

# JUS SUFFRAGII,

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In modern times, now that competition and the conflict between old and new ideas are often causing violent opposition between the interests of the sexes, it is rank injustice to simply push aside one of the contending parties and assign to men alone the task of legislation.

M. W. H. RUTGERS-HOITSEMA.



The only part of the conduct of any one for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is of right, absolute.

JOHN STUART MILL.

PRICE 2 DUTCH FLORINS PER YEAR.

## Editorial Announcements.

List of Woman Suffrage Papers in different countries, with address and price per annum.

**U.S. America,** *The Woman's Journal*, \$ 1,50, 3 Park Street, Boston,

—, *Progress*, N.A.W.S.A. Haedquarters, Warren, Ohio.

**Belgium,** *De Stem der Vrouw*, 1 Franc, Ons Huis, Gent.

**France,** *Le Journal des Femmes*, 5 Francs, 31 rue Francoeur, Paris.

**Denmark,** *Kvindestemmerets bladet*, 2 Kroner, 34 Bredgade Kopenhagen.

—, *Kvinden og Samfundet*, 3,10 Kroner, Kongens Lyngby.

**Finland,** *Nutid*, 6 Mark, 21 Alexandersgatan, Helsingfors.

**Netherlands,** *Maandblad voor Vrouwenkiesrecht*, f 1.—, 43 Linnaeusstraat, Amsterdam.

**Norway,** *Nylaende*, 4,70 Kroner, 3 Edvard Stormsgade, Kristiania.

**Sweden,** *Dagny*, 5 Kroner, 54 Drottninggatan, Stockholm.

—, *Morgonbris*, 50 Öre, Folkets Hus, Stockholm.

—, *Svenska Folket*, 2 Kroner, 36 Vasagatan, Stockholm.

**Germany,** *Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht*, 2 Mark, Post Ebenhausen, Ober Bayern.

**Hungary,** *A Nő és a Tarsadalom*, ... 41 Nefelejts u. Budapest VII.

**Austria,** *Der Bund*, 2 Kronen, 20 Kirchengasse, Wien VII.

**Iceland,** *Kvennabladid*, 2 Kroner, Briet Bjarnehé-dinsdóttir, Reikjavik.

**Italy,** *La Vita*, 37 Lire, 87 Via S. Claudio, Roma.

**Great Britain,** *Women & Progress*, weekly 1 d. 18 Buckingham Street, Strand London.

—, *The Tribune*, daily 1 d., Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London E.C.

The international badge, which should be worn by every woman believing in woman suffrage, is to be ordered from **Mrs. J. PEDERSEN-DAN, Griffenfeldtsgade 39, Copenhagen.** 50 bronze badges, 22 sh. 6 d., postage prepaid. Reduction in price for orders exceeding that number.

The Presidents of ten countries have responded to the votes sent out on January 7th. Nine have accepted the date for the Amsterdam meeting proposed by Holland, that is, the middle of June, 1908. One country hoped the time decided upon might be later in the season. Even though the two countries not yet heard from should vote against this date, it would not change the result, as the majority have voted for it. Holland will name the exact days later. We shall hope each of our auxiliaries will send a full delegation to Amsterdam.

Ten countries have also voted to accept the Kvinnosaksförbund "Union" of Finland in auxiliaryship. Australia has not yet had time to return her vote and Italy is not yet heard from, but as these two countries would not change the result, I announce it now. In behalf of the Alliance, I take pleasure in voicing the common welcome to this new auxiliary. All hail to Finland! Thirteen national organizations are with us now. Will Switzerland, France or Belgium make the fourteenth?

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Dear Correspondents and Readers!

By your zeal in making our paper known to suffragists, we have now got 420 subscribers to "Jus Suffragii", nearly half of whom have paid me their subscription. May I here request the other half to follow that good example?

If we enlarge the circulation, we may augment the bulletin's size, for there is news enough forthcoming, — at least if those who have interesting facts, for the truth of which they can vouch, do not stop sending me their reports or marked newspapers. I do not always get a sort of summarizing review of the facts concerning each country from the officially appointed correspondent; and especially in those cases I shall always be thankful for items of news from other quarters. A new arrangement may be agreed upon afterwards, but for the time being, I hope every earnest suffragist will assist me with her contribution, remembering that often distance in kilometers or in opinions prevents all the news from one country to flow through one channel. But then I must

be sure to get nothing but facts and nothing but truth. And besides, no correspondent should be displeased, when I have to cut an article short in order to allow each country its space, and I try to bring about, with respect to our interchange of news, the old ideal: the union of all for the good of all!

Let me end by repeating my eternal request of reports before the 6th and corrections, when you find any inaccuracies.

Yours sincerely,  
MARTINA G. KRAMERS, Editor.

Rotterdam, 10 April 1907.

### Finland.

The names of the first women Members of Parliament (Landtagsmänn) elected in Europe, belonging to five different parties, are: Mäna Silanpää, Marie Laine, Mäna Kanervo, Ida Aalle, Hilja Amanda Pärssinen, Jenny Maria Kilpiäinen, Anna Huotari, Maria Rannio, Socialists; — H. Kalikoski, Ida Wemmelpuu, Alexandra Gripenberg, Hedvig Gebhardt, Lusi Kivioja, Evelina Ala-Kulju, Oldfinnish Party; — Dagmar Neovins, Swedish National Party; — and Hilma Räsänen, Agrarian Party.

So, among 200 deputies, 19 are women; and we need not say that the eyes of the whole world are on them, and that each and all of the members of the I. W. S. All. send them hearty congratulations.

The Landtag (Parliament of one Chamber) is now composed of 9 Socialists, 58 Oldfinns, 26 Young finns, 23 Swedish Party, 11 Agrarians and 2 Christian Labour Party-members.

Before the result of the elections was known, I received the following letter:

"The great day has passed.

The election has taken place.

Here in Helsingfors, the capital, the order was excellent, and so it seems to have been everywhere, at least in all those places from which news has come in. The best tidings for us women are, that it seems as if in all election-districts from which the number of voters, now is known, women should have been the majority of voters. When I was standing in the long row waiting to get into the voting place, I heard a young couple, seemingly some small artisan and his wife, standing behind me, discuss peacefully their family affairs while they were waiting.

The boy's schoolgoing, the babies' new shoes, the girls' mended winter cloaks, and so on were discussed.

But now and then the husband seemed to remember the important occasion of the day and whispered to his wife some advices concerning the voting: "remember that you must not sign your voting ticket." "Remember you must see that the ticket is marked" etc. Usually the married couples seemed to go together to the urns and any opposition or displeasure from the husbands I do not think there has been. Some very old ladies I saw, led by their daughters or other young women, even cripples. One very old, deaf, nearly blind woman on crutches stood near to me. People got her a chair, and whenever the row moved, her chair was moved too by kind, helping hands.

It was a beautiful winterday with sunshine on the white snow. The evening before the election day women in some places gathered to festivals

and to send telegrams to suffrage pioneers. A great women's meeting was held in Helsingfors, arranged by the Finnish-party-women's-organization, from which a telegram was sent to the Woman's Journal in Boston, bringing the Finnish women's grateful greeting to American pioneers.

No results of the elections are yet known.

In the Finnish party there have been 16 women candidates (three of them proxies), in the Swedish party 4, in the Young Finnish party 13, in the social-democratic party 13, besides some women candidates in stray lists. So much is known, but no more; not who are elected. The results will probably be published about April 3rd. It is not, however, the most important thing that women are elected, the most important is that women have used their right to vote; and that much we know — used it in an overwhelmingly great degree.

ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG.

Helsingfors, March 20th 1907.

### Great Britain.

*Parliamentary.* No division having been obtained on Mr. Dickinson's Bill, owing to the refusal of the Speaker to grant the closure; some of our Parliamentary supporters waited on the Prime Minister to endeavour to get facilities for the further discussion of the measure. The Prime Minister declined on the ground that it was without precedent for the Government to take up a Bill at so early a stage, and moreover that all Government time was more than occupied already. Thereupon it was agreed to ballot for a day for a Resolution, and Sir Charles McLaren immediately secured a first place for March 27th. Our opponents, however, were successful in preventing this Resolution from being moved. They made use of a rule of procedure which forbids a Motion being discussed if a Bill is on the paper dealing with the same subject. Mr. Levy put down a Bill in favour of Adult Suffrage, for men and women (with no intention or opportunity for having it discussed) purely to block the Resolution.

A Parliamentary vacancy having occurred in the Hexham division of Northumberland, the North-Eastern Society for Women's Suffrage (the local society of the National Union) came to the conclusion that the views of the two candidates upon Women's Suffrage were not satisfactory and the question of running an independent candidate was discussed. Before finally deciding, a pledge was submitted by the National Union to the candidates as follows: "Will you, if elected, vote for the second reading of every Bill to enfranchise women which may be introduced into the House of Commons?" This the Liberal candidate (Mr. Holt) declined to sign\*, but the Conservative candidate (Col. Bates) signed. In view of this pledge and of the shortness of time before the election, the National Union decided not to run a candidate but to support Col. Bates. This incident occasioned much comment in the press, and many inaccurate statements were made as to the election policy of the National Union. The Executive Committee therefore found it necessary to issue the following statement:

*The Policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.*

Much confusion having arisen in the public mind as to the policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

\* Mr. Holt has been elected with a majority about half as big as that of the Liberal candidate in Jan. 1906. ED.

both in regard to Elections and general methods of agitation, the Executive Committee considers it desirable to issue the following statement:—

The National Union consists of 30 Societies in Great Britain, whose sole object is to obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for Women. Each Society is independent in its local action; but the affairs of the Union are managed, and its policy guided, by an Executive Committee elected annually by a Council of Delegates from the Societies.

The Union is strictly a non-party organization and is limited to the advocacy of Women's Suffrage, irrespective of Party interests. In Parliamentary Elections, if both or all the candidates are equally in favour of Women's Suffrage, the Union would recommend abstention from any action. If one candidate is in favour of Women's Suffrage, while others are against it, or if one candidate is much more clearly and strongly in favour of a practical measure of Women's Suffrage, while others are lukewarm or shelter themselves behind general declarations as to Adult Suffrage, the Union, if taking any part, would support the candidate whose views were most favourable. In this respect it follows the precedent of organizations, such as the United Kingdom Alliance and many others, which promote special objects irrespective of Party.

The Union has adopted the policy of running a Women's Suffrage candidate whenever a suitable opportunity occurs at a by-election, and when none of the official candidates are prepared actively to support Women's Suffrage; and it urges candidates to express their opinions on Women's Suffrage in their election addresses.

The Union does not adopt the policy of opposing Liberal candidates because the Government has so far refused to bring in a measure for Women's Suffrage. It believes that by the election of Members pledged sincerely to Women's Suffrage, the Government will come to see that the country is ripe for legislation on the subject, and it therefore supports such candidates, irrespective of party. It cordially recognises the value of the support given to the movement by the Prime Minister and other leading Members of the Government.

With regard to its general method of agitation, the Union relies on public discussion, the spread of education on the subject, and the ordinary constitutional methods of agitation. It is convinced that public opinion is thoroughly prepared for this reform, and that the active part which women are taking in public affairs of every kind, will make it impossible for the minority which still opposes it to do so much longer.

The Union appeals to all who are in favour of the policy, and who are willing to assist it financially, to send contributions to the Hon. Treasurer at the offices, 25, Victoria Street S.W.

Signed on behalf of the Union,

M. G. FAWCETT, President.

BERTHA MASON, Treasurer.

WALTER S. B. McLAREN, Chairman of Committee.

FRANCES HARDCASTLE, Hon. Secretary.

FRANCES STERLING, Hon. Secretary.

EDITH PALLISER, Parliamentary Secretary.

On March 26 (the evening before Sir Charles McLaren's Resolution had been expected to come on) the National Union held a great Meeting in Queen's Hall, London. The Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity, though the tickets were charged for at prices ranging from five shillings to sixpence. The Chair was taken by Mr. McLaren, in the absence of Mrs. Fawcett (who was prevented from being present by the loss of her brother-in-law, the husband of Mrs. Garrett Anderson M.D.) Lady Bamford Slack moved the Resolution:

"That this Meeting, being convinced that the exclusion of women from the Parliamentary Franchise is neither expedient, justifiable, nor politically right, calls upon the Government to introduce a Bill conferring the franchise upon women."

Mr. Bernard Shaw made one of the most powerful speeches that have been heard from a Suffrage platform for many years. Other speakers were: Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Miss F. Sterling, Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P. In spite of the scathing ridicule poured upon them by Mr. Bernard Shaw, representatives of the Adult Suffrage Society moved the following amendment (which hardly obtained 20 votes in the vast audience):

"That this meeting, recognising the time is now ripe for granting full rights of citizenship to women, expresses its conviction that the only satisfactory settlement of this question is the extension of the franchise to all women and men by the abolition of existing franchise laws and the substitution of

simple Universal Suffrage as embodied in Sir Charles Dilke's Bill and advocated by the Adult Suffrage Society."

The original Resolution was then carried amid great enthusiasm.

MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.  
FRANCES HARDCASTLE.  
FRANCES STERLING.

Lady Carlisle gives as the reason she has withdrawn from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies that she cannot reconcile her Liberalism with the decision of the Union to put in suffrage candidates, in cases in which neither of the official candidates gives a satisfactory pledge with regard to the enfranchisement of women.

She writes to the Nat. Union of W. S. Societies: "It would seem to be a little inconsistent to be president of the Women's Liberal Federation, and at the same time to put myself at the mercy of extreme electoral actions adopted by a non-party body"

Lady Carlisle's decision cannot but be a matter of regret to genuine suffragists. First, because in itself it weakens in some slight degree the strength of the movement. But more because it renders more difficult and a greater sacrifice the maintenance of a determined attitude by other societies in respect of putting the suffrage before party.

The Convention of the Women's Social and Political Union, held on Wednesday 20 March at Caxton Hall, terminated, as did the former one at the beginning of the Parliamentary Session, in the audience forming itself into a deputation to take the resolution to the Prime Minister. Lady Harberton volunteered to head the deputation, and, as a peeress, obtained admission to the House. The Prime Minister, however, was "too busy" to attend to non-voters, and accordingly policemen—between five and half-past their number was computed to be about one thousand—undertook to keep the suffragists at a safe distance from the House. All were arrested but the leader. At the evening meeting, the arrested members of the Union made short speeches, and the women left Caxton Hall in small groups instead of in a large body. The contest was marked by the absence of the violence used on the last occasion, though the arrests were many. The onlookers were particularly noisy and unruly. Their presence in large numbers was possibly due to the fact that Lancashire mill girls in clogs and shawls took part in the proceedings. In all, seventy-six arrests were made, and the sentences imposed next day were of fourteen days or a month.

The police asked that severer sentences should be meted out to those women who persisted in defying the law, whose action was also the means of gathering together a crowd which increasingly caused the police trouble and some uneasiness. No direct answer was returned by the magistrate.

At the Independent Labour Party's annual conference at Derby Mr. Levy's action in moving an adult suffrage bill as a means of obstruction against Mr. Dickinson's woman suffrage bill was condemned as "an objectionable and too smart move".

A resolution was carried by a great majority running thus: "That this conference declares in favour of adult suffrage and the political equality

of the sexes, and considers that the rights of the suffrage should immediately be extended to women on the same conditions as to men".

Animated scenes followed on the bringing up of a proposal that the following telegram be sent to the imprisoned suffragists: "That this Conference sends greetings to the women imprisoned for their fidelity to the cause of sex equality, and congratulates them upon their courage in suffering the rigours of our inhuman prison system, and expresses the hope that their self-sacrificing efforts may be speedily crowned with success".

Some held that the adoption of this telegram virtually committed the I. L. P. to the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union, others that it meant nothing more than a greeting of sympathy to comrades. After violent debates there were 181 votes for and 60 against sending the telegram.

### Switzerland.

On 18 Febr. in Geneva the long-expected Swiss W. S. A. was constituted. Its aim is the recognition of women's right to vote in every domain, especially the political.

The President is Mrs. Hoffmann, the vice-pres. Mlle. Vidart, well-known as recording secretary of the International Council of Women; and besides the Executive is composed of 8 gentlemen and 4 ladies.

The editor of "Frauenbestrebungen" says that, with the sense of justice inherent in all Swiss men, it will not be difficult to obtain votes for women. The Social Democrats in Töss have already demanded them for Charity-, School- and Church-boards for all men and women above 20 years old.

### Germany.

Another sentence has been issued against Frau Minna Cauer's claim of municipal suffrage and her appeal to a higher court. There is now one step further left for her, viz. to the Supreme Court, which of course she is going to take in due time. The sentence pronounced just now however, is remarkable for its character: you feel distinctly from its tenor that the jury was convinced that the claim *de jure* is well substantiated and that only the apprehension of the general consequences made them decide as they did, in order to leave the definite judgement to the superior instance. The present sentence quasi accepts the argumentation of the action, that the law in question is to be applied to men and women equally; the less convincing is the final conclusion, that with respect to suffrage, this very law "seems" to have left this principle. We hope that the supreme court may judge more logically and recognize the duty to face consequences of clear facts.

The national suffrage association has been busy with propaganda meetings during the last month. The vice-president lectured in meetings at Königsberg, Bromberg, Düsseldorf, Essen, and a local organisation was formed in Essen. A large meeting was arranged in Berlin, presided by Frau Minna Cauer, where the president and the vice-president of the association criticized in their speeches the general political condition. Several parliamentary parties had delegated a member who spoke in favour of women's rights and suffrage.

The democratic party at Frankfurt a/M and the social-liberal party at Berlin invited the president of the Association to give a speech about actual political questions in meetings arranged for this

purpose; the question of making women's suffrage a principle of the liberal program is to be discussed in a conference of delegates of the united liberal parties in Berlin on the 8th of April. As many of the local organisations of the liberal parties not only accept female members, but even have women among their officers, it may be hoped, that success will be won.

In Bavaria elections are prepared for the Legislative Assembly of the Kingdom; women make arrangements too, to take part in the campaign.

The National Association fixed its annual meeting for 24th-26th of September; it is to be followed immediately by the annual meeting of the Union of Progressive Women's associations from Sept. 27th-30th; both take place at Frankfurt a/M and guests from other countries are very welcome.

A "liberal women's party" has been constituted in Berlin, whose liberalism however is not perfectly beyond doubt. Besides other principal differences, the majority of political women think it a fault to form political parties of women only instead of joining the political parties of men and women already in existence, in order to be represented in the legislative bodies.

Dr. ANITA AUGSPURG, president.

Lately the National Council of German Women sent a petition to the German Parliament in which they requested the abolition of the existing political limitations for women in the Law on Assemblies (Vereins- und Versammlungsrecht). This petition had not reached the stage of deliberation before the dissolution of the Reichstag, and so it was sent back to the President of the N. C. W. On 20 March the Executive of the N. C. W. again presented it for consideration to the new Parliament.

### Russia.

Within the last 2 years there were organized in St. Petersburg societies for the promotion of the idea of Woman's Suffrage. This idea is rapidly gaining ground, and, possibly, its realization is not very far off.

The idea of founding a W. S. Society originated in a small circle of women devoted to the cause. These women first met at the house of Mrs. Sophia Dehterof in February 1905 and drew up two addresses: one to the municipal authorities and the Zemstvos asking them to give women equal electoral rights with men in local affairs and the other — to the Central Government, asking to confer on women equal rights with those that the Government at that time contemplated to give to men. 2000 signatures were added to the documents and a Women's Meeting was held in the spring of 1905, at which Miss Anna Evreinof, L.L.D. read a paper on the Civil status of Women as outlined in the projected new Civil Code.

During the summer 1905 the nucleus of women suffragists developed into a large "Union of Equal Rights", which has worked energetically and opened many branches in the provinces. In the spring of 1906 some of the members of this Union separated and started in St. Petersburg the "Women's Political Club" (closed last year by the authorities).

New organizations followed: the "Women's Progressive Party", the "Women's League of Equal Rights" — both founded in St. Petersburg and having as yet very few members. Lately, namely on January 15th of this year, a "Department of Equal Rights" was opened by the "Russian Women's Society". This Society was founded in 1895, it numbers nearly one thousand members and has

done a good service in the woman's cause, bringing into closer touch many women, who are now working in various departments devoted to the promotion of the material, intellectual and moral development of women. The "Woman's Club" attached to the Society has also been founded in 1895. Its premises are — Spasskaya Street 18, St. Petersburg.

Mrs. CATHERINE GARDNER.

St. Petersburg, March 1907.

Mrs. Gontscharoff writes from Rjasan, 17 March 1907:

"I have very little to say, living in a small provincial town. We can scarcely assemble and work; very often we even don't know whom we are helping with money, books or work.

Those women we do help are afraid of showing themselves for the moment, and so we find a terror-stricken mass of women, to whom you must first suggest that they have a right to demand justice and to sign their names under petitions to express their needs, to be sent to the Douma. Sorry to say that teachers and pedagogues don't sign these petitions, partly being afraid of losing their place and partly belonging to social parties which don't set up suffrage for women as a part of their program.

Lectures about the women's political movement in England were forbidden here, the subject being of too social a nature, they thought it best not to wake up, the dormant mob. I am afraid it is not dormant however."

Mrs. Mirovich writes from Moscow 7 April:

"We are collecting thousands of signatures under petitions to the Douma on women's equal political rights. The question of universal suffrage is expected to be debated next month — if our Parliament is not brought to a premature end."

### France.

On March 7th the National Council of Women held its quarterly meeting in the Musée Social in Paris. At the request of the newly-instituted Section for woman suffrage, the N. C. has addressed a memoir to the presidents of the divers parliamentary groups, requesting their support for the enfranchisement of women. The secretary, Mme Avril de Ste Croix, had not yet received answers. On account of ill health Mme Auclert has had to resign the chairmanship of the Suffrage-section, and was appointed its Honorary President.

The Labour-section, represented by its President, Mme Pégard, got the N. C.'s unanimous endorsement for a petition to the Chamber of Deputies to make women eligible for the Trades' Courts (Conseils de Prudhommes), and on March 15th M. Benazet, deputy of the Indre, defended this claim in Parliament. He spoke with eloquence and conviction, being well provided with documents, not only by the N. C. but also by the National Union of Accountants (chambre syndicale des comptables) and the National Union of Shopkeepers (Fédération des commerçants et détaillants de France). Mr. Benazet found no opposition, the Reporter and M. Viviani, the Labour Minister, agreeing with him that there was no reasonable motive for the exclusion of women from a tribunal whose verdicts they have to obey; only... the moment was not opportune for deciding the question.

So the end was that the women are bidden to have patience once more. Mr. Viviani solemnly promised to introduce a bill granting eligibility

for the Cons. d. Prudhommes to women... in time.

Another bill has been presented to the Chamber on 21 March by Mr. Guillier. This bill proposes to assure to married women the free disposal of the salary they have earned; a reform which the Avant-Courrière (Mme Schmahl's Society) has been advocating these fourteen years. We are anxious to see what the bill's fate will be in the discussion in the French Parliament, and how the interests of thousands of voteless women will be defended by the representatives of *the nation* (that is: its male half).

Some roman catholic women in France have presented a memoir to the Pope on the subject of woman suffrage. Marie Maugeret, the editor of *Féminisme Chrétien*, who was one of the petitioners, succeeded in obtaining an audience of the Holy Father, as, beside this petition, she had to consult H. H. on a celebration for Jeanne Darc.

She left Rome with great satisfaction, having got the Pope's promise that shortly an answer will be vouchsafed to the petition for woman suffrage.

### Sweden.

It seems to be our fate to live in the same state of suspense for the whole parliamentary Session, as we did before. When the Government decided, not only to exclude women from the Government's Suffrage Bill, but also to withhold the complete investigation into the women suffrage question which the last Parliament had promised, our hope in the present got a severe blow. The first consequence was that the Liberal party, in the Suffrage Bill of the opposition, also ignored the existence of women. We also feared that the fact of the investigation not being completed, would prevent the presentation of any private members' bills for suffrage.

But the justice of our cause, the women's ardent work and the presentation of the monster petition to Parliament, seem to have influenced political groups as well as individual members of Parliament strongly. We have already no less than six different Bills for women suffrage, three also proposing eligibility. One of these bills is from a member of the First Chamber, the other five from members of the Second. It is worthy of notice that these six Bills emanate from members of every political party, from members of the Conservative (Government) party as well as from the representatives of the Labour party. This shows how necessary it is for women in their struggle for political enfranchisement, to be strictly neutral to all political parties.

The Labour party has expressly put women suffrage and eligibility in its programme, also the Lindhagen group, so called after its most prominent member, the mayor of Stockholm, Mr. C. Lindhagen, a staunch champion for women's rights. The Labour party counts 15 members of Parliament, the Lindhagen group 8. They have all of them, without any exception, signed their respective Suffrage Bills, including women's suffrage and eligibility.

Only two of the six bills on women's enfranchisement are not combined with other suffrage questions. One of these two bills is presented by Mr. P. Hörnstén M. P., and is remarkable as an appendix to the Suffrage Bill of the Liberal party. It has as such a special value, as the real battle will stand between that bill and the one of the

Government, — just the two that exclude women. The four other bills either contain a complete scheme for the solution of the country's suffrage problem, or propose great or small changes in the above-named contending suffrage bills.

Can the Swedish women entertain any well-founded hopes to obtain political enfranchisement at the hands of the now sitting Parliament? It is always risky to prophecy, but I must confess that I fear we must prepare ourselves for a prolonged struggle. And yet there is a faint glimpse of hope that we may be the winners in the battle between the different political parties. No party, as such, likes to be labelled as opponent to women's suffrage. The antagonists work individually against it, in silence, secretly. If you could judge only by what is publicly said for and against it, you would draw the conclusion that there is almost no opposition. The opponents hold their tongues and use their votes; the parliamentary vote being secret in our country. This silence is in itself a sufficient witness of the great change which has taken place in the public opinion about women's political rights during the last few years, mainly through the Swedish women's own energetic work.

The question of political suffrage in Sweden is curiously intermingled with a reform of the municipal vote. We have one of the most old-fashioned systems of municipal vote in the world. The right to vote is bound up with taxation, not only so that nobody can vote without paying taxes, but in a much worse manner. The influence on the municipality stands in a direct proportion to the amount of taxes paid by an individual. In the towns one person can have from one to a hundred votes, in the country-municipalities from one to five thousand. Even Limited Companies have a right to vote. Until the year 1900 one capitalist or one company could outvote all the other members of the community, and that was really the case in 54 communities. That year the law was changed, so that a single voter could only hold  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the votes of the community fixed in the register. By holding together, a few capitalists can still outvote all the other members of a community.

In 1862 the 24 counties of Sweden got a new form of representation in the 25 county councils (landsting), that meet together every year in the month of September. These councils decide upon part of the country's affairs. Since 1866 they also fill a political mission: together with the town-councils they elect the members of the First Chamber. It is obvious that the members of the county councils, generally being well-to-do people, elect great landowners, heads of great industrial works, men of a high social position and so on, or in general persons who are well satisfied with the present state of society. As the power of both Chambers is equal, the First Chamber continually protests against all great reforms, looking upon itself as the defender of society. Every true democrat in our country therefore looks forward to a reform of the Upper Chamber. The present Government, though supported by the First Chamber, has added a municipal reformbill to its Suffrage bill, in order to get the latter carried. It is the lump of sugar held forth to make us willing to swallow the medicine. The liberals of all shades are quite willing to reform the municipal vote, but they have no wish to rivet the two great questions of political suffrage reform and municipal suffrage reform together, as each of them is difficult enough in itself. But the result of the Government's move was naturally that all

parties now presented their own municipal Reform-bill. We have bills of the Government, of the Liberals, of the Lindhagen group, and of the Labour party. *In all of these—except in the one of the Government—women are eligible to all municipal charges.* The Swedish women already possess the municipal vote on the same conditions as men, but they can only become members of the School-Boards or Poor Law Guardians. If one of these bills were passed, they could be elected as municipal representatives in town and country, and members of county councils. But the women's question is so mixed up with the contentions of the political parties, that we cannot know anything about the issue. The best thing for us would be, if the great Committee, which has to treat all these bills, would discuss it as a separate question, and in that way get it free from all the different municipal bills. But if that can be done, that is another question. At all events, the fact that all parties, except one, have proposed the municipal eligibility of women, is the sign of a great change in the public opinion about women's rights and women's capacities. The question once put, will come back, till it is answered in the affirmative.

ANNA WHITTOCK.

### United States.

The reader will remember that the North American Review has become a staunch advocate of woman suffrage. It has published in October an article by Ida Husted Harper, which clearly shows the historical basis of the American women's claim to the ballot and the fairness and expediency of their enfranchisement. A reprint of this able essay is now to be had and may render excellent service to propagandists.

The Oklahoma Constitutional Convention has voted by a heavy majority to give school suffrage to women.

The resolution favoring submission to the qualified voters of California of a constitutional amendment giving to women the right of suffrage has been endorsed by the leading women's clubs of the State and by the following State organizations: The California State Federation of Labor, the California Teachers' Association, the California State Farmers' institute, the Democratic party of California and the Independence League. Yet by two votes out of 120, the suffrage amendment was defeated in the California Legislature. There are 40 Senators, half of them being hold-overs, and 80 Assemblymen. Two-thirds of the entire number elected are required to pass an amendment, to be submitted to popular vote.

In Iowa the House Committee on Constitutional Amendments has voted against the equal suffrage amendment, 9 to 6. The press reports say, "A secret ballot was taken, that the members might not be called to task by their suffragist friends."

### Hungary.

How does a bill become law in Hungary?

The factors of legislation are: the King, the House of Magnates (Lords) and the Reichstag (House of Commons). Projects of law are initiated in two ways: either the Government presents them, or a deputy proposes a law and presents a bill.

In the former case, without previous voting, the bill is assigned to the competent committees; in the latter case the House (Reichstag) has first to pass a vote on the question whether the bill is to be sent to the committees or no. The competent Committee then discusses the bill and decides on its adoption and on possible amendments. Then the bill is submitted to the Reporter (Referent) who has to introduce it into the House.

When the bill comes to be considered, there is first a general debate in which its expediency is decided on, after which a vote is taken whether to submit it to the House, and this is called "first reading". After that comes a special discussion in which each article is put to votes. When the last paragraph has been debated and adopted, the "second reading", which may have brought several amendments, has come to a close. Then the question is again put to the House whether they agree with the amended bill, and a third vote is taken, called "third reading". After that the approved bill is submitted to the House of Magnates, where the proceedings of the other House are repeated. In case the bill receives also the Magnates' approbation, the Government submits it to the King. When the King accepts the bill, he sanctions it by his signature and so it becomes law.

It comes into operation after it has been published in the Official State Organ.

DR. SIDONIE SZEGVARY.

### The Netherlands.

The date for the meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Amsterdam has now been definitely fixed on the 15th of June 1908 till the 20th of that same month. The Central Committee for the reception of the meeting has succeeded in obtaining the disposal for that week of the buildings of the great Concert-hall, that, with its gardens, its large and small rooms, its situation in one of the nicest parts of the town, seems exquisitely fitted for a centre of congress-business.

JOHANNA W. A. NABER.

1st secr. of the Central Committee for the Congress.

After the ministerial crisis, the former Government, with the exception of the Minister of the War-department, has returned into power. This gives again full force to the proposals for amending the Constitution which emanate from the State commission instituted by the Government for the purpose of considering the desirable changes in part of the Constitution. And so this end of the crisis is very promising for the friends of woman suffrage. At least we are sure now that the eligibility of women for all governing bodies will be seriously considered, and there is a good prospect of votes for women too being proposed by the Government.

Two political parties, the Radical and the Social-democratic leagues, have held their annual meeting. The former reelected a woman in its Executive, and the latter resolved to present the discussion of woman suffrage as a point for the agenda of the next international Soc.-Dem. congress.

On 25 March at Amsterdam the first S.-D. Women's Club held a crowded propaganda-meeting for the enfranchisement of proletarian women. Mrs. Pothuis-Smit and P. J. Troelstra M. P. explained the importance of votes for women of the labouring classes. On economic grounds the

socialist women demand the ballot as a weapon in the struggle against the competition-system of capitalism, which weighs down the women of the proletarian class. It was asserted that, until now, the socialist women had given too little attention to their enfranchisement, and the meeting decided that a vigorous propaganda was to be started to obtain the ballot for proletarian women. The same course was agreed upon in a meeting of several S.-D. women's clubs which preceded the annual congress of the socialist party.

### Austria.

The Committee on Woman Suffrage in Vienna is going to call a great public meeting in the middle of April on the occasion of the general elections for the Austrian Parliament. All the candidates for the Vienna and Lower-Austrian districts are invited, in order to offer them an opportunity to explain their views as to woman suffrage and the granting to women of the right to form political unions (§ 30 of the Law on Assemblies) and other actual questions in which women's interests are involved. Of course the Committee will only advocate the election of such candidates as will formally pledge themselves to defend the women's claims. — At the Vienna Committee's request, the Polish women in Krakau, the Czechish women in Prague and the German women in Brünn and Troppau have expressed their readiness to hold simultaneous demonstrations of the same character. The answers of the German women in Prague, Czernowitz, Graz and other cities have not yet come in. This simultaneous action among women of different nationalities, who otherwise keep aloof from each other to the detriment of the women's cause, but are now united in the common demand for enfranchisement, cannot fail to make some impression.

The Vienna Woman Suffrage Committee distributes a leaflet, in which, by simply comparing the legal rights of men and women, the latter's inferior legal position is clearly demonstrated. This mere quotation of the law suffices to show the different rights of voters and non-voters. A journalist, who had seen the leaflet, recently reproduced it entirely in one of the leading Vienna papers, and this rendered no small service to the women's cause. On the whole the press begins to take more notice of women's claim to political equality, even though we do not urge it. So f. i. recently the *Neue freie Presse*, our biggest and widest circulated paper, brought in its political part a long article on this subject. The author, whose name is unfortunately unknown to us, refutes all the common arguments against woman suffrage except the military one. For countries which, like England, have not compulsory military service, this argument falls off; but even where it exists, there is a large number of men whose corporal inefficiency exempts them from military service, yet nobody would think of depriving them of a vote on that account; so the disfranchisement of women on this ground cannot be much longer defended.

Mrs. Nini v. Fürth, one of the most zealous members of the W. S. Committee, recently gave an excellent lecture before a large meeting, called by a women's association. Her subject was woman suffrage. In clear and fascinating words she gave a description of the efforts to attain political equality made by women in all countries, and

weighed the arguments of its advocates and antagonists. Then she entered upon more details on the particular political circumstances of Austria as affecting the lack of citizens' rights for women, and mentioned the refusal of official recognition to the Woman Suffrage Association. She demanded as a first step to the obtention of full rights for women, the abolition of § 30 of the Law on Assemblies, which excludes women from political associations. Then she urged the assistants to take part in the struggle for the enfranchisement of women, and concluded saying: "Not similitude, but equality and equal rights between men and women is our aim!" After the lecture there was an animated discussion, and on several sides a wish was expressed that the lecture might be printed and made accessible to wider circles, which request will be granted.

#### BOHEMIA — CZECHISH WOMEN.

The committee on female suffrage in Bohemia sent a petition to the Spring session of the Parliament of the kingdom of Bohemia, demanding that the present form of electing representatives to the city governments and to the parliament of the kingdom be changed in favor of universal suffrage for men and *for women*. The petition was signed by 24000 women and *men*. It is surely gratifying to see that men of all classes, and that in large numbers, signed the petition. It is less gratifying that the petition awakened no echo in the Parliament. This unpleasant fact is only mitigated by the circumstance that all demands (even by men) for a change in the mode of election to the parliament, are referred to its next session, when radical changes are to be undertaken. I have in hand the *plan* on which the changes are to be based. From this plan it is evident that the *government acknowledges that it is no longer possible to simply exclude women from the suffrage.*

The new law does not grant the desired universal suffrage. The system of the Curia (estates, city, country, where every *taxpayer* has a vote) is to continue. In all of these three Curia, *women*, as the law-project expressly states, are to have a vote *under the same conditions as men*. Nevertheless equality with men will not be given to women by this project, for to these three groups is to be added a fourth, in which all men who have attained the age of 24 have a right to vote for the representatives of the city, women however are entirely excluded from this group.

It must be our aim for the near future to prevent this exemption.

F. PLANNINKOVÁ — Prague.

#### Norway.

The following petition was addressed bij the N. W. S. A. to the Storthing: —

„The managing committee of the Landskvindestemmeretsforening (N. W. S. A.) hereby begs to draw the attention of the Storthing to the fact that Norwegian women surely expect the Storthing now to do justice to the female citizens of the country by granting political woman suffrage.

We refer to the Finnish men who showed magnanimity and understanding of modern claims when the parliament (Landdag) of Finland on the 28th of May 1906 resolved to grant the political woman suffrage. We also want to point out that the Norwegian women have believed that, as soon as the male citizens — as was the case in 1905 —

had realized the social injustice till now inflicted upon half of the citizens of the country, the Storthing of Norway would be the first Parliament to do full justice and give equal rights to all. Having seen in Australia, New Zealand and several American states the results of political woman suffrage, we dare express our strong belief that also in Norway woman suffrage will promote a coöperation between men and women which will further the future prosperity and greatness of our country.

Let the Storthing of Norway, faithful to its best traditions, take the lead; and, in days of peace, give to the women the right which common struggles and sufferings for the independence of the country have made the men of Finland grant its women.

Do not disappoint us with postponement of our demand until, forced bij the strength of circumstances, you will be compelled to accord it."

MARIE KJØLSETH, Secretary.  
T. M. QVAM, President.

E. WELHAVEN, Gunnerson.

All the branches of the Association have also each sent an address to the Storthing on behalf of woman suffrage. Petitions signed bij women have been presented to the deputies for their constituencies asking them to give their support to women's political franchise.

As yet all is uncertain, both the time when our cause will be debated in the Storthing and the result thereof. — Meetings have been held in Kristiania, where both friends and opponents have taken part in the discussion, but there have been a great majority of friends of the cause.

#### Australia.

A post-card from Miss Vida Goldstein informs us that in Victoria last month they were in the very thick of their state elections. Never before has the woman suffrage question been so much in evidence. Up to 6 March there were 76 candidates for W. S., 23 against, and 7 indifferent.

The "Monthly Record" of the Women's Liberal League of N. S. Wales gives the following meditation on the recent Commonwealth Election:

"It is over—with all its hopes, fears, and heart-burnings, and, we are sorry to add, with all its jealousy, ill-feeling, secret wire-pulling, and slander. Shall we ever be able to eliminate these undesirable feelings from election contests? If more good and true women were brave enough to throw themselves heart and soul into election work, that end may some day be achieved. At present those few who do, have rather a rough time of it. Honorary workers see it stated in a dozen different papers that they are paid agitators, hirelings, dupes, and tools, that they are actuated by selfish motives, some day to come to light, and so on. Ladies who never had any children, find it stated that they have five or six, all of whom are running about the streets of Sydney barefooted and neglected, while they tour the country. One Sydney lady, whose husband lived in their mutual home and was well looked after while she was away, found a little country paper stating Mrs. X's poor neglected husband was batching for himself alone up in the bush."

Who of our old-world readers would have thought such complaints to come from progressive Australia?

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