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SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

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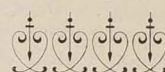


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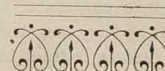


MRS. CHAPMAN CATT,  
President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.



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## IS WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROGRESSING?

From a Speech by CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Long centuries before the birth of Darwin an old-time Hindoo wrote: "I stand on a river's bank. I know not from whence the waters come or whither they go. So deep and silent is its current that I know not whether it flows north or south; all is mystery to me; but when I climb yon summit the river becomes a silver thread weaving its length in and out among the hills and over the plains. I see it all from its source in yonder mountains to its outlet in yonder sea. There is no more mystery." So university professors buried in school books, and near-sighted politicians, fail to note the meaning of passing events. To them, the woman movement is an inexplicable mystery, an irritating excrescence upon the harmonious development of society. But to us, standing upon the summit of international union, where we may observe every manifestation of this movement in all parts of the world, there is no mystery. From its source, ages ago, amid the protests which we now know barbaric women must have made against the cruel wrongs done their sex, we clearly trace the course of this movement through the centuries, moving slowly but majestically onward, gathering momentum with each century, each generation; until just before us lies the golden sea of woman's full liberty. Others may theorise about the woman movement, but to us has been vouchsafed positive knowledge. Once, this movement represented the scattered and disconnected protests of individual women. In that period women as a whole were blinded by ignorance, because society denied them education; they were compelled to silence, for society forbade them to speak. They struggled against their wrongs singly and alone, for society forbade them to organise; they dwelt in poverty, for the law denied them the control of property, and even the collection of wages. Under such conditions of sexual serfdom, what wonder that their cries for justice were stifled, and that their protests never reached the ears of the men who wrote the history of those times? Happily those days are past; and out of that incoherent and seemingly futile agitation, which extended over many centuries, there has emerged a present-day movement possessing a clear understanding and a definite, positive purpose.

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

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

To follow up the advantages already won, there is to-day an army of women, united, patient, invincible. In every land there are trained pens in the hands of women, eloquence and wit on women's lips to defend their common cause. More, there is an allied army of broad-minded, fearless, unyielding men who champion our reform. The powers of opposition, armed as they are with outworn tradition and sickly sentiment only, are as certain to surrender to these irresistible forces as is the sun to rise to-morrow.

These are the things *we know*. That others may share the faith that is ours permit me to repeat a few familiar facts. A call for the first International Conference was issued twelve years ago, and it was held in the City of Washington. At that time the Woman Suffrage agitation had resulted in nationally organised movements in five countries only. In chronological order of organisation these were: The United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, the Netherlands. Two years later, in 1904, the organisation of the Alliance was completed in Berlin, and associations in Canada, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden were ready to join. These nine associations comprised the world's organised movement, and there was small prospect of immediate further extensions. To-day, ten years later, however, our Alliance counts 26 auxiliary national associations, and correspondence groups in two additional countries. Are these evidences of a wave rapidly receding? It would be more in accordance with facts should we adopt the proud boast of the British Empire, and say that the sun *now* never sets upon Woman Suffrage activities. With the exception of the South American Republics there are in the entire world only seven constitutionally organised independent nations without an organised Woman Suffrage movement. Only three of these are in Europe—namely, Greece, Spain, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. The remaining four are the Negro Republic of Liberia in Western Africa, Turkey and Persia, which are not well-established self-governing nations, and Japan, which is still more autocratic than democratic. Since the admission to membership of the National Chinese Woman Suffrage Association, the standard of the Alliance is set upon five continents. Twenty-five nations and two additional countries without full national rights will be counted in its membership. Organised groups also exist on many islands of the seas, among them being Java, Sumatra, the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands. Truly this is a good record for our Alliance, which has been at work only ten years. Like Alexander the Great, we shall soon be looking for other worlds to conquer! The North Star and the Southern Cross alike cast their benignant rays upon Woman Suffrage activities. Last winter, when perpetual darkness shrouded the Land of the Midnight Sun, women wrapped in furs, above the Polar Circle, might have been seen gliding over snow-covered roads in sledges drawn by reindeer on their way to Suffrage meetings, from whence petitions went up to the Parliament at Stockholm asking a voter's share in the Swedish Government. There is something thrillingly exalting in the fact that at the same moment other women, in the midsummer of the Southern hemisphere, protected by fans and umbrellas, and riding in "rickshas," were doing the same thing under the fierce rays of a tropical sun; and petitions poured into Pretoria asking Suffrage for the women of the Union of South Africa, from every State and city of that vast country.

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

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

In our combined countries many thousands upon thousands of meetings are held every year, and millions of pages of leaflets are distributed, carrying our plea for justice into the remotest corners of the globe.

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

## OUR ANNIVERSARY NUMBER.

*Jus Suffragii* appears this month in gala form to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Alliance. In addition to the reports from countries affiliated to the Alliance, and which this month give for the most part a general idea of their year's activity, we have great pleasure in publishing short special articles by writers and politicians outside the Alliance, who testify to their faith in the woman's movement; and also tributes from countries inside the Alliance to the encouragement they have gained from closer intercourse with women of other nations. Other Suffrage papers will, we hope, also profit.

## OUR ALLIANCE.

The prominent part the I.W.S.A. has played in helping to organise the Suffragists of the world will be put on record by some future writer of the history of Woman's Suffrage, and she or he will no doubt put the I.W.S.A. in a place of honour for what it has done for the enfranchisement of womanhood.

But the time to write history has not yet come, and though we have every reason to believe that the Alliance will not have a very long life, owing to the rapid advance of the Suffrage movement, we have a feeling that we wish to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Alliance by expressing our appreciation of what it has achieved in the promotion of one of the greatest movements of our time.

I am glad the task has not fallen to me of writing the history of the I.W.S.A. I am sure I could not do it with the cool impartiality of the historian to whom the heart-beatings, ideals, and dreams of a generation passed and gone are nothing more than so many historical documents.

So the only thing I shall venture to do is to give a few snapshots of the Alliance.

Memory carries me back to the momentous year 1904, to Berlin, to the meeting of the International Council of Women. At the end of that meeting we Finnish women felt dejected, and not a little disheartened. We were told that the I.C.W. did not think Finland could enter into the international body, because Finland was not a free country. It seemed to make no difference that Finland had her own constitutional rights, her own legislation separate from Russia, her own history, her own tradition. *No, Finland did not count as a nation.*

We felt sore at heart, and humiliated. I told our story to somebody—I do not remember to whom—and this somebody advised me to turn to Mrs. Chapman Catt, the president of the I.W.S.A., founded a few days earlier in Berlin, suggesting that she might perhaps take a different view of this matter of nations.

I thought the best thing I could do was to follow this advice. I went to Mrs. Catt, and found her standing alone in a great hall full of people, watching calmly the whirl around her. I introduced myself to Mrs. Catt, she stretched out her hand to me, and I put the case of Finland before her. She was encouraging and most sympathetic. I told her of our political difficulties, that we had no Suffrage organisation, and that in all probability we would not be allowed to organise for Suffrage for many years. She answered that she thought Finland could nevertheless be affiliated to the I.W.S.A. I do not believe Mrs. Catt ever realised what this meant to us, and how grateful we felt that we counted as a nation after all!

From this meeting I went home a Suffragist. Not that I had to be converted. I suppose I had always been one unconsciously, but now I became conscious. And still I had not been present at the first meeting of the I.W.S.A., because at that time Woman's Suffrage seemed a thing too far off to be dreamt about.

The meeting of the I.C.W. had impressed me deeply. It was grand, brilliant, and full of interest, but there was something wanting in it to me—one big thing to bind the whole together, and give it a solid foundation, and this big thing was Suffrage—Suffrage as means to an end, the enfranchisement of womanhood.

On my return to Finland some friends and I discussed what possibilities we had to work for Suffrage. We decided to have a public Suffrage meeting on the 7th of November that same year. It was the first public Suffrage meeting in Finland, and a great success. Two years later, at the Congress of the Alliance in Copenhagen, we went to it as voters! But that is another story, wonderful and stirring in its way; still, I would never have mentioned all this about my own country if it were not that the episode in Berlin, Mrs. Catt's immediate response,

gives one of the keynotes of the Alliance—the *equality* of the nations. The Great Powers and the small nations, those who can boast of bayonets and Dreadnoughts, and those who have none, are on the same footing, and send the same number of delegates. Some people will probably shrug their shoulders, saying, "A woman's dream." Yes, a woman's dream, and a vision of justice and peaceful evolution. The true spirit of internationalism which pervades the meetings of the Alliance cannot be described; it must be felt. When we go to them tired by the routine of work, which is inevitable even in the work for a great cause, we derive inspiration and fresh courage from hearing these great and indefatigable workers from every corner of the globe. First and foremost we get to know the ideals of womanhood, and we find that our ideals as women citizens are strangely alike. In spite of differences of tradition and climate, of race, religion, and language, we feel we have all something in common. We perceive that the motor force of the whole movement is the intuitive comprehension of women that they have to go out of their own individual homes in order to make the big world more of a home; through all we feel the warm beating of a woman's heart, and her wonderful optimism in regard to the problems of our day.

The central figure of the international Suffrage movement is Mrs. Chapman Catt. From the beginning, when the Alliance had only eight affiliated countries, to the present day, when it has become an organisation which encircles the globe, she has been its president. The Alliance is in a certain sense Mrs. Catt's creation. She is a born leader, because she never loses sight of the ultimate aim. She never deals in a small way with a great thing, and she keeps the movement on a high level. The statesmanlike way in which she handles difficult problems, her clever insight, her great knowledge, her logic and perseverance, her wonderful self-control, together with her organising power, have given her the unique position she occupies in the I.W.S.A. But there is something more in Mrs. Catt, something more than her whole-hearted devotion to the cause of woman's enfranchisement and her self-sacrificing untiring work—something which escapes analysis; it is the strength and power of her inner vision. It is this vision which gives to Mrs. Catt's stirring addresses a wide horizon and a wonderful monumentality.

She appeals to what is best in us, and I believe she has not made her appeal in vain.

We have all grown, grown in the measure in which we have succeeded in identifying ourselves with the great cause to which we have consecrated ourselves.

ANNIE FURUHJELM.  
Helsingfors, Finland, April 9th, 1914.



SUSAN B. ANTHONY,  
Founder of the International Alliance.

## LETTER FROM BARONESS SUTTNER.

7, Zedlitzgasse, Vienna,  
March 12th, 1914.

Dear Madam,

I am, for the next two months, so overburdened with work that I really cannot afford to engage myself any further. I have to refuse contributions on many sides, and in this instance I regret it doubly, because I am so fully in sympathy with women's rights, and because I hope that the triumph of the Suffrage cause will greatly help the cause of peace.

Yours very sincerely,

BERTHE SUTTNER.



### WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE A MAN'S QUESTION.

When I first joined the Suffrage movement I had to bear the imputation of being a milksop, a dragger at apron-strings. To-day, without the faintest change on my part, I am regarded as a hooligan, a firebrand, a Bombastes Furioso. I am neither a milksop nor a militant, but a reasonable male creature who believed women should have the vote when they were meek as lambs, and who believes they should have the vote though they are as bold as lions. But I think we men have made a mistake in becoming meek as lambs and allowing the policy of this great movement to be dictated entirely by women. Even Mr. Shaw has, with rare modesty, refused to interfere. It is a woman's question, he says. A little analysis will show it is not.

Changes of the constitution are in all modern countries produced either by armed revolution or by a peculiar machine called Parliament. This machine is entirely in the hands of men. Voters, Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers—all are men. Woman, therefore, has only the miserable alternative of relying on brute force or on brute man. Brute force she does not possess. A bloody revolution by an army of women, such as that of Cromwell against Charles, may be set aside as absolutely hopeless; you may harass the enemy by guerilla warfare, but you cannot conquer him. Remains only the conversion of voters, or of M.P.'s, or of Cabinet Ministers. Men all three, you see. Men, unfortunately, are the alpha and omega of the situation, and any woman who forgets that in the last resort she has to squeeze this vote out of man is losing sight of the central feature of the problem. If in her natural sex-pride or sex-indignation she alienates man, we may understand and admire her, but she is no practical politician, no fit leader for our movement. Now as to the best method of taming the brute—whether by coaxing him or whipping him, or both—opinions differ. All I wish to impress most solemnly upon my fellow-suffragists is the sad, silly, central fact of the situation that this woman's question is, as a political problem, not a woman's question at all, but a man's question. It is by this canon that you must judge all tactics or so-called tactics. How will they affect the men? Could anything be more paradoxical, humiliating even? No wonder, my dear sisters, that some of your leaders lose their heads. Here for centuries have you been going on as parasites on man, and now that at last you determine to stand on your own feet, you find that the only way to do it is to stand on man's. Well, don't stand too heavily—his corns are tender. Trust us men to know how to handle our sex. Militancy has its uses and its moments. But there are moments when other tactics are deadlier. We must move with the mobility of a motor-car, not like a tramcar that can only move on lines once laid down.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.



DR. GIESSWEIN.

### THE ETHICAL MEANING OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

By Dr. ALEXANDER GIESSWEIN,  
Papal Prelate, Budapest.

The history of the world is, to quote a fine saying of Emil Castella, a continuous struggle between ideas and interests. At present interests usually hold the field. The victory of ideas is reserved for the future. But how do new social ideas arise? They are found as the results of social development, half consciously in the mind of the multitude; as obscure

longings, until a great mind seizes them, gives them clear expression and an attractive form, and then leads them to realisation, in spite of the opposition of the established social forms. Tradition regards every new social idea in its upward struggle as dangerous to morality, or even as directly immoral. As a rule, the exact opposite is the truth. Obsolete customs and precepts that no longer suit social conditions become more or less unjust, and all injustice has a demoralising effect. Woman's participation in social and political life, the aim and object of the modern woman's movement, is a reform movement arising out of social and industrial conditions, and for that very reason is denounced by the guardians of tradition, and stigmatised as incompatible with our moral ideas. In reality it only comes into collision with certain interests which are protected by tradition. But it is a great mistake to condemn *a priori* the ethical meaning of the women's movement for social and political enfranchisement. We already have experience at our disposal, and the results of this experience teach us that women do not lose the moral worth of their womanhood by social and political action. Alfred Manes, an opponent of women's rights, informs us as to the Australian woman. "The conferring of political rights," he remarks, "has in no way injured the character of the Australian woman; it has not made her unfeminine nor a bluestocking. She has not been turned away from her domestic duties, and in no essentials does she differ from the women of English provincial towns. She is only superior to the latter in being an extremely capable housewife, and in consequence of the dearth of servants she has heavier housework than the German housewife of the same class."\*

But not only does woman lose none of her moral value; society gains by her social and political activity. As Archbishop Ireland said to Jean Finot,† women's participation in politics had high moral value, and meant the fight against alcoholism and kindred evils. This is amply borne out by the experience of Australia, the United States, Norway, and Finland. Interesting facts are brought forward by Jean le Cautel du Mold in his valuable book.‡ We see from it what a powerful support social reform legislation finds in women's enfranchisement, and that especially education, care of children, protection of girls, and protection of workers are greatly furthered.

One thing indeed must not be forgotten. The woman's movement must remain the woman's movement, *i.e.*, it must grow out of womanly nature and character. But what is womanly? Frau Gnauck Kühne answers in classical words: "The essence of womanliness is motherliness, not motherhood alone; that is nature's affair, and, alas! often devoid of true motherliness, but motherliness is of the soul and heart, and often present to a heroic degree in women who are not mothers. If the woman's movement is led in this spirit, it is in harmony with woman's nature, it will be a blessing for women and for the community, and it must inevitably be crowned with victory.

\* "Der Soziale Erdteil," pp. 63 to 70.

† J. Finot, "Préjugés et problèmes des sexes," p. 373.

‡ "Les droits politiques de la femme, 1913," p. 175.

### LIBERTY AND THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

Italy, which has made immense steps forward in the field of liberty and the citizen rights of men since the constitution of United Italy, has remained among the backward countries in respect of women's right to the Suffrage.

In Lombardy and Venetia under Austrian rule she was allowed the administrative vote. To-day, whatever her legal and social position may be, she is refused even urgently necessary legislation. And when by a recent reform full enfranchisement has been given to all male citizens, even illiterates, the perpetual state of tutelage imposed on women is seen more clearly to be unjust and uncivilised.

In Italy, as in other countries, she is forced by new social conditions to leave her home—where she always has a great moral work to fulfil, and she is drawn into offices and work-rooms, into professions and trades, and by her activity adds to the life and economic wealth of the country. To refuse her any voice in the city and in the State means to destroy the equilibrium of rights and duties, which is the basis of every just social and political order; it means to sacrifice to a prejudice, which the eloquence of facts ought to have buried forever.

To the Italian women who, with tenacity allied to moderation, striving for complete victory by gradual reforms, arm themselves for the great struggle by given the help of all enlightened and sincere spirits.

SALVATORE BARZILAI, Deputy, Rome.



DELEGATES FROM NATIONAL COUNCILS OF WOMEN

At Countess Albert Apponyiv's party to the International Woman Suffrage Congress, Budapest, 1913.

### WHAT WE OWE TO THE ALLIANCE.

The highest values in life, for the individual as well as for the community, are such as cannot be weighed, and are not known by figures and statistics and facts, nor by immediate outward results, but by their profound indirect influence. Thus the deep significance of our great international organisation does not lie in its extraordinary growth, nor in its brilliant outward triumphs, nor the prestige which the Alliance has won for itself and our great cause in an ever-increasing degree at one Congress after another in all civilised countries. Nor is its greatest achievement the deep impression on public opinion and the favourable change of attitude towards Woman Suffrage, which can be noted everywhere. All these are infinitely valuable, and cannot be too highly appreciated. But what is most precious in the work of the Alliance is what it means to us, the workers for Woman Suffrage, and to the national Suffrage organisations, and what it has given them in its ten years of existence—stimulus a thousandfold for their own national work, fruitful exchange of experience, new strength and courage, the joy of work, the faith "that removes mountains" in the glory of our cause, and, above all, the joy of knowing that we are united in solidarity with all the women of the world who are striving and fighting in this strenuous battle for the greatest ideal of our time.

This wonderful internal effect of our great alliance is an intense happiness and enriching of our lives—equally whether the impulses and strength that spring from it have borne fruit in positive successes and achievements, or whether the new life has not yet sent forth great waves into the outer world, but is still beating under the icy covering of old forms and traditions.

German women—in spite of many welcome signs of progress—are still in the latter stage; they cannot report positive results of their work for political emancipation. None the less for that very reason, they feel increasing gratitude to the Alliance after every victorious Congress. To-day we are full of our debt of gratitude next year at the Berlin Congress, when we hope, according to our means, to give, and not only to receive. Our satisfaction is increased by knowing that our own national work will benefit by the presence of our dear fellow-workers from all countries, and not least by the impression of the personality of the woman whose combination of the highest qualities of statesmanship with refinement, tact, and sympathy make her in her great simplicity the most highly developed womanly type, who has devoted her life to the service of one great idea, and has conducted our world alliance for these ten years with incomparable genius.

Such mutual give and take is the result of our striving for freedom and responsibility, and the realisation of a higher civilisation.

MARIE STRITT, Dresden.

### LETTER FROM OLIVE SCHREINER.

March 16th, 1914.

Dear Madam,

I am sorry I cannot write you your paper, as I am here for medical treatment, and am not able or allowed to do any writing at present. I am exceedingly sorry that I can't. In a couple of months' time I might be able, but that would be too late. Wishing you all success in your work.

I am, Yours faithfully,

OLIVE SCHREINER.

### WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

By ODA OLBERG (Rome).

Our opponents appeal to many material and spiritual values in denying women the right to vote. They say it is contrary to morality, will injure the family, and, among other things, that it is contrary to the law of division of labour, which is found in all organic and social life.

In the building up of natural life, as in the gradual formation of human society, we notice a constant tendency to give to each function a special organ. If to-day woman penetrates into a sphere previously reserved for man, our opponents declare that she is leaving out of account the law of division of labour, and is forcing society back to conditions long since outgrown, and in doing so she is reactionary or destructive.

There are people so easily led astray by phrases that they give in without a struggle to this train of thought. And yet woman can and must make good her claim to political influence just on the very ground of division of labour.

Just because division of labour is a fact, because nature and society give to woman a different sphere of work from man's, woman's demand for political activity has a high social justification.

Of the two great life functions, self-preservation and propagation, the struggle for individual survival lies more heavily on man's shoulders, and the care and burden of the preservation of offspring more on the woman, for this very reason, and because, on the principle of division of labour, each sex is adapted by different qualities to these different functions, man and woman approach social problems from different points of view. Because of her motherliness—whether she has children or not—woman attaches a different value to life from that which man attaches to it, and has a different opinion on the expenditure of social resources on the protection and building up of life.

If woman thought herself man's equal, and claimed political rights on that ground, she would be making a just and righteous personal claim. But as she knows that in many valuations of social life she is different, and wishes to bring



these valuations—which, after all, are those of half the human race—into public life, she is making a claim for social justice and expediency.

Those who fight for Woman Suffrage do not wish merely to double the electorate, but to transform it. They do not wish to bring men and women to one common level, but to give expression in politics to the many-sidedness of actual life.

It is not division of labour to reserve participation in politics for men. Politics are not work in the true sense, and normally do not and should not take up anyone's full energies. Politics reflect work. As long as man's work alone or chiefly is reflected in public life, the latter is only an imperfect, crippled expression of actual social life, more monotonous, poorer, one-sided, and therefore unjust.

Woman wishes to carry woman's voice into public life, because she knows that this voice will plead for human suffering and human striving, which at present have none to plead for them. Modern woman knows that the fundamental division of labour, which extends through nature and society, and influences the feeling and action of individuals, is at present not reflected in political life. And in that she sees far more than individual injustice—a denial of the principle of self-government, and every human need, every physical and moral want, put under the tutelage of self-appointed and interested guardians. In politics she does not wish to do man's work, nor to exclude him; she wishes to work as a woman, where hitherto woman's activity has been wanting.

#### WHAT THE ALLIANCE HAS MEANT TO HOLLAND.

Our Alliance has now been ten years in existence, and in a few words I shall retrace what the Alliance and its organ, *Jus Suffragii*, have accomplished in those years for the Suffrage movement in Holland.

A moment's reflection makes clear to me how much we have gained by it. Ten years ago the Dutch Suffragists were only a small group, whose members numbered fewer hundreds than they now do thousands, and we at once felt it a real support to belong to a large body of well-informed workers, of whom we could learn so much. Not only at the different International Congresses where we came into direct contact with so many clever women from other countries did we learn much, in listening to their eloquent speeches and intelligent remarks, but also by studying the Suffrage papers of other countries received in exchange for our own, and by reading the reports of the biennial International Congresses, and most of all through the excellent way in which our international organisation was conducted, and our international meetings presided over. This gave us a good example for our own national organisation, and showed our people that the qualities of a great statesman do not belong to men alone. But the Alliance helped us best when in 1908 the International Congress took place in Amsterdam, and we had the honour and pleasure of being hostess to the Alliance. From that time the movement made rapid progress in Holland. When our countrymen saw so many remarkable women from all over the world, who spend their lives in spreading the principle of political equality of men and women; when they saw so many women already enfranchised, and their womanly behaviour; when they heard from the lips of those foreign speakers the same reasons why women want the vote as they had heard from their own countrywomen, many prejudices were thrown overboard, and many converts were made. From that time also our Liberal daily Press changed its attitude towards the movement, and became soon afterwards a strong supporter of the cause. Our monthly paper, *Jus Suffragii*, has always been of great help to our speakers and propagandists. The fact that we could trust every word that was published in it, that we got the Suffrage news of the whole world every month, made that paper of invaluable support to us.

These facts, and very many more which cannot easily be expressed in words, are the results of the work of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in the Netherlands. I sincerely hope that after another ten years' existence it will have become an International Alliance of Enfranchised Women.

ALETTA JACOBS,

President of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht in Nederland.

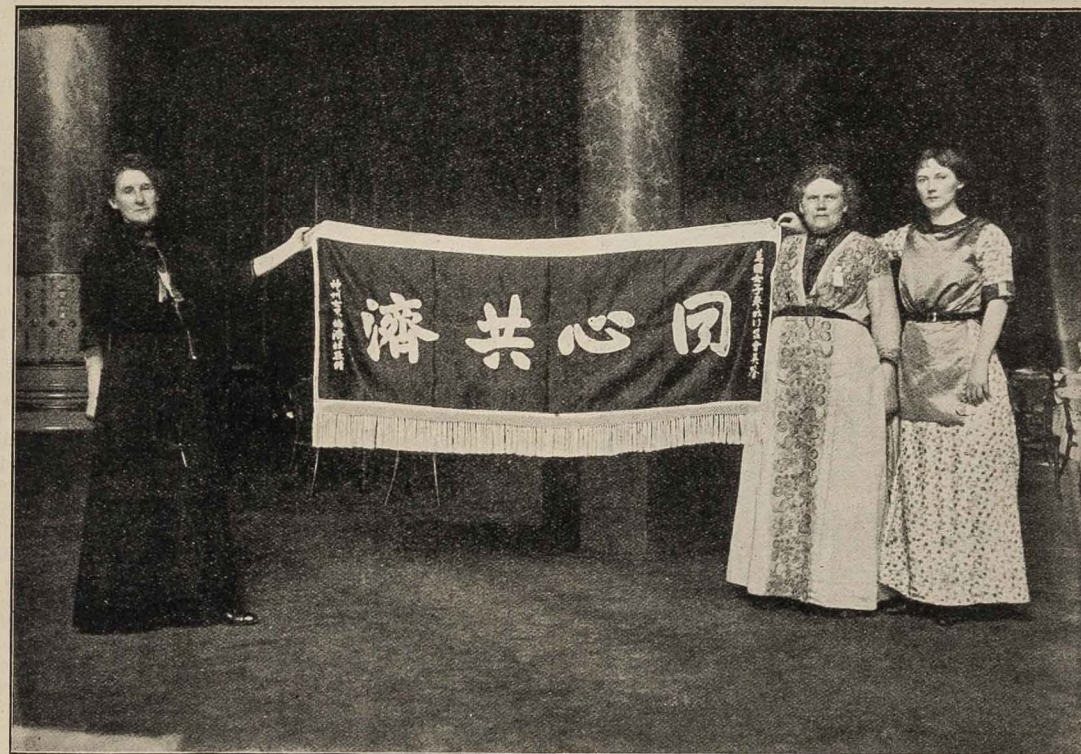
#### LETTER FROM BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT.

Dear Madam,—You can rely on my support, as you know; I am in favour of your propaganda for Women's Suffrage. Not that I believe in the immediate success of this reform or its unlimited blessings. It is obvious that the way for it must be well prepared, and that it must ripen to give its fruits, and that it cannot give them all at once. But the slower and more difficult it is, the more need there is for steady work. Let us at least pass the first stages. Woman's emancipation cannot be postponed indefinitely. The declaration of the rights of man is incomplete and absurd unless it is followed by the declaration of the rights of woman. Woman has a right to be freed from man's domination. This domination is even worse for man, who cannot fail to abuse it, than for woman, who submits to it and adapts herself to it. The abstention of women from the government and control of the city, from education and sanitation, not to mention the State, has deplorable results, and occasions the abstention and indifference of numbers of men, so that a small minority of males administers the whole of social life. Under the pretext of devoting herself exclusively to her home, the mother of a family is prevented from defending her home, which is thus a prey to the lowest and most adverse forces. Man is neither bold enough nor devoted enough to administer the city without woman's co-operation. Both together, and not one without the other, still less one against the other; that is my modest claim.

#### LOVE AND SUFFRAGE.

By GABRIELE REUTER.

What have these two things to do with each other? Love belongs to the world of inexplicable feelings; Suffrage to the world of realities. But mankind has always been driven forward by inexplicable powers. And Suffrage is much more a question of development than of force; a question of development for men just as much as for women. Therefore love has a great deal to do with Suffrage. There are many kinds of love. Everyone has their own idea of love. Emotions are included under the term love which in truth have little to do with it. First of all, there is possessive love. It consists in a feeling of pleasure in the possession of another person, in the pride and joy of having power over the body and soul of a living being. This possessive love of a man for a woman is the greatest hindrance to their development and also to the attainment of the Suffrage. He sees his unlimited power over woman threatened, both on the physical side and on the spiritual, if she is interested in other things besides himself. Then there is ideal love, in which the beloved object is a medium for the enjoyment of its own feelings, the beauty and enhanced vitality won through love. This ideal love may indeed renounce possession of the adored object; but it will not tolerate any tampering with its ideal. This ideal has often only a faint resemblance to the real person, and when the real person comes forward with demands that conflict with the pictured ideal, the result is disappointment and anger. This kind of love is also bound to be hostile to Woman Suffrage, for it is always in terror lest its sacred ideal of woman should pay for its activity in real life by the forfeiture of its beauty. Then there is altruistic love, of the scientific and educational kind. It indeed wishes the good of the beloved object, but according to the plan which it lays down itself. Woman shall be happy and develop, but in the way that man has decided is right for her, and to the limit which he thinks suitable. Generally speaking, the men who love women in this pedagogic way will not be hostile to the women's movement. But it must halt where they give the word of command. Suffrage seems to them to open a path into boundless regions, and therefore for the present they are bent on hindering it. But there is, besides, a love which I would fain call the highest, the one real true love. This love is pure joy in another person, independent of possession, of aesthetic feeling, and of the realisation of the man's point of view. This highest love has only one desire: that the beloved one may develop to the greatest possible perfection according to its own innate laws. This love demands that perfection may be attained by full development of the individual nature. It is a copy of God's love for man. This, the highest love, is the only one in whose spirit man can rightly understand woman's demands, and must enfranchise her. The State is the sphere in which nations develop. It only exists for that end. Only in work for the State will woman, too, learn to overcome petty possessive love. She must also teach herself the highest, truest love. In her a new union between man and woman will be realised. Its object will be the perfecting of humanity.



THE BANNER PRESENTED TO THE ALLIANCE BY CHINESE SUFFRAGISTS.  
Held by Miss Nina Boyle (South Africa) and Mrs. and Miss Asmundsson (Iceland).

#### THE CHINESE BANNER.

A most significant feature of the programme at Budapest was the admission of the Chinese Woman Suffrage Association. It was a disappointment that no delegate was present to be received. There was a general desire on the part of Western delegates to express in person their congratulations and good wishes, and a still more earnest hope that they might hear the story of the struggle for emancipation of the women of China from the lips of a Chinese woman. The next best thing was the banner sent by them to the Congress, and which served as a visible evidence of the reality of that far-away awakening of women. It was embroidered in white on scarlet satin, and bore the truly international message in Chinese characters: "Helping each other, all of one mind." At the two ends, reading from top to bottom in the Chinese way, was the inscription: "From the Chinese Mutual Helping Society, to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance." The banner was presented by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, who said:—

"It is really not an easy task, dear President, which you have kindly placed on me, to offer this banner of the Chinese women to the Alliance. Till the last moment I hoped that some of the Chinese women themselves would be present here to tell in their own simple Chinese way what nowadays is going on in the minds of the new women of new China. But, alas, there are again political troubles in that interesting country, which probably prevent them from being here.

"To speak to an audience which certainly does not know the Chinese women in their own country, an audience of which only a few have had the privilege to hear from the lips of those feet-bound women what an important part they have taken in the revolution of their country, and in the political reform which has resulted from it, and who have not heard the sad story of the struggle for their own liberty, I cannot make you clearly understand the spirit of these Chinese women when they offered Mrs. Catt, as the President of the Alliance, this banner in gratitude for what the Alliance is doing for the uplifting of womanhood, and when they expressed their hope that the Alliance also would take the Chinese women under its care.

"Think, for instance, that they live in a country where a girl means nothing and is not educated, and a boy is given

every opportunity; where in some provinces the parents kill the girls as soon as they are born; where a girl slave traffic is a lawful institution, and girls of two or three years old are being sold; where polygamy is in nearly every family; where even the younger generation, the intellectual new Chinese man, thinks that a man must be free to marry one or two dozen wives if he wishes to, and where these wives have only duties and no rights.

"And, still, in every town we visited we found young, bright, intelligent women, with the same love for freedom as inspires us, who hunger after righteousness just as we do, and who devote not only all their money, but their entire life to the struggle for the improvement of the position of the women of their country. Many of the Chinese women have already been decapitated for the truth they told while fighting their battle for freedom, and all the leaders of the woman-movement know that their life is uncertain, and that any day the men may find a reason to silence them when their eloquence and their enthusiasm makes too many converts.

"In the five minutes which are allowed me to offer you this banner, I cannot tell more about these new sisters, who want our help, and with whom we must join hands, but in translating the words which they embroidered upon this bright red satin you will learn perhaps better what is going on in the minds of the new Chinese women than can be expressed by my words: 'The Mutual Helping Society, to the International Alliance—Helping each other, all of one mind.' In the name of these Chinese women, I ask you to accept this banner in the same loyal spirit in which it is offered, and to welcome the Chinese Suffragists into our Alliance."

"You have not been, as Mrs. Catt and I, in the South of the country, where we saw Chinese women sitting in Parliament, but from whom the vote is now taken away; you have not heard, as we did in many towns, the Chinese women speak in crowded meetings to a mixed, enthusiastic audience, with an eloquence none of us can surpass, about the miserable social position of the Chinese women. You cannot imagine how hard the struggle for liberty is in which these women have to fight. We often have said to each other, our struggle for liberty seems to us now easy, in comparison with what these women have to overcome.





THE QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS,  
The first Queen to include Woman Suffrage in her Speech from the Throne.

### THE EDUCATIVE VALUE OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

When foreigners visit Belgium they are generally struck by the gulf, greater perhaps than elsewhere, which exists between men and women from the point of view of intellectual development.

The men of the educated classes are not deficient in culture. They are rather above than below the average level of European civilisation.

The women, on the contrary, if one puts aside the ever-growing exceptions, are poorly educated, almost entirely absorbed by household cares, indifferent to public affairs, and submit passively to their husbands' wishes, or, in the case of Catholics, to those of their spiritual director.

One cannot, therefore, be astonished if our country is amongst those where women's political enfranchisement, their attainment of the vote, finds the fewest supporters and encounters the greatest prejudice, resistance, and obstacles. Moreover, for various reasons political parties are at one in opposing it, openly or secretly.

In spite of certain appearances, the majority of Catholics will not hear of Woman Suffrage, because it is contrary, if not to their principles, at least to their traditions.

The Liberal party, on the other hand, is resolutely hostile, from fear of the political influence of the clergy.

And among the Socialists themselves there are many who, whilst accepting the principle of the political equality of the sexes, are in their hearts of the same opinion as the Liberals. We are nevertheless convinced that if by the stroke of a magic wand women's political enfranchisement became a reality to-morrow, the inanity of these fears would immediately be apparent.

Not to dwell upon the outrage to our sense of justice of subordinating the recognition of the rights of one-half of humanity to electoral considerations, experience would soon demonstrate that in the immense majority of cases men and women would vote alike from the political point of view; and whereas on the one hand the exercise of the Suffrage would have the same educative effect on the female electors as it has

already had on the working-class electors, on the other hand, as long as the various parties have no direct electoral interest in undertaking women's political education and gaining their support, nothing will be done to rouse their interest in what lies outside their home, and nothing will be done either to redress their wrongs and to meet their special claims in the domain of civil law and social reform.

Therefore, with all my heart I am with the valiant minority which is striving to awaken women to their own interests and to create a movement for the political equality of the sexes, with which all will have to reckon.

EMILE VANDERVELDE.

### THE LOGIC OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISM.

I have long tried to grasp the logic of Anti-Suffragism. If—as is maintained by women Anti-Suffragists—the great majority of women do not really want the vote, that great majority will not bother themselves to use it when it is given them, for there is no compulsion in this matter. If women, in the mass, are and always will be—as is alleged—absorbed by domestic interests, why should they dread seduction from their proper functions? If, in fact, the vote is a paltry addition to woman's life, why this fear of the vote on the part of those so certain that women have no use for it? If, on the other hand, the vote is a worthy addition to woman's life, how can any woman in her senses oppose the grant of it?

Again, if—as is alleged by men Anti-Suffragists—men are by nature, politically speaking, superior to women, then, vote or no vote, men must always take the lead in politics. Why then this fear among men of granting the vote to women? Why this timidity on the part of such as are convinced that nature has given them a lead of which they cannot be dispossessed? If, on the other hand, women are by nature the political equals of men, it must be obvious even to men that they ought in justice to have the vote.

No, I am unable to grasp the logic of Anti-Suffragism.

JOHN GALSWORDY.

### WOMEN AND THE FUTURE OF THE RACE.

Women begging men to let them take their part in their common interests are rather like potentates who beg their treasurers to give them the money due to them. For, to tell the truth, the social and political treasury is in your hands. Continue, therefore, to beg the treasurer or cashier to give you your rights, but, above all, think of the way to get them for yourselves. It is for you to seize the treasure if you are refused an advance and half the total afterwards.

You hold within your hands the education of future generations. Inspire them with the respect due to women, the primordial, indispensable, and inevitable basis of the normal functioning of society. Later on you will have by the force of events what is now imprudently and unjustly refused you. When you have brought up your sons to worship right and justice, when you have explained to them how the old sovereignty of one sex is continually pressing humanity towards the most awful catastrophes; how wars, and, what is often worse, armed peace, tuberculosis, alcoholism, and unmentionable diseases continue to decimate humanity to-day, and render it infinitely wretched, your rights will be given you, in the interest of future generations. All civilised peoples are moving towards democracy, and public opinion will more and more become the absolute sovereign of nations.

JEAN FINOT.

### OUR ALLIANCE AS TEACHER OF LANGUAGES.

By ROSIKA SCHWIMMER.

Several contributors to this birthday number have pointed out the unmeasurable merits of our Alliance as a stimulus to the Suffrage movement, as a school of perfect statesmanship (why always statesmanship?), as an inspiring source of splendid solidarity between women representing all classes, creeds, political opinions, races, etc., and as an example of devotion, enthusiasm, and self-sacrifice towards the great cause of women's emancipation. I wish to add to that praise, which cannot be sung in too high tunes, the thanks which are due to our Alliance as to the best school of languages among all the advertised and not advertised ones. When I go back to the day of birth of our Alliance I remember how we were sitting the whole day and disturbing each other by asking continually: "What did she say?" when the highly envied few linguists among us showed by signs of appreciation or opposi-

### THE WOMAN CITIZEN.

By JULES BOIS.

I am for Woman Suffrage, not only as a "feminist" from my first breath, but as a man and a patriot. Justice demands it, and so does the interest of my country. From women alone can we expect certain social reforms and political purifications; for men have exhausted their credit and prestige in petty struggles and have forgotten their higher mission as citizens, which is to guard the future of the race and to safeguard general interests which are urgent and sacred. After writing *l'Ève Nouvelle* and *le Couple futur*, I am engaged on a new work, *la Citoyenne*, which will show by numerous examples that in our country woman fulfils her duties at home as well as in the city. The fatherland and humanity can rely on her. Woman as citizen fights against and will continue to fight against the great scourges of alcoholism, depopulation, vice, and political corruption. She will constrain man to more dignity and more solidarity. It is not to increase the number of electors that I work for women's political rights; it is to raise the moral level in France and all other countries.



### THE OLDEST VOTER IN EUROPE

SOPHIA MARIA PALIN, of Finland.

### LETTER FROM HEDWIG DOHM,

Pioneer of the Suffrage Movement in Germany.

Berlin.

Hochgeehrte Frau,

Traurig bin ich, traurig, dass ich die Beteiligung an der Jubiläums Nummer Ihres Journals ablehnen muss. Ich leide neuerdings an Herzschwäche. Ärztliche Vorschrift verbietet mir für einige Zeit jede geistige Tätigkeit. Muss ich meinem hohen Alter auch diesen Tribut zollen, so bleibt mir doch die tiefe Freude an den grandiosen Fortschritten der Frauenbewegung, der Congress in Rom wird sie aufs neue erweisen. Haben Sie vielen und herzlichen Dank für die schöne Aufgabe die Sie mir zugedacht.

Mit der Versicherung meiner Hochschätzung. Ihre allezeit treue Geistesgenossin.

HEDWIG DOHM.

tion that they knew what was going on. Most of us were not caught by our brains, in which, by lack of understanding the languages used at the convention, the facts could not enter; but by the sentiment which was stirred up by the impressive personalities of women such as Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Chapman Catt, Rev. Shaw, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Mrs. Cauer, Mrs. Bugge Wicksell, Mrs. Fawcett, and others. I am sure each of us present at those Berlin meetings resolved to go home and to work as hard as possible for Woman Suffrage, but also for acquiring the knowledge of the official languages used in the Alliance. Unfortunately the two resolutions contradicted each other, because working hard for Suffrage meant loss of any time to devote to learning of languages. So the Alliance itself had to become our teacher, giving us by each Congress and by our official organ—which was edited in its earlier stages in three languages—a practical lesson in the different official languages. The Alliance can challenge any official school of languages to show a similar result! Those who have attended all the Congresses can witness the remarkable result.

I personally feel extremely obliged to the Alliance in this respect. I am sure never to forget how unhappy I felt when, at that memorable Berlin meeting, Susan B. Anthony embraced me and said many things of which I literally did not understand a single word, but which I felt by the kind smile with which they were accompanied. While I was looking in her kind eyes I tried as hard as my very unlinguistic brains allowed to catch the sound of some words, so that I may afterwards ask those who knew.

"Young girl" was the only thing I caught this way, because she repeated these words several times. So "Young girl" got the foundation-stone of my knowledge of English. But to the credit of my teacher I must point out that it is purely the fault of my innate antitalent for languages that I did not reach a higher stage in the knowledge of that language.

Each Congress shows a greater mass of women who, if they don't even master our official languages, understand enough to make translations less and less necessary. We see that all the countries where the Congresses are held do a good deal of language teaching among their people. And we had the marvellous sight or hearing of people learning the languages of the countries where the Congress is held—women who learned Swedish, others Hungarian,—and many determined to learn any other language which will come up in the run of our Congresses. The ever-rising number of Esperantists among us is not to be forgotten.

There is only one queer thing to be stated about the teaching of our Alliance. I once heard a story of a gentleman being utterly surprised to hear a girl discussing a very learned subject with unexpected knowledge. He was still more surprised to find that that very learned young girl was absolutely ignorant in another, quite trivial, question, of which every ordinarily educated person could have been expected to know something. He afterwards learned that the young girl had shortly before got a lexicon, which she meant to read from A till Z. The very difficult subject began with the A, while the other subject was treated in a volume which she had not yet reached.

The knowledge of languages between us who learned by Congresses and the publications of the Alliance is much like that. They are very remarkable in some way. We get much credit from our admiring fellow-country-people by speaking very easily of adjourning a meeting, moving or seconding a resolution or to put the previous question, or assuring that our credentials are quite right, or other things like that, which are quite unknown by the unhappy creatures who have to learn languages in the ordinary, old-fashioned way by pedantic teachers or official schools of languages.

But it is very strange how the roles are perverted as soon as we step out of the way of politics, of Suffragism, Feminism, or formalities of meetings. Then we tell people who wish to take part in the excursion into the high mountains to "notify the undertaker," when we simply wished to beg them to notify the manager of the excursion—to the great delight of those ancient-fashioned pupils of languages.

Being afraid that the Alliance shall not be able to teach us the whole grammar and everything we ought to know of these languages, I can wish only, also for the sake of our linguistic improvement, we may get the vote as soon as possible all round the world, so that we may find time to give the knowledge of languages we acquired through our beloved Alliance the last touch of accomplishment to be taken out of the other volumes of the lexicon.





From "De Amsterdamer," February 22, 1914.

After Rembrandt's "Faust."

### The Politician and Woman's Suffrage: Will he understand the Sign?

### OUR CONTRIBUTORS.

This jubilee number of *Jus Suffragii* is honoured by contributions from men and women of world-wide reputation.

*Politicians and members of Parliament* are represented by Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, known also for his splendid temperance work; Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, member of the French Senate, a well-known pacifist, and promoter of the Entente Cordiale; the Hon. S. Barzilai, member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies; Dr. Alexander Giesswein, member of the Hungarian Parliament, and also Papal Prelate, and well known as a pacifist and social reformer; Ferdinand Buisson, member of the French Chamber of Deputies, and President of the Municipal Suffrage Commission.

*Authors* include Jean Finot and Jules Bois, well-known French writers on feminism; Gabriele Reuter, one of the foremost German novelists; John Galsworthy, the English dramatist, novelist, and prison reformer; Oda Olberg Lerda, whose books of sociology are valued everywhere; Israel Zangwill, equally known as a writer of plays and novels and as an ardent Zionist.

Among those who were prevented contributing articles, from whom sympathetic letters were received, are: Baroness von Suttner, whose book, "Down With Your Arms," roused the world; Olive Schreiner, whose "Dreams" and "Woman and Labour" are among the classics of our movement; and Hedwig Dohm, the great German octogenarian and pioneer of the Woman's Suffrage movement.

### THE MUNICIPAL VOTE IN FRANCE.

The movement of French opinion in favour of votes for women has increased notably in volume in the last two years. The "Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes" has carried on a most successful and well-conceived propaganda; it has devoted itself to making known the good results achieved everywhere, where Woman Suffrage obtains, by women's co-operation in public life. In Parliament, the example of countries highly advanced in civilisation, which have understood how to turn to account for the public good this precious social force, has impressed a very great number, probably a majority, of the members. What has given a secure and well-founded popularity to the cause of Woman Suffrage is that the Committee on Universal Suffrage has resolutely kept to ground where it meets with no serious opposition, no reasonable objection, hardly the vague resistance of routine which vaunts the name of tradition. In municipal affairs it is evident that woman is qualified to participate, it is obvious that she is capable of sharing in the communal housekeeping, and that she can often play an important part in it. And this self-evident fact gives singular force to the Bill which I have twice had the honour of introducing on behalf of the committee. It seems to me more than likely that the next Legislature will not hesitate to carry the reform through. It might even have been undertaken in the session which has just closed, if it had not been necessary to follow a certain sequence and begin with the other electoral reform, proportional representation, which has taken all our time, and moreover without result. At the opening of the new session it is to be hoped that Women's Municipal Suffrage will have an early day on the Parliamentary programme. And when once it is discussed, it can hardly be rejected.

FERDINAND BUISSON, Deputy.

### WOMEN'S MUNICIPAL VOTE IN INDIA.

The British India Office having had their attention called to the fact that a woman sits on the Municipal Council of Mussoorie, and that this is not in accordance with the information sent by the Government of India to the India Office and quoted by the latter to Miss Macmillan, the matter is being referred back by the India Office to the Government of India, with a view to obtaining a full statement of the facts relating to the eligibility of women to serve on Municipal Councils in India.

### REPORTS FROM SOCIETIES AFFILIATED TO THE ALLIANCE.

#### AUSTRIA.

Oesterreichisches Frauenstimmrechtskomitee.

The Austrian Committee for Woman Suffrage has local branches in Vienna (Lower Austria), Brünn (Moravia), Tropolan (Silesia), and Prague (Bohemia).

The Vienna branch held during 1913 six large public meetings and a number of smaller ones.

In Parliament during the year Woman Suffrage was only briefly mentioned, in connection with the debate on the new law of associations (*Vereinsgesetz*), which is at last to give Austrian women the right to join political societies. From some quarters this permission was described as the beginning of wider political liberty for women, but no further deductions were made.

The German parties, outside the Socialist, preserve a reserved attitude to woman Suffrage. As a joyful step forward in the recognition of the necessity of Woman Suffrage we welcome the fact that the German party of freedom, founded in the autumn of 1913, first among middle-class parties of German nationality, included "political equality irrespective of sex" in its programme. Unfortunately, this party does not count for many votes in Parliament. The "German Progressive Party" in Moravia accepts women as members, without binding itself formally to Suffrage. The other German parties and groups include in their ranks supporters and opponents of Woman Suffrage, most of them avoid a definite declaration of principle in this question. The German Social Democrats, like their comrades in other countries, include Suffrage in their programme.

The attitude of the Press depends on that of the party which it represents. In general it must be admitted that the question of Woman Suffrage is much more often and more justly treated and judged than a few years ago. On the occasion of the International meetings in Vienna last year nearly all the great daily newspapers published articles of welcome and sympathetic reviews of the Woman Suffrage movement. Public opinion, too, was obviously favourably impressed by the visit of the International Suffragists. The committee strives without ceasing to win fresh adherents.

Propaganda is carried on by arranging public meetings, lectures, and discussions, by publishing pamphlets, cards, stamps, and a monthly paper, by petitions, interviews with ministers, members of Parliament, and other influential persons (the burgomaster of Vienna, etc.). On the occasion of the international meeting, a drive through the town was arranged in more than 100 motor-cars and carriages, decorated with Woman Suffrage devices. As this was the first street demonstration, it aroused great interest, though the bad weather somewhat spoilt the effect. Our greatest grievance is still §30 of the law of associations (*Vereinsgesetz*). It is true that both Houses of Parliament have decided on a new law which will allow women to form political parties and belong to them. But as the two Houses have not been able to reach an agreement on some points, the law could not be presented for sanction, and as the Lower House was adjourned indefinitely, it is impossible to say when the new law will come into force. Our committee also fights against the unfair position of women teachers in Vienna, and for their equal payment with their male colleagues, for reform of the civil code, and of the laws protecting children.

Besides the Austrian Committee for Woman Suffrage and its branches, the following societies support Woman Suffrage: The Universal Austrian Women's Society, which arranges meetings in support of women's political rights, devotes part of its paper to the subject, and takes part in election work; the Societies of Free Women Teachers in Vienna and Brünn; the Union of Working Women in Vienna, which supports the cause in its monthly review; the Imperial Organisation of Austrian Housewives, which works particularly for the municipal vote; the Imperial Society of Women Post Office Employés, etc.; and all these are middle-class, not Socialist, organisations.

The Social Democratic women have their own organisations with large memberships, in Vienna and the industrial towns. Besides their usual meetings they have a great Suffrage demonstration every year. The Social Democratic women refuse to work directly with the middle-class women's movement, but the relations between both bodies are good.



## BELGIUM.

The Consultative Committee on the Provincial and Communal Electorate continues its work, but without advancing its task much.

Up to the present it has held a good dozen meetings. We have reported the meetings at which Woman Suffrage has been discussed, but of course these brief notes can give no idea of the multiplicity of questions raised, nor of the direction of the discussions. In fact, there are three groups in the committee: The supporters of representation according to interests; the supporters of some form of equal suffrage; the supporters of the status quo (plural vote). Apparently the latter are not in a majority.

After the meetings of February 25th and March 12th, the leading Catholic feminist, Mr. René Colaert, member of the Chamber of Representatives, gave a carefully documented account of the results of Woman Suffrage in the principal countries where women vote.

After mentioning the various proposals recently laid before the French Chamber, Mr. Colaert raised the condition of the Woman Suffrage question in Belgium, and concluded that the vote should be given to women on the same terms as men. Mr. Colaert said in effect that Woman Suffrage could be harmonised with any electoral system. If the vote is a natural right, it should be given to women as well as to men; if it is a function, woman is as capable as man of fulfilling it. With regard to the provincial and communal electorate, the only question now before the committee, Mr. Colaert declared himself frankly a supporter of Woman Suffrage for those two bodies. In particular he proposed to give to married women the second vote, which is at present given to her husband as father of a family.

In an important note amplifying a brief note presented by him to the sitting of December 24th last, Mr. Orban, professor of public and administrative law at Liège University, also declares his support of a certain measure of Woman Suffrage; but only wished her to have it as a householder, either as a widowed mother, guardian, director of a business, charitable, or educational institution.

Lastly, Mr. Henri Francotte, provincial councillor, professor at Liège University, declared that he supported Woman Suffrage for heads of families. The general discussion terminates in April. The committee will then attach the future arrangement of its programme. The order to be followed in examining questions which the 31 have to discuss after the closure of general discussion is as follows:—The organisation of:—

- I.—The communal question.
- II.—The conditions of franchise.
- III.—Guarantees of the electoral régime.

Each of these points requires numerous sub-divisions. Under the 2nd sub-division of II., under the heading *Sex*, Woman Suffrage has a good position.

JANE BRIGODE,  
Belgian Federation for Woman Suffrage.

## BULGARIA.

Our young movement, as young as the country, was born of the intellectual enthusiasm which is a characteristic of social life in Bulgaria. Compared with the absolutely servile condition in which the Bulgarian woman was thirty-five years ago, she has rapidly advanced, and has a position which gives scope to her energy and activity. In school and university she receives the same education as the men. She can be a doctor, schoolmistress, post-office and telegraph employee, bank clerk, etc. She has gained all these possibilities by degrees, and partly through the efforts of the Union of Bulgarian Women, especially since this Union has been affiliated to two International Unions, for on several occasions there have been attempts on the part of the Government to retard or hinder development.

As for purely political rights, she can be elected as a member of school committees, with the duty of administering all primary and secondary schools. Our National Council has taken steps to complete the passive right of being elected by the active right to elect, but, unfortunately, normal life was paralysed by the war, and for two years the activity of Bulgarian women was devoted exclusively to Red Cross work and the refugees who fled to Bulgaria for shelter.

And now, since life has returned to a certain extent to its old channels, our Council will summon our annual Congress to decide on our actual needs and the means to accomplish them.

J. MALINOFF,  
Union of Bulgarian Women.

## DENMARK.

REPORT OF "DANSKE KVINDEFØRENINGERS VALGRETSFORBUND," 1913-14.

"Danske Kvindeforeningers Valgretsforbund" consists of 160 branches with 13,500 members. From its Press bureau have been issued during the last year 27 articles to the provincial Press through the ordinary Press offices; the women's papers have published about 50 articles. About 500 meetings have been held, and about 14,000 kroner collected for propaganda.

The Bill containing the amendment of the Danish constitution has this winter been referred to a joint committee composed of members from both houses. This joint committee has again formed a sub-committee, where the differences between the Liberal parties have been treated. These parties have come to an agreement, on the 12th March; the Conservative minority demanded a delay, which it has got, and now the proposition is ready to be voted upon as soon as the Parliament meets after Easter. We expect the Bill to be signed on the 5th of June; but as it must be carried by two Parliaments, we shall have new elections, followed by a short session, and in September women probably will vote for the first time according to the rules of the new constitution.

Those are our prospects for the present time, but nobody knows what may happen.

A widely circulated paper wrote the other day in a leading article about the new Constitution: "Danish people take most interest in the abolition of all privileges attached to property as the basis for the Upper House. It is proposed to substitute an age qualification (35 years)." The same paper is nevertheless aware that Woman Suffrage on the same terms as Man Suffrage will attract most attention from the external world; it notes with satisfaction that Denmark will be the second self-governing country in Europe that has enfranchised its women.

One anti-Suffragist has raised his voice, a farmer from a distant part of the country. He wrote to a Copenhagen paper and warned Parliament not to enfranchise the women, because it was opposed to St. Paul.

A reform of our judicial system is just pending. A part of the reform is the introduction of jury tribunal. The question was then put whether women might become jury members or not. On one side it was maintained that, in spite of getting political suffrage, women had no right to act as jury members if it was not exactly mentioned in the law. Dansk Kvindesamfund addressed the Minister of Justice asking him to state this question, and in the recommendation of the committee the word "woman" is added.

A woman, Mrs. Harbou Hoff, member of the Municipal Board of Copenhagen, has been re-elected second vice-president of the said Board.

Mrs. Estrid Hein has been nominated member of the Board for the Royal Institute of the Blind. No woman has hitherto held this position. Mrs. Hein is a well-known oculist.

A rural committee has made the wife of a farmer chairman of the local Board.

A woman has in a city been made chairman of the free Relief Funds. The same woman was already member of the committee for guardianship of neglected children and of the inspection of foster-children.

Several provincial towns have had women police officers. Copenhagen has till now been without. We have had woman supervision of female prisoners, but now we are going to get two police officers appointed on the same terms as men.

A Government order has declared that women may become State servants upon the same qualifications as men, and a woman's marriage does not exclude her.

As it perhaps will be proposed to our new Constitution to give a representation to the different branches of industry, Dansk Kvindesamfund has sent a petition to the President of the Joint Committee for the amendment of the Constitution demanding representation of housekeeping, which has such great economic significance for home and State.

A young man, member of the Press, Mr. Viggo Koppel, who was a delegate to the Congress of the International Men's League, has written a book in Danish called "Suffragetterne," in which he tries to make Danish people understand the Suffrage movement.

ELINE HANSEN.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.  
("Landsforbundet for Kvinders Valgret.")

"The Landsforbund" was formed in 1907. Its sole object is to work to obtain equal political rights for women as for

men. It contains 160 local societies in different places all over the country and counts about 12,000 members. It is non-partisan in politics, and has gathered its members from all ranks and all parties. Each year a very large number of meetings are held in the local branches all over the State. On "Constitution Day" (5th of June) the different political parties celebrate the day by large open-air meetings, some of which are the best attended through the whole year. "The Landsforbund" sends lady speakers to many of these congregations, where they are always well received, and where they have the best possible opportunity to speak to large audiences. During the elections the "Landsforbund" looks to it that every candidate is questioned concerning his views about Woman Suffrage and his willingness to vote for the reform. It has been very satisfying to observe a great change in respect to the answers; while in earlier years only the Radicals and Social Democrats answered favourably, it now seems that all parties are willing to grant the request. "The Landsforbund" has made propaganda in many ways, one of which has consisted in arranging a series of social lectures in different Danish high schools. The series lasts for three days, during which time the pupils stay at the high school, paying for board and lodging at very moderate prices. The teachers deal with all sorts of social and political topics, and after each lecture one or two hours are given to further discussion upon the theme.

Our paper, *Kvindevalgret* ("Votes for Women"), has been distributed in thousands of copies, containing an appeal to the women to use their vote at the municipal elections.

We have established a sale of small saving boxes, with Suffrage quotations. A Suffrage stamp, in the colours of the Alliance and bearing the inscription of "Jus Suffragii," has been sold by thousands during the last few years. Moreover, the "Landsforbund" has asked one of our own well-known china factories (the Bing and Grudahl, of Copenhagen) to produce a plate in white porcelain. It bears an inscription of the words "Jus Suffragii," and "The Landsforbund for Kvinders Valgret" arranged in a wreath around the well-known symbolic figure from the International badge. This decorative plate was manufactured for a certain annual meeting in Copenhagen in the autumn of 1913. This Congress was unusually well attended by representatives from the local branches. In connection with the Congress a large public meeting was held in the Copenhagen Town Hall, which contains the largest public room of the whole city. The speakers on this occasion were the late Prime Minister (Mr. Berntsen), the present Prime Minister (Mr. Lahle), a lady member of the Copenhagen Town Council, and others.

The population of Copenhagen was very interested in the Congress, and the way in which all the leading papers wrote about it has been of great help to the cause.

For several years the Landsforbund has provided about 120 provincial papers with Suffrage copy two or three times a month. This copy has been sent to papers of all political views. The meetings that have been arranged by the local branches throughout the country have always been nicely and respectfully spoken of in the Press.

All signs seem to point to a speedy victory for the Danish women—perhaps the Suffrage will be granted this spring. If so, the women will obtain the vote and eligibility on the same conditions as men. Just now, the Danish Parliament is discussing a Constitutional Reform Bill, and if it is carried it will give the women their political rights. The Bill is being supported by the Moderates, the Radicals, and the Social Democrats. Only the Conservatives have voted against—not on account of any opposition to Woman Suffrage, but because of their unwillingness to give up the privileged vote to the Upper House.

In case the Reform Bill becomes law this spring, the Danish women will be able to take part in the general elections in the autumn of 1914.

ELNA MUNCH.

## FINLAND.

Our Government is at last seriously considering the question of the rights of women-physicians to fill positions under the civic administration.

For nearly twenty years this question has been under discussion; it has been submitted to different judicial and medical authorities, and the medical department three times reported on the subject. Now the Finnish Senate has agreed to settle the question on the following terms:

1. The right to practise medicine and to occupy medical offices both in municipal service and in country parishes in Finland is open to female-physicians on the same terms as to men.

2. Female-physicians may on terms of equality with men apply for any vacant medical State-office; the nomination shall nevertheless be determined by a special examination in each case, the final decision depending on whether or not the vacant office can be suitably occupied by a woman.

These terms of course are rather equivocal, permitting the administrator to take back with one hand what he gives with the other! Nevertheless, if sanctioned, this project will eliminate the humiliating necessity of personal licence for the right of mere professional practice, and thus mark a step forward.

It may be mentioned in passing that one member of the Senate expressed the opinion that the nomination of a married woman-physician ought to be dependent upon her husband's consent; as no one endorsed this point of view, the subject was dropped.

The final destiny of this project is yet uncertain; it may be altered, rejected, or sanctioned. According to the present illegal order it was submitted to the Board of Ministers in Petersburg, which approved of it on the 28th of March; consequently its ultimate sanctioning seems probable.

Helsingfors, April 15th, 1914.

## PARLIAMENTARY NEWS.

As I trust that our Parliamentary affairs are of some interest to the readers of *Jus Suffragii* I continue to give news, chiefly concerning the part the women delegates have taken in legislative work.

In order to prevent any misunderstandings I will explain in brief the legal forms according to which the Diet is privileged to make its legislative proposals. These forms are, according to our legal terminology, *addresses* to His Majesty, *motions* and *petitions*. The first form scarcely requires any explanation; a motion is a Bill, which, when duly passed in the Diet, and without any modification sanctioned by the Sovereign, becomes a law; a petition is a request, in regard to a definite subject, addressed to the Government and asking for the elaboration of a Bill to be submitted to the Diet at a future session. Deputies or Parliamentary groups present to the Diet projects of addresses, motions, or petitions. The petition has been the form in most general use; 120 petitions and 26 motions have been submitted recently. However, the well-founded want of confidence in the capacity and the goodwill of the present Government has induced many delegates and certain Parliamentary groups to abstain from using this form, which they consider has little chance of success. Thus the Swedish Parliamentary group and also its female members have almost entirely abstained from petitioning.

After this explanation I will now enumerate the projects for motions and petitions moved during the present session by women delegates, though, of course, collaboration between delegates of both sexes is usual. Women have helped to work out many of the projects submitted by men, and men many of those originated by women.

## PROJECTS FOR MOTIONS MOVED BY WOMEN DELEGATES:

1. Concerning an amendment in the penal statutes to reduce the obligatory minimum of solitary confinement for prisoners in penitentiary from 4 months to 1 month.
2. Concerning an amendment in the penal statutes to permit penitentiary women prisoners to be employed in penal work outside the prison. (Both moved by Dagmar Neovius, Jenny af Forselles, and Annie Furuholm.)
3. Concerning such settling of the work in commercial and other offices as to improve the conditions of clerks and apprentices. (Moved by Hilja Pärssinen a. o.)

## PROJECTS FOR PETITIONS MOVED BY WOMEN DELEGATES:

1. Concerning women's rights to State appointments.
2. Concerning the organisation of an effective control of the treatment of prisoners. (Both moved by Tekla Hultin.)
3. Concerning improvements in the conditions of female workers employed in railway work. (Moved by Hilja Pärssinen and all the 13 female members of the Social Democratic group.)
4. Concerning travelling subsidies to teachers in schools for household management, cookery, etc. (Moved by Iida Yrjö-Koskinen a. o.)



5. Concerning subsidies for the furthering of home industry. (Moved by Iida Yrjö-Koskinen a. o.)
6. Concerning a public subsidy to the Society for Home Education. (Moved by Evelina Ala-Kulju a. o.)
7. Concerning the foundation of homes for destitute children and mothers. (Moved by Alma Jokinen a. o.)
8. Concerning the legal organisation of the care and education of the feeble-minded. (Moved by Hilja Pärssinen a. o.)
9. Concerning the prohibition of travelling animal shows.
10. Concerning legislative measures to strengthen the efficacy of the protection of certain birds. (Both moved by Iida Yrjö-Koskinen a. o.)
11. Concerning a raising of the public moral standard. (Moved by Tilda Löthman, Tekla Hultin, and Iida Yrjö-Koskinen.)
12. Concerning a Government investigation as to the conditions of workers in the clothing industry.
13. Concerning the appointment of a Committee in order to make an investigation, and to propose improvements as to the conditions of home industrial workers. (Both the last moved by Aura Kiiskinen a. o.)
14. Concerning a subsidy to the trade association of female servants in Helsingfors. (Moved by Miina Sillanpää and Hilja Pärssinen.)

In addition to the above enumerated I will point out some petitions submitted soon after the address mentioned in my last report. They all concern our political question, and prove once more how vivid and unanimous the protest against the present political course is, and how deeply the need of a change is felt.

1. Petition requesting that coercive measures against loyal Finnish citizens should cease.
2. Petition requesting that the Russian language should not be made the official language of the Finnish administration, and that the national languages should not be superseded.
3. Petition requesting the re-establishment of legal order in Finland.
4. Petition requesting a strict observance of legal proceedings in regard to the customs duties and the maintaining of independent custom tariffs for Finland.
5. Petition requesting that no illegal tax be placed upon imported corn.
6. Petition concerning the political wrongs in their whole extent, and requesting the re-establishment of the former legal order.

The last two petitions were moved by the Social Democratic Parliamentary group; most of the projects were signed both by men and women deputies.

EMMA SALTZMANN.

## FRANCE.

### A YEAR'S PROGRESS.

I think no one will be disposed to contradict me when I assert that in one year the Suffrage question has made immense progress in public opinion. When the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes was founded in the autumn of 1909 a certain amount of courage was needed to join it, and we seemed to be faced with immense mountains of prejudice to be removed. About two years of preliminary organisation had to be undertaken, but the U.F.S.F. now has at least 12,000 members, without counting those of 12 affiliated societies. We have a federation composed of 69 local branches, and 22 sections and 40 delegates divided over the whole of France.

A central committee in Paris gives unity of action to all the groups of the Union. The number of lectures given in the year has been between 350 and 400. We have no complete record of all the funds raised.

Forty-one municipal or general councils have passed a resolution demanding a speedy debate on the Dussansoy Buisson Bill, which would give women municipal and departmental Suffrage, but in spite of our efforts and those of our friends in Parliament, the Bill presented to the Chamber and put on the order of the day on February 3rd, 1914, has not yet been debated. We have now to wait for the assembling of the new Chamber. As the Parliamentary elections take place on April 26th, we take advantage of them to carry on an electoral campaign for Woman Suffrage.

The Union's placards signed by men, real or fictitious Parliamentary candidates, are displayed in twenty districts of Paris and many provincial towns.

As everywhere, the Socialist party is the only one which puts Woman Suffrage on its programme, but in France we cannot say that any party is hostile to our claims. The moderation of our first demand (municipal Suffrage) and the dignity and calm of the Union's attitude count certainly for a good deal in the goodwill shown us by most men who study the question. Everyone understands that this first Suffrage is only a stage, but it is a stage that public opinion is gradually accepting, and the great majority of the Press is favourable. From time to time there are ironic articles, but the question of Woman Suffrage comes up perpetually in the newspaper columns, and that is the chief thing.

The Academy of Moral and Political Science had included Woman Suffrage in the subjects for competition, for which it awards prizes. The first prize was won by Monsieur Barthélemy, professor in the faculty of law at Paris, who is favourable to us. Prof. Abensour has written an interesting book on "Feminism in 1830," and Monsieur Jean Pinot, well-known for his feminist sympathies, has published several works on the subject, among others "Préjugés des Sexes." Our Union has published a number of pamphlets.

The special reforms that we demand are shown by our struggle against social scourges such as alcoholism, public gambling, and State regulation of prostitution. We also demand entire abolition of night work by children and a minimum wage for women. The Suffrage question is almost always accompanied in our lectures by one of the social subjects above mentioned. Legislators begin to understand that they need us, for in the new laws for the assistance of large families, for the assistance of maternity, and for Children's Courts a place has been made everywhere for women on committees, and their co-operation is sought. The number of women in Cantonal Delegations is also greatly increased.

What are the causes of the real progress in the Suffrage movement in France? It would be bold to make any positive assertion, for the causes are many. The propaganda carried on all over the country by the Union has certainly been efficacious, but we can also pay tribute to the influence which spreads almost imperceptibly from one country to another, and which helps Suffrage principles to advance in France because other countries have emancipated their women.

From this point of view we gratefully acknowledge that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance has rendered us immense services, by accustoming the whole world to the idea of Woman Suffrage. If the violence of the English Suffragettes has often injured us in France, and if we have often been reproached with the excesses of our "friends" (!) the wise and intelligent guidance given to the International Alliance in its ten years' existence by our dear President, Mrs. Chapman Catt, has been a great help to us. It has enabled us to quote the progress made everywhere in Suffrage countries, and we strongly feel this solidarity of women, which causes the efforts and sacrifice and energy of our sister Suffragists all over the world to prepare and facilitate the path of the French Suffragists. We are profoundly grateful to them and gladly pay them this tribute. We rejoice in the successes achieved by women unknown to us at the other end of the world, and they too feel that they can find new strength and energy in the sympathy of our hearts.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER.  
President U.F.S.F.

## GALICIA.

Great progress has been made by the Polish Committee during the past year. Electoral reform has given them an immense amount of work. Two great meetings have been arranged, and a large number of small meetings and lectures, deputations, and interviews with members of the Committee on Electoral Reform.

At last, on December 5th, 1913, the Polish Committee for Women's Suffrage presented its petition to the President of the Diet. The petition was signed by 25 Polish associations of men and women and by 22 Ruthenian associations. The President of the Diet, Count Goluchowski, received our petition in a most friendly way and with encouraging words. In spite of that, the result of all our work is far from satisfactory; women will be allowed to vote for the Galician Diet in person instead of by proxy, which was forbidden before the new Act. The property and education qualifications remain untouched.

We had friends in all political parties, who promised to help us. But the majority of members of the Committee on Reform being opposed to Women's Suffrage, not one of our friends was willing to plead our cause before it. The idea of women's emancipation gains supporters every day, and grows visibly. Our daily occupation is propaganda. Our methods of propaganda are the following:—Lectures, sometimes followed by discussion. The following were the subjects of our lectures during the year:—The Budapest Congress, International Culture, four lectures on the history of Polish women, all by Mme. E. de Tomitski; Alcoholism, by Prof. Dr. Popielski; Woman and the Law, by Dr. W. Sikorski; Woman Suffrage and Social Justice, by Mdle. Krajewska; Essential Rules of Constitutional Life, by Dr. Sikorski.

The Polish Committee for Woman Suffrage, on the invitation of the affiliated group of Gorlice, sent its lecturer, Mme. Tomitski, who lectured there on the Budapest Congress. Later on in the year we inaugurated a school of modern languages (French, English, German), and a library, which are a great aid to Suffrage propaganda.

The Polish Committee has a feminist review in the paper, "Gazeta Wieczorna," and has organised a co-operative league. Our affiliated provincial groups, of which we have four, are growing and developing, thanks to the zealous work of Mme. Gerzabek. Of fraternal associations, we have two at Lemberg—the Men's League, in process of formation, and a Women's Committee. There are a great number of women's associations in our country. These associations form three groups—the Catholic, the Nationalist, and the Socialist. Although Woman's Suffrage is not their main object, it is usually one of them.

A subject to which one always returns with joy is the brilliant memory of the gathering of representatives of nations all over the world, united by the pure and sincere feelings of the fraternity of the nations in our great idea. And if sometimes disagreement hovered in the air, the President (Mrs. Chapman Catt) always found the right word to prevent unfairness or bitterness. One of the great merits of the International Alliance is that it encourages women of all nations in the realisation, to a certain extent, of the sublime idea of justice and equality.

EDVIDGE DE TOMITSKI, President.

## GERMANY.

For years Germany has been in the stage of slow but steady ripening for the idea of Woman Suffrage. And just this last year entitles us to hope that the time of all-round ripening for this idea will come on more quickly than could have been dreamt of. A favourable revulsion of public opinion is taking place, which often surprises us, and strengthens us for further labours for the spread of our ideas. This revolution in the general attitude to us is proved everywhere by important and by trivial incidents and declarations. Wherever the demand for Woman Suffrage is mentioned, either at political meetings, or in the daily Press, or in scientific and sociological utterances, the tone is more serious, more thorough, and shows greater knowledge than ever before. Those who are on our side give their support openly; our opponents choose better weapons than before. Our friends intervene with greater boldness and warmth; our opponents see that they cannot settle the matter by ridicule. All political parties recognise the necessity of bringing women into political party life. Even the Conservatives, who oppose Woman Suffrage, support woman's political education, though, strangely enough, they refuse to recognise her right to independent political action. Just as within the progressive people's party (fortschrittliche Volkspartei) since 1910, so in the national Liberal and Conservative parties there are now women's political organisations. In the Imperial Parliament (Reichstag) representatives of all parties expressed themselves more or less favourably to a petition of the German Suffrage Society for the Parliamentary franchise for women, and the only member of Parliament who felt obliged to oppose our demands uncompromisingly—the Conservative, Graefe—even said that in our days it needed courage to come forward as an opponent of Woman Suffrage; and finally the petition found its way, not as formerly into the waste-paper basket, but after detailed and serious discussion was handed to the Chancellor for his recognition.

In Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, women took the forward step from vote by male proxy for town and rural councils to personal voting, i.e., the Diet has resolved to that effect, and the

sanction of Government is awaited with confidence. The German authorities, too, seem no longer so entirely antagonistic to us Suffragists. The friendly official reception of the German Society (Verband) by the Burgomaster of Eisenach on the occasion of the general meeting in October, 1913, is paralleled by the equally friendly invitation of the Burgomaster of Strassburg to the Verband to hold its next general meeting in Strassburg in the autumn of 1915. A circumstance, from which the German Suffragists hope a specially favourable impression on public opinion, is the recent founding of the *German Men's League for Women's Suffrage*. This new organisation and the friendly attitude of the municipal authorities are facts whose import perhaps only those intimately acquainted with German conditions can fully appreciate. How far the changed attitude of the public to our endeavours is due to the Deutscher Verband für Frauenstimmrecht cannot, of course, be proved by figures. But what can be stated is that in this year, as in the past, the Verband has worked enthusiastically to spread the principle of Woman Suffrage, to win friends and refute enemies. All branches, provincial and State federations have done excellent work by organising public meetings, courses of lectures, discussion evenings, and other fixtures. Many pamphlets have been added to our propaganda literature. The membership of the Verband is on the increase. Although two State federations and one local branch (Bavaria, Hamburg, and Darmstadt) have seceded from the Verband from internal reasons, new State federations and local branches have been formed (Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Altona, Munich, Nuremberg, etc.). Other organisations, not affiliated to the Verband, work hard for the Suffrage movement, as, for instance, the Deutsche Vereinigung für Frauenstimmrecht, which grew out of the amalgamation of the North, East, West, and Central German Suffrage Societies, and has over 4,000 members. Then the Deutscher Frauenstimmrechtsbund, with about 1,500 members, consists of the organisations which seceded from the Verband last winter. For the moment the centre of interest for all branches and individual members of the Verband is, of course, the International Congress, to be held in Berlin in 1915. Under the auspices of the Executive Committee of the Verband, a local committee has been formed in Berlin, with Frau Alma Dzialoszynski as chairman, and with its work divided into sections. The general treasurer, Freifrau von Funck, presides over the Finance Committee. A Committee of Honour is also in process of formation, and eminent men and women have declared themselves ready to join it. To one of our foremost women artists is entrusted the task of designing a placard for the Congress. Affiliated organisations are co-operating in the work, presidents of the local branches form a committee whose task it is to carry on propaganda for the Congress in the Empire. The German Verband rejoices at the honour shown it, and hopes that the International Congress will foster the national Suffrage movement, that it will turn opponents into friends, the indifferent into supporters, and lukewarm friends into eager champions of our good cause.

ADELHEID VON WELCZECK.  
MARIE ENGELMANN.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

### NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

No country within the Alliance feels the stimulus and encouragement of the Alliance more than Great Britain. The Women's Suffrage movement is so old here (having been organised since 1867), and has become so embittered by the trickery of politicians, that the consciousness of world-wide effort and international sisterhood is a wonderful influence, making for stability and sanity. For now we know that if British women are cheated and slighted, the women of Italy and of America and of all the other 26 countries in the Alliance will sympathise; and when there is a victory in Norway or in China, we British women can rejoice, and feel once more that our cause must triumph, since it is the common cause of humanity. This solidarity of women all the world over is the result of real statesmanship; for it deprives temporary or local defeats of the power to depress women. All over the great world they can see their cause moving on, now here, now there, now fast, now slow, but always moving towards a sounder and saner civilisation. In our president, Mrs. Chapman Catt, we have this broad, statesmanlike grasp of politics as not merely national or imperial; we have the woman's conception of politics as the wise ordering of public affairs so as to produce



the best human beings, and the woman's recognition of the ethical basis of such politics, and the folly of building empires upon the enslavement or degradation of any race, class, or sex. This feeling of indebtedness has grown steadily since the International was founded ten years ago, and proof has been given by the great increase in membership on the part of Great Britain, and by the excellent rally last year at the Budapest Congress.

The British Suffrage movement has during recent years had to suffer the trouble which always arises in political movements when justice is unreasonably delayed. A "physical force" party has arisen, which, denying the very first principle of its own movement—the principle that force settles no question—has proved one of the gravest hindrances in our way. Having failed in every endeavour to make the physical force party see reason, all that Suffragists can do to counteract the evil is to show by numbers, devotion, and effective work how vastly the reasonable Suffragists predominate over those whom injustice has rendered unreasonable.

Accordingly, education and demonstration are carried out by the National Union with never-failing ingenuity and resource. The great Pilgrimage of last year, which lasted six weeks, and in which some 5,000 women took part, marching on London, was an extremely picturesque and striking piece of propaganda. It culminated in a vast meeting in Hyde Park, where, from 20 platforms, a simple resolution demanding a Government measure was passed almost without dissentients, many thousands voting. From this Pilgrimage has arisen an "Active Service League," by which it is hoped that propaganda may be carried on during the summer as effectively in the open air as it is in halls during the winter. Another scheme of enrolling men and women as "Friends of Women's Suffrage," without binding them to become members of any society goes on steadily piling up its thousands of witnesses. Exhibitions of "sweated workers," showing how cruelly women are ground down in industry, are frequently undertaken by our societies, and innumerable classes and lectures are given during the winter, showing the position of children and of wives and mothers in the masculine State.

All this educative work has had a great effect upon the churches, which are at last ranging themselves with the women. There are now in England leagues representing Suffragists in the Anglican Church, in the Free Churches, the Catholic Church, the Jewish Church, and the "Society of Friends," or "Quakers," as they are commonly called. The Bishops of Winchester and Oxford and Lincoln and Kensington are all taking a prominent part in the Church movement.

The National Union has, however, recognised that all this educative work must be made politically effective by putting pressure on politicians, and for this purpose the Election Policy described last month has proved itself to be a formidable piece of machinery. Whether as a direct result or not we cannot say, but the formation of strong Liberal Suffrage Societies by party men and women shows that we are within sight of having this question at last taken up by one (perhaps both) of the great parties. Sir John Simon, Attorney-General, and one of the coming Liberal leaders, in a speech addressed to the Men's Liberal Suffrage Union on March 28th, declared his conviction that women must be enfranchised by a Government Bill, and said that his belief in the enfranchisement of women was part of his Liberal principles. There are other prominent Liberals ready to say as much. When Parliament has finished the work upon which it has been engaged for three years, we look to these men to declare that it is the turn of the women. Women have stood aside for the men long enough.

H. M. S.

NOTE.—It is possible that some readers may have derived a wrong impression from a sentence inserted in the first paragraph of last month's report, which says that the election policy of the National Union "comes into effect in by-elections when there are three candidates." But the policy is not restricted to three-cornered contests. The National Union is empowered to support the Labour candidate at any by-election where it would be in the best interests of Women's Suffrage to do so.—H. M. S.

#### MUNICIPAL ELIGIBILITY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The Liberal Government at present in power has promised to introduce two measures which, if carried, will make it possible for a very much larger number of women to stand for election for Town and County Councils in England and Wales, and for Town, County, and Parish Councils in Scotland.

As the law stands at present, only electors are eligible to be elected to these bodies. As the most important qualification of an elector is being a householder, and as comparatively few women are householders, very few women are at present eligible. The Bills which are to be introduced by the Government are to make it possible for any one, who has resided in the district of the particular council for a year, eligible to stand for election.

The practical effect of the measure will make it possible for married women and for the sisters or daughters who are living perhaps in the house of their mothers, fathers, or brothers, to become members of these local bodies.

This residential qualification for eligibility is already in force with respect to Boards of Guardians and District Councils in England and Wales, and School Boards in Scotland. When it passes, the residential qualification for eligibility will be in force in all these countries for every local government council.

The present uncertain political position, however, makes it doubtful whether this Government will remain in power sufficiently long to pass the measures. C. M.

#### HUNGARY.

After our busiest year, full of great events, the year of our greatest disappointment, the passing of the Suffrage Bill in both Houses of Parliament excluding Hungarian women from all political rights, and our greatest success, our glorious Congress, we expected a year of relaxation, a year of exhausted forcible rest after all the throbbing excitement, feverish work, and bustle. But forces which are set in motion will continue to act, and our busy past brings forth a still busier future; there is no standstill in development, unless there is a relapse. And we are speedily progressing. The grand demonstration of the International Congress brought us many friends and much honour. A quotation of the words of the Minister of Justice, whose invitation for a conference on the subject of the codification of the Civil Laws Bill we accepted gladly, characterises best this improvement of public opinion. "We are considering the representatives of the Association as factors of equal importance and value." We do not take this for more than courtesy, but would not have experienced it but for the prestige the Congress conferred upon us. The Press and the public authorities, the capital and the country, emulate each other in the expression of their consideration. There is a steady increase of our members, and of our five local branches three have been founded in a short space of time, since the Congress, and we are looking forward to the formation of other local branches shortly. These formations are of extraordinary importance. Our country towns, compared to the capital, are much less advanced; the conservative local authorities dominate society, the position of women is more dependent, the differences of social position more marked. And though the inhabitants of country towns have not as many opportunities of education and diversion, and the energies of those of our members who in a more peaceful life have cultivated their minds were fresh and unused, social circumstances prevented the formation of local branches. All these difficulties seemed to have been easily vanquished after the Congress. The branch in Szeged was founded in January with the participation of the county with 200 members. February brought us as a surprise the branch of Nyiregyháza, which was founded with 100 members, and March the branch in Nagy-Becskerek. All these branches develop a surprisingly independent, conscious, and zealous work. They are founding sections and committees, they agitate, claim, and accept work in the municipal and State institutions, develop their activities in the fields of child protection, organisation of working women, women clerks and servants, endeavour to secure for girls the right of visiting the boys' gymnasiums (secondary schools). The Szeged branch has even won the friendship of the local Press so as to secure a column in the Sunday number of a local paper. The awakening of the country fills us with joy and hopes for the future. We cannot tell the exact number of the members of our society, as we have a great number of corporate bodies affiliated which means many thousands each, but of which we do not know the exact figures.

Affiliated bodies are:

- The Organised Peasant Women of Balmazújváros.
- The National Women Clerks' Association in Budapest.
- The National Midwives' Association in Budapest.
- The Girls' Association in Pápa.
- The Galilei Freemason Lodge in Budapest.
- The Louisa Girls' Association in Ujpest.

The Teachers of the States Elementary School in Csongrád-Mindszent.

The National Casino of Post Clerks in Budapest.

The Teachers of the Girls' Upper School in Resiczabánya.

The Christian Girls' Association in Vágújhely.

The States School Teachers' Corporation in Zalaegerszeg.

The Catholic Women's Council in Budapest.

We did not raise any other funds this year besides the fees of our members, as the expenses of the Congress, which amounted to 120,000kr., together with the unfavourable economic situation of the country, exhausted the means of our friends. Nevertheless, we got voluntary gifts of about 4,000kr., and the little sum over from the Congress funds gave us the means to reorganise our Press organ, which we hope will repay work and enthusiasm by developing into a powerful means of propaganda.

No action was started for election reform, or consequently for Woman Suffrage, in our Parliament. The new Suffrage law has been completed but recently by the formation of the new election districts, which means a great increase of our work for the elections in future. The nine election districts of Budapest, for instance, have been increased to 22.

The sterile struggle of the political parties for power, the abstinence from earnest Parliamentary work of the opposition parties interrupted by stormy obstructions and scandals, is not favourable for any successful work. There was a new political party founded last autumn, an opposition party which is on the basis of the compact with Austria with the programme of women's civic duties on its platform, the announced municipal Woman Suffrage having been rather veiled and hidden. Nevertheless, it is the first political party in Hungary which has taken notice of the existence of women.

Immediately after the Congress our Law Committee began to study the Codification Bill of the civil laws, and though not asked for its opinion by the authorities, passed its judgment and discussed it with the members of the societies as first of all the competent corporations. These discussions, and the result of these, a memorandum which was presented to the Minister of Justice, attracted the greatest attention. The Minister invited two appointed members of our Society to a conference, in which the Minister, the State Secretary, the Referee of the Bill in Parliament, and the Chief of the Codification Committee in the Ministry, took part, and the most important paragraphs were discussed.

The Minister said that as there is still a year before this Bill will become law we have ample time to lead a campaign in the Press, in lectures and meetings. The creators of the Bill are so convinced of the excellence of their work that they considered our wishes very trifling, so we must try to convince other members and get them to represent our claims.

The Jurists' Association, at first rather astonished at the unexpected participation of the women in their lectures upon the Bill, finished by inviting them to take part in their discussions. This opportunity, which is embraced by the Feminists with pleasure and alacrity, again created the greatest surprise, and brought us much consideration. The most conservative papers are publishing leading articles about this activity of the Feminists; the legal position of the woman and child within the family is a question of constant debates.

Our future programme involves a new field for our activities, the extension of our propaganda and educational work in the circles of busy women of the more modest middle class, the employers in commerce and industry. In order to organise for the elections the Commercial and Industrial Chamber of Budapest, to which both men and women have equal rights—passive and active Suffrage,—we have begun to work according to a detailed and large plan.

At the last elections we were unprepared, but, nevertheless, we succeeded in getting a respectable number of votes for our candidate, Mrs. Victor de Molnár, wife of a State Secretary, who is herself the owner and manager of a great factory. This time we begin with teaching and agitating in the commercial and industrial societies to which business women chiefly belong, and as these busy women are hard to reach, and cannot afford time to come to us, we try to find them. Vilma Glücklich was the first to speak to the enthusiastic audience of the Commercial and Industrial Society of one of the districts of Budapest, and the members promised to help us at the election. In one of the next numbers of *A Népe* Press agitation will begin on the subject.

Our regenerated paper, *A Népe*, is spreading steadily. On Palm Sunday it began its new career, and the streets of

the capital have received a new feature: we are beginning to sell our paper on the streets. This event was received with great attention. The ladies who arrived at their respective stations with their burden on the beflagged auto, which still had the smell of fresh print, created a great sensation. A well-dressed lady, with the official red band and tin number of the professional newspaper seller on her arm, possessor of a regular permit from the police, is a novelty as yet in Budapest. They were much stared at. Sometimes you could hear a remark, "Suffragette"; but also, "Oh! that reminds me of London! I must get a copy if only for memory's sake." Workmen and old men and women, the latter anxious whether there is no "impudence" in it, were ready buyers of the paper. This first day was a great success, both economic and propagandistic.

The Hungarian books written for Woman Suffrage are:

"Opinions on Woman Suffrage," compiled by Rosika Schwimmer.

"Suffrage."

"Woman Suffrage," by Desider Márkus.

I. Woman Suffrage.

II. Lecture in the Reform Club by Professor Dirner.

"Feminism," by Countess Iska Teleky.

"What is Feminism?" by Gizella Nagy.

"The Rights of Hungarians in the Past and in the Present,"

by Andor Máday.

"Feminism in Hungary," by Gábor Jánossy.

The National Women Clerks' Association fought a hot battle for Woman Suffrage at the elections for the Ferencz József commercial hospital. "With their vigorous agitation" they forced the opposition parties also to put women on their list of candidates and women's interests on their platform; in consequence fifteen women were elected.

The Women Clerks' Association also took part in the census of the unemployed, which was ordered by the town, and accomplished by volunteers, industrial and commercial employees; 68 members of the Women Clerks' Association, with the aid of some members of our Association, performed splendid work in two districts of the town, called in 750 tenements and filled 250 census sheets, left behind 50 sheets for those who were not found at home. They were not exposed to any of the insults from which some anti-feminists meant to save them, but though everybody who experienced their work had to acknowledge its excellency, the anti-feminists' authorities and Press were anxious to pass over it in silence.

The Hungarian National Council of Women gave proof of good comradeship in its last general meeting. The whole meeting was sincerely feminine. The Papal prelate, Dr. Giesswein, made a grand speech on the history and aims of feminism, and in connection with a lecture of Mrs. Sidonia Szegvári passed a resolution in favour of a petition to be presented to the Government to urge the revision of Suffrage in order to enfranchise women.

We are glad that as a consequence of this general meeting, and the splendid work performed in it, the first branch of the N.C.W. was formed in Szombathely, the country town which gave hospitality to the aforesaid meeting.

The Minister for the Interior, at the request of the Feminists' Association, gave an order to forbid the hospitals to recover the expenses of maternity from the village or town of the confined mother, which would ruin her for life. The expenses are covered from State funds.

The President of the School Association in Szeged is a woman, though men are in a majority. The School Boards of the gymnasium of the reformed church parishes decided to open their boys' gymnasium also for girls, but, alas! the Minister of Education, who welcomed the Budapest Congress in the name of the Government! induced the bishops to forbid the realisation of this laudable plan. The opening of the law colleges in Pécs and Eperjes to women seems to be prevented for the same cause.

The Council for physical culture appointed a prize for mothers or nurses of well-cared-for babies from 50 to 100kr.

The postal employees who served at the time of the Balkan war in Serajevo had been given the medal of war. Some women employed at the telephone were decorated with it.

The Catholic Bishop, Csernoch, has ordered that the girls in the Catholic Teachers' Colleges shall be taught as musical directors to perform duties in the village church choirs. These will be the first women musical directors in Hungary.

Of the superintendence and the council of the Juvenile Court in Szeged some women are members.



The Council of Catholic Women have recently joined the Feminists' Society after a magnificent feministic speech of the Bishop Prohászka, who is the greatest orator in the Catholic Church in Hungary.

EUGENIE MISKOLCZY MELLER.

Budapest, the 10th of April, 1914.

### ITALY.

NATIONAL FEDERATION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We have now five branches—Rome, with 115 members; Naples, 34; Mantua, 60; Genoa and Turin, numbers not yet set in. (Milan is an independent society, with 194 members.)

For the first time, a Suffrage Congress was held in Rome in December, 1913, and great things are hoped for as the result of the May Congresses, especially from our Suffrage meeting on May 16th.

Suffrage has not yet been discussed in our Parliament, but from the growing interest in the subject we hope it may not be long before it is.

Four of our political parties have Woman Suffrage in their programme—the Constitutional Democrats, the Republicans, the Socialists, and the Radicals.

The Liberals are in favour of limited Suffrage, but do not include it in their programme. The Christian Democrats are vaguely favourable; the Conservatives, Clericals, and Nationalists are opposed.

Our methods of propaganda are the usual ones of lectures, meetings, and newspaper articles. The reforms we are working for are:—The abolition of marital authority; research of paternity; divorce; raising the age of consent (it is 12 in Italy); the right to take legal proceedings against anyone guilty of corruption or seduction of minor girls, without waiting for the girl or her father to denounce him, as is the law at present; the right of women in Government service to leave their pension to their children and husband.

There are no other Suffrage societies. The *Associazione per la Donna* is in favour of Suffrage, but its work is social reform.

The attitude of the Press is generally one of indifference, but in Rome the two most important papers, the *Tribuna* and *Giornale d'Italia*, are against the Suffrage movement. Recently the latter has modified its attitude and reports our work without comment. In Northern Italy the Press is generally favourable, in the South unfavourable; but it is almost a personal question with the editors.

### NORWAY.

NATIONAL NORWEGIAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

May, 1913—May, 1914.

On the 11th of June, 1913, the equal and universal political vote and eligibility was conferred upon women. Parliament voted this amendment of the Constitution *unanimously*. It was proposed by the L.K.S.F. The wording is as follows:—\$50. Entitled to vote are: Men and women who are citizens of Norway, have passed 25 years of age, and have been domiciled in this country five years and have their residence there.

The object of our organisation—the National Norwegian Woman Suffrage Association—is thus fulfilled. Some of our branches have dissolved, feeling their task finished; but many other branches continue to work, saying that an organisation is necessary for women if they are to obtain any influence in politics. Union is strength.

Our organisation has a great many irons in the fire—for instance, a Bill changing the arrangement of the constituencies, in order to make it possible for women to be elected members of Parliament. The question of new provisions in the criminal law is also a burning one. In cases of infanticide, "il faut chercher l'homme," it is the mother of the illegitimate child who is punished; but the father in 99 cases out of 100 goes unpunished. Very often infanticide is committed because the unfortunate woman got no support from the father of the child; in many cases he is proved to have treated her with cruelty, and even to have suggested to her to commit the murder. But he goes unpunished. A Bill intending to increase the responsibility of the man towards his illegitimate child and towards its mother, before and after the birth, is now proposed; and our organisation, that many years ago commenced to remonstrate with our Government upon this subject, now supports the Bill in order that it shall pass into law. Man and woman should be on an equal footing also before the criminal law.

The L.K.S.F. has commenced to collect money for a fund to support women's professional education. There exist funds for women who wish to study the fine arts, but none for those who wish to prepare for a profession.

At this moment new provisions in the factory laws are under preparation, and the L.K.S.F. has moved that the proposed prohibition by law of women's night work in factories and mills shall be omitted. No closed doors for women in this country, where women are voters, where women have the same political rights as men.

April 4, 1914.

L. QVAM.

### ROUMANIA.

Every race in its social movements and reforms preserves the cachet of its own ethnic character and economic conditions. Thus our feminist movement develops in accordance with inherited characteristics. The fact that for more than thirty years woman has had a right to enter nearly all professions, that she is not involved in the economic struggle, that she pays no taxes (a somewhat Oriental trait), has made her slack in the struggle for individual rights, freedom from the chains of perpetual minority, and her right to what should be common property, the vote. And as with us all movements for liberty, unlike those in other countries, have come from above, *i.e.*, from the governors to the governed, woman now expects the same from man as governor, so that the Feminist struggle is a very honeyed affair, and cannot be otherwise without interrupting its progress.

Besides our *National Suffrage Association* for women's rights, founded November 10th, 1911, at Bukarest, we have one other feminist society, "The Protection of Woman by Work," whose president is Marie Fagarasanu.

Our Suffrage Society has several hundred members. Our funds are what we can collect by selling the Society's badge, and by organising balls and literary evenings, but the expenses are mostly borne by the president and committee. The number of meetings this year has been thirty. The attitude of political parties up to the present has been indifferent; we have friends in all parties, but chiefly in the Liberal party. Our second honorary president is one of the leaders of the Liberal party, Jean Duca, at present Minister of Education. The Deputy who presented to the Chamber our memorial for the vote and eligibility for communal and departmental councils is one of the leaders of the Liberal party, Jean Th. Floresco, barrister and writer. The memorial was presented to the Senate also by a Liberal leader, the President of the Bar at Jassy, Senator Constantine Peneseu. The attitude of the Press was very favourable as long as suffrage demonstrations were merely platonic. Once the struggle has begun, the Press has become indifferent, sometimes mocking, except a few reviews and daily papers. Public opinion, speaking generally, is rather favourable, no rudeness or unpleasantness, a great deal of curiosity, and great enjoyment of our lectures. Our method of organisation, on account of our historic conditions and rather too hasty progress, not sufficiently evolutionary, has to include many different questions, in order to attract and retain attention and activity. So that our Society is divided into eight sections, under a president and secretaries:—(1) Education, (2) moral improvement, (3) the woman industrial worker, (4) the peasant woman, (5) political section, (6) legal or juridic, (7) hygiene, (8) propaganda.

Besides our usual propaganda, we have an *Adult School* to carry on the work of woman's education, especially morally, and canteens are being started for workwomen and clerks.

The most urgent reforms that we claim are, above all, those of the civil code and the commercial code, a woman's right to her own earnings, and to the income from her dowry; the right to practise as a barrister, for which a bill will be introduced this year; the right to vote for corporations and for councils of prud'hommes; the municipal and communal vote and eligibility; and also for departmental councils. This year, in consequence of the mobilisation last summer and the enlargement of our territory by the incorporation of what belonged to us since the reign of Mircea Voevod, the Chamber and the Senate have been occupied with framing laws to be introduced after the revision of the constitution. One of the communal laws that will be introduced is that of residence, which will give a wife the right to inherit from her husband the house that he has purchased through the commune.

Outside the societies I have mentioned, there is no feminist movement, but there is great activity among women; 444 philanthropic societies, including "The Orthodox," whose object is entirely patriotic, for the protection of our religion, language, and historic customs. Since the visit of Miss Annie Furuhejm to Bukarest our Society has been affiliated to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, to which it was formally admitted at Budapest, and since then it has made great progress. The impression made by the great organising gifts, the tact, and high intelligence of the president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, and the great lesson of women's solidarity given by the sisterhood of women of all nations supporting her through all difficulties, has strengthened and encouraged the Roumanian Society through its president, who attended the Congress, and who will ever remember the bond of union of sacrifice necessary to achieve the final victory.

EUGENIE DE REUSS JANCOULESCO,

President, National Suffrage Association.

### SWEDEN.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

The Swedish N.W.S.A. was founded in the spring of 1903, and consisted then of a few local branches in the principal towns of Sweden. At present it has 211 local branches, with 16,870 members.

The year 1913 has been one of great activity, because of the collecting of names for the Suffrage manifesto to Parliament in 1914. Every form of personal work was unpaid, but still it naturally has cost a good deal of money, and the Suffrage Societies have to that purpose collected about 18,000 crowns. In 1913 about 1,000 meetings have been held, and of these about 100 especially as agitation for the manifesto.

It is now thirty years since the first Bill on Woman's Suffrage was introduced into Parliament by Frederick Borg, M.P. The Bill was rejected in both Chambers, and it was not until 1902 that a new Bill on that subject was introduced. Since then the question has come up in some form or other in almost every session of Parliament. In 1906 Parliament demanded an investigation on Woman's Suffrage, and this demand gave rise to very extensive work, the result of which was published in two large volumes. When the question of universal Suffrage for men was accepted the first time by Parliament in 1907, the women tried to get their Suffrage at the same time. The Conservative Government was then very sympathetic to the question, but declared that they could not endanger universal Suffrage for men by taking up at the same time that of the women. Still, the women did not come out quite portionless from the general revision of our electoral laws. They got eligibility to all municipal commissions of trust except that of membership of the Landsting (County Council). The municipal vote had been given to them as early as 1862.

Since 1907 Woman's Suffrage has been laid before Parliament twice in a Bill from the Liberal group, and once as a Government Bill. It has been three times accepted by the Second Chamber, and as many times rejected by the First Chamber.

1912 being the last year in this Parliamentary period, it was very important that the question should be treated and passed this session. If not, the solution must be postponed another three years, because every change in the Constitution must be passed by two sessions of Parliament, between which new elections to the Second Chamber have taken place.

It was because of the special importance of this year that the Suffragists of Sweden prepared their great manifesto. In the beginning of the year everything promised well, and in his speech from the Throne His Majesty the King announced a new Government Bill on Woman's Suffrage (see *Jus Suffragii*, No. 6).

But all of a sudden the whole situation was changed (see *Jus Suffragii*, No. 7). The Liberal Government gave in its resignation, Parliament was dissolved, and new elections to the Second Chamber were ordered. These elections are now finished, but the result is not yet known, and therefore it is quite impossible to foresee what is going to happen.

In the beginning of the Woman Suffrage movement in Sweden, it had friends and foes in all parties, but since then it has become a decided party question. In 1907 the Conservatives gave fair words and promises on Woman's Suffrage, but now they have changed their mind. Their former Prime Minister soon declared in the debate on Woman's Suffrage in

Parliament in 1914 that he had in 1907 perhaps expressed himself a little more strongly than he really meant. Since 1914 the Conservatives as a party have declared in their programme that they do not wish for Woman's Suffrage now, while the Liberals and the Social Democrats have put it on their programme. In Parliament in 1912 the voting went almost absolutely according to party lines.

It is about the same with the Press. In the beginning it was possible to get sympathy from both sides, but now the Conservative Press, with a few exceptions, is against Woman's Suffrage.

In our Suffrage organisation there are still a great many Conservative women, who are independent enough not to follow their party in this question, though public opinion is always ready to go on party lines.

On the other side, the women—and among them not least the Conservative—have taken a very active part in electioneering work, which ought to arouse their interest in getting the vote, and even make the Conservative men less unwilling to give them the vote.

In order to spread interest for Woman's Suffrage, the N.W.S.A. has started a special series of articles treating some form of Suffrage work. In 1913 this series was printed in 29 papers, with an edition of 262,350 numbers. The N.W.S.A. has also got a paper of its own, "Rösträtt för Kvinnoor," which appears every fortnight, and is much quoted, especially in the Liberal Press.

The form of agitation which consists of large demonstrations and processions is a little foreign to the national character of the Swedes. Instead of that the Swedish N.W.S.A. has tried to keep up interest among its societies by arranging courses in different branches of sociology, and through the generous donation of Mrs. Martin Bergman-Osterberg it has been possible to arrange courses in different parts of the country treating legal questions concerning women and children, and given by women.

In the beginning of 1913 these courses were held in the North of Sweden, where the population is so sparse that the lecturer sometimes had to go sleighing 100 miles from one place to another. In these parts of the country 55 lectures were held for 6,000 persons. The donation extends over ten years, and in accordance with the intention of the donor, every part of the country will have some of these courses.

Naturally, the collecting of names has made it necessary to issue a great many leaflets, and because of that, the amount of print has been increasingly large in 1913—no fewer than 511,368 copies, of which 365,000 were copies of leaflets for the manifesto. Further, the N.W.S.A. has issued a book, "The History of Woman Suffrage in Parliament," by Gulli Petrini.

The year 1913 has been a very remarkable one for Woman Suffrage, though it has had to note no success in Parliament. On the contrary, the women have had to note a deplorable defeat on the question of old-age and infirmity pensions (see *Jus Suffragii*, No. 2, 1913). This injustice really had the result of uniting women of all classes and parties, and many of them got their eyes opened to the necessity of having the vote in order to influence the laws.

At the meeting of the Central Board in January, 1914, the time and way of presenting the manifesto were discussed in unity and friendliness.

But now the all-absorbing question of our national defence has put everything else aside. And yet there is nothing to hinder both questions from being solved in the same session of Parliament. But, unfortunately, the way in which—especially on the part of the Conservatives—this last electioneering campaign was conducted has made any co-operation between the different parties so much more difficult than it has ever been, that there seems to be no hope of co-operation in the session of Parliament which begins next month, neither for our question nor for that of defence.

The Conservative women who have organised themselves to take part in municipal elections, etc., have not taken up Woman Suffrage on their programme, whereas that is the case with the Swedish branches of the International Council of Women, and of the White Ribbon, the Liberal Women's Society, the Social Democratic Women's Clubs, and Frederika Bremer Institute.

That the idea of Woman Suffrage has in later years gone much deeper down into the public mind became evident during the work for our manifesto. Even in parts of the country that



lie far from the high road, the women generally have known what it meant when the collector asked for their names, and often husbands urged their wives to put their names on the list.

For some years the Conservatives may perhaps still be able to hinder the solution of our Suffrage question, but probably they themselves see already that before long they will be obliged to give in.

GULLI PETRINI.

Stockholm, April, 1914.

### UNITED STATES.

#### THE VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

CORRECTION.

*Jus Suffragii* for April quoted the telegram of March 21st which appeared in London papers giving the voting in the United States Senate as 44 for the Woman Suffrage amendment and 35 against. When the American mail came in, it was found that the English papers were all wrong, and the voting had been 35 for and 34 against. As, however, a two-thirds majority is necessary, the vote, though a moral victory, is inoperative. We greatly regret to have given currency to the erroneous English telegram, and earnestly beg all national societies to telegraph to us direct when any important vote is taken, and not to leave the news of the International Suffrage movement to the mercy of general Press telegrams, which are too often wrong where Women's Suffrage is concerned.

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

States and territory with full equal Suffrage:—

Wyoming	1869	California	1911
Colorado	1893	Arizona	1912
Idaho	1896	Kansas	1912
Utah	1896	Oregon	1912
Washington	1910	Alaska	1913

In Illinois women have equal Suffrage in the election of the President of the United States, of many elected officials, and of the members of municipal councils.

The following "campaign" States will vote by referendum on the question of Woman Suffrage in November, 1914:—

North Dakota  
South Dakota  
Nevada  
Montana  
Nebraska.

Oklahoma is working hard and may make the sixth.

In the following States one legislature has voted for the question going to a referendum, and it must pass in a second session before it can be sent to the votes in 1915: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts; and in 1916 Iowa.

#### THE VOTE IN THE SENATE.

Having obtained a majority vote in the Senate in favour of the amendment for Woman Suffrage, the Congressional Committee of the National Association feel that a great victory was achieved last week when the vote was taken. Although there was some controversy as to whether the vote should have been postponed, it is probable that a postponement would have lost instead of gained votes. Altogether the result must be considered as a great victory for Suffrage.

The new amendment that has been introduced by Senator Shafroth, proposing that the people can secure a vote on Suffrage without going to the legislatures of the several States, will receive a great deal of support in the Senate. Under this new amendment, the fear that Woman Suffrage may be forced upon the various States without the consent or willingness of their voters is wiped out.

To secure a majority of the U.S. Senate is a sign of the times, and means that womanhood will be emancipated in this generation. "Suffrage sentiment in the Senate is strong enough to warrant us renewing our efforts to secure national legislation." We shall earnestly support the new resolution introduced by Senator Shafroth.

Debate upon the resolution in the Senate is sure to produce good results through the entire country. The discussion has shown a development in the Suffrage movement that could not have been accomplished in any other way. At the beginning

it would have been asserted that a majority in the Senate was absolutely impossible; yet the Suffrage movement developed unexpected friends. Most significant was the support of Southern Democratic Senators, four of whom voted for or were paired for the Suffrage resolution.

A second victory for Woman Suffrage the same week was over the question of reference of the resolution introduced by Senator Shafroth. Senator Bryan, of Florida, who has been leading the fight against Suffrage in the Senate, moved to refer this resolution to the Committee on Judiciary, which is known as the "graveyard" of the Senate, and where it would have slept until Doomsday. The Suffrage Senators rallied to the support of Senator Thomas and Senator Shafroth, both of whom wanted the resolution to go to the Committee on Woman Suffrage, and it was decided in their favour by a vote of 27 to 35. This indicates the temper of the Senate; the Woman Suffrage Committee has a majority in favour of Suffrage, while the Judiciary Committee is opposed to Suffrage.

Senator Bristow, of Kansas, has re-introduced the former resolution providing for a Federal Suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. He says that it is possible, with the good work that the women are doing, to bring about a change of the six votes needed. The Senate Committee on Women Suffrage have reported it favourably for the second time.

#### NOTES FROM NEW ZEALAND.

The notorious Gerald case has brought home to England the need for protecting the nurse's uniform by a State Registration of Nurses Act. Such a measure has been law in New Zealand for about ten years past, and no advantage could be taken of the nurse's garb for any unworthy purpose.

Some discussion in the home papers regarding the one-sidedness of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill in England recalls the fact that some two or three years ago the New Zealand Parliament passed a Bill legalising marriage with a deceased husband's brother. The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill was passed here some twenty years ago.

SYPHILIS IN NEW ZEALAND.  
An important discussion regarding the treatment of syphilis, which is especially noted in the two largest seaports, Wellington and Auckland, was started at the Australasian Medical Conference in Auckland last February, and it is likely that a Commission will be set up on the matter this year. In Christchurch a dispensary has been opened for free and voluntary treatment of men and women, largely owing to the efforts of a zealous Christchurch medical man, Dr. P. C. Fenwick. The women's societies are opposing reactionary suggestions of compulsory notification, and the more advanced doctors are with them. As there is a Minister of Public Health in New Zealand, the subject is likely to receive early attention on a national basis. The C.D. Acts, for twenty years a dead letter, were repealed under Sir Joseph Ward some years ago.

JESSIE MACKAY.

Christchurch, N.Z.

#### A BUNCH OF VIOLETS.

United to the International Alliance for Woman Suffrage by bonds which draw all its members together in solidarity, we celebrate with them the anniversary of its foundation. What milestones have been passed since then! It is not for us, the last arrivals, to enumerate the victorious achievements of those who form the Alliance, and which have given to the world movement a largeness, an organisation, a discipline, which only an international understanding was capable of attaining.

The future will consolidate and perfect the work that Mrs. Chapman Catt has brought into the world, without shrinking from the vastness of her task, and that she leads with such sure strategy. May we be allowed on the occasion of this commemorative festival to add our grateful bunch of violets to the triumphal palms offered her.

JANE BRIGODE.

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