

AN IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN
THE WORKING.

Answers from America.

THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST STATED BY
The Hon. ROBERT PALMER
AND
A. MacCALLUM SCOTT, M.P.

The enquiry was sent out by the following
twelve ladies:—

Adeline, Duchess of Bedford.	The Lady Balfour of Burleigh.
The Marchioness of Salisbury.	Miss Balfour.
The Dowager Countess of Leconfield.	Mrs. Creighton.
The Countess of Selborne.	Miss Haldane.
The Countess Waldegrave.	Miss Violet Markham.
The Lady Willoughby de Broke	Miss Talbot.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT WORK IN AMERICA.

[The two following articles are the outcome of an inquiry instituted last summer by twelve ladies, with the object of obtaining an impartial account of the working of woman suffrage in those states of the American Union in which it has been adopted. These ladies obtained letters of introduction to a representative selection of prominent citizens of the states concerned—clergy and ministers of different denominations, lawyers, educationalists, publicists, business men, former holders of public office, and the like, and a few eminent women; to all of whom a list of questions was forwarded, accompanied by the following appeal:

“Several Englishwomen who are much interested in the question of the enfranchisement of women are desirous of knowing how it works in the States of America where it has been put into operation.

“They hold very different views on this subject, some being in favour of the change and some against it, but they all wish to know the result in those countries where it has been tried.

“They therefore beg that you will answer the questions on the enclosed paper, or as many of them as you can, and return it in the addressed envelope which is inclosed.”

Names of the women who join in this appeal:

ADELINE, DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.
THE MARCHIONESS OF SALISBURY.
THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF LECONFIELD.
THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE.
THE COUNTESS WALDEGRAVE.
THE LADY WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.
THE LADY BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.
MISS BALFOUR.
MRS. CREIGHTON.
MISS HALDANE.
MISS VIOLET MARKHAM.
MISS TALBOT.

To this appeal sixty-three replies were received, and the accompanying articles represent an attempt to summarise these replies and the conclusions which may be drawn from them, from the suffragist and anti-suffragist points of view respectively.]

I.

BEFORE dealing with the sixty-three accounts of equal suffrage in the working which lie before us, it is only fair that the nature of the inquiry which elicited them should be emphasised. It did not pretend to be exhaustive, but it was eminently representative. It had no case to prove, and had neither the motive nor the means to pack the jury in favour of the one side or the other. The letters of introduction first obtained were directed to a few leading men in New York, whose views on suffrage were unknown to the inquirers, and these gentlemen forwarded the questionnaire to a number of prominent people in each of the nine ‘suffrage states,’ being only requested to avoid approaching anyone who was known to hold strong views on the question.

This method of procedure gives the replies that representa-

tive reasonableness which is associated with the verdict of a number of persons selected without reference to the issues which are laid before them. Nor must it be forgotten that these replies are all based upon direct experience. They are the statements of those who are actually living under equal suffrage.

It is therefore a very striking result, when we turn to the replies themselves, to find that their outstanding feature is the immense preponderance of those favourable to woman suffrage. A rough classification shows no fewer than forty-six thus favourable, as against eight neutral, five vaguely unfavourable, and only four definitely hostile. Such a consensus is really overwhelming. It shows that equal suffrage is passing from the realm of controversy to that of universal approval among those who have seen it at work.

Many of the replies are enthusiastic, but in a way, the more coldly favourable are the more interesting, because they are so patently genuine and unprejudiced. Several mention a point or two which tell against equal suffrage, well worth considering as far as they go, but to quote them apart from their context would give a false impression. The striking fact is that each of the forty-six sums up, most of them strongly, in favour of it, and on the most sensible and practical of grounds. The details will repay examination later on. Suffice it here to note that the aspect to which the most unanimous testimony is borne is the moral influence of women. It is above all with moral issues that they are concerned, and it is not disputed by more than one or two answers that their influence has been wholly good.

The eight neutral answers are perhaps the least instructive, as they come from those who either think it is too soon to judge, or from those who have not observed any results from the change which justify a definite opinion. Not one of them mentions a single evil result, or fear of any, from the grant of equal suffrage.

The answers classed as vaguely unfavourable read like those of men who were opposed to woman suffrage and still bear it a lingering grudge, but can find no definite charge to lay against it. Most of them describe themselves as neutral. The worst they can find to say are the following: 'Personally I do not believe in women voting, but I believe we cannot help it.' 'Much freak legislation, possibly due to women's influence.' 'Nothing accomplished which could not have been done as well or better without suffrage.' These are absolutely the three most unfavourable phrases in these answers, which can none of them allege any definite harm to have resulted from women's votes, while four of the five admit some definite good.

There remain the four definitely anti-suffragist replies, which

will be noticed in discussing the states from which they come. For what they are worth, they may be set against the forty-six. But beyond them any unfavourable testimony from these answers will have to be scraped together from isolated sentences out of favourable replies.

Again, if the answers be examined state by state, the result is equally encouraging to suffragists. Indeed it is especially worth while to go through them in this arrangement, because anti-suffragists are prone to call attention to some isolated abuse or evil institution existing in some single suffrage state (such as Mormonism in Utah, or misgovernment in Colorado), and brand it as the fruit of equal suffrage, without attempting to set it in its true historical perspective.

Three of the states included in this inquiry have adopted equal suffrage for their legislatures too recently to make their evidence of great weight. These are Arizona, Kansas and Oregon, which all took the step in November, 1912. Kansas (the most important of them) has, however, had municipal woman suffrage since 1887. And it must be admitted that many of the replies draw the inference, so repugnant to the subtler minds of anti-suffragists in England, that the women who have used the local franchise with conspicuous sense and success are likely to make an equally good use of the parliamentary franchise.

Of far greater importance are the replies from Washington and California. Although these states only obtained the full equal suffrage in 1910 and 1911 respectively, yet in each of them elections and two or three sessions have been held since it came into operation. It is true that it is still too early to judge of the full effect of the change, but the impression created is shown by the fact that all the replies from Washington are favourable, and some of them strikingly so. One gentleman, for instance, writes 'I do not think we could have cleaned up the city in 1911 but for the women. At that time . . . I was opposed to woman suffrage, but since that time I have become favourable.' Another says 'The whole attitude of law-makers with regard to "women's" legislation has changed since the adoption of woman suffrage. . . . Our present good conditions are due to the women.' These, of course, are opinions, but a consensus of opinions has probably some foundation in fact.

From California the evidence is even more definite and emphatic, and it is worth examining, because California is by far the most important state which is included in this inquiry. On the general question of their impression of its effects, fifteen replies are favourable, two neutral (on the ground that it is too soon to tell), one vaguely unfavourable, and one hostile. The latter, however, is only hostile on the two following points:

(1) Q. 'Has the change caused any ill-feeling?' A. 'I fear it has'; and (2) 'It will weaken home ties.' Incidentally, the writer mentions that he was an anti-suffragist before 1911.

Against this solitary foreboding must be set some very definite and forcible statements of the positive effects of the change. It must be mentioned that since the grant of equal suffrage a long list of laws* on the subjects which deeply concern women have been passed by the Californian legislature. When these lists are quoted, it is the practice of anti-suffragists to rake up a list of similar laws from non-suffrage countries to prove that there is no connection between the adoption of woman suffrage and these reforms. It is one of those queer coincidences, like indigestion on Boxing Day, which recur so causelessly. Such, however, is clearly not the view of the citizens of California who have seen the 'coincidence' at work. Here are a few of their replies:

'The attitude of the Civil Government towards women appealing in the interest of the causes near to their hearts has very materially changed since the women have had the right to vote.'

'The forces making for civic decency and cleanliness and good government in San Francisco have been enormously strengthened.'

'It has tended to make politics cleaner. It has placed some most excellent laws on our statute-book regarding child labour, minimum wage boards, shorter hours, anti-vice laws, etc.'

'The objectors are silenced in our actual experience under the law.'

'They (the women) have been a very definite constructive force in our legislation: have shown more definiteness and efficiency, and a more un-mixed public spirit, than men.'

This from a man:

'From being prejudiced against it I have become a mild convert through its good effects.'

'These (six named laws) were all passed through direct influence of the votes behind the women.'

'... Women are now able to enforce their point of view. . . . For instance, women have been trying for years to have an equal guardianship law passed in California. . . . It was passed without question in the first Legislature after the women were enfranchised, though backed by exactly the same women who had been pushing for the measure all along.'

A great deal more to the same effect could be quoted if space permitted. In particular, several of the replies mention the work of a women's organisation in 'recalling' (i.e. turning out by their votes) a notoriously corrupt Judge who favoured the 'vice interest.'

So much for the 'new' suffrage states. The 'old' are

*E.g., Employment of Women; Employment of Children; Age of Consent (i.e., raising to eighteen the age at which a girl's consent to her seduction becomes a valid defence to her seducer); Sale of Intoxicants; Kindergartens; Orphans; Widows' Pensions; Equal Guardianship; Bastardy; Juvenile Court; Red Light Abatement; Nurses; Milk Inspection, etc.

equally encouraging, though from their long familiarity with equal suffrage they take less note of its effects. To them it is an institution rather than a reform.

Idaho enfranchised its women in 1896, early in its history as a state. Perhaps for that reason, or perhaps because in Idaho social problems are still in their infancy, there is a tendency to regard the results as less marked than elsewhere. None of the replies, however, are unfavourable, and all assert that equal suffrage has both raised the character of candidates and increased the interest taken by women in politics.

Utah has enjoyed equal suffrage ever since it entered the Union in 1896. Here again it is accepted as a matter of course, and its effects have been the less noticeable because they have been present from the beginning. The general tone is complacently favourable. The points chiefly noted are that women have been useful 'on moral issues,' and that their votes have had a salutary effect on the character of candidates. Their influence is traced in many laws; and two, that providing widows' pensions and that raising the age of consent, are attributed to their direct agitation.

It is a characteristic argument of anti-suffragist literature to condemn the suffrage because in Utah it 'supports Mormonism.' This is only true in the sense that the women voters have not overruled the other citizens in their support of that creed. For Mormonism was the whole *raison d'être* of Utah. The Mormons deliberately withdrew to the wilds in order to practise their religion. There was no point in anyone going to Utah at all unless they were Mormons. So naturally the citizens of Utah support Mormonism, deeply mistaken as we think them; and in this respect the women are on the same level as the men. After all, where a whole community shares an error, it cannot be expected that the women, on acquiring votes, will forthwith reconsider their religion. And on the matters which enfranchisement does affect, it is clear that the influence of their votes has been beneficial.

The state of Wyoming was the pioneer in the movement towards equal suffrage. It adopted it in 1869 twenty-one years before it entered the Union. Consequently there is little positive evidence of the effects of its adoption, because it permeates the whole atmosphere. All the state's laws have been passed under equal suffrage. Most people cannot remember the time when women did not vote. Yet, oddly enough, one of the four definitely unfavourable answers comes from Wyoming, though it is written by an Easterner who has only been there a few years. His objection is summed up thus:

I should say . . . that women's suffrage has not affected the situation in legislation at all. It has added an increased responsibility, which responsibility has, I think, *been well borne*, and it has sharpened animosities and lengthened them. Plainly speaking, the granting of the suffrage is an increase of the ignorant vote. *That it has not been so in Wyoming* is due to the fact that . . . there is a very high intellectual average among our women.* The experience of Wyoming is no guarantee of the effect of suffrage where conditions are different.

And this is what on a rough classification was set down as one of the four hostile replies! On second perusal, its place seems to be rather (unconsciously) among the most favourable. For here an obviously 'unfriendly witness' coming from the Eastern states (where he had not seen equal suffrage at work), full of prejudice against it, tries to answer that it has been a failure, and is inadvertently betrayed into admitting that it is a success, but hastens to add that it might very likely be a failure somewhere else. The rest of the replies are uniformly favourable.

The last and most important of the 'old' suffrage states is Colorado, which enfranchised its women in 1893. It is also the state which anti-suffragists generally select for their battleground, because undoubtedly its government has been marred by very grave abuses which are not yet by any means done away with. This fact is made a ground of dissatisfaction against woman suffrage both in England and in the state itself. For Colorado is the only state from which two definitely unfavourable replies have been received. It is not unreasonable that such dissatisfaction should prevail, but the fact that it does so shows the high expectations which are naturally entertained of women's influence as voters. If they are no better than the men they are condemned.

But an examination of the facts in Colorado shows that they have improved upon the men. The state was in a hopelessly corrupt condition before 1893. It was largely a silver-mining community, and probably attracted a good many of the undesirables of either sex. As one reply puts it, the very movement for equal suffrage acquired its chief strength from 'a general conviction that male suffrage was so debased as to moral issues that it could not be trusted.' So that to expect complete reform as the result of their enfranchisement was to expect the women of Colorado to be on a wholly different moral plane from their men-folk, which is unreasonable. Those who wish to see

*The writer attributes this high standard to the number of ranchers who have married 'school-ma'ams'; but is it unfair to claim part of the credit for the long-established woman's vote? The 'old' suffrage states seem altogether to have a high educational standard. See the reports of the Commissioner for Education.

what Colorado politics are, or were, like should read Judge Lindsey's thrilling book *The Beast*. Yet even under these daunting circumstances the influence of the women has been to the good so far as it has gone. There is abundant evidence to show that they have been instrumental in securing laws very similar to those in California, and have a good effect on the character of candidates. Moreover, they can claim a large share of the credit for the Colorado children's laws, which have been described by the Inter-Parliamentary Union as 'the sanest, the most humane, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any statute-books in the world.' In particular, it was only by the women's votes that Judge Lindsey* was kept in office for thirteen years in the teeth of the opposition of both the political 'machines,' as the Judge himself acknowledges in his book.

Therefore even in Colorado a candid inquiry decisively vindicates the usefulness of woman suffrage. The point is, after all, not whether it has made the place clean but whether it has made it cleaner, and there is clear evidence that it has done so.

Thus, an examination of the evidence as a whole from each state in turn shows that in no state is woman suffrage believed to have done any kind of harm, and in every one some good results are attributed to it, while from at least three of the most important the testimony to its benefits is emphatic and detailed.

As a final method of survey it will be useful to run through the replies under the seven headings into which the *questionnaire* is divided. Lack of space forbids more than a rough analysis:

Q. 1. Reasons for adoption.

(a) Was it a party question?—A. Nowhere, except partially in California and Colorado.

(b) Was there militancy?—A. None anywhere.

(c) Where did the strength of the movement and opposition to it lie?—A. Strength mainly came from 'moral' influences and women's clubs; opposition from saloons and machine politicians.

Q. 2. Conditions.

A. The qualifications are the same for men as for women; about fifteen per cent. fewer women are on the register, on an average; women are everywhere eligible to the legislature.

Q. 3. How is the vote exercised?

(a) What percentage polls?—A. About five per cent. fewer than men, on an average.

(b) Have women formed new parties?—A. Nowhere.

(c) Is the balance of existing parties altered?—A. No.

*Judge Lindsey was responsible for the introduction of the Juvenile Court system in Colorado, whence it has spread throughout the civilised world. He is also a well-known reformer and enemy of 'Boss' rule.

(d) Do wives vote with their husbands?—About half say 'yes' and half 'no'—clearly individuals vary.

(e) Has the female vote affected the character of candidates for offices?—Thirty-eight replies say 'yes,' often quoting instances. Thirteen say 'no.'

Q. 4. *How has equal suffrage affected women's position?*

(a) Has it caused ill-feeling between men and women?—Over fifty say 'no'; three say 'yes.'

(b) Has it increased women's interest in politics?—Over fifty say 'yes'; about six doubt it.

(c) Has it impaired their usefulness in the home?—Nearly fifty replies say 'no'; eight say that in some cases it has. One picturesque answer perhaps hits the nail on the head in saying 'your flannel-mouthed suffragist is not a home-making woman at all.' But after all it is the *agitation* for suffrage which breeds the flannel-mouthed type; the grant quiets them.

Q. 5. *Is there any agitation for its repeal?*

A. None.

Q. 6. *What is your general impression of the change?*

This has already been dealt with.

Q. 7. *What legislation dealing with the following subjects has been passed since the women had the vote? Can the influence of the female vote be traced in any such legislation?*

(a) Conditions of female labour.

(b) Protection of women and girls.

(c) Temperance.

(d) Education.

(e) Sanitation and milk.

(f) Industrial arbitration.

(g) Widows' pensions.

(h) Divorce.

The answers under these headings are naturally rather fragmentary and unscientific; they need correcting and supplementing from official records. But, taking them for what they are worth, it is interesting to find that they record legislation on subjects *a*, *b* and *g* in every suffrage state since the grant of equal suffrage (except Kansas, which had had no legislature since the grant). And if Oregon and Arizona also be omitted, useful laws have been passed in every state on subjects *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f* and *g*.

It would of course be unreasonable to lay stress on this as far as the 'old' suffrage states are concerned, though the great majority of replies from those states do assert that the female vote has influenced their legislation on these topics. But in this connection the evidence from the 'new' suffrage states has a special value. The *questionnaire* selects the eight subjects on which it is thought women are most likely to use their votes. The replies from Washington and California, where three and two sessions respectively have been held since the grant of woman suffrage, show that the legislatures of both have already passed laws on seven out of those eight subjects in those sessions.

On the 'coincidence' theory the odds would be almost infinitely against such a thing happening; and when we find twenty-one answers from these two states affirming in unequivocal terms that these laws have been carried by means of the women's votes, no impartial mind can resist the conclusion that such is the truth. And in the still more extreme case of Oregon, where equal suffrage had been in force nine months, the only reply which deals with this part of the *questionnaire* enumerates laws of 1913 on subjects *a*, *b*, *e* and *g*, and adds 'These were all due to the influence of women.' Or another 'coincidence,' perhaps. In nine months!

It may be further mentioned in this connection that on the only two of these eight topics on which reliable information covering all the states of the Union is to hand at the moment—namely widows' pensions and the protection of girls by raising the age of consent to eighteen—the proportion of suffrage states which have legislated on these points is strikingly higher than that of non-suffrage states. Thus seventeen states altogether have widows' pension laws. Of these, six are suffrage states and enacted the laws since becoming so, and eleven are non-suffrage. But the six are six out of nine (two of the remaining three having had equal suffrage less than a year), and the eleven are eleven out of thirty-nine. Similarly, of the nine suffrage states seven have raised the age of consent to eighteen since granting equal suffrage (an eighth having done so just before the grant), while of the non-suffrage states the figures for 1911-12 (the latest available) show that then only four out of thirty-nine had so raised it.

On the matter of temperance, it must suffice to say that while all replies agree that women oppose the liquor interests, many deplore their moderations. Indeed, on the whole the replies go to show that women have not used their vote in any sensational manner, but that they have used it promptly and firmly on those practical issues of home, health, morals and the welfare of their sex, which are obviously those on which they have a peculiar right to make their views effective. And in so doing, if we are to accept the evidence here collected, they have not, with rare exceptions, impaired their usefulness in the home, nor caused ill-feeling between the sexes, nor introduced disturbing factors into politics. On the contrary, they have broadened their own interests and increased their usefulness thereby, and have used their influence not only for sound laws but for cleaner politics and a better type of candidate.

That is the evidence which these sixty-three American citizens, who have lived under equal suffrage, have given. The only question that remains is, What is this evidence worth? No

candid reader of it can seriously doubt its effect. There can be no serious doubt that the citizens of these states are overwhelmingly in favour of woman suffrage on the strength of their experience of it. But what value has that experience for England?

There are only three possible lines of answer. One is to admit the practical benefits of woman suffrage but to cling to the theoretical objections to it. The second is to admit the evidence but deny its applicability to England. The third is to accept it frankly as conclusive. If an anti-suffragist bases his views solely on *a priori* postulates of Difference of Function or Physical Force, naturally no appeal to experience or common sense will have any effect upon him. But the vast majority of Englishmen do not argue their politics *a priori*. And of all departments of politics the vote is the one which there is least excuse for so treating. The vote is a simple instrument for human happiness, and the only possible test of whether any class of persons uses it so as to promote human happiness is the test of experience. No amount of disquisition on woman's function *qua* woman will bring one nearer to knowing how she will exercise her function *qua* voter. And as for the physical force argument, which seeks to terrify us with the possible consequences of a wildly improbable contingency, one can only say that it is mere folly to let *a priori* considerations of what never has happened, and is not in the least likely to happen, outweigh proved facts of experience showing what always has happened in similar circumstances.

But if once it is admitted that the sensible way of judging such a question as woman suffrage is by reference to experience, this body of American experience becomes of decisive importance. Is the fair-minded anti-suffragist sincerely able to say that it is worthless? 'It is all very well in America, but it wouldn't succeed here.' That is really a desperate argument on this question. It is the argument of the gentleman from Wyoming: 'It is a success in Wyoming, but then Wyoming is exceptional; it would be a failure anywhere else.' That sounds plausible enough in Wyoming. But suppose this gentleman took a tour through the other suffrage states, and then a voyage to New Zealand and the eight states of Australia, and on to Finland and Norway. How long would his argument hold out? Would it not dawn upon him that such a succession of exceptions begins to prove a rule?

Is not the matter quite fairly stated thus? If the women of England use their votes in the same kind of way and on the same kind of subjects as the women of these nine American states are stated to be using them, then the grant of woman

suffrage will surely be a notable gain to England's welfare. And is there any ground whatever for supposing that they will use them otherwise or less sensibly? Let us leave it at that.

ROBERT PALMER.

(II)

OUT of the forty-eight states which constitute the United States of America there are now nine which have granted the full political franchise to women on equal terms with men. The women electors in these states are now entitled to vote not merely for members of the State Legislature, but also for members of the United States Congress, and even for the President himself. As a writer in *The Times* has pointed out, 'One fifth of the United States Senate, one seventh of the House of Representatives, and one sixth of the Presidential electoral vote of the United States comes now from states where women exercise suffrage just as men do.' Of these nine states three, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming, have never known any other suffrage since they were first incorporated as states—of the others, five have only extended the suffrage to women within the past few years, beginning with Washington in 1910. A tenth state, Illinois, has very recently adopted a woman suffrage measure on a somewhat different basis, but it is outside the scope of the present inquiry.

It is natural that we should look to this great experiment in America for some instruction on matters at present subject to controversy among ourselves. In drawing any lessons two cautions must be observed. The experiment is still in too early a stage to afford conclusive evidence as to the effects of woman suffrage, and the conditions in America differ very greatly from the conditions in this country. The necessity for these cautions will be evident from the following table, which, with the exception of the dates, has been compiled from *The Statistical Abstract of the United States*.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATES.

State	Woman Suffrage Established	Population in 1910			Average Density of Population per Sq. Mile
		Male	Female	Total	
	Date				
Idaho	1896	185,546	140,048	325,594	3.9
Utah	1896	196,863	176,488	373,351	4.5
Wyoming	1869	91,670	54,295	145,965	1.5
Colorado	1893	430,697	368,327	799,024	7.7
Washington	1910	658,663	483,327	1,141,990	17.1
California	1911	1,322,978	1,054,571	2,377,549	15.3
Oregon	1912	384,265	288,500	672,765	7.0
Arizona	1912	118,574	85,780	204,354	1.8
Kansas	1912	885,912	805,037	1,690,948	20.7

The average density of population for the whole United States is 30.9 per square mile. For the six New England states it is 105.7 per square mile, and for the three Middle Atlantic states it is 193.2 per square mile. It may be noted further that the nine woman suffrage states are all Far Western, indeed mostly Pacific Coast, states. The population is chiefly rural in character, agricultural and mining. They are all still in a somewhat primitive stage of political development, and the Western pioneer spirit still strongly survives.

A valuable public service has been rendered by the twelve distinguished ladies, holding widely divergent views, but having the same desire to ascertain the truth, who have taken steps to secure the first-hand evidence of a large number of citizens occupying responsible positions in these states, as to how woman suffrage came to be established and how it is working. Some guidance as to the information desired was given to these witnesses in the form of a carefully framed list of questions, including matters of personal opinion and impression, as well as matters of fact. I have now before me some sixty sets of answers to these questions, and my present object is to summarise their general effect and the conclusions it seems possible to draw from them. It will clear the air to deal with questions of fact first.

Nothing remotely approaching 'militant tactics' has ever characterised the woman suffrage movement, or any section of the movement, in any of those states which now enjoy it—'not even a procession,' adds a Californian lady. Several supporters of the movement express surprise at the leniency with which 'militant' offences are treated in England. It has never been a party question between the two great parties, Republican and Democratic. As with us it cut across both parties. Mr. Roosevelt's personal followers, who afterwards became the 'Bull Moose' Party, espoused the cause with more enthusiasm than the others. It is occasionally mentioned that the Socialist or Labour Party made it a party question, but this does not seem to have been an important influence in any of the states. Nor has the grant of the suffrage resulted in the formation of any new party in the state—a distinctively Feminist Party. The women voters have fallen into line with the existing parties, which bid for their support by giving prominence to issues which they think likely to be specially attractive to women. There are special *ad hoc* 'clubs,' or committees, for the promotion of special measures, but these temporary combinations are non-party. There has been, however, an impetus to the formation of women's 'clubs,' and at Seattle (Washington) it is mentioned that 'there has been

formed an influential organisation which works outside all party lines to inform and direct the women's vote.' This development may have significance. As to its effect upon the balance between existing parties, the majority of answers indicate that there has been no change at all; in fact, that the male vote has simply been duplicated. There are suggestions, however, that the women voters tend to act independently on 'moral issues,' and what effect this might have on parties in the event of some great national issue arising it is impossible to foretell. An appreciable minority consider that the 'Progressive,' or 'Bull Moose' Party has been strengthened by the women's vote. This certainly seems to have been the case in California and Washington, but an answer from Idaho indicates that the 'Progressive' appeal failed there. Several assert that women are stricter and more ardent partisans than men, and if this be so it may have important political consequences. All are agreed that there is no agitation for repeal, certainly no organised agitation. Such opposition as exists has so far been confined to individual expressions of opinion.

In each state women have received the vote precisely on the same terms as men. Indeed it is noticeable that the watchword of the advocates has been not 'Woman Suffrage,' or 'Votes for Women,' but 'Equal Suffrage.' It is a good 'cry,' from the electioneering point of view. The use of the word 'equal' seems to have made a strong appeal to the man-in-the-street's, or rather the man-on-the-prairie's, sense of justice and fair play. It should be added, however, otherwise the statement would be misleading, that in America the suffrage was not based on a property qualification, but was manhood suffrage. Practically every woman in those states who is of age can 'register.' If it were a property qualification it might admit most men and exclude most women, which would be the very reverse of 'equal suffrage.' The suffrage also carries with it the right to sit in the state Legislature, and in many of the states women members have actually been elected. Although they can vote in elections of Congress, however, it is doubtful whether they are entitled to sit in Congress. That is a question which can only be settled in a court of law.

With regard to statistics the answers are unsatisfactory. The most hazy notions seem to prevail as to the proportion of men and women at present on the register, and as to the percentage of those on the register, of either sex, who vote. Widely varying estimates and guesses are given. This revelation of vagueness and uncertainty on matters of fact is in itself interesting and suggestive. For eight out of the nine states the answers give no reliable information, but in the case of California it is possible to give some partial figures. In a

very well-considered series of answers by a committee of ladies it is mentioned that 'The state has made no report and registration is not segregated.' There are appended, however, two articles from the *California Outlook*, from which, and from another answer, the following figures are compiled in regard to three recent municipal (not state) elections:

Municipality	Percentage of Total Electorate of either Sex		Percentage of Male and of Female Electors who Voted	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
San Francisco ...	65.5	34.5	51.8	48.5
Los Angeles...	56.9	43.1	54.2	50.2
Berkeley ...	53.4	46.6	49.0	42.7

These municipal figures indicate that the male electorate outnumbered the female, as indeed was only to be expected from the population statistics already given, and that the proportion of women electors who go to the poll is very nearly, if not quite, as great as that of men. Further figures indicate that in the quarters where the 'prosperous, professional, and business' classes reside the women voters actually outnumbered the men, whereas in the 'manufacturing, factory, and labouring section, notably along the water front,' the men voters largely outnumbered the women.

Information was requested as to what laws had been passed in each of these states since the grant of woman suffrage, attention being specially directed, under numerous heads, to legislation affecting women and children and touching various social, domestic, and moral questions. As a matter of fact men are just as much interested in all these subjects as women, and women have just as much at stake as men in the more strictly Imperial and business aspects of legislation. It is just as important to know how woman suffrage affects Foreign Policy, National Defence, Methods of Taxation, Commercial Law, and Industrial Legislation as it is to know how it affects more domestic matters. The state Legislatures, of course, are excluded from dealing with Imperial questions. It must be remembered moreover that most of the states have had very little time for legislation since women had a share in electing the Legislatures.

In California, for example, the first Legislature to be elected by both men and women voters met for the first time in 1913. During that session legislation of various degrees of importance has been passed under most of the heads of the inquiry. The following were among the measures passed:

The Eight Hours' Day law already in existence for women in certain industries was extended to some other industries.

A Minimum Wage Act to regulate the employment of women and children, and to be administered by an Industrial Welfare Commission.

An Act for the abatement of houses of prostitution.

An Act restricting child labour: no minor under eighteen to be employed more than eight hours a day.

An Act raising the "age of consent" from sixteen to eighteen years.

An Act increasing the penalty for rape.

A Bastardy Act compelling the father as well as the mother to support and educate an illegitimate child.

An Equal Guardianship Act for parents.

An Act prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor between 2 a.m. and 6 a.m.

An Act creating a Pension Fund for public school teachers.

An Act for the establishment and maintenance of kindergartens.

An Act authorising the appointment of a Commission to investigate and report concerning old age insurance, pensions and mothers' pensions.

An Act amending the law with regard to the support of orphans and abandoned children.

This list is much fuller than that provided for any of the other states, and it certainly shows much legislative activity. The prophets will be confounded by the complete absence of any mention of drastic legislative restriction of the liquor traffic, such as exists being mostly passed before women got the vote. A Colorado witness remarks: 'This has been our great disappointment.' I will refer later to the inferences which may be drawn from these facts.

So much for matters of fact. As regards matters of opinion, it may be said that there is practical unanimity as to the absence of any ill-feeling or dissension in families caused by women voting, and the usefulness of women in the home has not been impaired. In the majority of cases the wife votes in the same way as the husband. This involves no reflexion on the intelligence or independence of the wife. It might as well be said that the husband votes in the same way as the wife. Community of environment and interest are the determining factors. The same is true of father and son. In one respect, however, there is a sharp conflict of opinion. While the vast majority of answers indicate that the exercise of the suffrage has not impaired the usefulness of women in the home, many of those who have opposed the principle are of opinion that it has done so, or will do so. Answers such as 'It will' and 'It must' seem to be based on *a priori* grounds rather than on experience. Probably these witnesses are thinking more of political propaganda and campaigning than of the mere exercise of the franchise. It is difficult to see how the occasional dropping of a paper in the ballot-box and the taking of an intelligent interest in current politics can impair anyone's usefulness. Novel reading, or Bridge, or social functions, as some of the answers point out, have done more to distract women from their home duties than politics are ever likely to do. Of course there are women who

will neglect their homes, just as there are men who will neglect both their business and their homes, for politics. Your flannel-mouthed suffragist,' says one, 'is not a home-making woman at all. She is a hotel and boarding-house and restaurant woman.' These are the exceptions, and I do not suppose that they are confined to one side. It is difficult to conceive that the possession or the absence of a vote could make much difference to their attitude towards their homes.

Now we come to the more debatable ground. Where did the strength of the movement and of the opposition to it lie? Extraordinary diversity and vagueness prevail in the answers. The matter cannot be settled so simply as one witness thinks who declares that 'The opposition was all from the rabble, riff-raff, and scum. The decent people and respectable newspapers were all in favour of it.' The very next witness is a distinguished educationalist who declares himself an opponent. The real strength of the movement seems to have lain in the indifference and apathy of those who were theoretically opposed to it. There appears to have been practically no organised opposition to it at all, though the smallness of the majorities show that there must have been a strong underlying opposition. 'Personally I do not believe in women voting,' says one, 'but I believe we cannot stop it—that it is in the air—a part of the evolution of the age.' The women, moreover, by their methods and propaganda, did not challenge opposition. They steadily and quietly cultivated a growing body of public opinion and encouraged the sentiment that it was inevitable—a part of the ordinary course of evolution and progress. Many of the witnesses are struck by the fact that the strongest opposition seems to have come from women themselves.

The most noteworthy feature of the answers to the question 'What constituted the strength of the movement?' is the frequency with which the word 'justice' recurs. Its 'strength lay in a feeling of justice,' says an opponent. Undeniably this feeling, whether it was well founded or not, was very widespread. There is no more powerful force in politics than 'a feeling of justice.' It is difficult to define precisely what is meant by 'justice,' and no one offers an explanation. Occasionally the word 'fair play' is used in the same sense. The useful cry, 'Equal Suffrage,' quietly and unobtrusively makes the same suggestion. Possibly the underlying assumption may be some ill-considered dogma as to the meaning or nature of Democratic Government. The American Constitution contains some rather dubious philosophy. However its existence may be explained, there can be no doubt that this 'feeling of justice' was one of the most important factors in securing woman suffrage. Another word which frequently recurs is 'moral.' It

seems to be a popular notion in America that Woman is a being with a superior moral standard to Man's. 'Womanhood untainted ever allies itself with the virtues' is one very characteristic expression. The strength of the movement lay, says another, 'in a general conviction that male suffrage was so debased as to moral issues that it could not be trusted.' Many people seem to have been influenced by the idea that politics would be purified by women's votes.

For the rest, there is ample evidence that the movement was strengthened by the sparseness of the population, and the predominance of the rural districts over the towns. In Utah the opinion is several times expressed by supporters of woman suffrage that it was initiated by the Mormons to secure more effective control of the state. 'The Mormons doubled their votes and massed them. Outside votes were double also, but they were scattered.' In this connexion it is interesting to note that in three other suffrage states the Mormon vote is an important factor. The saloon-keepers and others interested in the liquor traffic are generally accused of having been among the most active opponents. That was only to be expected owing to the prominence given to the idea that woman suffrage means 'prohibition.' Even the 'Trade' opposition, however, does not seem to have been a serious factor, and in practice the women do not seem to have been as powerful a 'prohibition' lever as was supposed.

As to the effect of woman suffrage upon the character of candidates for municipal or state offices, and upon the nature of the laws passed, and generally, opinions vary widely and tend to run on party lines. Roughly speaking, about half of the witnesses declare that the effect all round has been emphatically good and very pronounced; a quarter assert that the effect has been good so far as it goes; while the remainder are of opinion that it has either had no influence, or the influence cannot be traced. In Kansas, we are told, 'men who drink can't run. Also women chasers are barred by public opinion.' In California reference is repeatedly made to the defeat of a senator who is variously described as a 'machine politician,' an 'undesirable man,' and a 'representative of the drink traffic, the prize fighters, and the gamblers,' and to the recall of a judge who is alleged to have been 'too lenient with men who were charged with crimes against women.' It must be remembered, however, as is several times pointed out, that 'there has been such an uplift in this regard in all America that it is hard to determine.'

I have already called attention to laws which have actually been passed in California in the first session of the first Legislature for which women have voted. It remains to consider

whether the women's vote has had any traceable effect upon the character of such legislation. *Post hoc, propter hoc* is a very tempting fallacy. Several of the witnesses, however, are careful to point out that considerable progress was made in similar legislation in many of these states before women voted, and that many other states in which women do not vote (and the United Kingdom, I may add) are still more advanced in this direction.

The conclusion to which I have come after reading through all the answers, is that women through their votes have had some influence, quite different from the moral influence which they exercise without the vote, upon legislation. It is difficult to define this influence precisely. Frequent reference is made to the manner in which 'moral issues' appeal to women. I cannot accept the view occasionally expressed that women have 'a somewhat higher moral standard' than men, but it is quite possible that, holding the same moral standard, they may give different effect to it in politics. I am impressed by several suggestions that women are much stricter and more ardent partisans than men; that they look to moral character in candidates rather than to ability; and that they have, in a greater degree than men, 'a tendency to regulate morals by law.' Men are on the whole more tolerant than women and inclined to allow a wider latitude of personal moral freedom so long as the rights of others are not interfered with. Women are, on the whole, more inclined to make their personal moral code a moral code imperative for others also, and to apply coercion to secure conformity. Coercive legislation, depending as it does upon the physical arm of the law for its enforcement, if it is to be effective, must have behind it the physical strength of the country. If the majority of men should be against it, if its chief support comes from women who, while unable as individuals to exercise physical coercion, are yet able, through the ballot-box, to evoke the physical arm of the law, then there is grave danger in extreme cases of a general conspiracy to evade the law. Authority, finding itself with a task beyond its power, will wink at the offenders, Law will fall into disrespect. There will gradually grow up a hypocritical feeling towards legislation. 'What does it matter what they pass? Let them pass anything they like, and if we find it inconvenient we will evade it.' If this became a general attitude it would destroy that sense of responsibility and of respect for law which is the firmest foundation for stable government.

But there is not sufficient material, the experience is too short, to dogmatise. I have tried to sum up the evidence as impartially as possible, but I have not tried to conceal my own views, and I have found nothing in the evidence to modify them.

A. MACCALLUM SCOTT.

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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 unfailing 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. Vasel el Rayiaith, another Bahai, in recognition of their services, introduced a woman suffrage Bill in the Persian Parliament.

Five hundred women, led by Nouradojah Kahnom, 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.

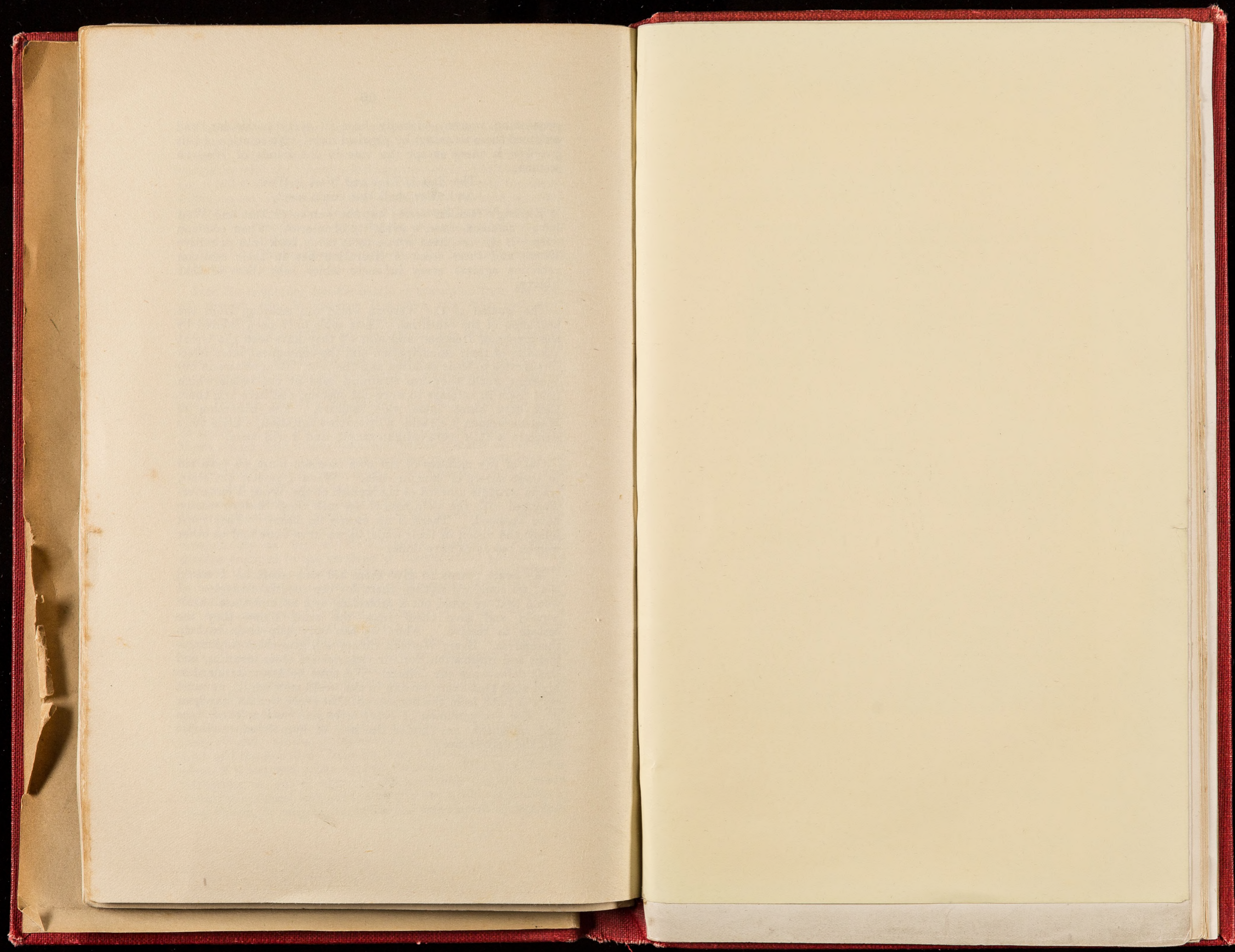
The East is East and West is West,
And ne'er shall this twain meet,

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.



THE WORLD MOVEMENT
for WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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1904 to 1911

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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

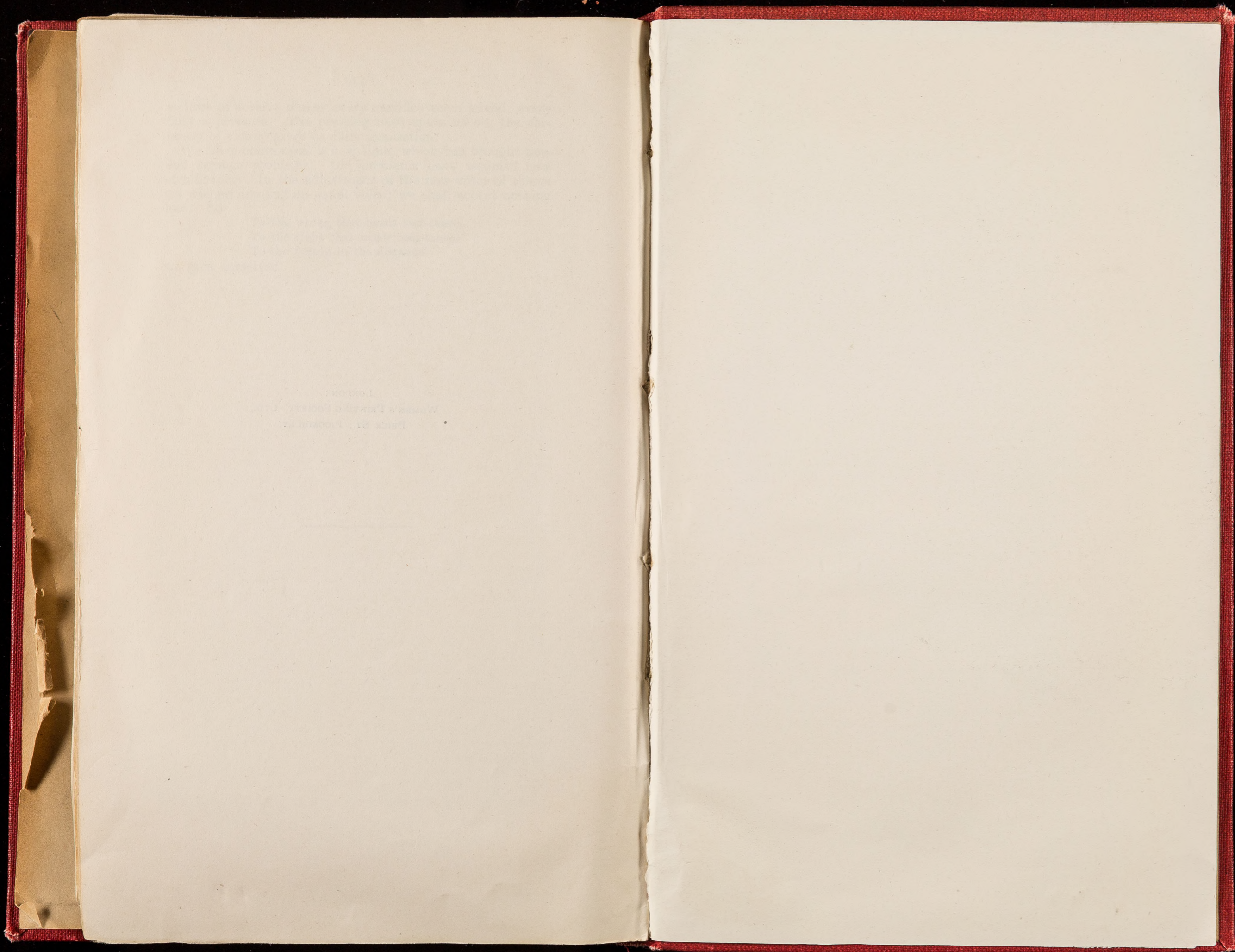
welfare of society makes every sacrifice seem trivial, every duty a pleasure. The pressing need spurs us on, the certainty of victory gives us daily inspiration.

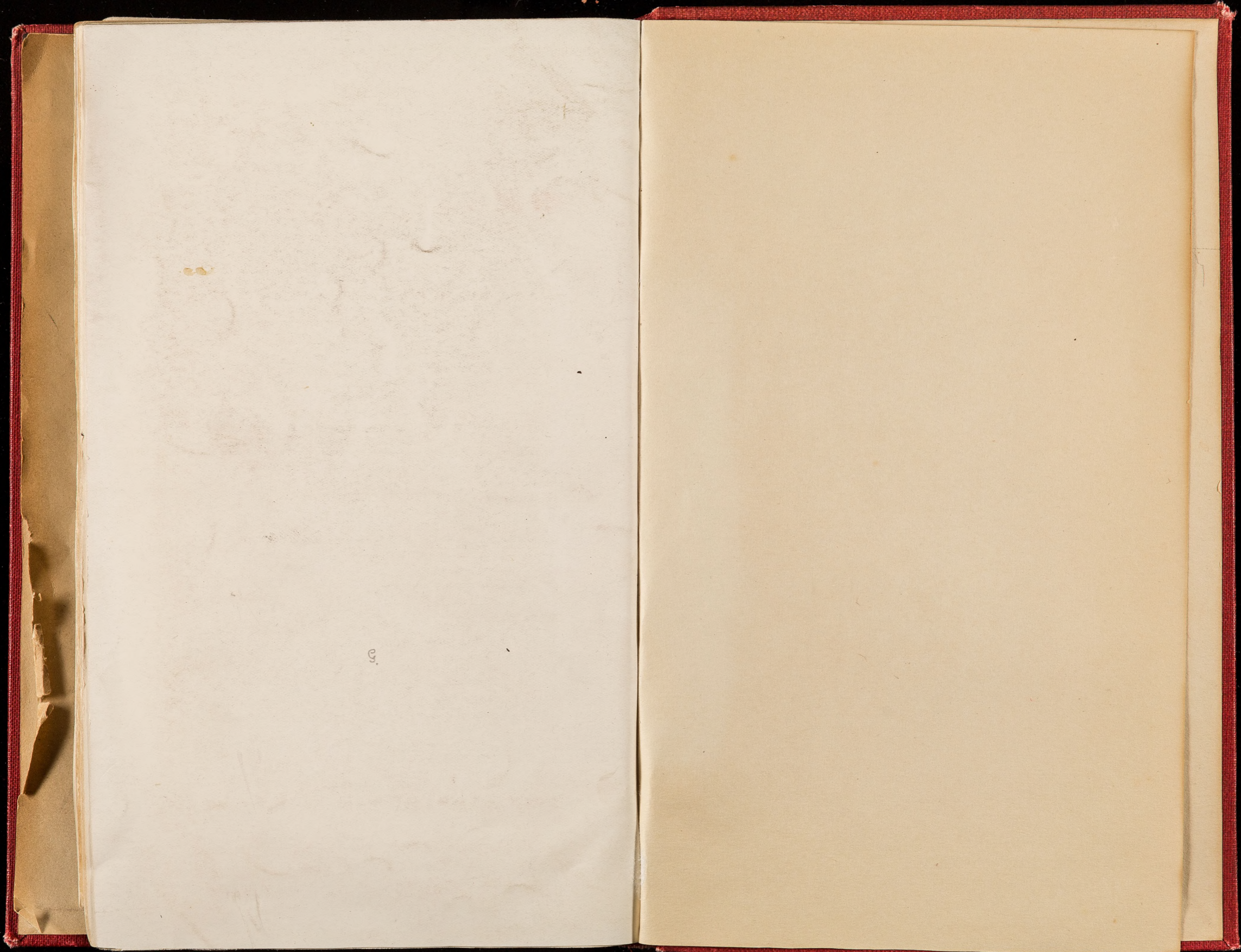
We have come upon a new time, which has brought new and strange problems. Old problems have assumed new significance. In the adjustment of the new order of things we women demand an equal voice; we shall accept nothing less. So

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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