

# JUS SUFFRAGII,

PUBLISHED BY THE  
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

EDITOR: MARTINA G. KRAMERS, 92 KRUISKADE, ROTTERDAM.

SECOND YEAR No. 3.

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Det är hög tid, att alla kvinnor gemensamt höja ett rop af frihetslängtan, ett rop så enigt och starkt, att hvarje rättvis man måste lyssna till „den fangue Moders” röst.

ANN MARGRET HOLMGREN  
I. TERSMEDEN.



It is felt that the masculine method of *how not to do it* is so marvellous, and the world we see around us so satisfactory, that the feminine touch might jar all this exquisite machinery, upset all this wonderfully happy world.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.  
(9 February 1907.)

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## Editorial Announcements.

It is the custom that the books of a Treasurer shall be audited before reports are made to the body which the Treasurer serves.

The unfortunate illness of our Treasurer, Miss Cunliffe, has made it necessary to supply her place. By our Constitution, it is the right and privilege of the English Society, which she represented, to appoint a successor who will serve for the unexpired term. In order to make the work for the new Treasurer as easy as possible, I have asked Mrs. Millicent Fawcett, President of the English Society, to appoint two auditors who will audit Miss Cunliffe's books, and who will render a report to me and also to the new Treasurer. This report we shall hear through "Jus Suffragii" at a later date, and the new Treasurer will be responsible only for the accounts from the time she begins her labors.

I trust all understand that the auditing of the books is not due to suspicion of the intelligence or the honor of the Treasurer, but rather a formality through which methods of book keeping may be clearly understood and any errors as to those methods may be corrected. Miss Cunliffe has given the Alliance good service as Treasurer, and I am sure I express the feelings of all our members when I say that it is with regret we are forced to permit her to leave the official Board of our Alliance.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

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The National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, our Alliance's member for Great-Britain, has appointed as *Treasurer*: **Mrs. Adela Stanton Coit**, whose London address is: **30 Hyde Park Gate, S.W.**

On April 8th, 1907, I sent out a vote to the auxiliaries of the Alliance, asking each to report whether or not it was in favor of admitting a second society from Holland as an auxiliary to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. A new National Society had been organized in that

country. I reported the result to the Presidents as soon as a majority had returned their votes. No vote has been even yet returned from Russia and Italy. All other National Societies have voted against the admission of a second Society. The Norwegian President reminds us that early in the history of the Alliance, a second association in Norway asked to be affiliated with the Alliance and was refused upon the same ground which has led each country to vote against the admission of the new Society in Holland. Our auxiliary associations stand upon perfect equality in the Alliance. Each is entitled to the same number of delegates at our general meetings, and to admit a second society from any country would mean to double the number of delegates from that country, or to divide the number of delegates between the two societies, which would mean that the first society would be robbed of half its delegates. The manifest injustice of this proceeding has governed the vote. Several of our Presidents have suggested that an amendment to our Constitution should be passed, which should state in unequivocal terms that one Society only can be admitted from any one country.

It is to be hoped that each country will attempt to unite all the elements favorable to woman suffrage for the purpose of affiliation with the Alliance and for work with the National Parliament at least. "In Union there is strength." Toleration, compromise and forbearance compose the best weapons in the peaceful warfare we are waging for the establishment of justice for women.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM.

At the recent International Convention of Socialists held in Stuttgart, a woman suffrage resolution was adopted which contained the words: "Socialist women shall not carry on this struggle for complete equality of right of vote in alliance with the middle class woman suffragists, but in common with the Socialist Parties, which insist upon Woman Suffrage as one of the fundamental



and most important reforms for the full democratization of political franchise in general."

It has been reported to me from two different countries that certain Socialist women, who heretofore have worked with the regular suffrage organization, have construed this resolution into a command to withdraw from non-partisan suffrage work, and to devote their efforts to the specific work of the Socialist party. Heretofore, women of all religious and all political faiths, who desired the suffrage, have been united in efforts to secure their own enfranchisement. Those who have reported the above withdrawals have sounded a note of alarm lest defections would occur in all countries and our membership and working power be proportionately diminished.

In my judgment, there is no cause for alarm even though withdrawals from membership should occur in all countries. I may be very pessimistic and full of doubt, but my experience and observation, stretching over a period of twenty years of suffrage work, has led me to place little confidence in the professions of political parties concerning woman suffrage.

Other parties before now have invited women to withdraw from regular suffrage organisations and to labor for the party only, promising the suffrage by a shorter route. Women have listened and followed the command only to find that they have been employed as mere catspaws to pull appetizing chestnuts from the fire, which others ate, while burnt fingers were their only reward. In the United States, Greenback, Populist, Prohibition and Socialist parties furnish good examples of this proceeding. History has so often repeated itself along this line, that I, for one, have grown skeptical. If the Socialist Party, in its International resolution, is only following the example of many other parties which have preceded it, level-headed Socialist women will soon discover that fact, and will return to the non-partisan organisation to work with keener zest than ever before. If, on the other hand, the time has really come when an international body of men intend, earnestly and honestly, to labor for woman suffrage equally with man suffrage; if they will refuse as valiantly to sacrifice or compromise one as the other; then we must recognize that the world has been travelling on apace while we have been asleep. If this shall be found to be the case, no organization should regret to see its Socialist sisters depart, but should let them go in peace, with a heartfelt "God speed". In any event there is nothing to fear. If the Socialists express honest purpose in their resolution, they will give the cause of woman suffrage a new impetus, and that too, among classes which have hitherto been indifferent to it. If they are only posing as friends of the cause, many converts to non-partisan work will be made by their attitude.

A great cause is like a river fed by the melting snows of the mountains. It is bound to find its way to the ocean, but no human being, in advance, could point out the path the waters will follow; our movement likewise is as certainly destined to end in victory, but we are not permitted to know the agencies which may be employed to bring it about. Let come what will. "All things work together for good".

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

#### THE NEW BILL.

Sir,—A short article under the above heading, which appeared in *Women's Franchise* on August 22nd among the contributions sent in by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, appears to have been rather hastily interpreted by some as signifying that the National Union had abandoned the principle for which it has contended so long, namely "the suffrage for women on the same terms on which it is or may be granted to men."

May I be allowed to say that this is not the case? On every occasion on which the question has been debated and voted upon by the National Union, it has reiterated its adherence to the simple principle that women who fulfil the conditions which entitle men to vote should not be disqualified on the ground of sex.

This is the principle which most unites the friends of Women's Suffrage. If we once embark on "improving" existing franchises, what one group considers an improvement another will consider a blemish, and thus a disintegrating force is at once introduced into our ranks. We say "Take the franchise as it is, and abolish the sex disability; that piece of work is big enough to engage all our strength." Mr. Dickinson's new Bill departs from this principle: it seeks to create a new qualification and also a new disability for the woman voter from which men are exempt. That it will prove a disintegrating force is next door to certain; signs of it are already visible. It is to be observed, for instance, that while this Bill is backed by the names of eleven members of Parliament, among them one looks in vain for a single Unionist or Conservative. The process of desintegration has begun already even on the cover of the Bill!

In conclusion I will only add that, although I cordially regret that Mr. Dickinson has abandoned the principle we support, yet if he obtains a day for the second reading of his Bill, I hope and believe that the National Union will do all in its power in his support. We make no secret of our preference for another Bill, but beggars cannot be choosers; and in my judgment the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies ought to support any Bill which would have the effect of making an inroad upon the absolute electoral disability under which all women now labour.

Your obedient servant,  
MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.  
President of the N. U. of  
Women's Suffrage Societies.  
(reprinted from "Women's Franchise")

#### Dear Correspondents and Readers!

I am happy to present you this time letters from our I. W. S. Alliance's President and from one of our Vice-presidents. The reason why I asked to reprint the latter in "Jus Suffragii", is that it is very important for all the members of the I. W. S. All. to know what position its Officers take in cases similar to that of Mr. Dickinson's bill. Does it not often happen that the simple question of "votes for women" and removal of the exclusion of the female sex, is mixed up and blended with other issues, differing as to countries and circumstances, yet all calculated to bring confusion? I believe Sweden and Denmark, and indeed most other countries have to face the same sort of problem: Shall we, or shall we not

pin woman suffrage on to some other righteous cause more or less dear to us? So here is the answer given by our 2nd Vice-President. Would that I had space to let you have those of all our best workers; but that is out of the question.

I thank you all (with 7 exceptions) for paying the first year, and many for following Denmark's good example by paying the second year. And now that I am talking in the grateful strain, please give me cause to continue it, and send me more "voting qualifications", like those I have received from Denmark, Hungary and Great Britain. For the rest I repeat my wellknown requests of every month. But attentive reading of Mrs. Chapman Catt's notice on the recognized undesirability of having more than one affiliated suffrage society in each country, makes me add a new request. Would you help me with news, exact and important, from the other societies, although not affiliated to the I. W. S. A., when in any country there are more than one, not merely "dissenting" with each other, but really accomplishing something to obtain votes for women? I have been trying already to work in that line, as you will see; yet my store of information is nothing, but what you make it by adding each a parcel to the stock.

Now that the Amsterdam congress approaches, which will probably bring discussions on the size and conduct of "Jus Suffragii", I may perhaps invite suggestions from you. I have received one from America f. i., which I immediately follow. It consists in having all articles signed; and in case the ordinary correspondent fails to send me a report from a country whilst the papers received make me feel that I may not simply omit news from there, to sign my own name to the sheaf of interesting news which I glean in that way. This is a warning to the readers that there may be faults of perspective, mistakes as to the relative importance of facts, which a bystander would easily avoid.

Believe me faithfully yours,  
MARTINA G. KRAMERS,  
Editor.  
Rotterdam, 10 November 1907.

#### The Netherlands.

I hope I may count on special interest on the part of our readers for the country in which the I. W. S. Alliance is to hold its congress next year; the more so, as the favorable opinion on votes for women, lately expressed by our Government, does not fail to influence the public sentiment in the Netherlands. Yet we have not got much farther than the threshold, and great exertions will still be required before we can enter the castle. This will be better understood, when we consider the history of the demanded reform.

Women are excluded from voting, not by ordinary law but by the State-Constitution or fundamental law, which was put in its present form in 1887 and contains the clause that electors shall be male citizens who possess the necessary qualifications. Now for changing the Constitution, is required: first an ordinary law stating that such change is desirable, passed in the usual way by the Second and the First Chamber; then a dissolution of the States General and new elections; and then a two-thirds' majority in the new States General. In order to see what the chances are for the passing of women's franchise through

those successive stages, we shall go back to 1905. That year's elections put an end to the rule of the Kuyper-cabinet, which had been most reactionary and opposed to all claims of women, handicapping them with disabilities by Royal Decree, without so much as consulting the parliament. Dr. Kuyper's overthrow was brought about by a coalition of four different political parties (the Free Liberals, the United Liberals, the Radicals and the Socialists), who are by no means of one mind in important issues, and therefore are seldom prepared to unite forces on political ground. Their united majority in the elections for the Second Chamber was the smallest imaginable: viz. one half + one. Accordingly the cabinet which came into power in 1905 is composed of Ministers of different political parties, and it has already lived through a long crisis which ended by its reintegration, because no other Ministers were prepared to take up the government with so small a majority.

The common aim of the allied liberal groups is an extension of the suffrage of such a character that it would require the abolition of the qualifications for voting required by art. 80 of the present Constitution. So one of the first actions of the Ministry was the institution of a Royal Commission to draft a project of revision of the Constitution; and six of the seven members of this Commission recommended eligibility of women to the governing bodies; art. 80, which deals with the suffrage, being left out of the Royal Commission's scope and kept in the Ministry's own competence. (see "Jus Suffragii" 6 and 8.) Then on 12 Oct. 1907 the Cabinet published its draft of proposed changes in the Constitution, which is bound to be discussed in the States General within the course of next year, provided that no new ministerial crisis intervenes. This project is favorable to our claims, although it does not endorse our N. W. S. A.'s redaction of art. 80; and it will certainly bid fair to being passed, if it comes at all to occupy a place on the parliamentary agenda. A crisis would prevent this; and, since the last crisis which ended in April, the political circumstances have undergone a change. The allied clerical parties, protestant and roman catholic, have had a majority in the elections for the Provincial States in June (see "Jus Suffragii" 11), so that it seems probable that new elections, for the Second Chamber too, would bring Dr. Kuyper and his retainers another chance to come into power, all of which explains why the conservatives (1/2-1 of the Lower House) are not over-anxious to avoid a ministerial crisis now.

However there is no telling what move on the political chess-board is being planned at this moment, and we suffragists have still to gain over public opinion to our claim of votes for women. The Government-bill on change of Constitution affords at any rate a welcome help to our propaganda.

Art. 80, with its "male citizens" and other voting qualifications, is proposed by the Government to become a complete blank, and leave every desired limitation of the suffrage to the competence of the ordinary law-giver. It is proposed to run thus: "The members of the Second Chamber shall be chosen through direct election by the voters to be appointed by the law." Now, not without reason, our N. W. S. A. had proposed to formulate this "blank" article a little differently, suggesting this text: "The law stipulates which men and women shall be electors and eligible for the Second Chamber, Provincial States and Town Councils, and also the method of election."

Although our wording of the much-discussed



article has not found grace in the eyes of the Government, yet they have not spared strong recommendations of votes and eligibility for women in several passages of the "explanatory remarks", which accompany their law-project; and this attitude is of the greatest value for our propaganda.

People who, until now, had treated woman suffrage with superb disdain and indifference, are now forced to realize that indeed there is something in a claim so obviously just that it is supported by the Government. And so, even if the judicious and careful removing of obstacles to women's entrance into politics, which the reader finds in studying the details of the Government-bill, should fail to attain its purpose, yet we have great reason to thank Minister Rink and his colleagues for their support of our cause. And should their project become law—which may be the case after all—the women's movement will owe them a great debt of gratitude.

The press has long been in the habit of disregarding and slighting the women's claims or speaking of them as far-off ideals, but now they see them standing in the midst of the contentions about the change of the Constitution; and evidently the great daily papers of different political shades are obliged to take sides and give their opinion on woman suffrage. Most of them were not eager to speak their mind, but they were urged by Mr. S. van Houten's Second Political Pamphlet. This influential and able politician of the Free-liberal party was chief of a cabinet during four years, and is the author of the present law on voting qualifications. He might reasonably be expected to disapprove of any change in his law; but no, he says: "Those who recognize that hitherto men have unduly slighted the female sex, are bound to seize the first opportunity for reform. It is unjust and illogical to debar women from all ingress, until such time as the question shall have been solved whether the gates for men, through which already over 750,000 have entered and some 100,000 more might enter, should be opened wider or not." Such words from a man of great repute, if no longer of actual power, cannot fail to influence the public.

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A Royal Decree of Oct. 23 1907, emanating from Minister Kraus, has abolished that of 2 March 1904, which contained a defence of marriage for all female employees of post and telegraph.

Freedom and justice are sometimes awarded women; yet if they had the ballot, their rights would not be so often endangered.

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The N. W. S. A. will hold its annual meeting on 14 December at Haarlem. Those members of foreign W. S. Associations as understand the Dutch language will be welcome to attend the meeting. Communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Mrs. J. van Buuren-Huys, 43 Linnaeusstraat, Amsterdam. M. G. K.

### Germany.

The W. S. A. of Badenia having requested the German N.W.S.A. to hold a propaganda-meeting preparatory to the annual reunion at Frankfurt, the proceedings opened this year with a crowded meeting at Mannheim on 24 September. The first speaker, Mrs. Minna Cauer, had for her subject: Woman Suffrage and the Family, and demonstrated that the dependence of woman from man

originated in women's legal disabilities, but that with her entrance into the professions her value in state and family augments, and political equality of the sexes is only a question of time. Dr. Anita Augspurg, in her speech on Votes for Women and Politics, showed the influence for good which woman suffrage has exercised on politics in those States in which they already possess the ballot; she quoted examples from Australia, especially the model factory-legislation of New Zealand; then from the United States in America, where some States have granted citizens' rights to women, as Finland has also done. Dr. Käthe Schirmacher proved, in her address on Woman Suffrage and Military Service, that at no time or place the qualification for voting is a corollary to military service. Lastly Dr. Ohr spoke on Supporters and Enemies of Votes for Women. The speaker decidedly advocated equality of the sexes before the law, but he thinks that woman suffrage is only then bound to come, when its historical conditions will have been fulfilled. There was lively discussion and warm applause.

On 25 September the General Meeting at Frankfurt a. M. began by official greetings from the Progressive Women of Frankfurt, from the magistrate, from a deputy and from the Local Federation of Women's Associations, for which Mrs. Cauer and Dr. Augspurg expressed their thanks.

The agenda began with an address of the Vice-Pres., Lida Gustava Heymann, on "Universal, Equal, Secret and Direct Voting". After an historical review of the growth of the right of Suffrage in different nations, the speaker showed that there could not possibly be any question of universal suffrage, as long as nothing but manhood suffrage was meant. In the struggles for votes in Germany the debates in the Frankfurt Parliament are the first occasion in which woman suffrage is mentioned; and already in those days the same "terse platitudes" are used as arguments against that reform, which constitute nowadays the arsenal of our opponents. As a preliminary condition for the introduction of real universal suffrage the speaker demanded thorough schooling of both sexes for their duties as citizens. She denied emphatically the reproach, often repeated by the Socialists, as if the leaders of the movement for women's enfranchisement were in favour of limited suffrage for women; on the contrary, the N.W.S.A. stands entirely for adult suffrage, or universal, equal, secret and direct voting. There was a most lively discussion with the socialdemocratic women in the audience, and it is to be hoped that the debate may have brought about a clearer understanding; at any rate the representatives of the non-socialist women's movement have declared themselves positive adherents of adult suffrage. And this attitude has been confirmed by the Constitution adopted by the general meeting of the N. W. S. A.

The fee for membership has been lowered to 2 Marks, for which the members receive the organ (*Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht*) gratis.

An important decision is that henceforth the local State-W. S.-Associations shall be independent and have their own Constitutions, which however are not to clash with the National Constitution. The basis of the organisation of the N. W. S. A. is the division of the German Empire into States. In those States where the law does not yet admit of the existence of Suffrage Associations, the agitation and the direction of public manifestations is to be conducted by trustees. The N. W. S. A. continues its membership both of the I. W. S.

Alliance and of the National Council of German Women.

At the request of the Hamburg W. S. A., the agitation for local option on the sale of liquors was taken up into the National Association's program of action.

The election for the Executive was nearly unanimous and resulted in continuance of the functioning Officers; as seventh Officer was chosen Mrs. Anna Lindemann from Stuttgart, who is an Officer of the Württemberg W. S. A.

The public meeting of the 26th., at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Kenney spoke and had great success, has been reported in our preceding number. The organ of the German W. S. A., from which we take this account, terminates:

"The Frankfurt meeting is decidedly a step forward. The time in which the demand of votes for women used to be considered a fancy cherished by some few people, is now past. Hundreds and thousands of women of all opinions now flock round the leaders and emphatically demand their right of citizenship; earnest, influential men recognize the justice of this demand and regard it as the clue to one of the most vital questions of civilisation. So we are justified in looking confidently forward to the future, which cannot fail to bring the fulfilment of our hope."

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The prospective change in the Empire's law on associations, which will allow women to be members of political societies, has already been anticipated by the Young-Liberals in Bavaria. At their national meeting, they unanimously agreed to take steps that their branch-societies might invite women to join them as soon as possible.

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On the 25th of October Dr. Casselman moved in the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies that women should be made eligible for Parish Councils and Orphan Boards (*Armenpflegschaftsrat und Gemeindevaisenrat*); and the motion was carried by a great majority. Dr. C. has evidently changed his attitude since the time when he could not agree with the women's demand of votes for the Diet (*Landtag*).

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The law of the Empire on Commercial Tribunals (*Kaufmannsgerichte*), which was framed to exclude women in the year of the Berlin Congress (1904), shows already its deficiency. In a session of Commercial Assessors a resolution was passed by a great majority to advocate suffrage and eligibility of women in these corporations.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

### Sweden.

The before mentioned course of lectures on citizenship has now begun at Stockholm. It is led by baron E. Palmstjerne, who is known as a good speaker. He has shown a deep interest in all sorts of social work.

About 200—300 female pupils and auditors meet twice a week for two hours at a time.

The subjects are divided into four different groups: history of economics, municipal politics, state politics and questions of the day. Discussions and political exercises, such as feigned meetings of town-councillors and of the Parliament, election meetings etc. form also part of the course.

The members may be either "pupils" or only

"auditors". The latter are admitted to the lectures and discussions only.

No tickets are sold for any single lecture, only for the whole course, which lasts from Oct. 21—May 18.

Working-women get their tickets at a reduced rate.

Several eminent lecturers, men as well as women, have engaged themselves not only to lecture but also to recommend literature for private study and to rehearse the subjects with those who wish it.

The president of the N. W. S. A., Miss Anna Whitlock, has started this undertaking as well as originated the idea of it.

She has felt that women are in need of political and social education, in order to be able in the future to take that part in public work which their feeling of responsibility demands. Meaning well and feeling warmly is not enough. The women must also acquire some insight into political and municipal questions and even get some practical exercise in the formalities.

Courses are also being prepared in the greater provincial towns. In the smaller ones it is to be hoped that circles for studies at least may be arranged. In order to facilitate this work, the Executive Committee of the N. W. S. A. has published a list of social and political literature suitable for this purpose.

It is as encouraging as it is rare that future electors, who have not got suffrage, prepare themselves beforehand for the new duties awaiting them.

It is Miss Whitlock to whom this honour is due. Without her, this idea would probably never have been realized.

ANN MARGRET HOLMGREN.  
Stockholm 4/11 '07. NÉE DE TERSMEDEN.

The whole country is full of suffrage literature and suffrage-meetings, at every one of which resolutions are carried and sent to the Riksdag or to some of its party-groups to urge the granting of the enfranchisement of women in next year's session.

Deputy G. Kronlund made a powerful speech on 15 Oct. at Skara, after which a suffrage resolution was carried unanimously. At Kil rector Dahlgren and Mrs. Gerda Hellberg obtained the same result. Mrs. Emilia Broomé, well known as the President of the Swedish Peace Association, contributed three convincing articles to *Stockholms Tidningen*, whilst Signe Bergman wrote a refutation of Mr. Hallgren's pamphlet, which says women need no votes, as the concession which the Norwegian Parliament made them on 14 June proves sufficiently that they exercise over the deputies all the power they can desire, etc.

Meetings of politicians too begin to endorse woman suffrage, i. e. that of the liberals at Malmö.

The Socialdemocratic Women's Conference, a body composed of 12 women's trades unions, holds a series of meetings in favor of votes for women. On 17 October the first of these took place at Stockholm. The speakers were Mrs. Dr. Gulli Petrini, President of the Växiö-branch and member of the Executive of the N. W. S. A., and the S. D. deputy Mr. Lindquist; and the meeting unanimously resolved that the Socialist group in the Riksdag should be approached with a request to introduce a proposal to grant women a vote on the same terms as men. After the meeting a circular



was addressed to the women of the working classes to urge them strongly to put forward their claim for enfranchisement.

Hjalmar Branting, editor of "Socialdemokraten", has written an article in the "Sozialistische Monatshefte" in which he advocates the agitation for women's enfranchisement to be actively and earnestly taken up by the S.D. party.

MARTINA G. KAMERS.

## Russia.

During the last twelve months I have several times been asked: does the "Russian Union for Women's Rights", still exist? Or has the government finally annihilated it, as well as most other progressive unions and societies in Russia? Such doubts as to the existence of the "Russian Union for Women's Rights" arise because the R. U. cannot at present go on with its work, freely and openly, as it did in 1905 and 1906. However the R. U. itself has no such doubt: it shall strive for liberty and equal rights in spite of all. Difficulties must, only double our energy. But in the present circumstances, the Union's activity must, perforce, be limited to propagandawork; and that is mainly done by the Central Bureau, elected in June 1906. By the rules of our Union, the Central Bureau is elected only for one year, by the general National Congress of the R. U., which must assemble twice a year. But such a meeting cannot be organized at present: it would be immediately dissolved by the police, our union not being legalized as a national organization. And if it were legalized, the police would control every word that might be said, and prohibit at meetings any subject which might not please those of its agents, who should happen to be present...

A conference of the R. U., consisting of the members of the Central Bureau and several of the Union's active members (16 in all) has lately met in Moscow (26, 27 October). We have decided to go on with our propagandawork as actively as ever. With regard to the legalization of the R. U., it has been decided to submit this important question to the decision of the provincial branches of the Union. The next question which was discussed, was that of the International Congress in Holland in June 1908. The program of the Congress did not meet with any objection. The conference only expressed the wish that in case any of the national unions for women's rights wished to give a report on a subject not mentioned in the program, —they might be allowed to do it. The proposal of inviting to the Congress in Amsterdam delegates from the chief governments, one from each, was also approved by the conference. With regard to Russia it was suggested that this invitation must be addressed to the Douma, not otherwise.—The conference then discussed the question of the attitude which the R. U. must adopt towards the Douma: shall it adopt the tactics of boycott, or shall it endeavour to influence the Douma in favour of women's rights? The latter method was accepted: it was found desirable that the Central Bureau should work in contact with the progressive elements of the Douma, as such tactics might be useful for our propaganda. With the same view the conference decided to organize in January a large congress on women's rights. As this congress shall not be conducted under the flag of the R. U.,—the administration will probably sanction it: two such

meetings have lately taken place in Warsaw and Kovno. The program shall be drawn on the following lines:

I. The position of Women in Russia. II. The political and civil rights of women in Russia (by the civil and common law). III. The women's strife for political and civil rights in Russia and in other countries. Means of propaganda. IV. Schools for women. The present situation of women in Russian universities, Co-education. V. Ethical questions.

On the 27 October Mme Kalmanovitch, member of the Central Bureau, lectured in Moscow on the women's movement in Europe and America. This lecture was very successful; many people attended it and manifested their interest and sympathy with regard to the women's cause.

We are now at the end of the elective campaign. The Douma will assemble on the 14th November. We cannot profit by the elections for the sake of propaganda of women's rights,—as we did before the opening of the 1st and 2nd Douma: all propaganda is prohibited for progressive parties and societies: it is the octobrists and monarchists,—supported by the government,—who are in power now. Progressive circulars and bulletins are seized everywhere. Members of progressive political parties are arrested; their houses searched. Progressive papers are fined for telling the truth and criticizing the government; and such fines are imposed without any regard to law,—according to the "bon plaisir" of the local administration...

Owing to all these draconian measures, the government will probably succeed in creating an obedient and docile Parliament. But can such a political situation last for many years?

Z. MIROVITCH.

## Hungary.

The most important event in our struggle for votes, now entering into the decisive stage, is the final and peremptory refusal of votes to women pronounced by the socialdemocratic party.

This declaration was brought about as follows: On the 10th of Oct. the party arranged a truly grand demonstration to support the Bill of Suffrage. The organized workmen went on strike during twenty-four hours. In Budapest and in the larger towns demonstrative processions and meetings took place.

We seized the opportunity to remind the labourers that it is their moral duty to claim woman suffrage too, and to this end we distributed among the marching crowd about 100,000 leaflets with the following text:

*Men and women labourers!*

To-day you demonstrate for universal suffrage. You demand justice, right and equality. — Don't forget that suffrage, to be universal, must include women. Therefore your claim will only then be justified when it is made for women too.

Woman as worker, as mother, as tax-paying citizen, takes her share in every burden that weighs on society, and consequently is entitled to claim every right due to a human being that works and performs its duties.

*Workmen!* When you claim justice and rights for yourselves, you ought to demand the same goods in favour of your working sisters too.

*Women workers!* You participate in the work and duties of men, you fulfil every duty towards

the state, therefore you ought to obtain your rights!"

The gross of the people discussed the question with much sympathy, and wherever our members distributed the leaflets, they were cordially greeted with cheers for woman suffrage and its champions.

In the processions there marched thousands of workingwomen and workingmen's wives—in Budapest about 8000, in some provincial towns from 2-4000—bravely enduring the tiresome day's fatigues.

The S.D. party delegated a deputation to the House of Commons in order to urge the Bill for Universal Suffrage. In the deputation there was a workingwoman too. In the address the party's speaker pointed to the exceedingly low wages of Hungarian working people. They are, taken on an average, in factories: 13 crowns a week for men and 6,50 crs for women; and 9,30 crs a week for agricultural labourers and 4,60 for women doing that work.

After the resolution on the agitation for universal womanhood suffrage carried by the Congress of Stuttgart, everyone who believes in the earnestness of principles would expect that the Hungarian workmen in their agitation for suffrage would remember their duty.

Our expectations were deceived. The S.D. party declared on Oct. 11th in an article teeming with unworthy and false calumnies against the Society of Feminists (N.W.S.A.): "The ladies might have saved themselves the trouble of distributing those leaflets... The socialdemocratic party's program contains explicitly the demand of universal suffrage regardless of sex. But for the present we must apply all our strength to wring from the class-government the rights of men. The proletarian women understand the situation perfectly and thousands of working-women press forward to aid with noble enthusiasm the proletarian men in their struggle. They know, that in the class-parliament of our days woman suffrage is impossible to obtain."

In this way the Stuttgart resolution has entirely been disregarded in Hungary. It is a sad but very instructive fact that the socialdemocrats stick with equal tenacity to sex domination as the ruling classes of our days stick to their power. Again and again we see that, within the socialdemocratic party, women are persuaded to sacrifice their sex-interest to the sex-interests of men. Of course they pretend that women sacrifice themselves for the interests of the *proletarian class*, but always it is the male part of the proletariat which desires the sacrifice and the female part which offers it. Why is there never an exchange of good services? Because men, when they are called upon to be the offering part, would be clever enough to realize that women alone are not *the proletariat*, and they certainly would not think of renouncing their claims in favour of the women alone.

It is clear, that the refusal to agitate for votes for women on the part of the socialdemocrats imposes redoubled duties on our movement.

Yet there is a rejoicing fact too to be reported. In favour of universal suffrage the official and commercial clerks of Budapest held a mass-meeting that had been called by men and women of the profession. Again the Confederation of Women Officials proved the surest support in the struggle for woman suffrage. The invitations to the meeting, sent out in hundreds of copies, were signed by women and men, and the program, also published on placards in the streets, said: "Universal suffrage including votes for women". Close to these

placards were stuck the posters of the socialdemocratic party on which women suffrage of course was not mentioned.

The meeting took place on Oct. 9th and was presided by a Member of Parliament. Among the Officers and speakers were also women. A resolution was carried that claimed unquestionably universal suffrage for women as well as men.

Still it must be remembered that in Debreczin a demonstratory meeting was held, that was attended by about 10,000 persons, and there the socialdemocratic party, in contradiction with the central leaders, pronounced itself for woman suffrage.

The suffrage-bill is to be expected shortly, and we ought to strengthen our means and concentrate our efforts in order to be up to the occasion.

R. SCHWIMMER.

## Austria.

The President of the Committee for woman suffrage, Mrs. Nini von Fürth, contributes an article to "Der Bund", the organ of the National Council of Austrian Women, on the growth of the demand of votes for women all over the world. She says that it is high time for other political parties to recognize the value of women's help and collaboration in politics, as well as the Socialists do. The only deputy who advocated woman suffrage for the Diet (Landtag) of Lower-Austria was a Socialist. A petition of the W.S. Committee had of course no effect. And still § 30 of the Law on Associations denies women the right of transforming the Committee into a recognized Association. Such is the political status of women in the 20th century, in a country praised for having introduced "universal suffrage"!

## DIE BOHEMISCHEN FRAUEN UND DIE PRAGER GEMEINDEWAHLEN.

Die Hauptstadt Böhmens, Prag, hat soeben ihre Ergänzungswahlen in die Gemeindevertretung absolviert und wieder *ohne die Frauen*. Prag, diese grosse Industriestadt mit ihren unzähligen Schulen, höheren Lehranstalten und Aemtern, in denen viele Frauen schon lange erfolgreich tätig sind, steht, ebenso wie die Stadt Reichenberg, mit ihrer 43 Jahre alten Einrichtung vor jeder, auch der kleinsten Dorfgemeinde Böhmens zurück; denn in diesen sind die Steuerzahlerinnen, wenn auch durch die unrichtige Einführung der Vollmacht, wahlberechtigt — nur in den beiden Städten nicht. Und dieses, an den Pragerinnen seit jeher geübte Unrecht ist umso schreiender, als ihnen dadurch, dass sie in ihrer Gemeinde rechtlos sind, das Recht nicht zusteht, an den Landesinteressen wirkend teilzunehmen, d. i. dass sie auch von den Landtagswahlen ausgeschlossen sind. Doch hierüber wurde schon früher, ausführlich, an dieser Stelle berichtet.

Und eben zu diesen Misständen haben die böhmischen Frauen am 20. Oktober d. J. in einer grossen Versammlung Stellung genommen, zu der auch die Stadt Prag ihren offiziellen Vertreter entsandete, damit dieser, wie er selbst sagte, *die Ansichten und Wünsche der Frauen* vernehme — ein Zeichen, dass die massgebenden Stellen mit der Frauenwahlrechtsbewegung bereits rechnen. Einige, unerschrockene Rednerinnen haben in überzeugenden Worten von ihrer Heimatstadt



die Regelung dieses veralteten Gesetzes gefordert. Es wurde im Sinne aller Frauen hervorgehoben, dass ihnen nicht durch ein Kompromiss (die Wahlberechtigung durch die Vollmacht), sondern nur durch die Herausgabe der gleichen Rechte mit den Männern, die gebührende Genußnahme gegeben werden kann. Es wurde weiter beschlossen, eine diesbezügliche Petition, die nicht nur die Unterschriften der Pragerinnen, sondern auch der Frauen aus ganz Böhmen tragen soll, der Stadt Prag, die bereits an der Revision und Abänderung der Gemeindevahlordnung arbeitet, zu unterbreiten. Und so dokumentierte diese grosse, ernste Frauenversammlung wieder die politische Reife der böhmischen Frauen. Ja, unsere Frauen sind sich ihrer Rechte, ebenso wie ihrer Pflichten wohl bewusst, sie haben sich schon längst aus dem Dornröschenschlaf, in dem sie so lange durch die heute bereits vermoderten Einrichtungen und Vorurteile künstlich gehalten wurden, erhoben, und gehen, treu und eng verbunden, Schritt für Schritt ihrem Ziele entgegen. . . . Ihr Frauenwahlrechtsausschuss, dessen Leitung in den Händen erster politisch gutgeschulter Frauen liegt, hält allwöchentlich seine gutbesuchten Sitzungen ab, in denen nebst programmässiger Tätigkeit, auch die politische Erziehung der weiteren Frauenkreise, durch Belehrungen und Heranziehung der Besucherinnen dieser Zusammenkünfte (jede Frau hat freien Zutritt) zur Mitarbeit, gefördert wird.

MARIA STĚPÁNEK, Prague.

### Denmark.

"Will the Women of Denmark get Municipal Suffrage in this session of Parliament?"

We know that the movement in favour of Municipal Suffrage for Women has friends in all political parties in Denmark. It is fortunately connected with the Extended Suffrage proposed for men, therefore we may be sure that there will at least be a fight for it.

The Conservative Party last spring hindered the Joint-Committee (composed of 15 members of the Upper House & 15 of the Lower) from finding a solution of difficulties by adding further amendments to the Bill (presented by the Government) which made it quite unacceptable to the more liberal parties. To compensate for the threatened loss of prerogatives, hitherto enjoyed by the moneyed classes in Municipal Elections, the Free-Conservative Party has made the supremacy of County Councils—as compared with Parish Councils—a condition of their consent to grant Extended Suffrage.

But, Count Friis, the leader of the Free-conservative Party, has declared during the present session, that, although he and his party still considered their suggestions of last spring as acceptable and good, they were willing to listen to proposals from the other side, as well as to endeavour to find a solution themselves—if some happy idea should present itself that would suit the different stand-points. A Committee of 15 members of the Upper House has been elected—instead of the Joint-Committee of Conservatives & Liberals from the last session of Parliament, and as the opposition to the Bill comes from the Conservative camp, we may hope that the proper course has been taken.

J. M.

Dansk Kvindesamfund has announced a public meeting on November 11th, where Woman Suffrage is to be discussed from several points of

view. Among other speakers Fru Blauenfeldt is to give a lecture on "The Christian Woman and her relation to Woman Suffrage."

No doubt the meeting will be interesting and the hall crowded, for the interest in Woman Suffrage is intense in many strata of society.

J. M.

The Socialists have set to work to carry out the resolution of their international congress at Stuttgart regarding votes for women.

The reader will remember that in the Riksdag politicians of all parties have already advocated municipal suffrage for women. Now the socialist fraction proposes full political suffrage for them, at the same time lowering the voting age from 30 to 21 years, and claiming a vote for all men and women, also servants and people who have not had their residence in the district during the whole of the last year.

On the first of September the Scandinavian trades unions' congress at Kristiania discussed the execution of the Stuttgart resolution (see "Jus Suffr." Sept.) and Fru Brochmann, the president of the Danish Tailoresses' Union, who had from the first been a member of the N. W. S. A. affiliated to the I. W. S. Alliance, felt obliged to withdraw from her former associates. Yet, though obedient to the S. D. Party's orders, the enfranchisement of women remained her object, and she succeeded in forming a "Socialdemocratic Women Suffrage Association", which held a crowded meeting at Copenhagen on 11 October, with addresses from Fru Brochmann, Fru Nörlund and deputy Borgbjerg. So here we have a group within a political party, consisting solely of members of that party, and organized for carrying out one of the demands that form the program (platform) of the entire party. Does not this throw a strange light on the steadfastness of purpose among the party-members outside that group? shall we next see separate associations of Socialists formed for liberty of the press, for separation of church and state, for opposing militarism, for obtaining the eight-hours-day? That is not probable. But woman suffrage is a different thing, you see!

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Our Danish sisters are occupied with a reorganisation of their common suffrage-work, which may well excite our strongest interest.

The N. W. S. A. (Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund) has among its federated associations an old national women's league of good standing and possessing 62 branches all over the country called Dansk Kvindesamfund. On the other hand there is a national society, Köbenhavns Kvindevalgretsforening, having no other object besides votes for women and possessing 32 branches, which is not affiliated to the N. W. S. A. Now the Secretary of Dansk Kvindesamfund proposes a fusion of her association with Köbenh. Kvindevalgretsforening, which she recommends by showing in a circular that women suffrage is in the constitution of both. However the acting president of the latter opposes this fusion on the ground that a union of two societies of different nature and objects could only bring confusion; and the Secretary of the N. W. S. A. writes in a Copenhagen newspaper of 8 November an article to advise against D. Kvindesamfund's suggestion.

We await with great interest the result of the Annual Meeting of the N. W. S. A. on 24 November.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

## SUPPLEMENT OF JUS SUFFRAGII, 15 NOV. 1907.

### Great Britain.

The Municipal Elections for England and Wales are over, and we note with satisfaction that a good number of women exercised their privilege under the Women's Qualification Act for the first time and were candidates for seats on Town and Borough Councils. Considering that the Act was only passed at the end of August, and that the ladies therefore have had but two months in which to prepare their campaign, the results may be considered entirely satisfactory. Out of the eighteen who offered themselves for election, six have been returned. Two of them, Miss Sutton, at Reading, and Mrs. Woodward, at Bewdley, have had a walk over; Miss Merivale at Oxford, and Miss Morgan at Brecon, have headed the poll; and Mrs. (Dr.) E. Garrett Anderson at Aldeburgh, and Miss Dove at High Wycombe have been returned by good majorities.

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A vacancy has occurred in the Parliamentary division of West Hull, and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is carrying on an active propaganda during the election contest. Halls have been engaged and several open-air meetings are arranged. Good speakers are helping the active local Women's Suffrage Society, including the names of Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Miss Ashton, Mrs. Allan Bright, Miss Sterling, Mrs. Stanbury, Mrs. Layman & Miss Murdoch.

Committee-rooms have been opened at Coburg House, Anlaby Road, a central position in the constituency, of which Mrs. H. W. Kirk, Hon. Secretary of the Hull Women's Suffrage Society, will have charge, assisted by Miss Edith Palliser, Organizing and Parliamentary Secretary of the National Union. Meetings will be held in the committee rooms, literature distributed, and all inquiries answered.

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Since our last issue of the Bulletin a considerable number of meetings have been held—the most important being the conference and demonstration in Nottingham on October 16th and the large and enthusiastic demonstration in the Free Trade Hall Manchester, on Friday October 25th.

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Several other Meetings are projected—notably the one in the Queen's Hall, London, on December 17th promoted by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. The following gentlemen have consented to speak: Mr. W. H. Dickinson M. P., the Earl Russell, Mr. Isaac Zangwill, Rev. Canon Hicks, M. A. and Rev. R. I. Campbell, Mr. Herbert-Jacobs, Chairman of Committee, will preside.—Tickets can now be obtained price: 5/—, 2 6, 1/— & 6d.

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The Annual Council Meeting of the National Union was held in Manchester on Friday October 25th. Representatives and delegates attended in good numbers, and the Executive Committee of the Union was also well to the fore.

Mrs. Fawcett, L. L. D., President, occupied the chair and in her address alluded to the very important step in advance which had been gained by the movement by the passing of the Qualification of Women Act (County and Borough Councils). Even Lord James Hereford, an old opponent of Women's Suffrage, had declared in

the debate on the Bill in the House of Lords that if that Bill passed, where was the man who could argue against the Parliamentary franchise being given to women.

It certainly furnished one more illustration of the great absurdity of denying women the franchise to affirm that a woman could be a mayor, but yet was incapable of recording a vote for a candidate for Parliament. The thanks of this meeting should be given to Miss Annie Leigh Browne and Miss Kilgour for the splendid work these ladies had done in bringing about this victory. (Applause.) Another encouraging feature of their progress was the appearance of the weekly paper, "Women's Franchise", which had been already of great service to their cause. Mrs. Fawcett expressed regret that "The Tribune", which had given the movement support early last year, had lately gone back, but she was glad to be able to state that the position formerly occupied by "The Tribune" was now in some respects occupied by other papers, and she was much impressed by the valuable help given by the "Manchester Guardian." (Cheers.) "The Daily Chronicle" was now giving a column to Women's Suffrage, and "The Observer" would in future give it favourable notice. (Cheers.)

In concluding her address Mrs. Fawcett advised those present to urge upon their men friends to speak of Women's Suffrage at their ordinary political meetings, and instanced the help given by the Prime Minister at his meetings in Dunfermline by his rebuke of those who greeted the mention of Women's Suffrage with laughter.

Mrs. Fawcett called the attention of those present to the forthcoming meeting of the International Women's Suffrage Association in Holland on June 15th, 1908.

Miss Sterling read the Annual Report.

Among the various achievements since last January the following important matters were dealt with:—

1. The weighty Conference of twenty-seven important organizations of women which had met in February to consider the best lines on which a Women's Suffrage Bill should be drafted, and which had passed a Resolution declaring that the law should be equal for men and women, and that neither sex nor marriage should be a qualification or disqualification.
2. The procession through London of women sympathizers in the metropolis.
3. The Mass Meeting in Queen's Hall on March 26th.
4. The Wimbledon by-election, where the Women's Suffrage candidate (the Hon. Bertrand Russell) stood in opposition to Mr. Henry Chaplin.
5. The formation of the Artists' League in support of Women's Suffrage.

Short reports were given by the Branch Societies of work done during the year and of preparations for the winter session.

The following resolution, moved by Miss Dimock, was carried unanimously with one slight alteration:

"That an active part be taken by the National Union in every by-election, in co-operation with the local branch, where there is one, on the lines indicated in the scheme appended; and that the by-elections be the opportunity taken for organizing



Women's Suffrage Societies and for educating the constituencies in the question of Women's Suffrage."

The scheme was also considered, and met with general approval; it was referred back to the Executive Committee for consideration of some of the details.

From the foregoing it will be noted that the National Union is prepared to carry on an active campaign till the parliamentary vote is won for women.

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The Conference of the **National Union of Women Workers** took place in Manchester during the last week in October and was attended by the following delegates from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies: — Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Margaret Ashton, Miss Bompas, Mrs. Allan Bright, Miss Cooper, Miss Dimock, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss F. Hardcastle, M.A., Mrs. Holmes and Miss Soulsby. The importance of the Conference from the point of view of our movement may be estimated by the following extract from a leading article in *The Manchester Guardian* of October 26th:—

"The women workers as such have nothing to do with the suffrage; some of them may not even be in favour of it. Yet nothing was more remarkable than the way in which every subject discussed seemed somehow to impinge on this fundamental issue. Whether it is work in the professions, or on public bodies, or in co-operative societies, or charitable work, or work in the mills, it all comes back sooner or later to questions of legislation, and that for women, having distinctive experience and distinctive aims, means in fact the question of their own vote. So obvious was this that sometimes there was no attempt to disguise it, and we strongly suspect that, if the whole of the great body of 700 representative women, many of them of the highest distinction and service, could have been polled, the vast majority of them would have been found to be ardent suffragists."

F. HARDCASTLE ) Hon. Secretaries  
F. STERLING, ) N. U. W. S. S.

The work of the **Women's Social and Political Union** during the past month has been chiefly concentrated on its internal organisation. The original Women's Social and Political Union has divided itself into two sections.

The Second Annual Conference of the Union was held on Oct. 12th, when the officers and Committee were elected by the delegates of the branches. Mrs. Despard was appointed the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Billington-Greig Hon. Organising Secretary, and Mrs. How Martyn B. Sc. Hon. Secretary. It was noted that eight of the members of the new committee have suffered imprisonment for the cause.

The objects and conditions of membership remain the same, but important changes have been made in the organisation. The Committee is entirely an elected one and is much enlarged, and its work is largely carried out by permanent sub-committees. The Conference was followed by an evening meeting at which representatives from several Suffragist Societies were present and a proposal was made to form a Council for the co-ordination of Suffragist work and to afford opportunities for concerted action at political crises. This proposal was warmly received by, among others, Miss Llewelyn Davies, the Hon. Secretary of the Women's Cooperative Guild, who

suggested as a suitable piece of work for the Federation that of getting an amendment moved to the King's Speech.

The New Committee found itself homeless and penniless, but they have now a suitable and central office at **18, Buckingham St. Strand**, which has been furnished by the generosity of friends and on Friday Nov. 1st it was formally opened by Mrs. Fels, and a fair start made with the funds.

A strong organising sub-committee is at work strengthening the branches, breaking up new ground so as to form new branches later on, and carrying on a thorough house to house canvass to arouse those women who will not yet come out to meetings.

Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. Winton Evans, and others will address a series of large demonstrations to be held during the second week in November in the neighbourhood of London.

Almost as important as the big meetings is the propaganda carried on by the distribution of literature and we have in preparation several new pamphlets and books which will re-inforce and impress the arguments of the speakers.

We, in conjunction with other societies, are making an effort to get an amendment moved to the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament in February, should it not contain a promise of a bill to enfranchise Women.

EDITH HOW MARTYN.

The autumn campaign of the **National Women's Social and Political Union** started with special attention on the public meetings of Ministers and this has given rise to many interesting incidents. At Dunfermline the Prime Minister was compelled to admit that the movement was gaining force in the country. Being asked as to the methods the women should adopt, he replied: "I think they ought to go on agitating and holding meetings, pestering people as much as they can, as all other men and women in this country who are interested in public questions have to do." This "official approval" of the now well known methods of the Suffragettes is particularly interesting and should be noted by those friends abroad who have not clearly understood the necessity of the tactics adopted by the N. W. S. & P. U.

On the 25th October a crowded meeting at Poplar addressed by Mr. Buxton the Postmaster General (who is responsible for the conditions of the largest body of women employed by the State) was raided and he, himself, subjected to a running fire of questions. A still more successful attack was made at Rossendale. This is the constituency of Mr. Lewis Harcourt a member of the Cabinet, and the field having been skilfully and carefully worked by Mrs. Pankhurst for some days previously, a great number of active supporters, men and women, were secured. Mr. Harcourt refused to give a satisfactory answer to an influential deputation and in consequence he was publicly challenged, his meeting finishing in a scene of uproar.

Apart from this phase of the campaign, meetings have been held throughout the length and breadth of the country and the growing enthusiasm, accompanied by a more favourable tone in the press reports, augurs well for success at no very distant date.

B. BORRMANN WELLS.