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Alliance *Suffrage*
Int. Alliance of
Women

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Report
of
Fourth Conference

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

JUNE 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1908.

Price 75 Dutch Cents.

Sophia Smith Research Room

CALL TO THE SECOND EXECUTIVE MEETING
of the
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE
AND
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE.

An Executive Meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance will be held in Amsterdam, June 15th to 20th, inclusive, 1908. The National Woman Suffrage Associations of the following thirteen countries, being affiliated with the International Alliance will each be entitled to send six delegates and six alternates, viz ; Australia, Canada, Denmark, England, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Russia, Sweden, the Netherlands and the United States of America. A special invitation to send fraternal delegates is extended to all National Associations which are in sympathy with our movement. Individuals of whatever race, nativity or creed, who believe in the right of the woman citizen to protect her interests in society by the ballot, are invited to be present.

The natural growth of the movement to enfranchise women, accelerated by the accomplishment of the fact in New-Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway and four of the United States, has, in most civilized countries, elevated the whole question to the position of a recognized governmental problem. The opposition, defended as it is by tradition alone, has gradually receded before the logic of facts. Although the actors and the scene differ, the story of the real struggle is the same in all lands. International counsel and international co-operation are the need of the hour. All persons interested in this greatest of present day world problems are assured of a welcome.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, Secretary.

ational alliance of women for suffrage
& equal citizenship

REPORT
OF THE
FOURTH CONFERENCE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND

JUNE 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1908.

Price 75 Dutch Cents.

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Smith College



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20 July 26 cmB

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INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

OFFICERS.

President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,
2 West 86th St. New-York, U. S. A.
Ist Vice-President, Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg,
Paul Strasse 25, Hamburg, Germany.
2nd Vice-President, Millicent Garrett Fawcett,
2 Gower St., London, England.
Secretaries, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery,
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.
Dr. phil. Käthe Schirmacher,
53 rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris, France.
Miss Martina Kramers,
92 Kruiskade, Rotterdam, Holland.
Treasurer, Mrs. Stanton Coit,
30 Hyde Park Gate, London, England.

COMMITTEES.

Revision of the Constitution: Chairman, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, U. S. A.; Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Gt. Britain; Frk. Anna Whitlock, Sweden.
Resolutions. Chairman, Miss Margaret Ashton, 25 Victoria St. W. London, Eng.; Frk. Frederikke Mörck, Norway; Miss Vida Goldstein, Australia.
Parliamentary Usage: Chairman, Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg, Germany; One person from each affiliated association.
International Banner: Chairman, Mevr. Van Loenen de Bordes, Netherlands; Miss I. O. Ford, Gt. Britain; Frk. Agnes Branting, Sweden.
International Badge: Mrs. Pedersen-Dan, Griffenfeldts-gade, Copenhagen.
Editor Jus Suffragii: Miss Martina Kramers, 92 Kruiskade, Rotterdam, Holland.

AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS.

Australia: Women's Political Association,
President: Miss Vida Goldstein,
Whitehall, Bank Place, Melbourne.
Bulgaria: Woman's Rights Alliance,
Secretary: Mme. Theodora Flamich,
Uliza Lege 15, Sophia.
Canada: Dominion Woman Suffrage Association,
President: Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen,
461 Spadina Avenue, Toronto.

29 July 28 cmB

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- Denmark : Danske Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund,
President : Fru Vibeka Salicath,
Blaagaardsplatz 4, Copenhagen.
- Finland : Finsk Kvinnosaksförbundet Unionem,
President : Frk. Annie Furuholm,
Nutid, Helsingfors.
- Germany : Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht.
President : Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg,
25 Paul Strasse, Hamburg.
- Great Britain : Union of Woman Suffrage Societies,
President : Mrs. Millicent Fawcett,
2 Gower Street, London.
- Hungary : Feministák Egyesülete,
President : Fraulein Vilma Glücklich,
VI Kemnitzer-u-19, Budapest.
- Italy : Comitato Nazionale per il Voto Alla Donna,
President : Signora Giacinta Martini,
Piazzia Pilotta 5, Rome.
- Netherlands : Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht,
President : Dr. Aletta Jacobs,
Tesselschadestraat, Amsterdam.
- Norway : Landskvindestemmeretsforeningen,
President : Fru F. M. Qvam,
Gjevran per Stenkjaer.
- Russia : Union of Defenders of Women's Rights,
Secretary : Mrs. Marie Tschekoff,
Rue Nikolaevskaia, Maison 84, log 9,
St. Petersburg.
- South Africa : Women's Enfranchisement League, Cape Colony,
President : Mrs. Irene Ashby Macfadyen,
Lunderston, Plumstead, Cape Colony.
- Women's Suffrage League, Natal,
President : Mrs. Oona Anketill, 160 Bellevue Road,
Durban, Natal.
- Switzerland : Verband für Frauenstimmrecht,
Secretary : Miss L. Thiébaud, 7 Ecole, Neuchâtel.
- Sweden : Landsföreningen för Kvinnans Politiska
Rösträtt,
President : Fruken Anna Whitlock,
Kammakarsgatan 8, Stockholm.
- The United States : National-American Woman Suffrage Association,
President : Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Moylan, Penn.

RESOLUTIONS.

Delegates from twenty-one countries, assembled at the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Amsterdam and representing the organized movement for the franchise which now extends around the globe, unite in the following resolutions :

Resolved, that we hear with pride of the wise and beneficent use of the ballot by the women of New Zealand for the past fifteen years and by the women of Australia for the last six years, whose noble record largely assists the cause of woman suffrage in all other nations.

Resolved, that we congratulate the women of Finland upon their full enfranchisement in 1906 and the election of nineteen of their number to Parliament in 1907 ; that we congratulate those of Norway upon having obtained in 1907 the complete franchise for the majority of women, and we hope for the speedy success of their effort to remove a taxpaying qualification now imposed on the minority of women which is not placed on men ; that we congratulate the women of Denmark upon having received from their Parliament during the present year the Municipal Suffrage on exactly the same terms as exercised by men, and we trust that they will so fully carry out the wish expressed by their King, „that this important reform shall work for the good of the country”, as to bring very soon their full enfranchisement.

Resolved, that we note with satisfaction the action of the British Parliament in recognizing the administrative ability of women and the Government's need of it, by making them eligible as Mayors and County and Borough Councillors ; and be it further resolved, that we extend to the women of Great Britain our hearty sympathy in the splendid struggle they are now making for political liberty ; we pledge our loyal support until their

well-earned victory shall be won, and we earnestly hope this day is near at hand, because the granting of woman suffrage in that great nation will immeasurably advance the cause throughout the world.

Resolved, that we congratulate the women of the United States that in four of their States women now have the complete franchise; that in over half of the forty-six States they possess some form of suffrage; and that there has been within a few years a remarkable increase of favorable public sentiment, as shown by the fact that last year 500 associations of men organized for other purposes, including the American Federation of Labor with over a million members, the United Mine Workers with half-a-million and the Bricklayers and Masons with half-a-million, officially declared for woman suffrage; also that many associations of women, numbering hundreds of thousands, have recently added enfranchisement to the objects for which they work. We congratulate the women of Sweden on their heroic labors of the past year and the wonderful organization they have effected, which cannot fail to obtain the franchise in the near future. We congratulate the women of Germany on the abolition by the Government of the law forbidding women to join and to form political organizations; and we protest against the retention of this law by the Government of Austria. We congratulate the women in all the countries of Europe, with but few exceptions, on the rapid advance of the movement for suffrage due to their earnest and persistent effort; and we call upon women everywhere to meet this new occasion with a strong demand for justice and fair play from their respective Governments and from men as individuals.

Resolved, that none of the liberal and progressive movements of this new century promises so much for the development of the human race as this wide-spread tendency to remove the great wrong which woman for ages has suffered through having no voice in her own government or in matters of public welfare. The fact that during the past year this question has been brought before twenty-two National Parliaments and twenty-nine State Legislatures; discussed by the press of all the civilized world; endorsed by political parties in many countries, and widely debated from the platform, proves conclusively that it has evolved from an academic theory to a practical, vital issue. With women graduating from the uni-

versities by the thousands, entering the professions, crowding into the labor market, taking active part in civic matters, it is inevitable that they must soon become a recognized factor in the Government. Women will not much longer endure in patience and submission the disadvantages, the disgrace, the deep injustice of disfranchisement.

Resolved, that at this critical period in our movement, women should make suffrage paramount to all else, realizing that in obtaining this they will become at once a vastly greater force in every good work they undertake; that to this end they should strive for the fullest benefits of thorough organization, and should press forward with undivided forces and united action, regarding any sacrifice as abundantly justified by the cause at stake.

Resolved, that the plain duty of women at the present hour is to secure the support and co-operation of all the forces favorable to woman suffrage, without question as to their political or religious affiliations; to avoid any entanglement with outside matters; to ask for the franchise on the same terms as it is now or may be exercised by men, leaving any required extension to be decided by men and women together when both have equal voice, vote and power.

Committee : IDA HUSTED HARPER, United States,
MARGARET ASHTON, Great Britain,
HENRIETTA C. VAN LOENEN DE BORDES,
Netherlands.

LIST OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES.

DELEGATES.

ALTERNATES.

AUSTRALIA

Mrs. Madge Donahoe.

BULGARIA

Jenny Bojilowa-Dr. Pateff.

CANADA

Mrs. Miriam Brown.

DENMARK

Fru Vibeke Salicath,

Fru Johanna Münter,

Frk. Eline Hansen,

Fru Johanna Pedersen-Dan,

Fru Charlotte Eilersgaard,

Frk. Louise Neergaard,

Frk. Marie Christensen,

Frk. A. Skovgaard-Petersen.

Frk. Mary Tonder,

Fru Catherine Strendby-
gaard,

Frk. Sophie Alberti.

FINLAND

Miss Anna Furuhjelm,

Mme. Aina Arminoff.

GERMANY

Frl. Lida Gustava Heymann, Frau Ida Sindermann,

Frau Minna Cauer, Dr. Altmann Gottheiner,

Frl. Adelheid von Welzeck, Else Hielscher,

Frau Frieda Radel, Renetta Brandt-Wyt,

Frau Anna Lindemann, Martha Böttner.

Frl. Adele Schreiber,

GREAT BRITAIN

Miss Frances Sterling,

Miss Edith Palliser,

Mrs. Fred. Richardson,

Miss I. O. Ford,

Miss Margaret Ashton,

Dr. Ethel Bentham,

Miss Emily Hill,

Lady Steel,

Miss Alice Clark,

Miss M. Corbett,

Mrs. Reynold,

Mrs. Coysh.

HUNGARY

Miss Rosika Schwimmer,

Dr. Med. Bertha Engel,

Miss Janka Grossman,

Miss Clotilde Szabados,

Miss Janka Harvat,

Miss Franciska Schwimmer,

Miss Aranka Gemessy,

Miss Gisella Steinberger,

Miss Margit Taubner.

ITALY

Signora Prof. Emilia Mariani.

NETHERLANDS

Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs,	Mevr. W. Drucker,
Mevr. H. C. van Loenen- de Bordes,	Mej. Elise A. Haighton,
Mej. Johanna W. A. Naber,	Mej. C. C. A. van Dorp,
Mevr. M. W. H. Rutgers- Hoitsema,	Mej. J. J. Lagers,
Mevr. H. Heineken-Daum,	Mevr. W. C. Clifford Kocq van Breugel
Mej. J. van Lanschot Hu- brecht.	Mevr. B. Bakker-Nort.

NORWAY

Fru F. M. Qvam,	Frk. Marie Otteson.
Frk. Fredrikke Mörck,	
Fru Louise Keilhau,	
Dr. Louise Qvam,	
Frk. Anna Nass,	
Frk. Johanna Wanvig,	

RUSSIA

Mme. Zeneide Mirovitch,
Mme. Anne Kalmanovitch,
Mme. Olga Golovine,
Mme. Stephanie Schabad,
Mme. Maria Blandoff.

SWEDEN

Miss Signe Bergman,	Miss Ellen Wester,
Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell,	Mrs. Augusta Tønning,
Mrs. Frigga Carlberg,	Miss Anna Abergsson,
Miss Lydia Wahlström, Ph. D.	Miss Ruth Edström,
Miss Anna Kleman,	Mrs. Sigrid Gyllencreutz,
Mrs. A. M. Holmgren,	Miss Anna Svalling.

UNITED STATES

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw,	Mrs. Clara B. Colby,
Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch,	Miss Janet Richards,
Mrs. Ida Husted Harper,	Dr. Jennie Medley,
Miss Lucy E. Anthony,	Miss S. Grace Nicholes,
Miss Elizabeth Hauser,	Mrs. H. M. Van der Vaart,
Mrs. Ella Seass Stewart,	Miss E. C. Crans.

SOUTH AFRICA

Mrs. Mathie, Cape Colony,
Miss Margaret J. Corbett, proxy for Mrs. Merilees, Natal.

SWITZERLAND

Frl. K. Honegger,
Mme. A. Girardet Vielle.

REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED BY
GOVERNMENTS.

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION, Mrs. Henry Dobson.
NORWAY, Froken Gina Krog.
State of Utah, U. S. A., Dr. Romania Penrose.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM
NON-AFFILIATED WOMAN SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

AUSTRIA

Committee for Woman Suffrage, Frau Marie Lang.

BOHEMIA

„Vybor pro volebni pravo zen” (Czechish Woman Suffrage Committee)

Frl. Frantiska Plaminkova,

Frl. Marie Stepankova.

DENMARK

Landsforbundet för Kvinders Valgret,

Fru Elna Münch,

Fru Clara Tyberg.

GERMANY

Verband Fortschrittlichen Frauenvereine,

Dr. Käthe Schirmacher.

GREAT BRITAIN

Women's Freedom League,

Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Sanderson, Miss Neilans,

Mrs. Billington-Greig, Miss Benett, Mrs. Drysdale.

Mrs. Catherine Manson, Miss Mocatta,

Men's League for Women's Enfranchisement,

Dr. C. V. Drysdale.

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage,

Miss C. Methven.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM COUNCILS OF
WOMEN.

International Council of Women,

Miss Chrystal Macmillan, M. A.

NATIONAL COUNCILS from the following countries:

BELGIUM

Mlle. Leonie La Fontaine.

DENMARK

Frk. Eline Hansen.

FRANCE

Mlle. Cecile Cahen.

GERMANY

Frau Marie Stritt.

GREAT BRITAIN

Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett.

NETHERLANDS

Mej. E. Baelde.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Mrs. Madge Donahoe.

NEW ZEALAND

Mrs. Alice M. Steele.

NORWAY

Frk. Thea Holst.

SWEDEN

Dr. Lydia Wahlström.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES from NATIONAL SOCIETIES not for WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

BOHEMIA

* Zensky Klub cesky, (Czechish Woman's Club)

Frl. Frantiska Plaminkova,

Jednota ucitelek, (Central Teachers' League)

Frl. Marie Stepankova,

Frl. Frantiska Plaminkova.

DENMARK

Kvindelig Laeseforening,

Frk. Sophie Alberti,

Fru Anna Skovgaard-Petersen.

GERMANY

Liberale Frauenpartei,

Dr. Käthe Schirmacher.

GREAT BRITAIN

Women's Liberal Federation,

Mrs. C. H. Corbett,

Union of Ethical Societies,

Mr. Stanton Coit.

HUNGARY

Landesverein der Beamtinnen,

Miss Janka Grossmann,

Independent Order of Good Templars,

Miss Janka Grossmann,

Society of Peasant Women in Balmazujvaros,

Miss Rosika Schwimmer.

*) These „Clubs” are really of national scope.

RUSSIA

* Progressive Women's Club,
Mme. de Wachtine,
Georgian Union for Women's Rights.
Mme Z. Mirovitch.

UNITED STATES

National Women's Trades Union League,
Miss Anna Nicholes,
Inter-Denominational Council of Women,
Miss C. E. Mason.

PROGRAM.

CONGRESS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

Held in the Concertgebouw, Amsterdam,

June 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1908.

MONDAY, JUNE 15.

9.30 Call to order.

Appointment of interpreters, pages and committees.

Credential report.

Adoption of Program.

Consideration of Applications for Affiliation from
Bulgaria, South Africa and Switzerland.

AFTERNOON.

1.30 Welcome Song. Old Dutch Melody. By Choir.

Address of welcome: Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, President of the National Dutch Woman Suffrage Association.

Children's songs, composed by Catharine van Rennes and sung by a Choir formed from her pupils.

Message of the President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Carrie Chapman Catt.

Cantata: Old Holland's New Time. Music composed by Catharine van Rennes and sung under her direction by a Choir of 430 ladies, girls and boys.

EVENING.

8 o'clock. A general reception at Maison Couturier, tendered to all members of the Congress by the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association.

8.15 Greeting: Mevrouw Gompertz-Jitta, Chairman Committee of Reception.

8.30 A brief play, „The Council of the Gods”, written by Mej. B. van der Starp, presented by young members of the Association.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16.

9.30 Reading of minutes.

Reports of officers:

First Vice-President, Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg, Germany.

Second Vice-President, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, England.

First Secretary, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, U. S. A.

Second Secretary, Dr. phil. Käthe Schirmacher, Germany.

Third Secretary and Editor „Jus Suffragii”, Mej. Martina Kramers, Netherlands.

Treasurer, Mrs. Stanton Coit, England.

Report compiled from answers of affiliated Associations to questions upon methods of work.

Discussion: Under what conditions shall the publication of „Jus Suffragii” be continued?

Leader, Miss Margaret Ashton, England.

Assistant, Frk. Annie Furuhjelm, Finland.

Assistant, Frau Bertha Engel, Hungary.

AFTERNOON.

Excursion by steamer on the Amstel.

A reception will be tendered to invited guests from 4 to 5 by Burgomaster and Mevrouw van Leeuwen at their home.

EVENING.

Subject: Woman Suffrage in Practice.

An Experiment Justified: Mrs. Madge Donohoe, Australia.

A True Democracy: Frk. Annie Furuhjelm, Finland.

Fifteen Years of Woman Suffrage: Mrs. Alice M. Steele, New-Zealand.

Greetings: Dr. Romania Penrose, official delegate from the State of Utah.

Greetings from Mrs. Helen Grenfell, official delegate from the State of Colorado, and Mrs. Harriet L. Sheik, official delegate from the State of Wyoming, read by Lucy E. Anthony.

Address: Mrs. Henry Dobson, official delegate from the Commonwealth of Australia.

Address: Fröken Gina Krog, official delegate from Norway.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17.

9.30 a.m. Roll Call of Associations affiliated with the Alliance, for the announcement of proposals for new business.

Special Reports of Associations which have accomplished important results ;

Denmark, Frk. Eline Hansen.

Finland, Frk. Annie Furuhjelm.

Norway, Fru Staatsministerinde F. M. Quam.

Great Britain, Miss I. O. Ford.

Reports of National Associations formed since the meeting in Copenhagen :

South Africa, Mrs. Mathie

Switzerland, Fr. K. Honegger.

Bulgaria, Jenny Bojilowa- Dr. Pateff.

AFTERNOON.

2 p.m. Meeting for Young People
and others.

Program arranged by the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association.

Chairman : Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett.

Speakers : Fru Ann Holmgren, Sweden.

Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg, Germany.

Miss Rendell, England.

Mme. Zénéide Mirovitch, Russia.

Mrs. Ella Stewart, U. S. A.

Fr. Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary.

4 to 6. An afternoon tea will be given by Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs to all members of the Congress at the Pavil-
loen van het Vondelpark.

EVENING.

Chairman : Mrs. Despard.

Results of Woman Suffrage in Norway : Frk. Fred-
rikke Mörck.

Subject : Why should representative governments
enfranchise women ?

Frau Minna Cauer, Germany.

Miss Margaret Ashton, Great Britain.

Fr. Janka Grossmann, Hungary.

Mevr. Th. Haver, Netherlands.

Fru Louise Keilhau, Norway.

Fru Frigga Carlberg, Sweden.

Mme. Olga Golovine, Russia.

Mme. Girardet Vielle, Switzerland.

Miss Chrystal Macmillan, fraternal delegate from
International Council of Woman.

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, U. S. A.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

9.30. Conference upon methods of work. Each Association is urged to set forth any policy of work which has proved helpful in the propaganda of woman suffrage.

Discussion: How may affiliated associations help each other.

Leader: Mevr. W. Drucker, Netherlands.

Assistant: Mme. Z. Mirovitch, Russia.

AFTERNOON.

Woman Suffrage presented from a Christian point of view.

Program arranged by the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association.

Chairman: Mevrouw Beelaerts van Blokland, Netherlands.

Speakers: Fru Pastorinde Blauenfeldt, Denmark.

Countess Anna van Hogendorp, Netherlands.

Address of Marie Maugeret, France, read by Mevr. Heineken-Daum.

Address of Mme. Aline Hoffmann, Switzerland, read by Mej. Johanna W. A. Naber.

Catharine Waugh McCulloch, U. S. A.

Address of Lady Frances Balfour, Gt. Britain, read by Mrs. C. H. Corbett.

Mr. Hugenholtz, Amsterdam.

Rev. Anna H. Shaw, U. S. A.

EVENING.

Chairman: Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg.

Ideal Womanhood: Mrs. Miriam Brown, Canada.

The Legal Position of Danish Women: Fru Kommanderinde Johanne Münter, Denmark.

Does the Working Woman need the Ballot? Dr. Elizabeth Altmann Gotheiner, Germany.

Berufsorganisationen und Frauenstimmrecht: Frä. Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary.

Address, Miss Frances Sterling. Gt. Britain.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

9.30. Report on International badge, Fru Pedersen-Dan.

Discussion: Shall the contract made at Copenhagen be continued?

Leader: Mrs. Madge Donohoe, Australia.

Assistant: Signora Emilia Mariani, Italy.

Assistant: Mrs. Miriam Brown, Canada.

Discussion : Shall more than one National Society in each country be permitted to affiliate with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance ?

Leader : Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, U. S. A.

Assistant : Fru Anna Wicksell, Sweden.

Assistant, Dr. Louise Qvam, Norway.

Assistant, Frk. Eline Hansen, Denmark.

Report of Resolutions Committee, Ida Husted Harper, Miss Margaret Ashton, Mevr. van Loenen de Bordes.

AFTERNOON.

2 p.m. Greetings from National Councils of Women.

Belgium, Mlle La Fontaine, fraternal delegate.

France, Mlle Cecile Cahen, fraternal delegate.

Germany, Frau Marie Stritt, President.

Gt. Britain, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, fraternal delegate.

Norway, Frk. Thea Holst, fraternal delegate.

Netherlands, Mej. Elizabeth Baelde, President.

Sweden, Dr. Lydia Wahlström.

Greetings by representatives of other organisations.

Committee on Woman Suffrage, Frau Marie Lang, fraternal delegate, Austria.

Dansk Landsforbundet för Kvinders Valgret, Fru Elna Münch, President.

Women's Freedom League, Mrs. Despard, England.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, England.

Verband Fortschrittlicher Frauenvereine, Dr. phil.

Käthe Schirmacher, fraternal delegate.

Frl. Marie Stepánková., Bohemia.

Tea, from 4 to 6, given by Mevr. Gompertz-Jitta, to invited guests.

EVENING.

Chairman, Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett.

Address, Signora Emilia Mariani, Italy.

Does the wife, mother and homekeeper need the ballot ? Mevr. van Itallie van Embden, Netherlands.

Address : Mme. Z. Mirovitch, Russia.

The final aim of the woman movement, Mme Anna Kalmanovitch, Russia.

Address, Dr. Lydia Wahlström, Sweden.
 Address, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, U. S. A.

SATURDAY, JUNE 20.

- 9.30. Discussion of proposals presented at Roll Call
 Wednesday morning.
 Report of Bohemian Woman Suffrage Committee,
 Frl. Frantiska Plaminková.
 Proposals of amendments to constitution and
 general discussion.
 Arrangement for meeting of 1909.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE,

June 15th. 1908, at the Concertgebouw, Amsterdam.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was in the chair, all the officers were present and also the delegates and alternates from the thirteen auxiliary countries, the list of which the report of the Credential Committee shows, together with one delegate each from the Government of Norway, the Commonwealth of Australia and the State of Utah. Fraternal Delegates were present from ten National Councils of Women, and one from the International Council; from seven non-affiliated national organizations for woman suffrage, and from eleven other national societies in sympathy with woman suffrage work.

Dr. Käthe Schirmacher and Miss Eline Hansen were appointed as interpreters, and the Misses Overduin and Miss Walig as pages.

To make sure of right proceeding whenever a vote is taken, the President wished to know whether a body pledged to stand for votes for women shall not enfranchise its officers. Miss Heymann moved that this be decided without discussion, which was agreed to. The decision was made to give the officers a vote during this Congress.

Mrs. Foster Avery read the report of the Committee on Credentials, which was adopted.

Mrs. Chapman Catt then presented the Delegates sent by the Government of Norway and the Commonwealth of Australia, who responded by a greeting from their respective Governments, and the announcement was made that their expenses had been paid by their governments. The President proposed that a letter of thanks be sent to the Governments of Norway and Australia. Carried.

The official delegate from the State of Utah was also called, but was not present.

Miss Shaw moved and Miss Schirmacher seconded the adoption of the program drafted for this meeting. Carried.

The President then presented an application from the Woman Suffrage Associations of Natal and Cape Colony for auxiliaryship in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, with the understanding that dues and delegates shall be shared equally and the two associations be considered as one auxiliary.

It was moved by Dr. Jacobs and seconded by Dr. Augspurg that South Africa be accepted as a member of the Alliance. This was carried with applause.

The Announcement was made by Mrs. Foster Avery that Switzerland had formed a National Committee of seven Cantonal Associations for Woman Suffrage, which had expressed a desire to enter the Alliance, and Mrs. Avery moved its admission. The motion was carried and the new auxiliary welcomed with applause.

It was stated by Miss Kramers that the National Bulgarian Alliance for Woman's Rights in May 1907, requested affiliation to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. This body is composed of 30 local societies and its constitution shows that one of the objects of the federation is woman suffrage. Dr. Augspurg thought that our condition of membership was exclusive work for suffrage; Rosika Schwimmer said that in countries like Bulgaria „votes for women” is not likely soon to become the sole object of an organization. Miss Shaw thinks the rule made at Copenhagen for the admission of new societies into membership does not exclude the Bulgarian Alliance. Unfortunately the delegate from Bulgaria, Mme. Pateff, had not yet arrived. The Chair therefore proposed the appointment of a Committee to interview Mme. Pateff and to report on the admission of Bulgaria. Dr. Augspurg, Miss Shaw and Miss Schwimmer were appointed.

The President announced that a request concerning free distribution of literature at this Convention having been received, the Board of Officers had voted that suffrage literature only should be distributed and that a committee consisting of Mrs. Foster Avery and Mrs. Stanton Coit had been appointed to examine all literature presented for distribution or sale.

The president announced that in accordance with the vote taken at the Copenhagen Meeting, a series of parliamentary rules had been drafted and submitted to the officers, but as the usage in different countries varies widely, no agreement could be reached by correspondence. The officers had had no time to consider the matter since their arrival in Amsterdam; therefore they recommended that each delegation should appoint one person to serve upon a committee, the duty of which shall be to consider the rules already formulated and to arrange for their presentation at the Quinquennial in 1909.

Dr. Schirmacher moved that a message of sympathy be sent to the women who are at this time actively working for woman suffrage: those of Great Britain who are preparing a great demonstration and those of Finland who are canvassing for the parliamentary elections. Miss Ashton seconded that motion and it was carried with applause. Miss Furuhjelm thanked the Congress in the name of Finland.

Dr. Augspurg moved that a message of sympathy be sent to the English demonstrators of June 13th. as well as to those of June 21st. Carried.

The meeting was then adjourned.

June 16th., Morning Session.

The minutes were read and approved.

Dr. Augspurg then made her report as First Vice-President; she stated that having been requested to correspond with certain countries with a view to organization, the results were as follows: That Switzerland had organized without her aid; that the lady who had offered her assistance for Galicia had changed her residence and that Japan was not easily reached. Mrs. Fawcett, 2nd. Vice-President, compared her promise of correspondence with India and Egypt to that made by the bad son in the Scriptures, who promised and did not execute; yet the meeting had not the least doubt of the speaker's efficiency and devotion to the cause of the Alliance.

Miss Kramers then reported her inability to do anything for Greece, whereas in Belgium a small woman suffrage organization now exists, whose greetings she then read from a letter just received from Brussels. Miss Kramers further reported the success of „Jus Suffragii”, which was greeted with applause by the audience.

Before Mrs. Stanton Coit presented her financial report, she paid a tribute to the memory of her friend and predecessor, Miss Rodger Cunliffe. The report is divided into three periods, the *first* covering the time from May 1, 1906 (when the last report was published) to October 14, 1907, the time when our late Treasurer stopped her entries; the *second* part comprises the interim period during which the books were in the President's hands, and the *third* begins with Nov. 8, 1907, when the books came to the present Treasurer and ends June 8, 1908.

It is moved by Miss Shaw and seconded by Miss Ash-

ton that the financial report be adopted. (See page 74) Carried unanimously.

Dr. Käthe Schirmacher speaks of her efforts to get from M. Constant d'Estournelles a code of parliamentary rules followed in another international body, viz., the Peace Conference. But M. d'Estournelles in reply expressed his desire to see what international parliamentary rules the ladies would formulate for he had to confess the men had none. She then reported her work in Servia, where educational and national activities were still taking precedence of suffrage work. She reported work in the German Lutheran Congregation in Paris, in Hungary and Copenhagen, where she had succeeded in increasing the interest for woman suffrage.

Mrs. Foster Avery read the compilation made by the secretaries, of the reports sent in by eleven of our affiliated nations, which comprised the replies to the questions sent out by the Board of Officers.

The Committee on the Admission of Bulgaria made its report, Dr. Augspurg explaining that the Bulgarian association sent a petition for votes for women to the parliament every year; that they expected to gain municipal suffrage at no very distant time and that their President, Mrs. Malinoff, is the wife of the Premier. Miss Kramers then moved and Norway seconded the adoption of this report and the acceptance of Bulgaria as auxiliary to the Alliance. Miss Macmillan, fraternal delegate from the International Council of Women expressed the opinion that the International Council of Women would not approve affiliation of the Bulgarian Council of Women with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Rosika Schwimmer said that it was no business of ours whether the Bulgarian Women's League joins the International Council of Women as a National Council and at the same time joins the International Woman Suffrage Alliance as a National Woman Suffrage Alliance, as long as we are satisfied that the League stands for suffrage, desires affiliation and is prepared to pay the membership fee. Frau Marie Lang believed that the example given by the Bulgarian National Council might prove encouraging to other National Councils. Miss Shaw stated that before she became the convener of the Committee on Suffrage and the Rights of Citizenship in the International Council of Women, she had felt most strongly, that national organizations desiring to affiliate with the In-

ternational Woman Suffrage Association should be composed of local societies standing *solely* for suffrage. Now, experience had taught her that there were different methods of work in each country and she was convinced that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance must give liberty to each nation to organize its national suffrage association according to its own needs. Miss Kramers says that she, as an officer of the International Council of Women, does not know of any clause in its constitution prohibiting any national organization from acting in the dual capacity of National Council and National Suffrage Society, nor of any feeling on Lady Aberdeen's part that the Bulgarian National Council should *not* enter the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Mrs. Billington-Greig thought it proper that the National Council of Bulgaria should be prepared to retire from auxiliaryship to the Alliance, whenever in that country, a purely suffrage organization should be formed, and that there ought to be some constitutional machinery providing for such a contingency. Miss Macmillan said that, in expressing her above-stated opinion, she had acted on the instruction of Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, Secretary of the International Council of Women. Mrs. Chapman Catt, in reply to a question, said that a revision of the constitution was under consideration and that the point raised by Mrs. Billington-Greig would be included in the changes made. Miss Ashton then moved and Miss Heymann seconded an amendment to the effect that Bulgaria be accepted „pro tem”, which occasioned Miss Schwimmer to say that, if this discrimination were made against Bulgaria, it should equally apply to Hungary. After some discussion — in which Mme. Kalmanovitch, Miss Ashton, Miss Eline Hansen and Miss Shaw joined — Miss Ashton agreed to withdraw her amendment to the original motion, because she disliked any invidious discrimination against Bulgaria; to this Miss Heymann acceded. Then the reception of Bulgaria was put and carried; and it was unanimously voted. At that moment the assembly remained silent while the photographer, who had been waiting for an opportunity, fixed our images on his film.

The meeting was then adjourned.

June 17th. Morning Session.

After reading and approval of the minutes, Mrs. Dora

Montefiore asked whether the report given on Great Britain should not be corrected with respect to the statement that the Labor Party had endorsed the women's claims: the matter was referred to the English delegation.

The president then announced that the discussion of the question: „Under what conditions shall the publication of *Jus Suffragii* be continued”, which had been held over from yesterday, would now be the order of business. She further stated that the editor, being desirous of improving the paper, wished to hear any suggestions to that end.

Miss Ashton of Great Britain led the discussion and expressed satisfaction with the contents of *Jus Suffragii* and added the wise and profitable advice that each subscriber should take two instead of one copy. She closed her discussion by moving that the publication of *Jus Suffragii* should be continued under the same conditions as before. Miss Annie Furuhjelm of Finland, 1st assistant in the discussion, said that all the readers should show their enthusiasm for the cause by trying to find more financial support for the paper, and seconded Miss Ashton's motion. Mrs. Engel, of Hungary, 2nd. assistant, then recalled the quick development of the bulletin and its number of subscribers which now amounts to 458 paying readers and some thirty editors who take it in exchange for their own papers. She showed how *Jus Suffragii* now pays more than its cost, the monthly expenditure being 52 florins. The addition of three countries to our Alliance will make an increase of size necessary or at least desirable.

The question was then thrown open for free discussion. Signora Mariani of Italy moved that a French as well as an English edition of the paper should be printed. Dr. Augspurg endorsed this opinion. Dr. Schirmacher proposed a German edition as more beneficial to the eastern countries of Europe. Mrs. Münter warned against increasing the subscription price. Mrs. Wicksell proposed to have each country pay one sixteenth of the cost and receive in return one copy for each of its branch societies. Mrs. Mirovitch thought the subscription price might be increased to three florins and the size of the paper increased proportionately. Mrs. Keilhau thought the size might be doubled if the number of subscribers could also be doubled. Miss Anthony, in behalf of the

United States of America, seconded the proposal of enlarging the size of the paper and doubling the editor's salary.

The president reminded the delegates that the original motion made by Miss Ashton was „to continue the publication of *Jus Suffragii* under the same conditions as heretofore”, and that the propositions made in the discussion would have to be considered as amendments to this motion. Mrs. Drysdale thought the best way of making a paper popular would be to make it a penny paper. Frau Lang suggested that the editor's salary should be increased even though the paper remained the same size and that this should be done because a woman suffrage organization ought always to favor good pay for women's work. Miss Schwimmer regretted that interesting reports have often had to be cut down in order to get all the news into eight pages and therefore thought the paper should be increased to sixteen pages. Mrs. Carlberg believed the subscription price ought not to be increased but that the cost of publication should be borne equally by the sixteen auxiliaries. Mrs. McCulloch then moved to close the debate and the motion was carried.

The president then enumerated the six different proposals which had been made and which must be considered as motions and voted upon. These are as follows: (1) it was moved by Miss Ashton that „the publication of *Jus Suffragii* should be continued under the same conditions as heretofore”, (2) Signora Mariani proposed that there should be a French as well as an English edition, (3) it was proposed by Dr. Schirmacher that a German edition should be substituted for the proposed French edition, and that the paper should be printed in English and German, (4) it was proposed by Mrs. Wicksell that the cost of publishing *Jus Suffragii* should be divided equally among the sixteen auxiliary societies, (5) the proposal had also been made to increase the size of the paper and (6) to double the present salary of the editor. The president said further that in order to present these proposals in parliamentary order we must consider the second and third as amendments to the original motion and when these shall have been disposed of, the remaining proposals can be considered also as amendments to the same motion. It will be necessary to take this procedure because only two amendments to one motion can be considered.

The vote was then called upon the second amendment, i. e. that the paper should be printed in German and English and this amendment was lost. The vote was then called upon the next amendment, i. e. that the paper should be printed in French and English and this amendment was also lost.

At this juncture Mrs. Fawcett moved that „the remaining proposals concerning Jus Suffragii be referred to a committee consisting of the president and the treasurer with power to act.” At this moment Mrs. Avery requested permission to make the announcement that the Board of Officers at its meeting held June 14th, unanimously decided to submit to the delegates the following resolution: „that the Board recommends to the Alliance the increase of the salary of the editor of Jus Suffragii and if possible, that the present salary shall be doubled.” Miss Shaw then moved to amend Mrs. Fawcett’s motion so that all motions not yet disposed of concerning Jus Suffragii, except that of the editor’s salary, should be referred to the committee named, but that the question of increase of salary be voted upon by the convention. The motion being seconded, a vote was taken upon it and this showed 28 votes for and 31 against: the motion was lost.

The vote upon Mrs. Fawcett’s motion, was then put and it was carried, thus referring to the committee all remaining proposals concerning the paper.

Miss Furuhjelm raised the point of order that the proposal from Sweden has not been seconded, and the chair sustained the point and ruled the motion of Sweden out of order.

Mrs. Avery then read the following letter:

„Amsterdam, June 16, 1908.

To the International Woman Suffrage Alliance;

On behalf of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies of Great Britain, I have the honor to invite the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to visit England next year.

We should give the Alliance a hearty welcome to London and do our best to reciprocate the generous hospitality we have received here and in Copenhagen. We feel that the visit of the Alliance to England, should you favor us by accepting our invitation, could not fail to give a powerful impulse to our own movement. After all that has been done in England in the way of propaganda,

our chief foe is still ignorance : — ignorance of the aims of the movement and also of its world wide character, affecting as it is doing the status of women in every civilized country in the world.

This ignorance, the visit of the Alliance to London would have great influence in dispelling. Therefore for our own work, we beg you to visit us. We desire, of course, to consult your convenience as to the precise date of the visit, should you honor us by agreeing to our request ; but the time we had in contemplation was some week either at the end of April, or the beginning of May, 1909. Hoping that you will be able to come to us, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Millicent Garrett Fawcett,
President National Union Women's Suffrage
Societies.

Miss Shaw explains that the N. A. W. S. A. feels that here hospitality must give way before the expediency of the actual assistance which a congress in Great Britain next year may bring to the cause, and withdraws the invitation given by the United States in 1906. She also moved the acceptance of the invitation from Great Britain. In behalf of Holland, Dr. Jacobs seconded the motion from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies ; it is put to vote and carried with applause.

The President then called the Roll of Associations for announcement of proposals for new business. Hungary proposes 1) that the women deputies in parliaments shall be requested to become members of the Interparliamentary Conference, 2) that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance be officially represented at all international congresses for educational purposes, 3) that the I. W. S. A., through its auxiliary in Great Britain, bring its influence to bear on the „Women's Suffrage League of Members of Parliament that they may take steps towards founding an Interparliamentary League for Woman Suffrage.

The Netherlands proposed that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance shall adopt an international flag. The Alliance is requested to accept the fifteen silk flags now in use as a present from the Netherlands, and use them at future meetings.

Russia proposes the establishment of an international bureau.

Sweden proposes a petition for woman suffrage to

be sent to all governments. The United States proposes that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance shall secure the passage of suffrage resolutions by other international bodies.

The Roll Call of the officers brought some propositions from Mrs. Stanton Coit : 1) a discussion on ways and means to raise more funds, 2) that this Congress give clear instructions to the Treasurer, (a) how much money, if any, is to be spent on clerical help, (b) how to act in dealing with applications for financial help from affiliated nations, 3) that a small finance committee be appointed in the Treasurer's town with whom the Treasurer can consult and which should pass upon accounts for payment, 4) that two Hon. Auditors be appointed, also resident in the Treasurer's town or country.

Miss Eline Hansen was then called to the platform to read the special report from Denmark. At 12.15 the delegates voted not to hear another report. Miss Kramers expressed a fear that the vote on the Jus Suffragii Committee was not quite in accordance with the sense of the majority of the meeting, since the delegates may not have understood the parliamentary procedure.

The President reminded the audience that the voting on amended motions had been taken in proper form.

The meeting was then adjourned.

June 18th. Morning Session.

The minutes of June 17 were read and approved.

The President then stated that since the discussion and vote of yesterday morning upon the continuation of Jus Suffragii, she had been informed that some of the delegates had voted both negatively and affirmatively upon the same question, which showed conclusively that there had not been a clear understanding of the matter. The decision of that session in regard to Jus Suffragii therefore was not binding upon the Convention, but she hoped that the delegates would first hear the report of the Committee consisting of the Treasurer and the President. She believed their report would be satisfactory and added that, while the terms of their appointment did not call for a further vote of the convention, the Committee preferred to submit its report to the delegates, — that if they confirmed the report by their vote there would be no need to open the question of the regularity of yesterday's proceedings.

The Committee on Jus Suffragii then reported as follows: Your Committee divides its report into two parts (a) concerning the size of the paper (b) concerning the salary of the editor. The Committee recommends that the size of the paper remain the same and that the editor be authorized to issue a supplement on such occasions as seem, in her judgment, to demand it. The Committee also recommends that, without increasing either the size of the paper or the work connected with it, the present salary of the editor be doubled.

The acceptance of this report was moved by the Rev. Anna Shaw and seconded by Dr. Augspurg. The vote in its favor was almost unanimous.

The President then asked the meeting whether it wished to take up the program of the morning or to hear first the reports which were not heard yesterday and the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of proceeding to the program of the morning, i. e. the Conference upon methods of work.

The roll of countries was called with the following results :

AUSTRALIA. Mrs. Donohoe reported that Australian suffragists try as often as they can, to pack the political meetings of candidates known to be opposed to suffrage, with woman suffragists, — give entertainments of tableaux vivants showing the work of women throughout the ages and have lectures illustrated by magic lantern views of women's work.

All women paying income taxes do so under protest and see to it that their protests are published in the papers. When the lists of taxes appear in the papers, there are always seen the protests of the women.

CANADA. Mrs. Brown reported debates upon suffrage in schools and colleges among both boys and girls and splendid discussions of the subject. Austria (Frau Lang) asked how the debates are conducted. Answer : Students are found interested enough to do the debating outside of their school hours. Australia comments that they also do this and that they establish debating societies and send their speakers to them.

DENMARK. Eline Hansen : The suffragists work to secure answers from political candidates while they are on the platform at their political meetings, when they *must* reply and their reply is heard by a large number of their constituents. Also they try to secure

the help of speakers from other countries as they feel that the men become accustomed to seeing and hearing their own women, but when women from other nations come to Denmark, then the Danish men get another point of view of the whole subject.

FINLAND. Miss Furuhjelm said : We got our suffrage through a revolution, so we cannot be an example for other lands as to methods. We can say, however, that we used *all* methods in our work. In 1904 we had a great public meeting for woman suffrage. We organized a strike against the Conscription for the Russian Army and we found the mothers interested in saving their sons. The Social Democrats had woman suffrage in their platform before 1905, but the leading men of Finland would not have helped the woman to the suffrage, if the women had not shown that they understood the public questions of the day and taken an active part in resistance to an unlawful régime. Even the very worst things bring some good and so the terrible times for Finland during the incumbency of Bobrikoff, forced every one in Finland, women as well as men, to take an interest in the conditions of public affairs on which their very existence depended. Let all women try to become a power in their respective countries and to show that they too can sacrifice personal interests to the public good.

Great Britain having been called for, the President ruled that the order in which the countries appear on the list must be followed.

GERMANY. Fr. Heymann reported their method of appealing by special letters directly to professional women, artists, teachers, etc. asking them to become members. Literature especially adapted to these women, is enclosed, and also an invitation to attend the suffrage meetings.

GREAT BRITAIN. There was considerable discussion as to who should be heard from Great Britain and when requests to speak had been received from three regular delegates, three delegates from the Freedom League and one Honorary Associate, Mrs. Rutgers-Hoitsema moved that the Fraternal Delegates be limited to three minutes each, seconded by Miss Bergman of Sweden.

Mme Mirovitch moved that the regular delegates from the rest of the affiliated countries be first heard and afterwards the Fraternal Delegates.

The motion of Mme Mirovitch being moved as a substitute for that of Mrs. Rutgers-Hoitsema, the vote was taken on the question of substituting and the convention voted to substitute.

The vote was then taken on the motion of Mme Mirovitch which was carried almost unanimously.

The regular delegates from Great Britain were then heard as follows:

Miss Ford said that through the work done at the By-elections the working men begin to understand the question and to become enthusiastic for it. They hold out-door meetings which are much better attended than are the regular candidates' meetings. After the election is over, they follow up the Members of Parliament by postal card reminders of their duty to be in their places and to vote for the woman suffrage bill. She knew of one member who must have received about, 2000 such cards. They appeal to the working men, who know how hard the position of the working woman is and can be made to understand what justice to their women means. Do not hesitate to give up all other work for this which is of prime importance. She and her sister walked as „sandwich men” with a woman suffrage poster in front and woman suffrage sentiment on the back, during an election and, though some people laughed, many working men encouraged them and took off their hats to them. Do not heed the laughs. In the future the laugh will be turned upon those who failed to help this cause to-day. Do not fail to make your appeals upon the highest ground of justice and moral reform. Have faith in the people and they will respond to your faith through their innate goodness.

Miss Sterling reported further details of their By-election policy. The Woman Suffrage Society engages a committee room where it has literature and holds meetings. It has members on hand to question the candidates and when they are favorable to suffrage, the electors are urged to show their approval. On one occasion at Hull, when a candidate announced that he was against woman suffrage and would vote against it in Parliament if elected, he polled 1000 fewer votes than the candidate of his party at a previous election. She recommends the plan of running a woman suffrage candidate against an enemy of the cause, — they have had good results in the way of propaganda from this method. During one strike, they appealed to the men out of work because they then had

leisure to hear them and secured the passage of 29 resolutions for woman suffrage by these voters; these were sent to the Prime Minister.

An Artists' League has been formed whose members give of their time and ability to produce attractive and artistic suffrage posters. A Suffrage Union of Literary Women is being formed.

Dr. Augspurg asked that one of the English delegates who had spoken of the kind of questions which they address to their candidates and which have proven effective in forcing them to commit themselves, shall write out a list of such questions to be published in JUS SUFFRAGII.

At this point the President called for an expression of the wish of the delegates as to whether they were willing to meet at 4 o'clock, at the close of the public session, to continue the hearing of the reports on methods. This was agreed to by a unanimous vote.

Miss Ashton then reported: Though the president of a large body of Liberal women, she has decided that it is useless to work further for her party unless it will enfranchise women. Women in England have worked for sixty years for this party and now, if they will gain their own liberty they must refuse to lift hand or foot for it until it will enfranchise them. „Though we have a liberal cabinet and the pledges of a majority of votes in a liberal parliament, it has not given us the franchise”. The liberals have practically told the women „We do not represent you. You are not our constituents”. Miss Ashton further said that at the time when Winston Churchill was up for election, she led out of the party work a large number of the Liberal women. The Liberal papers reported that the women were „in revolt” and the Party managers sent word to headquarters: „We can no longer hold the women unless the party does something for them”. She said the women had held the Liberal Party together and had kept up the hearts of the men in defeat. They had given patient, hard work for years to their parties. Now they must stand out from their parties until these parties stand for women. She believed that when the great body of Liberal women leave the Liberal party, the cause will be won in England.

Dr. Augspurg moved and U. S. (Miss Hauser) seconded „That only Fraternal Delegates be invited to present methods of work.” Passed almost unanimously.

Mrs. Harper as Chairman of the Committee on Res-

olutions (other members Miss Ashton, Great Britain, and Mrs. van Loenen de Bordes, Netherlands) asked through the President, that resolutions be handed her at the close of the session.

The President announced that at the evening session, the first Vice-President, Dr. Augspurg would preside.

The Secretary, Miss Kramers, read the following communication from the Dutch Delegation:

„This day, 17th. June, the Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church resolved unanimously to give a vote to women on the same issues as have until now been submitted only to men members of the congregation.” This news was received with applause.

The President then asked all delegates to think over suggestions for the next Congress and to see what they have liked and what they have found to criticise in this meeting. She made a strong plea for a good hearing for our Fraternal Delegates from the Freedom League.

On motion the delegates adjourned to meet at the close of the afternoon Public Session.

June 18th. Afternoon Session.

The President called upon Hungary for suggestions as to methods of work and Miss Rosika Schwimmer responded as follows:

She advised to work actively during the elections, question candidates and get them to declare themselves publicly. Use woman suffrage stamps as they attract attention and bring about discussion. Wear a woman suffrage badge. Many people in Hungary are „mad for decorations” and very few women get them, so when people see the badge they think it is a decoration and immediately ask about it. This gives a chance to talk to them of woman suffrage. Talk about it in season and out of season and thus you will make an impression on those who hear you.

Do woman suffrage work in a way to make as much noise and attract as much attention as possible. An article in a Vienna paper says the English suffragettes and those in France who follow their example have hurt the cause and that the other women ought to follow the example of the Hungarian suffragists and work in a ladylike manner. But at home we are thought anything but quiet in our methods and some people criticise them. We however, believe that we accomplish more by doing

everything to attract public attention to our work and we are grateful to the brave women in England who have set the example of sacrificing everything in their devotion to this cause.

THE NETHERLANDS. Mevr. Rutgers-Hoitsema reported as follows: When our government announced that it would revise that part of our constitution which relates to suffrage, the suffragists began to work to have woman suffrage put into the fundamental law. When the Commission was appointed and no woman's name upon it, our society appointed a woman's committee to set forth the women's wishes and ideas. When we made public our report on this subject, it was favorably commented on by the press. We won to our views six of the seven members of the Government's Commission. When our Prime Minister asked us for the arguments for our cause we not only sent him all possible literature on the subject, but hastened to prepare a book giving all the arguments in its favor. This „Study material for Woman Suffrage” is much like the English book, „The Case for Woman Suffrage.” It was widely used by our friends in Parliament and by the Press.

After every session of Parliament and after an election we asked an audience of every one of our six political parties. Four of them granted this and after hearing us they admitted that they could see the subject from a different point of view. Our speakers appear before the Parliamentary Clubs of all the parties. We also send word to all the parties that our workers are ready to speak on our subject at their meetings when allowed to do so, and as a woman speaker helps to attract an audience of voters, they are often invited.

NORWAY. Dr. L. Qvam. They have used many of the other means reported by other countries but especially the petitions and appeals to parliament. Many women used their vacations in going from house to house through the country districts for that purpose. Where ten years ago they were met with hard words and few signatures, they are now well received and find people glad to sign the petitions.

RUSSIA. Mme. Mirovitch gave the following report: They have not been able to work as the other countries do, as their members are often in danger of imprisonment or death. They have lecturers who travel about to hold meetings, they publish a review of the work of their

Union ; members of the Union have started Women's Clubs which carry on general work for women's betterment. They have sold very cheaply 10,000 suffrage pamphlets ; they have a Committee in St. Petersburg which watches the acts of the Douma and when a law is proposed which concerns women and yet fails to consider them, this Committee reminds the Members of the Douma of the needs of women. It protests against the massacres and the outrages when women are assaulted and tortured. During one of the terrible famines, girls were actually sold by their fathers and brothers to get the means to live. The Club sends out its protests against such treatment of women. Just now during the reaction the Union is not permitted to work.

SWEDEN. Dr. Wahlström reported : Members of various women's organizations try to gain admission to the men's party organizations.

The President of the National Suffrage Association, Miss Anna Whitlock, has been elected a member of the Liberal Association.

One of the chief works is the arrangement of courses of lectures on Sociology through which women are instructed on subjects relating to political work and duties and we hold sham sessions of parliament and of town councils : also send out small circulating libraries on Woman Suffrage for the use of local branches. A drawing-room meeting to which personal invitations were sent to the members of parliament and which was attended by nearly half of the entire number, proved most beneficial to our cause.

UNITED STATES. The Rev. Anna Shaw reported : Our N. W. S. A. offers prizes to students in High Schools, Colleges and Universities for essays upon suffrage. A woman suffrage League of College Women is being formed and will soon be organized nationally ; it will be affiliated with our National Association and will co-operate with us in the work.

We work for amendments to the Constitutions in our numerous States and also have hearings before their committees and once during each Congress we have a hearing at Washington. The addresses made there are printed by the Government. We question many of the candidates and this year we have questioned our candidates for the Presidency and have published their replies. We secure the passage of suffrage resolutions in important

conventions of societies not organized for suffrage, both State and National. We present to the libraries of High Schools and Colleges the History of Woman Suffrage and the Life of Susan B. Anthony. The walls of many of our schools are decorated with the pictures of great men; we have begun to present to them the pictures of our great women. We are this year sending to a large number of ministers the request to preach a woman suffrage sermon on the Sunday nearest to the Fourth of July, when expressions of patriotic sentiment are most appropriate. Wherever there is a chance, we appeal to our courts on questions of women's right to vote under various laws. In the city of Des Moines the law gave women the right to vote upon the question of issuing city bonds. Lately such an issue of bonds was proposed, the money to be used to erect a costly city building. The women were not permitted to vote upon it, so they have carried their question to the courts and while the decision is pending, they have secured a court order which prevents the men from going on with the building. We send out every week 1,500 copies of articles to the different newspapers which agree to publish them. Our press is not any too willing to notice our question so we are very grateful to the English suffragists for making such a row over woman suffrage that even the American Press is forced to take notice of our movement.

The fraternal Delegates were then called upon:

AUSTRIA. Frau Lang suggested a tactful method of drawing women's attention to our question. When the hard times in Vienna led to a great increase in the cost of living, the Woman Suffrage Committee called a meeting to discuss „The Increase in the Cost of Living as it affects Women.” The place was crowded and they had a discussion of the subject which led logically and inevitably to the conclusion that without the ballot, women are helpless to bring about any improvement in conditions of living.

BOHEMIA. They demand of political candidates how they stand upon the law forbidding women to organize for political purposes and when they fail to make public the replies of some of the men at their public meetings, these candidates are quite likely to write asking why their replies have been forgotten or overlooked by the women. They question especially the „whips” of every party, except the Conservative-Clericals. They demand

laws in the interest of women, life insurance for servants, etc. They urge the suffragists to spread the propaganda among women and to be true and earnest, but to use only dignified methods and they try to do nothing to make themselves or the cause ridiculous, as that would drive away some of the women who might help but would fear ridicule. They urge women to make a careful study of the election laws of their country as they may discover rights which, in the course of time, have been forgotten. This has been the case in Bohemia. *) They try to train their new, young members in their small meetings and they urge women to use whatever votes they already possess in any business concern and to try to get the vote upon all boards of management.

It was moved by Mrs. Avery and seconded both by Canada (Mrs. Brown) and the U. S. (Rev. Shaw) that the Reports of methods from the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain, be made the first order of business for the morning session of June 19. Carried unanimously.

After some announcements had been made by the President the meeting adjourned.

June 19th. Morning Session.

After approval of the minutes, the proceedings began with the explanation of their methods of work by three delegates from the Women's Freedom League. Greeted, and often interrupted by applause, Mrs. Despard described the policy of the Women's Freedom League which mainly consists in trying to approach and enter the House of Parliament; holding meetings near the House; heckling Government candidates; refusing to pay taxes; doing service as sandwich-women; chalking pavements; holding bazaars with novel attractions, for instance a reproduction of a cell in Holloway gaol with inmate; asking questions in meetings, etc.

Then Mrs. Billington-Greig treated the purposes of the League and the justification of their methods, showing how the „machinery” constructed by continuous work of half a century by the British suffragists needed a vigorous push to set it in motion. She gave the reasons why its policy was invariably to oppose the Government which refuses justice to women. She defended the seeming violence on the part of the League by pointing out that

*) See Report of Bohemia, page. 84.

a promise to be good and obedient and never to be dangerous is not the way to win liberty. Besides, the fact that women are outside the law justified their agitation and effort to become a recognized force. The women have finally lost their patience and demand the vote, not to be given after 500 years, but now. Mrs. Sanderson presented a picture of the effect of the suffragettes' tactics. General condemnation had been followed by curiosity and the politicians had begun to show respect, even fear. The public at first made silly accusations against the personal character of the leaders, but that stage was past, and one cannot fail to recognize in these valiant pioneers the spirit of the ancient crusaders.

So much is certain that a spark from their fire fell into the audience, and Miss Shaw wished some of the suffragettes would come to the United States. Miss Heymann did not agree with Miss Shaw, but thought that the work of each country should be done by its own women, although she admired the suffragettes and their devotion. Mrs. Fawcett said that there was room in Great Britain for many different methods and many different societies. „There are nine and thirty ways of writing tribal lays; and every single one of them is right,” and so the fact that there were suffragettes ready to go to prison and uneducated women who said that „it was unloidy-like to chine yourself to rilings”, was explicable and after all, an advance for the cause.

Mrs. Montefiore asked leave to speak on methods as Honorary Associate, which was granted. She advocated propaganda among the working women, and quoted Finland where this method has had such complete success.

Miss Shaw then moved that the order of the day, the discussion on „Shall more than one national society in each country be permitted to affiliate with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance” shall be taken up. This was carried, and Mrs. Avery as leader of the discussion, stated its difficulties and her inability to solve the problem. The conditions in different countries differ so widely and the ideal of „national” representation in the world's suffrage movement seemed to conflict with what appeared to her to be a just arrangement of voting power in the Alliance. It is nearly impossible to find a fair test; membership will not do, nor the number of local branches. The question of nationalities is another obstacle, and yet the future of the Alliance requires a solution of the problem.

Mrs. Anna Wicksell (Sweden) first assistant in the discussion suggested :

1. That organizations from one and the same country be admitted to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance up to a maximum of three.
2. That the six votes (and delegates) of each country be so divided, that if there are two organizations, the first affiliated shall have four and the second two votes (and delegates); if there are three organizations the first shall have three, the second two and the third one vote (and delegate);
3. That when the organizations are voting by correspondence, they should cast their vote in the way above recorded ;
4. That if two organizations request membership in the I. W. S. A. at the same time, the oldest shall be considered as first affiliated ; and
5. That each organization should pay its full dues, according to the present constitution, ten or five dollars respectively.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, asked when the resolutions would be heard. It was unanimously voted that the report of her committee be the order of business for half past ten, Saturday morning.

Dr. Louise Qvam, second assistant in the discussion, then gave as her opinion that the existence of two national societies for woman suffrage in a country must always prove detrimental to the work.

Miss Eline Hansen, third assistant, expressed the same opinion.

The President announced that the Board of Officers have had the idea, which has just been suggested by one of the Fraternal Delegates, viz. that the solution of this problem be left to the Committee on Revision of the Constitution.

A discussion on the order of business brought out the fact that while there were some persons in the room ready to go to prison for the Cause, there were others who were unwilling to defer their lunch ! But all voted unanimously to hold a short business session at the close of the afternoon public session, in order to hear reports which had been crowded off the regular program. Finland, satisfied that its report was going to be printed, announced that it wished it dropped from the program. The

Chair announced that the report of South Africa had to be dropped also on account of the illness of Mrs. Mathie.

Then Miss Shaw moved and Miss Ashton seconded, that all further suggestions for the affiliation of national societies shall be sent to a Committee of three, appointed for the revision of the Constitution and that Mrs. Chapman Catt should be one of the Committee. In the discussion the opinion was brought forward that the rules for two societies in one country should be very definite; also that there should be members on the Committee from countries where the difficulty exists; then that these should be balanced by as many from the countries where the suffragists are not divided. Miss Shaw's motion was then carried almost unanimously, and she further proposed that Mrs. Chapman Catt should appoint the two other members of the Constitution Revision Committee. After some other amendments were proposed, seconded and withdrawn, this was carried. Meeting adjourned.

Special meeting held at 4 o'clock.

At the close of the public session in the afternoon, a business meeting was held and the following special reports were read: Norway, by Mrs. Qvam, president of the Norwegian Woman Suffrage Association; Switzerland, by Miss K. Honegger, delegate; and Great Britain by Miss I. O. Ford, delegate. Meeting adjourned.

June 20th. Morning Session.

After approval of the minutes, the Chair read the list of unfinished business and asked consent to make the list the order of business for the day. Consent was granted.

Mme. Pateff then gave her report on the suffrage work of Bulgarian women. The report of our latest affiliated organization was received with applause. Then Miss Plaminková presented the report of Bohemia, which showed clearly that the laws of the Austrian Empire hamper the women's organization as much as possible, yet leave some back doors open for them to enter into political life. The report was applauded.

The discussion as to „how may affiliated associations help each other” was called for. Germany, the leader, had nothing particular to offer. Mme Kalmanovitch asked financial help for women's papers. Miss Shaw moved that every speaker should have no more than two minutes, which was seconded by many and approved by

all. So Miss Janka Grossmann was appointed time keeper. Mrs. Drucker, on behalf of the Netherlands, proposed that speakers from foreign countries might make lecturing tours and announce their travelling route in *Jus Suffragii*. This would make it possible for the countries through which they passed to invite them. Mrs. Stanton Coit thought a fund for travelling expenses would be a great help. Miss Stepánková said that these tours should be published in „*Jus Suffragii*”, so that no extra expenses for travelling be incurred.

Miss Palliser suggested that each National Woman Suffrage Association should appoint a member to read the papers in her country and send all false statements made about woman suffrage work or workers in another land, to the representative of the country concerned.

Miss Annie Furuhjelm approved this and so did Miss Anne Kleman. Miss Janka Grossmann recommended that each country should give in „*Jus Suffragii*” at least every three months, a report on the attitude of the press towards woman suffrage. Mrs. Kalmanovitch approved of this.

Mrs. Pedersen-Dan then gave her report upon the International Badge and said that 8,677 badges had been sold, since the Alliance had made the contract with her. She desired to continue it, only she recommended more punctual payment, the credit of three months being sometimes extended to two years. Miss Sterling thought that manufacturing the badge in other countries might make it cheaper.

Miss Ashton asked why permission to manufacture the badges could not be given to any auxiliary society desiring to make badges for its own members. The president explained that under present conditions this could not be done, whereupon a motion was made and carried: That a committee of three be appointed to consult with Mrs. Pedersen-Dan concerning the matter. Miss Sterling (England), Frau Cauer (Germany), and Mrs. Heineken-Daum (Netherlands) were appointed to serve on this committee with instructions to be prepared to report at the afternoon session. Miss E. Hansen (Denmark) was appointed to act as interpreter for that Committee.

At length Mrs. Harper, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, was called upon to report, Frl. von Welzeck assisting Dr. Schirmacher as interpreter.

After much discussion and some amendment, the

resolutions of the Committee were adopted as follows, upon the motion of Miss Hauser (U. S. A.), seconded by Miss Palliser (Great Britain). (See page 5).

The meeting then adjourned for lunch.

JUNE 20th. Afternoon Session.

With restored energy the meeting returned to the consideration of Resolutions; it was now the turn of those proposed from the floor. The Netherlands wished to express a feeling of disapproval of the men of Great Britain who treat the suffragettes with so much cruelty, but the British delegation fears lest misunderstanding might arise from that, and so the proposal was withdrawn.

Another resolution was brought up by Germany expressing disapprobation of the English government, which had treated the suffragettes, not as political offenders, but as common lawbreakers. Some of the British delegates saw danger in that resolution, and the ensuing discussion showed that in several countries there is a difference made between political and common prisoners, while in others that difference does not exist. On Miss Shaw's proposal the scope of the Resolution was widened, and by 26 votes to 9 it was carried in the following form:

„The Third Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Amsterdam enters its protest against the action of any government which classes the women suffragists imprisoned for agitation for the vote, as common law-breakers instead of as political offenders.”

Then Mrs. Avery read the English text of Miss Schwimmer's Resolution on Russia, which was seconded by Annie Furuhjelm, who reminded the meeting of some instances of the great courage of the Russian women. The President added that most of the Russian delegates here present had experienced persecution by the Russian Government. A Fraternal Delegate asked permission for everyone present to vote on this occasion and the President requested the Russian delegates to take home with them our faith in their final victory, and the following Resolution was unanimously carried by a rising vote of all present:

„The Convention wishes to express its sympathy for the Russian women in their struggle demanding so much sacrifice, and to convey to them the assurance of its profound respect for the women who, under great trial, do not hesitate to stand for their rights.”

The proposals for new business made on Wednesday were called for. The usual order of the Roll-Call was reversed and the proposal of the United States of America that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance should secure the passage of suffrage resolutions by other international bodies, these resolutions to be presented at the Quinquennial Meeting, was considered in connection with the closely related proposal of Hungary that fraternal delegates should be sent to international conventions for educational purposes, etc. Both were carried.

The Swedish proposal that petitions be presented to the governments of all affiliated countries by the Congress was next considered.

Miss Ashton believed the Alliance had better not interfere with national governments, but Mrs. Donohoe did not share this opinion. Mrs. Avery quoted the compilation of reports to show that the National Societies are already petitioning their governments, and Frau Cauer saw in that fact a proof that the way had been paved for the Alliance by this action. Mme. Schabad disapproved of sending a woman suffrage petition to all parliaments at the same time. Mrs. Donohoe thought it need not be sent on exactly the same date, and Sweden explained that the Governments as well as the parliaments should be memorialized. Rosika Schwimmer expected a good effect from sending a memorial to those parliaments where its discussion is ensured. In Hungary such petitions have to bear the signature of an M. P.; in Bohemia petitions to the Government may be freely presented, those to the parliament must be reported from a Committee. Miss Ford wished the motion withdrawn as that would obviate the necessity of voting against it. Miss Bergman again advocated the proposal, which was finally adopted by 19 to 16 votes. The President then asked to be informed which National Association would disapprove of their government being approached by the Alliance, and Great Britain, Switzerland and the Netherlands requested that no petition be sent to their countries. The proposal of Holland offering the silk banners used during the Congress to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was received with applause. Mrs. van Loenen then gave a glowing description of the flag she had dreamed for the Alliance: green, white and gold, with „Jus Suffragii” on the white band. But others have other

ideals, and Miss Ford (Great Britain) would not proceed in the matter without the advice of the „Artists League.” It was ordered that a Committee be asked to report to the next meeting, the Committee to consist of Mrs. van Loenen, Chairman, Miss Emily Ford from Great Britain and Miss Agnes Branting from Sweden.

The proposal of Russia to have an international bureau for suffrage information found no second, because we have „Jus Suffragii” for the exchange of news. The proposal of Hungary that an Interparliamentary League for Woman Suffrage should be formed, was laid on the table, on motion of Annie Furuhjelm, seconded by Mrs. Fawcett.

The second proposal of Hungary that the women deputies in Parliaments should be requested to become members of the Interparliamentary Conference was moved and carried.

Mrs. Stanton Coit’s propositions concerning auditors and finance were referred to the officers.

The Chairman of the Committee on Parliamentary Rules was called upon to report and Mrs. Avery for Dr. Augspurg presented the following report: „The Committee held one meeting, at which each member was provided with a copy of the suggestions already sent out by the International Officers, and decided that each of its members shall send to the Chairman before Oct. 1st., her suggestions of changes to be made: the Chairman shall send before Nov. 1, to every member *all* the suggestions received: they shall then send her their votes upon these suggestions, and she shall formulate a set of Rules, to be presented at the Quinquennial Meeting in London in 1909.”

The Committee on Parliamentary Rules consists of: Chairman, Dr. Augspurg, Germany; Australia, Mrs. Donohoe; Canada, Mrs. Brown; Denmark, Mrs. Louise Neergaarde; Finland, Miss Annie Furuhjelm; Great Britain, Miss I. O. Ford; Hungary, Janka Grossmann; Italy, Prof. Emilia Mariani; Norway, Mrs. F. V. Qvam; Netherlands, Mrs. Rutgers-Hoitsema; Russia, Mme Anna Kalmanovitch; Sweden, Mrs. Anna B. Wicksell; Switzerland, Frl. K. Honegger; United States, Mrs. Ella Stewart.

The President’ announced that she had appointed as her colleagues upon the Committee on Revision of the Constitution, Miss Anna Whitlock, President of

the Swedish Women's Suffrage Association and Mrs. Fawcett, president of the British Women's Suffrage Association. It was further stated that proposals for amendment of the Constitution were to be sent to the President before Oct. 15.

Miss Shaw moved that, when this Congress adjourns, all unfinished business be left to the General Officers. This was seconded and carried. The President announced that the correction of the minutes would be included in the „unfinished business.”

The President then made some closing remarks. She stated that, in one respect, this Convention had proved „unsatisfactory”, that is, because the time on the program had proved to be less elastic than the size of the business of the Alliance. There should have been consideration of the Quinquennial program and it is a question whether Great Britain, as our future hostess, should not decide the main points of it. Probably in that country the need will not be for arguments on women's enfranchisement, but a strong impression of the comprehensiveness and growth of the movement. New and attractive features should be invented for the next convention. This time we have had Government Delegates, why not then request the Chiefs of the Governments to come in person or send distinguished statesmen as their representatives. They might form a nucleus for an Interparliamentary Committee on Woman Suffrage. Might not an exhibition of women's work be a suitable accompaniment to a woman suffrage congress? Whatever we resolve, should not the evening program be left to the British Women's Suffrage Association?

If persons should be invited to address evening meetings who would add prestige to our Congress and lend important influence to the British campaign, would not every country willingly surrender its quota of time. Cries of yes, yes, yes, gave assent to that suggestion.

Miss Shaw moved and Mrs. Dobson seconded a vote of thanks to the Netherlands Woman Suffrage Association, to the press, the pages, the leader of the welcome choir, the Committee on Reception and the attendants upon the Information Bureau. Carried with great applause.

Mme Mirovitch proposed that an expression of sympathy be sent to Prof. Petrovitchski, the valiant advocate of women's rights in the first Douma, now in prison for signing the Viborg manifest. Carried.

Miss Lydia Wahlström moved a vote of thanks to the President, which was not duly and legally seconded, for the whole meeting rose to do it with frantic applause. The Convention then adjourned.

June 25th, Meeting of Officers at the
house of Dr. Aletta Jacobs.

At the final Business session of the Congress, the President had requested each delegation to send one representative to meet with the officers upon this occasion and eleven associations were thus represented. A majority of the official board consisting of Mrs. Chapman Catt, Mrs. Foster Avery, Miss Martina Kramers and Mrs. Stanton Coit, was present.

The unfinished business of the Alliance which had been referred to the officers, was considered. The Minutes of the meeting of June 20th were read and approved.

It was moved and carried that the Memorial which the Alliance had ordered to be sent to the Governments of the affiliated countries, should be written in French.

The Badge Committee presented the following report: We had an interview with Fru Pedersen-Dan and Miss Hansen. Mrs. Dan stated that she did not wish to sell the copyright, that there were debts still owing to her and that, further, she had bought machinery for the production of the badge. We suggested that if she ceded the copyright we might be able to make a recommendation regarding the debts; though not as to the machinery. We also pointed out that the Alliance might not renew the contract in any case. After reconsideration Fru Pedersen-Dan definitely declined to sell the copyright.

Your committee beg to recommend 1) that the contract be not renewed: 2) that a new design be obtained, the copyright of which should be vested in the board of officers for the International Alliance: 3) that if the artist can not present the design, a sum of not more than £ 5. be paid for the copyright: 4) that leave be given from time to time to each affiliated society to reproduce and sell the badge, those not desiring to do so being at liberty to buy from those who do.

We suggest that the English Artists' League be approached, among others, in reference to a design.

This report is unanimously presented by the undersigned committee,

Chairman, Miss F. Sterling,
Frau Minna Cauer,
Mevr. Heineken-Daum.

The report was discussed but not adopted. Instead it was moved and carried, 1) that the contract with Mrs. Pedersen-Dan be renewed for one year or until the meeting in London ; 2) that she be asked to sell the copyright of the badge for not more than £ 5. ; and that she be requested to send her answer at least three months prior to the London meeting.

The consensus of opinion was that it would be unfair to Mrs. Pedersen-Dan to take the contract from her without due warning and that, on the other hand, it was unfair to the International Alliance that the copyright of its own badge should belong to a private individual instead of to the organization.

The president reported that after the announcement made at the Rotterdam dinner, that she had invited Mrs. Fawcett to find an English lady who would write suitable words for an international woman suffrage hymn and Mrs. Catherine van Rennes to compose the music, she had received a letter from the Haarlem Branch of the Dutch Association, requesting that a free competition should be extended to all affiliated countries to compose suitable words for the desired international hymn and that, if no objection was heard, this would be done. This suggestion met with the approval of the meeting.

In her discussion of the topic „How may affiliated Societies help each other,” Mrs. Drucker had suggested that a list of Woman Suffrage Lecturers who would be willing to speak in other countries than their own, should be printed in *Jus Suffragii*, thus giving each country the opportunity to invite foreign speakers. This proposition was next discussed and adopted, but on motion of Mrs. Avery, seconded by Miss Signa Bergman, it was agreed that „the names of the Lecturers to be printed in *Jus Suffragii* shall first be approved by the president, or secretary of the National Suffrage Association of their respective countries.”

After considerable discussion on the subject of the expenses involved in lecture tours in foreign countries, no international fund for the payment of the lecturers expenses being available, it was agreed that each coun-

try should make its own arrangement with the lecturers and that this should be stated in Jus Suffragii.

Madame Mirovitch proposed that each affiliated society should agree to arrange one lecture, the profits of which should go to the international treasury. This motion was not carried owing to the fact that the representatives of several countries felt very certain that in their respective countries such a plan could not be made a financial success.

The president urged those present to increase, if possible, the number of Honorary Associates in their respective countries, as one practical method of increasing international funds. Mrs. Stanton Coit announced that fifteen new Hon. Associates had been secured during the Congress.

The questions which the Treasurer had proposed for consideration at a preceding meeting, were then brought up and disposed of as follows : 1) decided that it would be impossible to vote a definite amount for clerical help : 2) applications for financial help from affiliated societies must be considered by the whole official board and could not be granted without a vote of the majority : 3) a Finance Committee to pass upon accounts would not be permissible as this is the right of the elected officers : 4) that the Treasurer's Books shall close on January 1st, as provided in the Constitution, but shall be closed *again* immediately before the Quinquennial.

The proposition which Miss Palliser made during the Congress, that a person be appointed in each country to watch the newspapers in order to discover any statements derogatory to suffrage work or workers in any other country and to report the same to the press representative of the country concerned was next moved and carried.

It was moved and carried to send free copies of the printed Report of the Congress to: 1) the Fraternal Delegates: 2) the Government Delegates: 3) the Chiefs of the Governments that had sent official Delegates: 4) to Queen Wilhelmina and the Queen Mother: 5) the Hon. Associates and 6) ten copies to each auxiliary N. W. S. A.

It was agreed to print 1,000 copies of the Report.

The opinion having been generally expressed that the afternoon and evening addresses made during the Congress should be preserved and yet could not possibly be printed in the Report, it was moved and carried : That

the Manuscripts of addresses made at the Congress should be placed in the care of Miss Kramers with instructions to loan them upon application from members of the affiliated associations.

It was moved and carried that reports of the usual length be prepared for the London meeting and that these shall be published in the Report; also that five minutes shall be allotted to each country to report upon its most important victory gained or propaganda made during the year.

It was moved and carried that those countries from which no representative shall be invited by the British Committee to speak at the evening meetings, shall be given ten minutes for an afternoon speech.

The meeting then adjourned.

NETHERLAND COMMITTEES OF ARRANGEMENT FOR THE AMSTERDAM CONGRESS.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Chairman,

Mej. Johanna W. A. Naber, 1st Secretary, and Chairman
Press Committee.

Mevr. van Buuren Huys, Secretary,

Mevr. W. Drucker, Chairman Finance Committee,

Mevr. van Loenen de Bordes, Chairman Committee on
Local Arrangements,

Mevr. Gomperts-Jitta, Chairman Committee on Reception,

Mevr. Schöffner-Bunge, Chairman Committee on En-
tertainments,

Mej. Elise A. Haighton } Members of Finance Committee,
Mej. M. van Dijk, }

Mej. Annie Overduin, }
Mej. Alice Overduin, } Pages,
Mej. Corrie Walig, }

Mej. Betsy Nord, Chief Serjeant at Arms,

Mej. C. Schönlitzer, Assistant Serjeant at Arms,

Mej. Rosa Manus, and others.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONGRESS.

The arrangements for the Congress were made by a Central Committee, of which, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, president of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht, the organization which had invited the Alliance to Amsterdam, was chairman. Five sub-committees did special work and the chairman of each was a member of the Central

Committee. The finance committee, Mevrouw W. Drucker, Chairman, did its work so successfully that all expenses of the meeting including the cost of the elaborate and generous entertainments, were promptly met and not an unpaid debt remained to haunt the memory of the workers. The funds, raised by private subscription, were augmented by the sale of admission tickets, at five florins for the whole session, and more than a thousand were sold before the meeting opened. Delegates, alternates and speakers were admitted free.

The Press Committee, Mej. Johanna W. A. Naber, Chairman, did most excellent work. In conjunction with a committee from the Amsterdam Press Association, the best possible arrangements were made to report the Congress fairly. All manuscripts which could be secured before the meeting were duplicated, and when these speeches were presented from the platform, the copies were distributed among the many correspondents who came from far and wide to report the proceedings. That the reports throughout the world were so complete, is due to the admirable organization effected by this painstaking, able committee.

The Committee on Local Arrangements, Mevr. van Loenen-de Bordes, Chairman, performed many duties and all were well done. A beautiful and dainty booklet, bound in green and gold, with special cover design portraying the advance of woman suffrage, contained the program, interspersed with views of Amsterdam. The whole made an attractive souvenir of the meeting, and was paid for by advertisements and sales of the program. This Committee also provided beautiful silk flags to mark the seats of each national delegation. These not only lent attraction to the meeting in Amsterdam, but with generous thoughtfulness for the future, they were presented to the Alliance by the Committee for use in London. A Bureau of Information was organized under the direction of this Committee and was presided over by a number of young women who were able to answer all possible questions in many languages. Here mail for the delegates was received and distributed. Here, also, a book stall where books, pamphlets and photographs were sold, did a thriving business. This Committee had charge of the decorations of the hall and these were elaborate and tasteful. The back of the great stage was draped with the flags of the twenty nations represented,

the flags of Norway, Finland and Australia being conspicuously placed in the center, that especial honor might be done the full suffrage countries. The front of the stage was a mass of flowers, vines and plants, a magnificent bust of Queen Wilhelmina occupying a conspicuous place in the center.

The Committee on Reception, Chairman, Mevrouw Gompertz-Jitta, and that on Entertainments, Chairman, Mevrouw Schöffer-Bunge, provided many delightful pleasures for the Congress. First among these was the musical reception on the first afternoon. A grand welcome song with a military band playing the accompaniment was sung by four hundred voices. A variety of children's songs followed, and the program was closed by a cantata called „Old Holland's New Time", which had been prepared especially for the Congress. The singers were mainly boys and girls, and young people, and when good wishes for our cause and promises for future support were heard issuing from the lips of these young people, many an eye moistened as the full import of the meaning became apparent. All the music had been composed by Catherine van Rennes, who also was the conductor. Her abilities are very great and her enthusiasm is so contagious, that the young people had quite caught her spirit and sang with a will and delight which thrilled their hearers.

A series of excursions, in and around Amsterdam, were arranged for those visitors who did not care to remain in the meetings all the time, each excursion being conducted by a young man or woman. These were organized with reference to the language spoken by the visitor, and conductors supplied who could speak a language understood by them.

The Congress opened with a general reception, where conversation, music and refreshment, which are the usual accompaniments of such functions, were not wanting, but a special and unique feature had been added. A little play, written by Mejuffrouw Betsy van der Starp of the Hague, was presented in a small hall and repeated, in order that all might hear it. The gods were clothed in the full panoply of their respective domains, and with much feeling, they discussed the appeal of Woman, who had asked their help in her effort to secure more rights on Earth. So, the gods counseled together, but when the vote was taken, a tie resulted, some of the goddesses

having voted with those gods who thought „Woman had more rights now than she should have”, just as their earthly sisters do. Then Justice was called in to settle the matter and this she did by weighing the rights and duties of Woman in her two scales. When she discovered that the duties were heavier than the rights of Woman, she pronounced for more rights that the scales might balance, and thus the play happily ended, as its counterpart in real life will.

On Tuesday afternoon, a reception by Burgomaster and Mevrouw van Leeuwen was given to the delegates at their beautiful home. Refreshments were served in a shady garden and the hospitable and democratic freedom granted the numerous guests was greatly enjoyed by all. On the same afternoon the Amsterdam branch of the National Dutch W. S. A. treated all foreign visitors to the Congress to a delightful excursion on the Amstel River.

On Wednesday afternoon, Dr. Jacobs, president of the Dutch W. S. A., gave a beautiful tea in the „Paviljoen van het Vondelpark” where an abundance of good things to eat, good music and enjoyable conversation combined to produce a good time for all. Mevrouw Gompertz-Jitta, Chairman of Reception, opened her own luxurious home for another tea. A house filled with a valuable and rare art collection, a fine garden and a charming hostess gave an afternoon long to be remembered.

A farewell dinner on Saturday night, attended by many hundreds of persons, was held in the great hall of the Concertgebouw. A gay and happy assembly, a good dinner, greetings with „auf wiedersehen till London”, the national airs of all our countries played by a fine band, furnished abundant enjoyment and aroused enthusiasm to the utmost. Yet a unique climax had been prepared and at the proper moment, a band of young men and women, dressed in the quaint and picturesque costumes of the Dutch peasantry, appeared upon the platform and to rollicking music, executed several peasant dances. To the delight of the audience, a peasant husband and wife, who were in truth actors from one of the Amsterdam theaters, engaged in a spirited and amusing discussion on women's rights. Although it was conducted in Dutch, printed translations made it quite easy to follow the dialogue. This farewell dinner might have had some sad associations, had it really meant that the delegates were to separate. It did close the Congress, but more pleasures

were in store. The day following at an early hour many car loads of suffrage excursionists set forth for Rotterdam. Near the station were two steamers which soon departed with their cargo of happy people for a trip on the River Maas. The steamers went as far as Dordrecht, where opportunity was given to see the attractions of this quaint town, followed by a return to Rotterdam. A generous lunch had been served upon the steamers, and a most desirable opportunity for getting acquainted had been offered the delegates. Upon their return to the City, the guests proceeded to the Zoölogical Garden, which many people pronounce the finest in the world. At 6.30 dinner was served in a large, fine restaurant, and this was followed by animated speeches until train time compelled an adjournment. It had been a rare day, full of interest, entertainment and amusement. The Congress was indebted for it to the Rotterdam Branch of the National W. S. A. and to Mrs. van den Bergh-Willing, who supplied one of the steamers and invited something over a hundred of the delegates as guests for the day.

The next day was spent at the Hague under the direction and by invitation of the Hague branch of the National W. S. A. An afternoon tea, with music, was given at the Palace Hotel, Scheveningen, and later a dinner was served at the Kurhaus. Again there were speeches of greetings and good-bye, and then came a fine concert with program arranged in honor of the suffrage guests. Later still, came a special display of fireworks and this was climaxed by a closing piece which triumphantly flashed the words „Jus Suffragii” across the sky. Taking this as a happy augury of coming justice, the delegates separated, unanimous in their conviction that the Netherlands had entertained the Congress most lavishly, and had forgotten no detail which could have added pleasure or comfort, and that work, patience and time would bring the realization of the brilliant prophecy, which had just appeared in the heavens.

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

In 1902 the National-American Woman Suffrage Association invited all National woman suffrage organizations which existed at that date, to send an accredited delegate to attend a mass meeting which should be held in

Washington, D. C., to consider the feasibility of organizing an International Woman Suffrage Association. This meeting was held in February of that year and six national associations were represented, namely: Canada, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden and the United States of America. Australia had no national association, but sent a delegate, several of the State societies contributing to a fund which was raised to assist her in paying the expenses of the long and costly journey from Melbourne to Washington. Where no suffrage associations had as yet been formed, National Councils of Women and American Consulates were consulted, in the effort to find representative women who sympathized with the movement for the enfranchisement of women. As a result of such correspondence, one delegate each was present from Chili, Russia and Turkey; and many reports upon the civil, educational and industrial status of women, were secured. Some of these possess much historical value. All such reports, in abridged form, together with the transactions, were printed and have thus been preserved.

This meeting voted to form an international union of national woman suffrage societies; but in order that each association entering into such alliance, should have opportunity to approve the basis of organization before it should be finally adopted, it was agreed to form a temporary organization only, without dues, and to complete the work at a second meeting which should be held in Berlin, in June, 1904. Susan B. Anthony was made Chairman of the temporary committee; Dr. jur. Anita Augspurg, Vice-Chairman; Florence Fenwick Miller, Treasurer; and Carrie Chapman Catt, Secretary. By the vote of the Washington meeting, each organized country was asked to name a committee of three, which should act as official correspondents for that country; and ten countries were thus united with the temporary association; Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Gt. Britain, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and the U. S. A. Such committees acted in the capacity of mediums of communication between the International Committee and the association represented. Through them, a constitution in which was embodied the complete plan for organization, was submitted to each National Suffrage Association, and delegates to the Berlin meeting, therefore, came with the advice and instruction of their respective societies.

At the Berlin meeting seven national woman suffrage associations were represented by regularly appointed delegates ; Denmark, Germany, Gt. Britain, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and the United States. Visitors from Switzerland, New Zealand, Austria and Hungary were made members of the convention and were permitted to join freely in the discussion, until the constitution should be adopted.

When this had taken place, a roll of the nations represented was called, and the delegates from Germany, Gt. Britain, Sweden, The Netherlands and the United States pledged affiliation with the new organization, now called the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The name of Australia was also added to the list as the Secretary reported the desire of the suffragists there to enter the new organization as soon as it should be formed.

The delegates from Norway explained that while they did not doubt that the Norwegian suffrage association would wish to become a member of the Alliance, they did not feel authorized to pledge its affiliation until a conference could be had with the other members of their association. Some of the delegates from Denmark urged the impropriety of joining the Alliance since the Danish Woman Suffrage Society had only worked for municipal suffrage. The election of officers, which followed was therefore participated in by delegates from five countries only. Four of these were represented on the official board. That Sweden was not so represented must have been due to the fact that her delegates proposed no candidate.

Soon after the adjournment of the Alliance, some belated delegates from Norway arrived, and the expected conference took place. The report was at once made to the officers of the Alliance, that the Norwegian Suffrage Association wished to become a member. The majority of the delegates from Denmark having conferred together, they likewise expressed a desire to enter the Alliance, and pledged themselves that their association would declare itself for full suffrage. These two applications were presented to the officers yet remaining in Berlin, and the majority having voted to accept them, these two associations became members. Thus before leaving Berlin, every suffrage association in the world which could in any sense be called national except per-

haps that of Canada, had entered into the Alliance, and the number of countries represented was eight.

The third International Suffrage Congress was held in Copenhagen Aug. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1906. Meanwhile, Miss Johanna Naber, second secretary, had resigned, and her place had been filled by the appointment of Miss Martina Kramers. The Canadian National Association had been revived and had become a member. New national associations had been formed in Hungary and Italy and these had become members. The Congress voted upon the application of the new organization, called the Russian Union, which was unanimously accepted, and the Congress therefore had twelve affiliated associations in its membership. Fraternal delegates were present from friendly associations in Finland, Iceland and France, thus making fifteen countries represented. A committee was appointed at this Congress to attempt a union of Finnish societies for the purpose of affiliating with the Alliance. Later, the „Unionem” of Finland was admitted. This is a large organization which has represented woman suffrage and women's rights.

The Fourth Congress, the record of which is published in this report, numbered thirteen countries at its opening. Three new applications for membership were heard and the organizations accepted, namely, those of the Bulgarian Woman's Alliance; The Swiss Verband für Frauenstimmrecht; the two associations of Cape Town and Natal, which had united for the purpose of affiliation, and thus represented South Africa. Fraternal delegates represented five additional countries, and as all the auxiliary associations had sent delegates to the meeting, twenty-one countries in all were represented in the Amsterdam Congress. Another change in the Board of Officers had taken place, Mrs. Stanton Coit having been appointed to fill the unexpired term of the Treasurer, the vacancy having been occasioned by the death of Miss Rodger Cunliffe.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

from the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht, by its
President Dr. ALETTA JACOBS.

As President of the Dutch National Woman Suffrage Association, I have the great honor to-day of bidding a warm welcome to all of you, who have responded in

such numbers to our invitation to be present with us this week.

When our Dutch delegation at Copenhagen, in August 1906, invited the International W. S. Alliance to hold its second Congress in Amsterdam, in order to help the cause in our country, the hearty way in which this invitation was accepted, was even then most encouraging to us.

However, that every affiliated country, and others who can not yet affiliate would send to our small but picturesque country, so many of their most eminent women, we scarcely dared hope. But now that so many illustrious suffragists have assembled here, we shall do our utmost, to show that we know how to appreciate this great favor.

We know how many of you have made large sacrifices to be present here, — having come from long distances at much personal expense and inconvenience. We know, that you have been urged only by feelings of fraternal helpfulness and inspired by that international solidarity, which fills us with the same rejoicing, whether the women in our own, or in another country gain the suffrage.

When so strong and energetic a body of earnest women meet to deliberate on this greatest of modern world problems, the impression cannot fail to be a powerful one; for the vision must arise of the beauty and glory of future womanhood; of women, who have obtained proper place and power in the community, which shall enable them to infuse their love, their moral perceptions, their sense of justice into the Governments of the world.

We feel grateful that our little Holland enjoys the honor of witnessing this brilliant Convention, especially as we believe the moment has now come, to show our country the seriousness and extent of our movement and its determination to gain political equality for women in every civilized land.

As most of you are dear old friends, having become familiar through our co-operation in this great movement, we would fain address a welcome to each of you personally but limited time prevents.

Allow us however, to make an exception for a few of you.

With the greatest appreciation we see among our visitors many high officials, who have not hesitated to answer our invitation favorably and to give us through their

presence a proof of sympathy with the work we do. We wish to welcome these gentlemen first of all.

But with the same great appreciation we welcome the official delegates of Norway, of the Commonwealth of Australia and of those States in America, which long since had the wisdom and justice to enfranchise their women. Those Governments are also the first, who have responded favorably to our appeal and have appointed Government-delegates, in order that other nations may be taught the lesson of their experience.

With a feeling of thankfulness we welcome the delegation from the N. A. W. S. A. of the United States of America. This association, as the mother of all the different associations in all the different countries, — as Susan B. Anthony used to say, — has again shown its motherly feelings, by sending us a delegation of its most distinguished suffragists and eloquent speakers. That each of them may feel at home with us, is our cordial desire.

Still more appreciation is due to our Australian and New-Zealand sisters, who have not hesitated to come from the antipodes and this only to help the women of the less favored countries to attain the same position in the State, which they themselves already occupy. This action of these delegates shows a generous feeling of solidarity, — and by the manner in which the women of their country use the ballot, they facilitate, more than they can imagine, the work of their sisters in the old world.

In the same way we are grateful to our Finnish and Norwegian friends, who have felt that in order to entirely accomplish their duty towards universal womanhood, they must remain members of the Alliance, and strengthen our international army, by showing what they have achieved at home by their newly gained political rights.

A quite different kind of tribute is due to England, where more than a century ago Mary Wollstonecraft initiated the struggle for political equality. And in England this struggle is particularly difficult, since notwithstanding the efforts of so many eminent advocates of woman suffrage there is still a huge wall of opposition to be surmounted. No wonder that the women of England are trying new methods to obtain the long denied justice. Two big demonstrations, the one immediately before, and the other immediately after our Congress require

their presence at home, and therefore we doubly appreciate the fact that a full delegation has come to Amsterdam. Compared to their violent struggle and sufferings, our difficulties in Holland look small and our men appear reasonable. Did not our former Cabinet propose to do away with the disfranchisement of women?

And thus we might continue to enumerate our reasons for appreciation of each country in particular: for instance; we might mention Sweden, whose women by their strong, unanimous action, have brought the movement for their enfranchisement within a few years to such a point, that an unwilling government will soon be compelled to take account of the women's desires; we might mention Denmark, where the women were met by a strong opposition, until in 1906, the splendidly organised Congress turned the opinion of the Press, so that it supported them afterwards and contributed to their recent victory of April 14th, which gave them Municipal Suffrage on the same terms as men; we might mention Hungary, where not only the movement, but the promoters themselves are young and yet have forced the question upon public attention and even have brought it before the Hungarian Parliament, where it finds some very strong advocates.

But while we are welcoming some of our visitors in particular, we must not forget that everyone, whether coming from great western countries or from far off colonies, contributes her own important part to the formation of a large and powerful army, which shall be undaunted by any opposition, and never give up the struggle, until complete victory shall be obtained.

May your presence here contribute to augment the public interest in the movement for women's enfranchisement in our country, in order that we may soon attain our aim and thenceforth can devote our time, our energy and ability to the emancipation of the women of the world.

With this ideal before us, we bid you each and all, a hearty welcome!

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

It is a suggestive coincidence that the opening day of this Congress commemorates the anniversary of the signing of the immortal Magna Charta. That event stands out distinctly against the background of seven centuries, as one of the most important in the history of man. The historian Green says of it: „The Great Charter marks the transition from the age of traditional rights to the age of written legislation, of parliaments and statutes.” It pointed as certainly, we may add, to the coming of popular government behind the parliaments, and to the „will of the majority” behind the statutes. It pointed as unmistakably to the coming of votes for men and women. Given the Magna Charta, man suffrage was bound to follow; and given man suffrage, woman suffrage became inevitable.

The blessings of the new era, inaugurated by this remarkable document, were not enjoyed by England alone, but have been shared, as a common possession, by all the nations of the world. The Magna Charta, therefore, properly becomes the inheritance of all mankind, and June 15, as appropriately, an international Memorial Day.

So sweeping have been the changes which have taken place since the signing of the Charter, that the age of the English Barons bears little resemblance to our own, yet the political evolution presaged in 1215 is not yet complete. What celebration of the day could be more fitting than the opening of a congress which declares for the final step in that evolution? We may make it also a day of rejoicing for at no time since the movement for the enfranchisement of women began, have its advocates had so much cause for self-congratulation as now. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance met in Copenhagen

twenty-two months ago, and, in the brief time which has elapsed since then, the progress of our cause has been so rapid, the gains so substantial, the assurance of coming victory so certain, that we may imagine the noble and brave pioneers of woman suffrage, the men and women who were the torch-bearers of our movement, gathering to-day in some far-off celestial sphere, and singing together a glad psalm of exultation.

In 1907 Norway granted full suffrage rights and eligibility to women upon exceedingly generous terms. To one who has observed the attitude of nations toward our cause, this act of the Norwegian Parliament meant far more than an isolated victory. Long before, four of the United States of America, New Zealand and Australia had conferred full suffrage upon women, but everywhere opponents persistently refused to admit that these gains were important. They declared these States and Nations had had no history and gave no assurance of a stable future; they said they were too new, their population too small, their people too impulsive and irresponsible for their acts to be taken seriously. It was in vain we pointed to the fact that, if the territories of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, of Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, the German Empire, the Austrian Empire, and all of European Russia should be added together, it would not equal the territory of the woman-suffrage countries.

We assured our opponents that time would bring them history and prove their governments to be permanent, while fertile lands, unworked mines and undeveloped resources would not fail to attract populations as large as those now to be found in older civilizations. We called attention to the fact, that, however mighty these governments should become, however vast their populations, political rights equal to those of men, had been guaranteed for all time to all women within their borders. Still our opponents continued to claim that our movement had not progressed beyond the academic stage, and that no practical gains had been made.

When Finland startled the world by its bold demand for equal suffrage for men and women, the opponents, with quick and ready wit, found excuses to belittle the act and minify its influence. „It is true”, they said, „Finland is old enough and has a creditable history, but its people are in a state of revolution; what the Czar has

given, he may take away. We shall wait." It was at this point in the world's controversy over woman suffrage that the Norwegian victory came. Norway was a country with an honorable history, a stable and independent government. It was evident that the enfranchisement of women had been accomplished after calm deliberation, by a people acknowledged to be intelligent, honest and conscientious. For the first time the opponents were compelled to admit that a genuine victory for woman suffrage had been scored. More, the Norwegian Act lent a new dignity and significance to all the victories which had preceded it. The sum total of the gains for woman suffrage was at last acknowledged to have weight. It was conceded that the movement had made progress, and, almost immediately, public sentiment assumed a new attitude toward it. The friends became more active and hopeful, the opponents more bitter and vindictive; the press was more willing to discuss the merits of the question; the public more ready to listen, and the indifferent became interested. The Norwegians „wrought better than they knew" and I venture the prediction, that, when the final chapter of the history of woman suffrage shall be written, it will record that the enfranchisement of the Norwegian women marked a decided turning point in the struggle. The effect of the changed sentiment is evident in many directions, but in no way is it so accurately measured as in increased parliamentary activity. Within the past two years woman suffrage appeals have been presented to the parliaments of eighteen European governments, the United States congress and the legislatures of twenty-nine States, the parliaments of Canada and Victoria and the legislature of the Philippines, making fifty-one independent legislative bodies. In some cases the campaign closed with the reception of petitions or memorials by the parliament, or by hearings granted by the ministry to deputations of suffragists; but in most cases bills proposing to grant woman suffrage were introduced into the parliament, and, in many instances were not only debated with spirit, but were brought to a vote. The appeals to parliament were made for the first time, I believe, in twelve of the European countries. In Spain and the Philippines bills were introduced by friends of the cause quite unknown to us.

This activity has not been barren of results, and the delegates of seven countries come to this congress vested

with larger political rights than they possessed at the time of the Copenhagen meeting; namely, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, England and Germany. Each of the five Scandinavian lands has won something. Norwegian women come with full suffrage rights; Finnish delegates come as representatives of the only nation which has elected women to seats in its parliament. Sweden and Iceland have gained a step in eligibility, and our Icelandic delegate of two years ago is now a member of the City Council of Reykjavik, the Capital. The women of Denmark, next to those of Norway, have made the largest gain, and municipal suffrage with liberal qualifications has been bestowed upon them. English women have secured eligibility to become mayors, or members of town and county councils. This concession is worthy of congratulation; but far more momentous gains are within sight. Germany has revised its law controlling political organizations and meetings, and women are now free to join political associations, to organize woman suffrage societies and to conduct woman suffrage campaigns. The German association affiliated with the Alliance has been reorganized in accordance with the new law, and is now a federation of national, or state associations. Each national body is free to work with its own parliament, and appeals to grant woman suffrage have already been made to the legislative authorities of three German nations and to the National Reichstag. The movement in Germany has gained greatly in strength, dignity and influence through the removal of this restrictive law, and we express the hope, that the freedom granted to German women to work for a vote may be speedily followed by the freedom to cast a vote.

The experiences of Denmark and Sweden give food for reflection. The Danish suffragists have kept up a lively agitation of public sentiment during the past two years and have developed a new suffrage organization, which now numbers eight thousand members. The affiliated organization also has increased in membership and activity. Yet, no parliamentary campaign was planned by either. Instead, quite contrary to precedent, the bill was introduced by the Government, without especial solicitation on the part of the women, and was carried by the vote of the conservative parties. When the measure had become law, the second unprecedented event took place. The woman suffragists and the King ex-

changed compliments, the women thanking him for his kind offices in their behalf, and the King felicitating the women upon their new rights and avowing his sympathy with the step which had been taken. The women of Denmark are to be congratulated upon the liberality of their King and the foresight of their Government. They have been spared the disappointments and the rebuffs which are the usual accompaniment of serious woman suffrage campaigns. An easy victory has been achieved, but a new obligation now rests upon them. A determined and increasing effort must be put forth to persuade the women who are not yet suffragists to use the privilege which has been conferred. There must be concerted action and hard work. Women must be educated to understand municipal questions, and to use their ballots in support of all that is best in their government, and to bring better laws and conditions into existence. It is only through such example now, that they can aid the campaigns in other lands, or hope to gain the political, or full suffrage for themselves. No longer do they need to offer arguments in favor of the enfranchisement of women; they must prove the advantages of woman suffrage in practice. When next we meet, we shall ask of Danish suffragists: „What have you done”?

Quite different has been the Swedish experience. All that the Danish women have done, they have done, and more. In two years the membership in the organization has doubled and the sixty-three local organizations reported in Copenhagen have become one-hundred and twenty-seven. A petition of 142,128 names has been presented to parliament; deputations have waited upon the government and have been granted hearings. But the Swedish government has said to the woman suffragists, just as the leading men of the United States said to American suffragists in 1868, „Wait until all men are enfranchised, it will be time enough then to consider your claim.” Yet, private bills were introduced into the Swedish parliament, and were not only earnestly supported but were brought to a vote. Woman Suffrage was endorsed by two political parties and has become a much discussed and an admittedly important question. With the exception of England, the suffragists of Sweden have, without doubt, worked more indefatigably during the past year than those of any other country. Their work has been characterized by intelligence, patience, courage, dignity, and unyielding determination. The campaign

has been a grand one, and we offer our assurance to these Swedish workers, that a continuation of such efforts cannot fail to bring the result they seek. Meanwhile, the women of Sweden are learning politics; they are being strengthened and educated by the struggle, and, when enfranchised, they will appreciate fully the privilege and the responsibility. In Denmark partial suffrage came because the government was willing; in Sweden full suffrage has been delayed because the government is unwilling. It is not improbable that the women of Sweden may gain the full suffrage before those of Denmark and, as the political suffrage carries with it more influence, authority and opportunity, woman suffrage in Sweden may show greater results in the next decade than in Denmark. Both countries are intelligent and progressive. The manner in which the problems involved in the woman suffrage situation shall be solved in these two countries will teach important lessons to workers for this cause throughout the world. Meanwhile, we freely concede that in actual gains the Scandinavians are in the lead. All honor to that noble race! Once it was the pioneer explorer upon the great unknown waters of the world; now it is the leader upon the high seas of human progress.

Signs of active agitation have not been confined to the countries represented by our thirteen affiliated organizations, but are evident in all parts of the globe. In Bulgaria a new woman suffrage association has been formed, and this has been welcomed into our Alliance to-day. Through its delegate we pledge to it our fraternal help and sympathy.

Switzerland is making rapid progress towards a National Suffrage Association, which we also welcome into affiliation. In far-away South Africa, Cape Colony and Natal, have each effected an organization, and are seeking the suffrage from their respective parliaments. They have united in sending delegates to this congress. France will hold a woman suffrage congress within a few days, and we hope that it may result in the formation of a National Suffrage Association and the adoption of a policy of active agitation, education, and organization. Austria does not yet legally permit a woman suffrage organization; but it has a woman suffrage committee. Bohemia, too, finds opportunity to work for woman suffrage despite the law prohibiting women from taking part in political organizations and it has done original

and effective campaign work. The National Parliament at Vienna and the Diet at Prague have each received petitions asking that suffrage be granted to women. Italy held its first great congress of women last April, and one session was devoted to a warm debate on woman suffrage. A very large audience, ranging from members of the most conservative nobility to well known advocates of broad democracy, filled the hall. Several women and two members of parliament addressed the meeting in favor of suffrage for women. The newspapers printed long reports, but these were interspersed with caricatures of the women leaders. Caricatures represent an early, but inevitable, step in woman suffrage evolution. Curiously, the caricaturists of all lands model suffrage leaders after one common pattern. Just why they have always pictured them as carrying umbrellas, I do not know. In early days, it is possible, they imagined the umbrella to be the weapon with which women were expected to attack governments; but in these days Italian caricaturists should know that woman suffragists possess far more effective weapons. Mr. Asquith could teach them better. We congratulate Italian women upon the progress they are making. It is only a short step from caricatures to serious consideration, and better times are in store for the Italian suffragists. The movement in every country has passed through this stage.

Like straws which show the direction of the wind, events here and there indicate the general awakening of women. Greece and Servia have formed National Councils of Women; Icelandic women in America have organized a woman suffrage association, and now publish a woman suffrage paper in their own language, which circulates among the Icelanders in the United States and Canada. From Washington come the tidings that the Japanese Minister declares the women of his country to be making such strides towards emancipation, that they may yet outstrip the women of the western nations. In the land of the Sultan it is reported that the women are growing restive, and there, as elsewhere, the authorities are learning that, if women are to be kept in submission, it is a mistake to permit them to learn to read.

Although from Occident to Orient, from Lapland to sunny Italy, and from Canada to South Africa the agitation for woman suffrage has known no pause, yet, after all, the storm centre of the movement has

been located in England. In other lands there have been steps in evolution; in England there has been a revolution. There have been no guns, nor powder, nor bloodshed, but there have been all other evidences of war. There have been brave generals, well trained armies, and many a well fought battle; there have been tactics and strategies, sorties, sieges and even prisoners of war. There are those who have criticised the methods employed; but until we know the whole truth concerning what the women of England have actually done, why they did it, and how they did it, we have no right to criticise. It must be admitted that the English campaign stands out clearly by comparison not only as the most remarkable ever conducted for woman suffrage, but as the hardest fought campaign ever waged for any reform. There have been several organizations, and these have differed widely as to methods, yet no time has been wasted in disputes over them, and the main object has never been lost sight of for a moment. The so-called suffragettes have displayed an amazing amount of energy, of persistency and executive force. Yet the older and more conservative body of workers has been no less remarkable. Human nature is so constituted that most leaders would have „sulked in their tents”, or joined the general stone-throwing at the new comers, whose methods were declared to be „setting the cause backward hundreds of years.” These English leaders did nothing of the kind; instead, with a forbearance, we may all do well to imitate, they quadrupled their own activities. Every class, including ladies of the nobility, working girls, housewives, and professional women has engaged in the campaign, and not a man, woman or child in England has been permitted to plead ignorance concerning the meaning of woman suffrage. Together, suffragists and suffragettes have carried their appeal into the byways and most hidden corners of the Kingdom. They have employed more original methods, enlisted a larger number of women workers, and grasped the situation in a bolder fashion than has been done elsewhere. In other countries persuasion has been the chief, if not the only, weapon replied upon; in England it has been persuasion plus political methods. „By their fruits shall ye know them.” Already these English women have made woman suffrage a political issue. No one can understand the meaning of this achievement so well as those who have borne the brunt of hard fought suffrage

battles. It has been the dream of many a suffrage campaign, but no other women have made it a realization. When the deputation of sixty members of parliament paid a visit to the Prime Minister a few days ago to ask his support for woman suffrage, the zenith of the world's half-century of woman suffrage campaigning was reached.

English women have effected another result, which is likewise an unfailing sign of coming triumph. A new movement is invariably attacked by Ridicule. If the movement is a poor one, it is laughed out of existence; if it is a good one, it waxes strong under attack. In time the laugh is turned upon its early opponents, and when Ridicule sets in that direction, it is a sign that the strife is nearly finished.

The laugh has now been turned upon the English Government. What may have been its effect upon England, only those who know that country from the inside can tell; but there has been a change of sentiment toward the English suffrage campaign on the outside, and of this we may speak.

First, the world joined in loudly expressed disgust at the alleged unfeminine conduct of English suffragists. Editorial writers in many lands scourged the suffrage workers of their respective countries over the shoulders of these lively English militants. Time passed; comment ceased; and the world, which had ridiculed, watched the contest in silence, but with never an eye closed. It assumed the attitude of the referee who realizes he is watching a cleverly played game, with the chances hanging in the balance. Then came the laugh. The dispatches flashed the news to the remotest corners of the globe, that English Cabinet Ministers were „protected” in the street by bodyguards; the houses of Cabinet Ministers were „protected” by relays of police, and even the great Houses of Parliament were „protected” by a powerful cordon of police. „Protected! And from what?” the world asked, and the answer came, „the embarrassing attack of unarmed women!!!” In other lands police have protected Emperors, Czars, Kings and Presidents from the assaults of hidden foes, whose aim has been to kill. That there has been such need is tragic; and when, in contrast, the vision was presented of the Premier of England hiding behind locked doors, skulking along the streets, and guarded everywhere by officers, lest an encounter with a feminine interrogation point should put him to rout, it proved too much for the ordinary sense of humor.

Again, the dispatches presented another view. „Behold”, they said, „the magnificent, and world renowned Houses of Parliament, surrounded by police, and every woman approaching that sacred precinct, halted, examined, and perhaps arrested. Behold all this elaborate precaution, to save members of parliament, from inopportune tidings that women would have votes; yet despite it all, the forbidden message is delivered, for over the Houses floats conspicuously and defiantly, a huge Votes for Women kite.” Perhaps England did not know what the dispatches to the outside world were saying. Perhaps the reports were not true, and perhaps England did not know the big world laughed then; but it did, and more, from that moment it conceded the victory to the Suffragists. The only question remaining unanswered, is: how will the government surrender and at the same time preserve its dignity and consistency?

I have no wish to defend, or condemn, the tactics which have been employed in England, but let me ask a question. Had there been newspapers and cables in 1215, do you not think the staid and dignified nobility of other lands would have been scandalized at the unruly behavior of the English Barons? They certainly would. Yet, we have forgotten the names of those barons, and we have forgotten the methods by which they wrested the Magna Charta from King John; we remember only that they did it, and that all mankind has enjoyed larger liberties and opportunities ever since. History repeats itself and I venture the second prediction: For the English suffragists final triumph is near at hand. When it comes, the world will forget the details of the campaign it has criticised, and will remember only, that woman suffrage is an established fact in one of the greatest governments of the world. Nay more, as the English Barons fought a battle for the rights of all mankind in the thirteenth century, so, do I conscientiously believe, these English women of the twentieth century, suffragists and suffragettes, are striking a tremendously effective blow in behalf of the political liberty of the women of all the nations. Let those who will, criticise. English women are making history to-day, and coming generations will pronounce it nobly made. When they have won their cause, all women should understand that their proper relation to these plucky, self-sacrificing English women is not that of critic, but of debtor.

I cannot close this review of the present-day situation

without some comment upon the conditions in my own country. For some decades in the nineteenth century it was the chief example of democracy, and the advocates of popular government in other lands looked to the United States of America for proof of its advantages. For the past thirty years, however, reports have been largely current declaring universal male suffrage to be a signal failure there. The picture, as painted by these reports and embellished by many a startling detail, is dark and forbidding, and, without doubt, has had a powerful, restraining influence upon the growth of the movement for government by the people. Indeed, I believe it may be truthfully said, that the great European movement of 1848, which resulted in constitutions and extended suffrage in many countries, was largely the effect of the beneficial experiences in the United States ; just as during the latter part of the last century, the report of corruption, bribery and the control of legislation by political machines in the United States has been the chief hindrance to further progress. Antagonists found in these reports abundant cause to continue their opposition ; the indifferent found nothing to persuade them to a change of view, and even the advocates of extended suffrage were forced into a position of explanation and apology.

These reports concerning man suffrage in the United States have had some foundation of truth ; yet, among the many signs which to-day point to the final triumph of popular government, to votes for men and women, there is none more significant than the fact that, although the United States has gathered a population which represents every race ; although among its people are the followers of every religion and the subjects of every form of government ; although there has been the dead weight of a large ignorant vote, yet, the little settlement, which one-hundred and fifty years ago rested upon the western shores of the Atlantic, a mere colonial possession, has steadily climbed upward, until to-day it occupies a proud position of equality among the greatest governments of the world. After all, what stronger proof could be offered that popular government is a success?

The existence in our body politic of nearly a million illiterate negroes, and another million of illiterate men of foreign birth or parentage ; the increase of our population through immigration at the average rate of a million persons each year, and the problems of poverty, insanity and criminali-

ty arising out of these conditions, have made our State governments conservative. The additional fact, that woman suffrage must come through a referendum to the votes of all men, has postponed its establishment. Nevertheless, man suffrage in the United States is as firmly fixed as the Rock of Gibraltar, and woman suffrage is as sure to follow as are the stars to move on in their appointed courses.

A few years ago the Mississippi River was dammed by a huge mass of ice. For days, the mighty waters struggled to break through the obstruction, and then, since rivers obey an unchanging law which compels them to flow on to the sea, the force of the water dug a new channel around the ice and the present course of the great river lies a mile away from the old one. In some such fashion the on-marching movement for man and woman suffrage made its greatest progress in the United States when that country offered the path of least resistance. Then an obstruction appeared. A mixed, ignorant, and untrained electorate became the ready victim of unscrupulous politicians, and offered a temptation which the cupidity of selfish men could not withstand. It was an obstacle which in the nature of things will not be repeated elsewhere. For a time the movement for popular government attempted to overcome this obstacle. Then happily, since the evolution of human society obeys the same immutable law, which controls the action of rivers, this movement passed around the United States and appeared with none of its momentum lost, in Australia, New Zealand and later in the Old World.

Naturally it would have flattered the pride and patriotostism of American women, could their country have continued to lead the movement which there had its organized beginning. But their deep regret that this cannot be, does not modify the genuine sincerity of their joy over the progress in other lands. There are irresistible forces which make for human liberty and against which kings and armies struggle in vain. Man suffrage and woman suffrage are such forces. In the long run it cannot matter where the victory comes earliest, since our cause is not national, but international; the gains will always follow the path of least resistance and a fortunate combination of political conditions may disclose it at the most unexpected times and in the most undreamed of places. The workers of every country must be watchful and pre-

pared to seize the opportunity when it offers. Every victory gained, adds momentum to the whole movement ; every association which labors unitedly and unselfishly to secure the suffrage, aids the work in other lands.

In this common cause women have clasped hands over the mountains and over the seas, and have become in truth a world's army. The legal and political position of women at the beginning has been practically the same in all lands. As they march on to self-respect, liberty and opportunity, along the self-same road, they will encounter there the same obstacles, the same experiences. We hear much of the solidarity of the human race ; we represent the solidarity of a sex. We oppose a common enemy, whose name is not man, but conservatism. Its weapons are the same in all lands, — tradition, prejudice and selfishness. We too have a common weapon, — an appeal to justice and fair play. Arguments pro and con are pronounced in Japanese and Dutch, Icelandic and Italian, but when translated into a common tongue they are duplicates. A Chinese Mandarin and an American Congressman, a Sulu Sultan and an English Prime Minister will give precisely the same reasons why a woman should not vote. Therefore, we must remain a united army which, in the words of Susan B. Anthony „knows only woman and her disfranchised.”

Never before have so many nationalities been represented in a convention assembled to discuss woman suffrage. Our Alliance, in four years, has grown from a federation of eight to one of sixteen national associations. In each one, splendid, brave, forward work has been done. Already woman suffrage obtains on one-fifteenth of the world's surface. Heretofore the battle has been fought in countries of large territory and small population ; the battles of the future will be in countries of small territory and large population. This means harder, more tactful, more persistent work. We must grow closer to each other ; we must learn to help each other, to give courage to the faint hearted, and cheer to the disappointed of all lands. Within our Alliance, we must try to develop so lofty a spirit of internationalism, a spirit so clarified from all personalities and ambitions, and even national antagonisms, that its purity and grandeur will furnish new inspiration to all workers in our cause. We must strike a note in this meeting so full of sisterly sympathy, of faith in womanhood, of exultant hope, a note so impelling, that it will be heard by the women of all lands, and will

call them forth to join our World's army. Verily, my sisters, these are good times in which we live and unless the signs augur amiss, the time is not far distant when the women of the world shall enter into their own kingdom of individual freedom in home and church and state.

HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT.

Cash Account from 1st May, 1906, to 14th October, 1907.

RECEIPTS.

To Balance in hand 1st May, 1906 as per last published account.	£ 60.12. 8½
„ Fees from Hon. Associate Members	54.—.—
„ Fees from Affiliated Countries.	19.—.—
„ Donations	1.12. 5
„ Sale of Badges.	17. 2. 2½
„ Sale of Danish Reports.	12. 1. 3
„ Subscriptions for Bulletin.	13. 3. 9
„ Fee for Russian Registration.	— 2. 7
	117. 2. 2½
	£ 177.14.11

1907, Oct. 14.	
To Balance in hand.	52. 1. 9
„ Fee from Hon. Associate Member, (Mrs. Richardson) ..	1.—.—
* „ Hon. Treasurer's Receipts, handed over since her death ..	19. 3. 8
	£ 72. 5. 5

PAYMENTS.

By <i>President's Expenses</i> :	
For Stenographer's services, Postage.	£ 98.12.10½
„ Expenses by Miss Martina Kramers.	15. 1. 8
„ Salary for „ „ „ „	10.—.—
	25. 1. 8
„ <i>Treasurer's Expenses</i> :	
Stationery	— 10. 5
Postage.	— 12. 2½
Stenographer's services.	— 16.—
	1.18. 7½
	125.13. 2
By Balance in hand, as per Hon. Treasurer's Cash book ..	52. 1. 9
	£ 177.14.11

1907, Nov. 8.	
By Salary to Miss Kramers.	5.—.—
„ Balance transferred to Mrs. Fawcett & re-transferred by her to Mrs. Stanton-Coit	67. 5. 5
	£ 72. 5. 5

* „ Hon. Treasurer's Receipts, handed over since her death 19. 3. 8
£ 72. 5. 5

by her to Mrs. Stanton-Coit 67. 5. 5
£ 72. 5. 5

November 8th 1907, to June 8th 1908.

RECEIPTS.

To Balance in hands of Mrs. Stanton-Coit	67. 5. 5
„ Fees from Hon. Associate Members	45.13. 5
„ Donation from President	8.14.10
„ Fees from Affiliated Countries	19. 1. 6
	<u>73. 9. 9</u>
	<u>£ 140.15. 2</u>

PAYMENTS.

By Salary, Miss Kramers	15.—.—
„ Auditor's fee.	1. 1.—
„ Treasurer's postage	—15.—
„ Chequebook & charges	— 1. 1
„ President's Expenses	41. 5. 2
„ Cash in hands of President.	8.14.10
	<u>66.17. 1</u>
By Balance at Bank, 8 th June 1908	73.18. 1
	<u>£ 140.15. 2</u>

I have drawn up these cash accounts from the Hon. Treasurer's Cash book, the President's sheet accounts & the Banker's Pass Book, and certify them to be correct.

Signed, HELEN COX, *Auditor*,

10 June, 1908.

6 Raymond Buildings,

Gray's Inn,

London, W. C.

* See Treasurer's statement on page 21.

JUS SUFFRAGII

in account with the

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

Sept. 1906 to June, 1908.

Subscriptions received from Sept. 1906 to June 1, 1908.	1320.52	Dutch Florins
Contributions.....	32.—	
Cost of printing.....		672.—
Cost of expedition.....		252.—
Stamps, postage, etc.		379.89
Editor's salary from Sept. 1906 to Sept. 1908 (paid in advance).....		500.—
Expense over receipts	451.37	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1803.89	1803.89

Free copies of Jus Suffragii have been sent to the associate members and free exchanges have been made with several other papers.

LIST OF HONORARY ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

1908.

AUSTRALIA

Mrs. Watson Lister, Kew, Melbourne,
 Mrs. Walker Smith, Ardrossan, Wangaratta, Victoria.
 Miss Rose Scott, Lynton, Jersey Road, Woolahra, Sydney.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Mrs. Charles Birks, Knutsford, Glenley.

CANADA

Mrs. Flora Mac D. Dennison, 22 Carleton St., Toronto.

DENMARK

Miss Sophie Alberti, Ny Vestergade 17, Copenhagen.
 Mrs. Johanna Münter, 34 Bredgade, Copenhagen.

ENGLAND

Miss Margaret Ashton, 8 Kinnard Road, Wittington near
 Manchester.
 Mrs. Stanton Coit, 30 Hyde Park Gate, London, S. W.
 Mrs. Dora B. Montefiore, 32 Upper Mall, Hammersmith,
 London.
 Mrs. Fred. Richardson, 167 Beverly Road, Hull.

GERMANY

Frl. Sophie Cohen, 14 Feuerbach Strasse, Frankfurt a/M.
 Frau Dr. Fritz Eltzbacher, 7 Bellevue Strasse, Berlin.
 Frl. L. G. Heymann, Paul Strasse 25, Hamburg,
 Frl. Else Lüders, Kalkreuthstrasse 14, Berlin,
 Frl. Elizabeth Pape, 7 Gellert Strasse, Leipzig,
 Pastor emer. Heinrich Wendt, Weimar,
 Frl. A. von Welczeck, 62 Wormser Strasse, Berlin.

HOLLAND

Mej. A. M. C. Andringa de Kempenaer, 10 Groot
 Hertoginnelaan, The Hague,
 Mevr. B. v. d. Bergh-Willing, 1 Westerlaan, Rotterdam,
 Mej. E. Broese van Groenou, 9 Parkweg, The Hague,
 Mej. S. Broese van Groenou, 9 Parkweg, The Hague,
 Mevr. v. Buuren-du Mosch, 20 Roemer Visserstraat,
 Amsterdam.
 Mevr. W. C. Kocq van Breugel-Roelofs, 25 Baronielaan,
 Breda,
 Mevr. B. L. Gompertz-Jitta, 704 Keizersgracht, Amsterdam
 Mevr. T. H. Greve-Pfeiffer, 9 Ministerpark, Hilversum,
 Jonkvrouw C. van Hogendorp, 36 Balistraat, The Hague.
 Mevr. O. Schöffner-Bunge, 319 Keizersgracht, Amsterdam.

HUNGARY

Frau Dr. Med. Engel, Nagy Surany, Comitat Neutra.

SCOTLAND

Miss Augusta Lamont, Knockdow, Toward Point, Argyleshire,

Lady Steel, 32 Colinton Road, Edinburgh.

SWEDEN

Miss Frieda Sandeberg, Sundsvall.

TASMANIA

Mrs. Mc. Auley, Sandy Bay.

UNITED STATES

Mrs. Emma J. Bartol, 1900 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.,
Baroness de Bazus, „The Chelsea”, 222 West 23rd. St.,
New York City.

Mrs. L. L. Blankenberg, 214 West Logan Square, Philadelphia, Pa.,

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 2 West 86th St., New York City,
Mrs. Lydia Kingsmill Commander, Hotel Renssalaer,
New York City.

A. W. Chapman, 160 Hicks St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mrs. L. A. Coonley-Ward, 620 Division St., Chicago, Ill.

Miss Ida A. Craft, 294 Stuyvesant Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.,

Miss Sarah J. Eddy, Bristol Ferry, R. I.,

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Care of Mrs. Chapman Catt,
2 West 86th St., New York City,

Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th St., New York City.

Mrs. Fannie F. Helmuth, 302 Central Park West, New
York City,

Dr. Mary B. Hussey, 142 N. Arlington Ave., East Orange,
N. J.,

William M. Ivins, 55 East 25th St., New York City,

Mrs. Emma Y. Ivins, 55 East 25th St., New York City.

Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller, Geneva, N. Y.,

Miss Jean Nichol, 420 West 116th St., New York City.,

Mrs. Alice L. Park, 611 Gilman St., Palo Alto, Calif.,

Mrs. Jessie C. Saunders, 417 West 120th St., New York
City,

Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Moylan, Pa.,

Mrs. Emma B. Sweet, Security Trust Co., Rochester, N.Y.

Mrs. Mary Wood Swift, 2715 Benvenue Ave., Berkeley,
Calif.,

Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard, 145 West 58th St., New
York City.

GREETINGS

were received and presented to the Congress at various

sessions from the following associations and individuals :

FINLAND

Frauenbund-Unionem by Alli Nissinen and Anna Lundström,
Finnish Women's Association through Ellen Sjoeström,
President.

NORWAY

Kvindestemmeretsforeningen of Kristiania, through
Anna Holsen, President,
Norsk Kvindesagsforening through Aadel Lampe, Anna
Ström, Magda Keilhau-Svenningsen.
From Hedvig Rosing, Marie Dehli, Angelique Rachlen,
Johanne Smith, Marie Kjolseth, Christine Paulsen,
Aaden Knudsen, Ernestine Andersen, Anna Cammer-
meyer and Antonie Borchsenius, all of Kristiania.
One greeting from 15 Missionary associations and 16
Women's societies of Sandviken.

AUSTRALIA

Women's Political-Educational League of New South
Wales through Miss Rose Scott, President.

DENMARK

Landsforbund for Kvinders Valgret, for its 8000 members,
through Johanne Rambusch, President.
From Mr. and Mrs. Broberg, Copenhagen.

UNITED STATES

Official Delegates appointed by the Governor of Wyoming
(unable to be present) Mrs. Harriet L. Sheik and Mrs.
Rose H. Perkins,
Interurban Woman Suffrage Council (New York City)
through its corresponding Secretary, Oreola W. Haskell,
College Equal Suffrage League of Massachusetts through
Miss Furness.

INDIA

Madame Bhikhaiji K. Cama of Bombay.

HUNGARY

Greeting from a class of Young Hungarian Women of
Kaposvar.

SWEDEN

His Excellency, the Minister of State Lindemann,
Frederika Bremer Association of Stockholm,
The Stockholm Woman Suffrage Association through Anna
Lindhagen, Vice-President,
From Anna Whitlock, President of the N. W. S. A. of
Sweden,
The women of Upsala,

Jenny Wallerstadt of Filipstad,
From „Dagny” the Journal of the Swedish Woman's
movement through Ellen Kleman, Editor.

GERMANY

Ottile Hoffmann, President of the German Women's
Total Abstinence Union.

SWITZERLAND

Leopold Katscher, Berne. Madame A. Hoffmann, Pre-
sident of Geneva W. S. A.

FRANCE

Marie Maugeret, Paris.

BELGIUM

Louis Frank.

REPORTS OF AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS

AND IN ADDITION THOSE OF THE COMMITTEES ON WOMAN
SUFFRAGE OF AUSTRIA AND BOHEMIA, WHERE THE LAW
FORBIDS THE FORMATION OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE
ORGANIZATIONS.

A U S T R I A.

Report prepared by the Austrian Committee on Woman
Suffrage. Read by Frau MARIE LANG, delegate.

In most of the provinces of Austria the right of suffrage for the Municipality was given to women of full age, who paid a certain amount of taxes in the year 1849. Since 1861, women under the same conditions have been allowed to vote for the Diet. In the year 1873 certain privileged women landholders (Grossgrundbesitzerinnen) got the right to vote for the Parliament, but in the year 1906, when universal equal suffrage for all men was introduced, all women without exception were excluded from this right.

The Committee on Woman Suffrage was constituted in the year 1905 and began its work by presenting a petition to the „Ministerpräsident“, to the House of Lords and to the House of Commons, asking the elective franchise for women on the same terms upon which men enjoy it. In 1907 the Committee presented a public address with more than 4,000 signatures of men and women asking to abolish the law, which forbids political organization to women.

In Austria women are not allowed to become members of a political society ; they are not allowed to be guardians ; they have not the right of witnessing legal acts ; they are not permitted to study jurisprudence and technics, and cannot therefore be lawyers or judges. In case of divorce the boys of four years, and the girls of seven years are generally given to the father and not to the mother.

General remark : The Committee on Woman Suffrage cannot yet be recognized as an Association, owing to the

restraint of the Austrian law and is in consequence not yet a member of the Austrian National Council or of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

A U S T R A L I A .

Report from the Australian Women's Political Association. .

Prepared by VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

When, in 1906, the Victorian Women's Political Association made a valiant attempt to found a truly vigorous National Australian Women's Political Association, there was no doubt in the minds of the promoters that the State Woman Suffrage Bill would be passed before the end of the year. This happy event would have left them free to carry on that active national propaganda, which is so much needed to weld together the social and political interests of the women of this great continent, and to destroy their regrettable indifference to international woman suffrage interests. But the continued delay in winning the State suffrage in Victoria keeps the women of that State involved in a political drudgery, which, surely, has no counterpart in any other country, for the establishment of woman suffrage in the Australian Commonwealth and in every other Australian State has made the task of securing the State suffrage in Victoria more difficult than before. This may seem a paradoxical statement but it is true. In 1894 our anti-suffrage legislators said to us, „Wait till we see how woman suffrage works in New Zealand." In 1896 they said „Wait till we see how it works in South Australia"; in 1900, they said „Wait for the experience in West Australia"; in 1902, „Wait, just a little longer, till we see the result in the Commonwealth." We waited, not in silence, but protesting and working all the time, at every election getting more and more pledged supporters — with what result? That, in 1908, we find ourselves crushed between our straight-out opponents and our professed friends, the Conservative Party on the one hand, and the Labour and Liberal Parties on the other. None of them likes the practical working of woman suffrage; each Party thinks that it lessens its party influence. The Conservatives

think it is a Labour vote; the Labourites think it is a Conservative vote and do not now avow themselves so openly, persistently, and enthusiastically, in favour of woman suffrage, as they did before it came into operation in the Commonwealth. The Labour Party still includes Woman Suffrage in its official programme; the Parliamentary Labour Party still introduces a Woman Suffrage Bill each year in the Victorian Legislature, but no official protests are made when the Legislative Council defeats the Bill, and the Government of the day refuses to make it a Government Measure. During the last five years the Liberal Party, which is also pledged to woman suffrage, has been gradually drawing closer and closer to the Conservative Party in hatred of the Labour Party, and two years ago it resolved *in camera* to quietly drop woman suffrage, coalesce with the Conservatives, and fight the Labour Party. Thus we saw the miserable spectacle of professed Liberals, who were also platform-pledged woman suffragists, sinking, without compunction, a great political principle that it might obtain office and carry on a purely class struggle.

We mention these facts as giving sufficient answer to the question so often asked in other parts of the world „Why have not the women of Victoria succeeded in getting the highly prized State vote, which the women of the other Australian States secured with comparative ease?“ These facts also explain why the national organisation, started with such buoyant hope three years ago, still „drags its slow length along“ on paper instead of on a practical working basis. Further, they offer the most convincing proof that the policy of the militant section of the English suffragists, of opposition to every party, to every individual that does not fight to make woman suffrage a Government Measure is the only sound policy for woman suffragists, who put Principle before Party. Three fourths of the members of the Victorian Parliament are pledged suffragists. If a dozen of them chose to do so, they could tie the Government up in such a knot that it could not do a stroke of work until it had introduced and carried through a woman suffrage Bill, for only two votes are required to achieve the victory.

Owing to the injustice which the women of Victoria have suffered at the hands of their professed friends, they have come to the conclusion that they would sooner have a hundred parliamentary opponents to deal with,

than enjoy the gelatinous support of a hundred members who, on the platform, prate about the eternal justice of woman suffrage, but who, in the House, never give the slightest evidence that they mean „business”. We think that if the whole time of the Amsterdam Conference were given to discussing the question of tactics, of laying down a clear, definite election policy, more practical good would ensue than from a whole week spent in discussing the general principles of woman suffrage, or even its actual results. It may be objected that the conditions differ in every country; that an election policy that would suit one country would not suit another; but we believe that members of Parliament and would-be members of Parliament are identically the same in every country — the Ins want to stay In, and the Outs don't want to stay Out; they will always yield to public pressure. The way to apply that pressure from the woman suffrage standpoint is, we firmly believe, along the lines worked out by the militant section of the English suffragists. Convincing theories, convincing results, convincing majorities count for nothing with the average member of Parliament, whose pledges are exacted in the orthodox flabby way; they must be made to feel that women are in earnest, and English women have shown the world how that can be done.

The Conference will forgive us for writing feelingly and at length on this point, but we write as women who have nothing but two votes between them and complete political freedom, and are yet as far from it apparently as are the women of the United States whose political fate lies in the hands of alien voters.

BOHEMIA.

Report of the Committee on Woman Suffrage,
read by Frl. F. PLAMINKOVA, Delegate.

Receive, dear ladies, the greetings of your Czechish sisters, the daughters of the land which gave to the world John Hus who proclaimed liberty of thought for a nation — a nation whose women, in the darkness of the middle ages, battled faithfully with the men for liberty of religion and of their country.

This people, of their own free will in the XVI century called to the throne the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand of Hapsburg and thereby entered into the confederation of the Austrian countries. From that time we Bohemian women were also citizens of Austria. As Austrian citizens *we have no political rights ; we are not allowed to be members of political associations* and according to the laws we are not allowed to elect members to the Austrian parliament.

Up to the year 1906 the women owners of large estates voted, but in December 1906, when universal suffrage was granted to men throughout Austria, it was taken away from these women, although we opposed this change with all our power. We succeeded only in having our resolution accepted, that the government might soon offer a bill for electoral rights of women. Therefore we now strive, at every session, to obtain the suffrage for women, and equal rights for men and women to form political associations. So far our work has been in vain.

The election laws for the central parliament, differ from those for the Diet of the Bohemian Kingdom, which has its session in Prague.

Taxpayers, who are 24 years of age or those who belong to the learned professions, such as doctors, professors, teachers, members of the civil service (therefore also women of these professions) have a vote. Women, however can vote only by proxy and that proxy must be a man. By this means an intelligent woman is put under the guardianship of a man, who decides for her as for a minor, whereby the purity and secrecy of election is lost ; for it is clear, that the voter will belong to the party of the one through whom she casts her vote.

But in Prague, the capital of our Kingdom, in the town which was founded by our first Princess, Libusa, the women according to the old municipal law have no suffrage, but a new electoral law is being prepared and we are earnestly endeavouring to secure woman suffrage in Prague.

In public meetings we discuss the management of the municipal finances, which concerns women as taxpayers, housewives and mothers, and on which women are not allowed to exercise any influence. We show the wrong done to the women of Prague, as they are also excluded from the electorate of the Bohemian Diet, this being granted only to those who have municipal suffrage.

According to a law dating from 1861, women who have

attained 30 years of age, and are taxpayers or belong to the learned professions, are eligible to the Bohemian Diet.

Fifty years ago our mothers participated personally in the elections, fully realizing their responsibility, and only through the unjust practice of the election committees, which persistently forbade the participation of women in the elections, the interest of women began to decrease and the law passed into oblivion.

The eligibility of women to the Bohemian Diet remained long unnoticed. In the year 1905, during the struggles for universal suffrage for men, the „Committee on Woman's Suffrage" was formed. After a profound study of the law the Committee learned that women were eligible to seats in the Diet and a plan was adopted to nominate women candidates for the next election. We thought it our duty to take this step, because the newly-elected Diet was to work out a new electoral bill, and there was danger that we might lose even the few rights we had.

It is incredible, how many words and explanations were necessary to convince leading politicians, that the eligibility of women was really granted by law. This being achieved, we asked all Bohemian political parties to nominate among their candidates at least one woman and thereby prove the sympathy with the women's cause, which they had proclaimed at the electoral meetings, but in vain. We demanded therefore, that at least in one of the electoral districts a woman candidate should be nominated after a mutual agreement between all political parties, but this also was refused. Finally the Committee decided to nominate its own woman candidate on a progressive, liberal, democratic programme. Afterwards the social democratic party nominated also a woman candidate for one ward of Prague, and a third woman candidate was nominated by the Bohemian radical party but she declined.

The independent women's candidate was accepted with great enthusiasm in her electoral district (in the eastern part of Bohemia) and the women of the district called many meetings, in which the candidature of a woman was warmly approved. The courage of the progressive women of Vysoké Myto is admirable, because there the woman candidate stood against the mayor of the town, upon whom depends the existence of a girls' industrial school, founded by the women of the town.

Their enthusiasm and perseverance deserves especial recognition. At the meetings they called, no speaker was found, who would deny the eligibility of women to the Bohemian Diet.

Although no woman candidate was elected, we are fully contented with this first campaign. Bohemian women were the first in Central Europe to enter practical politics; it awakened a great interest in politics among the masses of Bohemian women, and we regard the campaign as a memorable epoch in the development of the nation.

It also awakened interest in woman suffrage, among men. Leading newspapers reported the movement sympathetically and decided to devote special columns to women's affairs. Political clubs throughout Bohemia began to invite women speakers to their meetings.

Bohemian women proved their right to political equality with men by this fact, — they themselves, without any encouragement from outside, began the struggle. The results are already observable. In the district of Vysoké Myto, all the progressive elements, men and women alike — organized themselves through women's influence, into a union for the intellectual elevation of the people, and all political parties are beginning to organize their women partisans, often giving them prominent places in their organizations; and before the last supplementary elections, one of the prominent political parties proposed, of its own accord, to nominate a woman candidate.

We know well that many of these encouraging events are merely to be attributed to the egotism of different political parties, but others have been prompted by a sense of justice awakened by our arguments and are the effects of our own efforts.

BULGARIA.

Report of the Bulgarian Woman's Rights Alliance, prepared and read by JENNY BOJLOWA — Dr. PATEFF, Delegate.

Bulgaria has existed as a free and independant State for only thirty years. Previous to that time the Bulgarian people, being under the domination of Turkey, had no

political rights, and their customs were primitive and patriarchal. When we were liberated we began to have schools taught in our own language. Up to that time women possessed no rights as the men themselves, being politically enslaved, possessed none. The Bulgarian woman was occupied only with housekeeping and with inferior kinds of work, but she was honored and esteemed as the chronicles of those times prove. The Bulgarian women took an important part in the liberation of the country and assisted the political leaders working for the elevation of the people. When Bulgaria was made an independent State it became necessary to make laws and these laws were copied after those of the occidental peoples. Thus our constitution is based upon the constitutions of Belgium and England and the greater part of our civil laws are copied from those of Germany. And as the German laws give no political rights to woman, and as our own traditions relegate woman to the home, our laws also give to woman neither civil nor political rights. On the other hand, our constitution, free and democratic in spirit, gives full electoral powers to all citizens excluding only minors, insane, idiots and criminals, — it therefore places the Bulgarian woman in the same class.

At the time of the adoption of our constitution, some Bulgarian women sent a petition to the very first meeting of our parliament, asking equal rights for women. There was no united movement among the women at that time and the laws were established without any general protest on the part of the women. In our whole civil code we find no rights secured to women, — this might seem to forbid civil rights to us, but the fact is that women are ignored by our laws, and when, under the influence of modern conditions, woman demands certain civil rights, the response is that she has no place in the law.

In spite of these facts, the Bulgarian women very quickly felt the inequality of their position. Under the influence on the one hand, of the culture which came to us from Europe after our liberation; of the liberal ideas which found expression in rights for men; and of the very democratic institutions which grew up in our own country; and, on the other hand, pushed by the necessity of enlarging their sphere of work, Bulgarian women are beginning to understand the need of a vote.

Intelligent women soon raised their voices against injustice by claiming equality between men and women

in every social and political domain. New social and economic conditions soon evolved a „feminist” movement which aided the development of ideas of emancipation. An Alliance of Bulgarian Women to work for rights for women came later. This Alliance was formed in 1901 of already existing societies. To work for „rights for women” was the aim of the women who took the lead and of those who are still the leaders of the „feminist movement”. But the traditions of the associations which had entered the Alliance and the prejudices of society and of women themselves did not allow the organization to stand for these ideas; and during the first years of its existence we find the most prominent place in its constitution given to „the amelioration of the position of women and their mental and moral development”, and, among the *means* to these ends, we find the demand for the suffrage. This did not really express the principles of the feminist movement and is the reason why the Congress of 1907 revised the constitution and made its first demand that of suffrage for women.

Ever since its formation the Alliance has worked to secure rights for women, — we have our organ *Jensky glas* (The Voice of Woman) which discusses feminism and the woman question. During every meeting of our Parliament we send petitions demanding new rights for women and this present year the Alliance has sent out women as lecturers upon woman suffrage.

To gain our rights in Bulgaria demands hard work and an immense amount of propaganda. Every political party which has thus far ruled Bulgaria has been against us and of late years the government has passed some very reactionary laws for women. For example, in 1905 the civil code was changed so that a daughter inherits only a third part as much as a son. In 1907 the University at Sophia, which had been open to women for the previous four years, was closed to them, because the men students hissed the Prince of Bulgaria. Just as primitive humanity believed the woman to blame for the first sin of man, so the Bulgarian government punished women students for the misbehavior of the men students.

It is only the Radical and Socialist parties which have put woman suffrage upon their programs but they have not as yet much influence upon the laws.

The present Government of the Democratic party has upon its program some rights for women, among them

the right to vote for School Directors, but we demand the greater right of the full suffrage.

Now that our Alliance has the honor of entering into the family of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, I hope that Bulgarian women will walk hand in hand with their sisters of the entire world toward the complete liberation of all women.

The people of your countries, my sisters, were already developing freely and the sun of liberty shone upon your horizon, while the peoples of the Balkan States were still under the Turkish dominion, as are our sisters in Macedonia who can not yet rejoice in the freedom of their country. We enter upon the road of progress and culture after you, yet the sun of the occident casts some rays of light toward the east and the full liberation of the peoples of the Balkan States may perhaps be the crown of the progress of the occident.

CANADA.

Dominion Woman Suffrage Association.

Report prepared Dr. AUGUSTA STOWE GULLEN, President.

It is gratifying to note that during the past two years, there has been a greatly increased interest among all classes of people — many of our most progressive men and cultured, thoughtful women have individually and as representatives of societies, espoused this cause, which in the last analysis is their own.

After the return to Canada of Mrs. Flora MacDonald Denison from the Alliance held in Copenhagen in 1906, a public meeting was called to welcome our delegate, and receive the report of that Convention. Mayor Coatsworth presided, and expressed his sympathy with the cause. The president, Dr. Stowe Gullen, gave a brief resumé of the work accomplished in the past, and an outline for future fulfilment. Mr. Jas. L. Hughes, Public School Inspector, made an able and convincing address. Dr. Wilhelmina Ayson, a native of New Zealand, spoke upon the success of Political equality in that country, and as attested facts are the *greatest and strongest arguments*, Dr. Ayson's speech controverted any doubts upon the expediency and success of the movement in her own land.

Mrs. Denison followed with a comprehensive report of the Copenhagen Convention — giving the audience a concise yet exhaustive idea of the important work accomplished as well as of its great International significance. Mrs. Denison's report was accorded appreciative attention. The meeting was most enthusiastic, and passed a resolution unanimously supporting Women's Suffrage. Since that time, at all public meetings of the Association or at meetings addressed by members of the Suffrage Organization, there have always been resolutions passed endorsing the movement. Any association, which has not adopted or urged this method of crystallizing aroused thought, will do well to adopt this very practical, and at the same time thoroughly educative measure. In Canada, resolutions have been found an excellent means of propaganda.

Members of our organization have accepted all invitations to speak upon Political Equality before other, and occasionally non-sympathetic organizations. Another important feature of our propaganda work has been to enlist the support of associations of young people, such as University, College, and Debating Clubs. The benefit that will accrue from securing the co-operation of the youth of our land cannot be over estimated.

In 1906 the Mayor and City Council of Toronto passed a resolution asking „that the Franchise be extended to married women on the same basis as it is granted to men”. As many of you know, in Canada, spinsters and widows may vote in municipal elections on the same qualifications as men. A deputation waited upon the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Toronto, December 10th, 1907. The President, Dr. Stowe Gullen introduced the question, basing the argument first upon equity, and secondly, upon the fact that married women pay taxes and no class is so intimately affected by inimical or inadequate legislation, and none so keenly interested in the laws pertaining to children, as the mothers of a community. So surely married women were entitled to recognition and representation in the body politic.

The „Canadian Suffrage Association” was supported by representatives from „The Women's Christian Temperance Union”, „Medical Alumnae”, „Progressive Thought Association”, the „Women Teachers” „The Toronto Local Council of Women”, and „The Progressive Club.”

The resolution was referred to a legislative committee,

and weakened by an amendment giving „voting privileges to married women holding property”, not as satisfactory as the original motion. The member of our City Council chiefly responsible for the amendment, was defeated at the elections last January — the first time in many years. It is well for Aldermen of City Councils, where the women have the municipal franchise, to recollect that sometimes things may happen to non-progressive candidates for Aldermanic honors.

The Mayor of Toronto invited our president Dr. Stowe Gullen, to speak at a Monster Mass Meeting in Massey Hall — called for the purpose of discussing civic matters. Unfortunately she was unable to be present, but the First Vice-President, — Mrs. Flora MacDonald Denison, was deputed to attend, and was accorded a rousing welcome.

This invitation from the chief official of our city was conceded to be an epoch in the woman's movement in Canada and promises well for future progress.

In January and February of this year (1908) Mrs. F. MacDonald Denison, organizer for the C. S. A. visited Halifax, Nova Scotia, and St. Johns, New Brunswick. In Halifax, the active suffragists, had turned their attention too largely into the Woman's National Council work, so that no actively organized efforts were being made for suffrage. However, Mrs. Denison's lecture was enthusiastically received and well reported by the Halifax papers.

Another organization, called the „Men's Club” invited Mrs. Denison to lecture on suffrage, and at the close passed unanimously a resolution in favor of the extension of the suffrage to Women.

This spring the St. John's Suffrage Club, petitioned the Legislature of New Brunswick, but met with no practical results. Still the combined efforts of such able leaders as Mrs. Fiske, Miss Mabel Peters and Mrs. Hathaway are a guarantee and prophecy for the future.

A number of Icelandic women have recently formed a Suffrage organization and affiliated with the Canadian Suffrage Association. In Toronto, Miss Clara Bret Martin, the first woman lawyer of Canada, and for a number of years a member of our Board of Education, has announced her intention of running for Parliament. So altogether the past two years have been exceedingly eventful, and are not without their hopeful prophecies.

DENMARK,

Report Danske Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund.

Prepared and read by ELINE HANSEN.

The women of Denmark have in the year 1908 obtained the municipal suffrage on the same conditions as men have it. They have the vote and eligibility. Unmarried women must pay taxes, married women have the suffrage when their husbands pay taxes. The municipal suffrage has come from no sudden movement; a long and persevering work has preceded it. This preparative work has mostly found its expression through the work of our oldest women's association „Dansk Kvindesamfund.” I must here give a short report of our political development. In 1849 Denmark got its constitution. The legislative convention is called the Rigsdag and consists of two houses: the Folketing and the Landsting. The leadership belonged to men of university education although 39 peasants were members of the first Rigsdag. After an unhappy war in 1864, the Landsting was transformed in 1866 by privileged election. This constitution was a blow against universal suffrage.

Soon the members of the Landsting feared that the peasants would grow too mighty, for in 1872 they got the majority in the Folketing (the Left) under the leadership of Ch. Berg, a village schoolmaster, father to the minister Segard Berg, who has this year carried the law of extended municipal suffrage.

From 1872—1901 the conflict between the Folke- and Landsting has been the subject for all Danish politics and a complete stagnation has been the result. In 1901 no conservative man was found to form a conservative cabinet and the leadership came to the Left. The prime minister is to-day J. C. Christensen, a schoolmaster from a small village in the western part of Denmark. The Danish peasant is in possession of a rather high culture, and this fact may be carried back to the influence of a great pedagogue named Grundtvig. He was a clergyman, a poet, an author of historical and religious works. He was a politician too and member of the Rigsdag, that worked out the constitution. All his force and energy was consecrated to the education of the people. He demanded the young university educated men to go out and teach the people. His idea was, that the young people from 18—25 years

should return to school. According to his thoughts we have a special sort of schools called „High schools for the people.” These schools are frequented by young men and women.

When „Dansk Kvindesamfund” was founded in 1871, it declared for full municipal and political suffrage for woman. In 1888 Dansk Kvindesamfund presented a petition to the government demanding municipal suffrage for unmarried independent women. This address was signed by women all over the country. In the Folketing a bill in accordance with this petition was moved and carried but the Landsting, not wishing a new corps of electors, did not discuss it at all; a member declared that woman suffrage was neither in the interest of the women nor of society.

The upper classes of men were conservative, and were against every extension of the suffrage; their women followed them, and took no interest in suffrage. The peasants are conservative in every phase of life except politics; they saw that woman suffrage must be the consequence of the political movement, but they did not urge it, nor did their wives take much interest in it. The working women have until lately taken very little interest in the movement. The men advocates have nearly all been pupils of Grundtvig although not exactly belonging to the peasantry; many of them are descendants of peasants with university education, new comers.

The women workers have been mostly self-supporting, unmarried women.

In the year 1904 the government moved a bill for universal suffrage. This bill has been discussed since then, until this year it has become law, giving not universal, but extended suffrage.

In 1904 the Landsting voted to give suffrage to unmarried women, but still a member expressed as his opinion, that he would prefer seeing the women within the walls of a harem. In 1905-06 the Folketing gave the suffrage bill the same extension as the year before. In winter 1906 delegates for Dansk Kvindeforenings Valgretsforbund were received by members of the Folke- and Landsting in the Rigsdag.

In the summer of the same year we had the joy to see many of you ladies here assembled, as our guests in Copenhagen. We dare say that that interesting meeting has been a great help to us and has mightily aroused the interest

for woman suffrage especially among the ladies of the upper classes.

In 1906 new elections took place. A joint-committee from the Folke- and Landsting was formed and there the suffrage bill was discussed. The members of the Lands-ting in this session fully gave up its former opposition to suffrage for married women.

These last years have brought a mighty movement among the women themselves ; new clubs and associations have been formed, Dansk Kvindesamfund has gained a number of new branches. Politisk Kvindeforening has made great progress all over the country. The women socialists have formed their own organization, a new organization of Christian women has just been formed and become a member of the Valgretsforbund.

At the feast in our town hall, May third, all women's organizations, except the socialists, joined. All the speakers pointed to the political suffrage as the next step, that had to be taken.

FINLAND.

Report prepared by ANNA LUNDSTROM, Secretary of Unionem, and read by Mrs. AINA ARMINOFF, delegate.

When two years ago the last congress of the I. W. S. A. was held in Copenhagen, the women of Finland were still rejoicing over their newly-won political enfranchisement. Now after two years' possession of this precious privilege it is time to ask whether fruits have ripened already on the young tree which was planted then. Let us first speak of the effect of the ballot on our two women's associations, „Unionem” and „Finsk Kvinnoförening.” In both these associations the work for the furtherance of women's interests has not been arrested, but the methods have been modified. Formerly the principal effort, especially in „Unionem”, was directed to obtain the ballot. Now we use the ballot to work for the furtherance of equal rights with men, in other relations. The women's associations began by striving to prepare the women for an intelligent use of their votes. They arranged political lectures, and discussions on social reform all over the country. They tried to awaken the women to a sense of the great responsibility which the new right carries with it, and to make them understand that, in the elections, they ought to

choose judiciously from the candidates presented and not to follow the lead of any party indiscriminately, like a flock of sheep. It was recommended earnestly to nominate and elect women candidates as well as men, as women might surely be expected to show the best understanding of women's interests. Through the press the women's association „Unionem” made an appeal to all women voters to so use the ballot that it would promote women's interests through the election of a number of women candidates. Attention was called to the fact that women had done good work in the trying times which had afflicted our country for some years past and the commonwealth had secured as valuable service from its daughters as from its sons. For the pending elections our League edited a pamphlet, „To arms against Ignorance and Prejudice.” Neither „Unionem” nor „Finsk Kvinnoförening” have taken a decided part in the elections, as both wish to keep a strict neutrality as to the question of language, which is all-important with us. The case is different for our two new political organizations of women, the „Svenska Kvinnoforbundet” and the Young-Finnish” Naitlütto. Both were formed after the introduction of universal suffrage and have a program for political education. In election times their members are zealous propagandists for the political parties that advocate their opinion, yet they always keep in view the furtherance of women's interests.

For the first Diet (Landstag) 19 women were elected as deputies : of the Swedish party the teacher Miss Dagmar Neovius ; of the Young Finnish party, the head teachers Lucina Hagman (Hon. President of the women's association „Unionem”) and Alli Nissinen ; of the Old Finnish party, the farmer's wife, Evelina Ala-Kulyn, Mrs. Hedwig Gebhard, Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg (Hon. President of Finsk Kvinnoförening), the pastor's wife, Mrs. Lusi Kivioja, the teachers, Hilda Käkikoski and Ida Wemmelpun ; of the Agrarians, the school-teacher, Hilma Räsänen ; and of the Social Democrats, Miss Ida Aalle, Mrs. Anna Huotari, the textile worker, Jenny Kilpiäinen, Mrs. Maria Laine, the teacher and editor, Hilja Pärssinen, Mrs. Maria Raunio, the sempstress, Alexandra Reinholdsson and Miss Mune Sillanpää, editor and president of the servants' trade union. So women were elected by all parties, married and unmarried and of very different social standing and culture. The number of Deputies is 200. The women did

not even constitute one tenth of the whole Diet, but undoubtedly this was right for the first time, as until now the women had had little training for such work and have some difficulty in getting accustomed to it.

These women deputies, however, proposed no less than 26 bills and resolutions :

Three different ones for the abolition of the guardianship of the husband over his wife and a new women's property act ; for more rights of mothers over their children ; for raising the age of protection for girls, four bills ; raising the age of legal marriage for women to 17 or 18 years, two bills ; on the legal status of illegitimate children, four bills and in one of them also a demand for state asylums for unmarried mothers ; for more extensive employment of women in state service, two petitions ; for a state subsidy in behalf of schools for domestic training ; for an annual subsidy of 20,000 Marks for temperance ; for obliging municipalities to appoint a midwife in each parish ; for amendment of § 15, Chapt. 16 of the Agrarian Law („Grund und Boden") which stipulates that sale of estate annihilates all lease contracts ; for encouragement and extension of co-education, for abolition of the Law on Domestic Service (Dienstbotenordnung) ; for constructing a railway Riste-Louna and one Björkö, Galitzina, Kexholm.

It will be seen from this that the women deputies have particularly taken to heart the amelioration of the status of women. To this end we had no fewer than fourteen bills.

Of course the care of children found zealous advocates among them, as appears from the bills on illegitimate children, asylums and schools.

The two railway bills and the proposed amendment of the Law on Lease are questions of a direct economic nature. The temperance movement too, finds its expression in two bills and a social democratic tendency manifests itself in the proposed abolition of the Domestic Service Contract.

In this year's Diet, except the above-named bills, the following have been introduced : for establishment of a Maternity Insurance Fund ; for appointment of women as Sanitary Inspectors ; for amendment of § 2, Chapt. 15, of the Law on Litigation (Prozessrecht) in so far as women shall be granted the same rights as men with respect to legal assistance ; for regulations concerning former prosti-

tutes (public prostitution has been abolished in our country this year); for subventions to the distribution of free meals to school children; for pardoning the Finns that took part in the Sveaborg revolt; for the abolishment of disciplinary punishments in prisons and for the insertion into § 45 of the Penal Code, of the following paragraph: — „Any one who, on public roads, in the streets, or in any other public place, insults a woman with immoral intentions is punished with a fine of at most 200 Mk.”

In nearly all of these law projects the tendency is clearly the abolishment of legal abuses from which women have been suffering until now.

Up to the present time only three of the women's bills have been debated and decided upon: viz., the institution of midwives, domestic training and the raising of the age for marriage, which has been fixed at seventeen. Until now it was fifteen years.

The bills on abolition of the husband's guardianship and the new regulation of the married women's property were under consideration, and these law projects had been assigned to a special commission for investigation, so that probably they would have been passed by the Parliament, if the sudden dissolution of the Diet had not put a stop to all parliamentary work.

Now the new elections are before us and will take place July 1st. All parties keep up a violent agitation. Also the pioneers of women's rights will do their best to get a greater number of women elected for the Diet. Their success will of course depend in a large measure on the women themselves, as the women constitute more than half the electorate, but alas, there are still many among them who refuse to open their eyes and to welcome the approach of Justice.

GERMANY.

Report Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht.

Prepared by ADELHEID VON WELCZECK.

The dissolution of the Reichstag (Parliament) in 1906 gave an opportunity to German women to show their interest in politics, which they did by actively participating in the agitation for the election of new deputies. Immediately after the dissolution, the executive of the Woman Suffrage Association issued a circular to all the affiliated societies and personal members to encourage

them to interrogate the candidates for Parliament concerning their attitude toward the claims of women. A number of candidates of the democratic parties declared themselves in favor of woman suffrage. In the principal cities the women attended the public meetings of electors, worked at the polling-bureaus, distributed leaflets, etc. In Frankfort the women were especially active; more than two hundred women worked in the polling-bureaus, thereby contributing to the victory of the progressive candidate.

The President and Vice-President worked in a voting district of Thuringia, where they called meetings and made several addresses.

The members took an active part in the preparation for municipal elections; they also made use of their votes in favor of insurance against sickness, and in Bremen, Dantzig, Frankfort a. M. women were elected as directors of local insurance funds.

In continuation of the account given on page 80 of the Copenhagen Report in regard to the alleged right of Prussian women to be registered as municipal electors, we will add, that since then several members in Charlottenburg, Bromberg, Dantzig, Frankfort a. O. and Liegnitz, basing their claim on Title I, Sec. 24, Vol. 1 of the Prussian Law (*Preussisches Landrecht*), have demanded that their names should be inscribed in the electoral lists, preparatory to participation in the municipal elections. In all of the towns their action called forth lively debates in the governing bodies and in the press. Although it could not be denied that there was a sort of legal foundation for their claim, it was refused. They then appealed to the District Courts (*Bezirksausschüsse*), which also refused their demand. The claimants then went to the Prussian Superior Court (*Oberverwaltungsgericht*) as the court of final appeal, and were again denied. In a detailed explanation of the verdict, we find a recognition of the possibility of a favorable interpretation of the law, but, on the other hand, the claim is refused on the ground that it conflicts with the spirit of the law. However, the attention of the authorities has been called to the claims of women in a forceful manner.

The executive of the Woman Suffrage Association is continually striving to convert the representatives of legislative bodies to the idea of women's enfranchisement. The leaders of the different political parties

were repeatedly petitioned to put a woman suffrage plank in their platforms. The executive of the W. S. A. addressed to the Reichstag a petition to grant votes to women on the same terms as to men.

On the occasion of the introduction of the bill for a National Law on Associations, the Woman Suffrage Societies took part in the agitation for liberty to organize, by holding big public meetings. The new law has now been carried, and so, at last, the obstacles are removed, which, until now, excluded women from political life in the two principal Federated States, Prussia and Bavaria.

The agitation for woman suffrage was actively promoted in the associations by discussions and public meetings, as well as by lecturing tours of the President and Vice-President, the Secretary and other members in those parts of the country where there were no suffrage societies. These lecturing tours resulted in the formation of several new branches, especially in Southern Germany where more liberal laws regarding assemblies already permitted the membership of women in political clubs.

The addition of these associations in Southern Germany necessitated a reorganization of the National Woman Suffrage Association, which was achieved in the Annual Meeting at Frankfort a. M. in October, 1907, the branch societies being thereby allowed greater independence and freedom. The new constitution of the N. W. S. A. expressly states that the Association does not identify itself with any one political party nor with any special opinion prevailing in the women's movement. The claim for universal, equal, secret and direct suffrage was also inserted in the constitution. The N. W. S. A. has from the first stood for this principle; yet, to avoid possible misrepresentations, it seemed necessary to state it explicitly in the constitution.

The Annual Meeting at Frankfort proved a great success; thousands flocked to the meetings, and the press gave detailed accounts. We had the pleasure of welcoming two of the brave militant suffragists from England, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Annie Kenney, and the applause which greeted their addresses was beyond the power of words to describe.

After the Annual Meeting the societies, which, until then, had been branches of the National Woman Suffrage Association, were constituted into independent national

(or state) associations. These now exist in Baden, Wurtemberg, Hessen, Prussia, Saxony, Bremen, Hamburg, while there are smaller groups in all German states. All are federated together, thus forming the German Woman Suffrage Association.

In the Grandduchy of Oldenburg the Vice-President and Miss Martha Zietz conducted a campaign for woman suffrage on the occasion of the presentation of a bill for new voting qualifications for the Diet. At the same time a petition for votes for women was presented to the Diet of Oldenburg. Although several deputies endorsed the petition, it was refused.

The N. W. S. A. presented to the Bavarian House of Representatives a memorial on municipal suffrage for women.

The N. W. S. A. also petitioned the Federal Parliament (Bundesrat) against the use of saloons or bar-rooms as polling places.

The Wurtemberg Woman Suffrage Association (the local society of Stuttgart) presented to the Municipality a memorial on the participation of women in municipal affairs.

In Wurtemberg a law on the establishment of an Agrarian Council (Landwirtschaftskammer) and another on the establishment of a Trade Council (Gewerbekammer) has given votes and eligibility to women.

The N. W. S. A. has sent to the Bavarian Diet, as in Bavaria likewise the establishment of an Agrarian Council is being planned, a petition to grant votes to women, after the model of Wurtemberg.

A real step forward was made when, recently, the National Congress of the Progressive League at Frankfurt a. M. unanimously adopted a resolution recognizing as a just claim the admission of women to political representation in the Empire, the State, and the Municipality.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Report of National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Prepared by MARGERY J. CORBETT, Secretary.

In 1867 The Central Society for Women's Suffrage was founded under J. S. Mill as the permanent result of a great Suffrage Demonstration.

The National Union has continued steady educational

work ever since and there is no doubt that the present remarkable suffrage activity in England is due to this old Society, which, through long years of alternating hope and despair, has kept the suffrage lamp burning.

Should a Parliamentary election occur, it is the duty of the local Society to provide information as to local Halls for meetings, to suggest, and if possible, provide a Committee room, and secure a number of helpers ready to assist the organizers sent down by the National Union, whose duty it is to work with the local Society, but to take entire charge and responsibility. She, or they, have to interview the candidates and at once report their views to the Committee of the Union, which decides whether the Union is to support a candidate or to take advantage of the interest aroused by the by-election to do propaganda work under the most favorable conditions. At every street corner, in the market places and the parks, our brave women are found. Sometimes they speak from a carriage, sometimes they borrow a chair from some friendly shop-keeper, which they use as a platform. Always we get big crowds, and nearly always a courteous and attentive hearing, often in pouring rain. Occasionally our meetings are broken up by men and boys, but their rowdy behavior only draws round us the more sober of the citizens, and does more good than harm. As a permanent result of this work we are able to form branch societies which keep interest in the question alive after we are gone, and the first petition presented by the new Member is generally one in favor of Women's Suffrage.

In our parliamentary work we co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee for Women's Suffrage composed of Members of Parliament of every Party, who favor our Cause. The Members of this Committee manage our business within the House. They ballot for a bill, or a resolution, at the beginning of each session, support and advise the Member, who, like Mr. Stanger, this spring, had the good fortune to introduce such a bill. We, outside the House, circularize the Members to vote for the bill, we urge women and men in their constituencies to go on deputations and to present petitions to them. During this Session we have interviewed the present Prime Minister, and we had an interview with the leaders of the Labour Party in the House. This is the Party most favorable to our views, but as yet no Parliamentary

Party labours whole-heartedly for us. The Labour Party and the Social-Democrats have declared themselves in favor of the extension of the Franchise to women, and a resolution in favor has been carried by the National Liberal Federation, the official organisation of the Liberal Party, but such resolutions have been academic in character.

In February 1907, a United Conference of Women's Societies was held, for at the approach of the Parliamentary Session, it became urgent to leave Members of Parliament no excuse for refusing their active support in the House, on the ground that we were not unanimous in our demand. 27 Women's Societies were represented; among them the Association of University Women Teachers, two National Temperance Societies, 12 Women's Trade Unions and the Independent Labour Party, the only political party which, so far, has adopted Women's Suffrage. The following Resolution was passed: „That this Conference, taking its stand upon the principles that, with regard to the Parliamentary Franchise, the law should be equal for men and women, declares its opinion that neither sex nor marriage should be a qualification or a disqualification, and urges that a Bill should immediately be passed which will carry out the above principles. And the Committee further declares that women are not prepared to wait for their enfranchisement until Parliament deals with any further extension of the franchise to men.”

The day after the Conference, a public Procession of sympathizers within the Metropolitan area, took place in London. The Procession had an excellent effect in drawing public attention to the matter. The fact that three or four thousand women in a procession over a mile long, and taking one hour to pass a given point, had been organised by women made a deep impression, enhanced by crowded meetings in Exeter Hall and Trafalgar Square.

March 16th. Mr. Dickinson, M. P. introduced a Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons. It received the support of the then Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, but was talked out.

On March 27th. Sir Charles McLaren, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, obtained a place for a Resolution on Women's Suffrage: this was blocked by an Adult Suffrage Bill brought forward by an opponent for this purpose.

Before this second bill came on, a Parliamentary va-

cancy having occurred, the Union had made an entirely new departure by running a Women's Suffrage Candidate, the Hon. Bertrand Russell against Mr. Henry Chaplin, an old opponent. Within a week over £ 1500 had been collected, and in spite of great difficulties, the campaign was extraordinarily successful in bringing the matter before the Constituency and the public. Huge open air meetings went on for hours every evening in the square near the Railway, to catch the workers as they returned from work in London, and indoor and outdoor meetings were held all over a very scattered constituency.

After an election at Worcester, the Member was unseated for bribery, and the town had to pay a bribery rate. A petition was organised among women ratepayers to protest against their contributing to pay a fine for an offence, of which, not having a vote, they could not be guilty, and again we won public sympathy.

Throughout the year Miss Clementina Black and a devoted Committee had been securing signatures to a declaration in favor of Women's Franchise. By the end of June 1907, 52,000 names had been collected, and many forms were still circulating. The first 25,000 names were carefully analysed, and it was found that they included 5,692 women engaged in educational work, and nearly 450 out of the 700 medical women of Great Britain, many of whom are abroad in India and elsewhere.

In August 1907, a bill enabling Women to sit on Town and County Councils was passed, and is directly helpful to our movement as showing the capacities of women in civic matters.

In October 1907, in Edinburgh, a grand procession and demonstration took place in favor of Women's Suffrage. Between 2,000 and 3,000 women were led by the Lady Frances Balfour and Miss Mair, President of the Edinburgh Society.

In October, too, the Women Graduates of Edinburgh appealed against a decision refusing to admit them as voters though graduates of Universities are by law entitled to vote for their Parliamentary representatives. Their appeal was that this Graduate Franchise was a new one, and that the word „person”, not „man” was used ; women could not, therefore, be legally excluded. The appeal went against the women who will now appear at the bar of the House of Lords to press their claim in person.

During the winter, Mr. Lloyd George, then President

of the Board of Trade, and now Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave a sympathetic hearing to a deputation, as also did Mr. Herbert Gladstone. Mr. Asquith, also, declared himself to have an open mind when waited on by Nottingham Liberal ladies, and Mr. Haldane asked for the opinion of the nation on the matter, but how can we get the opinion of voteless women?

On January 30th, 1908, the National Union went on a formal deputation to Mr. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now Prime Minister. Mrs. Fawcett, Miss I. O. Ford, and Miss Sterling were the women speakers. Mr. Asquith owned that he was opposed to the extension of the Franchise to women, and told us the Government should wait until the majority of women demanded the vote. This has never been considered necessary in the case of men who want the vote.

On February 29th. Mr. Stanger's bill came up for second reading, and was carried by a majority of 179. The debate was on a somewhat higher level than that of last year.

On May 20th. Mr. Asquith received a deputation of Liberal Members of Parliament headed by Mr. Stanger. He said that when bringing in a measure of electoral reform if they chose to bring in an amendment including Women's Suffrage, he would not oppose it. Indeed he could not as he admitted that two thirds of the Cabinet were in favor of this reform. He warned the deputation such an amendment must be framed on democratic lines, and to be accepted by Parliament, must have behind it the overwhelming support of the women of the country no less than of the men. Our first object now is to show that we have such support. Our grand procession of 12,000 or more women was organised for June 13th. The response from other women's organisations was most gratifying. Professional women of all kinds, doctors, nurses, writers, artists and the working class women of the Co-operative Guilds showed their hearty sympathy, and joined us. We walked under 80 large, and 700 small banners, bearing the names of our famous women or our great towns. Women of our Universities walked in their caps and gowns and no pains were spared to make the procession truly representative of all the best women can be or do, and to show how convinced overwhelming numbers of women are of their urgent need for the protection of the vote.

The procession ended in London's largest Hall, whose

12,000 seats were eagerly applied for by sympathizers from all parts of the country.

HUNGARY.

Report prepared by ROSIKA SCHWIMMER, Feministak Egyesülete.

We must begin by correcting a mistake in our Copenhagen Report, viz., the omission to mention the fact that in December 1905, we sent a petition to Parliament to claim votes for women. Since the Copenhagen Congress our movement has made much progress. Woman suffrage has gained many new friends in parliamentary circles and has also found its way into many classes of society here. Our membership has not increased very greatly, but different groups of people and the press show most encouraging signs of interest.

We owe our greatest success to the excellent foreign speakers who have visited our country. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Mrs. Dora Montefiore, and Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg aided our propaganda by their presence, by the powerful influence of their personality, by the logic of their impressive addresses, which were each and all received by the audience with the greatest applause. The press of the whole country gave them and our claim the utmost attention. Both press and literature have, of late years, shown a growing sympathy for the enfranchisement of women.

We have found active support for our demands on the part of employees and clerks in our country. Under the influence of the National Employees' League this numerous class repeatedly showed its endorsement of woman suffrage by joining in public demonstrations.

We kept up a vigorous agitation by pamphlets and posters. As in our country an agitation for universal suffrage is afoot, we have many opportunities for this kind of propaganda. In the summer, for instance, our members are pledged to distribute literature in the summer resorts and watering places which they visit.

During the winter we held a course of lectures on political economy as an introduction to the theory of politics. Within the last two years we had opportunities of holding propaganda meetings in many provincial towns.

As decided opponents we had to contend against the Clericals and the Socialists. The latter went so far in their antagonism that the better elements of their party revolted, and, in their national Congress at Easter 1908, they demanded that the Party should at last decisively claim votes for women. The Congress pronounced accordingly, yet we cannot name a single occasion in which this resolution has been practically carried out, although since its adoption the Party has held great demonstrations for manhood suffrage.

A great gain to our propaganda is the fact that the women farmers, whose party has requested our N.W.S.A. to work for woman suffrage, have joined us. We are most pleased to recognize in the peasant women intelligent co-workers, who are quite conscious of their needs.

Among the Freemasons too we are gaining more and more adherents; some lodges, even provincial ones, have adopted resolutions in favour of votes for women.

The greatest success of last year's work was the monster-deputation of our Woman Suffrage Association to Parliament, consisting of many women and 100 members of Parliament. After this demonstration a lively agitation followed among the members of Parliament, the leading spirit being Deputy Szasz Zsombor. It has been proposed that the M. P.'s who are suffragists should organize into a committee.

We asked all political parties to place woman suffrage on their programs, but as yet we have not received any definite answer as to the attitude of the different parties with respect to our claim.

On the whole we are content with the success of our agitation, but we have grave doubts as to the development in the near future. It is certain that the question of the suffrage is going to be discussed by the House in September of this year. We wish now to begin the most thorough and zealous campaign possible, but the increase of interest for our cause is not accompanied by a proportionate increase of money. This explains why we cannot commence our next activities without fears and misgivings. We ask ourselves: „Will not the lack of the needed funds lame our forces in the moment of the last decisive attack?

ITALY.

Report of the Comitato Nazionale per il Voto alla Donna.
Prepared and read by Professor EMILIA MARIANI, delegate.

Before entering upon the main question, I wish to tell you in a few words the present situation of the woman suffrage movement in my country.

It seems customary to class Italy with Spain and all the southern countries of Europe, and to consider that in all of them the women are almost on a level with those of Turkey, as regards their education and general condition. The women of southern Europe, it is said, are beautiful coquettes whose chief aim in life is to make themselves charming, to give men pleasure and the best that can be said of them is, that they make tender mothers to their numerous children.

Believe me, this idea is entirely wrong. The Italian woman is not what this picture would suggest, either now or in the past. She may be beautiful but she is neither stupid nor ignorant. During the Renaissance we had our women savants; in the 17th century we had women poets; in the 19th century our women were patriots, and at present, I assure you, we have, like other countries, strong feminists, conscientious workers, courageous suffragists, — suffragists who fear no ridicule, who proclaim their faith openly, who descend into the arena to struggle against the laws and to obtain that weapon by which the people have been enabled to raise themselves and by which women also will be able to improve the conditions of their lives.

Our suffragists are the descendents of those patriotic women who took part in the revolutions by which our country was overturned and who have worked in the reforms of our young nation for the improvement of our social conditions.

You have doubtless heard of the Princess Trivulzio Belgioiso, the patrician of Milan, who at Paris as a diplomat, was better than any ambassador, — who led a squadron to battle for liberty and who brought about great social reforms in her domains in Lombardy. The name of the Mother Cairoli can not be unknown to you, that brave woman who gave all her five sons to the country. Perhaps you may have heard of Madame Laura Mantegazza, the mother of our savant, Paul Mantegazza, — she has laboured for the education of our young girls to make

of them strong women, free from traditions and prejudices.

These and others like them gave to the women of Italy the stamp of the conscious, thoughtful woman, from whom have come later those who are working with their whole hearts for the reform so dear to all of us.

Anna Maria Mozzoni has for years collaborated with the deputy, Agostino Bertani, who has always interested himself in the betterment of conditions for the people. She has assisted him in collecting statistics upon the poverty among our agricultural laborers and twenty-five years ago this woman sent a petition to our Chamber of Deputies asking suffrage for women. Recently she has repeated this demand. Being ill at the time of our Congress at Rome, she sent a letter to it which charmed all those who took part. In this letter Anna Mozzoni reiterated her faith in this cause and encouraged the young women of to-day to come forward and help in this righteous struggle, — to take it up at a time when, as the result of the work of all women striving together, success is no longer a myth, no longer a utopian ideal.

But in addition to the pioneers among women, we must not forget that there were a few men who aided and encouraged them, who shared in their labors and shared also the ridicule which was heaped upon their heads.

In our Chamber of Deputies we have had Salvatore Morelli, Ettore Socci and Robert Mirabelli who dared to introduce bills for us and, if they have had reason to complain that up to this time they have not been seconded in their efforts by any great number of women, the recent Congress at Rome and the unanimity of the vote for the suffrage for women must have been a recompense for their labors.

But we must study the movement as it is to-day in Italy. The National Woman Suffrage Committee at Rome is the center of a strong and persistent agitation. The personnel of its membership assures its success. Our president, Signora Jacinthe Martini, wife of one of our most famous deputies, ex-governor of Africa, is a woman eminent for character, intelligence, strength and constancy of purpose. In her address before the Congress she said, „Everything must be sacrificed for our supreme end. Our aim is just and there is no power of prejudice which can hinder its triumph — a triumph in which we

ought to cherish the most fervent faith." Near this woman who represents the aristocracy, stands Linda Malnati, the woman of the people, of the workers, the peasants, the women in the professions, the clerks. These form the main body of our army which will lead us to victory.

The women of the aristocracy wish the vote because they are intelligent and because they feel it a humiliation to see their coachman and their chauffeur voting. The professional women and other workers wish it in order to better their condition, equalize their salaries with those of men, and care for their children. These two forces which were so well united in the recent Congress at Rome will certainly continue to work, each in its own way, for our final success. Should the educated women be the first to obtain the municipal vote, concerning which the Italian government is already making some inquiries, it will be the women of the people who will, by the force of their arguments, gain the political franchise.

NETHERLANDS.

Report prepared by MARTINA KRAMERS, Secretary
Vereeniging voor Vrouwen-Kiesrecht.

The year of the Copenhagen Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was also that of a jubilee for our Dutch Woman's Suffrage Association. It had reached the hopeful age of one-eighth of a century, and in our country such an event is accounted worthy of being celebrated as a half-silver wedding. So we had different celebrations in all our eighteen branches: tea-parties with theatricals, concerts, lectures and social gatherings. These, together with the effect of the Copenhagen Congress, brought a considerable increase in our membership.

Our relations with suffragists in other lands have been extended by our President, who, together with the International President, made a lecturing tour in Austria and Hungary. The victories in Norway and Denmark were duly saluted by our National Woman Suffrage Association.

Since December, 1906, preparations for the Amsterdam Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance have been going on.

The Parliamentary elections of 1905 resulted in a

majority pledged to revise the State Constitution in such a manner as to make an extension of the Suffrage possible, and accordingly, the Government appointed a State Commission to draft a plan of revision. While the Commission was at work our Woman Suffrage Association published its wishes concerning the Constitution and when, in February 1907, the report of the State Commission was made, six of the seven members recommended the eligibility of women to all representative bodies.

In October 1907 came the Government Bill containing the complete draft of the revision of the Constitution, which left to the Statutory Law to determine the qualifications of electors, but recommended the granting of suffrage and eligibility to women.

It was expected that this Bill would be discussed in the two Chambers of our Parliament in the course of 1908, and our Association, wishing to refute the oft-repeated saying that woman suffrage was „A leap in the dark”, published a book in October 1907, containing the arguments for women's enfranchisement and its results in the countries where it has been introduced. Copies of this book were sent to Queen Wilhelmina, who accepted it with thanks, to all the members of Parliament, to the Ministers, etc. We had the satisfaction that it was favorably reviewed by the press and received general approbation. It contains articles from men and women who advocate woman suffrage from widely different points of view. Unfortunately a ministerial crisis brought into power a new Cabinet which is rather hostile than otherwise to the enfranchisement of women.

Meanwhile the interest in our movement is growing all over the country, our claims are recognized as just by an increasing number of persons, the press pays more and more attention to our meetings and utterances and new branch societies are being organized. Our main propaganda is the favorable attitude of the former Ministry and the approaching International Congress.

Our membership is fast growing. In January 1907 it was 2,500, now it is 4,500, and in the course of this year the number of our local branches increased from 22 to 38. Let us hope that the effect of the Amsterdam Convention may prove as beneficial to the enfranchisement of the women of the Netherlands as the Copenhagen Convention was to those of Denmark.

NORWAY.

Report prepared and read by Fru Staatsministerinde F. M. QVAM, President Landskvindestemmerets-foreningen.

Since we met in Copenhagen, tax-paying women in Norway have obtained political suffrage. About three hundred thousand women have become entitled to vote. It is calculated that 200,000 women are yet excluded from the franchise.

No difference is made between married and unmarried women. Paid taxes give the right to vote, whether these taxes are paid by the unmarried woman alone, or by the married woman and her husband together, where there is joint property, or by the married woman alone, if she has property in her own right.

The object of our National Woman Suffrage Association is : Suffrage for women on the same terms as for men. The men of Norway have universal suffrage. We therefore will continue our work, till the women have gained this same right.

The first parliamentary elections, since political suffrage was granted to women, are to take place next year. The women, who have the right to vote, are also eligible and we may, consequently, elect women deputies to the Storting, or Parliament.

The elections for the present Storting, that has granted us suffrage, took place in the autumn of 1906.

In the beginning of January of that year our Association commenced its work, having for its aim the election of suffrage candidates.

The Executive of the N. W. S. A. sent to the meetings, where each political party discussed its preliminary proposals for the election programme, an earnest appeal to endorse women's political suffrage in their platform for the coming elections.

To support this appeal and make our efforts more effectual, I asked the favor to be present at the programme meetings in as many places as time would allow ; to read our appeal and to make addresses to the assembled deputies, in order that I could point out the necessity of yielding to the righteous requests of the women.

I addressed three of these meetings, and succeeded in getting the cause placed on their programme proposals.

Immediately afterwards the national meeting of the Lefts (our Liberal or Radical party) took place in Kristi-

ania. Deputies from all the local societies of the party were present. The proposals from the said local meetings to endorse women's political suffrage in their platform were read and eloquently supported by their deputies; two of them are at present ministers of the cabinet council, Mr. Seip and Mr. Foosnoes. (The Premier and the other ministers are also suffragists.) Their proposals did not contain any restrictions.

Mr. Konow's proposal was carried: To take into the programme political suffrage for tax-paying women on the same conditions, as already existed for women's municipal suffrage.

Our cause was discussed also at the national deputy meetings of the other parties, and the results were, that the socialists carried universal suffrage for women, the agrarians rejected it with a very narrow majority, the rights (Conservatives) did the same, in spite of eloquent defenders of our cause; among the teetotallers, the democrats and the liberal centrum only single voices were heard in our favor.

All these programme meetings were only preliminary, and their programmes had to be revised in each and every one of the party societies throughout the whole country.

The President of our N. W. S. A. therefore asked the branches to forward the formerly named appeal, signed by the officers and members of the branch and by as many as possible of the women in the constituency, to all party organizations, to all meetings concerning the election programmes, and to every political meeting in their country. The President also asked them to arrange meetings for discussing the cause and to present resolutions in favor of it. Branches as well as single members were urged to do all possible to arrange that speeches be made and our political enfranchisement become a subject of discussion at all local meetings, where the different parties revised the proposals for the programme, made by their national meetings.

When our members could not speak themselves, they were urged to prevail upon other persons to do so.

The President drew their attention to the mode of proceeding of the Finnish women: they had succeeded in getting all political parties to take women's political suffrage on their programmes. All branches, as well as single members, took up their work to the best of their ability in all the named directions. After the revision in

their local societies, the proposed programmes were adopted at the national meetings of the parties. Our cause kept the same places, as it had in the proposals: the same two parties endorsed it in their platform.

It now remained to persuade each candidate to declare himself for our cause, when they addressed their constituents before the elections. Just at this time the meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was held in Copenhagen and it became a good help for us. Formerly the daily press was our worst antagonist. It never mentioned our cause except with a contemptuous irony-*de haut en bas*. This spirit was entirely changed after the Conference. The tone of superiority was lost. The unanimous praise, expressed by the daily press concerning the Conference was supported by all attendants at the Conference. The Conference had won for our cause so strong a world position, that no one could any longer treat it with scornful superiority. It then became possible for a man to advocate our cause, without diminishing his good reputation.

When the elections were over, the two parties, who had our cause on their programmes had carried a majority. The Lefts had 76 members out of 123 and the Socialists had 10 members. In the other parties some single representatives had declared themselves for our cause. 82 voices are necessary for an amendment of the Norwegian Constitution and it will be observed, therefore, that we had more votes, than we needed.

On the contrary, we were far from being sure of our victory; the whole situation was quite uncertain. Many of the elected members had contented themselves with some florid words, which would allow them to go with either side. Some of those, elected by the Lefts, had declared, that they were decidedly against this programme and among the parties, who had not endorsed the cause in its platform, there were those who reasoned: we cannot work for a post on the programme of our political antagonists; even if one sympathizes with it, he must vote against it.

Our cause was to be decided in the Parliamentary session of 1907. It was of great importance, that the members of Parliament should get the strongest impression possible of the serious and unanimous desire for political suffrage from the women themselves.

To this end, the Executive of the N. W. S. A. organized

the sending of appeals to the Storthing from all the fifty branches of the association as well as from public meetings of women and from other women's unions, requesting, that an amendment granting the political vote to the women, should be carried by this Storthing. These appeals were all different in their form, their contents presenting logical arguments, convincing enthusiasm, and energetic claims of our right.

Other appeals came to the individual members of Parliament from their constituencies, signed by women of the voting age, urging that political suffrage for women should be made law by this Storthing. Most of the members of Parliament received a great many of these appeals; they were signed by autograph signatures from the constituency, of which the Member had a personal acquaintance. He could, therefore convince himself, that the women, who claimed their right, were no „emotional” or so-called „emancipated” individuals, whose opinions he could permit himself to disregard, — but instead they were well known and respected women from all strata of society, representing all shades of opinion and many different spheres of interest.

The antagonists of our cause indignantly wrote in the newspapers of „The violent agitation of the suffragettes”, of „their bombardment of the Storthing with addresses”, „Pitied the unfortunate Members of Parliament, who received such a great number of addresses and telegrams from the women of their constituency”, and so on.

From January to June the cause hung in suspense; every week we expected it to become the order of the day in the Storthing. Then the Reporter of the Cause in the Committee of Parliament, which had the matter in charge, Mr. Bryggesoan, fell ill, the session drew near its conclusion, and our antagonists exulted; they hoped to get rid of the proposition at least for a length of time. And indeed, a postponement now, when every thing was so well prepared, might have been fatal.

But the great day came at last, the 14th. of June, 1907. Mr. Bryggesoan, in spite of his illness, took his seat in Parliament and made his address; and after a debate of only two hours, political suffrage for women was carried by 96 to 23 voices; we needed 82, and got 96!

Without immodesty, I dare say, that we could not stand where we are to-day, if we had not had our National Woman Suffrage Association and organization, which

makes it possible to reach practically all the women of the country.

In my opinion, the petitions and appeals to the Storthing have been of the most importance to our cause. They were of advantage in convincing the legislators and the women themselves.

Our members have gone from house to house collecting women's autograph signatures to these petitions and our cause has in this way become a subject of discussion in every home. The first time this was done, ten years ago, it was in many places a most discouraging work. We received many hard words, but few signatures. But these private discussions have been of great use. The women have learned to think intelligently of their own position, their many civic duties and few civic rights.

It is through the co-operation of those, who are adherents of our cause, without regard to other opinions, that we have obtained the present results.

Our experience of twenty years teaches that one single party could not have carried our cause ; there are always, in all parties, so great a number of antagonists, that the majority of two-thirds, necessary for amendments to our constitution, cannot be obtained by one party alone.

RUSSIA.

Report of the „Russian Union for Woman's Rights.”

Prepared by ZÉNÉIDE MIROVITCH.

The Russian Union for Women's Rights cannot boast of much progress in its work during the 22 months since we last met at the Copenhagen Congress.

This period has been one of painful struggle for the very existence of the Union. After the first Douma had been dissolved, June 9th. 1906, the liberative movement was thrown aside by reaction : all meetings forbidden, all liberal unions and societies persecuted ; members of progressive parties arrested, thrown into prison, exiled. Such were the conditions under which the Russian Union had to work. The first question before the Central Bureau of the Union, when it met in autumn 1906, was with regard to whether the Union should be legalized or not. By a large majority the question was decided negatively. And really, there was scarcely any hope that the government, which desperately struggled to keep the old regime, would tolerate any organization with advanced

ideas and principles. If even the permission should come, the Union, when legalized, would be watched still more closely and persecuted still more mercilessly.

In consequence of this state of things, many branches of our Union either fell off or temporarily gave up all social work. Vainly did our Secretary appeal and entreat our provincial members to go on with our propaganda: most of them were too down-hearted and discouraged to carry on the struggle. And lately when we tried to enquire how many members were enlisted in the Russian Union for Women's Rights, we could not find more than one-thousand (1,000) names.

Still, the Union in Moscow and St. Petersburg went on with its work. The most important of its achievements was the foundation of a Review on the Women's movement, „The Women's Union”, which is considered the first really good women's organ in Russia: all the progressive press welcomed it with great sympathy.

During the years of 1906—1908, circles of the Union in Moscow and Petersburg have been doing propaganda work as much as was possible under the circumstances.

1. Lectures on the women's movement have been held in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Central and South Russia (lecturers: Mmes. Schepaine, Leusvgo. Romtgen, Golovine, Mirovitch and others). Many times the lectures have been forbidden by order of the local governor or of the Chief of the Police; still, much has been done in that sphere.

2. Women's clubs (admitting men and women on equal terms) have been founded by members of the Union in Moscow, St. Petersburg and several other towns for purposes of education and for the propaganda of women's rights. Among others, a club for working women has been organized in Moscow, where members of the Union daily lecture on different subjects.

3. The Union has distributed at a low price a large amount of literature on the Woman question. In 1906 about 10,000 pamphlets have been sold for the sum of 60 pounds.

4. A commission of the Union has been organized in St. Petersburg for the purpose of following all that is going on in the Douma. As soon as a law is going to be discussed, in which women's rights are omitted, the Commission immediately present their claims to members of the Douma.

5. The Union since it has been started, has been protesting, through the press, against the unlawful deeds of the Russian government. At the present moment of reaction, this is very difficult to do, as most progressive papers are either closed or fined whenever the local government pleases and whenever the paper does not agree with its views. A great work lies before the Union just now as the government has lately closed the Universities for women and is also about to bring out a measure which limits the number of women admitted to the railway service and also to the service of posts and telegraphs.

6. Finally, the Union takes the greatest part in the work of organizing the First Women's Congress in Russia (December 1908) which is going to take place under the flag of the „Russian Women's Society of Mutual Help” in St. Petersburg.

We earnestly hope, that this Congress may be of the greatest service for our Cause, as a means of large and effective propaganda.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The two organizations of Cape Colony and Natal have united for the purpose of affiliating with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

CAPE COLONY.

Report of the Women's Enfranchisement League.

The Women's Enfranchisement League of Cape Colony was organized April 17th., 1907. There are members in fifteen towns in the Colony besides Cape Town where the majority of the members reside. The societies which are members of the League are strictly woman suffrage associations. Its work has been mainly educational. Its officers have addressed a number of drawing room meetings, given lectures in public halls and free churches, and maintained their cause in several debates, public and private. Public work for women is new in South Africa and much discretion must be exercised as to the line of propaganda pursued.

During the session of Parliament, May to August 1907, Mrs. Olive Schreiner who is one of our Vice Presidents, organized some large drawing room meetings which were very helpful. On July 4th. the first Women's Suff-

frage debate took place in the Cape Parliament, and it resulted in 24 members, 12 from the government and 12 from the opposition, voting in its favor. During the election now in process, the League has memorialized every candidate for the Houses of Parliament, on their attitude toward the question. With every letter of inquiry a pamphlet, containing a reprint from the *African Monthly*, by Mrs. Macfadyen, was enclosed. Many replies have been received. The question is a new one in Cape politics and is as yet scarcely considered as an important issue, yet several candidates have declared themselves in favor of it in their political speeches.

It is hoped that the League will be able to open a room during the coming sessions of Parliament, where literature may be sold and enquirers received. It is expected that Dr. Viljoen, the member who made the motion in favor of Women's enfranchisement in 1907, will shortly introduce a bill for removing the political disabilities of our sex.

South Africa just now is in a state of transition. The question of the moment is of some form of union or confederation between the several self-governing colonies of South Africa and one of the considerations most difficult of adjustment will be that of the franchise. Under these circumstances it is possible that none of the separate Parliaments will feel justified in adding to the complications by making so great a change in the constitution as women's suffrage is supposed to involve. We are quite ready to endorse this view with the stipulation that if we renounce our claims for the present, or leave them in abeyance it will be with the same understanding that the women of Australia had with their men, that if they helped to bring about federation they should be given the suffrage. The men of Australia kept their word and we believe the men of South Africa would do the same.

We have much ground for this expectation. Roman-Dutch law, upon which Cape law is founded, is much more generous to women than is the law in most countries. Wives have equal rights with men in divorce. Children are legitimized by the marriage of the parents, however long after their birth. Children acknowledged to be illegitimate rank first after legitimate children and before other relatives. When a man dies intestate without legitimate heirs, the widow has a right to one

half of her husband's estate. Daughters inherit equally with sons, while marriage gives the wife very many rights, under the community of property, during the life of the husband. Although this country may be behind the rest of the world in some respects, women hold a very strong social position. The Boer farmer consults his wife on all business affairs. All persons who know the country well say that the moment the Boer women ask for the suffrage, they will get it.

The bitterness left by the war is chiefly felt by the women and curiously enough, extremist women on either side of politics are suspicious that the demand for the suffrage is a deep laid scheme on the part of the other side. Our League has done much to dispel this erroneous idea and is devoting its best energies to educating the women of this country to understand the meaning and the need of women's suffrage.

NATAL.

Report of Woman's suffrage League.

The Woman's Suffrage League in Natal was founded in 1902, chiefly through the energy of Mr. and Mrs. Ancketill. For two years the League used its influence merely in a social and private capacity, reading papers, holding drawing room meetings and educating themselves on the topic as the first step towards educating others. No really public work of any kind having been done by women in Natal, and no offices by election being open to them, they were unaccustomed to the usages of meetings and the confidence of the platform, but in 1904 the Committee decided to come out boldly before the people. Since then meetings have been held regularly in a public hall, and many speeches and some lectures have been given by the women members of the League, though many men of prominence have also spoken for us.

Owing to the languor experienced in summer weather in Natal and the absence of many people from the Coast at that time, the Society in common with others, closes for three months, so the session begins in March or April with a President's Evening and finishes in December with its Annual Meeting.

The present phase of the movement in Natal being more of an educational nature than of any active political propaganda, more attention is given to that aspect

of the cause. The W. S. L. has, wherever possible, induced Literary and Debating Societies to give the subject preference, and has succeeded in promoting many debates, sending speakers and securing many victories for the affirmative side.

It has also provided means of self-education to its own members and a bureau of reference to outsiders by the formation of a Library replete with volumes and pamphlets and books of reference in nearly all cases presented or loaned to it.

A petition is in course of preparation to present to Parliament for which signatures are being obtained by canvassing. It is difficult to get members to undertake this trying work, involving a great deal of walking about in a hot climate, but those who have done it have met with great success and find a great deal of sympathy ready to hand among the housewives; and in cases where none existed, they have been able to create an interest.

In June, 1904, a petition praying for the extension of the franchise to women was presented to the House of Assembly by Henry Anketill, Esq., then M. L. A. for Durban. This petition contained 542 signatures, and Mr. Anketill's speech on his motion to enfranchise the women of Natal received a very attentive hearing. The mover, however, deemed it expedient *not* to press for a division, and withdrew his motion by leave of the House, owing to the novelty of the subject.

Since then it has not been deemed advisable to present any more petitions owing to the nature of politics and parties in the House. The change of Ministries has been frequent, the composition of the House has been most unfavorable to ideas of reform. Moreover we are at present in the throes of an agitation for a redistribution of the electoral power, which, however, has nothing whatever to do with any alteration of the franchise, but it may lead to a more equitable representation being granted at a later date.

The Members of the House of Assembly, among whom the farmer element prevails, are not generally in favor of granting the franchise to women, but the members who represent the more populous towns have more-up-to-date ideas.

The working woman as a class does not exist here, as few manufactures are carried on that would demand factory hands, and the roughest work is largely done by the

male part of the black population. The leaders of the Labour Party in all cases are in favour of reform, and Labour candidates for the Assembly have universally pronounced for it.

We have a particularly warm climate which is apt to undermine one's energies and make people languidly content with things as they are. We are under the Roman-Dutch Law which provides Community of Goods between man and wife with control vested in the man. We have difficulty in getting mothers and housewives to come out very much owing to the crude, uncertain service of the native helper, more untrained in Natal than anywhere. We have the absence of that class of professional and intellectual women who usually are able to intelligently carry forward such a reform, and those of the teaching profession are nearly always civil servants and consequently debarred from taking part. Finally, we occupy a peculiar position when using the rates and taxes argument, and when refuting the military service objection. Men pay a poll tax, from which women are excused and we are under a form of conscription or Militia Law which obliges men to defend their country whether they will or not.

We hope that the next time we send Delegates from S. A. it will be to represent a powerful and united Inter-Colonial Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies, and we shall continue to work for that end. We are glad, however, to send our representative now to gather knowledge and inspiration at so great and powerful a combination as the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and to express our cordial sympathy of aim and hope.

SWEDEN.

Report prepared by Miss SIGNE BERGMAN, Secretary Landsföreningen för Kvinnans politiska rösträtt.

Since the time of our last report the Swedish women's suffrage movement has been steadily growing and the cause is gaining ground both inside and outside our Parliament. There have even been moments, when the women seemed to have well-grounded hopes that they might gain their political enfranchisement at the same time, as those classes of men, whose enfranchisement has been the leading issue of Swedish politics for the last decade.

At the time of the Copenhagen congress the N. W. S. A.

counted 63 local associations ; on the 31st. of December 1906, 73. In 1907 no less than 39 new branches were formed, so that on the 31st. of December 1907 the number amounted to 112. In May this year we had 127 associations. These associations are spread all over the country from Lapland to the Sound. They are carrying on splendid work for arousing interest in the cause, both among men and women, and very often too, at the cost of great personal sacrifice on the part of leaders and members. The numbers of enrolled members are also increasing. In December 1906 the N. W. S. A. counted 7,943 members and in 1907, 10,173.

Besides the work for the widening and strengthening of the organization the work of the N. W. S. A. for the last two years has been directed toward influencing the Government and Parliament on one side and public opinion on the other.

In the autumn of 1906 a deputation of 49 delegates, representing 32 local associations were received in audience by the Prime Minister. In a strong and eloquent speech the President of the N. W. S. A., Miss Anna Whitlock, urged the claims of women to full citizenship. The Minister's reply was very courteous, but he said he could promise nothing before the investigation had been completed which had been decided on by the Parliament of that year, but he promised that the question should be carefully considered. A few days later the deputation was received by the old King Oscar. On that occasion Miss Gertrude Adelborg in her speech referred to the legislative advantages gained by women during the reign of his father, and entreated King Oscar to complete the beneficial work thus begun, by granting women full citizenship. In his reply the king expressed his warm sympathy with the movement, but regretted that he could give no promise on behalf of the Government to include women in its Suffrage Bill, lest such a step should endanger the solution of the men's suffrage question.

Thus there was nothing more to expect from the Government that year. The next efforts of the N. W. S. A. had then to be directed towards influencing Parliament. Consequently the monster-petition representing 142,128 women which had been started already in 1906 was presented to Parliament. This was done on the 6th. of February 1907.

One great change in favor of our cause had taken

place in November when the Labour party at their Annual Congress made Woman Suffrage part of their revised program. The first result of this step was, that the party in their bill on universal suffrage included suffrage for women. The Lindhagen group, which had always been true to our cause also included women in their Suffrage Bill. In addition to those, Women Suffrage Bills were brought in by Mr. Hörnstén, Mr. Warburg and Baron Adelswärd, all of the Second Chamber and in the First by Mr. Bergström. They were all rejected by the special committee on Suffrage. In the First Chamber the debate on extended suffrage for men came to an end without a word about suffrage for women being uttered.

Till the last moment it seemed, as if our question would meet with the same fate in the Second Chamber, when, just as the debate was going to close, it was moved and carried that a vote should be taken on Mr. Hörnstén's Bill. The result was 91 „ayes” against 133 „noes”.

After this defeat the N. W. S. A. took the earliest opportunity to get an interpellation addressed to the Prime Minister in the Second Chamber, through a member of the Liberal party, concerning the prospects of the investigation into the woman suffrage question. In a short reply Mr. Lindman only stated, that the work was progressing.

A municipal reform bill including women's municipal eligibility was passed in both chambers but will have to be confirmed by parliament after the next general elections (in the autumn 1908), before it becomes law.

In consequence of this step, it is probable that those Swedish women, who since 1862 have possessed the municipal vote, (viz. women who are unmarried or widows and who are ratepayers,) will have the same municipal rights as men after 1909.

A few days before the parliamentary suffrage debate the Stockholm W. S. A. held one of the most impressive meetings ever held in our country. The largest hall in Stockholm, the Circus, was crowded with an enthusiastic audience of men and women of all classes. Thousands of people were unable to get in. Among the speakers at the meeting were three members of the Second Chamber. This meeting became the signal for a series of meetings, which were held all over the country during the summer and the autumn. At these meetings, resolutions were passed to urge the granting of suffrage for women by the

Parliament of 1906, and, at most of them, members of Parliament spoke.

In the autumn of 1907 the women won their second great victory. The Liberals, when forming their new lines of action, followed the example of the Social Democrats and made the solution of the Woman Suffrage question by the Parliament of 1908 part of their programme. This resolution may be regarded as the answer to a petition from the N. W. S. A., addressed to the Annual Meeting of the Liberal Union, which was held at Stockholm at the beginning of November 1907. At this meeting another very important decision was made, allowing women to become members of the Liberal Union.

The fact that the parties of the opposition had adopted woman suffrage as part of their platforms, and that party bills consequently were to be expected, inspired many of the women with hope that the Government might be induced to take the question into its own hands and to place a bill before Parliament together, with the communication concerning the results of the investigation which was promised for February 1908.

In order to ascertain what the Government intended to do, the President of the N. W. S. A. went to see the Prime Minister just before the Annual Meeting of the N. W. S. A., so as to be able to tell the meeting what were the prospects for woman suffrage. The reply was disappointing. Mr. Lindman stated quite openly that he intended to do nothing. The Annual Meeting of the N. W. S. A. expressed its indignation by passing a resolution to protest against the decision of the Government. At the opening of Parliament a week later, for the first time in Swedish history, the King's Speech contained a few words about woman suffrage, which on account of the attitude of the Prime Minister were greeted with satisfaction, although they may be regarded, as only a royal sanction of the words of Mr. Lindman. As was expected Woman Suffrage Bills were introduced by the Liberals, the Lindhagen group and the Labour party in the Second Chamber, and by Mr. Sjöcrona in the First. Before the debate in Parliament, the Executive Committee of the N. W. S. A. had private consultations with the leaders and some other members of the opposition parties as well as with members of the First Chamber. These councils resulted in an invitation to all the members of Parliament to a meeting at the Grand Hôtel where speeches were

made by leading women. The speeches seemed to make a deep impression on the members present, and much of what was said at that meeting was quoted in the suffrage debate in the First Chamber two days later. The debate took place on the 2nd. of May. By 11 votes to 9 the Standing Committee on Constitution had advised Parliament to reject all the suffrage bills. A division was taken in both Chambers. In the First Chamber Mr. Sjöcrona's bill was defeated by 79 votes to 49; in the Second the Bill of the Liberal party was defeated by 110 to 93.

The members of the N. W. S. A. will now prepare for the general elections which will take place in the autumn. The question of tactics is the order of the day and the work of the Central Board for the moment is concentrated on the programme for the united action of the N. W. S. A.

Much attention has been given by the N. W. S. A. to the political education of its members. In Stockholm and other large cities, courses in sociology with lectures and practical exercises once or twice a week were conducted during the whole winter. In smaller places circles for home-study have been formed for the use of which circulating libraries have been established and book-lists published. The attendance at these courses has been very large. With unflagging interest women of all classes have joined the courses. The programmes have included lectures and discussions on the questions of the day, history of economics, municipal politics, and practical exercises such as model sittings of parliament and of town-councils. These courses have been arranged chiefly with a view to educate women for the enlarged responsibility, which awaits them in the exercise of their new municipal rights close at hand, also to prepare them for the use of the political suffrage, the attainment of which will remain the ultimate aim of their never tiring efforts.

SWITZERLAND.

Report of the Swiss Association for Woman Suffrage. Prepared and read by Fräulein K. Honegger, delegate.

We are as yet at the very beginning of our movement in Switzerland. Before I give you a glimpse of what we have thus far accomplished and what we hope to do in the immediate future, allow me to say a few words about the special difficulties which hinder us from attaining our end.

It may seem very strange to many of you that Switzerland, with her free institutions, the land of democracy par excellence, should be so far behind other countries as regards woman suffrage. Several things combine to bring this about and not the least of these is the fact that we have no national civil law — our new Code will not go into effect until 1912 — and so the legal position of women, entirely independent of any question of suffrage, still differs widely in our twenty-five Cantons, and is alike only in the fact that in every one of them the woman's civil rights are not what they ought to be.

I find the chief reason for our slow development along the line of woman suffrage lies in our highly developed democracy, paradoxical as that may sound. Our men have practically all the political rights which they can possibly wish. For example in the Canton of Zurich, the men not only elect all the government officials — except the members of the supreme court — but they also vote upon all the laws and have the right of the Initiative. The fact is that there remains no political right for which the men must strive and thus be brought into touch and sympathy with the women in working toward a common end. Then too, we have been brought up in the conviction that we are politically the freest people in the entire world and we are so proud of being the first democracy of Europe that we were slow in becoming conscious of the fact that, in reality, only one half of our people possessed all these liberties and rights, and even then we must not forget that our women enjoy, indirectly, many of these rights. In many matters our people have anticipated the demands of women, for example in admitting them to all our Universities, Zurich the first of all, and in the opening to women of so many employments. This gave to us laurels upon which we have rested until today, without noticing that they were already quite wilted! All these things seem to me to explain in part, why our women, who are surely not behind those of other nations in political education, are so slow to awaken to an interest in the woman suffrage question. Our woman suffrage movement is therefore, as I have already stated, in its infancy, although years ago individual demands for the suffrage for women were made, as for example, forty years ago in Zurich, on the occasion of a revision of the constitution, when it was demanded by both men and women; but a real suffrage movement,

a definite working toward this final aim, began less than ten years ago and was the result in some measure at least, of the publication by Professor Hilty of Bern, of an essay upon Woman Suffrage which appeared in the Swiss Political Yearbook of 1897. The fact that so celebrated a man should declare himself openly in favor of this cause silenced many an opponent and gave us all fresh courage.

We all expect a new momentum from the Swiss Woman Suffrage Association, which was founded upon the initiative of the Geneva W. S. A. and especially of its Vice-President, Monsieur de Morsier, on the 12th of May at Bern. Seven societies make up the Association, (four of them French, three of them German) five of which stand for woman suffrage alone, while the other two, though making it their chief work, have other objects also. At the meeting on the 12th of May, a Central Committee of six members was chosen, which is to represent Switzerland in all foreign relations until the National Association shall be fully organized; the first duty of this Central Committee has been to secure the affiliation of Switzerland with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. It is to this arrangement that we owe our opportunity to take part in the deliberations of this Congress, for it was decided immediately upon the organization of the Central Committee, to send a delegation to the Amsterdam Meeting.

In Switzerland we stand, so to speak, upon two grounds, one Cantonal, the other Federal, and this renders our work more complicated and difficult, since an advance along one line demands an advance along the other. Our work is chiefly one of propaganda, as we need to win friends for the movement, particularly among the women, for upon that point there is, in my own mind, not a doubt, that if we once gain the majority of the women the victory will be ours. Our men are so accustomed to yield to the outspoken will of the people, that they will do this also in the case of women. The fact that all our clubs have men members as well as women, seems to me an important point; we thus nullify from the very beginning the accusation that we are against men and prove that our movement is in accord with what we are teaching, i. e. that men and women shall work together.

Let us look for a moment at the work of our local so-

cieties. The „Association genevoise pour le Suffrage féminin”, whose president is the Frau Pastorin Hoffmann, carries on its propaganda actively among the working women as well as in University circles. It has been found that according to the „letter of the law” in the constitution of the Canton of Geneva, married women and widows are mentioned as citizens. It remains to be seen whether any practical result will come of this discovery, since the jurists are very likely in this case to fall back upon „the spirit of the constitution” which excludes women from the franchise, although in other cases they are eager to hold to the letter. At present there is going on in Geneva an active movement for the church vote for women; this is not led by the Woman Suffrage Society, but by other women not associated with our movement.

In the Association of the Canton of Vaud, whose President, Madame Girardet, is one of our delegation here, an active propaganda work is being carried forward. The women of the Free Church in this Canton possess the vote and it is not unlikely that the State Church may soon follow this example and enfranchise its women members.

The societies of Neuenberg and Chauxdefonds are so young that their history is yet to be written. This is true also of the society at Olten.

In Bern the Society for Lectures for Women, founded in 1896, has from the beginning asked for suffrage; in 1900 they worked hard to secure the right to become members of the School Committee, but it was lost in the referendum. In order to work more effectively this Society has formed a Section entirely devoted to woman suffrage.

The oldest of the seven societies in our Swiss Association is that of Zürich, which was formed by the union of the Swiss Society for Reform in Women's Education and the Legal Protection Association, founded by Frau Dr. Jur. Kempin. Though this organization does not have the words woman suffrage in its constitution and nothing is said of political equality, yet it has done work which has prepared the way for the suffrage movement. It secured in 1897 the right of women to practice law. In 1902 it worked for the church vote for women, but without success, except that it aroused much discussion and that Herr Locher, (member of the Government commission) published a pamphlet „Concerning Woman

Suffrage, especially in Church Affairs," which greatly helped our cause. What was of even greater import, however, was that the Cantonal Council suggested a change of the law which made women eligible to School Boards and as Poor Law Guardians and Supervisors. The Zurich Society joined with a number of other associations of women and issued a call to the women of the whole Canton to use their „influence" (which our opponents tell us is so strong!) in favor of this change of the law, but it was lost. Some say this was due to the votes of the Social Democrats and also of the farmers, who are considered very conservative upon all changes of law. We have already presented a petition asking for women jurors for certain cases and for the active and passive vote for Industrial Courts of Arbitration. We ask to have our question voted upon entirely separately from all others and while we do not expect success as to the jurors we have some hope upon the second demand.

We have used all the usual methods of propaganda and about five years ago we founded the journal „Frauenbestrebungen" (The Woman Movement) in almost every number of which there is something about woman suffrage, so that we are accustoming our readers to hear, and perhaps also to think, on this subject. With this object in mind we published and circulated widely a leaflet based upon the American „Woman Suffrage Catechism," and I gladly take this opportunity to thank our American fellow-workers for the active interest which we have thus aroused. Through the co-operation of the societies of Berne and Olten, this leaflet was widely circulated and also copied in the press, though for the most part, without comment.

If we are asked what are our prospects in Switzerland, I must admit that they do not seem brilliant, although there is no reason for discouragement. The suffrage must and will come for Swiss women, but it will come slowly and by degrees; for myself I consider this a good thing for we always value more what we have to strive for. It will be good for women that they must prove at each step of the way, that they will make a good use of their new rights and that, for them, new rights mean new duties.

UNITED STATES.

Report of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Prepared by Kate M. Gordon, Cor. Sec'y.

In order that the report of the National American Woman Suffrage Association comply with the request that it embody replies to questions as to methods of work submitted as a guide to the organizations forming the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, it must in a large measure repeat in substance the information contained in the report of 1906.

While membership in the National Association is of a fourfold character, Auxiliary State, Auxiliary National, Life and Contributing members, the mainstay of our National power depends upon the numerical strength and virility of our State Auxiliaryship.

To clearly understand the full significance of this State Auxiliaryship, members of the International Suffrage Alliance must know that any organization national in character in the United States, conforms with the lines of our National Government, that is, a central power made up of representatives from the States. So in our National Suffrage Association, the Officers are chosen preferably from different sections of the United States, elected at the Annual Convention, which convention is composed of delegates from the States auxiliary to the National Association.

These State Auxiliaries are entirely independent of the National in the policy to be pursued by the State. The common aim is to secure full suffrage rights for women, and the State becomes auxiliary to the National upon payment of ten cents for each State member.

The Association has an enrollment of 70,000 suffragists who have signed a declaration in favor of equal political rights for men and women, but as no obligation attaches to this profession of belief, our association has never included these enrolled suffragists in estimating our members.

The National Association consists of thirty-four Auxiliary State Associations and two National Auxiliary Associations: all of these are strictly suffrage in character. However the local societies forming the state associations often identify themselves with work of a philanthropic nature, such as the Establishment of Juvenile Courts, Travellers' Aid Societies, Consumers' Leagues,

in order to illustrate that the accomplishment of all reforms has its source in government.

The work of our Auxiliary branches is to carry on in each State through organized centers, education, agitation and legislation best calculated to promote the local suffrage situation and to supplement the usefulness of the National's work by acting as their agents for any special work launched by them.

These State Auxiliaries use their own judgment as to the requests they will make of the State Legislatures gauging the character of their demands, whether for full, municipal, school or bond suffrage for women as the exigencies of the situation may dictate.

When the State Associations hold their Annual Meetings they usually try to have present the National President, whose entire time is given to the work. As our country is a land of „magnificent distances” our President must travel each year many thousands of miles in attendance upon the State Conventions and upon many important National Conventions of other organizations where our cause is given a hearing. She is also called upon for the Legislative Hearings in the States and all the National Officers and the State Presidents are expected at the Hearings before Congress.

At these Hearings it is now the plan to secure the co-operation of as many other societies as have come, (through their own work for a change in conditions), to see the need of women's enfranchisement. This course was pursued at the Woman Suffrage Hearing before the Convention called to revise the State Constitution of Michigan last year, when representatives of all the most important State societies of women spoke for suffrage and the State Suffrage Association presented to that Convention of men, petitions aggregating 175,000 names of women and 45,000 names of men.

In the amending of laws during the last half century for better conditions affecting women and children, almost the entire credit for the generally comfortable conditions now prevailing in the United States may be attributed to the effort of these State Suffrage Societies.

The National Association maintains a National Headquarters at Warren, Ohio, under the personal supervision of the Treasurer, from which point the National Organ, „Progress”, is published monthly and where the Press department furnishes weekly articles to the press depart-

ments of the States. It is also the distributing center for specially prepared literature. The National Association employs the services of trained organizers by the year, who are employed by the States which can afford to do so in active organization. In weak states the National will, without cost to the State, donate the services of such organizers, if in the judgment of the Officers the situation warrants it. Thro a national plan of work, the national suggests methods of furthering the Cause to the States, and at all times maintains an active interest, sustaining the States in any endeavor they may make.

The National Association through a special committee on Convention Resolutions, has succeeded in one year in securing from three hundred and thirty-nine organizations, not woman suffrage societies, resolutions officially endorsing woman suffrage. These endorsements include such important National Organizations as „The American Federation of Labor”, „The National Grange”, „The United Mine Workers of America”, „The National W. C. T. U.”, „The Ladies of the Maccabees of the World”, „National Council of Women”, „National Letter Carriers Association”, „The Western Federation of Miners”, „The International Typographical Union.”

Special Committees on „Industrial Problems Affecting Women and Children”, „Education”, „Church Work”, „Legislation for Civil Rights”, are all channels for propaganda which lead to good results in the many fields of work in the several states.

The National Association for over thirty years has pursued a policy to secure an Amendment to the National Constitution forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex. The States in turn for the last four years have endeavored in their respective legislatures to secure a Memorial to Congress to this effect.

Every four years at the Presidential Nominating Conventions, we endeavor to secure a Resolution embodied in the platforms of the dominant parties. This year our resolution will not ask for the submission of a 16th. Amendment to the National Constitution but will ask simply for an endorsement of the elective franchise to be granted to the women of the United States, in order 1st. to live up to our declared principles of government, 2nd. in order to give to the women in the homes and in the industries the protection of the ballot.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE,

Adopted in Berlin, Germany, June 3 and 4, 1904.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

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

ARTICLE II.

Object.

The object of this Alliance shall be to secure the enfranchisement of the women of all nations, and to unite the friends of woman suffrage throughout the world in organized co-operation and fraternal helpfulness.

ARTICLE III.

Members.

Sec. 1. Any National Woman Suffrage Association of 2500 members, or less, may become auxiliary to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and thus secure representation by six delegates in all international meetings, by the payment into the international treasury of five dollars annually.

Any National Woman Suffrage Association having more than 2500 members must pay ten dollars annually to secure the same representation.

Sec. 2. In those countries where no National Woman Suffrage Association exists, local Woman Suffrage Associations may unite in the election of a National Committee of six, which may become auxiliary to the International Alliance by the payment of five dollars annually into the international treasury, and shall then be entitled to equal representation, with six votes, in all international meetings, upon the same terms as National Suffrage Associations.

Sec. 3. Any person may become an Honorary Associate of the International Suffrage Alliance by the payment into the international treasury of five dollars annually. Such Honorary Associates shall be entitled to receive all publications of the Alliance, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of delegates in all public meetings, except the right to vote.

Sec. 4. In those countries where no suffrage organizations exist, the Honorary Associates may appoint from their numbers a National Suffrage Committee, which shall be entitled to receive all documents of the International Alliance, and to send one delegate to all international meetings. Such delegates shall be entitled to all the privileges of the regular delegates, except the right to vote.

ARTICLE IV.

Meetings.

Sec. 1. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance shall hold a quinquennial convention for the election of officers and transaction of business, which shall be combined with public meetings for propaganda. Executive meetings may be held in the interim, if necessary.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

Sec. 1. The officers of this Alliance shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents-at-large, a Secretary, two Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer. The three secretaries shall represent the English, German and French languages.

Sec. 2. The Presidents of auxiliary National Woman Suffrage Associations shall be ex-officio, Vice-Presidents.

ARTICLE VI.

Duties of officers.

The officers of this Alliance shall perform the duties usual to their offices.

ARTICLE VII.

Executive committee.

The seven elected officers shall constitute an executive board, which shall be authorized to conduct the business of the organization in the interim of public meetings.

ARTICLE VIII.

Fiscal year.

The fiscal year of the Alliance shall close on Jan. 1.

ARTICLE IX.

Election of officers.

Sec. 1. The officers of this Alliance shall be elected at the regular quinquennial convention of this organization. They shall be nominated by an informal ballot. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes for

any office shall be considered the nominees, and the election be decided by a formal ballot.

Sec. 2. The terms of the officers shall expire at the end of the last session of the convention, and the term of the newly-elected officers shall commence immediately after its adjournment.

Sec. 3. In case death or resignation should create a vacancy upon the board, it shall be filled by the appointment of the National Suffrage Association represented by the former officer. In the event that such National Suffrage Association declines to fill the vacancy, or neglects to do so for a period of six months, the executive may fill it.

Sec. 4. The persons entitled to vote at the quinquennial convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance shall be six delegates from each affiliated National Woman Suffrage Association, and six delegates from each affiliated Local Woman Suffrage Association, in accordance with the provisions of Section 2, Article 3. In the election of officers, the delegates present from each nation shall cast the full vote to which that nation is entitled. The vote shall be taken in the same way upon any other question whenever the delegates from three of the nations request it; in all other cases each delegate shall have one vote.

Sec. 5. The treasurer of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance shall be *ex-officio* chairman of the Credentials Committee.

Sec. 6. Any nation whose dues are unpaid by Jan. 1, previous to the quinquennial convention, shall lose its vote in the convention.

ARTICLE X.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any regular quinquennial meeting, notice of the proposed amendment having been given to the President six months before the Convention, and notice having been sent to the Vice-Presidents by the International Secretary three months before the convention. In the event of neglect on the part of the International Secretary, or Vice-Presidents, to perform their duty, the amendment may be considered, one day's notice having been given in the Convention.