

JUS SUFFRAGII

MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

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MISS ANNIE FÜRÜHJELM, M.P.

We publish this month a portrait of Miss Annie Fürühjelm, second Vice-President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, who has just been re-elected a Member of the Finnish Parliament.

Miss Fürühjelm was born in Alaska, the daughter of the last Governor of that country representing the Russian Government. Her father, who was a remarkable character, broadly intelligent and public-spirited, served in many posts of trust. In consequence, Miss Fürühjelm in her childhood lived in many strange and remote places, among them Siberia. Her grandmother was an Englishwoman, and she speaks seven languages. She has for some time been president of an organisation in Finland which, before the enfranchisement of women was an accomplished fact there, carried on an agitation for this and other reforms bearing on equality of rights for women.

FINLAND.

The Parliamentary Elections.

When the Landtag dissolved in May a rumour became prevalent that many of the most experienced and valued former members would not stand for re-election. Unhappily the rumour proved true. Many losses occurred in all parties. Fresh people offered their services, but it was felt beforehand that it would be difficult to interest the electors in these hitherto unknown names. Great activity was therefore shown in all the organisations, and agitation was carried on with great



Miss Annie Fürühjelm, M.P.

vigour. The dates on which the elections were held this year—1st and 2nd of August—were also unfavourable, for in summer people travel a great deal. Town folk go into the country; many even go abroad. Seafaring folk, of whom there are many among us, are away from home, and country folk are in the midst of their most arduous season. All votes have to be personally cast. As a result, the number of votes was markedly less than at previous elections. Yet the composition of the Landtag is precisely the same, and it has once more been demonstrated to Russian tyranny that the opinions formerly expressed in the Landtag still represent the voice of the whole people.

The elections had one happy result in that they showed women at last beginning to realise their own interests in the election of women members. In fact, no less than 21 women candidates were successful. Of the Swedish Party: Miss Annie Fürühjelm, Miss Vera Hjelt (factory inspector), Miss Jenny af Forselles (Dr. Phil.), and Miss Dagmar Neovius (teacher). Of the Young Finns' Party: Miss Tekla Hultin (Dr. Phil.) and Mrs. Tilda Lothman. Of the Old Finns' Party: Mrs. Ida Yrjö-Koskinen and Mrs. Eveliina Ala Kulju. Of the Social Democratic

Party: Mrs. Mimmi Haapasalo, Mrs. Hanna Karkinen, Mrs. Sofia Hjulgren, Mrs. Hilja Parssinen (editor), Mrs. Anni Savolainen (farmer), Miss Anna Kiiskinen (trade unions), Mrs. Alma Jokinen, Miss Hulda Salmi (teacher), Mrs. Annie Huotari, Miss Miina Sillanpää (editor), Mrs. Mimmi Kanervo, Mrs. Elviira Vichersalo, and Mrs. Tida Aalle-Teljo.

ANNA LUNDSTRÖM.

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CONTENTS.

Miss Annie Fürühjelm	1	International Medical Con- gress	4
Finland's Elections	1	Dutch Women's Exhibition	4
Board of Officers	2	Peace Congress	4-5
Editorial Notes	2	Men's International Alli- ance	5
Letter from Miss Kramers..	3	Reports of Countries..	5-6-7-8
Announcements	3		
Finland's Men and W.S. ...	3		
Dr. Schirmacher's Letter...	3		

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The most important event of last month is the General Election in Finland, of which we publish a short report. An unprecedented number of women (21 in all) were successful at the polls, and among them we are particularly glad to see Miss Fürühjelm, the second Vice-President of the Alliance; Miss Jenny af Forselles, whose eloquent description of the comradeship of men and women in Finland was one of the most encouraging testimonies at the Budapest Congress; and Miss Tekla Hultin, of the Statistical Department.

We are very glad to publish in this issue a letter from Miss Martina Kramers, who, from the foundation of *Jus Suffragii*, conducted the difficult task of producing the paper. The International Alliance owes a great debt of gratitude to Miss Kramers, whose devotion to the cause was shown by years of service, both on the Board and as editor of the paper.

Suffragists all the world over are interested in the progress of pacification. "La guerre contre la guerre" is one of the great battle cries that stir the hearts of women. Therefore it is fitting that the Alliance should be represented at the Hague International Peace Congress, held August 18 to 23, and Mrs. Rosika Schwimmer and Dr. Aletta Jacobs were appointed Fraternal Delegates.

It has been pointed out to us that several papers in Finland and in Holland have misrepresented the attitude of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance towards militancy. It may be well, therefore, to repeat that this attitude is one of strict neutrality. As a matter of fact, no militant organisation is affiliated to the Alliance. The resolution passed on this subject at Budapest runs as follows:

"Resolved: That as the International Woman Suffrage Alliance stands pledged by its constitution to strict neutrality on all questions concerning national policy or tactics, its rules forbid any expression favouring or condemning militant methods. Be it further resolved: That since riot, revolution, and disorder have never been construed into an argument against man suffrage, we protest against the practice of the

opponents of Woman Suffrage to interpret militancy employed by the minority of one country as an excuse for withholding the vote from the women of the world."

Naturalisation laws are very commonly cruel and unjust to women. This was clearly expressed in the following resolution passed at Düsseldorf last June:—

"The fifth general meeting of the Union for Women's Rights, to which are affiliated 97 associations from all parts of the nation, expresses its grave dissatisfaction that in the recent debates in the Reichstag concerning national or States naturalisation laws, no attention was paid to the wishes expressed in the petition of the Union for Women's Rights, and that nothing in the Bill alters the former position in which German women when they marry are robbed of their economic independence and of their nationality. At the same time the general meeting expresses the hope that the most cruel provisions may be amended on the third reading—namely, that by which a German woman loses her German nationality, even against her will, through her marriage with a foreigner, so that if her husband deserts her and she falls into destitution she may be driven from her native land; and that other provision by which, if her husband is deprived of his nationality as a penal measure, she also is deprived of hers."

It is reported in the Women's Suffrage Supplement to *Die Frauenbewegung*, that unfortunately the third reading ratified, in these respects, the second reading. An interesting article in the same issue points out many ways in which the existing laws press cruelly on women, and concludes with the very pertinent comment that a great deal has been heard this year, during the patriotic celebrations in Germany, of the patriotism of the women of 1813, and it is a pity that the women, when celebrating their native land, did not protest effectively against proposals which permit their native land, while appealing for their patriotism, to repudiate them against their will.

Already the Anti-Suffragists are trying to make out that the women of California are making the State bankrupt and ruining it in all ways. They are also stating that the women are already "tired of their new toy." Well, if this last statement be true, we need not waste our anxiety, since even women can hardly accomplish the complete ruin of a State in a few months. And if really so much harm were being done in California, what should we have to think of the Californian men? Because, after all, there are 120 men in the California Legislature and not one single woman! But the criticisms brought by the Antis prove by their very pettiness how little there is to be said against the Californian vote. No one supposes that Californian women are absolute perfection, and if they made a few mistakes it would be only human. But the big things they have already accomplished are very big and well worthy of attention. One of the most noteworthy is the "Red Light Injunction and Abatement Law," by which it is possible quickly to prosecute the owner of a house used for purposes of prostitution, and on conviction to close the house for one year. It is hoped by this means to abolish segregated districts. The women have realised that if they can strike at the enormous money profits made from sex slavery they are cutting at the root of the social evil. Another radical piece of treatment is the establishing of a minimum wage commission with power to act. The age of consent has been raised, and a corrupt judge who condoned an offence against a girl by imposing insufficient bail, was recalled. Clearly the women of California are going to learn for themselves how "necessary" it is that the social evil should persist.

In July a letter appeared in the *Morning Post* signed by some of the most distinguished medical men—and one woman—of Great Britain. This letter marks an epoch in Social Reform, for in it the doctors made a reasoned appeal to the British Government to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the facts of venereal diseases, and to recommend what steps, prophylactic and therapeutic, should be taken to cope with them. The doctors ask that there shall be "a substantial majority of medical men" on the Commission. It will be necessary to make sure that in this case "men" includes "women," and, if the Commission is not only to investigate causes but to recommend action, it is also most desirable that some persons not in the medical profession should be on the Commission. Mr. Asquith has intimated that the Government is prepared to accede to the request of the doctors.

English Suffragists have for years past made the prevalence of these diseases one of their claims to enfranchisement of

women, and the Suffragist Press dared handle these questions long before the general Press of the country ventured to do so. Although it is too much to expect editors and politicians to admit this, there is little doubt that it is due to the indefatigable propaganda of Suffragists that all these questions are now receiving attention. The women are, however, keenly alive to the necessity of vigilance, lest, in some hidden manner, there may be reintroduced the abominable regulation against which the heroic Mrs. Josephine Butler fought for seventeen years. Although progressive women all desire more knowledge, scientific and statistical, they are intensely anxious that, before any legislation is introduced, women, whose liberty is so likely to be interfered with, should be given the vote by which they may protect themselves.

A remarkable series of congresses took place in London during July and August. The Seventeenth International Congress of Medicine (upon which we have a short article), the Fifth Annual Congress for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, were international, while there were also national congresses upon the Prevention of Consumption and the Prevention of Infant Mortality. At all of these it became amply clear that the most terrible evils grow out of the subjection of women, out of the abuse of women in sexual relations, and out of the inadequate training that women are given in doing their life-work of caring for the human race.

Last month we published an abridgment of some of the National Reports which were presented to the Budapest Congress. We intended to give the remainder this month, but so much news has come in that there is not space for them.

One of those which has been crowded out is the report of Norway, and this is of such particular interest that it has been published as a pamphlet.

The other reports, *viz.*, of South Africa, the United States, Sweden, and Switzerland also contain much that is of interest, and can be read *in extenso* in the Report of the Budapest Congress.

LETTER FROM MISS KRAMERS.

As former editor of *Jus Suffragii* I wish to thank 311 visitors to the Budapest Congress for their cordial appreciation of my services as editor and for their affectionate greetings. I ask permission to express my warmest gratitude here, since all the several addresses of the signers of the memorial are not known to me, and I hope most of them are readers of *Jus Suffragii*.

At the same time I wish the new editors every possible success and, now that the paper is enlarged in size, I hope to contribute to it occasionally, in order not to lose touch with the suffragists of the world. The generosity of the subscribers to the funds of the I.W.S. Alliance has now made it possible to augment the circulation of its organ more than it ever used to be feasible and to make *Jus Suffragii* prosper in every way. I can but add my hearty wishes for its prosperity.

MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Mrs. Chapman Catt's Presidential Address can now be obtained in German from Fräulein Adelheid von Welczek, Dresden, Blasewitz, Schubertstrasse 24. Price, single copies 30pf., 25 copies and over, 20pf., each.

Frauenstimmrecht in der Praxis, the German edition of the international handbook on Women's Suffrage in practice, is now ready, and can be obtained, price per copy 1m. 20pf.; to auxiliaries buying 50 copies or more 1m. per copy, from Verlag Heinrich Minden, Dresden.

International Telegraphic Address.—It has been suggested that the Congress might be held in Esperanto. Anyhow we have made a beginning, with the telegraphic address of the Alliance, which is "VOCORAJTO, LONDON."

International Badges.—The beautiful International badges so much admired at Budapest can now be obtained at the office of the Alliance. The badge consists of the well-known medallion with the figure of Justice, surrounded by Hungarian filigree work, with red, white, and green stones.

Price at the office, 3s. each. By post, packed in a box, in Great Britain, 3s. 2d.; to English Colonies and the U.S.A., 3s. 3d.; and foreign, 3s. 5d.

Office Requirements.—The office is now in order, and is very central and convenient, and allows room for expansion. We still lack some furniture, and should be much obliged

for gifts. Miss Chrystal Macmillan has presented us with a typewriter. We want a carpet, which should not be less than 17 feet by 13 feet. We should like an arm-chair, a clock, and a copy of the Times Atlas. Really first-rate dictionaries would also be useful.

Miss Sheepshanks unfortunately met with a bad accident early in August, which prevented her editing the September number of *Jus Suffragii*. Mrs. Swanwick most kindly sacrificed her holiday and edited the paper.

The International Alliance owes her many thanks for rendering such valuable help at a critical moment.

WHAT FINLAND'S MEN SAY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Finnish delegation brought to Budapest a remarkable pamphlet in German with the above title. Here twelve distinguished public men gave their experience of Women Suffrage in no equivocal terms. The recent elections, in which 21 women were successful, make the testimony particularly interesting just now. The following is the verdict of Senator Let Mechelin, Professor of Law in the University of Helsingfors and Vice-President of the Finnish Senate.

As the women members of the Diet do not form a party of their own, they cannot be judged collectively, but any judgment must be based on what single individuals have accomplished.

In our Diet, as in every representative assembly, the most important work is done by committees. We can say at once that women who have been chosen as members of committees have done their work satisfactorily, especially in the committees on Finance, Social Reform, and Education. In the general debates in the Diet, all the women members have not spoken (the same could be said of many of the men), but the speeches of the women who took part in the debates were in no way inferior either in eloquence or expert knowledge to those of the men.

These speeches by the women members, as well as the legislation they have initiated, prove clearly that women's work for the community is an additional source of strength to the representation of the people, and that without their co-operation many a question would not be properly considered by men. Amongst the reforms of which the discussion in the Diet was due to women the following may be noted: Reform of the law of property of married persons; improvement of the legal position of illegitimate children; maternity insurance; introduction of women sanitary inspectors; money grants for the promotion of morality; extension of the rights of women in Government service.

The examples given show that our women members are most active in those spheres which afford her a deeper insight into social evils than is usually open to men. That is in no sense feminism, for the reforms proposed are for the general good. In political questions which give rise to party differences, no separate feminine opinion has arisen. In party politics, men and women work side by side. The men and women delegates work together in a friendly camaraderie. In no instance have the women had to complain of want of consideration on the part of their colleagues.

With regard to social and family life, the attainment by woman of her political majority has had no unfavourable results, rather the contrary. From the nature of the case the possession of equal rights has exercised an ennobling influence on human relations, and that the exercise of the franchise could have a bad effect on family life and on woman's fulfilment of her duties as wife and mother is a mere bogey of weak men, who are afraid of losing their traditional authority.

In Finland we have no reason to regret the carrying through of this reform. In our present sad times, when continual encroachments by the Russian Government threaten our autonomy and cripple the country's activity, all that tends to elevate and strengthen the feeling of national solidarity as does women's political equality, cannot be valued too highly.

REPORT OF GALICIA.

Criticism by Dr. Schirmacher.

Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher writes in criticism of the abridged report from Galicia published on page 6 of our last issue. The report says: "Similar Polish associations for women's equality before the law exist at Warsaw under the Russian Government and at Posen under the Prussian Government." Dr. Schirmacher comments: "So far as we are informed, in Prussia (see Vosberg, 'The Polish

Women's Momevent"; Eulitz, Bissa, 1912) there are in Posen only philanthropic, trade, or educational associations for Polish women, but no Polish association for women's equality before the law." The report continues: "Alas, they could not join the Polish committee, for (on account of the political persecution) the Poles are forbidden to join the Polish societies existing in the Austrian empire." Dr. Schirmacher again comments: "It is not a case here of political persecution, nor of any exceptional legislation. We find in older States the enactment that political associations (such as associations for Women's Suffrage) are restricted to their own districts, and may not extend to others. Thus the French Canadians are denied the right of uniting their political associations to those of France. The same prohibition applies to the Boers with respect to the Netherlands; to the Italians on the Riviera with respect to Italy; to the Serbs, Roumanians, and Saxons of Hungary with respect to Servia, Roumania, and Germany, etc. No exception can be made from this political principle of the territorial nature of political associations with respect to Galicia, Russia, and Prussia; but it is emphatically not political persecution."

THE XVIIth INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CONGRESS.

By HILDA CLARK, M.B., B.S.
(Late Tuberculosis Medical Officer, Portsmouth).

Among the questions discussed at the Congress were several which may be the subject of legislation in some of the countries represented, and which will therefore be considered by Suffragists to be worthy of especial consideration.

The most important was perhaps that on the danger of syphilis to the community, and the question of State control. This was discussed at a joint session of the sections on Syphilology and Forensic Medicine. The section of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine was not officially represented, although the general opinion is that these diseases should be dealt with as a Public Health question; and the opinions of those experienced in the sanitary control of other diseases would have been most valuable.

The discussion was opened by Dr. Blaschko (Berlin), who dealt fully with the complete failure of all systems of State regulation of prostitution or of any form of recognition by the State for facilities for vice. This support of the Abolitionist movement was emphasised in a paper by Prof. Gaucher and Prof. Gougerot (Paris), and was upheld by almost every speaker, and it has drawn much attention from the Press.

Many of the speakers dwelt on the value of upholding the ideals of purity, and of justice between the sexes.

All were agreed that the chief importance should be given to two measures: To provide treatment for those affected with either syphilis or gonorrhoea, making sure that it is accessible and attractive, especially to those who are in the earliest stages, and to educate the rising generation in the physiology and hygiene of sexual matters, the value of continence and self-control, and in the inevitable dangers of promiscuous indulgence.

Dr. Finger, of Vienna, gave a detailed account of measures calculated to further such education, to protect innocent people from infection, and to help in the restoration to a moral life of those who have been seduced.

Notification was urged by many in the hope of securing to the sanitary authorities the control that has been obtained over other infectious diseases, stress being laid on the necessity for avoiding any general form of compulsory treatment or connection with the police force, lest patients should be deterred from seeking medical aid. Major French, however, of the Royal Army Medical Corps, in recommending "confidential" notification, explained that it could be followed by compulsory removal to a hospital. One or two speakers objected to any violation of medical secrecy, and Dr. Helen Wilson pointed out that a completely confidential system of notification would be of little use statistically, as re-notification could not be checked.

A resolution recommending confidential notification was passed by a large majority, and another, recommending the systematic provision for the diagnosis and treatment of all cases of syphilis not otherwise provided for, was carried *nem. con.*

The importance of further investigation into the part played by venereal diseases in causing chronic ill-health among women, premature confinements, deaths of babies before and shortly after birth, and infantile debility, was shown in the discussion on Infant Mortality in the first four weeks of life, which took place at a joint session of the sections of Obstetrics, Diseases of Children, and Preventive Medicine.

The opinion seemed general that these diseases had disastrous effects; but so little was known of the actual incidence, and such a fatalistic idea seemed to prevail as to the impossibility of lessening it, that the discussion ranged chiefly on those factors which were felt to be within the control of the women concerned.

It may be pointed out that in neither discussion was there any reference to one measure which might be effective in the prevention and early treatment of venereal diseases and of other diseases of the sexual organs in women—namely, an adequate supply of women medical practitioners, to whom women patients might turn more readily for advice in the early stages of disease.

DUTCH WOMEN'S EXHIBITION.

Two young Dutch women have planned, organised, and carried out an admirable piece of work. The year 1913 is the centennial anniversary of Dutch independence, and many celebrations of the event were being discussed—all excluding women—when Miss Mia Boissevain and Miss Rosa Manus determined that there should be a fitting memorial to mark the tremendous progress made in the century in the general status of women. Seeking for a suitable place in which to hold their proposed exhibition, they found an attractive house, much more than a century old, located in an old-fashioned garden, and around this as a centre their imagination took wings. Their practical heads enabled them to make their dream a reality, although it required a year and a half of hard work to do it. In spacious grounds, large artistic buildings were erected, while many active committees were busily labouring to gather the exhibits. Unlike men's expositions, it was quite ready for inspection when the opening day came, and two thousand visitors reported themselves astounded and charmed with all they saw. As many as eight thousand people have visited it in a single day, and many many thousands will have passed through its gates between its opening day in May and the last of September, when it closes.

Nothing could be a stronger, saner, more reasonable argument for woman suffrage than this exhibition. In many ways the manner of living, dressing, care of the sick, the care of infants, etc. in 1813 and in 1913 is shown in striking contrast. The woman at the distaff or loom within her own home, unconscious of any responsibility beyond it, was the picture of the earlier period, while many large rooms are required to tell the story of her present-day activities. As doctor, hospital attendant, district nurse, teacher, inspector, worker in innumerable trades, one immense class of women are doing the world's work out of the home, while an even larger number, liberated from the old-time home industries, have carried their home-making instincts out into the world and are engaged in charities, philanthropy, and reforms. Although the exhibition was not designed as a suffrage demonstration, yet in a little woman suffrage hall, many an audience had been gathered to hear the great cause discussed. When the audiences overflow the small hall, there is a large one to receive them. Every suffrage speaker finds plenty of texts for her argument in the various departments of women's work as illustrated by the exhibition. It is natural to point out the reasons why the wage worker needs the ballot to protect her labour, and why the social worker needs it to secure the law and its enforcement which she finds necessary to progress. But there is something better and greater than this in the exhibition. Every day lectures are given to eager women on the care of the health, the cure of tuberculosis, dressing and feeding of infants, and many related subjects. When the exhibition closes, these departments will become a "travelling museum," and will visit all the chief towns of the Netherlands.

It shows what the combined mother hearts of the old-time home will do when opportunity offers and education is complete. How dull is this stupid world, not to see the benefit to the community at large, to the world's children, the world's sorrowful and afflicted, in the mother's vote.

Among the truly great things done for the woman's cause, all visitors to Amsterdam will remember the "Tentoonstelling de Vrouw." As an example of executive ability, of optimistic enterprise and determined effort, it deserves the highest compliment; but as a concrete argument for woman suffrage it has never had a superior.

C. C. C.

THE PEACE CONGRESS AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

Having been appointed by our President as fraternal delegate to the 20th International Peace Congress, I am glad to

report that not only the representative of the Alliance, but many other members of this Congress brought into discussion the subject of Woman Suffrage. As it became clear that many suffragists were present, a little meeting of pacifist-suffragists was convened to discuss the way to make the most effective propaganda for Woman Suffrage during the Congress. Suffragists from the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Hungary, U.S.A., etc., were present. Mlle. Mélin, a very clever French suffragist, presented a resolution to the Congress. When, at the request of the Chair, she withdrew it, she said: "The audience seems to be in favour of that reform; only the voice of a German professor is opposed." The next day Mrs. Andrea Hofer Proudfoot brought up the question. Mrs. Maud Nathan had also, as member of the Sociological section of the Congress, prepared a resolution.

This resolution was signed by Mrs. Nathan (U.S.A.), Mr. Gaston Noch (France), Dr. David Starr Jordan (U.S.A.), Mr. Bollack (Russia), Mr. Schlumberger (Germany), Mr. Armstrong (Great Britain), and Mr. Weiss.

The Committee had advised Mrs. Nathan that she would get time to move her resolution on the last day, but as the last was a very short session the question could not be brought before the audience. Afterwards, during an excursion from Alkmaar to Amsterdam, Mrs. Nathan was called to speak before the little audience which filled that part of the ship which was to serve as a meeting hall. Mrs. Nathan, speaking about Woman Suffrage, amidst great enthusiasm proposed to ask the Berne Bureau to put the question of Woman Suffrage in the programme of the next Peace Congress, to be held in 1914 in Vienna. Her motion was unanimously carried. After her the Russian delegate spoke on the fact that Woman Suffrage in Finland has such good results. Mr. Prelooker, for the International Men's League for Woman Suffrage, wished to present the following resolution:

"That in view of the fact that women are not less deeply interested in the blessings of peace than men, and are, indeed, by their natural maternal instinct, even more anxious for the lives, health, and happiness of their sons, but being deprived in most States of the Parliamentary vote, cannot help fully and effectively the cause of international arbitration by direct influence upon Parliament and Governments, the 20th Universal Peace Congress expresses its conviction that the political enfranchisement of women is most desirable on this as well as many other moral and economic grounds, and would lead to a speedier cessation of the arbitrament of war in cases of International disputes."

But as the rules of the Congress did not allow this resolution to be moved, it was distributed amongst the members of the Congress. The more Woman Suffrage was discussed the more people declared themselves suffragists. Our international suffrage badge was worn by a good many people, and the Press spoke very respectfully about the peace suffragists.

Amongst the delegates were, besides the representative of our Alliance, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, as delegate of the Dutch National Association for Woman Suffrage; Mrs. Anna Ziperowsky, for the Hungarian Woman Suffrage Society (Feministák Egyesülete); Mr. Prelooker, for the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage; Mr. Mansfeldt, for the Dutch Men's League; etc.

ROSICA SCHWIMMER.

THE MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT BUDAPEST.

Nothing can be more satisfactory to men sympathisers with the Women's Suffrage movement, than the rapidity with which the Men's International Alliance has developed. In the six years which have elapsed since the Amsterdam Congress, the progress has been remarkable, and there are now no less than eleven countries and states affiliated to the Alliance, *viz.*, Great Britain, Holland, France, Hungary, the United States, Sweden, Germany, Denmark, Bohemia, Galicia, and Canada, to take them in the order of their adhesion. It was quite a remarkable sight at Budapest to see three large meetings addressed by men-speakers only, and to see the platform filled on each occasion by a large number of representative men of all nations and professions, all anxious to show their sympathy with the women's cause. It would be impossible to give anything like a complete list of these gentlemen, but mention must at least be made of His Excellency Dr. G. von Lukacs, Royal and Imperial Chamberlain of Hungary, ex-Minister of Education, and President of the National Society against Tuberculosis, who

acted as President of the Congress in the regretted absence of the President of the Alliance, Sir John Cockburn; of Dr. Stefan von Barczy, Burgomaster, of Budapest; of Prof. C. Ziperowsky, the world-renowned Professor of Electrotechnology; Dr. Alexander von Giesswein, the learned and popular Roman Catholic priest; Pastor Haypal, the Protestant clergyman, who gave the use of his church for the Rev. Anna Shaw's inaugural sermon; Dr. Leopold Katscher, the well-known author; and Herr Max Reinitz, the energetic hon. secretary of the Hungarian Men's League. Holland was represented by Lieut.-Col. Mansfeldt, the devoted Hon. Secretary of the Men's Alliance, and Mynheer Kehrler, its Treasurer; France by M. J. du Breuil de St. Germain; the United States by Mr. F. Nathan; Germany by Herr Gassmann, President of the German Men's League; Herr Deputy Gerlach, Prof. Dr. E. Becke, and Dr. Bernstein; Austria by Prof. Dr. Goldscheid; Canada by Mr. C. Denison; and Great Britain by Mr. Auerbach, Dr. C. V. Drysdale, and Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P. Switzerland, which has not yet formed a Men's League, was represented by Prof. André de Maday. Many other distinguished men, notably, Mr. Ernst Beckman, of Sweden, regretted their inability to attend; and it was indeed sad to miss the presence and help of the late devoted President of the Hungarian Men's League, Prof. Gustav Dirner; and of his colleague, Mr. Justice Markús, who both died suddenly last year. Both these gentlemen did magnificent service for the women's cause in Hungary, and their loss was very severely felt by the feminists, who are, however, most fortunate in having secured the invaluable assistance of Dr. von Lukacs.

Little need be said about the public meetings in the Royal Musical Academy and the Pester Lloyd building, except that they were crowded and enthusiastic, and that the speakers all showed their intense conviction as to the need for women's political representation. It was the first occasion on which German and Austrian representatives have come prominently forward as advocates of Woman's Suffrage, and the closely reasoned speeches by German professors did more than anything else to show the remarkable strides which the movement is making.

The greeting of the British Men's League was presented by Mr. Julius Auerbach at the meeting of the Men's Alliance in the Peter Lloyd Building.

As regards the business meetings of the Men's Alliance, Sir John Cockburn was unanimously re-elected President, and a telegram, regretting his inability to be present, was sent to him. The Alliance, feeling that the position of Great Britain was the most difficult and important, also sent the following telegram to Mr. Asquith, and to the Press:—

"The Men's International Alliance for Woman's Suffrage, in Budapest, recognising that the representative institutions of Great Britain are regarded as an example by many other nations, deeply regrets that the British Government has not succeeded in redeeming its promise of giving adequate facilities for the passing of a Women's Suffrage measure, and expresses the hope that Great Britain will yet be among the first nations of Europe to grant a measure of justice to women."

The Alliance also adopted the following Manifesto, with instructions that it should be communicated to the Press of all countries:—

"The Men's International Alliance for Women's Suffrage sends its cordial greetings to the Governments of the countries and States which have granted the suffrage to women, and expresses its extreme pleasure at the rapidity with which this reform is spreading, and at the excellent results which have ensued. It also expresses its earnest hope and belief that the progress of this reform will henceforth be even more rapid, and that the great nations will hasten to adopt the example given them."

"As a body composed of men of all nations, it wishes to record its absolute conviction that the political emancipation of women will in no way be detrimental to the family and the home; and that the interests of the race, both in its physical, moral, and intellectual development, will be best safeguarded by granting women full political equality with men."

At the final business meeting of the Alliance, it was decided that steps should be taken towards the establishment of an official organ of the Alliance; and it was decided to approach the British Men's League with a view to the addition of a Men's International Alliance supplement to the present monthly paper.

In conclusion, a tribute of the most grateful thanks is due from all the delegates to the Hungarian Men's League, and to the Feminist Society, for their magnificent hospitality.

(Signed) C. V. D.

OFFICIAL REPORTS. RUSSIA.

We have much pleasure in describing the great activity recently developed in our work. Our membership has increased by 104. Our Saturday lectures always attract large audiences, and are attended not only by our own members but by a considerable number of guests. Twenty-two lectures on subjects bearing on woman's life and position in society were given by women. These lectures were followed by very interesting discussions, which helped greatly to popularise the principles of the League. After the paper on "The Role of the Mother in the Fight Against Prostitution," Countess Bobrinshya, in an eloquent speech, urged her hearers to unite in the fight against State regulation of vice. The proposal was received with marked approval. A committee in connection with the Medical Society of Peroghof is now organised, and in it all scientific and philanthropic societies are united in the war against the degradation of women. Our League is also represented on it. We hope that this common labour will have the desired result. Our first official meeting took place on April 19th, and was devoted entirely to the feminist question. The interest taken in this Conference was beyond anything we had ventured to expect. The speakers, who were warmly welcomed by a large audience, gave a vivid picture of the wretched position of women at home and abroad. They laid stress on the part played by the modern woman in civilisation, and claimed for her equal rights with men. The great success of this gathering encouraged the Council to organise many similar meetings for the discussion of women's rights. We also enrolled many new members. The second Feminist Congress, which was to have been held in December of this year, and in the organisation of which we have worked hard, has little chance of taking place, as up to the present we have not received permission from the Government. Our women law students, who have fought so bravely for their rights, and whose Bill, "Rights for women Lawyers," had been accepted by the Douma, have had a great disappointment. The Council of State has rejected their Bill, and our women lawyers, who had been greeted with enthusiasm by the Press, Society, and the Douma, all proclaiming the moral influence of the woman lawyer, are now obliged to forego their rights for many years.

Latterly a new law was passed by the Douma concerning women factory inspectors. We welcome it with great satisfaction, but, alas, although the Douma sometimes leans towards the enfranchisement of women, the Council of State annually throws out all its proposals.

This short report shows clearly that the conditions of our work are far from brilliant; but in spite of everything, we are glad to say that the Moscow League is not lacking in energy or determination, and that our belief in a better future for women is unshakable.

MARIE BOURDAKOFF (Secretary of the League).

GERMANY.

The fifth General Assembly of the German Union for Women's Suffrage, which will take place in Eisenach from the 5th to 8th of October, will be of the greatest importance for the further development of the Union. The crucial question on the agenda will be whether the Union shall, as heretofore, confine its propaganda to the demand for a universal, equal, secret, and direct franchise, or not. It is known that this disputed question has given rise to great differences of opinion within the Union, since a portion of its members are of opinion that the demand for a particular kind of franchise is irreconcilable with the principle of neutrality professed by the Union. Numerous proposals relating to this subject, and suggestions from the branches with reference to the organ of the Union, are being brought forward. At a great public meeting the subject of "Women's Wage-labour and Women's Suffrage" will be treated by industrial and professional women (farmers, factory workers, public and private officials, teachers and women in the liberal professions). At a second public evening meeting, the important and pressing question of "Physical Force and Women's Suffrage" will be discussed. The chairman will report upon the progress of the international movement for Women's Suffrage. At the present moment there are affiliated to the German Union for Women's Suffrage 23 country and provincial associations and 90 branches. A. V. WELCZEK.

THE NETHERLANDS.

As I reported in *Jus* of August, the Social-Democrats decided not to take part in the new Ministry; and as the com-

bined Liberals have only a Liberal majority in Parliament by combining with the Social-Democrats, they also decided not to form a Ministry. The women will be the dupes of these tactics. At this moment we do not know what kind of Government we shall get, but in no case shall we get a Ministry as good for Woman Suffrage as we have had reason to expect.

In the meantime we are pursuing propaganda for our cause and using every opportunity to get our claim before the public. Although we have had this summer so many meetings with the most famous foreign Woman Suffrage speakers, we are now preparing a meeting in Amsterdam, with the Prêlât of the Pope, Dr. Alexander Giesswein, Baroness Bertha von Suttner, Mrs. Frederick Nathan from the U.S.A., and Mme. Mélin from France, and one of our own Roman Catholic Woman Suffrage speakers, Mrs. Mulder van der Graaf, as speakers. For this meeting we have sent invitations to a great number of distinguished Roman Catholics.

A week later we shall prepare a similar meeting at the Hague, with Dr. Carl Lindhagen, Burgomaster of Stockholm, Rosika Schwimmer, and, we hope, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, and Dr. Alexander Giesswein again, as speakers.

I am sorry to say that in Holland Mrs. May Wright Sewall has met with a slight accident, which will keep her in bed for some days, otherwise she would have spoken for us also in Amsterdam.

ALETTA H. JACOBS.

BELGIUM.

Appeal Made to all the Countries Which Have Women's Suffrage.

The Commission founded by the Government to study the reforms of municipal and provincial organisations, and especially of the electoral system, has held only two preliminary sittings. So as to be able to do earnest work in October, its members have asked the Government to provide them with documents as abundant as possible concerning municipal and provincial administration in foreign countries.

Amongst the 31 members of the Commission—Members of Parliament of the Catholic, Liberal, and Socialist Parties, University professors, sociologists, and high Government functionaries—many are in favour of the principle of Women's Suffrage. In addition to the documents concerning the feminist question, which the Government is collecting, and which will probably not be complete, we want to provide the Commission with those that interest directly our cause. That is why we would be most grateful to such of our fellow-workers belonging to Suffrage countries as would send to Mlle. Van den Plas, Secretary of the "Fédération Belge pour le Suffrage des Femmes," 3bis Rue de la Régence, Brussels, information as exact and precise as possible about the following points:—

1. What are the conditions required of men and women voters in cities or municipalities, boroughs, districts, counties, or provinces?
 - (a) Age.
 - (b) Length of residence.
 - (c) Degree of education.
 - (d) Amount of taxes.
 - (e) Is the vote compulsory? If not, what percentage of men and women use their right?
2. How many years have women had the right of Suffrage for town and province?
 - (a) Limited.
 - (b) Universal.
 - (c) What is the number of women voters in relation to the total number of voters inscribed (both men and women)?
3. Same questions for Parliamentary Suffrage.
4. What are the noticeable results of Woman Suffrage in the following cases:—
 - (a) Improvement of public morality.
 - (b) Fight against alcoholism.
 - (c) General administration of towns and provinces, especially in what concerns the financial part.
5. Has Woman Suffrage had an influence on electoral corruption?
6. What changes has W.S. brought in the balance of power of the political parties?

We most earnestly request our fellow-workers to be as clear as possible in their answers, especially on the latter point, considering the great importance they will have for the members of the Commission, who mostly belong actively to one or other political party.

Our correspondents will kindly bear in mind the varying meanings attached to the names of parties in different

countries: the words, Conservative, Liberal, Radical, etc., having different and sometimes opposite meanings, according to the place in which they are used. They can only be clear to foreigners when accompanied by a brief definition of the programme they represent. In looking over the results of elections in which women took part, it appears to us that women voters cast their votes as a rule for the Left or for the Right, according to the importance either party gives in its programme to the moral and material security of the family, to the prosperity of the State, and to the care taken to insure the maintenance of orderly principles as well as the realisation of social reforms. If our impression be right, we shall be happy to see it acknowledged as such; if it be not, we prefer to know it, and would like to learn also to what causes one may trace a too narrow conservatism or a too hurried spirit of reform in women voters. We beg those women who have already acquired Suffrage rights, to help us with their experience and observations, so that we may, through them, make Women's Suffrage desired and accomplished here.

L. VAN DEN PLAS.

NORWAY.

The First Woman Judge.

The Superior Magistrate of Finnmarken has appointed the attorney, Mrs. Ruth Sørensen, of Hammerfest, temporarily to the office of Town Judge in that place, during the leave of absence of the Town Judge. Ruth Sørensen is the first woman to be made a judge in Norway. She is a daughter of the late clergyman, F. C. Malthé Sørensen, and was born in Røken in the year 1877. She entered the University in the year 1895; in 1900 she passed her juridical degree examination, and in 1907 she established herself as an attorney in Kristiania, leaving that town some time ago to live in Hammerfest—the northernmost town of the world.

L. QVAM.

FRANCE.

At the request of the *Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes*, and on the motion of Councillors Delavenne and Charles Fillion, the Municipal Council of the City of Paris unanimously passed, on June 6th, 1913, the following resolution:—

"This Council, having approved the claim of Frenchwomen to the municipal vote, expresses the hope that the Dussansoy-Buisson Bill may be discussed as soon as possible."

The General Council of the Seine, also at the request of the *Union Française*, unanimously passed, on the 3rd July, the same resolution, moved by M. Quentin-Bauchart. Other Municipal and General Councils had already passed this resolution, but those of Paris and of the Seine have a quite peculiar importance for us, for they may have a favourable influence on the debate in the Chamber. On the 29th July M. Buisson, M.P., presented to the Chamber his report on the Dussansoy-Buisson Bill for giving to women the municipal vote and eligibility. This report will be distributed at the opening of the session to all the Members, and we hope for its discussion before the end of the year.

For the first time in France a woman has been appointed as President of a Conseil de Prud-hommes. Mademoiselle Coste de Vienne (Isère) has had the honour of being appointed President in that town.

During the month of August three new groups of the Union have been founded in Savoie and Haute Savoie by the organisation and lectures of Madame Brunschvicg, General Secretary of the Union.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,
(Présidente de L.F.S.F.).

GREAT BRITAIN.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The great Pilgrimage organised by the Union has had a considerable effect upon the country, and this has been reflected in the attitude of politicians. The Prime Minister, who has refused so many deputations, acceded to the request of Mrs. Fawcett, because, he said, the National Union "represents the great mass of law-abiding Suffragists; because it has just organised a great and—speaking as an outsider—a most impressive demonstration; and because Mrs. Fawcett told me she had by this means obtained new evidences of support to lay before me." The deputation was entirely composed of members of the National Union and was introduced by Mrs. Fawcett. Miss Margaret Robertson gave evidence of the growth of opinion among working men in favour of the enfranchisement of women and of the feeling that the continual

denial of the vote by a Liberal Government was undemocratic. Mr. Asquith expressed himself later as having been particularly interested by this evidence; when Miss Robertson alluded to the "secret subscription list" of the Anti-Suffrage League, headed by Lord Rothschild's £3,000, Mr. Asquith looked up quickly and said: "I haven't seen that. I should like to see that." Again he made an approving interjection when Miss Robertson alluded to the undue prominence given by the Press to militancy, whether of working men or of Suffragists. Mrs. Harley gave evidence of the enormous and sympathetic crowds encountered by the pilgrims: in Hanley, for instance, they had an audience of between 10 and 12 thousand. Miss A. Maude Royden met Mr. Asquith's argument that women's interests were not "unduly neglected," by instancing the need of divorce reform and the need for more women factory inspectors. Mrs. Rackham gave further evidence of support in the country, and concluded by saying that her experience as a pilgrim had convinced her that "the country detests militancy, but it does love fair-play, and it is beginning to think that the women are not having fair-play."

Mrs. Fawcett wound up the case for the Suffragists by a statesmanlike and moderate, yet trenchant, exposure of the way in which suffragists have been treated by the Government. She reminded Mr. Asquith that his solemn pledges to the women had not yet been fulfilled, and she concluded by saying:—

"At the end of this Parliament your Government may have passed the measures for which they were returned to power. In conferring with your colleagues as to the new programme to lay before the next Parliament, if you find a majority of your colleagues in favour of Women's Suffrage, would it not be possible for you to put your opposition aside, and make it part of the Government's policy?"

"The demand by women to share in self-government is a vital and living movement. It gathers force and intensity year by year, almost month by month. It is manifesting itself in nearly every country in the world, and is most advanced in those countries which have been foremost in the tenacity with which they cling to free institutions. It is a development of the principles of democracy, and is founded on the growth of education and the wider industrial and professional opportunities which women now enjoy. We have ceased to have the serf's mind and the serf's economic helplessness, and it follows of necessity that the political status of serfs no longer contents us. The Government is now meeting the demand of women for free institutions with coercion and nothing but coercion. It is not thus that the victories of Liberalism have been won. I readily admit that the maintenance of order is one of the first duties of every Government. Another is to redress the grievances from which disorder has sprung. We condemn and deplore acts of violence, but we say that coercion by itself will not cure them and will probably lead to even greater excesses."

Mr. Asquith, in his reply, maintained that the Government had not been to blame for the Speaker's ruling, which destroyed the Reform Bill, but he agreed that the position of the Suffragists was one "of great hardship." He could not answer Mrs. Fawcett at the moment, but he would put the matter before his colleagues, and the Government as a whole would have to decide the matter. With regard to her suggestion, he said:—

"It is quite impossible, if the Liberal Party by a majority (a substantial majority, not a casual one), is in favour of a great measure such as that you are advocating, for a minority to obstruct or to prevent the realisation of it. You may be perfectly sure of that. What precise course the minority under those circumstances ought to take is another matter which does not concern you very much, but which more concerns them. If you can bring about that state of things, I myself should think that you might look with considerable equanimity as to the precise method and manner in which the Bill could be brought in."

He concluded that, in a matter like this, the people themselves must decide, and he declared his satisfaction that the people were at last learning to distinguish between "the militant faction, which is a very small minority, and those who, like yourselves, have been content with undramatic yet thoroughly honest and constitutional methods of advocacy. It is a most regrettable thing that so much prominence should be given to those repellent incidents which bulk so largely in the public eye, and it is in consequence of that that the real work which is being done in support of what even strong opponents must regard as an honourable and worthy cause is kept out of sight and ignored."

In an informal conversation which took place, various members of the deputation pointed out to Mr. Asquith how he might have met the Speaker's ruling, but it was made perfectly clear to him that, after all that had happened, only a Government measure could redeem the spirit as well as the letter of his pledges.

The National Union has two "Summer Schools" this year: one at Oxford had 75 students, and one is now in progress at St. Andrews. Here the theory and practice of political propaganda are being taught. In the London area alone the number of "Friends of Women's Suffrage" enrolled is now 13,690 (this is exclusive of members of the Society). The sum of money raised by the Pilgrimage stands at £8,450. Since May 18 the National Union has held open-air meetings in Hyde Park every Sunday, and the police have expressed themselves as grateful for the help given by constitutional Suffragists in re-establishing order at the Hyde Park meetings.

H. M. SWANWICK.

Women's Social and Political Union.

The splendid and unflinching courage of Mrs. Pankhurst in resisting, at the risk of her life, the attempts at coercion carried out by means of the Cat and Mouse legislation, has been (added to that of her trusting lieutenants and members of the Union) the cause of the complete failure of the Act. Mrs. Pankhurst has been four times in Holloway Prison since May, and four times released at the point of collapse after varying periods of hunger and thirst strike. Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and other members of the militant society have shown no less determination than their leader to break down the cruel and unjustly administered Act.

So far as the leader, the lieutenants, and the better known members of the Union are concerned, the Act has already fallen into disuse. Mrs. Pankhurst, although her licence had expired, was permitted on the 11th of August to enter the Kingsway Hall publicly and address the packed audience, amongst them a large number of the medical men and their wives assembled in London for the Medical Congress. She and Miss Annie Kenney, who also spoke, were allowed to leave the hall as openly as they entered it, and no attempt was made to arrest them. Miss Rachel Barrett, the sub-editor of *The Suffragette*, the official organ of the W.S.P.U., has also quite openly visited Lincoln's Inn House and has not been re-arrested, although her licence, too, has expired. But the Government is still persecuting the less well known members of the Union by dragging them into Holloway on the expiration of their licence.

So far the Act, since it became law, has dealt with forty Suffragists. Not one of these women or men has completed a sentence; attacks upon property are continually being made; there have been deputations from Scotch bailies, from the clergy, from the men of Hampshire, and the men of Bedford, to Mr. Asquith to demand that the measure be repealed and that the primary demand of women for enfranchisement be granted, that they themselves should be able to protect themselves from oppressive or coercive legislation by men only. So far the Prime Minister has refused to receive one of these deputations.

Meanwhile the constitutional activities of the Union are increasing by leaps and bounds. The holiday campaign throughout the country is in full swing, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has done splendid work in East London.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who left England last week without any secrecy whatever, is now in Trouville, for recuperation, after the severe torture she has gone through. She intends to visit America as soon as she is able, and will be in London again to conduct another campaign as soon as she has gone through a "cure" at some French spa.—*Press Department.*

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

The annual dinner and reception of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association at the Hotel Cecil on May 19th was most successful, a large number of distinguished guests being present.

The quarterly meeting of the Women's Council took place on May 20th, and was attended by a large number of vice-presidents, councillors, and branch secretaries. The President (Lady Selborne) was in the chair, and gave an address in which she urged the necessity for further education of the electorate.

The Hon. Secretary gave an account of the Parliamentary work that had been carried out by the Head Office under the direction of Lord Wolmer and Lord Robert Cecil, and of the organisation and propaganda work.

Lady Willoughby de Broke presided over the second meeting of the summer series at the Knightsbridge Hotel on May 27th. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., was the chief speaker, and in the course of a most interesting address declared that he did not share the opinion held by anti-suffragists that the defeat of the Dickinson Bill had seriously injured the cause of woman suffrage. Personally he was quite certain that women would have the Parliamentary vote in some form or other before many years had passed, and urged that extensive organisation work should be carried out to establish the proposition that mentally and morally men and women were equal.

On May 24th Lord Lytton spoke to a crowded and most enthusiastic audience at the Croydon Town Hall.—*Press Department.*

RESOLUTION ON THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

Open Letter to the Board of Officers of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

In the last session of the Budapest Congress all the unfinished business was gone through in a great hurry, and many important decisions were taken without sufficient consideration. A great number of delegates had already left Budapest or had to leave that same morning, and those who were present were at last too tired to give due consideration to the questions which came before them. One of the decisions which was taken that morning was the resolution you sent on August 5 to the different affiliated societies: (1) To send from this Congress of the I.W.S.A. a request to the Governments of all countries here represented that they should institute an international inquiry into the extent and causes of commercialised vice. (2) That the women's suffrage organisations in each country should ask their own Government to institute a national inquiry on the same lines, and that women be included in that commission.

If there had been sufficient time, and I had not felt so done up that Saturday morning, I would have protested against a resolution which is outside the sphere of woman suffrage societies. It may be a task for the already enfranchised women, but for us, who, lacking the vote, have no influence whatever upon our Governments, we must not waste time in sending requests to our Government on other matters than suffrage. If we were not so sure that without a vote we have not sufficient influence, why then should we work so ardently for our enfranchisement? There are many important questions besides commercialised vice, and if we begin to work for one of these there is no reason not to take up others—for instance, peace by arbitration, temperance, sweating of women and children by employers, etc.—and what then, finally, would become of our work for suffrage? But there are more reasons why suffrage societies ought to work for suffrage only and leave the other important questions to those societies which in every country are formed for these special objects. Suffrage societies ought to be conducted on such lines that every woman who is in favour of woman suffrage can join them, and therefore they ought not to do other work, however important it may be. If they do, they cannot say to the women who want to join that they can become members if they are in favour of woman suffrage, but they have to tell them that their membership means that they also agree in many other things which have not been submitted to them.

I put your resolution before the Board of Officers of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht in Holland, and it was unanimously decided that our Vereeniging shall not take up this work, but that we shall continue the work for woman suffrage till we get the vote. We also beg your Board not to petition our Government upon the commercialised vice question.

DR. ALETTA H. JACOBS.

President of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.
Amsterdam, 22nd August, 1913.

NOTE.—With regard to this letter, it should be remarked that the resolution referred to was *not* passed at the last session of the Budapest Congress on Saturday, 21st June, but was passed at the afternoon session of Thursday, June 19th.—*Ed., Jus Suffragii.*