

# JUS SUFFRAGII

MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

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### The Congress.

The Congresses of the Alliance have steadily grown larger, more representative of widely differing classes of society, and more beneficial to the general Woman Suffrage movement. The Congress at Budapest climaxed all others, 2,800 people having become members of it. The number of delegates being limited to twelve from each country, they formed but a comparatively small part of the audiences which gathered for every session. Delegates, alternates, associate members, and fraternal delegates numbered about 500, and 230 representatives of the world's Press were present. The remainder were visitors.

Naturally the majority were Hungarian, but there were many visitors from the chief countries of Europe, and many from America. Standing room was filled by eager listeners at all the public sessions, and an overflow meeting was hastily organised for the chief evening meeting. A beautiful British Duchess graced the platform, and several members of the Hungarian titled classes took part in the Congress. Countess Teleki, a charming, highly-educated woman, acted as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. Countess Haller and Countess Apponyi each gave a beautiful luncheon to a large number of delegates, and Countess Haller served on the Committee. A group of peasant women, with grey shawls over their heads, formed an interesting feature of the daily scene, and between these two extremes of society almost every possible



CONTENTS.

Page.	Page.
New Board of Officers ..... 1-2	The Internationalism of the International By Winifred Harper Cooley ..... 6
The Congress ..... 1	Solidarity. By A. Maud Royden ..... 6-7
Editorial Notes ..... 2-3	Berlin to Budapest. By Clara Bewick Colley ..... 7-8
Business Transacted ..... 3-4	A Comment ..... 8
Fraternal Delegates ..... 4-5	
Hungarian Hospitality. By Ida Husted Harper ..... 5-6	
The Wonders of an International Congress. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman ..... 6	

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variety was represented. There were women clergymen, lawyers, physicians, journalists, authors, actresses, members of Parliament, city councillors, and workers of every kind, as well as women tax-payers and house-mothers in large numbers. Sixty women of the Congress, from Norway, Finland, Australia, and the United States, possessed the same political rights as the men of their respective countries.

Australia sent Mrs. Frederick Spencer as an official delegate, and Norway sent Mrs. F. M. Qvam and Miss Gina Krog. The expenses of these delegates were paid by their Governments. Two delegates came from Iceland, Mrs. Asmundson and her daughter, and their expenses were paid by their Governments, although they were not official delegates. The Governor of the State of Washington appointed Mrs. Robert Norris; of Oregon, Mrs. Viola Coe and Clara Bewick Colby; of California, Miss Schlingheyde, Miss Younger, Miss Wills, Mrs. Earl, and Miss Smith, as official delegates. They were all present, but paid their own expenses.

Editorial Notes.

The only countries in Europe not organised for Woman Suffrage and represented in the Alliance are Spain, Greece, and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. It is unthinkable that there are no sympathisers with the great world's movement for the emancipation of women in those countries. We must find and encourage them to initiate a campaign. Who can help?

One great continent, that of South America, is an unexplored territory so far as our movement is concerned. Has any reader of *Jus Suffragii* a correspondent there? Women there must be who are longing for the liberation of their sex from the thralldom of outgrown custom. How shall we find them and convey our message of courage, our faith in the ultimate freedom of women? What reader can point the way?

The Budapest Congress has so amended the constitution that committees formed in Asiatic countries to help the woman movement onward may become auxiliary to the Alliance, and thus receive whatever help and inspiration we may be able to offer. We hope we may welcome several such committees into membership at the next Congress. It was a disappointment to all that no Asiatic delegate came to Budapest. Asiatic women are unaccustomed to travel alone. The distance and the expense were great, and it is not a matter of surprise that these obstacles were not overcome. Nevertheless, these sisters of ours will come some day. Meanwhile we must make them clearly understand that the woman's cause is the same throughout the world, that a victory gained anywhere is a victory for all women, and that our object is the liberation of women of all races.

The size of the Budapest Congress and the confusion of understanding necessarily arising from the use of three languages, all foreign tongues to the delegates of many countries, seems to indicate that an entire rearrangement of the plan so far followed for our meetings is imperative. To give each of our 26 countries a little time on the programme means that no one has time enough to present an idea satisfactorily, and that the translation always necessary robs the meeting of much of the brilliancy and spirit which ought to be there. At Budapest, the programme falling behind the schedule, kept the delegates confined in long sessions, and left no time for the many little courtesies and attentions which would have added greatly to the enjoyment of the occasion. Surely, the greatest achievement ever possible for the Alliance is the demonstration of the solidarity of interest of the women of all nations, and the inspiration gained from working together for the one aim. How to attain this without the fatigue attendant upon long sessions, in close rooms, must be well considered before another Congress is held. Already many valuable suggestions have been received. Among them are the following: (1) That non-English speaking delegates should occupy the front seats. (2) That the consideration of important proposals or policies should first be referred to committees composed of one representative from each country. This body being smaller could discuss the question more intimately, and interpretations would not be lost, as was often the case in the big hall at Budapest. (3) That three sections should be organised, and conducted at the same time, each in a single language, where especial topics are to be treated. (4) That all formal speeches to be delivered should be printed in the two languages not used by the speaker, and distributed to the audience so that they could be followed easily by those not understanding well the language spoken.

Further suggestions are invited. Those delegates who, having watched the growth of the Alliance and its Congresses from the first, possess a comparative experience to aid their judgment, are especially urged to send in any thoughts they may have as to how delegates and the cause may get the most benefit from our Congresses.

The Congress was made happy by the privilege of celebrating two fresh victories. First, the Woman Suffrage Campaign in Norway has come to a victorious end, and Universal Suffrage for men and women is now an established fact. The Parliament in June removed the tax qualification which still applied to two hundred and thirty thousand women, the vote being unanimous, and they are now voters. All men and women, twenty-five years of age, and residents of Norway for five years, may have the vote. Norwegians are justly proud of this great democratic achievement, but coming generations will be prouder still, when the position of leadership which Norway has taken becomes more apparent.

Second, a cablegram was received by Miss Addams during the Congress announcing the passage of a Bill through the Illinois legislature giving Suffrage to women in municipal, county, and national elections. The constitution of American States can only be amended by referendum to the voters, but it has long been contended that the Legislatures possessed the right to grant "presidential Suffrage" to women, and it has been well understood that the Legislatures of some States could grant various kinds of minor Suffrage. All of these Suffrage privileges were included in this Bill, which gives women the right to vote for all officers not mentioned in the Constitution. It was a great victory, because Illinois is a more important State in point of population and political influence than any which have yet extended the vote to women.

The joy of all well-informed American Suffragists was considerably tempered by the certain knowledge that the Bill would be attacked upon the grounds of its constitutionality. That is the American way, and if any shrewd, crafty lawyer can find a technical flaw in the Bill it will be found, and the question of constitutionality will be carried to the Courts. Already a possible one has been discovered. The "County Treasurer" is mentioned in the constitution, and therefore women cannot be given the right to vote for that officer by Act of the Legislature. In some counties the Treasurer is *ex-officio* tax collector. Under the new Bill women are entitled to vote for tax collector, but when the two offices, for one of which they may vote, and not for the other, are combined in one, what is to happen? The opponents are exulting over the discovery, and are still hunting for more flaws. If the Bill becomes law (the Governor's signature had not been affixed at last reports) and if it stands the test of constitutionality, a

new and promising outlook for more and greater victories opens before the American Suffrage movement.

The International Men's League for Woman Suffrage met in Budapest, and shared the Congress with the Alliance. The men held three public sessions, addressed by prominent men from many countries, and always had crowded audiences. It was good to see the row of splendid looking men behind the officers' table and to hear the eloquent appeals made on behalf of the women's cause. There are no words which can appropriately express the gratitude Woman Suffragists feel for the effective aid the Men's Leagues are giving their cause.

The Dutch delegates came to the Congress with the news that their Ministry had resigned, and that a new Liberal Government had been formed. The change had filled them with new hope and courage. As we go to Press the Dutch Association is holding its annual meeting at Apeldoorn, the summer home of the Queen.

During the Congress the news came that there had been a change in the Ministry of Denmark. The husband of the president of one of the two Danish auxiliaries, Mrs. Elna Munch, is now the Minister of Defence, and it goes without saying that Mr. Munch is as earnest a Suffragist as his wife. The general opinion prevails that the Parliamentary vote will be granted to women as soon as the necessary procedure can be accomplished.

Greetings and expressions of goodwill were received from Persia, China, India, South Africa, America, and nearly every country in Europe.

Twenty-two languages are now represented in the membership of the Alliance. What an inconceivable impetus would be given the great international movements of the world, including our own, could all the languages of earth be suddenly melted into one, and the Babel which has kept races, tribes, and nations apart cease to be.

Miss Rosika Schwimmer, who for the past two years has devoted her entire time to the Hungarian campaign and the work of preparation for the Congress, will shortly take up her lecture work again. Her services may be secured, if application is made at once, for work in Western Europe. Her best language is German. She is one of nature's orators, and combines a magnetic personality, energy of thought and manner, with a winning sense of humour. She may be addressed at Istvan ut 67, Budapest.

The Finnish delegates brought with them for free distribution an excellent brochure in German giving the opinions of the most prominent men in that country. Senator Mechelin, a robust, heroic character, was to have spoken at the Men's League, but was detained at the last moment by illness. He was the special envoy from the Finnish people to the Czar (who is likewise Grand Duke of Finland) when the demand was made for universal Suffrage for men and women, and it was entirely through his positive defence of Woman Suffrage that it was included. Naturally he is a great hero in the eyes of Finnish women, and it was a disappointment not to have the privilege of telling him how grateful the women of the entire world are for his successful leadership. His charming daughter came as a substitute.

The badges prepared by the Hungarian Committee for the Congress were the prettiest we have ever had. The familiar round badge, with the graceful figure of Justice, designed by Mrs. Pendersen-Dan, formed the centre. This was encircled by an open border set with red, green, and white stones, the Hungarian colours, in imitation of a Hungarian speciality in jewellery. The whole made a showy, artistic badge, which will be worn by the delegates for a long time to come. The Feministak Egyesulete (National Suffrage Association) presented beautiful specimens of these badges, set with real stones, to Mrs. Chapman Catt, Miss Glucklich (the president), and Miss Schwimmer (the generalissimo).

The report of the Budapest Congress, the President's Address, and the Norwegian report, in pamphlet form, are now ready for delivery. See advertisement in this issue. Orders may be sent to the new Headquarters of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, at 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, London.

Business Transacted.

Mrs. Anna Wicksell, Lund, Sweden, Chairman; Mrs. Chapman Catt, *ex officio* member; and Mrs. Anna Lindemann were appointed by the Board of Officers as Committee on Admissions. Applications of new societies should be sent to Mrs. Wicksell.

The constitution was amended, the chief changes being (1) the addition of a section making it possible for Asiatic Committees to become members of the Alliance; (2) the increase of the Board of Officers from seven members to eleven; (3) a change in the method of elections, and the establishment of "one woman, one vote." The full vote to which each country is entitled, that is 12 votes, may still be taken upon any question, when demanded by a majority vote of the convention.

The proposal to base the representation in the Alliance on the size of membership of each association was voted down, and big and little nations, and old and young organisations, with large or small membership, are still entitled to equal representation, that is, 12 delegates. The proposal to increase the dues of the larger organisations was also voted down. The proposal to change the terms by which a second national society in a country may become a member of the Alliance was laid on the table.

Probably the most significant thing done at Budapest was the unanimous adoption of the following resolution at the special session devoted to the White Slave Traffic:—

1. To send from this Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance a request to the Governments of all countries here represented that they should institute an international inquiry into the extent and causes of commercialised vice.

2. That the Women's Suffrage organisations in each country should ask their own Government to institute a national inquiry on the same lines, and that women be included in the Commission.

*The New Statesman*, a new British paper, in commenting upon this action, said:—

"The wisdom of the Budapest Congress was shown by the fact that its specific conclusions on this subject (prostitution) took the shape of a demand for the appointment of National and International Commissions to investigate the extent and causes of prostitution. Many of the delegates had been studying the report of the Chicago Commission, and wanted 'more facts'; they are surely entitled to get them. Even the British Government, though it may deny women votes, can scarcely deny them information."

The demand for information made by women in the year 1913 bears a distinctly different significance from any demand they could have made ten years ago. The Alliance at Budapest represented one million women, organised to secure the vote, but it also represented seven millions of women who have the vote! The appeal for investigation into the truth of things concerning the White Slave Traffic and prostitution, with women members on the Commission of Investigation, may find its way into the State waste baskets of many of our 26 countries, but it will hardly go unheeded in the lands where women's votes back the petition. The facts revealed in any investigation honestly conducted, in any land, will add to the sum total of knowledge the world over. The Chicago investigation did more to educate public opinion and arouse the public conscience of the world than all the work of "rescue" which a million Vigilance Societies could do. Let us have more facts; no honest person is afraid of truth.

In accordance with a by-law adopted at the London Congress in 1909, namely, "The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, by mutual consent of its Auxiliaries, stands pledged to observe neutrality on all questions that are strictly national," a resolution on militancy was unanimously adopted as follows:—

"Resolved: As the International Woman Suffrage Alliance stands pledged by its constitution to strict neutrality on all questions concerning national policy or tactics, its rules forbid any expression favouring or condemning militant methods. Be it further resolved: That since riot, revolution, and disorder have never been construed into an argument against man suffrage, we protest against the practice of the opponents of Woman Suffrage to interpret militancy employed by the minority of one country as an excuse for withholding the vote from the women of the world."



A Woman Suffrage resolution was also adopted as follows, with instructions that it should be sent to the Governments addressed in connection with the White Slave Traffic resolution:—

"The Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, having listened to the evidence submitted by Government delegates from Norway, Finland, Australia, Oregon, Washington, and California, showing the good consequences of the enfranchisement of women, and the entire absence of bad consequences, declares that the demand for enfranchisement on the part of women who live in countries professing to have representative institutions has thereby received enormous encouragement; and the Congress calls upon all such countries to make representation a reality by giving a due share of it to women. Since the evidence proves to demonstration that, in all matters relating to the care of children and the race, most countries still waste a great reforming and conserving force by keeping their women in subjection, the Congress is of the opinion that further delay is in the highest degree injurious, and urges that Experience and Science, rather than Fear, Imagination, and Prophecy, should be adopted as guides for the future."

After the reading of the Treasurer's Report, a fund was raised to be used for the extension of new work for the Alliance. £2,510 was pledged for the support of the work during the next two years. As this money is paid it will be acknowledged in *Jus Suffragii*. This is the first time a special fund has been attempted, the simple expenses of our organisation heretofore having been met by the small dues paid by each country, and by the fees of associate members. The officers have paid their own travelling and hotel expenses, and most clerical expense. This they will continue to do, and the money contributed will be devoted to the development and increased usefulness of *Jus Suffragii* and the Headquarters.

After considerable discussion upon the future of *Jus Suffragii* by the Congress, the choice of an Editor and place of publication were left to the Board of Officers. They, in turn, decided to publish it in Great Britain; to rent an office which shall be a centre for correspondence and business connected with the paper, and at the same time a Headquarters for the Alliance. Here all the publications of the Alliance will be stored, and orders for them will be filled. Here, also, it is hoped, a reliable, strong bureau of information will develop, where accurate, definite knowledge upon all phases of the woman question in all parts of the world can be obtained.

It was agreed, as no experienced editor was at the moment available to take charge of *Jus Suffragii*, that Miss Mary Sheepshanks should be invited to undertake the combined office of editor and manager of the new Headquarters. Miss Sheepshanks has for some time been the head and general manager of a college for working men and women. This college has had 600 men and 400 women students, and a faculty of 30 teachers. She has issued a small monthly magazine in connection with this college. She has obtained a year's leave of absence, with the intention to devote her time to study and work abroad. She has, however, agreed to accept the invitation of the international officers temporarily.

Meanwhile, suggestions concerning a permanent editor will be gladly received by the Board of Officers. We consider ourselves very fortunate to obtain the services of a woman possessing such marked executive ability and equipped with a knowledge of languages as Miss Sheepshanks, because it is in the establishment of the new Headquarters, and the development of the new work to be done there, that there is demand for careful management and tactful, wise initiative.

The arrangement of details concerning *Jus Suffragii* and the new Headquarters were referred by the Board of Officers to the four officers who would be in London—namely, Mrs. Chapman Catt, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Coit, Miss Macmillan. These officers, after securing estimates from several printers, have decided to enlarge the paper; to increase the annual subscription slightly; to vary the bulletin character of the paper by the addition of statistical information from all our countries, bearing upon important phases of our movement.

The French edition will be continued, and will be edited, as formerly, by Mrs. de Witt Schlumberger, and printed in Paris. Subscriptions for either edition must be sent to Mrs. Adela Stanton Coit, Treasurer, the subscriber indicating her choice of the English or French edition. The same character of contributions from the same sources as before will be continued.

In order, however, to render the Press departments of our auxiliaries more effective, any news of great importance will be sent out as soon as received to the Presidents of all affiliated countries. All suggestions for the improvement of *Jus Suffragii* will be carefully considered, and will be acted upon whenever feasible.

It must be distinctly understood that *Jus Suffragii* is in no sense a rival of any national paper, and that it must always serve as a medium of exchange of international news for the common benefit of all national papers and national auxiliaries.

Letters from delegates have been received, urging that Headquarters and *Jus Suffragii* should not be established in London. In some instances no reason at all was given in support of the request. Others contended that such a step would be interpreted as an endorsement of "militancy" by the Alliance. That is assuredly a far-fetched argument. All those who are informed will know very well that *Jus Suffragii* will not become a British organ because it is edited and printed in England, and those who are not informed will pay very little attention to any step taken by any suffrage organisation. The paper will continue to be international, giving the news developed in all countries with equal justice and fidelity. If more space is devoted to news from Great Britain than to news from other countries, in the future as has been the case in the past, it is because the movement in Great Britain is far more advanced than in most countries, and it creates more news. Here the battle is being more strenuously fought by friends and foes than in any other country in the world. That the friends are not agreed as to tactics and policy, and are divided into many groups, each striving to make telling strokes for victory, conduces to the manufacture of news. If the world at large is talking much of Suffrage activities in Great Britain, it behoves every Suffragist to understand clearly what is really happening here, and this *Jus Suffragii*, without bias or unfairness, will attempt to tell.

London is the great Press centre of the world. Here people of all nations are to be found, and as soon as possible an international committee will be formed representing every country in the Alliance, so that communications may be sent in the language of the country, instead of being written in one of the three official languages.

The Congress of 1915 will have the power to remove *Jus Suffragii* to any other centre, if meanwhile its publication in London proves in any sense deleterious to the best interests of *Jus Suffragii* or the Alliance. Meanwhile all friends of the Woman Suffrage cause and all auxiliaries are urged to cooperate in the production of a paper which will give the greatest aid to the greatest number of our workers.

### Fraternal Delegates.

When the Alliance was new, the national Suffrage organisations few, and the Congresses small, a special effort was made to secure the attendance of fraternal delegates from friendly societies. They were very welcome, and were given every privilege of delegates except that of making business proposals and voting. During the Congress one such delegate from each society was given five minutes on the programme to express any opinion desired. It furnished an interesting and pleasing diversion, and everyone was happy. Social functions were open to such delegates also, although they were expected to pay for their tickets of admission. The Local Committee of Arrangement always granted them free admission to all meetings of the Congress, and the position of the fraternal delegate was a delightful one, since all the pleasures and privileges and none of the responsibilities were hers.

The Congresses steadily grew in size, and new national associations continued to be formed. An important and always happy event in the programme of each Congress has been the reception into membership of these new societies, and the hearing granted to their presidents. In Stockholm the Congress had grown so large that there was no time to hear all the fraternal delegates, and those who were presented to the Congress were brilliant speakers indeed to be able to interest the attention of tired delegates at the end of a week's hard work. It has now been made plain to all that what had been practicable and enjoyable when there were ten nations represented in the Alliance, as at Copenhagen, is no longer possible when twenty-six nations are to be heard, as at Budapest. Naturally those fraternal delegates who have regularly attended

### Hungarian Hospitality.

By IDA HUSTED HARPER.

The most remarkable thing about the recent International Congress is that it happened! There was never a finer example of courage and faith than that of the small group of women who dared to invite this great body to Budapest. Here was a city where the experiment of a woman's convention was new, and the idea of the cause it would present was unpopular; where the organisation for Woman Suffrage was small, and few of wealth or social prominence were connected with it. Nobody would come, it was predicted; the money could never be raised; it would receive no notice from the Government; it would be a failure. But Vilma Glucklich and Rosika Schwimmer and the other leaders were not to be terrified. They invited the Congress, and it proved to be the largest for Woman Suffrage ever held!

One cannot mention names on an occasion like this and be just, for so many always do their part to make it a success, but to speak of only a few who are in the official programme will show the character of those who gave themselves to the work of the Convention. Countess Iska Teleki accepted the presidency, and Countess Ilona Haller the vice-presidency of the Executive Committee; both devoted to the advancement of women. Countess Apponyi, president of the Hungarian Council of Women, requested all its branches to take part. The wife and daughter of Chamberlain de Bekassy were on the committees, and a prominent member was Countess Pejacevitch, founder of the Art Association of Budapest. And then there was the solid foundation of professional and business women: Dr. Charlotte Steinberger, a specialist employed by the Royal Hungarian Workmen's Institution; Mrs. Eugenie Meller, connected with the State's Social Museum; and others on various public boards; a woman lawyer, several journalists, authors, music and public-school teachers. There were also Mrs. Victor Molnar, at the head of her own commercial enterprises, and Mrs. Berta Engel, manager of her own factory, and others of equal executive ability. Could a Congress fail with such women behind it?

The women were not without support from men. Dr. Alexander Giesswein, Papal Prelate and member of Parliament, gave much assistance. Dr. George de Lukacs, Royal and Imperial Chamberlain, and a Government member of Parliament, filled the chair at three large meetings of the International Men's League for Woman Suffrage, as president for Hungary. Its secretary, Dr. Racz, journalist and barrister, and other prominent men, assisted and encouraged the women.

The visitors were particularly impressed with the action of the Government, the Ministry appropriating 20,000 crowns for the Committee of Arrangements, and the Municipality 20,000. In addition, the Board of Trade gave 1,000, and the Board of Agriculture 1,500. The city also gave the use of two splendid halls for the meetings. Over 2,800 persons made themselves members of the Congress; various concessions were sold, and the excellent financial management, it is said, will be able to defray the entire cost of the Congress, supposed to be over 100,000 crowns. One scarcely knows how to enumerate the many unusual features of the meeting. On the opening day addresses of welcome were made by the Minister of Education, representing the Government, and the Burgomaster, representing the city. The orchestra of the Royal Theatre played a specially written overture, and two famous actresses recited in Hungarian and English an ode composed for the occasion. The Royal Opera company that night gave a performance especially for the Congress, deferring the close of its season two days.

The railways are owned by the State, and reduced rates throughout Hungary were given to the delegates. Many of them declared they would have come here gladly just for the excursions through the State to visit the institutions for the dependent and delinquent. They were the guests of each town visited. There were 230 accredited representatives of the Press at the meetings, and it is said most favourable reports were sent. The Hungarian Press had only words of commendation. Another pen must describe the pleasure excursions on the great river and into the high mountains of this wonderful country; the drives about Budapest, one of the most beautiful cities of the earth; the social courtesies of its charming homes. Another still must tell the work done by this highly representative and intensely earnest Convention. The object of this letter is to give what must necessarily be only the barest outline of the remarkable achievement of that little band of Hungarian Suffragists who dared invite the women of the world to a

the Congresses did not enjoy the changed position accorded them by the vote, taken early in the Convention, that, "In view of the large number of Delegates from the National Auxiliaries attending this Convention, no Fraternal Delegate shall have the right to speak except on the invitation of the Chair with the consent of the Convention."

Nor did it seem hospitable to question the right of fraternal delegates to be seated, as was done by the motion which carried: "That no association shall be entitled to present credentials to the International Alliance until the National Suffrage Association from the nation from which it applied shall have approved its application. Any association, however, whose application has been refused by the National Suffrage Association shall have the right of appeal to the Officers of the International." However inhospitable it may have seemed, the action was rendered necessary by the fact that one Hungarian society had sent forty delegates, and an American one had sent twenty. Thus far no auxiliary society has exposed itself to the charge of unfairness by omitting from the list recommended for invitation any known society standing for Woman Suffrage; but the number of such societies is now so enormous and so rapidly increasing that it is quite possible that unless restricted, fraternal delegates might outnumber the regular delegates in some future Congress. For example, the number of societies in Great Britain invited to send fraternal delegates to Budapest was fifty-three. Had each one sent a delegate there would have been more than four times the number of regular delegates, strictly limited to twelve, of the Auxiliary Society.

Many of the fraternal delegates sensed a frostiness in the air of the Congress, and were not happy in consequence. Many felt strongly that they had messages of importance to deliver which the delegates would be glad to hear. On the other hand, many of the Auxiliary Societies felt that they were not accorded time enough to present their achievements which they believed to be of more importance to the Congress than any message of any friendly society could possibly be. Perhaps the President was more conscious of this by-play than any other person, for it was to her that delegates and fraternal delegates presented their appeals for grants of time on the programme. Before she was out of bed in the morning, and after she had retired at night, and all through the days the appeals came, by note, telegram, letter, and word of mouth. Time, time, time, was the constant demand, and there was no time to take from a programme already overcrowded.

By recommendation of the Board of Officers the Convention made a compromise and invited four fraternal delegates to speak, selecting those societies whose interests were not represented in the Congress. The various Councils of Women represented were to select one delegate, the International Franchise Club was represented by Mrs. Corbett-Fisher, the Freedom League by Mrs. Despard, and the Tax Resistance Society by Mrs. Cobden Sanderson. The outcome proved rather unfortunate, for the two militant speakers took occasion to support militant tactics, which had been declared out of order by the resolution on militancy. It was plain to all that fraternal delegates had secured a privilege which would not have been granted to regular delegates. The applause which greeted these two eloquent, well-known, and highly esteemed ladies aroused a new difficulty, for the non-militants now contended that the neutrality, which had always been maintained toward this particular form of tactics employed in Great Britain only, had been broken, and that another resolution to clear the situation was necessary. After discussion it was concluded to allow the first resolution to define the position of the Alliance, and to pass over the incident without official comment. Nevertheless, it was apparent that the rules made to apply to regular delegates must also apply to fraternal delegates.

The Board of Officers was requested to formulate rules for the invitation and entertainment of future fraternal delegates, and to submit them to the Presidents of Auxiliaries. When invited for the next Congress these rules will be stated, and no *ex post facto* rules will be made by the Congress. They will at least know the extent of their privileges before they come. Fraternal delegates, with the question of their rights and privileges, occupied much time of the Congress at Budapest, but it is hoped that the matter may be disposed of with satisfaction to all before another Congress is called. One thing is certain, the Alliance desires the presence of fraternal delegates and their co-operation, and it wishes them to feel the warmth and sincerity of its welcome. We must invoke wisdom and common sense to aid us in the delicate adjustment of the question of their relation to the Congresses of the Alliance.

C. C. C.



Congress in this country, which is not on the great highway of foreign travel. And in laying down the pen a hundred details of arrangement come to mind which cannot be mentioned, but which were an essential part of a most successful whole.

### The Wonders of An International Congress of Women.

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

The most amazing thing in these great International Women's Congresses is the massing and moving of the hitherto isolated and stationary sex. Never before in all human life—if we except the legendary performance of the 11,000 virgins of Cologne—have great numbers of women come together; and never before have they travelled so far. This is the strongest impression made, on my mind, by these meetings. Next to that is the world-hope of international amity which shines forth from such gatherings. When citizens of so many countries meet on the common ground of a need felt by all, a universal desire for the good of all, it promises much for that world-peace which is the hope of the age.

The warm, personal friendliness and kind care, the overflowing hospitality, the general goodwill, is another prominent characteristic. It means much for the heart of woman and the good of mankind when that love, which has been kept for so long in one small circle of family and friends, now widens to a mass of strangers; and that hospitality, hitherto shown in private entertainment, opens its arms to the world. We have the hospitality of cities, of governments, of businesses; we find entertainment for causes and ideas as well as persons. Here in Hungary the marvel lay in the enormous labour of preparing for such a polyglot meeting in a land whose language is practically unknown outside. Hundreds of women were specially trained to use, among them, fourteen various languages, that they might act as guides and interpreters.

The city itself was a joy to see—the strange beauty of old Buda, the intensely modern development of new Pest; the amazing combination of the two in one. Of all the entertainments offered us, the crown belongs to that marvellous combination of sunset and moonlight; that dream of towers and turrets, battlements and grey walls, soldiers out of picture books, and costumes of all lands, music, oratory, refreshments, and red fire, on the Fisher Bastion. This was a scene from wonderland, a thing never to be forgotten.

Another thing which impressed me personally was the steady broadening of the suffrage movement. That which for so long was a demand for "rights," has become an irresistible insistence upon duties. It is no longer merely a plea for the unquestioned justice of Woman Suffrage, but a rising pressure for the suffrage as an instrument of social service. With this comes the evergrowing power of achievement, the rapidly increasing number of the women who can vote; as well as the women who have done much in other ways. Nothing succeeds like success.

### The Internationalism of the International.

By WINIFRED HARPER COOLEY.

The important result of the recent great conclave of women at Budapest is not the volume of business achieved, the various resolutions adopted, or the impetus for more efficient labour, but the spirit of *internationalism* created. The curse of woman has been her isolation. Here and there throughout the world, and adown the centuries, the individual has protested feebly against the suttee, the harem, the law that took away a mother's children; but no one heeded, as women were wholly unorganised and not co-ordinated. Even as each country waxed strong through the union of its "weaker vessels," and Parliaments began to heed the combined voices, and a Feminist movement began to shape itself, still each land considered only its own problems. But at last the cry has sounded "Women of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains!" The feminists of nearly every geographical division of the civilised world have combined their power, and inter-

nationalism is born. A house divided against itself will fall; and as long as women not only were oppressed by men, but also were torn asunder by petty jealousies and suspicions, so long they had no power. Internal strife will ruin a nation more quickly than war waged by besieging enemies. It has taken long for us to realise the need of effecting a *solid feminine phalanx*. We have catered to and fawned upon our male masters, and decried other women in self-protection. If man were not propitiated our economic support would fall, and we and our babies would perish; therefore, let other women struggle for themselves or be cast to the ash-heap. This was the old necessity. All this now is changed. Women are standing shoulder to shoulder for the last needed battle. We have seen the Parliament of Women, if not the Federation of the World. Nothing was so wonderful, from the psychological point of view, in the recent Congress at Budapest, as the *underlying similarity of feminine endeavour*. It was not merely a dry discussion of ways and means to get the vote, but comprehensive studies of social and moral conditions, and of how women could better them. At almost every session one learned of the White Slave Traffic; of ways to protect young girls; of efforts of women legislators to raise the age of consent; of State Insurance for mothers; of solutions of the problem of the illegitimate child; of better laws for working-women; of the abolition of sweat shops and child labour.

All this concerns the mothers of the race, whether they be black or brown, white or yellow. All this seems to have become peculiarly the women's problem and responsibility. It is truly an international one! For the past nine years the leaders have been perfecting the organisation and oiling the machinery. Now the great Alliance is beginning a new era of effective labour. We have made mistakes. Here and there may have been lapses into the old feminine bigotry, jealousy, or narrowness. Sometimes we have not risen to the lofty heights. But through all the sorrow and travail has been brought forth the new and wonderful internationalism which should regenerate the world!

### Solidarity.

By A. MAUD ROYDEN.

Internationalism should emphasise the solidarity of human interests as a fact more fundamental than the bitterest national or racial dissensions. Certainly the Budapest meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance brought out the solidarity of women. The wonder is that delegates from countries divided by feelings so bitter—in some cases, by wrongs so deep—should consent to come together on any subject in the world. To admit the presence of such bitterness is only, after all, to emphasise the greatness of the issue which, in spite of all, makes Suffrage Congresses possible and the Suffrage Alliance a reality.

Every delegation must have been struck by the response of all the delegations to the same kind of appeal. It is clear that all of us have been working along the same lines, and inspired by the same motives. In whatever language she spoke, if a speaker appealed to those motives she could not fail. Purity, temperance, and the care and protection of children, these were the notes struck again and again, and never without response. Madame Verone, in a brilliant speech early in the meeting, swept her audience off its feet by her passionate declaration that women were all for peace, but that against "la prostitution, l'alcoholism, la negligence des enfants" they would for ever wage war. Miss Jane Addams received a magnificent ovation on rising to address us, because of her great record of work against these same evils. One speaker after another, on the difficult question of "How to Influence the Indifferent Women," declared that only by making the connection clear between Women's Suffrage and reform on these points could any deep impression be made. Perhaps at no time during the meeting was this solidarity of interest made more clear than on that afternoon devoted to ten minutes' speeches of a practical kind, suggesting various ways of approaching various classes. How to influence Churchwomen, Professional and University women, Society women, Industrial women, and the rest, was discussed in speech after speech. The methods of organisation were different; the methods of appeal always the same. To whatever class women belong, it appears, they will be moved by the hope of moral reforms, or they will not be moved at all.

All these impressions were summed up for us in the great speech made by our President on the White Slave Traffic. She

was, of course, addressing herself to the topic only, but she put it in such a way as to convince her hearers once more both of the fact that we are all *solidaire*, and that our demand for freedom—for political power—is only a means to a still greater end. She spoke of the hideous wrong commonly known as the White Slave Traffic, as one which should rather be called the Traffic in Womanhood, for in it there is no distinction of colour or of race. The Christian West and the heathen East alike buy and sell their slaves to the lusts of men; we are all alike guilty and all alike responsible. And, on the other hand, Mrs. Catt lifted our demand for the vote to its right level by declaring that the vote was only the instrument by which we must attain freedom for all women. "We women here may be educated, enfranchised voters. So long as there are women down at the bottom, exploited, enslaved, serving the ends of this horrible traffic, we are cheapened, we are not emancipated."

It is the answer of the International Congress at Budapest to those who say we are there only to fight a battle of class.

### Berlin to Budapest.

By CLARA BEWICK COLBY.

It was a triumphal progress all the way.

The Woman Suffrage Societies of Berlin arranged an elaborate programme for the delegates who were on their way to the Congress. The first rendezvous was in the beautiful garden of the President, Madame Dzialoszynski, at Grunewald, one of the finest residence parts of the city, on June 4, where tea was served, and an opportunity given to meet many of the charming ladies of Berlin. From this delightful gathering many went to the Peace Meeting at Charlottenburg, where Pastor Franke led a discussion on the interest women had in the peace of the world.

Hotel Eden was headquarters, and here ladies were always to be found to aid and direct the strangers. In the mornings excursions were made under their guidance to the Galleries and Social and Educational Institutions. The afternoon of the 5th was devoted to an auto ride around Berlin and to the beautiful city of Charlottenburg, where the Kaiser was born.

The German Union of Woman Suffrage Societies united with the Prussian and local societies in giving a reception and banquet to the visitors in the Bruderverein in the evening. A poetical greeting by Marguerite Bruch, set to music by Elizabeth Kuyper, was sung by a double quartette, which also rendered some exquisite numbers before any speaking began. Representatives of many lands were called upon between the courses, and speaking and eating alternated till nearly midnight, when the party adjourned to the coffee-room. The tables were speedily cleared away, the chairs arranged in order, and the guests again seated themselves to listen to a singer whose voice and manner were so perfect that it was no wonder she was encored many times notwithstanding the lateness of the hour.

After Friday morning excursions and afternoon tea as the guests of the leading merchant, Herr Oscar Tietz, a large public meeting was held under the auspices of the Berlin, Prussian, and German Unions, at which the usual representative addresses were made by Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, of America; Mrs. Auerbach, of London; Mrs. Denison, of Canada; Dr. Jenny Forselles, member of the Finnish Parliament; Frau Qvam, the wife of a deceased Minister of Norway; Mesdames Eilersgaard, of Denmark; Gulli Petrini, of Sweden; Goudsmit, of Holland; and others.

The party left for Dresden early Saturday morning, where they were met by the ladies of the Dresden Frauen-Verein, who conducted them to the fine hotels situated conveniently near the station. After lunch the visitors were escorted to such galleries or institutions as they wished to see, when they all met for tea in the spacious park known as the Royal Great Garden. In the evening there was an open meeting in the Concert Hall, where, as before, representatives of the various countries spoke.

A Sunday excursion was arranged by the Dresden ladies to Meissen, half an hour away by train. Meissen is celebrated the world over for its porcelain, but our visit was on account of its picturesque beauty and its interest as containing the palace which was formerly the seat of the Royal House of Saxony. Every step we took up the steep hill carried us

farther back into the Middle Ages, so wonderfully queer and quaint it all seemed. But before going quite to the top we were led aside by Frau Stritt to a house where a tablet says Louise Otto lived and died. Frau Stritt gave a beautiful tribute to the work of this noble woman, who was the founder of the Woman Suffrage movement of Germany, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton of this continent. Then we visited the cathedral and the castle, and in the registers in these ancient places some of us had the audacity to inscribe our names as coming from States where women had the franchise. A most welcome and hearty luncheon was served in the Burgkeller, from which we had a superb view of Meissen and the surrounding country, while gardens at our feet looked like diminutive flower-beds so far away they were. There was some jolly informal speaking at the table, and then an evening in Dresden, and an early start in the morning.

I do not think the "Auslanders" will ever forget the babel at Bodenbach where we crossed the frontier into Bohemia, where the luggage was subject to inspection, and where everybody talked in every language under the sun to officials that knew no tongue but their own. Frau Stritt had done all she could to lessen the difficulties, and from this point on we had a reduction on the railroads by showing the "Legitimation" cards which with infinite pains she had secured and explained to us. By some miracle, as it seemed, everybody found their right luggage and places, and on we went continuing our rapturous enjoyment of the scenery.

At Prague we were again met by a band of Bohemian Suffragists who took charge of us, and in a trice had us comfortably housed at the Palace Hotel with every want supplied, and a programme and guide-book in English in our hands, with instructions to be at the Old Town Hall after lunch. Here the guests were received with due formality by members of the City Council, the Civic Committee on Entertainment, and the "Pravo Zen" Committee. "Pravo Zen" means "Votes for Women," and I think we must ask *Jus Suffragii* to keep standing in its columns these words in every language where the demand is made, that in our prayers we may breathe the aspiration in every tongue in which our sisters are asking for it. There was still time to visit the royal castle and the cathedral on the hill, the prominent objects in any view of Prague, before dressing for the dinner in the Gemeinde House as the guests of the city. In the handsome reception rooms we had time to admire the exquisite embroidered curtains and draperies before being summoned to a sumptuous repast in the "Marble Hall." The only speech made at this function is worthy of mention. Mrs. Alice Park, of California, had put up, as she invariably did at all meetings and social functions, her notable Peace Banner, and she was asked to explain it, which she did most effectively, calling forth, as such Peace sentiments always did, very hearty applause.

A public meeting was held in the great Concert Hall of this building, preceded by a pipe-organ recital and a festival chorus by the Prague Teachers' Vocal Society, which had taken a prize in the Paris Exhibition. Madame Plaminkova presided, and gave a warm welcome to the women and the idea they stood for. A long address in Bohemian was given by Madame Vikova-Kunetika, who had been elected Deputy for Bozena, but had been prevented by the Austrian Government from taking her seat in the Diet. Fortunately her address was printed in French, so that one may know how able a plea she made for women to see that the rights of lesser nations were respected. Short speeches followed by the guests of honour, and the tired travellers slipped out for the most part when their duty was done. I was the last to speak, and it was a novel experience to find an audience still eager and patient when a Suffrage speech was begun at half-past twelve at night.

The morning of June 10 was devoted to seeing the Old Jewish Cemetery and the Museum of Ethnography, being taken in special street cars. Lunch was served at the Bohemian Cooking School; there was another special tram to the Tree Garden; and then, to cap the climax, an invitation to attend the Grand Opera as guests of the City. To see and hear Bohemian artists, with their vivacity, colour, and exquisite harmonies was indeed a treat.

And now we must start early Wednesday morning for the journey to Vienna. Some had already gone on in the night train, and had been able to take the morning excursions which had been arranged by our hostesses. For the afternoon there was a visit to the Exhibition of Old and New Austria on the Prater, and a brilliant reception and banquet given by the Austrian Woman Suffrage Committee in the House of Industry.



The lavish expenditure which the local Committees made in honour of their guests was again illustrated in the carriage drive on Thursday morning, when a hundred vehicles conveyed the party to the Royal Palace at Schonbrunn, after which were lunches and excursions in various directions, the principal one being by train to Kahlenberg, under the leadership of Mrs. Andrea Hofer Proudfoot. This trip gave a good view of the Royal vineyards and forests which surround Vienna, and of the Beethoveana at its foot. Some of Napoleon's most famous battles were fought amid the scenes on which we gazed. At the great public meeting in the evening there were many additions to the party, for Vienna was the rallying point for delegates from Italy, France, and many other Eastern and Southern countries.

The kindness of the Viennese ladies followed us on our journey, and we took a special steamer to Budapest. Who has not wanted to sail on the "Beautiful Blue Danube," and now the wish was gratified under the most enchanting circumstances.

With our arrival at Budapest and our large party being taken care of by the gracious young Hungarian ladies who overshadowed us with their helpfulness in every possible way, my part of the wonderful story of the Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance ends.

Marvellous indeed were the arrangements all the way for the comfort and pleasure of the guests, and for making their brief stay a means of propaganda. Our grateful appreciation is due not only to the leaders, who will be known in the annals of the movement, but to the hundreds of willing helpers, without whose loving aid such demonstrations would have been impossible.

### A Comment.

BY CRYSTAL EASTMAN BENEDICT.

If I should try to express with two adjectives the most striking features of this great international gathering of women, one of those adjectives would be "hatless." Owing probably to some wise municipal ordinance of Budapest, we were confronted at the entrance to our first meeting by two Hungarian guards, who suggested kindly, but firmly, that we check our hats, coats, and unnecessary appendages before going in. This rule was enforced at all sessions of the Convention, both public and private. Though objected to at first by many of the fretful, it was soon peacefully observed by all, and, absurd as the statement may appear, the observation of this simple little regulation gave an air of dignity and seriousness to these meetings that no gathering of women I have ever attended in America has possessed.

Women went about with their heads bare and their hands free. The Chairman and speakers could address themselves to a great company of intelligent faces, not to a stuffy thicket of hats, a bobbing, many-coloured wilderness of fruits, flowers, feathers, grasses, and plumes. Despite the fact that emancipated woman can take no credit for this excellent regulation, that it was no doubt devised by a common council of exasperated men, nevertheless this "hatless" Convention seemed to me symbolic; it bespoke a new day—a day when the last traces of the "afternoon tea and culture club" atmosphere shall have departed from the serious councils of women.

The other adjective would be "triumphant." The very presence of three thousand women, gathered from all parts of the world in the cause of Woman Suffrage, was eloquent of victory for that cause. As Mrs. Despard put it, "When I look out upon this great company of splendid women I think how wonderful it is that the men of any country can resist us."

Every session of the Budapest Congress demonstrated the necessity of a better knowledge of "Parliamentary procedure." This procedure has been designed by Parliamentary bodies to facilitate the despatch of business. When Chairman and delegates have the same understanding of the meaning of motions worded in a certain way, very simple interpretation only is necessary. The usage in deliberative bodies differs in different countries, and because of the confusion of understanding brought about by this fact, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance adopted "Rules of Order" at the London Congress which represent a combination of many systems. Ours was the first international body to adopt such a code of rules. They are simple and easily comprehended by all, and at the time of their adoption were issued in booklet form in English, French, and German. The delegates seemed to have lost sight of them, and they are therefore reprinted in the Report of the Budapest Congress. All delegates are requested to study them, as a common knowledge will do more than any other possible device to save time and confusion.

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