

U.S.A. VICTORY NUMBER

JUS SUFFRAGII.

THE

International Woman Suffrage News

The Monthly Organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Price 6/- Per Year.

Single Copies: 6d.

All communications should be addressed to
Headquarters.



HEADQUARTERS:

11, Adam St., Adelphi, London, W.C.2.

Telegrams: Vo-craito.

Telephone: 4255 Regent.

Volume 14. No. 11.

SEPTEMBER, 1920.

AMERICAN WOMEN ENFRANCHISED.

SECRETARY OF STATE PROCLAIMS RATIFICATION.

THE FIGHT IN TENNESSEE.

Text of the Proclamation Certifying Ratification of 19th Amendment.

Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, That the Congress of the United States at the first session, sixty-sixth Congress begun at Washington on the nineteenth day of May in the year one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, passed a resolution as follows:

To wit:

Joint resolution.

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

ARTICLE.

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in the Department of State that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 26th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty.

BAINBRIDGE COLBY.

LATE NEWS.

U.S.A. VICTORY COMPLETE.

Both Houses of Connecticut Legislature ratified the Woman Suffrage Amendment September 14, 1920.

WE print above the text of the Proclamation signed at 8 a.m. on August 26, by the Secretary of State of the United States of America, whereby is ratified the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States of America Constitution. The Nineteenth Amendment reads plainly and simply: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." But the ratification of that Nineteenth Amendment has been no plain and simple task for American women

On August 25—one day before the Proclamation was signed—the Anti-Suffrage Party made a last stand against the amendment. They appeared before Justice Frederick L. Siddons in the District of Columbia Supreme Court, and asked for an injunction to restrain the Secretary of State from issuing a proclamation declaring the amendment ratified by the required thirty-six States. Justice Siddons dismissed the appeal. In the early hours of the following morning the thirty-sixth ratification—that of Tennessee—arrived in Washington. The package was taken to Secretary Colby at

Officers of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, elected at the Eighth Congress, Geneva, June 6—12, 1920.

President: CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, 404, Riverside Drive, New York, U.S.A.
1st Vice-President: MARGUERITE DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER, 14, Rue Pierre de Serbie, Paris, France.
2nd Vice-President: CHRYSYLL MACMILLAN, II, Adam St., Adelphi, London, W.C. 2, England.
3rd Vice-President: ANNA LINDEMANN, Degerloch, Stuttgart, Germany.
4th Vice-President: ANNA WICKSELL, Stocksund, Sweden.
Rec. Secretary: MARGERY CORBETT ASHBY, 33, Upper Richmond Rd., London, S.W. 15, England.

AFFILIATED COUNTRIES:—Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Galicia, Germany, Great Britain and British Dominions Overseas—viz., Australia, Canada, South Africa,—Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, Uruguay.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS.

II, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

Vol. 14. SEPTEMBER, 1920. No. 11.

By-law of the I.W.S.A. Constitution.

"The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, by mutual consent of its auxiliaries, stands pledged to preserve absolute neutrality on all questions that are strictly national."

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3.45 a.m. by Mr. Cooke of the State Department. In an interview with the Press on August 26, Secretary Colby says:—

There were some legal matters connected with the ratification that I wished to have examined by the chief law officer of the State Department, so I sent the papers to F. K. Nielson, the Solicitor of the State Department, with instructions to bring the papers to me at my home at 8 o'clock this morning. I had received a large number of messages asking me to act on the amendment with insistent promptitude. Fears were strong in some minds that the "Antis" would effect some sort of injunction from the Courts to interfere with my Proclamation. While it was not my opinion that it would be becoming for me to resort to undue eagerness to avoid an opportunity for judicial interference, I saw no reason whatever why I should conspicuously loiter.

In the meanwhile Tennessee—the eleventh-hour State to ratify—has proceeded to "rat," and has now definitely gone back on its ratification. According to telegrams in London papers it has actually expunged from its State Records all reference to its ratification of the Woman Suffrage Amendment. Depressing cables to this effect, prophesying the indefinite delay of Woman Suffrage in the United States as a result of Tennessee's action, have been appearing in the British Press, and your Editor, who has just returned to Headquarters after a long absence, has been plunged in the deepest gloom. For this September Victory Number, prepared by Miss Helen Ward, was already in the printer's hands. A printers' strike in Manchester, however, had prevented the setting-up of the paper; and perhaps for once such an happening has been a blessing in disguise, since it permits the addition of these late notes on the American position.

Headquarters has therefore spent a hectic morning (September 9) telephoning every available source of knowledge in London for the latest American news. We were aghast to learn from the American Embassy here that they had no authentic information later than June 21—the days of the flood as far as the Nineteenth Amendment is concerned! But the kindly London Editors of the *New York Tribune* and *New York Herald* had received Press cuttings up to August 28—one day later than the dates of the invaluable Press cuttings on this topic just received from Mrs. Husted Harper—and told me that according to the latest reports American public opinion was in no doubt that the result of any Supreme Court action would be favourable to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, and that Tennessee's treachery was a "back number"!

So we print our Victory Copy—and we greet our fellow Suffragists of America with a cheer as triumphant as any that must have sounded in the ears of Mrs. Catt when she returned to New York on August 27 to make a victorious procession through the City.

I end this note with a quotation from the *New York World* of August 27, which sums up the situation, and says a little of what we feel about the Anti-Suffragists of Tennessee:—

"To the last, Anti-Suffragists and obscure influences sympathising with them deluded themselves with false hopes. Forced to admit that the amendment was certain to be ultimately adopted, they conspired to delay the event to prevent women in many States from voting in the November elections. In the devices that they employed in Tennessee, the final fighting-ground, they showed the unscrupulousness of desperate tricksters.

If they plan further efforts to nullify the action of the thirty-six States that ratified the amendment to the Federal Constitution, the opponents of Suffrage have but one choice. They must appeal to the United States Courts. There they may challenge in orderly manner the decision that has gone against them, on the chance of barring from the polls this year women in a number of States, but the prospects of success are not brilliant.

In the meantime, in every State, regardless of the restrictions of local Constitutions and laws, preparations must be made by election officials for the recognition of women as qualified voters on the same terms as men. All obstacles to equal Suffrage have been swept aside at one stroke. Nowhere does any discretion remain or room or difference of opinion exist in the immediate application of the new provision of the Constitution of the United States."

E. A.

September 9, 1920.

**AMERICA FREE.
WOMAN SUFFRAGE INCLUDED IN THE
U.S.A. CONSTITUTION.**

ON June 4, 1919, the Senate of the U.S.A., by a vote of two more than the necessary two-thirds, adopted the resolution to submit to the State Legislatures an amendment to the National Constitution, which, when ratified by three-fourths of them, gives complete suffrage to woman. Readers of *JUS SUFFRAGII* have known this for many months, and have been following the amazing ratification campaign of the American Suffragists with lively interest. But a great joy, like a great sorrow, impending is a wholly different thing from a great joy or sorrow attained. And now that by the ratification of the States, Woman Suffrage is, after long years of hope deferred, at last part of the U.S.A. Constitution, we only begin dimly to comprehend what this means for the world. It is the token of certain success to those, all the world over, who still struggle that women may be free. It brings home to them the full significance, the absolute worth-whileness of every bit of endeavour they make.

Bird's-eye View of What Went Before.

To paraphrase a leader from the *Woman Citizen* Special Convention Number:—

Because Abigail Adams saw, in 1776, that without political equality the United States would be a republic only in name; because the Grimke sisters, in 1827, dared to speak at public meetings while the mob hooted and set fire to their building; because Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton dared in 1848 to ask for women's right to their own earnings; because Emma Willard and Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Blackwell—but the story is a story too full to be told in a line; because each woman pioneer had faith and courage, and a heart and a brain, and talents which she used and did not hide—each a pioneer not in the U.S.A. only, but the world over;—American women at last are free, and their freedom becomes the herald of freedom for all.

It is well to take a bird's-eye view of America's struggle, because each time a national story is lived through and told, it has its own special message for other nations, until the end of all politics (as that great philosophic historian, Lord Acton, has defined it) is attained in the attainment of universal freedom.

In 1647, Mistress Mary Brent, of Maryland, a property owner, demanded that as representation in Maryland was based on a property qualification, she should have "place and voyce" in its Legislature.

Mrs. Abigail Adams Writes to Her Husband.

In 1776 Mrs. Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, in the Continental Congress:—

I long to hear that you have declared an independency, and, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than were your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

In 1826 Frances Wright, "a young Scotch woman of beauty, education and wealth," came to the U.S.A., and with Robert Dale Owen published a paper expressing advanced views, and claiming equality of rights for women, "a claim universally decided." In 1836 Ernestine L. Rose, from Poland, "twenty-six years old, handsome and eloquent," drew crowded houses in all parts of the country to hear her advocate full enfranchisement for women.

A Petition with Five Signatures Presented to a Legislature.

In Albany, New York, she obtained five signatures only to a petition that married women be allowed to hold property, and she presented her petition, with its five signatures, to the Legislature, and addressed them upon it. And by 1840 she found herself one of a famous group with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Paulina Wright Davis, Lydia Mott. In 1848 they won their point about married women's property.

Freedom for Black Slaves but not for Women.

All this time the anti-slavery question had become vital. A noble band of women devoted themselves to this cause, and began to take part in the business meetings and public debates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and they began also to see that the rights claimed for slaves were but a part of the rights due to all human beings. In 1839 the society became rent in twain because of the women's doings, and Lloyd Garrison with a group of stalwart men who championed the slaves, became champions also of the women's rights, including the right of the ballot, and women added to their appeals for the slaves appeals for their own liberties.

In 1840, at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, recognition was refused to certain U.S.A. delegates because they were women, and these women, Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton among them, decided that on their return home they would organise a movement of which the rights of women should be the central motive.

A Convention to Discuss the Social, Civil, and Religious Rights of Women.

In 1848 the women prepared a declaration and issued a call for a convention, to be held in the Wesleyan Chapel at Seneca Falls, to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of women. The declaration was discussed and signed by a hundred men and women, "some of whom withdrew their names when the storms of ridicule began to break." Among the signatories who remained staunch was Susan B. Anthony.

Women Decide 'o Organise Their Own Movement.

In 1851 Miss Anthony first met Mrs. Stanton, and organised work for women's rights began to take shape in New York. In 1852 a *bona-fide* Women's Rights Committee, with delegates from eight States and Canada, was held in Syracuse, and Miss Anthony, with her group, began her wonderful leadership of the movement.

In 1869 the women who had sought to urge their claim along with the claim of the negroes realised that the so-called Equal Rights Association gave so scant a support to the claims of the women that it was in effect a denial, and they understood at last that their only chance lay in a separate organisation.

Two Associations Formed—One for a Federal Amendment, and One for a States Campaign.

At the close of a meeting of this Equal Rights Association in New York, women who had come from nineteen States to attend it met at the Women's Bureau in East Twenty-third Street, May 15, 1869, and formed a National Woman Suffrage Association, whose object should be to secure a sixteenth amendment to the National Constitution, which would enfranchise women. Mrs. Stanton was made president, and Miss Anthony was put on the Executive Committee. As there was some division of sentiment at this time, a call was issued by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and others, for a convention to meet in Cleveland, O., the following November, and here the American Woman Suffrage Association was formed, with Henry Ward Beecher, president, and Lucy Stone, chairman Executive Committee. It worked principally to obtain the suffrage through amendments to State constitutions. Both societies held national conventions every year thereafter.

The Two Associations Join Forces.

In 1890 the two bodies united, under the name National American Woman Suffrage Association, and since then both methods of work have been followed. Mrs. Stanton was elected president of the new organisation; Miss Anthony vice-president-at-large; Lucy Stone, chairman Executive Committee. In 1892 Mrs. Stanton resigned her office because of advancing age, Miss Anthony was elected president, and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw vice-president. Miss Anthony resigned in 1900, aged 80, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected. In 1904 she could not serve longer, and Miss Shaw was made president. In 1915 she resigned, and Mrs. Catt was re-elected. *Such are a few facts—specimen facts, samples of a thousand significant events which have each contributed something to bring the movement to maturity. They fill a page, but those who would really understand should study the three fat books of "The History of Woman Suffrage," by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, with the two succeeding volumes by Ida Husted Harper, and the sequel to it, upon which Mrs. Harper is now engaged.

Victory.

Those who have thus fought again in imagination the great fight of three-score years and ten will have felt no surprise, only a sense of fulfilment at the events of May 21 and June 4, 1919, when first the House of Representatives, and then the Senate, endorsed the fateful amendment; nor at the crowning happening of August 26th. America becomes at last true to herself, a nation of free men and women. A. H. W.

*For much of the above material I am indebted to Mrs. Harper's "History."—A. H. W.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. STORY OF THE LAST ACT OF THIS GREAT WOMAN SUFFRAGE DRAMA.

This letter is written August 13 to go to-morrow morning on the "Adriatic," the last mail ship which will carry it to London in time for the September number of the *International News*. It has been held until this moment waiting for the latest developments and the action of the Tennessee Legislature, which probably will decide the fate of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The vote was taken in the Senate this afternoon, and a long-distance telephone message from Nashville came as the closing paragraphs were written, saying that it was ratified by the splendid majority of 25 to 4. As not enough pledges had been secured in the Lower House to make it safe to take a vote, the suffragists were able to have it postponed until Monday. It is in this branch that defeat has been feared. A cablegram will be sent to the *News*, so that its readers will get the full result—and they can obtain some idea from this letter of what it has cost.

I. H. H.

In my letters to the *International News*, which has been so generous with its space, I have tried to give the readers an idea of the struggle that has been made in the United States to obtain universal suffrage for women. I have told of the nearly two years of continuous effort to have Congress submit a Federal Amendment to the State Legislatures after it had reached the point where it needed only one or two more votes in one House. I have shown how by collusion between small groups in the two parties these votes were withheld until all the Legislatures had adjourned not to meet again in regular session until 1921, when the quadriennial general election would be over. I have described the unprecedented action of the suffragists in securing special sessions of the Legislatures, until in the brief time from June 4, 1919, when finally the amendment was submitted, to the next March, 35 of the necessary 36 had ratified it. Since then I have told of the never-ceasing fight to get that one Legislature, and the repeated failures. Every State in the West and the Middle-West had ratified when Washington did so on March 22. The Southern group of nine States, from Louisiana to Maryland, were utterly hopeless. All of the Eastern States had ratified except Delaware, Connecticut and Vermont. From these three, therefore, the one vital State would have to be obtained.

The Unsuccessful but Gallant Struggle in Delaware, Vermont, and Connecticut.

In my letter for the June number, which did not arrive in time to appear, I described at some length the many weeks of hard work in Delaware by scores of devoted women, and the long days of anxiety while the ratification measure was tossed from one branch of the Legislature to the other and jugged with by the politicians. In the July number I spoke briefly of its final defeat, and passed on to the herculean efforts in Vermont and Connecticut and their contemptuous treatment by the Governors of these two States.

Evidence of a Hidden Influence at Work.

In that letter I ventured to say: "Many of the suffrage leaders believe that the two obstinate Governors are acting with the consent of the 'inner circle' of party 'bosses' who do not want the Eastern women to vote in November on the re-election of members of Congress who blocked the Amendment for so long." This was a scarcely formed opinion at the time that was written, but by my letter in the August number the readers will see that it soon became an absolute certainty.

Mrs. Catt Strikes Out from the Shoulder.

This was the shock that awaited Mrs. Catt, the national president, when she returned from the Geneva Convention, and she struck out from the shoulder at the first opportunity. My last letter told of the visit of Governor Clement, of Vermont, to Senator Harding, the Republican candidate for President, and their statements to the Press, which were construed to mean that the Governor would call a special session of the Legislature, and were so given out by the papers under flaming headlines. On the contrary, he had

been at home but a short time when he issued a long proclamation declaring that not for any consideration would he summon the Legislature to act on this Amendment! The entire country was amazed at this action and began to ask the reason for it. Mrs. Catt at once sent the following open letter to the Republican nominee for the Presidency and gave it to the Press:—

She Speaks the Truth to Senator Harding.

"Senator Harding, you are about to come before the women voters of the country as the choice of the Republican party for the next President of the United States. You will come as the mouthpiece and the executive agent of this party. You will make representations to the women voters on its behalf. When you say that the Republican party offers this or that prospect, you will expect your utterances to be relied on as coming from its leader, and the voters of the country to consider that where you lead the lesser politicians of your party will follow. But what confidence can you hope to inspire in the women voters if the State politicians are to set themselves thus early against your leadership?"

"Your party stands committed to the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. You stand committed to it. The Republican Governor of Vermont refused to be guided by you or the party. Unlike the Legislature of Louisiana, that of Vermont stands ready to ratify. Governor Clement cites this, indeed, as one of the reasons why he will not call the special session.

"It is not Governor Clement whom the women voters of the country must hold responsible for the failure of the Republican party to complete the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in time for the women of the 18 unfranchised States to take part in the 1920 elections.

"Governor Clement is not the nominee of the Republican party. What about Vermont, Senator Harding?"

She Pulverises Governor Clement's Excuses.

Mrs. Catt followed this letter the next day with a broadside addressed to Governor Clement, which was widely published. She put up to him a series of as searching questions as ever were addressed to a public official. She showed not only the fallacy but the dishonesty of the reasons given in his proclamation. You profess to fear 'an invasion of States' rights,' she said. "Then why did you veto the Presidential Suffrage Bill passed by the Legislature of Vermont last year, which was strictly a State action and conferred the vote upon the women of Vermont alone?" "Do you not realise," she asked, "that no Bolshevist ever made a bolder repudiation of the elemental principles of our Government than you do when you say: 'As interpreted by the Supreme Court to-day the Federal Constitution threatens the foundation of free popular government'?"

Space cannot be given to the entire arraignment, but here is another question: "Why do you repudiate the Constitution of the United States? . . . Why do you slander the members of your own Legislature by the implication that they do not possess the judgment or the conscientious purpose to represent the people of Vermont on this question? Why do you reject the pledges and pronouncements of your State and National party? Why do you take the responsibility upon your individual self to stand between the women of Vermont as well as the women of the nation and their right to vote in November? Why do you, in the year 1920, when the great countries of the world have enfranchised their women, attempt to block the normal, legal procedure in this Republic? Do you not know that, in the eyes of the world, by your action you impugn the good faith of your party, of its national committee, its accredited leaders and its presidential nominee on the subject of ratification?" She dared the Governor to tell who was behind him in this action, and said: "Nobody accepts it as a fact that on you is to rest the responsibility for your refusal to call Vermont's Legislature in special session. . . . You owe it to the Republican party to explain your assumption of an authority that belongs to your party leaders. Governor Clement, tell it all!"*

* This story is told in a postscript which I rushed by the next steamer after my August letter was mailed, as later news, but I do not know whether it arrived in time to be used. Even if it did it may be well to have all of the different parts of the recital in one place.

The Public Begin to see the Game that is Being Played.

This bold defiance did not change the situation in Vermont, but it exposed to the public the game that was being played—resolutions, protestations, telegrams, letters calling aloud to the very Heavens for the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and then the withholding of the one ratification which would make it a part of the constitution. If Governor Clement could go straight from an interview with the Republican candidate for President and do this deed, who was responsible for it?

Miss Ludington and her Association Expose Governor Holcomb's Methods.

The open declaration of war did not stop here. Connecticut, like Vermont, is an almost solidly Republican State with a Legislature in full control of this party. Its members had expressed entire willingness to vote for ratification, but Governor Holcomb, like Governor Clement, had positively refused to call it in special session, on the ground that this could be done only in case of an "emergency," and none existed. The Legislature has power, on petition of a certain number of its members, to assemble in special session without being summoned. When its leaders were asked by the women why they did not do this, they answered that they did not wish to embarrass the Governor! My July letter told of the action of the National American Suffrage Association in having a delegation of prominent women from every State in the Union call on him to point out that when the enfranchisement of half the women in the United States depended on the Connecticut Legislature, an "emergency" surely did exist. The majority of these women travelled from 1,000 to 3,000 miles to make this visit, at a great cost in time and fatigue, and, with the high railroad rates, at vast expense, which was borne by the Association. It had not the slightest effect. The Connecticut Republicans then held their annual State convention, passed a strong resolution urging Governor Holcomb to call the session, and put back into power the same old party "machine" that had fought woman suffrage every step of the way; and it also endorsed for re-election United States Senator Brandegee, as vicious an enemy as the Federal Amendment ever had in Congress!

After this convention, Miss Katherine Ludington, the very able president of the State Suffrage Association, summoned her board, and they issued a manifesto citing these facts; charging the Republican party with being behind the anti-suffrage stand of Governor Holcomb; declaring that the Association would oppose the Republican candidates in the campaign, excepting those who openly helped the fight for ratification, and that full instructions to this end had been given to all its county chairmen, boards and local workers. In the course of a scathing arraignment of the party it said: "At the time of the State Convention, the *Hartford Courant* [official organ] obligingly explained that the suffrage resolution passed was a pretence and really meant nothing. Mr. Roraback, State chairman, tells the public that the suffrage plank in the National Republican platform should not be taken seriously. 'The leaders of the party,' he says, 'put it in to please women in the voting States, but they meant nothing by it.' Are the men who are to lead a great party as double-faced and untrustworthy as Mr. Roraback paints them? Were they laughing in their sleeves as they wrote the other solemn pledges in the national platform?"

Republicans and Democrats begin to see that Honesty is the Best Policy.

The Republican leaders could not fail to see the seriousness of the situation. At first they strongly resented it, and Senator Harding himself arraigned the women for attacking the Republican party, when its votes had put the amendment through Congress, and when twenty-nine of the thirty-five Legislatures which had ratified were Republican. They answered that it was also the refusal of Republican Senators to give the one needed vote that blocked the amendment for nearly a year and a half after it had passed the lower house; and that it was now Republican Governors, apparently with the consent of the party leaders, who were making the ratification of the thirty-five Legislatures of no effect.

The Democrats were quick to take advantage of this situation. They dropped whatever "unholy alliance" with the Republican leaders may have existed, and from Governor Cox, down or up, threw themselves into the fight for

ratification. Their opportunity came when Governor Roberts, of Tennessee, under the decision of the United States Supreme Court given in my July letter, called its Legislature in special session for August 9. It is Democratic, and the leaders in this party have been determined to retrieve its bad record by making Tennessee the thirty-sixth State to ratify, and putting the women of the country under the deepest obligation to it for their suffrage. Governor Roberts himself has been most anxious for favourable action. There are, however, two distinct elements in the Democratic party, the progressive and the reactionary, which cannot change. There are, also, in the Tennessee Legislature, as in those of all States, members who can be easily changed for a "consideration." It was evident, therefore, that the amendment could not be ratified without the help of the small group of Republican members. Then began the battle-royal.

Never in the history of the United States was such national pressure brought to bear on a State Legislature. It commenced with a letter from President Wilson urging ratification. Governor Cox, the Democratic candidate for President, sent three or four of his personal representatives to Tennessee to work for it; wrote the strongest possible letters to Governor Roberts and other prominent officials, and held himself ready to go before the Legislature in person if necessary. The national leaders from all over the country exercised their fullest influence on the opposition, and almost none of them agreed with it. On the Republican side, Senator Harding entirely abandoned his lofty position of not interfering in any way with the States. He, too, sent personal representatives to Nashville, the capital; he wrote and telegraphed to the Republican State chairman and other officials, asking how he could assist. He sent a telegram there to Mrs. Catt, saying: "We are continuing to encourage the Republican legislators to join cordially in the effort to consummate ratification." With his full approval the chairman of the National Republican Committee sent a 700-word telegram to the Republican legislators, making as strong an appeal as the English language permits, for their favourable votes on ratification. It is literally true that not a thing was left undone for its success. At the request of the Governor, Mrs. Catt went to Tennessee, July 16, and remained in the intense heat until the end, speaking in all the large cities and working day and night. She sent for other national women to join the very able officers of the Tennessee Suffrage Association.

The Anti-Suffragists Fight in the Last Ditch.

The opponents did not leave a stone unturned. The most prominent members of the Men's and Women's National Anti-Suffrage Associations joined forces with the Tennessee "antis," who included some of the most eminent men and women in the State, and for weeks they carried on as vigorous a campaign as was ever waged. Up to the last moment both sides were equally confident of success. If ratification is defeated there is not at present any chance in sight to secure it before the Legislatures meet next January. That of North Carolina is now sitting in special session and will vote on it, but not much effort has been made there because the situation is hopeless. The Governor of Florida, who is personally in favour of it, has refused to call a special session because of the certainty that it would be defeated.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

New York, August 13, 1920.

"WESTWARD LOOK, THE LAND IS BRIGHT."

THE English poet Arthur Hugh Clough went straight to the heart of every pioneer when he described how, after a long and toilsome night, the watcher hardly believes that the sun, so cold and feeble it seems, has really risen, until, looking to the west, he sees the land flooded with light. Just three hundred years ago the Pilgrim Fathers sailed away from Plymouth to seek freedom in the New World. But they did not find freedom, for they did not fully know what freedom is. The Pilgrim Mothers went with them, and suffered with them the incredible hardships of their lot; they bore the citizens of the new commonwealth, but they were

not recognised as citizens themselves. It has taken two hundred and ninety-nine years and three hundred and forty-five days for the men of the American Union to understand the full glory of their own creed. On August 18, 1920, by a majority of just two votes—forty-nine to forty-seven—the Legislature of the State of Tennessee have confirmed the decision of the State Senate—affirmed by twenty-five to four—to ratify the Nineteenth Federal Amendment to the Constitution. This provides that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex."

It is a great deed in the history of the world. It is a good omen for the future. As Dr. Anna Shaw said in her last speech: "It may be that we want nothing material out of the war, but, oh, we want the biggest thing that has ever come to the world! . . . Was there ever a time when the peoples of all nations looked towards America as they are looking to-day? Men and women, they are looking to us as the hope of the world!" Making every allowance for the natural warmth of patriotism, who can deny the large measure of truth in these words of this noble woman, who died before the fruition of her labours. And now the great bell, mute till the women of America are free, rings at last. Let us believe that it will ring out the old, ring in the new—the new that is full of the young life of great ideals.

New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth; They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of Truth.

Lo, before us gleam her camp fires! We ourselves must pilgrims be, Launch our "Mayflower," and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea; Nor attempt the Future's portals with the Past's blood-rusted key.

So sang the American poet Lowell, he who knew his country as we of old Europe can never know it.

But though we have not, many of us, trodden the soil of the New World, we have learned to know and believe in the great women from over there who have been leaders in our cause—those who have passed away, those who are with us still. Our International President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who went straight back from Geneva to face a crisis that might well have tried the steadiest nerve. Who looked defeat in the face and refused to know it! Who, because she refused to know when she was beaten, has won! And with her the band of gallant women in each State who held the field against tremendous odds, the women of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and those women belonging to other organisations who, each in their own method and degree, have contributed to the grand conclusion.

We believe that this victory which they have won will be a victory not for themselves alone. We believe it will bring nearer the fulfilment of the dear wish for a true Household of the Nations, expressed by the women of nearly forty countries gathered together at Geneva. Each enfranchised woman in America will, we would believe, be a stalwart soldier battling against hatred and oppression.

Poor prose cannot convey all the richness of the hopes that rise in our hearts. May they of America and we of the rest of the world who are enfranchised women take Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" for our model.

Who is the Happy Warrior? Who is he That every man in arms would wish to be? —It is the generous spirit who, when brought Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought Upon the plan that pleased his childish thought.

—'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends Upon that law as on the best of friends; Whence, in a state where men are tempted still To evil for a guard against worse ill, And what in quality or act is best Doth seldom on a right foundation rest, He fixes good on good alone, and owes To virtue every triumph that he knows.

And through the heat of conflict keeps the law In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw.

This is the Happy Warrior; this is he Whom every man in arms should wish to be. A. H. W.

MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATION FOR THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE RATIFICATION OF THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

From Viscountess Astor, M.P.

I do congratulate America with all my heart on having followed her democratic ideals to their logical conclusion, and enfranchised her women. It is a great step forward in more ways than one. It is not only an act of justice and therefore right, but I think it will bring a real contribution to the world. The citizenship that the thinking and educated women of America can give will help not only America, but other countries too. We all of us realised at Geneva that responsible citizenship is not an empty thing, but that it is what really helps to get things done. There never was a time when the world needed help more badly, and I am certain that American women will be among the first to realise this.

The chief honour for this achievement belongs to the splendid women who have worked and toiled for years in the uphill and sometimes unpleasant business of educating public opinion. One can only assure them of our admiration and of our tremendous satisfaction at their success. Honour belongs, too, to the men of the thirty-six States who have set their seal on this act of justice, and who have had the wisdom and courage to give a special welcome to women's co-operation. They have shown "vision"—without which a nation shall perish.

(Signed) NANCY ASTOR.

HEADQUARTERS' CONGRATULATIONS TO MRS. CATT.

The following telegrams have been despatched to Mrs. Chapman Catt from the Headquarters of the I.W.S.A. :—

From Mrs. Corbett Ashby, on the news that the Tennessee Senate had ratified :—

Heartiest Congratulations and Good Wishes.

From Mrs. Henry Fawcett, on the news of the endorsement of the Senate's action by the House of Representatives :—

All here rejoice greatly over your well-earned Victory. You have fought a good fight.

HONOUR FOR MRS. FAWCETT.

The King of the Belgians has conferred the Diploma and Medal of the Order of Queen Elizabeth upon Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett "pour connaître le dévouement dont elle a fait preuve dans les œuvres de la guerre."

THE REPORT OF THE GENEVA CONGRESS.

The report of the Geneva Congress, June 6 to 12, is in the hands of the printer; but a prolonged printers' strike in Manchester is holding up its publication. We hope, however, that by the end of September it will be in our hands.

The price of the report, as nearly as we are at present able to calculate will be: 4 shillings; 6 francs (French); 4.40 francs (Swiss); 6 marks; 6 kroner (Austrian); 6 lire; 1 dollar (U.S.A.). Postage extra (except in the case of the U.S.A.).

These prices may have to be slightly revised, and further prices for other countries will be quoted. These are the nearest calculations we are able to arrive at, at present, until we have actually received the report. When we have received bound proofs we may be able to quote prices inclusive of postage for each country.

Meantime orders should be sent immediately to Headquarters, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2, England.

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS.

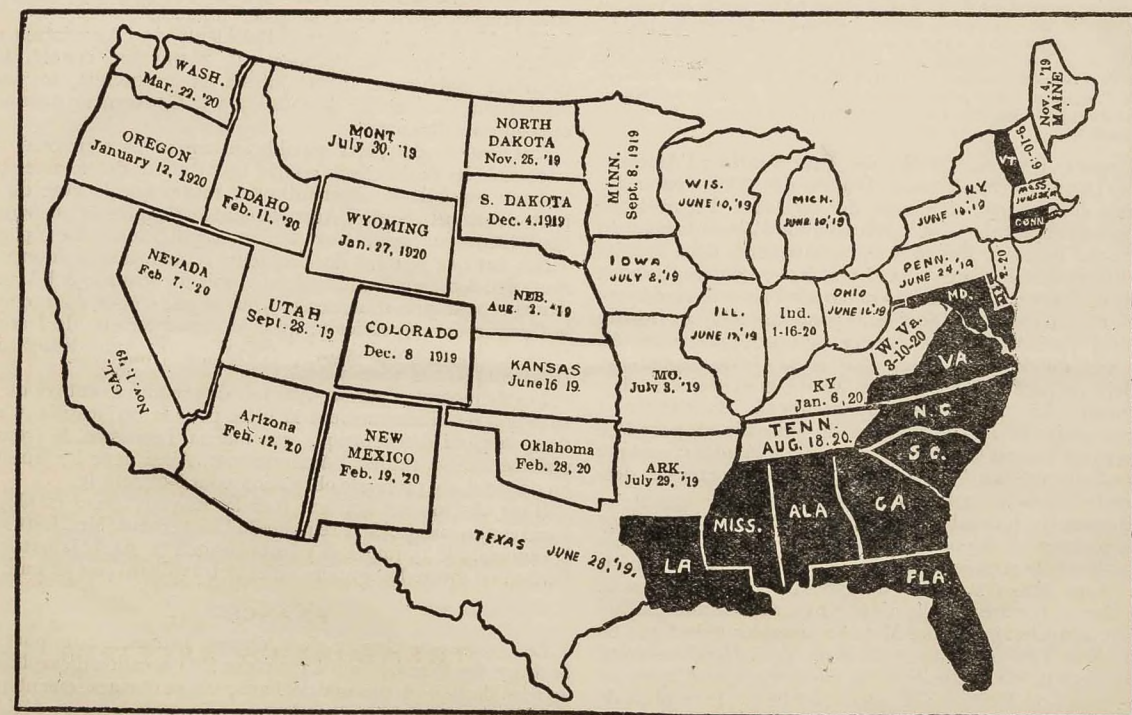
Owing to the unusual pressure on our space due to the Congress, a statement of Treasurer's Receipts has not appeared since April. The half-yearly audit is now proceeding, and the statement as from April will appear next month. It will be of special interest as showing the results of the Congress.

U.S.A. FEDERAL AMENDMENT CALENDAR AND MAP.

Table listing ratification dates and vote counts for the 19th Amendment across various US states and Congresses. Includes entries for May 21, 1919 through August 18, 1920, with House and Senate vote counts.

* Honour Roll. Ratification unanimous in both houses.

Late News. Both Houses of Connecticut Legislature ratified on September 14, 1920.



NOUVELLES FÉMINISTES.

XCUSES A NOS LECTEURS.

La cause du retard dans la publication de l'*International Woman Suffrage News*, ainsi que des nombreuses fautes d'imprimerie qui se trouvent dans la page française du numéro du mois d'août, est due à la difficulté de travail et à la grève des imprimeurs qui a fait qu'il nous a été impossible de corriger les épreuves. Mais nous espérons à l'avenir pouvoir donner à nos lecteurs de langue française un résumé intéressant et suffisamment détaillé du mouvement suffragiste. Nous nous efforcerons certainement dans la mesure de nos moyens de donner pleine satisfaction à nos lecteurs.

LA SITUATION EN AMÉRIQUE.

Un dernier mot.

Nos lecteurs trouveront à une autre page le texte de la Proclamation signée le 26 août, à 8 heures du matin, par le Secrétaire d'État des États-Unis d'Amérique dans lequel se trouve ratifié le dix-neuvième Amendement de la Constitution des États-Unis. Le dix-neuvième Amendement dit clairement et simplement ce qui suit : " Le droit au vote des citoyens des États-Unis ne sera pas refusé ou abrégé par les États-Unis ou par aucun des États en raison du sexe de ce citoyen. "

La ratification du dix-neuvième Amendement n'a certainement pas été une tâche facile et simple pour les femmes américaines !

Le 25 août, un jour avant que la Proclamation fut signée, le parti antisuffragiste essaya une dernière résistance contre l'Amendement. Ils se rendirent auprès de M. Justice Frederick L. Siddons, Président de la Cour Suprême du District de Colombie, et demandèrent un ordre qui empêcha le Secrétaire d'État de publier une proclamation déclarant l'Amendement ratifié par les trente-six États demandés. Le Président Siddons renvoya l'appel. Le matin suivant, à la première heure, la trente-sixième ratification, celle de Tennessee, arriva à Washington. Le dossier fut porté au Secrétaire Colby, à 3 heures 45 du matin, par M. Cooke, du Département d'État. Dans une interview avec la Presse, qui eut lieu le 26 août, le Secrétaire Colby dit ceci :

Il y avait quelques questions de lois concernant la ratification que je désirais faire examiner par l'officier en chef de la Cour du Département d'État. J'ai donc envoyé les papiers à M. F. K. Nielsen, l'avoué du Département d'État, avec la recommandation de me rapporter les papiers chez moi, à 8 heures du matin. J'avais reçu de nombreux messages me demandant d'agir avec grande promptitude au sujet de l'Amendement, car quelques esprits craignaient fortement que les " Antis " n'arrivassent à obtenir un ordre des autres cours qui interviendrait avec ma proclamation. Cependant, ce n'était pas mon opinion qu'il fut convenable pour moi de montrer trop d'empressément à éviter l'occasion d'une intervention judiciaire ; mais je ne voyais aucune raison pour laquelle j'aurais montré que je traînais les choses en longueur.

Cependant, Tennessee, le dernier État à ratifier l'Amendement, s'est montré récalcitrant. D'après des télégrammes des journaux de Londres, il a rayé de ses livres d'État toute référence se rapportant à sa ratification de l'Amendement du Suffrage des Femmes. Des câbles prophétisant le délai indéfini du Suffrage des Femmes aux États-Unis, comme résultat de l'acte de Tennessee, avaient paru dans la Presse britannique ; et votre rédactrice en chef, qui était juste de retour au Bureau du journal, après une longue absence, en fut des plus attristée. Car le numéro de la *Victoire*, pour le mois de septembre, était déjà préparé par Miss Helen Ward, et se trouvait chez l'imprimeur. La grève des imprimeurs à Manchester a d'ailleurs empêché la composition du journal, et peut-être que pour une fois un tel contretemps a prouvé qu'à " quelque chose malheur est bon, " car il nous permet d'ajouter ces dernières notes sur la situation en Amérique.

Le Bureau du journal a par conséquent passé la matinée du 9 septembre à téléphoner à Londres de tous les côtés susceptibles de le renseigner sur les dernières nouvelles américaines. Nous fûmes stupéfiés d'apprendre par l'Ambassade Américaine de Londres qu'elle n'avait reçu aucune information authentique après le 21 juin ! Mais les aimables rédacteurs en chef du *New York Tribune* et du *New York Herald* avaient reçu des extraits de la Presse et ils me dirent que d'après les derniers rapports il n'y avait aucun doute que le résultat de toute Cour Suprême d'Action serait favorable à la ratification du dix-neuvième Amendement, et qu'ainsi la trahison de Tennessee était déjà de l'histoire ancienne.

Nous imprimons donc le numéro de la *Victoire* et nous envoyons nos compliments à nos confrères suffragistes de l'Amérique, avec des applaudissements aussi triomphants que ceux qui ont acclamé Mrs. Catt quand elle est revenue à New-York le 27 août pour faire une procession en honneur de la victoire.

9 septembre 1920.

E. A.

Mrs. Husted Harper, dans ses lettres adressées à l'*International News*, nous donne une idée de la lutte qui s'engagea aux États-Unis afin d'obtenir le suffrage universel des femmes. Tous les États de l'ouest et de l'ouest central avaient ratifié l'Amendement ; Washington fit de même le 22 mars. Les neuf États du sud, de la Louisiane à Maryland, restaient sans espoir, et tous les États de l'est avaient ratifié excepté Delaware, Connecticut et Vermont.

Malgré les efforts acharnés des suffragistes en Delaware, la bataille fut perdue définitivement ; il restait Vermont et Connecticut à gagner à la ratification. Beaucoup de suffragistes pensèrent que ces deux Gouverneurs si obstinés agissaient de concert et ne voulaient pas que les femmes des États de l'est eurent le vote au moment de la réélection des Membres du Congrès. Ce soupçon devint malheureusement une réalité absolue.

Le Gouverneur de Vermont, après une visite au Sénateur Harding, candidat républicain à la Présidence, — donna à la Presse, de concert avec celui-ci, un rapport comme quoi le Gouverneur réunirait une session spéciale du corps législatif. Au contraire, peu de temps après son retour, le Gouverneur émit une longue proclamation déclarant que sous aucun prétexte il réunirait le corps législatif en faveur de l'Amendement. Le pays tout entier fut stupéfié de cette action et en demanda la raison. Mrs. Catt, non moins étonnée, envoya immédiatement à la Presse une lettre adressée au Sénateur Harding. Mrs. Catt fit suivre cette lettre d'une note au Gouverneur de Vermont, qui eut une grande publication, et dans laquelle elle lui faisait remarquer la déshonneté des raisons données dans la proclamation.

Ce brave défi ne changea pourtant pas la situation à Vermont, mais il montra au public la comédie qui avait été jouée. Cette déclaration de guerre ne s'arrêta pas là. Connecticut comme Vermont est un État entièrement républicain. Le parti républicain eut volontiers voté pour la ratification de l'Amendement, mais le Gouverneur de Connecticut, comme celui de Vermont, avait refusé de réunir une session spéciale sous prétexte qu'il n'y avait pas " urgence. "

Miss Katherine Ludington, Présidente de l'Association du Suffrage de l'État de Connecticut, réunit son comité. Les membres publièrent un manifeste et accusèrent le parti républicain de soutenir dessous-main le Gouverneur dans son opposition suffragiste.

Les leaders du parti républicain virent le sérieux de la situation. Ils protestèrent contre les attaques des femmes sur le parti républicain, donnant pour raison que le vote de ce parti avait fait aboutir l'Amendement au Congrès, et que vingt-neuf États sur trente-cinq étaient républicains. La réponse à cela fut que le refus des sénateurs républicains à donner le seul vote demandé avait également mis un obstacle à l'Amendement pour près d'un an et demi, et que c'était maintenant le Gouverneur républicain, avec le consentement de leaders républicains, qui rendaient la ratification de l'Amendement des trent-cinq États sans valeur.

Les Démocrates eurent vite fait de prendre avantage de la situation, et commencèrent la lutte pour la ratification. C'est donc la parti démocratique que amena Tennessee, le trente-sixième État à ratifier l'Amendement. Ainsi donc les femmes lui doivent une profonde obligation pour leur suffrage.

Il est absolument vrai que tous les moyens furent employés à arriver au succès. A la requête du Gouverneur, Mrs. Catt alla à Tennessee le 15 juillet et y resta jusqu'à la fin de la bataille, parlant en toutes les grandes villes et travaillant jour et nuit.

FRANCE.

Le Congrès de Genève de l'Alliance Internationale pour le Suffrage des Femmes, qui a pourtant été l'occasion d'excellents articles dans les journaux de Paris, n'a malheureusement pas eu d'action immédiate sur le Sénat français pour le décider à discuter la loi sur le suffrage féminin votée par la Chambre des Députés depuis le 20 mai 1918.

Il est vrai que depuis la fin de la guerre tant de graves questions d'ordre intérieur et extérieur ont absorbé le Parlement français, et l'Europe est encore dans un état si peu stable, que les Sénateurs sont un peu excusables de n'avoir pas voulu soulever une nouvelle question.

Nous espérons pourtant ne pas voir l'été se passer sans que la loi fut discutée, et les Suffragistes ont éprouvé une grande déception lorsque nos amis du Sénat nous ont déclaré que la discussion sur le suffrage féminin ne pourrait pas avoir lieu avant les vacances d'été, et qu'elle devait être remise à la rentrée du Parlement.

Hélas ! Combien de fois déjà la cause des femmes a-t-elle été remise à... plus tard !

Il est difficile de se défendre d'un sentiment d'amertume en voyant toujours retarder une réforme qui, nous le croyons, entraînerait tant d'autres ; mais ce n'est pas l'amertume qui améliorera la situation, et nous ne devons nous laisser aller à aucun sentiment qui puisse diminuer nos forces morales si nécessaires à maintenir.

A propos de suffrage, il est utile de mentionner ici un projet de loi qui, s'il ne nous donne pas satisfaction, aurait cependant l'avantage d'accorder à toutes les femmes le suffrage complet.

Il s'agit du projet de loi ROULLEAUX-DUGAGE sur le *vote familial*, qui a été présenté à la Chambre au commencement de l'été et qui a été repoussé, mais qui sera certainement repris à nouveau par ses auteurs.

Le projet Rouleaux-Dugage est basé sur la volonté excellente de diminuer dans le pays l'influence des célibataires, et d'augmenter l'importance des hommes qui créent honorablement et assument les charges d'une famille nombreuse.

Le " vote familial " demande le droit de vote pour tout être humain, majeur ou mineur ; la femme voterait pour son propre compte, mais les voix des enfants seraient représentées par le père.

Nous avons immédiatement déclaré à Monsieur Rouleaux-Dugage, à son grand étonnement, que nous ne pouvions pas faire campagne pour son projet de loi, même dans la faible mesure de nos forces et cela pour les raisons suivantes :

D'un côté, si nous sommes très persuadées de la grande nécessité morale de protéger les familles nombreuses et d'augmenter leur influence dans le pays, cependant le droit de vote d'êtres inconscients tels que les enfants, ce vote fut-il exercé par procuration, est une question très discutable qui soulève bien des objections.

D'un autre côté, si l'on accepte le " vote familial, " nous ne pouvons, nous autres femmes, pas admettre, ou en tous cas pas soutenir de notre influence, une loi qui augmenterait incommensurablement l'influence masculine en France et diminuerait l'influence féminine, puisque le père voterait pour tous ses enfants, comme la mère veuve d'ailleurs.

Nous demandons en cas où le projet de loi Rouleaux-Dugage serait voté, ce qui me semble très problématique, que les voix des enfants soient partagées, en parties égales, entre le père et la mère.

Lorsqu'il y aurait un nombre impair, un, trois ou cinq enfants, il faudrait encore décider si cette voix impartageable appartiendrait au père, ou s'il ne vaudrait pas mieux l'annuler tout simplement.

Le vote plural ayant été retranché de la législation de certains pays, il ne nous paraît pas très probable qu'il remporte une victoire devant le Parlement Français, mais comme la loi Rouleaux-Dugage accorderait aux femmes le droit de suffrage, nous avons trouvé intéressant de la mentionner.

La Présidente de l'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes :

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER.

Août 1920.

ERRATA.

Madame Suzanne Grinberg nous prie de rectifier quelques points du rapport que nous avons publié dans le numéro d'août. Quelques erreurs y ont paru par notre faute et nous nous empressons de lui donner satisfaction. (Note de la Rédaction.)

1^o SUFFRAGE. — Le Sénat français n'a pas repoussé la proposition adoptée par la Chambre, car cette proposition n'est pas encore venue en discussion.

La Commission chargée de donner un avis a fait un rapport défavorable, mais rien ne permet de penser que le Sénat suivra la Commission ; nous espérons même très fermement que le Sénat aura de tout autres dispositions, et c'est pourquoi nous désirons surtout obtenir une prompt discussion.

2^o FONCTIONS PUBLIQUES. — C'est pendant la guerre seulement que les femmes ont été autorisées à enseigner dans les lycées de garçons ; mais par contre, un grand nombre de fonctions publiques leur ont été ouvertes dans quelques Ministères et cette mesure tend à se généraliser pour tous les Ministères.

3^o ENSEIGNEMENT. — Ce n'est pas l'agrégation des lettres, proprement dite, mais les agrégations de philosophie et de grammaire qui ont été ouvertes aux femmes.

4^o TRAVAIL. — C'est par erreur qu'il a été dit que l'Etat donnait une augmentation de salaire aux femmes venant d'accoucher. Pendant la guerre, l'Etat a seulement donné à ses ouvrières des avantages sérieux pour que pendant six mois après l'accouchement elles puissent rester chez elles et nourrir leurs enfants, ce qui est du reste infiniment préférable à une augmentation de salaire qui aurait encore favorisé l'abandon du bébé par la mère. Le Conseil Supérieur de la Natalité fait de grands efforts pour faire augmenter sérieusement le salaire des fonctionnaires ayant des familles nombreuses.

BULGARIE.

L'Union des Femmes Bulgares comprend à présent trente-trois sociétés. L'Union travaille à obtenir l'égalité des droits de la femme.

Les femmes bulgares ont droit d'éligibilité dans les comités scolaires. Une autre loi passée en 1912, mais qui n'a pas encore été appliquée en raison de la guerre, leur permet de voter ; les femmes qui sont à la tête d'une famille, ou agriculteurs, ont droit de vote aux chambres d'agriculture. Depuis la guerre, des femmes ont été nommées à la tête des départements et même dans les ministères.

Une femme bulgare peut remplir n'importe quel poste comme docteur en médecine, mais malgré ses diplômes universitaires elle ne peut remplir les fonctions de juge ou de notaire.

L'éducation des femmes est très avancée. Le programme des écoles est le même pour les garçons comme pour les filles.

ESTHONIE.

La femme en Esthonie a toujours eu une place d'honneur. La poésie esthonienne a donné à la femme une place égale à celle de l'homme, et son rôle a toujours été prépondérant dans la famille. Immédiatement après la révolution de 1917, quand les Esthoniens eurent leur indépendance, les femmes acquirent les mêmes droits que les hommes.

Le principe de la Constitution ne fait aucune distinction de sexe en matières de droits civils et politiques. En un mot, l'Esthonie est un des pays où l'homme et la femme ont la complète égalité politique.

ITALIE.

Il est regrettable pour les suffragistes que M. Giolitti, qui est antisuffragiste, a été nommé Président du Conseil. M. Giolitti a déclaré, à la séance de la commission parlementaire pour la révision de la loi électorale, que si le vote était accordé aux femmes il serait impossible d'avoir les élections avant 1922. Ce qui est faux. Mais cette déclaration était un moyen de mettre obstacle à la réforme électorale.

Les députés de la droite ont demandé la reconsidération du projet de loi socialiste sur le divorce qui avait été rejeté par le ministère de M. Nitti. Les Catholiques ont déclaré que si cette loi était acceptée ils passeraient à l'opposition.

LETTONIE.

Le gouvernement de Lettonie est entièrement démocratique. Les personnes des deux sexes qui ont atteint l'âge de 21 ans ont l'égalité de vote. Parmi 150 membres du Parlement se trouvent 5 femmes, et dans les municipalités la proportion des femmes est de 6 pour cent. En outre, les femmes ont des postes importants dans l'administration du pays et dans la diplomatie.

LITHUANIE.

La Lithuanie vient de donner le droit de vote aux femmes. Les femmes lithuanaises ont toujours travaillé et lutté pour leur pays, à côté des hommes. Elles se sont souvent distinguées comme écrivains. Ce fut une femme qui eut l'insigne honneur d'ouvrir l'Assemblée Constituante.

(La suite à la page 193.)

Members of the Geneva Congress: A Correction.

We regret that in the list of Members of the Geneva Congress, printed on pages 150-153 of our July issue, the names of the officers of the Alliance who acted from 1913 to June, 1920, and during the Congress, were omitted, only the names of the officers elected for the period 1920-1924 having been given. The following is the list of officers acting during the Congress. Among them will be noted Annie Furuholm, M.P., and Adela Coit, whose names in consequence of this error did not appear in the previous list.

OFFICERS, 1913-20.

President: CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, 404, Riverside Drive, New York, U.S.A.
First Vice-President: ELEANOR RATHBONE, proxy for MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, LL.D., 2, Gower Street, London, W.C. 1, England.
Second Vice-President: ANNIE FURUHJELM, M.P., Helsingfors, Finland.
Third Vice-President: ANNA LINDEMANN, Degerloch, Stuttgart, Germany.
Fourth Vice-President: MARGUERITE DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER, 14, Rue Pierre-I^{er}-de-Serbie, Paris.
First Cor. Secretary: KATHERINE DEXTER McCORMICK, 393, Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
First Rec. Secretary: CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN.
Acting Rec. Secretary: MARGERY CORBETT ASHBY, 33, Upper Richmond Road, Putney, S.W. 5, London, England.
Second Rec. Secretary: MARIE STRITT, 17, Reissigerstrasse, Dresden-A., Germany.
First Treasurer: ADELA STANTON COIT, 30, Hyde Park Gate, S.W. 7, London, England.
Second Treasurer: SIGNE BERGMAN, 15, Grevmagnigatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

WOMEN AND ORGANISED RELIGION.**PRONOUNCEMENTS OF THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS IN COMMUNION WITH THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.**

DURING July and August a Conference has been in session of over 250 Bishops in communion with the Church of England, gathered from all parts of the world. This Conference, which meets every few years and is known as the Lambeth Conference because it meets in the Palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth in London, does not claim canonical authority, but its findings have wide influence. Among the subjects it dealt with last month is the Ministry of Women, and as we believe it will be of interest even to those of our readers who belong to other religious communions or to none, to see the terms of the resolutions passed, we give them below:—

Women should be admitted to those Councils of the Church to which laymen are admitted, and on equal terms. Diocesan, Provincial, or National Synods may decide when or how this principle is to be brought into effect.

The time has come when, in the interests of the Church at large, and in particular of the development of the Ministry of Women, the Diaconate of Women should be restored formally and canonically, and should be recognised throughout the Anglican Communion.

The Order of Deaconesses is for Women the one and only Order of the Ministry which has the stamp of Apostolic approval, and is for Women the only Order of the Ministry which we can recommend that our Branch of the Catholic Church should recognise and use.

The office of a Deaconess is primarily a ministry of succour, bodily and spiritual, especially to women, and should follow the lines of the primitive rather than of the modern diaconate of men. It should be understood that the Deaconess dedicates herself to a lifelong service, but that no vow or implied promise of celibacy should be required as necessary for admission to the Order. Nevertheless, Deaconesses who desire to do so may legitimately pledge themselves either as members of a Community or as individuals to a celibate life.

In every Branch of the Anglican Communion there should be adopted a Form and Manner of Making of Deaconesses such as they might fitly find a place in the Book of Common Prayer, containing in all cases provision for:—

- (a) Prayer by the Bishop and the laying on of his hands;
- (b) A formula giving authority to execute the Office of a Deaconess in the Church of God;
- (c) The delivery of the New Testament by the Bishop to each candidate.

The Forms for the Making and Ordering of Deaconesses should be of the same general character, and as far as possible similar in their most significant parts, though varying in less important details in accordance with local needs.

The following functions may be entrusted to the Deaconess, in addition to the ordinary duties which would naturally fall to her:—

- (a) To prepare candidates for Baptism and Confirmation;
- (b) To assist at the administration of Holy Baptism; and to be the administrant in cases of necessity in virtue of her office;
- (c) To pray with and to give counsel to such women as desire help in difficulties and perplexities;
- (d) With the approval of the Bishop and of the Parish Priest, and under such conditions as shall from time to time be laid down by the Bishop—(i.) in Church, to read Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, except such portions as are assigned to the Priest only; (ii.) in Church, also to lead in prayer and, under licence of the Bishop, to instruct and exhort in Congregation.

Opportunity should be given to women as to men (duly qualified and approved by the Bishop) to speak in consecrated or unconsecrated buildings, and to lead in prayer, at other than the regular and appointed services of the Church. Such diocesan arrangements, both for men and women, should, wherever possible, be subject to Provincial control and co-ordination.

The Conference recommends that careful inquiry should be made in the several Branches of the Anglican Communion as to the position and recognition of women workers in the Church, the conditions of their employment, and the remuneration of those who receive salaries.

The following are a few extracts from the report published with the resolutions:—

... In our judgment there is nothing to prevent our believing that the Apostolic Commission recorded in St. John xx. 19-23 was delivered to women as well as to men.

... Again, we are led to conclude that the evangelistic charge (St. Matt. xxviii. 16-20) was delivered to a company which included women.

... In our belief... St. Paul asserted the spiritual equality of men and women; neither is afore or after the other. This spiritual equality will be realised without let or hindrance in the spiritual world which is to come. But in this present world of action, between these equals, man and woman, man has a priority, and in the last resort authority belongs to him. As the world in which we live becomes more like the world to come, this qualification becomes less and less operative, just as the stronger races assert their power in diminishing degree over their spiritual equals, the weaker races.

When we survey, at any rate, the recent history of some, if not all, parts of the Anglican Communion, we are obliged to confess that the Church has failed to treat women workers with generosity, or even with justice. It is a platitude to say that some of the very best work of the Church has been done, with singular patience and conscientiousness, with singular vigour and ability, with singular devotion to our Lord, by women. But the women to whom we owe this great debt have received but scanty acknowledgment from the Church, in the way either of actual salary or of recognition or of a responsible share in directing the activities or the policy of the Church, either centrally or parochially.

It is now, we believe, generally, if not universally, recognised that the future must be different from the past. The education of women has advanced in a way which would have seemed incredible to our fathers. . . . Women sit in legislative and municipal assemblies. . . . Women also of mature judgment have spoken at mixed meetings of men and women on the difficult and delicate subject of sexual sin, its prevention and the rescue of its victims, with sympathy, with power, with restraint. These are facts; and we are convinced that, if the recognition of these facts is grudging and inadequate, at least two evil results will ensue. We run a grave risk of wasting a great power for spiritual good, which, as many are profoundly convinced, it is the will of God that we should use for His better service. We also run the grave risk of alienating from the Church, and even from Christianity, not a few of those able and high-minded women before whom, if they turn to social or educational work, there open out careers of great and increasing responsibility.

And we record our deliberate belief that it ought plainly to be understood that no promise of celibacy is required for admission to the Order of Deaconesses. We recognise that a Deaconess who is married is likely to possess, as a married woman, a peculiar power by prayer and counsel to help married women; and, that being so, we do not think that Deaconesses should be precluded from marrying.

Among those who gave evidence before the Committee examining the subject was Miss Maude Royden. We are informed that her words carried much weight, and, without doubt, the campaign led by her during the last two years, with Miss Edith Picton Turbervill and the League of the Church Militant (Chairman, Dr. Letitia Fairfield) has done much to bring public opinion to the point at which the Bishops' report becomes possible. It is necessary to assert that this report is not wholly satisfactory either in what it says or what it leaves unsaid. For example, the philosophy expressed in such a sentence as this gives rise to insistent questioning: "In our belief . . . St. Paul asserted the spiritual equality of men and women: neither is afore or after the other. This spiritual equality will be realised without let or hindrance in the spiritual world to come. But in this present world of action, between these equals, man and woman, man has a priority and in the last resort authority belongs to him. . . ." But this is not the occasion for a full analysis. Suffice it to say that the Anglican Bishops have shown courage and insight in facing one of the urgent problems of the day.

A. H. W.

BULGARIA.**REPORT PRESENTED TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE I.W.S.A.**

The Bulgarian Women's Union, founded on the initiative of the Sofia Society "Soznanie," was formed in 1901, and comprised 20 Associations. Its object was: "The moral and intellectual elevation of woman and the betterment of her position from every point of view." At the Eighth Congress, in 1907, this object was enlarged by the addition: "The Union aims at obtaining equality of rights for women."

At the present time 33 Societies form part of the Union and work for the attainment of its object, while pursuing their own humanitarian or educational aims.

The Societies at Silistra, Dobritsch and Baltchik have been lost to the Union as a result of the wars.

Economic difficulties, and especially the crisis in the paper trade, had for a time suspended the publication of the organ of the Union, *Women's Voice and Vote*. It will reappear before the next Congress, which is fixed for August, 1920. The Bulgarian Women's Union has never since the time of its foundation suspended its activities.

The present Committee consists of the following: Madame Julie Malinoff, President; Madame Catherine Karaveloff, Vice-President; Dr. Dimitrana Ivanoff, Secretary and Treasurer; Dr. Rada Stoliytsky, Kouna Konoff, Jenny Patew, Hélène Tchakaloff, Slava Dimtcheff, Dr. Hélène Stoianoff, Members.

Political and Economic Position of the Bulgarian Women.

Bulgarian women have the passive vote (i.e., are eligible) for School Committees. This was granted them by the Education Act of 1908. In order to qualify they must have had secondary education, a qualification not asked of men.

Another law, enacted in 1912, on account of the war not yet put in force, grants women the active vote; women agriculturists who are heads of families or landowners may vote in elections of agricultural chambers.

So far no other political right has been accorded to Bulgarian women.

No law prohibits them from filling posts in the State, the *Commune*, or elsewhere. But it is the tradition to appoint women to subaltern functions only, except that for a long time their appointment as directresses of girls' schools has been tolerated.

Since the war a beginning has been made of appointing women as heads or second in command of departments in various offices and even ministries.

Doctors, but not Lawyers.

A Bulgarian woman can fill any and every place as a doctor of medicine. On the other hand, whatever University degree she has obtained, she can be neither judge nor lawyer. Last year the Ministry of Justice brought forward a Bill enabling women to practise the Law, but it has not yet been passed. There are no women police, neither have they any Church functions. Women in the Civil Service, for instance in the Post Office, are required to pass the same examinations as the men, and have equality of pay and of advancement. Married women retain their posts.

Women's education is very advanced. The school curriculum is the same for girls as for boys. The University is open to them on the same terms. In the high schools the education of girls and of boys is separate. On the other hand many technical schools are mixed, as the preparatory schools now are. Women can stand for the highest places in the schools. At the University there are girl assistant teachers training to be professors.

Labour Regulations.

Women's labour is protected, though insufficiently, by a special law dealing particularly with that of mothers and children. They are forbidden to engage in night work or in certain harmful occupations, mining, etc.

There is no minimum wage law. The eight hours day applies both to men and women. The joining of a Trades Union is not prohibited.

There is no form of marriage except the religious. Divorce decrees are in the hands of the Holy Synod.

There is no law empowering research into the fatherhood of an illegitimate child (*recherche de la paternité*).

Prostitution is prohibited by law but flourishes clandestinely, especially since the war.

**CANADA.
AN APOLOGY.**

Mrs. Edith Lang, 55, Woodlawn Avenue West, Toronto, desires to state that under date October 27, 1919, she wrote a letter which was published in the December, 1919, number of the *International Woman Suffrage News*, a monthly organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. She wishes to express her sincere regret that in the said letter, referring to Mr. H. Hartly Dewart, leader of the Liberal Party in Ontario, she used the words, "An unprincipled man for a Leader whom decent Liberals of years' adherence would not support."

She says she is not able to substantiate this statement, and she begs to withdraw and contradict it and to apologise to Mr. Dewart for having made it. She trusts that he will accept this apology as the best amends in her power to make for any annoyance and injury these words may have caused him.

(Signed) EDITH LANG.

Toronto, May 17, 1920.

**ESTHONIA.
REPORT PRESENTED TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE I.W.S.A.****Woman Suffrage in Esthonia.**

Esthonia, rendered an independent Baltic State as a result of the world-war, is in reality a very ancient country, already independent and free, and an organised State as long ago as the eleventh century, when it entertained relations both commercial and political with its Western neighbours in Scandinavia and the Russian principalities on the East, and even went to war with them. During the whole of its long history the position of its women has always been one of honour, even during the long ages of foreign oppression. Popular poetry accords to women a place very nearly equal with that of men in public life, and certainly woman has always had the preponderating rôle in the family. She has been the companion and the co-worker of the male Esthonian. In agricultural life she frequently took upon herself the hardest tasks and replaced the man who had to leave the farm to go sea-fishing or working in the towns in order to earn money to pay the taxes, which were very heavy in former times.

Old Rights Extended.

Quite naturally, as a result of the newly-acquired liberties of the Esthonian people, women have been given an equitable share in the political and administrative life of the nation. Even before the Russian Revolution, women farmers of land possessed certain rights in communal life. But ever since the Revolution in 1917, when the Esthonian people, after a long period of foreign domination, obtained the right of self-government, women have enjoyed rights equal to those of men. At the first election to the Esthonian Parliament in June, 1917, women had the same rights as other citizens and were eligible to that Assembly. Several women were elected to local administrative councils.

After the German occupation, when the war of independence was renewed against Germany and Soviet Russia, and Esthonia needed all her forces, the rôle of women gained in importance. They filled many different positions; they replaced the men who had taken arms to defend the liberty of the country against the invader. Active measures were taken to give material and medical help to the sick and wounded by the "Common Work" Association, which for several months filled the place of the Red Cross. Several women even took up arms and defended their country with the military detachments, and some of them sacrificed their young lives for the Motherland—like Corporal Julie Burchvardt, who was killed on August 22, 1919, in an armoured train. Thus it is quite natural that electoral rights should be given to women of 20 as to men, and with no restrictions except those relating to public order and common to both sexes. Women participated actively in the elections of April 5 to 7, 1919. In some places, where the number of votes cast corresponded with

that of the electors on the register, women's votes represented half of the number cast, and in some cases several women were elected Members of the Constituent Assembly. These are of all parties except the extreme Left and extreme Right. The present Assembly, which consists of 120 Members, has seven women sitting, and four belong to the Moderate Social-Democratic Party—Mme. Kurs-Olesk, Mme. Ostra-Oinas, Mme. Jansen, Mlle. Ason; two to the Labour Party—Mme. Teilman, Mme. Paetss; and one to the National-Democratic Party—Mme. Reisik. All are treated with the same consideration as the male Members of this Legislative Assembly.

No Sex Distinctions.

It is a fundamental principle of our Constitution that there is no distinction in the matter of civil and political rights. Hence various functions are fulfilled by women at the heart of our governmental system. There are women head functionaries in some of the Ministries, and it is a woman who is the head of the Chancellery of the Constituent Assembly. In various institutions of the local autonomous Government, women hold offices of responsibility.

In a word, Esthonia is one of the countries in which women and men have complete political equality. There remain some differences in civil rights where women's rights are subordinated to those of men, but the general tendency of the Constituent Assembly is to abolish in legislation these last traces of inequality between the sexes. Several laws with this aim are actually before the Assembly, which will consider them sympathetically, and there is no doubt that in a very short time women in Esthonia will have a position in the community equal with that of men.

Esthonian women wish for their sisters of other and friendly countries, whose political existence is of longer date than that of Esthonia, the attainment of the equal political and civil rights which they themselves possess.

L. IBRUS-KOESTNER.

FRANCE.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress at Geneva, which has produced many excellent articles in the Paris papers, has unfortunately not had the immediate effect of making the French Senate decide to discuss the Law on Woman Suffrage, voted by the Chamber of Deputies so long ago as May 20, 1918. It is true that since the end of the war so many grave questions of internal and external order have absorbed the French Parliament, and Europe is still in a state so little stable, that the Senators have a certain amount of excuse for not having wished to raise a new question. We had hoped, however, that the summer would not have passed without the law being discussed, and Suffragists experienced a great disappointment when our friends of the Senate declared to us that the discussion on Woman Suffrage could not take place before the summer recess and that it must be postponed until the reassembly of Parliament. Alas! how many times already has the cause of women been postponed until . . . later!

It is difficult to refrain from a feeling of bitterness in seeing thus always postponed a reform which, we believe, would bring so many others in its train; but bitterness will not improve the situation, and we must not give way to any feeling which might diminish the moral force which it is so necessary for us to maintain.

As regards the suffrage, it may be useful to mention here a scheme of law which, if it does not satisfy us, would nevertheless have the advantage of giving all women full suffrage.

This plan concerns the suggested law Rouleaux-Dugage for a family vote, which was put before the Chamber at the beginning of the summer and which was thrown out; but which will certainly be brought forward again by its authors.

The law Rouleaux-Dugage is based on the commendable wish to diminish in the country the celibate influence, and to increase the importance of those men who honourably create and assume the responsibility of large families.

The "vote familial" demands the right of voting for every human being, major or minor; the wife would vote on her own account, but the votes of the children would be represented by the father.

We immediately declared to M. Rouleaux-Dugage, to his great astonishment, that we could not do propaganda for his suggested law, even to the feeble extent of our powers, and that for the following reasons:—

On the one hand, however persuaded we may be of the great moral necessity of upholding large families and increasing their influence in the country, the question of giving the right to vote to unconscious children, and that vote to be exercised by proxy, is one very open to discussion and which would give rise to many objections.

On the other hand, if we accept the "vote familial" we women cannot consent to, or could in no case sustain with our influence, a law which would increase immeasurably the male influence in France, and which would diminish the female influence, since the father would vote for all the children, like the widowed mother elsewhere.

We ask, in case the suggested law Rouleaux-Dugage should be voted on, which seems very uncertain to me, that the votes of the children be divided equally between the father and the mother.

When there is an uneven number, one, three, or five children, it would have to be decided whether this indivisible vote should belong to the father, or whether it would not be better simply to annul it.

As the plural vote has lately been abolished in several countries, it does not seem very probable that it would gain the day with the French Parliament, but as the law Rouleaux-Dugage would give women the right of voting, we thought it would be interesting to mention it.

MARGUERITE DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER.

August, 1920.

GERMANY.

REPORT PRESENTED TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESS.

Preparations for the I.W.S.A. Congress at Berlin Stopped by the War.

Full of the wonderful impressions of the Budapest Congress, and anxious that the forthcoming gathering of the International Alliance in Berlin in 1915 should follow worthily in its footsteps, the Committee of the German Union for Women's Suffrage began its preparations as early as the autumn of 1913. At the well-attended meeting of the General Assembly at Eisenach in October the invitation issued by the German delegates had been joyfully welcomed, and already in November the President, with a large local Committee, consisting not only of Suffrage members, but also of the representatives of various societies, was able to arrange in Berlin the details of the great Congress from which we expected such important results.

The plan, which was carefully worked out during the winter, met with the general approval of the Committee of the International Alliance in London in 1914, and we were glad to take home further wishes and ideas for our work of preparation. Unfortunately this work, begun with such great hopes, as well as our propaganda for votes for women, was brought to a tragically sudden end by the events of the next few weeks and even days.

Suffrage Organisations Devote Themselves to National Social Work.

Like all other women's organisations, our local group at once put itself at the disposal of the Home Service Department for definite social work during the war, and many leading Suffrage workers energetically took up this task.

But Suffrage Work Continued.

Besides this, however, the Committee did not remit its efforts at sustaining interest in the Suffrage question, and in keeping members of the different societies in touch with each other.

That these efforts were successful, even during this period of need and distress, was proved by the well-attended meeting of the General Assembly in Dresden in November, 1915, at which an offer of the German Union of Women's Suffrage was accepted for the amalgamation of the two great organisations which, so far, had worked separately. Prepared by a special committee, this amalgamation took place at Weimar in March, 1916, with the mutual understanding that the definite work of our cause should not and could not be carried on till after the conclusion of the war. At the General Assembly in Berlin, plans relating to this were discussed. But matters were to turn out very differently.

In view of the extraordinary progress made by the Women's Suffrage Cause in other countries, and of the expected reforms of our own Suffrage Laws, we had in 1918 again started on

a lively campaign of propaganda which came to an impressive conclusion in a great mutual demonstration of our Society and the women of the Social Democratic Party in Berlin at the beginning of November. A few days later the Revolution, which coincided with the end of the war, with one stroke fulfilled our most daring demands. Although women themselves have had no direct part in this surprising turn of affairs, they may at least take the credit of having prepared public opinion by their constant and indefatigable work.

Twenty-one Million Women Votes to be Trained.

During the darkest time through which our country had ever passed we had the great responsibility of training 21 million women voters for their new duties, in the few weeks that remained before the elections—a gigantic task which we, of course, could not undertake alone, but which had to be accomplished by all the branches of the Women's Movement as a whole. That these efforts were to a certain extent successful is proved by the great number of women's votes, which, for the election to the National Assembly amounted to 70-90 per cent.—a percentage which was, however, considerably less at the Provincial (Landtag) and local elections. We had still great cause to rejoice at the fact that 38 women were elected to the National Assembly, 155 to the various Provincial (Landtag) Parliaments, and about 1,400 to the Town Councils. These women have most energetically applied themselves to every kind of legislative work, and have frequently, without consideration of party, made a united stand for Women's Rights and the demands of Education.

German Women now the Freest in the World in Theory, but in Practice much still Remains to Win.

We owe it to the zeal and energy of these 38 pioneers in the National Assembly that by our new Constitution German women are the freest in the world. At present, however, the Constitution only indicates the way for legislation to make a practical reality of the equality of the sexes which so far only exists in theory. This we may reasonably expect to be achieved at the next Reichstag, at least in some branches which are of special importance to women. Revision of the Civil and Criminal Law Code is contemplated, and we may consequently expect many reforms concerning the position of women. Bills will be drawn up to better the position of illegitimate children, to abolish the official sanctioning of prostitution, and we hope that the question of women officials will be settled by a special Officials Act.

A Hard Struggle to Win Equal Economic Opportunity.

Unfortunately we do not know how far it will be possible for the women members to exert their influence on the question of Women's Professions. Undoubtedly this is the most difficult and most urgent of all women's questions. Not only are we further away than ever from the granting of our demand for "equal pay for equal work," but after the hurried and sudden demobilisation attempts are being made as never before, to turn women out of all posts in every branch whatsoever.

Women's professional organisations and the women delegates all protest emphatically against this fatal measure—and from official places they are assured of sympathy and consideration—in theory—a theory which, unfortunately, has as yet not been translated into practice. To gain this point, German women still have a hard battle to fight.

The German Empire League for Women's Suffrage was dissolved at its last sitting at Erfurt on October 5, 1919, as its mission had been fulfilled—therefore nothing more is to be said about its work.

MARIE STRITT.

GREECE.

Success of the Women's Congress Assured. Invitation to attend it.

We have pleasure in printing the following message from Madame C. Parren, President of the Athens Lyceum Club:— I am glad to say that the Greek Women's Congress our Club is convoking October next promises to be a success. Fifty Societies and Leagues have already announced that they will join it. We would be extremely happy to welcome any of our foreign friends if they decided to be present, and although it is not International, their presence will give it weight and will help us to carry the points.

(Signed) C. PARREN.

Athens, July 28, 1920.

INDIA.

Women's Education. A Munificent Gift.

Indians have been pleased and surprised by the gift of 1,500,000 lakhs of rupees by the Bombay Parsee millionaire, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, in his mother's name, to the Indian Women's University of Poona. Accounts of the University have already appeared in *JUS SUFFRAGII* more than once, and it has just been sending out its first batch of graduated Indian women. The uniqueness of the institution consists in its being a Residential College and University for Indian women, the medium of instruction being vernacular. The institution was started four years ago by the self-sacrificing labours of Professor Karve of Poona, and has been maintained by public collections. Some time ago there was a windfall of about 30,000 rupees from an expiring military doctor campaigning in Egypt, and now Sir Vithaldas' generous gift almost sets the University on its own legs. No keener evidence of public interest in the movement could be wanted by the founders than this almost princely offer from the commercial magnate of Bombay. The University deserves to be congratulated on the impression it has made, and India hopes that it will send out women who will keep alive the modesty and enlightenment for which its daughters have been famous in the past.

G. R. JOYSER, M.A.

Bangalore, July, 1920.

ITALY.

M. Giolitti against Woman Suffrage.

The nomination of M. Giolitti to the Presidency of the Italian Council has been very serious for the Suffragists.

M. Giolitti has always been an enemy to the emancipation of women, and at his age a man does not easily change his opinions. All the "antis" who had accepted, willy-nilly, the voting of September, 1919, rallied round him, and he was able to find a hundred deputies to sign a petition which was presented to the Chamber by M. Piquatari asking that the administrative elections be held as early as possible under the new law, that is to say without proportional representation and without Women Suffrage. M. Piquatari died a little time ago, but unfortunately his petition did not die with him, and M. Giolitti, in a session of the Parliamentary Committee for the revision of the electoral law, declared that if they should give women the vote, it would be impossible to hold the elections before 1922. That is quite untrue, but it is a good means of preventing the electoral reforms being passed. What is worse, however, is that the socialists do not want the women to have the vote in the next election, and although they call themselves Suffragists, they would prevent the law being discussed in Parliament. The mayors of the large towns which have a Socialist Council, including the Mayor of Milan, have demanded that the elections should not be postponed, which means that they are really demanding the postponement of the Suffragist Law. The Mayor of Milan proposes to hold the elections immediately, and to hold them again (in the same year if possible) when the women can vote. This proposal is absolutely absurd, and the Mayor has evidently wished to hold the Suffragists up to ridicule.

The Divorce Law.

In order to put a check on the Catholics, the parties of the Centre of the Chamber and even the Deputies of the Right have asked that the scheme of Socialist Law on Divorce, which the Government had allowed to drop during the Ministry of M. Nitti, shall be considered. The Committees (uffici) for examining the scheme have been elected among the Deputies favourable to divorce, and they have approved the Bill, which should be discussed in Parliament in one of the next Sessions. But since the Catholics have declared that they will go over to the Opposition if the law is passed, and that (given the political situation, which does not permit of the formation of a Government without the help of the Catholics) it is possible that the parties of the Centre and the Right will take up a different attitude, it is very difficult to believe that even this time the law will be discussed and approved.

Conferences on the Geneva Congress.

Mlle. Zilly Gay gave a report of the Geneva Conference at a meeting of the Suffragist Associations at Turin.

A meeting on the same subject has been held at Milan by Mlle. Dr. Ancona. The numerous slides illustrating suffragist subjects, and the photographs of the Congress were very much appreciated.

Milan, August, 1920.

M. ANCONA.

LATVIA, OR LETTONIA.**REPORT PRESENTED TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE I.W.S.A.**

As the President has just announced, I am here as delegate of one of the new Republics—delegate of Latvia, or Lettonia.

I hope that most members of the Congress know it, but to make clear the geographical position of Latvia, I will state that its capital is Riga and that the other large towns of the country are Mitau, Windau, Libau and Dvinsk.

Latvia constituted herself an independent State on November 18, 1918, when the Lettish people found themselves in a position to declare their national independence, of which they had been deprived for centuries.

Men and Women Start on Equal Footing.

The male Letts having been under the foreign and oppressive rule of former years, with almost as little part in government and administrative affairs as the women, the two sexes necessarily worked together in the national organisations formed to preserve and develop a national standard of civilisation, or to strive for national liberties. Thus the common work and struggle and sufferings resulted in there being no question of depriving women of their political rights under the new constitution. And from the very beginning of the organisation of the Lettish State women shared in the labours of the national as in those of the municipal councils.

Nevertheless, it was not possible everywhere to hold regular elections either in 1918 or 1919, because a great part of the territory of Latvia was invaded on the one hand by German and on the other by Bolshevik troops.

The whole country had organised for the struggle against foreign invasion, and the Lettish women took part in it with all their resources.

It was only at the beginning of this year, when the country had definitely freed itself from all its enemies, that the municipal councils were re-elected in regular fashion by universal suffrage, direct and proportional, and that the elections to the Constituent Assembly, now sitting at Riga, were held. Women and men having attained the age of 21 years voted by equal right, and the zeal of the women in recording their votes at the ballot box was not inferior to that of men.

We have five women among 150 Members of Parliament, and in the municipalities the proportion of women is 6 per cent. Besides this, several women fill posts of importance in the administration of the country and in its diplomatic service.

International Status.

It is thus in the name of the Lett Government that I offer to this Congress the grateful homage of the whole Lett nation in recognition of the work accomplished by the Alliance in the domain of Universal Suffrage.

The women of Latvia have no fear that they will lose their State rights. They know how deeply the nation is imbued with ideas truly democratic. Nevertheless, they share with the men of their country other anxieties, the international status of Latvia not being as yet definitely settled. I regret that the rules of this Congress do not allow me to say more, to appeal to the women Members of Parliament present and to other women having political influence in their own country to help us to obtain for our country definitively the international status indispensable to our existence as an independent nation. Let me, none the less, say that we believe that women's minds are unstained by the imperialist tendencies of the absolute Governments of yesterday, and consequently we have confidence in the world of to-morrow when the woman-half of humanity will take ever a larger share in the settlement of questions involving justice between nations.

ANNA KENIN.

LITHUANIA.**REPORT PRESENTED TO THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE I.W.S.A.**

Lithuania has just granted to women the right to vote. In the Constituent Assembly, in session since May 15 of this year, five women sit among the representatives of this peasant people, a people whose right to existence and even whose very name seemed to have been erased from the page of history. The Great Russia of yesterday held national rights of no account and refused us the right to exist. We Lithuanians were the only people of the whole world who were denied the right to read and write. Then the nation with one accord set itself to struggle, not only for its life, but—I think I may put it—for the preservation of its soul, of its national consciousness.

The struggle was a long one. Many of the finest spirits of our country who had struggled for the righteous cause of their people were to die in prison or in the distant plains of Siberia. The women fought beside the men and suffered too. Not till 1904 did we obtain the right of printing our books. From that time our newspapers and books have vigorously set themselves to popularise democratic ideas, and the rights of women were not forgotten. Lithuanian women have distinguished themselves as writers.

The terrible war, devastating our country, has dispersed to the four corners of the world a great part of the population. But gradually we are uniting again in our own country to defend our rights as human beings and as a nation, and to work at reconstruction.

Although we are disposed to entertain friendly relations with all our neighbours, our young soldiers are, alas! obliged still to defend the frontier against hostile invasion.

Our Constituent Assembly guards individual liberty and intends to establish a democratic form of government, because we are convinced that the Government which expresses the will of the whole people is the best. This means that our people will govern themselves through the representatives who have gained its confidence.

It is only Natural that Women should take Equal Rank with Men.

In such a Government it is natural that women should take the place that they deserve and desire. To this there has been no opposition. Indeed, it was a woman, it was I myself, who had the signal honour of opening the Constituent Assembly.

It would seem, then, that nothing remains for us to achieve. But, notwithstanding, we have come to the Congress because we believe the suffrage to be only a means, and that our aim is as yet unattained. It is only through a universal alliance of women that we shall arrive at improved politics and heal certain social wounds.

MME. PETKEVITCHAITE, M.P.

NORWAY.**A NORWEGIAN WOMAN IN THE LIBRARY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.**

Miss Ellen Rolfsen, of the library of Wrammen in Norway, has been appointed to the Library of the League of Nations. This library wished to employ one or several Norwegian women with American experience in library work, and as Miss Rolfsen had acquired this experience by her studies in the Library of Albany, she got the appointment.

From the month of July she will be employed in the Library of the League of Nations, which has its preliminary quarters in London.

THE FIRST NORWEGIAN WOMAN SECRETARY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Miss Gunhild Lippestad, daughter of the late master of an academy in Christiania, has lately entered upon the office of Norwegian secretary at the Headquarters of the League of Nations in London. Miss Lippestad has been a secretary in the Foreign Office of Norway and during the last few years in the Norwegian Legation in Paris. There Minister Wedel Julsborg put great confidence in her, and when she retired from that office, the Minister gave a beautiful festival for her. Miss Lippestad is the first Scandinavian woman to be trusted with an office in the administration of the League of Nations.



MISS GUNHILD LIPPESTAD.

SWEDEN.**WOMEN AND MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.**

In Sweden, from 1862 until recently, the Municipal Suffrage was on a property basis and could be exercised by a woman, a child, or an anonymous association having that qualification. For 60 years, then, women had this municipal vote, provided that they could dispose of their own property, which was at first only allowed to unmarried women and widows. The married woman's property being usually administered by her husband, it was he who had the right to vote.

But the municipal vote was proportioned so that the number of votes allotted to each person depended on his revenue, and that at first without limitation. Though later some limitation was introduced, it was still possible at the time of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Congress at Stockholm in 1911, for one individual to have 40 votes, and I remember that Mrs. Catt was greatly astonished thereat, and eagerly desired to see a woman "forty voter," as she expressed it. Now, I am glad to tell you, we have no more "forty voters," a substantial reform having been effected since then in the system of municipal voting.

No more "Forty Voters."

On December 17, 1918, the Riksdag resolved that the Municipal Suffrage should be universal and equal, independently of property and income. This reform was of great importance to women. Previously their influence in municipal affairs was very slight, most unmarried women earning but small salaries, and thus having few votes, and married women having as a rule no vote at all. Women's interest in municipal elections, which was inconsiderable during last century, increased noticeably after the formation of the Woman Suffrage Association, and especially after the acquisition in 1910 of the right of eligibility to fill municipal office. Before that date women could be members of the board to administer poor relief, and the improvement of conditions in this respect is one of the aims to which women have given themselves with special energy. It may be added that they have made the proposal that the municipal authorities should undertake the support of various charitable institutions, such as homes for rescue cases, and societies providing food for poor children.

Technical Education.

A burning question just now is that of technical schools. Primary instruction having been compulsory for the last 80 years, it is now proposed to supplement it by vocational classes previous to apprenticeship, and to have new laws governing these municipal schools. Women have striven to establish such vocational schools for girls also, by the establishment of classes in domestic subjects and schools of dressmaking.

Housing.

The housing difficulty being at present a cause of much trouble in Sweden as in so many other countries, the municipal councils have been forced to take it in hand. Some women members of the Stockholm Council have long insisted that the municipal authorities should build houses for their own work-people, especially for cases of large families. It has also been suggested that municipalities should build dwellings for single women who are wage-earners.

The Fight against Drink.

The fight against drink is in Sweden largely a municipal question, and needless to say women are actively engaged in this battle. The sale of drink is restricted to certain associations whose rights are defined by law, and these associations are under municipal control.

Against Unequal Pay.

Women in Sweden are usually paid less than men for the same work. It is a matter of great concern to women that the wages of female municipal employees should be increased, but it has not yet been possible to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Against Ugliness.

Educational and civilising agencies generally have not escaped the attention of women. One lady, who is a member of the Municipal Council of Stockholm, exerts herself to protect all that makes for the beauty of that town. She is on the alert whenever there is danger of sacrificing what is beautiful to practical considerations, defending with equal ardour architectural antiquities and venerable trees. Public libraries, too, have been the object of the care and interest of women.

The Women's Power Grows.

The influence of women in municipal matters is continuously on the increase. On the first occasion that we had eligibility very few women were returned. As we have proportional representation, it is indispensable to election to belong to a political party. But as soon as women had actually the same right to vote as men, all parties were disposed to place women's names on their lists, with the object of course, of attracting women's votes. Moreover, the necessity of paying more attention to the interests of women is beginning to make itself felt at the council meetings.

*(Nouvelles Féministes.)***NORVÈGE.**

Miss Rolfsen a été nommée à la Bibliothèque de la Société des Nations.

Miss Gunhild Lippestad a été nommée Secrétaire pour la Norvège, au Bureau central de la Société des Nations à Londres. Miss Lippestad était autrefois secrétaire au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Norvège et elle fut pendant ces dernières années attachée à la Légation de Norvège à Paris.

SUÈDE.**Les Femmes et le Suffrage Municipal.**

Le 17 décembre 1918, le Riksdag décida que le suffrage municipal serait universel et égal, indépendamment de la propriété et du revenu. Cette réforme fut de grande importance pour les femmes.

La lutte contre l'alcoolisme est largement une question municipale, et bien entendu les femmes y ont engagé toute leur énergie. Les femmes en Suède sont généralement moins payées que les hommes; il n'a pas encore été possible d'établir le principe de l'égalité de salaire pour égalité de travail.

Les moyens d'éducation n'ont pas été oubliés par les femmes. Une dame qui est membre du Conseil municipal de Stockholm s'efforce de protéger tout ce qui fait la beauté de la ville, depuis les antiquités architecturales jusqu'aux arbres vénérables.

HONNEUR CONFÉRÉ À MRS. FAWCETT.

Le Roi des Belges a conféré le Diplôme et la Médaille de l'Ordre de la Reine Elisabeth à Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett "en reconnaissance du dévouement dont elle a fait preuve pendant la guerre."

RAPPORT DU CONGRÈS DE GENÈVE.

Le rapport du Congrès de Genève se trouve actuellement chez l'imprimeur. Malheureusement la grève des imprimeurs de Manchester en a empêché la publication. Nous espérons cependant le recevoir vers la fin de septembre.

Le prix du rapport, autant qu'il soit possible de le fixer, sera de 4 shillings (6 francs), port extra.

Prière d'adresser immédiatement l'ordre d'envoi, au Bureau général, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, Londres, W.C. 2, Angleterre.

BELGIQUE.

La levée de l'obstacle constitutionnel au suffrage législatif féminin a été votée par la Chambre des Représentants en juillet dernier ; mais la question doit encore être discutée par le Sénat en novembre.

LOUISE VAN DEN PLAS.

Bruxelles, le 7 septembre.

NOTES.**Woman Commissioner in U.S.A.**

President Wilson has appointed Miss Mabel Boardman one of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

The position of Commissioner corresponds to that of Mayor of a large city or Governor of a State, and this is the first time a woman has been made a member of the Board. Miss Boardman has for years been actively engaged in Red Cross work, and during the war was a member of the Central Committee of the national organisation. The daughter of wealthy parents, she has devoted her life to charitable and civic work and is distinguished for great executive capacity.

Morning Post, September 13.

Women as Freemasons.

Eye Nouvelle states that the Grand Lodge of France has declared itself, by a slight majority, in favour of the admission of women to Freemasonry. The matter will be brought up at the next world's Congress of Freemasons.

Times, September 13.

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