for the German, and National Councillor Adelheid Popp, Vienna, for the Austrian Government.

For the first time during these Congresses a special evening was reserved for the women members of Parliament from

different countries; this was also the case at the following Congresses in Rome in 1923, and Paris, 1926. The German Association for Women's Franchise, which had amalgamated in 1916 with the German Union for women's franchise and had since been called the German Imperial Association for Woman Suffrage, had disbanded, considering its work to be finished. There was then no affiliated German Association at Geneva. However, Adele Schreiber Krieger, who had heard during the session of her election to the Reichstag, was acknowledged as delegate from the Political Union of Labour Women, which she had meantime founded. Beside her came Thekla Kaufmann, as German representative member of the Wurtemberg Government. The Political Labour Association had been formed in some cities (Berlin, Frankfurt a/M) as an attempt at a non-political Women's Union, and a fresh connection with the Alliance. The exigencies of the time and the political crises impeded its success; but in 1922 the Union was able to greet Mrs. Chapman Catt as the first foreign visitor at a lecture in the great Assembly Room of the Reichstag. After this it was a question of affiliation with the I.W.S.A.

The oldest German Women's Union, founded in 1865 by Luise Otto, the "Allgemeine Deutsche", was converted into a Woman Citizens' Society and affiliated with the I.W.S.A.

And in other countries, e.g. Sweden, Australia and the United States the societies already existing were also reconstructed.

At Geneva we heard a representative of China, Mrs. Chu Chia Hua, leader of the Chinese women, for the first time. There could hardly be a greater contrast than between her report and that of Dr. Jacobs in 1913. It is true that during those seven years great changes had taken place in China, but the speaker said that in China women had always been held in high esteem. They had not been allowed to move so freely in public society, and had to confine themselves to the activities of the home and family circle; but they had never been so looked down upon as in Japan.

The development of conditions in China since the founding of the Republic in 1912 showed a wonderful thoroughness in the work for reforms, and Woman Suffrage might not be delayed much longer. This applied to some of the Provinces.

The English women had not been altogether satisfied. Though all countries had realized that woman's assistance was needed even more in times of war than in peace, yet for Englishwomen the door to the franchise had been only opened half-way. They had obtained the vote in 1918, with many restrictions, so that in 1919 only one woman, Lady Astor, was sitting in the House of Commons. In the following years the number of women members rose slowly, and there were as yet never more than nine women in the Lower House. Not until the year 1928 was the so-called "Flappers' Bill" passed, giving women the vote on equal terms with men, i.e. at 21 years of age. In May-June, 1929, Englishwomen will go to the poll on equal terms with the men for the first time, and will doubtless assist a great number of women towards victory. As the women of countries where they have obtained the franchise have their own particular questions to discuss and settle, a special Enfranchised Women's Committee was formed.

Following the attainment of the franchise for so many countries, the question was raised in Geneva whether the I.W.S.A. had not fulfilled its task and might combine with other organizations of a like nature. Several events, such as the forward movement among Eastern women, showed how much work there still remained to do. Representatives from India, Turkey, and Japan proved in their speeches how like and yet unlike their women's aims were to our own. It is difficult to arrive at a full understanding with these women, more bound by tradition and faith than are we. None the less we have seen with astonishment how rapidly the Turkish women, urged it is true by strong government pressure, have responded to new ideas and conditions.

In her speech at the Congress in Rome, the last that she made as President of the I.W.S.A., Mrs. Chapman Catt again put forward the reasons for continuing the Association she had founded. She reminded us that at Geneva we had thought especially of the women of Southern Europe, who needed our help at that time. Since then she had visited South America and had seen and heard how much the women in South and Central America suffer under antiquated laws, so that they again need help from their more fortunate sisters in other lands. The Association has a far-reaching purpose before it if it is to

help the women of all countries to the attainment of full civil equality. Its second aim is to secure for these women further equality as to occupations and education as in family life. Even women possessing the franchise leave much leeway to make up in this respect, and stand far behind what Denmark, for instance, so speedily attained. For the women with equal civil rights there arise no doubt questions different to those which concern the unenfranchised countries. For a thorough discussion of such questions four committees were established:—

- (1) For equal pay for equal work for men and women.
- (2) For an equal moral standard.
- (3) For the nationality of married women.
- (4) For equal family rights for the wife and mother.

In 1923 Societies were affiliated from countries which had hitherto stood aloof. In six Indian States the women now had the vote. Ireland, for the first time since her independence, sent delegates to Rome in association with Great Britain. Since the Geneva Session seven new Societies have joined:—

- (1) The Jewish Women's Society of Palestine.
- (2) The Woman Suffrage Society of Egypt.
- (3) The Union of Women Societies from New Zealand.
- (4) The Woman Suffrage Society, Newfoundland.
- (5) The Irish Women's Association.
- (6) The Indian Women's Association.
- (7) The Lithuanian Catholic Women's Association.

And further, the Women Associations of Jamaica, Brazil, and Japan.

In Rome there appeared also the delegates of the German Women Citizens' Association as a new branch Society. The women from Brazil, Egypt, Greece, India, Palestine, some of them in national dress, were welcomed with joyful surprise; twenty-three delegates from foreign governments were present, among them two from South America. The leading statesman of Italy, the country entertaining us, President Mussolini, had consented to become Honorary Patron and was present at the opening of the Congress. The hope expressed by the President, in her greeting, that this session in Mussolini's presence might obtain equal civil rights for the Italian women has, unfortu-

nately, not been fulfilled, although they did obtain a restricted communal franchise in 1925.

In Rome, Mrs. Catt declined to be re-elected, and was appointed Honorary President, as founder of the I.W.S.A. The retiring President received great ovations, and not less so her young and gracious successor, Mrs. Margery Corbett-Ashby, of London, who since then fills the post as the head of the Association, and has by her many-sided gifts won the affections of all.

In Rome, the Committee was divided into two, namely, Committees for:—

- (4) The Unmarried Mother and her Child.
- (5) Family Allowances.

The third post-war Congress, like the two preceding, took place in a country (France) which had long since granted women liberty in professional life, and possesses such famous scientists as Mme. Curie and Mme. Flammarrion. It has also generously opened the gates of learning to the women of other lands. Mathilde Theyssen, born 1838 in Trier, and still alive, the first woman Doctor, not only of Germany, but of Europe, studied at the Sorbonne, and it was there that in 1865 she passed her examination as "officier de santé et de pharmacie" with the right to practice and to dispense. The speech in which the Rector of the Sorbonne at that date, the genial Professor Lapie, sympathetically greeted this first student may still be considered a worthy and dignified proof of impartial, unprejudiced judgment. One can scarcely understand how, in such an enlightened country, women should be debarred from all participation in the life of the State. This same Sorbonne, which opened its gates to Mathilde Theyssen in 1861, opened them to the women of all the world for the Congress of 1926, opened them alike to those who with the French women demanded their civil rights and those who had already obtained them. If the delegates and guests had arrived in Paris with unusual expectations they were not disappointed. One realized even more than in Rome and Geneva what a difference it makes to a Congress when the delegates are for the most part free voters in their own country. Since the Geneva Congress it was a fixed rule that there should be public meetings with speakers who sat in the

parliaments of their respective countries, and in Paris such a meeting, with ten such parliamentary members as spokeswomen, made a great impression. It was a novelty that the parliamentary women's evening should find a response in a men's meeting for Woman Suffrage.

Besides the committees, to which the 6th for Peace and the Union of Nations, and the 7th for Women Police were added, as well as open discussions, special conferences took place between the unenfranchised women as to the best method of procedure and as to the question preoccupying all voteless women, but which the vote itself almost answers, namely, the entrance of women into the men's political parties. The forming of a special Political Women's Party was unanimously voted unpractical, but on the other hand all were for both national and international non-party Women's Organizations. After the Congress the Board appointed an 8th Committee in Order to complete the work of the 4th and 5th, namely, the Committee on the Legal Status of Women, dealing specially with women in marriage.

A striking instance of the differing positions of members of the I.W.S.A. occurred in the open meeting to oppose the Code Napoléon, under which the women of France and of other Latin countries are suffering, in which the women of all lands took part: here, those who had to fight for the smallest privilege, there those who were able to stand for the highest ideal, the peace of the world. The introduction to this new departure of the Association was made by a letter from Mrs. Chapman Catt, the Hon. President, who for the first time in twenty-five years was missing at the Congress, an absence which was keenly felt. She declared it to be the highest duty of women, once they had obtained their civil right, to stand in unity for the Peace of Nations. She praised the men who had framed the Locarno Treaty, which all members of the League of Nations had signed. She believed that the "safety" of the world was now imminent, that disarmament would now follow, and eventually, if slowly, a change from the dominant spirit of enmity and warfare to that of the Reign of Peace. The Congress gladly welcomed this appeal from their honoured foundress.

The desired Committee was formed and a "monster" meeting of 6,000 persons at the Trocadero, at which the Ministers Herriot

and de Monzie spoke, was addressed by nine women from different countries on the subject of the World Peace.

Just as in national parliaments the chief work is done by Committees, so also in this International Women's Parliament. It is unfortunately not possible to enter into the work of each Committee, interesting though it might be. The Committee for Like Conditions of Work for Men and Women dealt with a subject of burning interest, namely, the economic equality of women with men. On one point, that of special legislation for women in industry, there are two opinions, one in favour and one opposed, which led to lively discussions that did not prevent the position of the Alliance being re-stated in the terms already used at the Rome Congress.

The happily close relations between the League of Nations and the Alliance are intelligently fostered by Mlle. Emilie Gourd. The League of Nations had also sent its Liaison Officer, Princess Radzievill, as representative. The International Office of Labour in Geneva was represented by the German, Martha Mundt, as official delegate. Women from various countries active in the League of Nations reported on their work. We were told that the claim for Married Women's National Rights, as worked out by the League of Nations, had been endorsed on principle by countries members of the League. Let us hope that it will soon be optional for a woman to retain her nationality or not as she may choose. The German proposal that the question of appointing women to ambassadorial or consular posts in other countries be brought forward was accepted. The need for absolutely equal moral laws for men and women was stressed in detailed discussions (with approbation from the Mahomedan women also) and, further, extended claims for the unmarried mother and her child. After a speech by Miss Mary Allen, Commandant of the English Woman Police, whose uniform excited much interest, energetic action for the establishment of Women Police was decided upon. And German demands for reform in the matter of the regulation of prostitution and the employment of women police as agents provocateurs and morals police were unanimously approved.

Space forbids us to report further on the momentous happenings of past years. Forty-five States will take part in the Congress in which the Alliance celebrates its twenty-five years

jubilee in Berlin, its birthplace. The Alliance meets for the first time in a country where the women have equal civil rights, and where the girls of twenty register their votes. But despite the overwhelming change experienced by German women in these twenty-five years, they still need the help of the Alliance. In many fields the principle of equal employment has been maintained in theory but not in practice. And they need the Alliance in order to renew in all German women a sense of their privileged position in the matter of equal civil rights. The German women greet their sisters from other lands, far and near, those from the distant Tropics and those from Iceland's northern shores, feeling at one with them all in the common work which has reached so great a development in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

place in Berlin its birthplace. The Alliance meets for the first time in a country where the women have equal civil rights and where the polls do not register their votes. But despite the extraordinary change experienced by German women in these twenty-five years they still need the help of the Alliance. In many fields the principle of equal opportunity has been maintained in theory but not in practice. And they need the Alliance in order to reach in all countries a sense of their privileged position in the matter of equal civil rights. The German women have received many visitors from other lands, far and near, these days, and they have seen and heard the women of the northern and southern states, and they have seen all in the common work which has resulted in the development of the International Women Suffrage Alliance.

