

# JUS SUFFRAGII,

MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

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

SIXTH YEAR No. 10.

JUNE 15, 1912.

We women have thought in our agitation that we would never say anything if we did not feel ourselves justified in acting also, if we thought action necessary. Ours is one of the biggest movements of modern times. Is there anything more marvellous than the kind of spontaneous outburst in every country of this woman's movement?

MRS. PANKHURST, in the dock, May 21 1912.



Les femmes n'ont été assujetties que par la loi du plus fort, et ça n'a pas été faite de capacité naturelle ni de mérite qu'elles n'ont point partagé avec nous ce qui élève notre sexe au-dessus du leur.

POULAIN, 1674, „De l'égalité des sexes.”

PRICE PER YEAR 2 DUTCH FLORINS (= 3 Sh. 6 d. = 0.82 \$ = 3 Kr. = 4.25 Frs. = 3½ Mk.)

## Announcements.

Subscriptions to the French edition of „Jus Suffragii” are to be addressed to Mme. E. Loppé, 14 Avenue du Trocadéro, Paris.

\*\*\*

The address of Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, will be

up to July 15th: Hongkong c/o Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation,  
up to Aug. 15th: Manilla P.I. c/o same bank,  
up to Oct. 15th: Yokohama, Japan, c/o Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China.

\*\*\*

The publications of the I. W. S. Alliance which may be ordered from the Hon. Treas. Mrs Adela Stanton Coit, 30 Hyde Park Gate, London S. W. are:—

1.) The Report of the Sixth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Stockholm in June 1911, 2nd edition, 1 Shilling and 6 pence (post paid). It contains the reports of the twenty-three Auxiliaries and in addition those of Poland, Roumania and Galicia, the Constitution of the I. W. S. All., the minutes of the proceedings, the names and addresses of officers, committees, delegates auxiliaries and Hon. Associates, an account of the social attractions of the congress, the President's address, etc. This pamphlet is one of our best means of propaganda, showing the actual state of the suffrage-problem, and should therefore be in the hands of every suffragist and every M.P. in the world.

When sending a post-order for the price, members are requested to send also a post-card stating their name and address.

2.) The World Movement for Woman Suffrage, 1904 to 1911, being the Presidential Address delivered at Stockholm to the Sixth Convention of the I. W. S. Alliance on June 13th 1911 by Mrs Chapman Catt, 2nd edition. Price 1 d. or 2 cents each; 10 d. a dozen; 5 d. a hundred.

3.) Measuring up Equal Suffrage (price 3 d. for 2 copies, 1 Sh. for 8 copies, 5 Sh. for 50 copies), the article published in „The Delineator” by Mr George Creel and Judge Ben B. Lindsey to refute the slanders of anti-suffragists on the results of Woman

Suffrage in Colorado, translated into French and German at the I. W. S. Alliance's request. This pamphlet contains in a few pages the entire justification of the reform which made women Citizens of the State in 1893. It is to be ordered in German from Miss Adelheid von Welczeck, 24 Schubertstrasse, Blasewitz for 0.15 Mk, 2nd edition, and in French from Mme C. Leon Brunschvieg, 53 rue Scheffer, Paris for 0.20 frs.

4.) Home and State, by Selma Lagerlöf, price 1 d., the brilliant address made by the author to the I. W. S. All. Congress in Stockholm 1911 (see „J. S.” V p. 75 and V p. 79), which has been translated and published by most of the Auxiliary Associations of the I. W. S. Alliance. Also to be had from the National Union W. S. Societies, Parliament Chambers, Gt Smith Street, Westminster.

\*\*\*

The I. W. S. All. badge, a brooch with the figure of „Jus Suffragii” on our title-page, is to be ordered from Fru J. Pedersen—Dan, 39 Griffenfeldtsgade, Copenhagen, in different materials and different prices.

\*\*\*

Some libraries, booksellers, reading-rooms, literature-tables and clubs have promised to act as agents to augment the circulation of Jus Suffragii, in the manner mentioned in „J. S.” V. p. 76:—

The International Suffrage Shop, 15 Adam Street, Strand London, England.

The National Union of W.S. Societies, Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, London.

The Women's Freedom League, 1 Robert Street Adelphi, Strand London.

The Women's Citizen Publishing Co., 13 Bream's Buildings Chancery Lane, London E.C.

Mrs Alice L. Park, 611 Gilman Street, Palo Alto, California.

Mrs H. C. van Loenen-De Bordes, Villa Wilhelmina, Eisenach.

Miss Sophie Alberti, 1 Gammel Mönt, Copenhagen.

Mf H. Spenkelink, bookseller, Hillegom, Holland.

Mrs Jeanne d'Almeida Nogueira, 17 Praça D. Luiz, Lissabon.

Miss Bertha Tabelle, Fabriksgatan 6A, Helsingfors.

## LITERATURE.

*Die Stellung der Frau im Recht der Kulturstaaten*, Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei Karlsruhe, 2.40 Mk, is a most useful and interesting collection of laws that discriminate against women as a sex in many countries, after the model of Lady Mc Laren's *Women's Charter* for England. It is edited by the Law-Committee of the *International Council of Women* and has specially been compiled in support of the demand for women's suffrage. The book deals with 20 different countries and the writers of the various reports (in English, French or German) have been appointed by their respective National Councils. The contents cannot fail to show even to the most reluctant how justified is the women's demand for suffrage, and we strongly recommend this book to the readers of „Jus Suffragii“.

The *Prussian W.S. Association* publishes two new leaflets for 0.20 Mk, to be ordered from *Mrs Tony Breitscheid, Fasanenstrasse 58, Berlin W. 15*. No. 12, *Das Deutsche Statwesen*, gives a short review of the rights and duties of municipalities in the Empire, of the various electoral qualifications with the class-system which gives very unequal electoral rights to citizens of different property-groups, and of the sphere of action of Town Councils. No. 13, *Die Handelsangestellten und das Frauenstimmrecht*, by Martha Plewe, shows the great need that women commercial employees have of the ballot. Men only cannot and do not legislate for the best of the whole community composed of men and women together; this is evident from their wish to abolish wage-earning for women, to restrict their opportunities for professional training and for obtaining situations, etc.

The *Church League for Women's Suffrage* publishes some leaflets, to be ordered at *11 St Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, London N.W.*, strongly recommended by our co-worker Frau Johanna Blauenfeldt, President of the Danish Kristelig Kvindevalgrets-Forening: *From East to West*, by Helen B. Hanson, 2 d.; *The Moral and Religious Ground for Women's Enfranchisement*, by Rev. Fred. A. M. Spencer, 1/2 d.; *The Cause of Purity and Women's Suffrage*, by Ursula Roberts, 2 d.; *St Paul and the Women Movement*, by the Rev. A. E. N. Simms, 1 d.; *Extracts from May Mission Speeches delivered in London*, by A. Maude Royden, 1 d.; *The Church and Women's Suffrage*, by Rev. Maurice F. Bell, 1 d.

The *Fabian Women's Group* publishes some tracts to be ordered from *Mrs C. M. Wilson, 150 Whitehall Court, London S.W.*: *The Working Life of Women*, by Miss B. L. Hutchins, 1 d., gives statistics of the percentage of females occupied in employment of all kinds, especially of married women and widows, stating the effects of industrial diseases on the death-rate and the direful results of the woman's handicap, because, in her work, value-in-use is substituted for value-in-exchange. *Family Life on a Pound a Week*, by Mrs Pember Reeves, 2 d., contains some budgets of families of the labouring class. *Women and Prisons*, by Helen Blagg and Charlotte Wilson, 2 d., explains how women suffer under the criminal law and its administration as men do and in other ways besides. This pamphlet gives statistics on criminals and crime, and finally shows some evils of the English prison system to which the experience of suffrage-prisoners has drawn public attention, pointing out the necessary changes to be made.

*Bridget's Sisters*, a suffrage play by *Catherine Waugh Mc Culloch* is published by the Illinois W.S.

Association. It contains the judgment given by a reluctant judge on the wife's wages being considered the property of her husband, and relates the plan of foundation of the first Illinois W.S. Association. It requires only two male actors and may meet the need of suffrage plays for suffrage clubs.

*Undersökning af Yrkesarbetares Lefnadsvillkor i Finland*, Arbetsstatistik No. XIII compiled by *Vera Hjelt*, factory-inspector, for the Finnish Government, gives all official information on the standard of life of working women. It contains a French resume entitled *Recherches sur les conditions conomiques des ouvriers industriels en Finlande 1908-1909*. Indispensable for all students of social conditions of the working classes.

## United States.

I wonder if all the subscribers of „Jus Suffragii“ watch as eagerly for its coming and read it with as much interest as we do here in the United States. It brings us all the news we have of the suffrage movement in Europe, except in Great Britain, which we get from the English papers, and it makes us feel in close touch with the dear women everywhere who are working for the same great object. When I read in the May number of the presentation of the handsome gavel to our beloved vice-president, Annie Furuholm, I almost seemed to be with her again in Helsingfors, where, with her wide acquaintance and fine social position, she made my visit so pleasant a few years ago. And the account of that splendid meeting at Stockholm April 2—how it revived the memories of my happy visit there in 1908 and the many courtesies of Anna Whitlock, Gertrude Adelborg, Signe Bergman, the talented Dr. Sandelin, now passed away, and many others. So each month the letters from Denmark, The Netherlands and other countries, with the names of the workers whom we meet at the congresses, renew cherished associations and make our international paper of incalculable value.

We are deeply interested in that Polish Women's Exhibition at Prague and wish it were going to be next summer instead of this, for we are already talking of our visit to Budapest! Those of us who have beautiful recollections of Frau Marie Stritt, as president of the German Council at the time of the International Council meeting at Berlin in 1904, are glad to know that she is now giving her time and ability to suffrage, and we congratulate the Hungarian women on having her with them.

\*\*\*

We are now in the midst of the most deplorable political campaign which our country ever has experienced, where the unexpected and inexcusable determination of Mr Roosevelt to have a third term has compelled President Taft to take the platform in his own behalf, which no other president has ever done. Mr La Follette, now U. S. Senator, is the third Republican candidate. Of the three he is the only one who stands squarely for woman suffrage but there does not seem to be any chance of his nomination. During Mr Roosevelt's seven years in the presidency he could never be persuaded to say one word in favor and there is no hope that he would do so if again elected. President Taft has always said that he believed in giving the vote to women, but qualified it by saying, „when the majority want it“. He has given reason to believe, however, that if re-nominated he will declare for it without qualification. There are four Democratic candidates for the nomination, not one of whom

has ever spoken in favor, and Mr Wilson, now Governor of New Jersey, has declared against it.

The Socialists have already held their convention, demanded woman suffrage in their platform and nominated Eugene V. Debs, who has stood for it all his life, but his party is not strong enough to carry a single State. Before another letter from here goes to „Jus Suffragii“, the two dominant parties will have made their presidential nominations. The women are going to bring a tremendous pressure on the Republican convention, which meets in Chicago, June 18, to put a woman suffrage plank in its platform, or program, as it is called in Europe. If they carry out their plan, tens of thousands of women will march to the convention hall to make the demand. The Democratic convention meets in Baltimore June 25, and every possible effort will be made by women to secure its endorsement, but it is very doubtful if recognition can be secured from either of the old parties. They realize that while women can help or hurt them in six States, they cannot do either in the other forty-two States, while the two forces that control politics absolutely—the liquor interests and the so-called party „machines“, run by the „bosses“—are strongly opposed to votes for women and can injure, if not ruin, the candidate who is in favor. The chief reason why our movement has made so much progress lately is because the people are in revolt against these forces that have been so long in command.

These factors are likely to dominate the presidential conventions, but wonderful things are happening in the States. In Pennsylvania, which until the last year has been completely „boss ridden“, the State Democratic convention has called upon the Legislature to „submit the question of woman suffrage to the voters without delay“; and the Republican State convention has asked the Legislature to „give this great question careful consideration with a view of submitting it, etc.“ The League of Democratic Clubs in New York State, composed of thousands of prominent men, has sent an official letter to President Anna Shaw inviting the New York suffragists who go to the National Democratic Convention in Baltimore to make use of its headquarters, offering all its conveniences in the way of luncheons, etc., and the benefits of the reduced railroad fare granted to the League. There was of course but one thing for Miss Shaw to do and that was to have the national corresponding secretary, Mrs. Dennett, send a letter expressing high appreciation of its generous offer but saying that the suffragists were obliged to remain entirely free from political affiliations. The incident strikingly illustrates, however, the marvelous change that is taking place in the attitude of political parties.

\*\*\*

Here is another very significant situation. With the exception of two or three States it has been impossible to arouse any enthusiasm for woman suffrage in the South. For many reasons it is very conservative, and this is especially true of its women, but the suffrage leaders have always felt that if the movement got a start in the Southern States they would soon leave the North behind. But what should give it the start—that was the question, and now it seems about to be answered. At least a million-and-a-quarter women will be eligible to vote next autumn and the Southern Democrats have suddenly awakened to the fact that all of them are in States which are normally Republican. „We can't stand this,“ they are saying; „we shall have to offset those Republican women voters with Democratic women voters!“ This idea has taken strong hold very recently among prominent men in Texas, a State where eighty per

cent, of the male vote is Democratic, and to our amazement Miss Shaw was invited to come down and address them. It is a long journey and the weather is very warm down there now, but she went and has just returned. She spoke in San Antonio and Austin, the capital; they were the first public suffrage meetings ever held there and no halls were large enough to contain the crowds. The enthusiasm was immense, and although the State has heretofore been practically untouched by the agitation for woman's enfranchisement, both men and women have taken up the cry, „Texas shall be the first Southern State to give votes to women!“ Possibly the chances are better there where there is practically only one political party than on the border States between the North and South, like Kentucky and Maryland. Missouri also has taken on new life and it is said that all the organizations of women in the State, no matter what their work has been, are joining with the Suffrage Association in a movement for the complete franchise.

But this is not all, for in Arkansas, one of the most backward of States, the Federation of Women's Clubs, at its recent annual convention, unanimously adopted a resolution to enter upon a campaign for the School Franchise. There is no one feature of the suffrage movement in the United States which is so encouraging as the obvious tendency of the State Federations of Women's Clubs to go into it. They are composed of every kind of clubs that exist, educational, religious, political, musical, philanthropic, etc., and are combined in a General Federation which includes about one million members. The New York State Federation has 200,000 members and that of New York City alone has 72,000. When the Federations first began to be formed about twenty years ago they would not permit a suffrage club to join, and some States still have that ban. It is only within the last four of five years that they would allow the subject mentioned at their meetings. Now in all parts of the country they are plunging into the thick of the fight for the ballot, bringing in women of every creed, class and condition. The Michigan Federation of 18,000 has just gone into the amendment campaign there, as have those of Kansas and Oregon in their States. It was the Federation in Kentucky that joined with the suffragists and secured School Suffrage last winter.

\*\*\*

All of the instances cited in this letter are really of more significance in the general progress of the movement than the actual work that is going on without cessation in the five States where amendments, are soon to be voted on, which shall be fully described next month. Little space is left to tell of the Parade May 4, which now seems very far away. It was a magnificent success in every respect. The day was perfect and it is estimated that 15,000 were in line, although some think the number much larger. Of these 1,000 were men, from New York, Boston and other places, a highly representative body of bankers, editors, lawyers, physicians, men in trade, wage earners, old and young. The women were quite as representative, mistresses and maids, side by side; some of the exclusive „400“; thousands of moderate wealth; factory girls, college women, stenographers, clerks and women in all the professions. Fifty on horseback headed the procession; most of the women were dressed in white and hundreds of beautiful banners were carried. The police estimated that there were at least half-a-million on-lookers, and the vast majority seemed friendly and sympathetic. The line of march was nearly three miles long and ended in Carnegie Hall with a mass meeting, while scores of women spoke

on the streets from automobiles. The newspapers each devoted from four to six pages to very complimentary accounts and illustrations and it was the universal opinion that public interest in the cause was increased a hundredfold.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.  
New York, May, 1912.

### Great Britain.

Since the last number of „Jus Suffragii” appeared, an important development has taken place in the policy pursued by the *National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies* at Parliamentary By-Elections. On May 14th at a Special Council, convened to consider the political situation, it was decided that the Union, while not abandoning its non-party policy would support in future candidates favourable to Women's Suffrage standing in the interests of the Labour Party, in constituencies where the Liberal or Unionist candidate is not a sincere supporter of Women's Suffrage.

After the defeat of the Conciliation Bill, which was largely due to the fact that certain members of Parliament broke the pledges which they had given to the National Union, it was felt that it was necessary to obtain a stronger guarantee than the mere word of the member himself. The Labour Party is the only one which makes Women's Suffrage a part of its programme; hence its members have not the same temptation to repudiate their promises to support the cause, from the fear of causing division in their party.

In future therefore, unless there are the strongest grounds for believing in the sincerity of the support promised by the Liberal or Conservative candidates, the National Union will support Labour candidates wherever they are standing.

This development of policy was decided upon by a large majority of the delegates, amid great enthusiasm.

At Whitsunside, the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party, a body inside the Parliamentary Labour Party, passed a resolution declaring that no Electoral Reform Bill would be acceptable to them which did not enfranchise women.

The Labour Party passed a similar resolution at its Annual Meeting in January.

During the last few days the opportunity has offered of putting this policy into practice in a constituency in the North of England; and the National Union has opened an enthusiastic campaign in favour of the Labour candidate.

The immediate object of the policy is to bring such pressure to bear on the Government by opposing Anti-Suffrage Liberals that they may realise that the danger to the Liberal Party, which lurks in the question of Women's Suffrage, lies, not in supporting it, but in ignoring its existence.

Issued by the Press Department  
of the N. U. W. S. S.

The great event of the past month has been the trial of the *Women's Social and Political Union* leaders. This trial commenced on May 15th and lasted exactly a week; a very great impression was made by the speeches delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. Lawrence in their own defence, and it has been said that, if the jury had retired to consider their verdict immediately after these speeches, their verdict would have been that of „not guilty”; as it was, they recommended the prisoners to the utmost clemency of the judge. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Lawrence are in Holloway Prison, and Mr. Lawrence is at Brixton

Male Prison. The W.S.P.U. is now organising demonstrations in all the parks of London and all in the principal towns throughout the country to demand first class treatment for the leaders—that is to say that they may be given the status of political offenders. [The demand has actually been granted. Ed.]

As regards the promised Reform Bill, the W.S.P.U. is endeavouring to get women included as voters under the Irish Home Rule Bill now before the House. It has recently taken part in two bye-elections in opposition to the Government candidate—namely in South Hackney, London, and in the North West Norfolk constituency, both of these places being strong seats, it is therefore interesting to note that in both of them the liberal majority has been reduced by about one half.

The next Albert Hall Meeting will be held on June the 15th at which Mr. Tim Healy the prominent Irish Nationalist will be the chief speaker, Mr. Healy was also the Counsel for the defence during the leaders' trial. Owing to the fact that so many women of high moral standing are now undergoing imprisonment owing to their political convictions, great interest is being awakened as to the question of their treatment as political offenders, and after a meeting held in the London Opera House by the Political Reform League, the Home Secretary received a deputation on the subject composed of many well known people in the social and political world. It remains to be seen what the ultimate result of the very great efforts thus being made to obtain for the Suffrage prisoners their due rights as political offenders will be.

London, June 1912. *The Secretary W. S. P. U.*

The *Men's League for Women's Suffrage* had its annual meeting on April 26. In the absence of the President, Lord Lytton, Mr Herbert Jacobs was in the chair. In consideration of the new policy suggested by Mr Brailsford, in the place of the pure anti-Government tactics followed hitherto, the friendly attitude of the Independent Labour Party was recognized and the following resolution adopted:—

„That the committee be instructed with the object of securing the political enfranchisement of women to concentrate in support of Labour candidates standing against anti-Suffragists, and to co-operate with any society for this purpose.”

Mr Mitchell then moved the second resolution, which was adopted without discussion:—

„That the members of the M.L.W.S. assembled in general meeting most emphatically urge members of the House of Commons—

1. To insist upon the inclusion of women in the Government's proposed Reform Bill,
2. To demand that the enfranchisement of women be included in the Home Rule Bill for Ireland.

They further express their unqualified disapproval of the action of those members of Parliament who withdrew their support from the Conciliation Bill on the utterly illogical excuse of militant tactics, and they pledge themselves to do all in their power to secure the defeat of such members on the earliest possible occasion.”

The third resolution adopted was the following:—

That this meeting of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage calls upon its committee to communicate at once with every league and association having among its objects the enfranchisement of women, with a view to organ-

ising a monster procession to Trafalgar Square for the purpose of passing and forwarding a resolution to the Prime Minister protesting against the treatment of men and women political prisoners as criminals.”

Dr Drysdale then moved the fourth resolution, which was passed unanimously:—

„That it is essential for the success of the Women's Suffrage movement that some measure of agreement as to aim and policy should be come to, and that a conference of all Women's Suffrage societies should be held at the earliest possible moment.”

(*Monthly Organ M.L.W.S.*, May.)

### Sweden.

The suffragists of Sweden have to note a new defeat. As was expected our question has once more fallen in Parliament with the help of a small Conservative majority in the First Chamber.

The Government Bill on woman's suffrage, introduced on the 2nd of April and recommended by the Committee on Constitution by 11 votes (Liberals and Socialdemocrats) against 9 votes (Conservatives), was treated in Parliament (both chambers) on the 18th of May. In the First Chamber the discussion began at 11 o'clock and lasted for four hours and a half. The galleries were crowded and the interest was from the beginning very great, because it had got known that the great orator on the Conservative side, Professor Thyrén of the university of Lund, was going to use his eloquence against woman's suffrage to such an effect, that „the question should be killed so completely that it should never be able to rise again”. Surely these were bold words, but I am afraid that the honoured professor will have to take his place among the false prophets.

Mr. Thyrén treated the question from two different points of view: the usefulness and the righteousness, and from neither of these points could he find any reason for granting suffrage to women.

Unfortunately he had, only four years ago, spoken as eloquently *in favour* of woman's suffrage at an election meeting. The next speaker, Mr. Hellberg, one of the best speakers of the liberal group in this Chamber and a staunch supporter of our cause, read aloud out of Mr. Thyrén's former speech, which was printed, and in the laughter that followed much of the effect of the latter's speech was swept away. After having spoken warmly and well for our question Mr. Hellberg quoted what Mrs. Chapman Catt had said in her presidential address of 1911 about the fly on the wheel of progress, and said that for his part he did not believe that the wheel would stop, even if there were *two* flies on it. Professor Kjällén—our sincere enemy of many years standing and the original of Mrs. Catt's fly—declared that he would rather be a fly on the wheel than he would be the grease that helped the wheel to roll in the wrong direction.

The Minister of Justice spoke very well for the Government Bill, and when, at the end of the debate, the Prime Minister rose and delivered his grand speech, the whole Cabinet was present. He drew up the great lines of the question, lifted it up on a higher level and gave the suffrage women a feeling that their question had entered a new stage. His speech ought to be given *in extenso*, but as this would take up too much space, I only quote one sentence, which gives about the *contents* of the whole: „It is my sincere conviction that the question

of woman's suffrage is not a political fancy of the day, but a question so far reaching and so deeply rooted, that it can not under any circumstances be dismissed without having been settled”.

As a whole the opposition was much weaker than last year and seemed to have some difficulty in blowing new life into the dead bones. But the party lines were kept up and the whole of the Conservative block voted against: 86 noes to 58 ayes. 15 more votes, and the victory would have been ours.

When the debate in the First Chamber was ended, it had only just begun in the Second Chamber, where it lasted to 10 o'clock in the evening with a pause for dinner.

The chief opponent in this Chamber was Mr. Lindman, the former Premier, but the weakness of his arguments was demonstrated by many speakers, Socialdemocrats as well as Liberals, and also by several of the Cabinet Ministers, especially the Minister of Justice, whose speech was brilliant. The discussion offered many good points though, it often entered on lines of pure party character, which had nothing to do with woman's suffrage.

Also here the voting followed the party lines: 140 ayes to 66 noes. Since last year we have won 55 supporters, 35 in the First and 20 in the Second Chamber. In Parliament as a whole we have at present 198 supporters and 152 opponents, and if our question should be decided by joint voting, the result would be in our favour. But as it has to be decided by each Chamber separately, we must be prepared for a very sharp struggle to overcome the last resistance—small in number, but strong and tenacious.

In Parliament as well as in the press, the Conservatives always proclaim that the women of Sweden have not shown a sufficient interest in woman's suffrage and that most of them do not even want it. If still in power, the Government will certainly renew the Bill on woman's suffrage in 1914, and the suffragists must now gather their forces to show that there is in reality a strong opinion for suffrage among the women themselves.

On the 16th and 17th of June a large suffrage meeting will take place in Skane (southern Sweden), and one of the most important subjects of discussion will be: „What can be done to show that the women of Sweden want political suffrage?”

Let us hope that we can find an answer to that question and be strong enough to carry it through!

Stockholm, June 1912. EZALINE BOHEMAN.

### Austrian Empire.

VIENNA.

The Diet of Austria Inferior has made a new electoral regulation for Wiener-Neustadt and Waidhofen a/d. Ybbs. Women are no longer to vote by proxy, women taxpayers are granted a vote and compulsory suffrage is introduced. Yet § 30 of the Law on Assemblies still prohibits women taking part in political meetings! So the women of two towns of 60,000 and 20,000 inhabitants are considered fit to exercise voting privileges, whereas those of the Imperial Capital Vienna are to remain disfranchised.

\*\*\*

The Diet of the Tyrol, at the resumption of its session, will have to discuss an Electoral Reform Bill which makes provision for women voting personally in the electoral classes (Kurien) of urban and country-municipalities.

\*\*\*

The Socialdemocratic Women's Day on May 12 has been very successful in Austria. At Vienna Therese Schlesinger, Adelheid Popp and Anna Boscheck addressed an audience of 6000 in the Sophiasaal. Adele Gerber gave the greetings of the W. S. Committee.  
Vienna, May 1912. H. HERZFELDER.

#### HURRAH FOR BOHEMIA!

At the by-election to the Diet of the Kingdom of Bohemia for the cities of Mladá Boleslav and Nymburk the woman candidate of the united National Parties, Mrs. Božena Víková-Kunetická, authoress, received 850 votes, and the woman candidate of the Social-Democratic Party, Miss Karia Máčová, editor of the „Zenské Listy“ (Women's Journal) received 415 votes, whereas the candidate of the Town Council of Mladá Boleslav, the mayor of that city received 769 votes. The Radical Party also voted for the women, giving its members freedom to vote for either of the two women candidates.

There will be another election in a week, for no one obtained the required majority of all the 2074 votes. At this election the Social-Democrats will give their votes to the woman-candidate of the National Parties.

The campaign meetings of both the women-candidates were brilliant and were attended by great numbers of both men and women. Leading representatives of the parties heartily recommended the candidates, whereas the mayor of Mladá Boleslav held no campaign speech in his own city, and addressed only 122 invited voters in Nymburk, of whom 120 were men and 2 women.

The Woman's Suffrage Committee of Prague sent its best speakers to the contest. The enthusiasm of the women agitators was great.

F. PLAMINKOVA.

M. TUMOVA, for J. F. S.

Prague, June 4th 1912.

#### France.

The French W. S. A. has requested its Local and District Branches to report on the results of the electoral campaign for which the municipal elections of May 5 and 12 afforded an opportunity.

In Paris about half of the Municipal Councillors that were elected have declared in favour of votes for women. In the provinces the answers were numerous and important; our Branches and Delegates know now on what elements of success to count for the passing of the Union's (W. S. A.'s) resolution on the Dussaussoy-Buisson-bill by Municipal Councils. The Socialist party, which has woman suffrage on its program, showed itself favorable everywhere; on the other hand the Radical party, which is in power just now and naturally is not inclined to have a change, was generally found hostile. In the other parties the opinions differed. Until the time comes when the candidates will be concerned about our political education, we will try our best to make them understand the importance of woman suffrage. We have sent speakers to the meetings of electors and we shall continue sending them to the various political group assemblies. Every time we did so, the results have been excellent, and many a man who came in smiling ironically left the meeting as a member of our Association. We must admit that in France the men are perhaps more easily persuaded by our arguments than are the women, because mostly the opinions of the men are less difficult to change than the habits of the women.

We may add that at the last elections two women

presented themselves as candidates in Paris, Mrs. Elisabeth Renaud and Mrs. Madeleine Pelletier, official candidates of the Socialist party. They got some hundreds of votes. In Deux-Sèvres Mrs. Marliangeas and in Somme Miss Denizard made by their candidatures an energetic suffragist campaign.

\*\*\*

Except our work in the election campaign, we held quite a number of meetings in the month of May. At Poitiers, after lectures from Mlle. Clément and Mme. Brunschvieg, we founded a Branch under the Presidency of Mme. Cavalier, the wife of the Rector of the Academy. At Tours a new Section was organized. At Orleans Mrs. Suzanne Gumberg, lawyer in the Court of Appeals, one of our most zealous agitators, has just formed another new Branch. Successful meetings were held in the Departements of Cher and Ardennes, at Belfort, at Pau, etc.

At Havre we organized a big manifestation with the help of Mme. Pauline Rebour, where the audience numbered over 2000 and Mr. Siegfried, deputy for Havre, was in the chair. Resolutions were passed in favour of the Dussaussoy-Buisson-bill and of a referendum on local option, which allows the Municipalities to undertake a fight against alcoholic drinks. This meeting preceded the Congress of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, which took place at Havre in the same hall. During the whole Congress-meeting the posters of the W. S. Association and the inscriptions „Votes for Women“ were allowed to remain in the session-hall, symbolizing the unity of Rights of Men and Rights of Women.

On Mrs. Brunschvieg's proposal, the Congress declared in favour of women taking part in Local Option, as a necessary legislative measure to oppose alcoholism. Mrs. Maria Verone, member of the Executive of the League for Men's Rights, proposed a resolution on natural fathers' liability; she claimed amendments to be proposed to the bill now under discussion in Parliament, and the Congress unanimously adopted her proposal. The League for Men's Rights, which numbers over 700 Sections in the provinces, had already in 1909 passed a resolution in favour of woman suffrage, at Mme. Maria Verone's request.

\*\*\*

On June 13th an annual meeting of women's societies will take place at Versailles. Mme. De Witt Schlumberger, Vice-President of the French W. S. Association, will give an address on Anti-alcoholism and Woman Suffrage.

(Communication from the French W. S. A.)

Paris, June 1912.

#### India.

When the press of the world announced a movement in India favorable to self-government, I confess that I for one was thrilled with the news and longed to know the whole truth about it. Now that I have learned something of it by a personal visit to the country, I find myself a bit disappointed. When an anti-slavery advocate in the United States long ago, grew discouraged at the slowness of the progress of the movement, for the emancipation of slaves, he declared to a great Divine, that God could not be on the side of the slave, for if He were, things would move faster. The Divine replied: „God is on our side, but he isn't in a hurry and we are.“ That describes the nature of my disappointment. There is a genuine, sincere democratic movement in India but it has such obstacles to overcome as we of the West can scarcely realize. It is

certain that India will not become a nation, either independent or as a colony of Great Britain for many years to come. Yet something of mighty import to these people is being wrought out here. It is not our Western ideas of democracy which seem uppermost, and the symptoms of the changes which are coming are not those we should find in any European country.

The chief difficulties of the situation are easily set forth. India possesses one fifth of the population of the world and so varied is its character, that it includes at one extreme highly educated men, and at the other, primitive tribes much quoted by sociologists to illustrate the habits of crude undeveloped peoples. In 1910, only 26 % of the boys of school going age could read and write, and only 3.9 % of the girls. It is stated that 96 % of the males of India and 99 % of the females are totally illiterate and I think it may be truly said that all of these uneducated ones are steeped in superstition so great and unreasoning as to be utterly incomprehensible to our Western minds. It is said that 420 tongues are spoken in India and that at least fifty are written languages. Although for many years English has practically been the official language and is taught in all the schools, yet there are twenty four other languages which are spoken by more people than is English. To add to the difficulties there are many religions, with the usual intolerance, but the chief problem is the hostility between the Hindus (numbering 207 millions) and the Mohammedans (numbering 62 millions) which is bitter and unyielding. India is composed of many states, some ruled by native princes, and each has its history customs and traditions. Probably no two of them have exactly the same standing in relation to the British Government. One ruler has been granted the right to be saluted by twenty-one guns, another nineteen, another twelve, and to disturb this carefully graded scale of honors would bring these States to the brink of war.

The Hindus are in majority and they want „India for the Indians“, meaning Hindus, but they are divided into some two hundred and ninety castes, each of which has its own code of laws. Until recently there has been no intermarriage between persons of different castes, and no possible way for a man or woman to get out of the caste into which he was born. For instance there has been a robber caste whose members have been thieves from time immemorial; a beggar caste, no member of which would think of seeking his daily bread in any other way than by begging. In nearly all hotels the tourist is invited to tip a room man, a waterman, a sweeper and a lamp-man, these four functionaries being required to do the work of one European chamber maid. But the sweeper belongs to the sweeper caste and the waterman to the waterdrawers caste and it is unseemly that one should do the work of the other! These conditions seem insuperable barriers to progress, but despite them India is moving on. A decided impetus has been given to education. There are mission schools and government schools and five universities all well attended. The great sects of the Hindus, and there are several, have each a university and the Mohammedans have one also. All these institutions are comparatively new. The English language is slowly but certainly furnishing a common medium of communication, and even caste is losing much of its former rigidity.

A National Congress, originally called by the rich and educated for the purpose of talking things over, has been held annually for the past 24 years. Some of the demands made have been granted, but its greatest accomplishment has been the arrival at

a definite program and that is to make each State an independent and self-governing body, all the States to be federated into a national India with a place among the world's nations. A left wing has developed which would have Great Britain cease its connection with India, and is even accused of bomb-throwing intentions and other revolutionary methods to gain its end. The majority, so nearly as I could learn, expects the realization of its hopes through evolution based upon education, and goes no further than to hope for independence under the protection of Great Britain. Certain it is, that a minority, the proud descendants of the old time India, happily emancipated from ignorance and superstition, are dreaming of a New India, that shall out-glorify the old, and are supporting their hopes by same, deliberate, fundamental preparation. They acknowledge the superiority of the West, and have set bravely to work to bring India up to, its proper place. They have no intention of imitating our Western civilization, nor of adopting our Western institutions; they propose and expect to produce something better than the world has yet known. It has been good to look into the faces of men alight with hope and faith in their cause. India is surely awake and the best in the movement here is as good as any race or nation has contributed to the cause of human freedom. Possibly India may come to her own through processes to be regretted but whatever comes, there are great souls to calm and restrain the impetuous ones. India will not sleep again. In the past long ago she contributed much to the learning of the world; who knows but she is making ready to deliver other messages of equal import to humanity?

The National Congress has never passed a resolution, nor discussed any phase of the woman question. As usual the women were forgotten. The time came when it was proposed to boycott all foreign goods, with which the markets were loaded, and to patronize home industries alone. The idea was to restore India to her former industrial position. It was then the men remembered the women and sought their help. It was given ungrudgingly and from zenana to zenana. the campaign swept on. A young man told me that at one time he brought home an article of foreign make, not having been able to get it of Indian manufacture. His mother remonstrated with him for his want of patriotism and reminded him that a loyal Indian would go without, rather than purchase a foreign article! She illustrated the sincerity of her views by burning the offensive purchase, and demanding that her son would not offend her patriotism again. The women held many meetings in purdah and at last one public one in Calcutta addressed by women speakers. No woman's movement to compare with that of men exists. There are no organizations; meetings or newspapers to voice the demands of women. Yet there are signs which as certainly foretell the coming of an organized movement, as the bud gives promise of the flower. The educated woman is awakened to the needs of her sex, and the necessity of arousing the mothers of the land, if India is ever to be free. The first and greatest difficulty is the purdah system, which keeps all women of the upper classes completely out of sight. One sees occasionally a „female carriage“ in the street, a small vehicle entirely enveloped by a thick curtain and one is told that a woman sits within the airless enclosure, but this is the only sign the visitor gets that there are women in the country at all. The women of the working classes have always been free and here as elsewhere they are the great burden bearers. They carry trunks upon their backs as porters, or great

baskets of stone on their heads for the road makers, and they are seen in endless procession morning and evening going to and from the wells with immense jars of water upon their heads.

But for the upper castes, sentiment favorable to freedom from purdah, I believe, is far in advance of the practice. Each woman hesitates to lead. A healthy indication of what is coming, I find, in the assurance I have received from several Hindus, that purdah is no part of their religion, but came with the Mohammedans! When that idea is sufficiently circulated purdah will go. Already there is little of it in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras compared with the interior. In all these cities there are Indian societies where native women of different religions faiths meet and talk over Indian problems. The Parsees, who left Persia many centuries back, rather than accept Mohammedanism are very liberal. Their women are not in purdah, but go everywhere with their husbands. They are educated, and there are many Parsee women physicians. A small sect of the highest caste, the Brahma Samaj, is the leader among the Hindus in liberal things. Its women are not in purdah, they do not encourage child marriage, and a woman need not marry if she prefers to be single. These women, I have found all over India, as the leaders in educational movements and many among them are as genuine feminists as any Western woman. They are a tremendous influence for the reforms most necessary for women; these being, the freedom from purdah, the modification of strictures upon widows, and the postponement of the age of marriage.

Calcutta, March 11 1912. (To be continued.)  
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

### Hungary.

We may suppose that everyone has read about the horrible events which are shaking now our parliamentary and public life. On May 23rd a partial strike, arranged by the Socialdemocratic party to support the Justhparty in its protest against the election of Count Tisza as Speaker of the House, ended in a dreadful chaos of revolutionary character. But! It was not a revolution. It was only a dreadful riot, in which the strikers didn't stop at mere window-smashing, but damaged as much of private property as possible, destroying electrical cars, burning houses, ruining goods, smashing shopwindows, all the streetlanterns, etc. etc. The police was ordered to shoot, and overdid it so by pure cruelty that innocent passers-by, who were not taking part in the demonstration, were shot down. Five dead, among whom a child of 12 years, and a great number of wounded are the victims of the day. Hundreds of demonstrators, about 60 being women, have been arrested, and are now expecting their trial. Not a single leader of the Socialdemocratic party is hurt or arrested, as they preferred to let the masses risk their lives.

An event of immeasurable importance and consequence is the violent encroachment upon parliamentary rights which the Government's party made on June 4 under the leadership of the Speaker of the House, Count Tisza. He dared to ignore the Rules of the House. Wishing to kill the endless obstruction of the Justhparty, he violated the Law and was seconded by the whole Government and the whole Liberal party. This created an immense reaction. The other oppositional parties joined the Justhparty in its protest. The House was like Hell. The opposition with outbursts of indignation, howled and shouted, menacing Count Tisza and his followers, and the Government and its money-made party,

pretending to pursue the parliamentary work, voted on and on, passing all the military laws, which have been opposed since 13 years. The deputies could, of course not hear, what was going on, but they only attended to certain signs, and when they got them, they voted. The opposition had no idea, that amidst its tumultuous noise the military laws were being adopted.

That the Government knew well that they were beginning a real revolutionary action, by making new laws through overriding the old ones, was clear by the preparations they had made. Troops of soldiers and gendarmes had been ordered in advance to Budapest, which is overflowed since three days with this military element. Our streets are occupied by the army, and the greatest amusement for children and curious adults is to stand in the streets and look at the soldiers. While I am writing this report, the Speaker is continually throwing out the Members of the Parliament through policemen, though the law defends to have police present in the Halls of Parliament. To prophesy what will be the end of thus continually injuring life, goods and laws is impossible. The possibility of perfect calmness is as great as the outburst of a real Revolution.

And while all these things are going on, we women can reflect, wether men are really our superiors in politics. Whether we really are not yet ripe for politics, for law-making. When we compare what has happened here and what the Suffragettes, the most violent among women, are doing, we may well state, that women will never be so brutal and waste life so cynically as men are doing, as long as they constitute the sole power. We Hungarian Suffragists mourn the victims of the late riots, but we cannot forget, not for one moment, that the same parties, which are overpowered now by a force greater than theirs, are continually opposing by violence the fighters for women's rights when their forces are greater than the Suffragists'.

The Socialdemocratic party and the Justhparty, as well as the Radical bourgeois, have always opposed the Hungarian Women Suffrage movement by every means of physical force, calumny, etc. etc. Those among them, who personally disliked these methods didn't denounce them because they judged women are damaging the Cause of „Universal Suffrage” (as they dare call pure Manhood Suffrage) in making it "ridiculous" by adding to it the demand of votes for Women.

The present legislation against the will of some of the lawmakers reminds us Suffragists of the fact that laws concerning women are always being made in the greatest part of the world against the will of all the women. We who feel this injustice every moment of our life, cannot be so exasperated by one single instance of tyranny. The same grievance is for us women a chronic disease. That revolutionary events do not change the minds of the same people, who are shocked by the wrong done to them, but always prepared to injure the rights of others, is shown by the events which happened between the May-riots and the late scenes.

After the one-day-strike, which ended so unhappily, the oppositional parties made a coalition to agree upon their demands re Parliamentary Reform. They proposed „universal” suffrage for every man of 24 years who can read and write and for those illiterate who pay 20 crowns of taxes. The Socialdemocratic party welcomed this plan, and declared to agree with it. Not one said a word in defence of women's rights; on the contrary!

His Excellency Justh informed us personally of the following fact: „Do you know that during our conference concerning the Conciliation proposition

some people actually claimed votes for Women? And do you know, that these were just the Conservatives, who are not much in favour of universal manhood-Suffrage? I for my person would not be opposed, you know I am in favour of women's suffrage, but the Socialdemocrats opposed it strongly, and as I am bound to do what they like, I could not stand for you. I must do what I promised the people!” Justh, who is allied for the franchise Reform with the S.D. Party, made this utterance quite spontaneously, wishing only to inform us that there are Conservatives in favour of woman Suffrage. But we knew that already, since the leading Conservative paper „Budapesti Hirlap” had spoken lately several times of the expediency of woman suffrage. As this paper used to be much opposed to our cause, we could guess by this shifting that there must be prominent Conservative politicians behind the new demand.

In the time between May 23 and June 4 we had a very great success speaking at a public meeting in Ujvidék, where our speaker was received in a very friendly way by a crowd of 4000 people.

The annual meeting of the Good Templars adopted a resolution to support women's suffrage, a mere platonic matter, as—beside some real friends of our cause—most of the anti-alcoholists fail to see the importance of W. S. for their cause and are indifferent or even hostile to our movement.

A great protest-meeting, arranged by our Society together with the Female Clerks' National Association, in favour of the State Employees, adopted a resolution in favour of women's suffrage.

On the School Board of Budapest three women have been elected for the first time, after we had succeeded in getting changed the Rules which up to now excluded women from this board.

To this Report I have only to add, that the Congress preparations are going on nicely; lots of people are joining the Executive Committee. Money is given generously and the Press is very friendly. The Circular to our International Auxiliaries will appear soon. We hope that next year, when all international friends will come, the events of the last weeks will only appear like a dream to us, and that we shall live a happy reality.

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER.

Budapest, June 6, 1912.

### The Netherlands.

The report of the State Commission for the revision of the Constitution has at last been published. Of course women have been looking forward to its publication in great suspense with the hope, that article 80, which decrees that only male Dutch subjects are voters and are eligible to Parliament, should be revised. But it was a vain hope, and deep resentment was felt when it became known that in the proposed revision article 80 was to be left as it was. The prevailing feeling in the W. S. A. (Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht) was, that some form of protest against this insult put upon the women, was necessary. Our first act was to write an article of strong disapproval, which is being sent to all the newspapers. Of course only the Liberal ones will give it a place in their columns. Further our protest will be recorded at the meetings, which will be held on June 15th, our national propaganda-day, in all of our 106 Local Branches. We hope in this way to arouse the women, and by showing them how much men look down upon the work and abilities of women, to stimulate them to more activity and bring into our ranks all those, who till now have stood aloof.

A pleasant occurrence was the opening of our W. S. A. Headquarters on Saturday June the first. At Keizersgracht 467 Amsterdam we have rented a suite of rooms where all the work of the Executive of the Association will be concentrated. Although we have only three small rooms, we feel very proud of our headquarters and enjoyed the great crush of visitors at our reception. Most Branches had sent either beautiful flowers or a delegate to be present at the opening, and even the press gave most gracious accounts of our headquarters.

J. C. VAN LANSCHOT HUBRECHT,  
2nd Secretary Vereeniging v. Vrouwenkr.

### Russia.

Russian women are beginning to realize more and more the necessity of striving for their rights, and their influence has been more than once instrumental in the introduction of Bills into the Douma for the amelioration of the conditions of women's life.

Lately the Douma passed a law giving more personal rights to married women and the free disposal of their property. This bill brought a change of some laws regulating the relations of husband and wife and of parents and children. The new law admits a divorce by the claim of either husband or wife on the plea of ill-treatment, abuse, dishonorable or vicious conduct, and also in case of venereal disease. In case married life has become impossible to the wife by the husband's fault or in case of her illness, the husband has to support her if she is in need of it. The guardianship of the children belongs to the parent who is not guilty. Moreover this law gives to married women, even if not yet come of age, the right to act without the husband's consent in taking service, undertaking a public function or a private engagement.

The Russian League for Women's Rights at Moscow is gradually developing its activity. The Law Section has instituted gratis consultations for all women who need it. Our young women law-students organised this institution with untiring energy and there is no doubt but their work will bring valuable results, especially for the poor women, who have particular need of their counsel.

The Propaganda Section proposes to found a club with the aim of popularizing the League's opinions.

The Theoretical Section, having arranged a series of lectures for next year, has now undertaken to publish a guide-book, in which those who wish to give lectures or reports can find information as to books they may want for their studies. Such a guide-book is all the more useful as our Saturday lectures and especially the Congress, which the League is going to hold, call for serious preparation on the part of the lecturers.

MARIE BOURDAKOFF.  
Moscow, April 30 1912.

### Switzerland.

On May 18 the General Meeting of the Swiss W. S. Association took place at Berne in the Council Chamber. The President, Mr. de Morsier M.P., was in the chair and opened the meeting by a short review of the work of the Association during the three years since it was started, explaining its quiet way of propaganda. There are now 10 groups which constitute the Swiss Federation of W. S. Societies. There was a revision of the constitution, and a new Executive was elected, consisting of:

Mme. von Arx—Veldheim from Winterthur, President; Mr. de Morsier, 3 rue des Allemands, Geneva, Vice-President; Mlle Müller, 21 Bühlstrasse, Berne, Secretary; Mlle K. Honegger, 45 Tödi-strasse, Zürich, Treasurer; Mme. Girardet Vielle, Castle d'Al Lausanne; Mlle. Meier, Olten; Mlle. Thiébault, 7 Evole, Neuchâtel; and Mlle I. Courvoisier, Chaux de Fonds, and Mlle. Bosshardt, Aarau, alternates.

There was a very successful evening meeting with Mr. de Morsier and Miss Graf from Berne as speakers. The audience was numerous.

A new propaganda-booklet was edited by the W. S. A., called „Pourquoi nous demandons le Droit de Vote pour la Femme”, by A. de Morsier. It gives the reasons why women should vote and the refutation of the most common objections; it enumerates the political and social rights claimed for women in Switzerland, the articles of the National Swiss Constitution which might be taken to mean women as well as men if custom did not exclude the women, and finally it contains a review of the countries where woman suffrage exists, of its results and of the appreciation it gets from eminent men.

M. G. K.

### Burmah.

We arrived in Burmah on a hot, steaming afternoon, when clothing dripped with perspiration, even breathing was difficult and physical exertion was a decided trial. Yet, sunset found us climbing the long flight of steps which lead to the far famed Golden Pagoda of Rangoon. We have visited Mohammedan Mosques in many countries, Jain, Sikh and Hindu Temples in India and Christian churches erected on sacred ground in Palestine and Syria, and everywhere we have seen men, only men. Priests chanted the service, men carried the lights and performed the menial tasks, and men only knelt at the devotions. One might suppose all those religions to be conducted by men and for men, so far as anything we could see to the contrary. Here, we found a surprising contrast. All the way up the long stairs were little booths, each presided over by gentle mannered Burmese women, where fresh, sweet smelling flowers, little silvery bells, candles, or pennants, flags and curious ornaments made of bright-colored paper could be bought. Husbands, free from their daily tasks, had sometimes joined the wives. Babies in arms crowded at each other and cunning little children toddled about, admired by all the group of mothers. The entire scene was that of family life. At the top we found ourselves in the center of innumerable shrines, each picturesque and curiously different from anything we had seen. Figures of the Buddha, sitting, standing, reclining were on every side. The little shrines seemed to get the pink and white tapers and paper offerings, but the big ones claimed most of the devotees. They came singly, in twos or threes, or more often in family groups. One man, carrying a baby in his arms spoke kindly to us in good English, and answered our questions and then joining his wife and little daughter knelt in prayer. Each carried a bunch of roses purchased from the flower sellers on the stairs and even the baby took a rose in his little hand and knelt beside his father, bowing when he bowed and apparently lisping a baby prayer. When the devotions were finished they placed their rose offerings on the big altar already piled high with bright flowers, whose fragrance filled the air. With the memory of all the masculine religions fresh in our minds, this was a touchingly pleasing sight—these

men, women and children attesting their common faith by prayer and the offering of God's best gift to man, sweet beautiful flowers.

Surely, we said to each other, this is indeed a land for women as we have heard. Just how it happened that these fortunate women escaped the cramping, unhappy restrictions which have held the women of Asia in cruel bondage for many centuries, I do not understand, but escape they did. When American and British women were leading the way in the Western world in campaigns to secure to women the right to control their own property, these Burmese women had been in complete enjoyment of that right since time immemorial. The present customs are so old that no one knows when they did not exist. Whatever belongs to a man or woman at marriage, or whatever comes to them by inheritance afterwards is his or her exclusive possession, and whatever is earned during marriage is joint property and is controlled jointly. The law is precisely the same for husband and wife. In our world, this might mean that the husband would be forced to divide his profits or wages with his wife, who would earn nothing herself. Not so, here. Retail business of all kinds is in the hands of women. The business is usually very small to be sure, but it is the woman's very own. They buy and sell, lend and borrow money, go to court and to bank with the same freedom and independence, that men feel. The silk shops are perhaps the most interesting. I recall one, where the dainty, young merchant with a flower in her raven hair, proved so good a thing to look at that the gay silks were dull and uninteresting by comparison. These women own houses and collect rents, and one business man here tells me that fully half the business transactions which come to record have women as principals. It all seems very natural and simple here. There is no complicated home machinery to become askew because the woman is housekeeper and merchant. The houses are small and very simple. The dress consists of a short muslin kimona and a straight strip of cloth twisted into a skirt and fashions never change. The food includes no meat nor elaborate dishes. There is little furniture or bric-a-brac to catch dust and few dishes to wash, for banana leaves furnish plates for the rice which is eaten with the fingers. The children play about the tiny shops, as happy as children can be.

Men and women marry here because they fall in love and eighteen or twenty is the age. Divorce is easily obtained. The unhappy pair have but to go to the village elders or headman and ask for it. Divorce could not be made more free, yet divorces are surprisingly uncommon. Virtue is highly regarded and so far as I could learn is apparently far more common than in other Asiatic countries.

Men and women each keep their own name at marriage and the children get an entirely new name. When deeds are made after the sale of land, they are signed by two names apparently unrelated when the sellers or purchasers are husband and wife.

Further, these daughters of a thousand years of freedom have a vote in the municipality of Rangoon and they have had it for some thirty years. Unfortunately no statistics have been kept of the numbers of women who have voted, but the Municipal Secretary and other citizens say they do vote quite generally, altho there has never been a really exciting election. Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis and Buddhist women have been counted on the voters' roll.

(To be continued.)

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

Rangoon, March 21st 1912.