

WITH LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

# JUS SUFFRAGII

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## AFFILIATED COUNTRIES.

Austria, Australia, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Galicia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United States.

## CONTENTS.

Notes and News .....	33	Reports from Affiliated Societies:	
Women in Local Government ..	35	Netherlands, Norway, Russia,	
Correction from Iceland .....	35	United States .....	40
New Marriage Laws in Sweden ..	35	South Africa .....	41
French Women and Conscription ..	36	Reports from Societies not	
State Regulation in S. Africa .....	36	Affiliated to the Alliance:	
Reports from Affiliated Societies:		Church League, Men's League ..	41
Galicia, Bohemia .....	36	C. and W. F. Association .....	42
Belgium, Denmark .....	37	Literary Supplement:	
Finland, France, Germany .....	38	Florence Nightingale, by Mrs.	
Great Britain, Hungary, Ice-		Fawcett .....	42
land .....	39		

that the women voters' influence has already borne good fruit, in the appointment of 10 policewomen, the solution of the garbage problem, and other important respects.

## A Scandinavian Radium Expert.

Miss Ella Gleditsch has been appointed by the Norwegian Government as one of six graduates to receive a fellowship entitling the holder to work in an American University. Miss Gleditsch is doing research work in radium at Yale, having previously worked under Mme. Curie. Yale and Harvard do not admit women students unless and until they have previously gained distinctions elsewhere.

## Endowment of Maternity in France.

The Council has approved the Bill submitted by the Ministers of the Interior and of Labour for allowances to poor mothers.

By the law of June 17, 1913, a period of rest from factory work was made compulsory. Allowances must not be less than 50 centimes, nor more than 1 franc 50 per diem, to be increased by 50 centimes a day to nursing mothers. The estimated cost is 11 million francs, and will be divided between the State and municipalities. The law is to come into force in 1914.

## The Movement in Ireland.

The Irish Federation has kept its second birthday, and already has 25 affiliated societies. Its rapid growth and political vigour disprove Mr. Lloyd George's recent utterance to the effect that the movement was going back, especially in Ireland. In view of the promise of Home Rule to Ireland, Irishwomen have insisted "that in any proposed legislation altering or affecting the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise in Ireland, women should not be excluded on the ground of sex." Both Mr. Asquith and the Irish leader (Mr. Redmond) refused to receive a deputation on the subject. In Ulster women have been more successful with the rebels, who have promised to include them in the provisional government. A petition was organised in other parts of Ireland and forwarded to the British Government.

From December 8th a "Suffrage week" will be held in Dublin. Discussions will be held on Women's wages, the political situation, and the social evil. A debate will be held with the Antis, Suffrage plays will be acted, and a sale will be held to raise funds. Altogether we can warmly congratulate Ireland on its youthful strength and energy.

## Honours for Women—Even for a Suffragist!—In Austria.

Frau Hertha von Sprung has been honoured by the Emperor of Austria, who has conferred on her the Elizabeth Order of the II. Class, as a recognition of her services in the organisation of trade schools for women. As special inspector of trade schools, she has done much to develop and inspire the higher technical training of girls. She was one of the founders of the Woman Suffrage Committee.

## New White Slave Traffic Law in Argentina.

The "Buenos Aires Standard" states that excellent results are following the new law for the suppression of the traffic in women. As soon as it became known that the President would sign the Bill, according to the investigation department, 2,000 procurers left the capital. Many of their resorts were closed, and the fugitives took with them ill-gotten gains to the extent of a million and a half pesos. The passing of the Act is one of the most satisfactory acts of legislation ever accomplished by the Republic.

## A Suffrage Newspaper in Cuba.

"The Woman's Journal" reports that Cuba now has a Suffrage paper, "El Feminista," published at Havana.

## Women Electors in Kansas, Arizona, Oregon (and Illinois).

This year, for the first time, the newly enfranchised women of these States voted at a full election.

The other free States are Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Alaska, and partly Illinois.

In Illinois the new women voters had their first chance of voting in November, when they voted 3 and 4 to 1 for putting down the drink saloons in 22 towns. Miss Jane Addams says



### A Woman on the American Industrial Commission.

Mrs. Chrystal Eastman Benedict has been put on the Federal Commission to inquire into industrial disputes in the United States.

### Woman as Buffalo Expert in Oklahoma.

To "The Farmer's Wife" we owe an interesting account of the biggest buffalo ranch in the world, where 250 men are employed under a woman in breeding and rearing buffaloes. The vast estate of 10,000 acres is connected by telephone, and inquiries and orders go out all day long from headquarters. Early every morning Mrs. Lillie telephones her orders to the 20 little offices on the ranch, and from the Stock Exchange at Oklahoma City she is kept in touch with the markets. If prices are favourable she telephones for railway cars to be sent to her side track, and orders cattle to be rounded up and sent off by train to market. Mrs. Lillie is a buffalo expert, and her cowboys say she takes as much care of her "boys" as of her buffalo calves.

### The Limited Franchise in Illinois.

Much misapprehension seems to exist on the subject of women's vote in Illinois. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, who drafted the Bill, has published a booklet, which has been printed in 11 languages, explaining the franchise. From it we learn that women over 21, who have lived in the State for one year, may vote for:—Presidential Electors, and certain State, county, and town officials. They may vote on all questions that are submitted to a vote of the electors. They may also participate and vote in all annual and special town meetings. There will be separate ballot boxes for women.

The author of the law admits that it contains a funny assortment of powers, but she followed the rule of putting in everything that was not mentioned in the Constitution.

The larger franchise can only be given by an alteration of the Constitution.

### American Women's Trade Union League.

The American Trade Union Committee on Legislation, in their campaign for a living wage for women, recommend the education of women workers regarding existing labour laws and the need of further legislation, and the formation of a permanent committee to insist on the enforcement of existing laws. This committee will have representatives in every factory to report any breaches of the existing laws concerning fire-protection sanitation, or hours of work. The committee has also drawn up a comprehensive programme of legislation to be introduced into the State legislatures, and, in those States where women have the vote to protect them, they will probably succeed. The programme includes an eight-hours day and minimum wage boards, besides many other industrial reforms.

### Maintenance of Wives in Washington State.

One of the greatest grievances of women is the failure of the law to enforce upon idle husbands their duty to maintain their families.

Washington recently passed a law to cope with this evil. A man convicted of failure to maintain his family will be provided with work by the State and compelled to perform it, his wages being handed over to his wife and family. This is, indeed, to "make the punishment fit the crime."

### The Breslau Scandal.

Women are constantly told that they are the protected sex; that provided they will stay at home and leave politics to men, they will be sheltered and cared for. How little protection the law gives to women, how cheap the lives and honour of little girls are held by masculine public opinion, is proved by the records of every police court, by the innumerable cruelly wronged children, and by the light punishments inflicted on those who have ruined them. In Breslau 36 men were accused of criminal misuse of little girls under 14. Two of the accused committed suicide, a few were discharged, the evidence against them being insufficient, the remainder were convicted, but allowed "extenuating circumstances," and received sentences varying from 6 months to 3 years imprisonment. The guilty men were middle-aged men in good positions—merchants, directors, manufacturers, etc. Perhaps the most shameful feature of this, as of similar cases, is the lenient view taken of this shocking crime by the Court. In giving judgment, the Court declared that as the children had been previously seduced, not they were the victims, but the men, who had not moral strength enough to resist temptation! So, because these unfortunate children had been once shamefully wronged, it is

free to every debaucher to push them lower and lower into shame! Thirty-six well-to-do "gentlemen" are excused for repeated misuse of little children, whose "victims" they are said to be! and the judge sympathetically adds that the poor men have not the strength to resist such temptations! Every woman's heart must burn within her as she realises that the daughters of her country are at the mercy of such laws and such administration. Women were excluded from hearing the trial of this case. No woman's voice from the judge's bench or jury box could make itself heard on behalf of outraged childhood. These intolerable wrongs will not be righted till women, as citizens, can claim the right to have a voice in the punishment of evildoers.

### Women Voters in California and the Traffic in Women.

In contrast to the Breslau judgment, we find a wonderful advance in public opinion and public action in California since women obtained full citizen rights. It had been the habit of judges to fix low bail for men accused of sex crimes against women and girls; the men forfeited their bail and disappeared. An offence against two young girls and the fixing of the usual low bail aroused the women. They forced a recall election, which not only removed this one judge but forced all the other judges to fix suitable bail and bring offenders to trial.

The age of consent was raised to 18, and the penalty for rape increased, by the Legislature of 1913.

### The Diggs-Caminetti Case.

The law against the traffic in women was put into force against two men, Diggs and Caminetti, who were convicted of removing girls of 19 for immoral purposes. They received exemplary punishment, and were sent to prison for two years and eighteen months respectively, and fined \$2,000 and \$1,500.

### Enterprising Swedish Women.

The Swedish women are going to build a house of their own at the Baltic Exhibition in Malmo next summer. It is going to be a reproduction of Frederica Bremer's house, Arcta, and is meant to be a house for all women visiting the exhibition, at the same time it will be "a testimony of the Swedish women's solidarity and activity."

A donation of 10,000 kroner (£560) has been given to the Frederica Bremer Society in Sweden, with the object of assisting women in the studies of social questions, specially with regard to improving the conditions of lonely self-supporting women.

### Mr. Lloyd George and Suffrage Deputations.

At Oxford Mr. Lloyd George received a deputation of journalists, university tutors, ex-M.P.'s, and others from the Men's Political League, who reproached him in strong terms for the Government's disgraceful record on the Suffrage question; following this deputation came another of University professors and others representing the constitutional movement, who also urged him to take steps to allay the present bitter discontent. To both deputations the Chancellor's only reply was the usual scolding of militants and the allegation that nothing could or would be done as long as the Suffrage agitation was accompanied by disorder.

This is in marked contrast to the official attitude to Ulster. The more militant Ulster becomes, the more conciliatory the Government is towards it. But then Ulster men and their supporters have votes!

It is, however, excellent to see how strongly more and more men come forward for the women's cause.

### MSS. for Jus Suffragii.

We should be grateful if correspondents would, whenever possible, send all reports for Jus Suffragii typewritten. Vexatious mistakes, especially in the spelling of proper names, are the result of the difficulty in deciphering unfamiliar foreign names.

### Suffragists Visiting London.

We heartily invite Suffragists from other countries who come to London to visit Headquarters, and shall be glad to do what is in our power to be of use to them.

### Books on Co-education.

A correspondent who is studying the subject of co-education, and compiling a bibliography of English, French, German, and Italian works, would like to know of recent books on the subject.

## WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

One happy result of the Suffrage agitation is to quicken the appreciation of women's work on municipal bodies. On the one hand Suffragists recognise that women's claim to the Parliamentary vote is immensely strengthened by the proof they have given of their utility in the work of Local Government.

On the other hand anti-suffragists, who base their opposition to the franchise on women's incapacity for dealing with Imperial and military policy, are unable to find reasons for objecting to their participation in the domestic sphere of local administration.

In Russia, at one end of Europe, women are pressing their claim to serve on Municipal Commissions; in France, at the other end, they seem on the point of municipal enfranchisement. In Hungary a new party puts the municipal vote for women in its programme. In Great Britain an active agitation is being carried on to extend the qualification for election on County and Borough Councils.

As is well known, Englishwomen had the municipal vote, of which they were deprived by the Reform Bill of 1832, restored to them since 1869. What is less well known is the very restricted extent of their right. Except in London, married women cannot vote, nor be elected, for County and Town Councils; consequently, only widows and single independent women have the vote and consequent eligibility. It is important to insist on this fact, because it is constantly stated by opponents that women make no use of their existing rights and privileges, and, therefore, do not need more, and as evidence of this they point to the few women on local Councils, quite ignoring the insuperable difficulties put in the way of the vast majority of women. One body to which married women have access is that of Poor Law Guardians, since the Act of 1894, which established a residential qualification, and whereas before that time only 169 women were elected to those bodies, in 1913 the numbers had grown to 1,536.

Women have in vain agitated for the removal of the present restrictions, and since 1908 a Bill has been introduced in successive years to provide that men and women may be eligible to sit on County and Borough Councils if they have resided in the electoral district for 12 months. It is this simple qualification which rendered women eligible as Poor Law Guardians, and similar results would no doubt follow an extension of the County and Borough Franchise.

The Women's Local Government Society is now carrying on a vigorous campaign for the speedy passing of the Bill, and the time seems highly propitious. It may be thrown us as "a sop to Cerberus," to show that women's interests are "not unduly neglected," as Mr. Asquith says!

Moreover, Mrs. Humphry Ward and her Anti-Suffrage supporters are working for the Bill. Are they not always urging that Local Government is woman's sphere? and though they have hitherto done little to promote women's interests, they are now shamed by the Suffragist campaign into some semblance of activity.

How untenable their position is can be seen by any student of Local Government, and is borne out by all women of experience. Parliament deals with the same problems of health, education, housing, and poor relief as are the concern of the Local Government. Why are such questions suited to women's powers when dealt with by local Councils, and not when voted on in the House of Commons? Moreover, woman's position of disfranchisement lowers her prestige, and prevents her standing on an equal footing with male candidates; she is also in the unsatisfactory position of administering laws which she has no voice in making.

Lastly, women's right to the Municipal Franchise is like all her other rights, insecure, until she can defend it with the vote. Women did splendid work on the "vestries," 1894 to 1900, but that did not prevent their being disqualified as candidates when Borough Councils were established in place of vestries. Women rendered priceless service to education on the School Boards from their institution in 1870 to their abolition in 1902; that did not prevent their total exclusion from the Education Authority by the Act of 1902, which transferred education from the School Boards to the Town or County Councils. Their usefulness, nay, their very existence, were forgotten by the gentlemen in Parliament.

So closely related are the Municipal and Parliamentary franchises, that at a recent meeting in Kiel the leader of the German Anti-Suffragists, after citing the success of Englishwomen in Local Government as likely to lead to their conquest of the Parliamentary vote, warned his own countrymen not to

allow women to enter the sacred precincts, lest they should end by capturing the Divine Fire!

We, on the contrary, would urge women to press forward to gain the right to each position that gives them the entrée to public work and administration.

Miss Lydia Becker, the founder of the first English Suffrage Society, declared that "political freedom begins for women as it began for men, with freedom in Local Government." And there can be no doubt that the more women can be interested in the government of their town or village the fitter they will be for taking part in the government of their country when the time comes.

At the November Town Council elections in Great Britain twenty-one women stood for election, and thirteen were elected; 8 as Independents, 3 Conservatives, 1 Liberal, and 1 Labour.

### Correction from Iceland.

Mrs. Briet Asmundsson writes to correct the report that Iceland sacrificed a mail, in order to pay the expenses of the Icelandic delegates to Budapest. The cost was defrayed by supplementary estimates. We regret to have given currency to the picturesque legend of the mail, but were following the announcement made at Budapest. This was apparently due to an incorrect translation. The Iceland Government promised the grant, and was criticised by a Reykjavik newspaper, which said the money would be better employed on an extra mail. The Government, however, gave preference to the Women's Suffrage delegation over the hypothetical extra mail.

### NEW MARRIAGE LAWS IN SWEDEN.

The present marriage laws of Sweden date from 1734; of course, during their nearly 200 years of existence they have been several times altered and amended, but the amendments have been either unpractical, or they have been contrary to the old test and the old spirit, and, therefore, created confusion instead of clearness and accuracy. Therefore, in 1909 Parliament resolved that the whole marriage code should be revised, and about six weeks ago the first part of this revision was published as a proposal of our standing Legislative Committee. It is the chapters concerning the conditions for contracting and dissolving marriage, which are now ready.

There are some innovations in this proposed law which deserve to be mentioned. Among the disabilities for which marriage is forbidden are introduced mental diseases, even if they are not marked enough to create general disability, and venereal diseases in a contagious phase. The age when women are permitted to marry has been raised from 17 to 18 years; but here the committee seems not to have thought of the necessity of simultaneously raising the age of consent; that remains at 15 as before, and so if the law be not amended on this point, we shall have three years in a woman's life, during which a man may not legally marry her, but may seduce her.

When a man or a woman under 21 years wants to marry, their parents' consent is necessary; in our present law the father's consent is enough, and even if he is dead the mother needs the advice of the nearest relations. Now, father and mother are perfectly equal.

The greatest innovation in the divorce law is the possibility of getting divorce without any obstacles as soon as both husband and wife agree about it; on their simple application the law grants them first separation for one year, and then, on a new application from both or one of them, full divorce. The legal conditions for getting divorce on the application of one party have been altered to greater clearness, completeness, and consistency; in our present law they are confusing. As for the legal effects of divorce, the proposed new law expressly states that when the guardianship of the children is awarded to the mother she is their legal guardian, a point about which much confusion has hitherto prevailed.

Upon the whole, the new proposal is a great improvement. We hope that it will be eagerly and amply discussed, and that the minor deficiencies which may be found will be corrected, either by the Government or by Parliament itself. But the main part of the marriage laws is not treated as yet—the part concerning the personal and economic equality between husband and wife during marriage. Only if Parliament will grant us Suffrage in 1914 can we hope to influence this legislation. It seems almost ridiculous to think that in the present day wholly new marriage laws may be proposed and carried into law by the men alone. Therefore, let us hope for success next year as long as we can.

ANNA WICKSELL.



### FRENCH WOMEN AND CONSCRIPTION.

Mme. Dieulafoy, the celebrated explorer, has organised for the winter, with the consent and aid of the Minister of War, courses of instruction to prepare women to take the place of officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, of the Reserve and the Territorials, in case of mobilisation. Women attend these courses as volunteers. In time of war they will be employed in clerical work and administration. Their desire is to participate, to the utmost of their ability, in the defence of their country, to undertake what work is possible for them, and thus free a large number of men for active service. The idea of this voluntary service dates from last April. From the moment when Parliament began to discuss the increase in effective strength and to enforce three years' military service, Mme. Dieulafoy wrote to the Minister of War to offer her services, even in the humblest capacity, for the protection of her country. Mme. Dieulafoy in this letter expressed the feelings of the majority of her countrywomen, and was at once asked by a large number of women to obtain for all the favour she had only asked for herself. The thing seemed unattainable, such was the difficulty of inducing the military authorities to accept the idea, and, above all, to get it put into practice. The plan became quickly known and roused enthusiasm everywhere. Teachers, working women, and society women asked to be enrolled and to attend classes in the evening and on Sundays, and offered their varied talents. In a few weeks hundreds had joined the movement. She had the joy of announcing at her lecture in June at the Astruc Theatre on "Women's Role in the Auxiliary Services," that the Minister of War accepted the principle of women's service, and had given orders that plans should be prepared as soon as possible for organising them as volunteers. While waiting to serve their time in the departmental office, the women volunteers will, during the winter, attend classes held by reserve officers, and will prepare to pass, in the spring, the examination which will give them the right to serve their country.

MARIE LOUISE LE VERRIER.

### STATE REGULATION OF VICE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

South Africa is one of the few countries still cursed by Government regulation of vice. Dr. Aletta Jacobs did notable work in the direction of rousing our women to this horror in our midst. More recently Mr. Maurice Gregory, representing the International Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice, has been through the country, the W.C.T.U. having promised hospitality when the British Committee generously offered to pay travelling expenses. Though other societies helped nobly, the bulk of the work was done by this Union and the various Women's Reform Clubs and Enfranchisement Leagues that now exist in our large centres of population. The Union invited Mr. Gregory to address their annual Convention at Uitenhage, with Mrs. John Brown (Supt. of Purity) in the chair, and they threw the meeting open to the public.

For many years this Union stood alone in opposition to regulation. The franchise movement has enormously strengthened our hands.

JULIA F. SOLLY,  
Supt. Franchise W.C.T.U. of S. Africa.

### AN AUSTRIAN M.P.'S REPORT ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Dr. Bohuslav Franta has presented a Study of Woman Suffrage to the Constitutional Committee of the Austrian Parliament (which has to consider the preliminaries of woman suffrage). This step brings the question of Woman Suffrage into the actualities of politics. Women have no vote for the Imperial Parliament, although as landed proprietors they had the right to vote for the "Kurienparlament." In 1906, when universal male suffrage was granted, women lost this right, as was admitted at the time. But women have retained the right to vote for the Provincial Diets: hence the election of Frau Vik-Kunetická for the Bohemian Diet, the only Diet for which women are eligible. In Dalmatia, Galicia, Istria, Carinthia, Styria, Moravia, and Upper Austria, women landed proprietors may vote, but by male proxy.

Dr. Franta, after giving an account of the world movement for Women Suffrage, concludes with proposing that "Every person, without distinction of sex, who is 24 years of age and an Austrian citizen, should be enfranchised, and that Austrian citizens of 30 years of age should be eligible for Parliament.

### REPORTS FROM SOCIETIES AFFILIATED TO THE ALLIANCE. EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA.

GALICIA.

During the last few months the Women's Cause has made fresh progress in Galicia. The most important event was the founding of a Polish Men's League, due to the inspiration of the Women's Suffrage Committee. At Lemberg there were two large meetings addressed by eminent men, who wished to show their support of the political enfranchisement of women, and to serve the Suffrage cause effectively by directly influencing the Galician Diet, now in the midst of an electoral struggle. As members of the new League we notice distinguished men such as Professor Pawlewski, the editor Lakownicki, Dr. Lewicki, and others who had already been of great help to the Suffrage Committee in its early stages. But it is the first time that men have come forward openly and strongly to advocate votes for women. Several women Suffragists took part in the debate to settle a plan of campaign to be executed in co-operation with the men.

The meeting also published the following resolutions in the Press:—(1) This meeting of men and women Suffragists demands that the Government give women the vote; (2) the meeting appeals to the Diet to keep its promise, and give facilities for an amendment to give the indirect vote to women.

At the conclusion of the proceedings the delegates of the Polish Suffrage Committee presented to the Men's League a women's petition, signed by several dozen Polish and Ruthenian Women's Associations, asking the Men's League to co-operate with members of the Diet in furthering the Suffrage cause.

The women greeted the League as being the élite of civilisation, and as setting a precious example to the nation, the formation of the Men's League shows a striking revolution in public opinion.

The Polish Suffrage Committee has also been carrying on active propaganda. The campaign started in Czortków, on the eastern frontier of Galicia. The lecturer sent by the committee, Mme. Gerzabek, discussed women's political demands, and illustrated all sides of the movement. An animated discussion followed, and a branch society was founded at Czortków.

MARIE GERZABEK.

Stanisławów, November, 1913.

### BOHEMIA.

A great demonstration meeting as a protest against the suspension of the Constitution (which the Austrian Government did on June 26, by dissolving the Diet of our kingdom without announcing new elections for it) was held in Prague on November 16, under the auspices of the Vybor pro volební právo žen, the women's organisations of the progressive political parties and important Women's Societies. Many expressions of approval were received from different parts of Bohemia.

The district of Mladá Boleslav, which elected Mrs. Viková Kunetická, was represented by one delegate.

The meeting was one of the steps taken in defence of our rights, after several conferences, in which the above-named organisations took part.

It was decided that we should protest against the Governments interfering with our rights, and against anything being done in future without the consent of our Diet.

Other steps which the delegates proposed and the meeting approved were:—

1. That the Government be asked to announce new elections for the Bohemian Diet at once, and in that way remove the injustice at least in part.
2. That all political parties be asked to nominate women candidates for the Diet, which should decide upon the new electoral law, so that the reform be not accomplished without the women or against them.
3. That steps be taken to urge the new Diet to revise municipal electoral laws on the basis of perfect equality.
4. That the newly elected members of the Town Council of Prague be asked to help to revise the electoral law of Prague on the same basis.
5. That the Labour parties proclaim that Universal Suffrage is not possible without their women.
6. That the members of the Austrian Parliament be asked to discuss immediately the proposition of Dr. Boh. Franta,

### BELGIUM.

The readers of *Jus Suffragii* who have read our previous communications know the problem of the municipal and provincial electorate which the Commission of XXXI. have to solve.

Before the holidays the Commission had asked the Secretary to collect documents to enable its members to examine what had been done abroad in the matter of provincial and municipal legislation.

At the opening of the Session on October 22nd, the President, Count de Koodebeke, communicated the information on comparative legislation gathered during the holidays.

The Commission decided then to open the general discussion, considering first the municipal question, and especially its electorate.

Professor Prins (Liberal) and Mr. Lambert (manufacturer, Liberal) traced the outline of two systems based on the representation of interests.

The next meeting was held November 8th. Mr. Vanden Heuvel (Catholic), late Minister of Justice, made a speech explaining which points the discussion had to consider. Amongst the first of these stand Women's Suffrage, the question of residence, age, etc.

Mr. Destrée (Socialist), M.P., approved this plan. He also incidentally said he favoured the admission of women as voters for the City Councils, but not for Parliament. Mr. Destrée explained on the 19th of November a plan for municipal elections. According to this the election for the Municipal Council would be based on direct universal Suffrage, with compulsory vote, proportional representation, and the referendum as guarantee.

Mr. Destrée, who supports Women's Suffrage for the City Councils, does not go so far as to insist on it.

Mr. G. de Greef (Socialist), Rector of the Université Nouvelle, presented a remarkable report on representation of interests. Criticising the present electoral system, he proposes equal representation of the four great social functions—agricultural, industrial commercial, intellectual and liberal.

Mr. De Greef demanded as the basis of representation of interests complete universal Suffrage of women as well as of men. Mr. De Greef declared that if his plan of representation of interests was not accepted by the majority he would support Universal Suffrage pure and simple for men and women. Mr. De Greef based his arguments on scientific considerations, which remind one of those he put before the Royal Academy of Belgium last year, when reporting on the work of Mr. René Worms—"Sensuality and French Births."

He asserts, amongst other things, that girls are in a majority in strong nations.

It is said that Mr. René Colvert (Catholic), M.P., is ready to take up the defence of Woman Suffrage, and that he is preparing an important report on the question.

The essential thing to be remembered by Suffragists is that, willingly or not, the XXXI. have to consider votes for women.

The Liberals will not hear of it, but will they be able to check it indefinitely? We rather believe they will have to submit to the rising tide of feminist ideas, and to see introduced, in a more or less near future, the electoral equality of men and women. It is likely that they will need fewer years to decide to submit to the popular verdict than they have needed to rally to universal Suffrage for men.

JANE BRIGODE.

### DENMARK.

LANDSFORBUNDET FOR KVINDERS VALGRET (NATIONAL UNION OF DANISH WOMAN SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES).

Although the Committee of the Upper House (Landsting), which has been elected to work out amendments to the Constitutional Reform Bill, has had more than one month in which to deal with it, the result, as it was presented to the House on the 23rd of November, does not give the impression of much work having been done.

Concerning the vote to the Upper House, a question of vital interest and the greatest importance during the present situation, and in effect the question of the moment, for which the Democratic parties have been fighting for many years, the Committee has not brought forward one single proposal which might serve as a basis for further discussion. Instead, the Committee has devoted all its time to working out a few

member of the Liberal Party, in which he urges the Government to introduce equal suffrage of women for the Parliament.

The meeting expressed the hope that this discussion will inform the Government of the special conditions in Bohemia, where Women's Suffrage for the Diet has been in effect since the year 1861, and will inform the Government of the will of the Czechish nation, which showed its approval of women's eligibility by electing a woman to the Bohemian Diet.

The meeting expressed the hope that on receiving this information the Austrian Government might change its unfavourable proposition, so that Universal Suffrage for the Bohemian Diet be extended to all women as well as to men, and their eligibility be acknowledged clearly.

The meeting asked the Bohemian political parties to hold fast to the principles of their programmes, i.e., that Liberal, National-Socialists, Progressive, Radical, and Social-Democratic parties should stand for universal, equal Suffrage for women as well as men; the B. Agrarians and large estate owners, who are against universal equal Suffrage, should at least defend the rights which exist.

An important speech was delivered by Representative V. Choc, who is well known for the resolution he submitted to the Austrian Government in the year 1906—when Universal Suffrage for the Austrian Parliament was extended to men—in which he asked that steps be taken to enfranchise women also.

He called attention to the fact that the emancipation of women progresses from the northern nations to the southern ones, because the northern nations are of a cooler, more reasonable temperament, and the southern ones of a more emotional temperament. It was his desire that the Bohemian (Czechish) nation, situated as it is in the middle of Europe, shall transmit the idea of women's equality to the southern slavic nations.

As representative of the National Socialist party, he declared that his party means to stand firmly as heretofore for full equality of men with women, which standpoint it proved by the strong support it gave for Mrs. Kunetická's election.

He proposed that at the next election several women be elected, so that they may form an independent section, which would strive to win acknowledgement of women's equality in practice as well as in theory. He would rather see women elected on an independent ticket than a party ticket.

The representative of the Radical Party and the delegate from Mladá Boleslav expressed the same view. Mrs. Tümová, speaking in the name of the Women's Suffrage Committee (Vybor pro volební právo žen) spoke of the objection which is often made against Woman's Suffrage, viz., that women are not sufficiently prepared for political life.

She declared that men are not universally well prepared for this either, and that this is a great evil, and without doubt one of the grave reasons why the results of men's politics are so insufficient.

She believes it to be a duty of Government to see to the proper political education of all citizens, who are to bear the responsibility of good or bad government, elected through their ballot.

F. Plaméuková proposed that a League for Universal and Equal Suffrage for men and women be organised, whose aim should also be to educate citizens politically, and prepare them for their duties in legislative and other bodies.

This motion was unanimously carried, and a preparatory Committee was formed at once.

Praha 20, xi., 1913. Vybor pro volební právo žen.

On November 21 a public meeting was held by the Women's Organisation of the Liberal Party and Central Women's Association, in Prague, in support of the measure introduced by Dr. B. Franta, M.P., for equal universal suffrage of women to the Austrian Parliament.

The meeting was addressed by Dr. Franta and by Mrs. Kunetická, who expressed the hope that the Liberal Party would be the first to seat a woman in the Austrian Parliament.

The Bohemian Woman's Suffrage Committee (Vybor pro volební právo žen) sent a deputation to Dr. Franta on November 2, which thanked him for the proposition and the noble reasons with which he supported it, as well as for the diligence with which he prepared his report.

It has begun an action to gain the support of influential people for Dr. Franta's measure, and has already received definite promises.

M. TUMOVÁ.



amendments concerning the vote to the Lower House (Folketing), or rather to try to keep the conditions of the present Constitution, with one exception—that of giving the women a vote to the Lower House on the same terms as men have had hitherto.

According to the different political views of the members, the Committee had been divided into a majority of eight Conservatives, and a minority of seven members of the Democratic parties.

Without going into details about the different proposed amendments as to the other sections of the Bill, I shall only mention the part about Woman Suffrage.

The Majority of the Committee proposes the following amendments:—

## SECTION 30.

Every man and woman with the right of a natural Danish subject shall be "entitled to a vote to the Lower House at the age of 30 years."

(The Reform Bill, as laid before the House, gives the women a vote to both Houses at the age of 25 years.)

Cont., "Unless (a), he or she has been condemned for some act, which has left him or her dishonoured in the public eye, without he or she later having obtained honourable satisfaction by the judicial powers."

(The Reform Bill only uses the words "unimpeachable character".)

Cont., "Or unless (b), he or she has been aided by public charity-funds, without having repaid the money or having been excused. If the husband of any widow, or divorced or separated woman, or deserted wife has been aided by the public funds during the last five years and within the time they were still living together, the aid will be considered as granted to her also, unless one year has passed after the separation, in which she has not received any public aid."

(The last sentence is omitted in the Reform Bill.)

Cont., "Or (c), if he or she has been declared incapable of managing his or her own affairs, or being a bankrupt. If the husband is a bankrupt the wife will be debarred from the vote, unless she is in possession of some freehold property or some sort of self-maintenance."

(The last sentence is contradictory to the Reform Bill, which does not debar a wife from the vote, even if the husband is a bankrupt.)

The Minority of the Committee writes:—

"Although we do not sympathise with any of the proposed amendments of the Majority, and although under different circumstances we should vote against every one of them, we have decided not to vote at all, so as not to delay having the Reform Bill referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses."

It is expected that a Joint Committee will be established within the next week.

CLINNY DREYER.

Copenhagen, 24th of November, 1913.

## FINLAND.

Certain questions concerning women's rights within the domain of the church were under discussion at a recent church meeting in Abo, our archiepiscopal residence. This was one of the periodical church meetings which take place each fifth year, and which form part of the organisation of our National Lutheran Church. They treat questions and put forward resolutions in matters belonging to the administration and legislation of the church and its parishes. To the meetings are summoned delegates of the clergy, of the Government, of the High Courts, of the University, and besides a certain number of lay-members elected by the parishes.

The meeting in question passed resolutions concerning the following questions:—

1. An extension of the Suffrage in ecclesiastical matters within the parishes to all parish members, men and women, over 24 years of age who possess certain qualifications was approved. Hitherto only tax-paying householders are entitled to vote in proportion to the amount of their taxes, an order of things which excludes from the vote married women and all inmates of the house except the owner.

2. Women's eligibility to certain responsible positions having to do with the administration of church matters. Thus the possibility of their participation as delegates in the periodical church meetings was discussed and approved in principle. A committee was appointed to elaborate a project of law granting them such rights to be submitted to the next church meeting.

3. The same committee was entrusted to prepare for the meeting a project of law granting women the right to occupy the office of sacristan. Hitherto women have been entitled to become church organists, but excluded wherever the offices of organist and sacristan have been combined, which is very often the case in our rural parishes.

Before these projects and resolutions can have the force of law they must be passed by the Diet and sanctioned by the Sovereign. Until then years will pass; still, they mark a tendency in favour of our cause, which is not to be undervalued.

E. SALTZMAN.

## FRANCE.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN IN THE FRENCH CHAMBER.

Certain foreign newspapers having given an erroneous account of the vote in the Chamber of Deputies on November 11, we cannot do better than reproduce the note in the "Française" on this subject.

On November 11, M. Andrieux, in the discussion on proportional representation, proposed an amendment to accord to women the franchise and eligibility on the same terms as men. M. Andrieux spoke well and convincingly in support of his amendment, and asked for a vote on the principle. But M. Ferdinand Buisson, President of the Committee for Universal Suffrage, speaking both for the supporters of proportional representation and for the Woman Suffragists, demanded that the question of Woman Suffrage should be considered separately from that of proportional representation. The Chamber voted for separating M. Andrieux' amendment from the discussion on proportional representation." The number of voters in favour of considering the questions separately was 302, and those in favour of an immediate discussion 117. The policy of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes is to get a decision on Municipal Suffrage, and to beware of demanding full Suffrage all at once.

The Paris branch of the U.F.S.F. held a most successful meeting on November 11. The hall was crowded, and the greatest interest was excited by the speeches. The object of the meeting was to protest against the action of the Printers' Trade Unions, which exclude women (this question was referred to in our last number).

The subject of discussion at the next meeting on December 11 will be, "Should women sit on juries?" The services of very competent speakers are promised.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER.

Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes.

## GERMANY.

In Germany the elections for the local sick insurance organisations (Krankenkassen) are taking place, and for these bodies women have had the same voting rights and eligibility as men ever since their foundation.

The Suffrage Societies of the various towns and provinces have taken pains to point out to women their duty to vote, and the alterations in the law that come into force on January 1st, 1914, with the new Imperial Insurance Order.

These alterations consist in the introduction of proportional representation, and in a considerable extension of the law of compulsory insurance to new classes of workers, such as domestic servants, laundresses, sempstresses, waitresses, chemists' assistants, stage hands and members of orchestras, teachers (except those employed by the State), home workers, and ships' crews.

Female insured persons cannot be elected on the Insurance Boards (who have the general control over Insurance law and regulations).

We are pleased to report that in almost all towns the most varied women's societies, especially those of the insured women, take a very active part in the elections and in the preparations for them.

It is to be hoped that women will succeed in getting women representatives, both employers and insured, on to the committees and executive of the local Insurance organisations. The most important task of these women representatives will be to see that women doctors and inspectors are appointed by the local organisations, and especially that motherhood is awarded the fullest protection. News has already been received of results favourable to women in many towns.

## INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, 1915.

At the beginning of this month the first meeting was held in Berlin to consider the preparations for the Berlin Congress

in 1915. Besides Frau Marie Stritt, President of the German Union, there were present: Frau Regina Deutsch (President of the Prussian Society), and Frau Alma Dzialoszynski (President of the Berlin Branch), and Frau Rosika Schwimmer (of Budapest).

MARIE ENGELMANN.

November, 1913.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

## National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

At the half-yearly Council meeting held in Newcastle on November 6th and 7th, it was reported that the Union had secured 10,000 new members during the past year, besides enrolling 28,000 Friends of Women's Suffrage. The previous week had seen a new and interesting evidence of support for our cause in this town of Newcastle. A number of ratepayers requisitioned the Mayor to grant the use of the Town Hall for a town's meeting, and on October 30th it was crowded to overflowing with an enthusiastic audience, which passed, by a three-to-one majority, a resolution calling upon the Government to introduce a measure of Women's Suffrage. As soon as the meeting was announced, the Anti-Suffrage organiser swooped down upon the town, took a shop, and stuck notices up in the window stating that "Women do not want the vote." He also asserted that an overwhelming majority of the town-people did not want women to have the vote. It is curious that these did not come to the Town Hall to record their opposition! This enormous meeting did not prevent the hall from being crowded again in the ensuing week, to hear Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Royden, and Mr. Fenner Brockway (Editor of the "Labour Leader").

Other signs of progress may be found in the following: The Women's Liberal Suffrage Union, which is led by some of the most active women in the Liberal Party, is making great progress and pledging all its members to support no Anti-Suffrage candidates; a widely signed and supported memorial was sent by Watford Trade Unionists to Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), on the occasion of his visit there in November; Mr. Pethick Lawrence is acting as hon. secretary to a "Suffrage First Committee" whose object is to induce voters to pledge themselves to put suffrage first in voting at the next election.

A large number of Ministers have been receiving deputations of Suffragists. While Mr. Lloyd George does nothing in reply but prattle about militancy, Lord Haldane, by requiring a "definite pronouncement of Women's Suffrage" from the House of Commons, entirely overlooks the fact that the House of Commons gave a perfectly definite pronouncement when it passed the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill in 1910 by a majority of 110, and in 1911 by a majority of 167. It was Lord Haldane's own Government which refused time to proceed with this Bill. Sir Edward Grey has been somewhat franker in advising a deputation to ask him a question at the next General Election, when he promised to answer it frankly. The direction in which we may hope for developments was plainly indicated by Sir Stanley Buckmaster, the new Solicitor-General, who, during his re-election for Keighley, mentioned only three questions in his election address, two of them being the questions of Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment now before the House, and the third being Women's Suffrage. Another distinguished younger member of the Government, Sir John Simon (Attorney-General), at the first public meeting addressed by him in his future constituency of North-West Manchester, declared that Women's Suffrage was part of those Liberal principles which he desired to see prevail. The Suffragists in the Ministry are thirty to thirteen Anti-Suffragists. All our work must be directed to making the will of the majority prevail.

It is with the determination to leave no stone unturned to induce the Government to promise a Government measure if returned to power, that the National Union is working, and it is not dismayed by the resolution passed by the Unionist Conference at Norwich, to defer consideration of the question "until Women's Suffrage has received the express sanction of the electors." This sanction they mean to obtain at the General Election.

H. M. SWANWICK.

## HUNGARY.

The Committee on Arrangements of the Budapest Congress has dissolved at a crowded meeting. The assembly was in good spirits and had cause to rejoice. After Countess Teleky had opened the meeting in a graceful presidential address, Rosika

Schwimmer spoke of the very favourable results of the Congress, of the good impression, the educating influence it had on the public, and of the great consideration the Suffragists are enjoying since in this country. She gave some very amusing little stories of adventures of the arrangements "behind the scenes." Last but not least, she reported the financial results of the Congress, which is, to everybody's genuine astonishment, a positive one—there is, for our very restricted means, quite a little capital left to the Feministák Egyesülete.

Vilma Glücklich spoke of future prospects, related how the Committee considered in what way this little inheritance could best be employed, and decided that by the development of its official organ, the "Nő és a Társadalom," the best investment can be obtained to further the work of the Society. It was decided that the paper will be published by the Feministák Egyesülete in future—it was published by a syndicate until now,—will appear every fortnight—it used to be a monthly paper with the title "A Nő" (The Woman),—and will be edited by Rosika Schwimmer. We hope to see a great soaring up of our paper by this change, and a splendid means of propaganda all over the country.

We think this the best way to preserve the impression of the Congress, and our dear and valued guests and co-workers will certainly feel pleased at the idea that by their acceptance of our invitation, by their visit to Hungary, they have contributed to the great advance of Suffrage work, which we hope to be the result of this new move in Hungary.

The memorandum upon the new Civil-law Bill which was prepared by Dr. Sigmund Engel, Miss Vilma Glücklich, Dr. Simon Gold, Mrs. Kúrucz, Mrs. Eugenie Miskolczi Meller, Dr. Racz, and Mrs. Szirmai, and discussed by the members of the Feministák Egyesülete, is ready now, and will be sent to the Government. Let us hope it will have the desired effect. The Hungarian National Council of Women also discussed the subject and will communicate its report to the ministry. This action of women raised great curiosity in the Press and in legal circles.

There has been organised in Budapest an Association of Housewives, similar to the Vienna Hausfrauenverein, which has Woman Suffrage in its platform. Committee members of the Feministák Egyesülete are on the board of this new Association.

EUGENIE MISKOLCZY MELLER.

Budapest, November, 1913.

## ICELAND.

The last sitting of the Althing, which took place from the 1st of July to the 14th of September this year, passed a new Constitutional Bill. This Bill is very much altered from that of 1911. According to this new Bill, every man and woman who is 25 years old is to get the vote—but with the limitation that at the first voting after the Bill has become law only those of the new voters (women and domesticated servants) who are 40 years old vote. Next year the age limit is 39 years, and so on till the minimum of 25 is reached.

Of course we women are not at all satisfied with this conclusion. We consider it very unjust and unequal. Most men have got married and are in an independent position at 40, and have not to wait so long to get enfranchised. But a woman, who perhaps pays as high taxes as most men, or is a great employer, does not get the Suffrage before she is 40 years old, merely because she is a woman. Against this we have protested. But if the Bill gets sanctioned at an extraordinary assembly of the Althing next summer, and then is signed by the King, we have, in fact, got the vote for every woman of 25 years, and only have to wait for it for 7½ years.

This will be done, as a telegram from Copenhagen ascertained. A dissolution of the Althing is to take place, and then a new election in April, 1914.

We had not expected that the Bill was to be moved. The Minister and many of the foremost members of the Althing had said that it would not be brought forward in this session as a Government Bill. Instead, it was carried, referred to a Committee, and in a short time passed as law by the Althing.

If the Althing and the King consent to the Bill unaltered, in 1914 another election will take place, and then the new voters will have to give their vote—we women for the first time.

BRIET ASMUNDSSON.

The Icelandic women saw long ago that the economic aspect of the women's movement was the one that most people understand, because it has been pointed out so strongly in the agitation. It is also natural, as the difference in the wages



of working people is so great, that women often get only one-third of what the men get for the same work. There have also been so many obstacles preventing women from getting more remunerative employment, although there are no laws forbidding this.

In Iceland the last 37 years have been a time of renaissance and continuous progress. During that time the position of women has been bettered in many ways. The pay of working women has been tripled, working hours have been shortened, and the treatment of working people is, on the whole, much better now than formerly.

But in Iceland, as everywhere else, the requirements have changed so much that the women are not better off now with the higher pay than they were 30 years ago, when they only got half of what they are getting now. The fields of employment for women are becoming wider. According to the statistics of December 1st this year, more women than men work as school teachers in Iceland. The education of the common people is being reformed; formerly children were mostly taught at home, but now education is compulsory for children from 10 to 14 years, during which time the children can attend the public schools free of charge. There are 148 women teaching in those schools, with the same salary as the men, but as yet, very few women are head teachers of schools.

Still, there is no rule without exception. Last winter the married men teachers of the public children's school in Reykjavik applied for higher salaries, which they received, but as yet the salaries of women teachers remain the same.

About 35 girls work as telegraph and telephone operators, but receive much lower salaries than the men. This is, however, not the fault of the law, but in this case Iceland is adopting the custom of its neighbour countries. A great many women are dressmakers, farmers, and merchants. In 1900 there were 204 women farmers, most of whom were widows, as they inherit the tenant right from their late husbands. In 1900, 148 women managed farms which were their own properties. All widows have the right to retain undivided possession of the estate of their late husbands if the children are not of age, and provided the estate is not too heavily mortgaged.

Besides the above-mentioned, six women are independent owners of fishing vessels and trawl boats.

Twenty years ago there were no women shopkeepers, but in 1910 23 women carried on their own shops, and 150 girls were shop assistants and clerks, and this last year a few women have got positions as bank clerks.

The Icelandic women have not done so much social work as women in other countries there is not so much scope for them here in that respect. For instance, all poor children and old and infirm people are cared for by the respective parishes, where they are placed with the different householders, and as often as not treated as well as the members of the family.

However, women are now gradually becoming members of Town Councils, County Councils, Parish Councils, and School Boards.

There are no women in Government offices, as no Icelandic woman has, as yet, taken a University degree. It is only nine years since girls were allowed to attend the gymnasium (advanced secondary school). But since the law from 1911, which grants women the right to enter Government offices, came into force, the number of girls in this school has very much increased. Two women are studying for a degree as doctors.

As women are allowed to become clergy in this country, it is not unlikely that Iceland will have the honour of being the first country in Europe where women preach, not as guests in a church, but as ministers.

### THE NETHERLANDS.

The Queen of Holland has expressed her wish to be informed about the reasons why the Women of Holland want the vote. This was done in answer to a letter sent by the Board of Officers of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht, offering to provide H.M. with all the particulars about the Woman Suffrage movement in Holland.

The Board of Officers prepared a memorial containing briefly the principal arguments in favour of Woman Suffrage and sent that with some selected pamphlets and a book on Woman Suffrage, recently written by the President and Vice-President of the Society.

Also to Her Majesty the Queen-mother was sent some information, which was most graciously accepted.

ALETTA H. JACOBS.

### NORWAY.

#### A Woman Physician as a Government Official.

Dr. Thrude Johnsen has been appointed to the office of district physician in Alten. It is a vast district in the far north. She will have to travel by sea in an open boat and over vast mountain wildernesses. We have had woman doctors for years working in districts where long sea voyages have to be made, but this is the first time a woman has been appointed district physician.

L. QVAM.

### RUSSIA

The Russian Union of Defenders of Women's Rights assembled one evening to honour the memory of the late Mme. Zènèide Mirovitch. Speeches were delivered by literary celebrities of Petersburg and Moscow, and an inspiring evening was passed. The President of the Union, Mme. Schischkina Javein, was able to make a statement about the State Regulation of Vice project in the Imperial Duma. Her announcement was received with applause.

V. KINERT.

### UNITED STATES.

Before this number of *Jus Suffragii* is printed, delegates from all over the United States will have assembled in Washington, D.C., to attend the Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. This Convention is always the most important event of the year to the organised Suffragists. Parades, pageants, marches, and other forms of propaganda are most likely to catch the attention of the general public—indeed they are organised for just that purpose,—but the Convention is primarily for the inspiration and education of the Suffrage Workers themselves.

The National Capitol has been selected for this year's Convention because the presence of so many women who are voters, and so many who want to vote, is expected to have a stimulating effect on the memories of the Congressmen who, having concentrated their attention on the Tariff and Currency Reform, may have allowed themselves to forget that a Suffrage amendment is pending.

It is expected that a number of Senators and representatives will find time to attend sessions of the Convention. On Men's League evening addresses will be made by Senator Thomas, of Colorado (who is chairman of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage); Senator Owen, of Oklahoma; Senator Joseph L. Bristow, of Kansas; Representative J. W. Bryan, of the State of Washington; Representative F. W. Mondell, of Wyoming; and Representative Victor Murdock, of Kansas, whose father, a prominent newspaper man in Kansas, was one of the bitterest opponents of Suffrage and of Susan B. Anthony when she campaigned in his State. The wives and daughters of many members of Congress and of other public men will, it is expected, take an active part in the Convention.

Congress convenes for its regular session on the first day of December. The House Committee on rules has announced hearings for both Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists on December 2nd. The Suffragists have asked for the appointment of a Committee on Woman Suffrage in the House to correspond with the Committee on Woman Suffrage in the Senate, which has already reported favourably on the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Anti-Suffragists are, of course, opposed to the appointment of the Woman Suffrage Committee, preferring to leave the Bill to the Judiciary Committee, which has for many years failed to give any report whatsoever upon it.

From an organisation standpoint, the most important work of the present Convention will be the vote on the new constitution, which will be proposed by a committee of which Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the International President, is chairman. This constitution, if accepted, will put the National Association on a firm business basis. It provides for the adoption by the convention of a plan of work for the National, and a budget to carry out this plan; also for the assumption of a financial responsibility sufficient to cover the budget by the affiliated, auxiliary, and associate members, which are the constituent parts of the National Association. The old way has been for the Convention to decide that the National should maintain headquarters, publish literature, carry on a press bureau, help in the State campaigns, and in general keep up the work of a great association. Then the various State associations and individuals have pledged whatever they have felt they could afford to the support of the

work, but the amount raised at the Convention has never been enough for the year's necessary expenses. The new constitution, the committee claims, will make taxation absolutely dependent upon and consistent with representation in the National Association.

To those who attend the public meetings only, and to many of the delegates, the greatest interest of the Convention will, as usual, be found in the presence of many women who are well known, not only as Suffragists, but also as leaders in their professions, and in every kind of social reform. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the Association, will, of course, preside at all the sessions of the Convention. Mrs. Catt and Miss Jane Addams will make two of the most important addresses, and almost every State will send its President, as well as the full number of delegates to which it is entitled. Senator Helen Ring Robinson, of Colorado, whom the women of her State now wish to send to Congress because of her splendid record in the State Senate last year, will speak at the opening mass meeting. Other speakers that afternoon will be Margaret Hinchey, a laundry worker, well known for her participation in the white goods strike and the Panama hatters strike; and Rose Winslow, a woollen goods worker, who is now giving her entire time to the Suffrage movement.

The greatest enthusiasm of the Convention will, doubtless, be aroused on Illinois night, when Mrs. Catherine W. McCulloch, the former President of the Illinois State Association, who drafted the successful Partial Suffrage Bill; Mrs. Ella Stewart, also a former State President, and one of the women to whom most credit for the Suffrage victory is given; and the four members of the so-called "Suffrage Lobby," Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Mrs. Antoinette Funk, Mrs. Medill McCormick, and Mrs. Sherman Booth, who "put the Bill through" last spring, will speak. Mrs. Joseph Bowen, officer of the National Association, is another Illinois woman, who will take an important part in the Convention. She will be in charge of the evening devoted to "Women, Children, and the Courts." The other speakers will be Judge Olsen, of the Court of Domestic Relations of Chicago; Judge Mack, of the Chicago Juvenile Court, which has served as the model of Juvenile Courts of all countries; Miss Katherine Bement Davis, head of the Bedford Reformatory for Women; and Miss Maude Miner, secretary of the New York Probation Commission, who has done splendid work in connection with the Women's Night Court of New York. Mrs. Bowen, who is a co-worker with Miss Addams in many most important social reform movements, will, the newspapers say, run for election to the Chicago City Council next spring. Other women candidates for the Council will probably be Miss Sophonisba Breckinridge, of the University of Chicago, and Miss Mary McDowell, of the University Settlement.

PRESS DEPT. N.A.W.S.A.

### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

On the 27th of October South African Suffragists were delighted by the news that the Prime Minister, General Botha, had received a deputation of Suffragists that morning, this being a concession which, as is well known, he has hitherto refused to grant. The deputation was sent by the Women's Enfranchisement League, Johannesburg, and its success in gaining access to the Prime Minister affords another lesson in the value of importunity. No definite reply having been obtained to their request for an interview, these ladies intimated to the Minister's Secretary that it was their intention to appear at a stated time, with the result that an appointment was promptly granted.

General Botha expressed his complete personal sympathy with the cause of women's enfranchisement, but raised all the old difficulties of the coloured vote, etc., which do not appeal to Suffragists as weighty reasons for inaction. It is hoped that General Botha will now receive a deputation from the National Society: The Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa, to which the W.E.L. of Johannesburg is affiliated.

Miss Hodge, the Australian Suffragist, is now making a tour through South Africa at her own expense, in order to persuade this country of the benefits which Australia has received from the exercise of the women's vote. This visit will undoubtedly be of immense value in spreading enlightenment and stirring up interest throughout the country. Miss Newcomb, Secretary of the Australia and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, is at the same time holding meetings in Cape Town.

IDA G. HYETT, Secretary, W.E.A.U.

### REPORTS FROM SOCIETIES NOT AFFILIATED TO THE ALLIANCE.

The I.W.S.A. disclaims all responsibility for views and facts stated by contributors from other societies. It is considered that readers will be interested to hear the views expressed by other organisations, but such reports must not be taken as in any way endorsed by the I.W.S.A.

#### The Church and Woman's Franchise.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage is fast winning an important place in the struggle for political enfranchisement. After some four years of ridicule and suspicion, its insistence on the demand for "Votes for Women," being a great human question, and removed from one of mere party politics, is winning support on all hands. So much for its purely devotional and educational methods of work. In spite of the fact that the Church is ridden by societies of all kinds, and that Churchpeople groan at more organisations, the facts that the C.L.W.S. has 100 branches and some 5,500 members speak for the headway that the League is making. But the mere counting of heads is no real criterion of its usefulness. No large gathering of Churchfolk is held nowadays without—through the medium of handbills, for instance—hearing of the inherent righteousness of the woman's cause. The League's campaign during the Church Congress held in October at Southampton was from every point of view successful, and made a strong impression at least upon the locality. The obtaining of the Church House, Westminster, for some of its large meetings, and the support of the Bishop of Kensington, show that the official Church is less indifferent or hostile than it was. The Church League is now endeavouring to raise £1,000 in order to appoint organisers in various parts of the county to carry on an aggressive propaganda on the lines which have so far proved successful. There will be a public meeting at the Church House, Westminster, on Tuesday, December 9th, presided over by the Bishop of Kensington, for this special purpose, and purses from the League's branches will be presented. One of the interesting developments of the C.L.W.S. is its foreign and Colonial work. We hear that centres are being formed in the U.S.A., Canada, India, etc. In fact it is becoming quite a "Pan-Anglican" affair. The League publishes literature, and in particular a penny "Monthly paper," the sale of which steadily increases. The head offices are at 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.

#### Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

The following resolution was sent to Mr. McKenna, the Home Secretary, on November 4th:—

"Owing to the deliberate renewal of forcible feeding in the case of certain Woman Suffragists, the committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage is compelled again to express its abhorrence of this practice, and it especially protests against the application of both forcible feeding and the provisions of the 'Cat and Mouse' Act to one and the same individual."

#### Russian Notes.

Mme. Krestovnikova has given ten thousand roubles to the City of Moscow for the erection of a lodging-house for women.

The women peasants of a village in the province of Pskov went and broke all the windows in the public houses in the village, as a protest against their husbands' intemperance, so that there has been since no spirits sold in that village.

The St. Petersburg Women's Progressive Club has decided to ask the Douma to pass a Bill to abolish the official medical inspection of prostitutes.

The Moscow branch of the Russian Equal Rights League petitioned the Ministry of the Interior to allow them to hold the Woman's Congress in December. The application was refused.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Education has issued orders that in future all vacancies for medical inspectors at women's schools should be filled by women doctors.

At a recent divorce case in Moscow the barrister appointed for the defence of the wife was a woman.

The women officials employed in the telegraph and postal services are forbidden to marry men who are not in the employ of the departments, and recently a Bill came before the Douma asking that this provision be amended, but it was refused. The idea is that in case of illness on the part of the female employee, the husband is to take his wife's place.



The Emperor has issued an edict for the establishment of an Association for the Protection of Mothers and Infants. This edict was issued on the 31st of May, 1913. Her Majesty the Empress is a permanent patron. This Association is to study and deal with the causes of high infant mortality, and also in connection with this there is to be established an institution for the reception of infants, if possible with their nursing mothers, in order to carry on scientific investigation in connection with this problem. One million and ten thousand roubles, which have been contributed by St. Petersburg and Moscow banks as a memorial of the tercentenary of the House of Romanoff, are to be used for this object.

At a Russian National Medical Congress on the 13th of March, 1913, it was decided, at the request of a woman doctor, Mme. Pokrovskaja, to establish a commission to revise the Russian legislation as it refers to prostitution, and Dr. Pokrovskaja is to report on this matter to the Congress.

The Women's Co-operative Association of St. Petersburg has been suppressed by the Government for political reasons.

#### Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

The Exhibition of Sweated Workers at the Caxton Hall on November 13th and 14th, which was organised by the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association in conjunction with the Anti-Sweating League, was a very great success, and achieved its object, which was to stir up sympathy in the lot of the sweated worker, and to arouse interest in the Conference which was to be held three days later by the Duchess of Marlborough at Sunderland House.

On both afternoons the hall was crowded, and from the exclamations of astonishment and pity which were heard on every side, one realised that a very large proportion of the general public were totally ignorant of the pitiable small wages that are paid to makers of, for instance, matchboxes, artificial flowers, underskirts, children's frocks, and babies' shoes, dancing pumps, boys' knickers, rounder boots, etc., etc. Seated at long tables were the women at work, and if one had time to linger in order to probe beneath the bright, patient exteriors presented to the world by these victims of "greed and avarice," pitiful stories of endless struggles against poverty and misfortune were unfolded; but even the hurrying passer-by must have been struck by such statements as these:—

Men's shirts, 6½d. to 1s. 11½d. per dozen;  
Children's coats, 2½d. each.  
Boys' cloth knickers, 1d. per pair.  
Making black braid, 7d. per dozen yards.  
Artificial flowers: Violets, geraniums, 7d. per gross;  
buttercups, 3d. per gross (i.e., 144).  
Dancing pumps, 10d. per dozen pairs;  
Matchboxes, 3d. per gross;  
Coat and skirt (lined) 10d.;

and so on. Truly, as Mr. Balfour once said, "unrepresented interests are nearly always neglected," and there is little doubt that if the women of England had been enfranchised ten or fifteen years ago, this branch of social reform would have received a great deal more attention. As it is, the Trades Boards are struggling with the stupendous task of fixing a minimum wage for this class of work, and five new trades have recently been brought in under its control. But how many more are left outside! The lantern lectures given by the Anti-Sweating League, drew back the curtain still a little further, and we were shown many other workers of even worse paid trades than those quoted above. To the wretched woman who spends her life, year in and year out, in sewing "things" on cards, the flower maker and the shirt maker are objects of envy!

We acknowledge that it is depressing to look upon this phase of life, with all its sordidness and misery; but it is only by presenting living examples of the hideousness of the life of the sweated worker that public opinion can be arrested, and aroused sufficiently to insist on better conditions.

The Exhibition was opened on the first day by Susan Countess of Malmesbury, and short addresses on the subject were given by Mr. E. A. Goulding, M.P., and Miss Tuckwell. Lord Milner came in during the afternoon, and spent a considerable time examining the exhibits and questioning the workers. On the 14th the chair was taken by the Hon. Mrs. William Cecil, and Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen, M.P., and Miss Ruth Young spoke.

The daily Press unanimously gave splendid reports of the exhibition, and in some of the leading papers articles also appeared on the subject of the Exhibition and the Conference.

LOUISE GILBERT SAMUEL.

## BOOK SUPPLEMENT.

### REVIEWS.

Extracts from Mrs. Fawcett's review, in "The Nation" of November 15, quoted by kind permission of the Editor of "The Nation."

"THE LIFE OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE." By Sir Edward Cook. (Macmillan. 2 Vols. 30s. net.)

It is impossible to do justice to this delightful book in a single article. It is so full, so varied; it contains such a worthy record of a great character and a long, laborious career of active work that the limits of a review can do no more than call attention to some of its chief features. A mere recital of a few of these should send countless men and women to the book itself; it will well repay careful and studious reading and re-reading. It is a book to have, not a book to hire.

Florence Nightingale very early recorded her determination to use her life to make things better for women. "I must strive," she wrote, "after a better life for women"; and by a better life she meant freer conditions in which an individual woman should have, as far as possible, a genuine opportunity to use to the best purpose for the welfare of mankind the best faculties and powers with which her Creator had endowed her. Later, she put on record her support of Woman Suffrage and her approval of women doctors. When she sought a "better life for women," she did not mean a better life than marriage; she meant a life which should make the conditions of marriage better; a life in which girls should not be forced into marriage as a means of escape from a narrow home-life, deficient in real responsibility, interest, and variety.

"By throwing open new spheres of usefulness to women, Miss Nightingale hoped at one and the same time to improve the lot of those who were marked out to be wives, and to find satisfaction for those who were marked out for the single life."

She found the women of the wealthier classes condemned to "A sort of cage-bird life, born in a cage, Accounting that to leap from perch to perch Was act and joy enough for any bird."

Before the end of her long life the cage had been opened, the birds had flown, and at every step and stage of the struggle Florence Nightingale stood staunchly on the side of freedom, and had, above all, by her incomparable example of thoroughness, devotion, and painstaking accuracy, done much to illustrate the value of women's work, and to show what any nation loses—what nearly all nations have lost in the long centuries gone by—when they have condemned large masses of women to the cage-bird life, instead of welcoming them into the ranks of active service, encouraging them to find out what is the best work they are capable of, and then prepare themselves to do it.

When Florence Nightingale returned from the Crimea and all England rang with her praises, there was one expression concerning her which always raised her anger. It was when people spoke of the extraordinary "self-sacrifice" she had shown in quitting the drawing-rooms and boudoirs of the comfortable country houses in which her girlhood had been spent in order to stand by the beds of wounded soldiers at Scutari and fight desperately with the wooden-headed officials to bring about reforms in hospital administration and management, which would reduce the sufferings of these gallant lads and save the lives of many of them. This was no sacrifice: it was the fulfilment of her dearest wishes, and brought with it intense joy—the joy of a strong, brave spirit, which finds, for the first time, a free scope for its development. Misery and real depression, amounting almost to melancholia, were not unknown to her: she had been through them all in the years during which her father, mother, and elder sister successfully resisted her strong desire to train herself for what she felt was to be her life's work. Again and again she tried to get away from the life of small things to which they wished to confine her. Her father secretly sympathised with her, but had not the strength to swim against the domestic stream.

"My misery and vacuity," she wrote, "are indescribable. All my plans have been wrecked and my hopes destroyed."

"My God," she wrote, "what is to become of me? In my 31st year I see nothing desirable but death."

O weary days! O evenings that never seem to end! For how many years have I watched that drawing-room clock and thought it would never reach the ten! And for twenty or thirty years more to have to do this!"

After a long struggle she carried her point and left her home; and her father—good man!—made her an allowance of £500 a year.

From this time, after her declaration of independence and the beginning of her serious training for the work of her life, there is never a syllable, in diary or letters, which denotes anything but happiness and satisfaction. A New Year's letter of 1854 says:—

"I have never repented or looked back, not for one moment. And I begin the new year with more true feeling of a Happy New Year than ever I had in my life."

After leaving home, she immediately began training as a nurse; first at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, under Pastor Fliedner and his wife, and afterwards at the Maison de la Providence in Paris; then, returning to London, she undertook the post of Superintendent of the Harley Street Hospital for Sick Gentlewomen. It was at Harley Street, in October, 1854, that her call to the Crimea came. The story has often been told how Mr. Sidney Herbert, then Secretary for War, wrote to Miss Nightingale, asking her to undertake the work of evolving order out of chaos in the Military Hospital at Scutari, and how his letter crossed one from her to him, offering her services. This was on October 15, 1854. On October 21 she started for the Crimea, accompanied by a band of 42 trained nurses.

No preparations had been made for the proper care of the sick and wounded. The hospital at Scutari in which they were lodged was on ground honeycombed with ancient, untrapped drains and cesspools. It was swarming with rats. Florence Nightingale became an expert rat-killer.

"The manner in which the sick and wounded are treated is worthy only of the savages of Dahomey. . . . The worn-out old pensioners who were brought out as an ambulance corps are totally useless, and not only are surgeons not to be had, but there are no dressers or nurses to attend on the sick during the intervals between the visits."

It is unnecessary here to give many details of the muddle-headed mess of maladministration which characterised the medical service and the commissariat of the British Army in the Crimean War. But it took a long time to rouse the ordinary official mind out of its complacency. Dr. John Hall, afterwards Sir John Hall (Miss Nightingale used to say that K.C.B. meant, she supposed, Knight of the Crimean Burial Grounds), from the first strongly disapproved of Miss Nightingale's appointment, and attempted to thwart her and to undermine her authority. He resented offers of assistance as slurs upon his own preparations. The principal medical officer at Scutari was quite satisfied that all due medical and surgical preparations for the war had been made; this was at a time when his patients were destitute of the commonest necessities. The idea that deficiencies in the medical and surgical services could be supplied by voluntary subscriptions from home was scouted as entirely unnecessary. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe replied to inquiries that "Nothing was needed," and that the best use to make of funds subscribed at home would be to build an English Church at Pera! In the meantime Miss Nightingale was supplying from her own resources knives, forks, cups, utensils of all descriptions, sheets, linen, lint, and every kind of necessary. She was setting up special kitchens and a laundry; before her arrival, the number of shirts washed in a month was six. The atmosphere in the hospital was so foul that Miss Nightingale said afterwards, in the evidence she gave before the Royal Commission, that she had never experienced anything like it in the poorest slums of London and other great cities. The men were dying by the score of hospital gangrene. One military officer was intensely amused at the idea of women nurses being brought out to the Crimea, and his hilarity was increased when he heard that their first requisition had been for 200 scrubbing brushes! "As to their ideas of nursing, some of the ladies actually took to scrubbing floors!" wrote this worthy. The notion that cleanliness was indispensable to successful surgery had not taken any hold of the military mind in 1854.

Into all this muddle and ignorance Florence Nightingale came with her quiet manner and indomitable will, and with her determination that the lives of our men (her children, she called them) should not be thrown away by sheer mismanagement and incapacity. She says herself that she expected to find herself, when she landed at Scutari, the matron of a hospital, but that she really became the mistress of a barrack. She was possessed of an original mind and a determined will; she not only remedied the evils with which she was confronted,

but she also sought and found their causes, and the whole of her long life, after she had returned from the Crimea, was devoted to modifying or removing them.

The death-rate among the sick and wounded soldiers was appallingly high. Of the total loss of 20,656, only 2,598 were slain in battle; 18,058 died in hospital. Of these, she reckoned that 16,000 had been unnecessarily sacrificed—"murdered" was her own word. Hideous as the things were in the hospital at Scutari, they were at least as bad at the front—in the trenches before Sebastopol.

Several regiments became extinct. One had only seven men left fit for duty. Another had thirty. The mortality among the sick on board the transports was appalling. In a voyage of seven days, one man out of every four died.

All these horrors burnt into Miss Nightingale's soul. She wrote in her private notes: "I stand at the altar of the murdered men; and while I live, I fight their cause." She was unsparing of herself. In her fight with death she would sometimes remain on her feet twenty hours at a stretch, attending to the wounded, or on her knees, for six or eight hours at a time, beside the men who were undergoing operations.

But she did much more than this. She rested not after her return till she had brought home to the military authorities that, disgraceful to them as was the high mortality from sickness during war, it was still more disgraceful that the death-rate among men in the prime of life in barracks during peace should be far more than double that of the civil population. She had a passion, almost from childhood, for exact statistical information, and she used statistics with great force and power.

Florence Nightingale was a true pioneer. After her work in the Crimea was over, the rest of her long life was devoted to improving the sanitary conditions for the Army, both at home and in India, to securing for "her children," the soldiers, that they should be treated like human beings, and not like brute beasts. She fought for their souls as well as their bodies. In the Crimea she started savings banks and means to admit of the men sending money home to their families in the teeth of military opposition. She secured that their barracks at home should be lighted with gas in lieu of the "two dips," which just made darkness visible, and did not admit of any rational employment or recreation. She started soldiers' libraries, and procured writing materials, games, etc., for them. She strenuously opposed the Contagious Diseases Acts, which she wrote of as "the accursed thing." What she did at Scutari was but a trifle compared with what she did for the nation and the Army after her return home. She had the clearest head and the most incisive way of putting the conclusions at which she had arrived. Queen Victoria's saying has often been quoted: "I wish we had her at the War Office."

The enormous value of her services to the nation are now recognised, and Sir Edward Cook's book places them for ever plainly on record. The book also makes it clear that it was only by a series of lucky accidents that she was ever able to render those services. If she had not belonged to a wealthy family, if she had not possessed the tenacity of will to carry on for years, and ultimately to succeed in, her rebellion against domestic subjection, England would never have known what it had lost in Florence Nightingale. The meaning of the women's movement is that it reduces this risk, just as the democratic movement reduces the similar risk in the case of the working classes. The women's movement clears away a number of artificial barriers and hindrances which stand in the way of women doing their best work. In proportion as it succeeds, it secures this: that when a woman hears the voice which Joan of Arc and Florence Nightingale heard, "Daughter of God, go, go, go! I will help thee, go!" she shall be free to obey the voice and give to her country and the world the very best work of which she is capable. We are getting on. Her enemies burned Joan of Arc; there were men in the Crimea who would cheerfully have burned Florence Nightingale. But the times had changed, and they were not able to have their way.

MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

#### A Swedish Scientific Work of Feministic Tendency.

Sweden can claim authorship of the best and most complete work ever written on the difficult question of the State Regulation of Prostitution. During long years a committee, appointed by the Government, has studied, worked, and written everything that can be said and written about the



question. The committee came to the conclusion that society cannot, for the sake of its citizens' health, permit the prostitution of a woman to be a private matter between her and her customers, and claims society's right to impose a certain medical control over women who exist entirely upon means gathered by selling themselves. Such women should also, according to the committee, after certain facts about them had been stated, be sent away to a "forced work house," which means one of the two prisons whose prisoners practically exclusively consist of prostitutes, who often, for very slight offences, are sent there "to learn work."

The committee's work, which decidedly can be said to be a standard work on the subject, shows clearly enough that sanitary control, even when practised in the most rational and modern way, does not give the slightest sanitary security to the customers of the controlled women—that is to say, to the majority of the masculine members of society. The logical result should be that society, which is, and always has been, anxious to protect the above-mentioned customers, should obtain this security for them in some other way.

But the committee's conclusions are as old-fashioned as its scientific work is new. The committee declares that Government control perhaps may do some good, and, therefore, shall not be taken away, and that women leading a dissipated and reckless life shall be punished by society by forced work. No punishment is suggested for men, who are joint partners in their sin.

This draft of the new law has been very much criticised by Swedish women, and we have had in our work a most distinguished and able leader in a member of the committee, Professor J. E. Johansson. He opposed to his comrades in the committee a brilliantly written report on the "new" law, and he has, during the two years that have passed since the publication of this, in word and writing fought for his opinion—and women's rights!

The latest feature in this fight is the new book on the subject that Professor Johansson has published this autumn. With a fearlessness that is rarely found in a man in his position, he states all the scientific facts of the case, not only to his comrades in science, but also to the public, who take a serious interest in the question, and whose decided sympathies for more human methods than those hitherto in use are probably due, to a great extent, to the work of Professor Johansson.

The facts he proves are in short the followings:—

That no control can give any security that the controlled woman is not infected with contagious disease.

That fear of the police prevents many women seeking medical treatment.

That prison in no way educates the women, but gives them the final and definite stamp of their unhappy class.

And finally—that nothing really can be done in the whole question, if Government and society (in this case the men) insist on maintaining the old system of only proceeding against the one party in this matter, the women, and entirely forgetting the other and larger part—the men! Any reform that does not count with both the women and their customers can never be a real and effective reform!

This is, of course, what we women have been saying for ever so many years, but we have hitherto repeated these common-sense truths without the help and the prestige that a great scientific name like that of J. E. Johansson can give them, and without the great and serious work with which he has proved that in this question scientific truth does not in any way differ from human and ethical truth!

ELSE KLEEN.

### THE TEACHING OF NEEDLEWORK.

"METHODIK DES HANDARBEITS UNTERRICHTS,"

By Elizabeth Altmann. (Published by Teubner, 1 mark, 60).

This book shows by numerous examples taken from the various branches of needlework instruction, that at the present moment there is a wonderful vitality in the development of this branch of teaching, and that the time is ripe for the introduction of scientific method on a physiological and psychological basis into the teaching of needlework to girls.

In order that the new inspiration may be brought into the schools and be universally adopted, it must be explained in detail and presented attractively. That is the object of this work.

### THE FUTURE OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT.

By H. H. Swanwick.

We must confess to wondering why Mrs. Swanwick should have called her book "The Future of the Woman's Movement," for with the exception of one brief allusion it is with the present aspect of the woman's cause, and with the urgent need for political equality, rather than with the future of the movement that the writer is concerned.

Taking as her definition of the demand on which all different types of women in the movement are agreed as the desire for "knowledge and scope," Mrs. Swanwick demands for women the amplest opportunities of rational training as a human being. Again and again she protests against the "vocational training" for girls, which would fit them to be wives and mothers, while neglecting to fit them to be citizens.

"Women should not be trained to be mothers; to do so at once introduces all sorts of arbitrary limitations and restrictions, and hampers the very mission it is designed to serve. Women should be trained to be whole human beings; the measure of a woman's motherhood, like the measure of her love, is the measure of her whole nature. Cramp her nature, limit her activities, and you cramp and limit her love and her motherhood. At the same time there is no attempt made to minimise the effect of the natural distinction of sex, or the inferiority of women in sheer physical strength. The demand made is for women to be allowed to choose for themselves, and not to have dictated to them by men what work is suited and what work is not suited to them.

"Now there is one idea that always seems to crop up in the minds of politicians when any woman's problem is presented to them, and that is to prohibit. As Miss Gore Booth has remarked, politicians of the type of Mr. John Burns cry out periodically, 'Go and see what the women are doing, and tell them not to.' It is always done ostensibly in the interests of the mothers and their children, but women know that what the mother wants is the means and freedom to do her work, not prohibition."

It is tempting to quote from the pages of a book in which there is so much that is well said, but we must refrain, and urge upon all interested in the problems that press so heavily on women in the industrial world and in society to read the book themselves. Would that all "reactionaries," as Mrs. Swanwick prefers to call the species more usually known as "Anti's," would make themselves acquainted with a statement of the woman's cause so comprehensive, and at the same time so temperate and full of common sense.

The economic aspect of the woman's question is very thoroughly dealt with in five chapters, in which, as well as treating of woman as mother, housewife, and wage-earner, the very difficult question of prostitution and commercialised vice is squarely met and dispassionately stated. Here the remedy outlined is rather the slow one of education and improved conditions for women than that of hasty legislation.

"Who can doubt that when women know these things and are admitted to full citizenship there will be a change of public opinion along all the lines that feed the supply (i.e., of vice) economic and educational?" Mrs. Swanwick does not shirk giving her opinion upon so vexed a question in the Suffrage world as militancy, and while acknowledging the power the militant movement had, in its earlier days especially, of rousing those who had never thought about the woman's question, she deprecates the policy which has turned a majority in the House of Commons into a minority, made many who were indifferent into active opponents, and hardened still farther the heart of Pharaoh.

Occasionally Mrs. Swanwick allows herself to slip into strange colloquialisms. To the ordinary reader, for example, the word "bobbery," of which she makes use surely requires elucidation.

SYLVIA W. MURRAY.

### "VROUWEN KIESRECHT."

By Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs and Mrs. Van Balen-Klaar, President and Vice-President of the National Women Suffrage Society in the Netherlands.

This little book, of which immediately several thousand copies were sold, contains six chapters. It begins with a history of Women Suffrage, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th chapter explain why the unmarried working woman and the unmarried better class woman need the vote; why the married woman and the mother need the vote, and why society needs Women Suffrage. The 5th chapter refutes the arguments against Women Suffrage, and the 6th chapter gives a review of what women have obtained by Women Suffrage in other countries.

J. C. VAN LANSCHOT HUBRECHT.

### "CONFLICTING IDEALS."

By B. L. Hutchins. Published by Murby. 1s. 6d.

So many feminist books are published containing only vague generalities that it is refreshing to find, in the small compass of this little volume, a really scientific treatment of the problem of the woman wage earner. Miss Hutchins is well known for her work in economics, and her name is a guarantee of thorough knowledge of her subject.

The ideals which conflict in modern life are, the ideal of the woman confined to the residence of her nearest male relative, upon whom she depends for food, either earned by her work or given her as a favour; and woman working outside the "home" and receiving payment. Both views are sympathetically and fairly stated. The author has some illuminating comments on the fallacy of the argument of "equality of opportunity," as used by opponents of protective legislation for women. At the same time she points out the irony of telling the destitute woman that her place is in the "home," when she can only keep any sort of "home" together by going out of it. She shows that extreme feminists and patriarchal re-actionaries each leave part of woman's nature and circumstances out of account. For woman the use-value of what she produces outweighs any exchange-value she can achieve. Many, perhaps most, women would prefer to work at home if able to do so without being deprived of personal independence. The force exerted by the mass of conservative home-keeping women is largely responsible for public opinion, and through it, for legislation. A great obstacle to progress lies in the ignorance, vanity, and futility of the "womanly woman." "As long as men are expected to satisfy the demand for luxurious expenditure set up by the women of their family, it is not surprising that they should resent the claims of other women to political and professional equality." The Anti-Suffrage position is founded, on the one side, on the inert mass of well-to-do parasite women, unable and unwilling to stand or fall on their own merits, and on the other side, of the lack of recognition of the unpaid services of the hard-working woman at home. "Is social progress in the direction of an ever-increasing specialisation of women for domesticity and the care of children alone, or, are the women in general to attain self-control by becoming economically independent, combining work with motherhood?" The author rejects both alternatives.

An attractive picture is drawn of the home-making talents of the modern professional woman compared with the conventionality and inefficiency of the parasitic woman.

The problem of the married woman is treated with skill and insight. The author contrasts the sentimental gush about the "sacredness of motherhood" with the way in which casual chance is left to decide whether the mother shall be supported or injure our health and that of her offspring by unsuitable toil. Some kind of insurance or endowment of motherhood is suggested to meet these difficulties.

The author is mindful, throughout her very suggestive book, of the claims of the individual on the one hand, and society on the other. The book is attractively got up, and contains a bibliography.

### 25 YEARS OF

### THE SOCIETY "FRAUENWOHL," BERLIN.

Dedicated to the Progressive Women's Movement. By Minna Cauer.

This year the Society "Frauenwohl" celebrates its 25th anniversary. The Society, which furthers women's general

interests in a free and progressive direction, is of historic importance for the Suffrage movement in Germany. It was the first society of middle-class women which dared to unfurl the Suffrage banner in a public meeting. That meeting, held in 1894, was then a bold venture, and cost the pioneer president, Frau Minna Cauer, a hard struggle. To celebrate the 25th anniversary Frau Cauer has presented to the society an absorbingly interesting history of the society. Its historic development, its various departments of work, its position in the German woman's movement, are treated in three divisions of the book. A mass of work has been accomplished in these 25 years.

A brave advance in the Suffrage Movement was due to the Society, and it was in the forefront of the moral movement and in many tasks of social reform.

In conclusion, the author points out what great and important tasks await the Society in future, especially in politics and social reform.

The monograph cannot be had through the booksellers, as Frau Cauer made a present of it to members of the society. But readers of *Jus Suffragii* can obtain it from the Secretary of the Society, Else Lüders, Berlin W. 30, Nollendorferstr. 28, who will send it on receipt of 50 pfennings, which can best be remitted by two international coupons, to be obtained at the Post Office.

### THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WORKING WOMAN.

Fisher Unwin.

The story of Adelheid Popp is well known in Austria, and since it fell into the hands of the late Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald, and at her instigation was translated into English, it has made a deep impression on readers in other countries. One of the great results of the women's movement has been to open the eyes of women to the sufferings and the triumphs of other women. This book is a record of the lowest depths of suffering and the victorious emergence of a great woman.

The home in Vienna was one where peace and happiness were unknown. The father drank his scanty earnings, the mother worked 144 hours a week for 6s. to support her four children. The boys went out to work at 10 years old, working Sunday and weekday, day and evening. The little girl of 8 between school hours sewed buttons on to cards, and when she had sewed on 144 she had earned just over a farthing! Charity eked out this wretched subsistence, but when all was done, clothing could not be found to enable the gifted child to attend school. At ten years of age she entered a workshop, where she earned 5d. a day for working 12 hours, and taking work home to be done in bed at night. Mother, daughter, son, and a male lodger shared one tiny room, without even a window. One occupation succeeded another; at one time the girl worked in a metal factory, carrying burning material from an underground room, while the mother worked in a weaving mill, or as a hawker. Many phases of life are shown us, always of unremitting toil, illhealth, and grinding poverty. Through it all we see the striving for something better, the heroism of the slave-driven mother, the rejection of the foreman's advances by the starving workgirl, and, rarer than these moral qualities, the intellectual aspiration and struggles of a mind whose brightness no privations could dim.

Intensely interesting is the account of the girl's mental development, and told in a simple, straightforward way. To her, as to many, her discovery of Socialism came as an illumination and a religion, but in her it was transcended by the revelation of the Woman's Question. Her ardent nature drew her into active propaganda, and beyond all the sufferings of sweated women she denounced the wrong done them by mental poverty, and demanded education and liberty. Her gifts and devotion to the cause soon earned her a reputation, and she rose to be one of the great leaders of the Social Democratic movement. Her account of her early struggles is admirable in its restrained yet vivid picture of a triumphant struggle against overwhelming odds.

### A FRENCH NOVEL: "Tu es femme."

Among the most remarkable books this autumn is Harlor's "Tu es femme," published by Plon. The critics, so often scornful of women novelists, are united in their appreciation of its worth. Figaro comments: "Among the masters of contemporary romance, women are as numerous as men, and



perhaps the day is not far distant when novelists, in order to strengthen their appeal to the public, will adopt feminine pseudonyms, just as women formerly disguised themselves behind men's names in order to have a chance of being taken more seriously." The writer adds: "In this magnificent galaxy of women one name stands out, that of Harlor, who at once steps into the front rank. Her novel is a fine work, with vitality, intensity, and admirable truth. The career of her heroine raises the problem of the destiny of the young girl determined to live freely and nobly, to know and to conquer the great treasures of intelligence and art without renouncing the gifts and graces of her sex. It is not the feminism invoked by the writer which will solve this question, but men, by raising their heart and intelligence to an understanding of the new woman." What depth, vigour, and talent must the author have shown to win from men acceptance and admiration for such a theory!

### M. Francis de Pressensé and the Couriau Case.

The French League for the rights of man, with a membership of 80,000, and already pledged to woman suffrage, has taken up the Couriau case, which was reported in our November issue. M. Francis de Pressensé, the President, has addressed an eloquent letter to the Book Federation, which includes the various printers' trades unions. After recounting the facts: the refusal of the Lyons printers' union to admit Mme. Couriau, their order to her husband to prevent her working, and their dismissal of him for refusing to do so, the writer says that the printers' unions have been particularly hostile to women. At the Lyons Congress in 1905 the Federation forbade the employment of women compositors, on the ground that they would lower wages, but the Congress of Bordeaux in 1910 decided that "women actually employed as compositors and linotypists can be admitted to the Federation on the same terms as men." The Lyons Union had therefore no right to refuse Mme. Couriau admission to the union. Their action is an attack on all modern principles of justice. Can a printers' society dare to forbid a woman to contribute to household expenses by working, as she was, at the proper trade-union rate of wages? Can intelligent workmen carry their anti-woman prejudices so far as to refuse membership to a woman who fulfils all the conditions of a trade unionist, simply on account of her sex? Is it conceivable that workmen should be so reactionary as to order a husband to interfere with his wife's liberty in a question affecting her personal rights, interests, and life itself?

Is a trades union ukase to drive out of his employment an excellent workman, a good comrade, a tried trade-unionist, simply because his wife, doing a man's work and receiving a man's rate of pay, wished to join the trade union and her husband, respecting her liberty, refused to coerce her?

The secretary of the Central Committee has replied to this letter that they are unable to force the Lyons Society to admit M. or Mme. Couriau, but that the man will be allowed to join the central society; his wife's case will come before the Congress at Nancy in 1915.

So Mme. Couriau must wait two years before her case is decided, although the question had already been settled by the decision of the Bordeaux Congress in 1910. Mme. Couriau has not let the matter rest, but has formed a women's trade union, conforming to the conditions of the men's union, and as the Lyons Union refused to admit women the Women's Union applied to the Federation. Although the application was made on September 15, and no new principle was involved, the Federation has temporised, shillyshallyed, and refused to give an answer. In Paris the women have made a similar demand, and have been met with hostility and a refusal from the Federation.

In Edinburgh a somewhat similar situation has arisen. Two or three years ago the printers struck and insisted on the employers refusing to engage any more women. Now the bookbinders are on strike and attempting to exclude women from the trade; they insist that no work shall be done by a woman that can be done by a man! No more girls are to be taken on. The work is admirably suited to women, requiring manual dexterity, not physical strength; girls can earn 16s. to £1 at it, but they are to be driven out and forced into ill-paid, feminine drudgery.

Now the Couriau and Edinburgh cases have a very important moral—*i.e.*, that women cannot afford to leave their interests in the hands of *any* men: trade unionists, social democrats, or any others. Sex is stronger than class. At Buda-Pesth the Social Democrats, men and women, attacked the Women's Congress in bitter terms, and adjured all working women to have nothing to do with the women suffragists, but to trust their interests to the Social Democratic party. The Couriau case once more demonstrates the sort of treatment that working women get from working men, and the need that all women should combine to defend their rights as women. In this case, the women suffragists have warmly espoused the cause of the women printers, are carrying on a vigorous Press campaign, and organising mass meetings in favour of women's right to work.

### Women Lawyers in United States.

In forty-five out of the forty-eight States of the Union women practise law. The States refusing women to practise are Virginia, Arkansas, and Georgia. There are over a thousand in the whole United States. The exact number cannot be stated, as that would involve a frequent canvass of 45 States. Each State frames its own regulations regarding the right to practise law and the prerequisites and qualifications. I know of 36 law schools which admit women. In this matter law schools exercise their own discretion.

Women lawyers do achieve success; but in order to do so they must, as a rule, work much harder than men in the profession. Newness of women is responsible in some States; lack of the elective franchise is the largest cause. Judges (who must be men, outside of equal suffrage States) have within their gift refereeships and receiverships. These are naturally bestowed upon possessors of the suffrage upon which office depends. The means of thus figuring before the public in a large professional capacity are denied, and those who seek the lawyer with this larger experience and reputation do not seek the woman. Many women are making a simple, plain living in legal practice; for more recognition they await the coming of equal suffrage.

The National and Municipal Governments outside of the equal suffrage States do not grant to women lawyers distinctively legal positions. The National Government has appointed women to occupy clerkships in various departments, and minor positions have been bestowed upon them in various States. Women lawyers have thus been appointed city conveyancers in Boston, Mass. In the suffrage States of the West women have held office as sheriffs, though the prerequisite of legal preparation has not always been the rule in such cases. The highest legal position—that of judge—has been bestowed upon a woman in Chicago and upon women in Western Suffrage States. The aspirations of women lawyers to high position are not favourably regarded in most jurisdictions by men in the profession. It is not strange, therefore, that the head of the New York Men's League opposed to equal suffrage is a lawyer. Equal suffrage alone will give the woman lawyer the status which may result in her appointment to positions where she is most needed, upon the bench of the Juvenile Courts and the Women's Courts.

In those States refusing to admit women to practice women have studied law and are making an effort to secure favourable legislation, notably in Georgia. As a rule they use their legal knowledge either in some other calling—as teaching or business. One at least (from Georgia) has left her native State and entered upon legal practice in an adjoining State. Thus can one State by its narrow views drive its intellectual women into another.

EUGENIE M. RAYE-SMITH, LL.M.,

Professor, Woman's Law Class, New York University. Editor, "Women Lawyers' Journal."

### A Forward Move in Bavaria.

From the "Dresdner Anzeiger" we learn that the Bavarian Chamber has decided to introduce Women's Suffrage in the elections for courts dealing with commercial and industrial disputes, and for chambers of commerce.

### WOMEN LAWYERS IN PORTUGAL.

Portuguese law does not forbid women to study jurisprudence, nor to follow the legal professions. In spite of this possibility, women never till to-day attempted a legal career, but lo and behold! on November 14 last a young girl of 20 came forward at the Law Courts of Lisbon as counsel for the defence of two women, accused of assaulting another woman. The first woman barrister in Portugal, Mlle. Dr. Regina Quintanilha, made a brilliant defence, and was warmly congratulated on her speech. She studied with brilliant results at the University of Coimbra, and it only remains for her to qualify in forensic medicine, which examination she is soon to pass.

She has received the necessary authorisation to practise law in Portuguese Courts. We hope that her fine example will soon be followed by other studious girls, for woman has a great social part to play in the legal profession as guardian of the rights and liberties of her sisters, and of children.

JEANNE d'ALMEIDA NOGUEIRA.

Lisbon.

### WOMEN IN THE RUSSIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

A measure has been introduced in the Council of Ministers to allow women to enter the lower grades of the Civil Service, and to become entitled to the corresponding pensions.

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The Woman Voter and The Newsletter (M.), 50 cents, 48 East 34th Street, New York.

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