

DUTCH VICTORY NUMBER.

JUS SUFFRAGII.

The International Woman Suffrage News

The Monthly Organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

FRENCH EDITION.

The French Edition of
Jus Suffragii is published
in Geneva, Switzerland.



HEADQUARTERS:

11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London,
to which all communications should be addressed.

Telegrams: Vocorajto.
Telephone: 4255 Regent.

Volume 13. No. 11.

AUGUST, 1919.

Price Per Year: 4 shs.; 4 mk.; 5 frs.; 2½ fl.; 1\$; 3.60 kr., Scandinavia; 5 kr., Austria. Single Copies: 4d.

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A hundred sample copies turned into a hundred subscriptions by Miss Clara Schlingheyde, of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

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HOW IT WAS DONE.

I do not believe that it is overstating the case to say that the chief reason we were able to enroll over one hundred new subscribers to the *International Woman Suffrage News* was the virtues of the paper itself and the uniform fair-mindedness revealed by the Editor-in-Chief throughout its columns. That is to say, those who undertook to sell the paper had complete confidence in it—in the skill with which it is edited, the care with which the suffrage news of the entire world is assembled, compiled, impartially presented and accurately reported, and, what is of considerable importance, the fairness and justice with which the paper's neutrality obligation is observed and maintained. Maintaining the inviolable policy of neutrality in the columns of our organ is no mean feat to perform in a world torn with war, but it has been accomplished most successfully. Having such self-selling qualities as these the *International News* falls naturally into the ranks of best-sellers, only needing the determination of those selling it that the world shall be convinced it is missing something invaluable if it does not become a subscriber. So much for the psychology of a subscription campaign.

Now for the mechanics, stage property, and occasion. It was the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, plus a conference of the women voters of the enfranchised states. The convention was exceptional in every way, and the delegates were exceptional women gathered from every corner of the country. Social service workers were there, and lawyers, doctors, writers, and trained suffrage workers with long years of hard experience to their credit. They were there to plan the last campaign for the passage of the Federal Amendment, and to take that long look into the future which shall reveal the women voters of our country prepared to unite on a programme of progressive legislation compiled from the experience of the world. To such a delegation of women the *International Woman Suffrage News* naturally appealed. Mrs. Catt announced its virtues from the platform. In the lobby outside of the convention hall a small table was decorated in the American colours, and a group of international flags was displayed to give it the appropriate touch. Someone was stationed at that table AT ALL TIMES. She NEVER left it while the convention was in session during six days, so that delegates staying out of the convention for a respite, at any time, would find someone there to persuade them that it was just the right moment to subscribe and avoid the rush which came at the recesses, also before convening and after adjourning. It was then a matter of individual work, circulating among the delegates in the lobby during these intervals. One naturally must know the talking points of one's wares, and be sufficiently convinced of their virtues to induce their purchase. The real success of the subscription campaign was achieved by this individual work. Generally speaking, any paper sought to be sold in this way should be pleasantly ubiquitous during the entire convention. A recurring cheery countenance has

been known to make women long troubled with the weight of papers still unread plunge deeper into the abyss. That is what a good paper and a smile can do.

CLARA M. SCHLINGHEYDE.

New York.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS.

Now that I have been able to read *Jus Suffragii*, allow me to express to you all the profound joy and admiration for the large spirit, really humane, and promoting a real alliance among nations, which has inspired and still inspires the Editor of *Jus Suffragii*.

EUGENIE DE REUS JANCOULESCO,

Numa Pompilia 11, Bukharest, Roumania.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The new Headquarters are now established at 19, Boulevard Georges-Favon, Geneva. The office is under the direction of Miss Emily Balch and Mlle. Gobat.

The Pope's Approval.

The *Catholic Citizen*, London, reports an intensely interesting audience given by the Pope to a Catholic suffragist. "Nous voudrions voir des femmes électrices partout" ("We should like to see women electors everywhere"), said Pope Benedict XV. to Miss Annie Christitch, B.A. In answer to her inquiry as to whether the Pope approved the activities of the Catholic League for Woman Suffrage, founded to provide a safe field for Catholic feminists in favour of reform but unable to support certain aspects of the movement, the Pope replied emphatically, "Oui, nous approuvons" ("Yes, we approve"). This clear and unequivocal support from the Head of the Church should prove helpful to Catholic women in still unenfranchised countries like Switzerland.

Jersey Franchise Extended.

The King has sanctioned the Jersey Franchise Bill, granting a vote to all males when reaching the age of 20 and females at 30. Women, however, may vote in municipal elections at the age of 20.

Woman Suffrage in Holland.

THE HAGUE, Thursday.—The First Chamber of the States General to-day adopted, by thirty-four votes to five, M. Marchant's motion to introduce Woman Suffrage.—*Reuter*, July 14th.

International Federation of University Women.

At a meeting of representatives of American and British Universities in London in July it was decided to form an International Federation, with a sub-committee to consider a draft scheme. It is hoped that the Federation will assist the League of Nations, especially in its Women's Department and Education Department. The headquarters are for the present to be in London, but ultimately in Geneva.

Women's Papers.

We have received the *Heraldo de la Mujer* of San Juan, Porto Rico, the organ of the Latin-American Woman Suffrage Alliance. Director, Ana Roqué de Duprez; English editor, Geraldine Maud Froscher. It is published half in Spanish, half in English. [We are pleased to note a quotation from the *International Woman Suffrage News*.] The Advisory Board of the Latin-American Woman Suffrage Alliance is to be headed by Mrs. Chapman Catt. Mme. Siegfried and Mme. Avril de St. Croix will also serve on the Advisory Council.

The Union Feminista Nacional in Argentina is planning a Pan-American conference of women to be held in Buenos Aires in July, 1921, at which women from North, South, and Central America will be represented.

During the present year the women of Mexico will hold a Women's Conference under the auspices of the National Council of Women of Mexico. Women from nearly all parts of Europe, as well as the countries of Central and South America and the United States, have been invited to attend or be represented by proxy. Señorita Hermilia Galindo, editor of *La Mujer Moderna*, is chairman of the conference.

—From the *Heraldo de la Mujer*, June.

REGULATED VICE WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

By MRS. KATHERINE DIXON.

Having lately returned from India and the Far East, where I have been fighting certain vice conditions tolerated by the British Government, I would like to appeal to all who understand the principles of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene—and to those who as yet do not—to realise their share of responsibility for a state of things in Hong-Kong, the Straits Settlements, Burma, India, Malta, Gibraltar, and other places, which is a disgrace to the British Empire.

INDIA.

In 1917 I returned to India as the representative of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene and at once began, with the help of local societies and individuals, a campaign against the most flagrant evil then existent in India—*i.e.*, tolerated houses of vice reserved for the use of our troops.

Those who opposed our campaign met us with the arguments with which the Association has been familiar for the last fifty years: that these houses were "necessary for the health of the soldiers (who, meantime, sometimes contracted disease from visiting them), that 'respectable' women would not be safe without them." It was even said that their closing would lead to a revolution amongst British troops. We knew this to be a lie, and at the request of the Y.M.C.A. my husband and I toured India, asking for the help of the men in our campaign and putting the point of view of the Association before them. The Northern and Southern Army commanders gave us their support, and many official parades of both officers and men listened to our addresses.

The justice of our plea was recognised by most of those with whom we came into contact, especially when we were able to put before them our own personal investigations amongst the women. I visited fourteen of the brothels set apart exclusively for British troops, and found that by employing a "chaudri" or "chaudran" (a man or woman caretaker of the establishment whose business it was to keep the houses supplied with a sufficient number of women) the British authorities were practically in league with procurers and traffickers in women and girls. The authorities not only sanctioned such houses, and did their best to ensure the health of the women in them, solely for the benefit of the men who visited them, but, by deputy, they might be said to be procurers themselves. They undoubtedly encouraged the trade of prostitution.

My experiences of the helplessness of women in segregated areas were frequently confirmed by the military police with whom I talked. They made no secret of their detestation of the whole system.

We succeeded in rousing public opinion amongst a large number of English people, official and non-official, and in August, 1918, a memorandum was issued by the Commander-in-Chief, putting an end to the system of brothels reserved for our troops in cantonments. But the segregated areas in the large towns remain visited by all nationalities. In Bombay the most revolting scenes are to be seen in and around Grant Road, where women are exposed behind iron bars, like cattle, for their clients to choose from. I have seen them myself, and it is impossible to imagine a more degrading spectacle for any Government to permit.

Again, the very fact of segregation in the towns increases tenfold the danger to the women of abduction and imprisonment. Let me relate to you an incident that took place in the segregated area of Bombay in 1916. To one of the brothels a Pathan brothel keeper brought a young Indian woman whom he had purchased for a few rupees. She disliked the life of a prostitute exceedingly and tried to escape, whereupon her captor had her tortured to death in front of the other women in order to deter them from attempting to escape. By a most unusual train of circumstances the crime was discovered just as the body was on its way to the burning ghaut, and the man was arrested and tried. The leading article of a Bombay newspaper commented as follows:—

"The trial concluded yesterday, in the Court of Sessions of the Bombay High Court, of a case the circumstances of which reveal the existence in our midst of social abominations which are a reproach to civilisation. . . . It was the story of a young woman, who, having come into the clutches of persons hardly human, utterly merciless, . . . attempted to rebel in her feeble way, even to escape, and was punished by every kind of fearful torture that fiendish cruelty and filthy ingenuity could invent until death ended the incredible horror of her existence."

The article then dealt with the trial, after which it went on:—

"The question is whether the public conscience is to rest satisfied with the vengeance which the law is able to mete out for the death of one woman among hundreds who are leading a similar existence, and many others who may even have met with such an end as hers. . . . Mr. Justice Macleod, in his summing up, described the state of slavery in which the women living in the house kept by the man, Syedkhan, were living. The system is not confined to that man alone. It is practised by a number, and slavery is a word which is almost too respectable to describe it."

Surely the first step towards the better protection of these women must be the abolition of a segregated area in which such crimes can take place? If Governments allow brothel keeping and allot streets for this purpose it can only mean that, where such streets exist, Governments recognise brothel keeping as a legitimate enterprise; that Government officials condescend to treat with those against whose whole mode of livelihood all decent human feeling revolts. Whatever there may be to be said in favour of allowing brothels from the point of view of brothel keepers or of clients; or for the policy of herding brothels together for the convenience of those officials who superintend them—especially those minor officials who accept bribes,—there is nothing whatever to be said from the point of view of the women in them. I have never yet met a woman in the charge of a brothel keeper who was not in debt.

BURMA AND SINGAPORE.

By the request of the Bishop of Rangoon and the Social Service League in Singapore, I visited these two places also. The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene has already published in the "Shield" details of the appalling conditions in the segregated areas in Rangoon and Singapore. Owing to representations which have been made to the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma certain reforms are officially stated to have been carried out, but the segregated vice streets still remain. Singapore is even worse, and its conditions are a scandal and disgrace to the British Government.

In both places I addressed huge and enthusiastic meetings, and we carried unanimous resolutions for the abolition of all recognised brothels, and a petition is being prepared in Rangoon calling upon the Governor to put the resolution into effect.

When Josephine Butler founded the original society, now called the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, it pledged itself "to fight unceasingly all forms of official regulation of vice." If the Association is true to its principles and the intention of its founders, it can never rest until this purpose is accomplished. As a British Association it must certainly fight with every legitimate weapon against regulated or segregated vice inside the British Empire, and a well-organised, well-financed, well-advertised campaign is needed. The Association is gathering information together for that purpose, and all inquiries and donations should be addressed to the Secretary, 19, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITIONS OF INDIAN COOLIE WOMEN IN FIJI.

The report of Miss Garnham, who was sent last year by a joint committee of Australian and New Zealand Women's Societies to investigate the conditions of life of Indian coolie women in Fiji, has been received by Viscount Milner, who has replied as follows:—

"The questions discussed in this document have for some time been engaging the earnest attention of the Secretary of State, who has received reports on the subject both from Sir C. Rodwell, who assumed the Governorship last year, and from his predecessor. The Government of India has been consulted, and measures are being taken to remove the evils complained of. It should be understood, however, that the allegations against the morals of the Indian women in Fiji are by no means fully admitted."

It should be noted that the allegations in the report are not against the morals of the Indian women in Fiji, but against the conditions which make it practically impossible for many innocent women to continue to lead a moral life.

The Australasian Committee, to whose activity this important report is due, has decided not to disband till the evils revealed by it have been remedied.

HARRIET C. NEWCOMB,
Hon. Sec. British Dominions Women Citizens' Union.

THE NEW ABOLITIONISTS.

American women are getting roused to protest against the special legislation enforced against women and girls suspected of sex offences, and especially against the methods of administration, agents provocateurs, police tyranny, and bias on the part of the Courts.

A writer in the *Woman Citizen* of July 5, says women in New York are now punished for "a suspicion of an intention," and that men batten on the work of inculcating women.

Two instances are given: On March 4 two girls, Sallie Kobin and Lillian Kohne, were arrested and imprisoned with criminals for four days. They were two young workgirls who, being too late for a cinematograph show, went for a walk. They relate that they were accosted three times by two men, to whom they made no reply, but a plain clothes policeman arrested them. They were taken to the Women's Night Court, refused a hearing, and sent to the cells with prostitutes. They were examined by a physician, who declared it was an outrage that they should be there. After four days in Jefferson Market Jail their friends succeeded in getting their case inquired into, and the sentence was reversed by Judge Rosalsby, who said: "New York City is an unsafe place for your sister, my sister, or anyone's women relatives if this sort of thing keeps up."

Numerous similar cases are reported. Plain clothes men disguised as soldiers or sailors act as agents provocateurs, inviting girls to drink, making improper proposals to them, and then arresting them. Frightened relatives have to pay large sums (lent by brokers who hang about the Women's Court) to get girls out of court.

On June 26 Judge Wadhams tried the following case:—A widow with a 9-year-old son had been engaged in war work, entertaining of British troops. A detective in plain clothes accosted her and invited her to supper. In the belief that he was one of the men met in her work she accepted—and in any case supping is no crime). Afterwards the detective arrested her on a charge of soliciting, and on his unsupported evidence she was convicted!

The judgment was reversed by Judge Wadhams. Unfortunately, in general the police and legal authorities uphold the system which leads to these results, and show entire indifference to the abominable methods of their subordinates, and the gross injustice to helpless women victims.

They show not the faintest idea of the injustice of taking the uncorroborated word of one man against any evidence offered by the woman; they show no hint of recognising that if any offence is committed it is a joint offence, and the man is equally responsible. The most abominable methods of corrupt Tsarish secret service are used in incriminating innocent girls, and blackmail to extort ransom.

As for an equal moral standard!

The June number of the *International Woman Suffrage News* contained an article by Miss Alison Neilans on similar conditions in California.

What are women voters going to do about it?

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Much ink—and more energy—has been expended during the past few months concerning the rightful place of women in the life of the church. To understand the position as it is to-day one must carry one's mind back as far as July, 1916, when the National Mission was being organised, and the National Mission Council passed a resolution urging upon the Bishops the importance of "using the services and receiving the message of women speakers." The Bishops of London and Chelmsford granted permission for women to speak in the churches of their dioceses. As a result of angry protests the permission was ultimately withdrawn, and "to save the National Mission from being wrecked," women acquiesced and the storm died down.

In September of the same year it was decided to ask the Archbishop to appoint committees of inquiry into various subjects, of which the women's movement was one. The mission was concluded and the committees got into working order—some of them,—but the six that were appointed did not include one on the women's movement. In February, 1917, however, a committee of research was appointed to study the

position of women in the early ages of the church. Its terms of reference, which were to inquire into the "sanctions and restrictions" which govern the ministrations of women in the church, and the status and work of deaconesses, did not include, as in the case of the other committees, any powers of recommendation to action of any kind. July, 1919, we still await the findings of this committee!

In May, 1918, a resolution was introduced into the Lower House of Convocation (Canterbury) by the late Archdeacon Escreet, claiming the right to certain lay offices for women, but with its usual strategy the House referred the matter to a committee for further consideration.

Again, in February, 1919, in the Upper House the Bishop of Ely moved a similar resolution, and again history repeated itself and the matter was referred to a joint committee of both Houses. Meanwhile the committee of the Representative Church Council published its report, which by amending the original report of the Archbishop's committee on Church and State, gave to women equal representation with laymen on all church councils open to the laity. Not as one representative of the House of Laymen wished to insist that an equal number of both sexes should be on all church councils. He could not understand why the council showed signs of unseemly mirth: One pictured the consternation of the episcopal bench!

Once again, July, 1919, attention was concentrated on the subject, and at the meeting of the Canterbury House of Convocation the Bishop of Peterborough formally presented the report of the Joint Committee. This committee recommended that under certain conditions laid down by the Bishop of the Diocese duly qualified women who satisfy the Bishop as to their qualifications, spiritual and intellectual, should be allowed to speak and pray in consecrated buildings at services or meetings for prayer or instruction other than the regular and appointed services of the church. One recommendation that no woman under the age of thirty should be permitted to address a mixed assembly in a consecrated building seemed an echo from the political sphere and made one again ask "Why thirty?" The committee were also in favour of the "practical re-establishment" of a female deaconate with clearly defined functions and a proper rite of ordination, but repudiated the idea of women being ordained to the priesthood.

The Lower House (presumably from pressure of business) did not discuss the matter at all, but in the Convocation of the Province of York Lower House, on the motion of Archdeacon Gresford-Jones, the report was adopted with the exception of the clause defining the qualifications of the women concerned.

The *Guardian*, commenting on the position of affairs, says: "This subject . . . may well wait until the mind of the church at large as exemplified in the Lambeth Conference has been expressed." The Archbishop of Canterbury, indeed, said, that the question of a deaconate for women would have to come before the next Lambeth Conference as it did not concern England alone.

Another subject under discussion which directly bears upon the question is the use to be made of churches, "especially the naves and transepts," for the purpose of "meetings for prayer and instruction other than the regular and appointed services of the church, and also for conferences and lectures on suitable subjects."

Meanwhile a good deal of unofficial or semi-official speaking and preaching has been carried on, sometimes with express episcopal sanction, sometimes merely in the absence of episcopal prohibition, or else organised on diocesan lines and authorised by the bishops of the diocese. For instance, a woman recently preached at statutory services in the Lincoln diocese, and other women have preached in several London churches at weekday services.

The work done by the "Society of the Pilgrimage of Prayer," started by Mrs. Montgomery, showed in practice the value of women's evangelical work. As an outcome of this in many dioceses women messengers are being authorised by the bishops. A minimum standard of intellectual fitness has been set up so that messengers can pass from one diocese to another. One hears of these duly qualified women taking confirmation classes, retreats, quiet days and courses of biblical and devotional instruction and conducting missions and crusades. For women who wish to study theology up to a university standard there is the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology, which was instituted in 1905, but this degree is not insisted on for women messengers.

The League of the Church Militant has been steadily working to educate public opinion, and it is largely owing to its efforts that there has been a perceptible change of tone in the debates concerning women's position in the government and

ministry of the church. The members of the governing bodies of the church, clerical and lay, have frequently been circularised, and pamphlets have been sent for perusal and edification. "The Laywoman in the Church of England" (7d.); "The Opportunity of the Laywoman" (3d.); and "The Functions of Women as Lay members of the Church" (3d.) have been specially useful in this connection.

It may seem to the reader that this has limited the work to advocating lay equality only, but it was decided at a general council of the League in April "to challenge definitely (whilst not restricting the general programme of the League) what has hitherto been the custom of the church of confining the priesthood to men."

There is a tremendous amount of educational work to be done, and for this purpose study circles, debates, and meetings are being arranged for the autumn. A stimulating little leaflet of study circle outlines, "Women in the Ministry," has been published (2d.).

If any wondered if this were a vital question of the day or merely one of passing interest, the meeting arranged by the L.C.M. at Church House on June 6, when Miss A. Maude Royden debated the subject with the Rev. A. V. Magee, would have convinced the most sceptical. Hundreds were turned away.

Many who are keenest for this reform have the utmost veneration for the noble traditions of the past but are dead set against tradition being used as a battering ram against all progress. For that reason the League realises that until the church as a whole feels that it is guided by the spirit of God to make the change and call women to the priesthood, educative work must be carried on, but the need for such workers was never greater than it is to-day. "In the spiritual world the dawn will never come if the heralds of the dawn hold their peace."

E. L. ACRES.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

Treasurer's Receipts.

AFFILIATION FEES:—	Country.	Date.	£	s.	d.
Women's Enfranchisement Association of Union of South Africa	S. Africa	1919	1	0	0
HONORARY ASSOCIATES' SUBSCRIPTIONS:—					
Mrs. J. F. Solly	S. Africa	1919	1	0	0
Mrs. J. E. Bairnsfather	S. Africa	1919	1	0	0
Miss S. M. Hovenaar	Holland	1919	1	0	0
Mrs. F. S. Hallows	India	1919	1	0	0
Miss N. L. White	U.S.A.	1919	1	1	1
*Mrs. van Winkle	U.S.A.	1919	1	0	0
Acknowledged in June			149	5	10
Total			£156	6	11

*New Member.

ADELA COIT, Hon. Treasurer.

Spain Provisionally Admitted.

The Union of Spanish Women (president, Marquesa del Ter, Almagro 25, Madrid) has applied for affiliation. This has been conditionally approved by Mrs. Anna Wicksell, Chairman of Committee on Admissions, and by Headquarters Committee, subject to confirmation by next Congress.

DENMARK.

WOMEN'S ADMISSION TO OFFICES.

Extract from the speech of Inger Gautier Schmit in the Landsting, June 24:—

"In the domain of jurisprudence in 1916 women were admitted as barristers, in 1908 as solicitors in the courts, jurymen 1916, . . . and it seems but natural that the matter should be carried further, and the very highest offices in that domain opened to women. It seems that in certain special cases—cases of criminal children, concealment of birth, and abortion, for example—women judges would be specially well qualified to judge the facts of the case better than men."

"The bill does not deal with military appointments, but even in this branch there are certain appointments equally suitable for men or women. The principle of full equality between man and woman has not been applied here."

"The bill deals with all civil appointments, both of Church and State. Now in the history of this bill what has aroused public attention and interest is not that women are to be

admitted to State affairs, but it is almost exclusively the fact of the proposed admission of women to the priesthood. Indeed, the bill goes popularly by the name of the Bill for Female Priests. This fact seems to show that it would have been better not to have joined the civil and ecclesiastical, but to have kept the two sides entirely distinct, all the more so as this hitherto has been the custom of the Rigsdag."

—*Tidens Kvinder*, July 5, 1919.

The general meeting of the Danish Women's Society (Dansk Kvinder Samfund) was held on the 19th June. In the course of her presidential address Dagmar Rouge said:—"In the Danish Rigsdag a bill has been introduced for a new marriage law and a bill for the admission of women to all offices, two bills which are the two cardinal points in the programme of the Danish Women's Society. On the 30th January, 1919, the Women's Society sent a petition to the Government and the Rigsdag that at last during the life of this Rigsdag a bill should be introduced and passed in law altering the existing law as to the contraction and dissolution of marriage and the rights of the married persons. In our meeting in January we expressed our approval of the bill, and our hope that it might be passed as it stood. The bill was passed in its entirety by the Folksting, but after the opposition which was excited by the question of the admission of women to the priestly office, both among the Conservative People's Party and the Left, there is little prospect of the bill getting through the Landsting. It will apparently come to grief over the women priests, while not a voice has been raised, for example, against women judges."

"The day that the new marriage law was introduced into the Folksting three women made speeches as the spokesmen of their respective parties, and they all spoke with understanding and kind words as to women's well-justified claims. When one thinks that it is scarcely a year since women first exercised their complete citizen rights, scarcely a year since women took their seats in the Rigsdag, and that now four women members as spokesmen of their parties are speaking for the women's cause in a bill which puts woman in her true place on the level of man both in marriage and industry, it seems that we have taken a long step forward."

"This, our programme, is on all men's lips, and the Commissions, the Government, and the Rigsdag are building on the foundations we laid. But we must prepare ourselves for disappointment. The carrying of the bills may take a long time. Both questions have been brought into the political fight, and in what shape they emerge from that ordeal—if they emerge at all—we as yet know nothing."

—*Kvinden og Samfundet*, June 30.

SCANDALOUS BEHAVIOUR.

Tidens Kvinder discusses at some length the alleged scandalous behaviour of the young girls of Copenhagen and the men from the foreign warships stationed near Copenhagen. The girls, and especially the girls' homes, have been blamed, "but we should push our enthusiasm for the victorious Entente too far if we represented their sailors as embodiments of innocence, against whose virtue a horde of Copenhagen hyenas had been hurled."

"We appeal to the homes of Copenhagen, ask of them that they should try to steady their young people; but we also appeal, and with just as good a right, to the foreign officers who are responsible for the sailors, and we ask of them that women should have safe passage through the streets. These strangers are guests, and not masters. And we are not deceived by the worthless notice that such-and-such a person will be obliged if any instance of 'incorrect behaviour' is brought to his notice."

—*Tidens Kvinder*, July 5.

FRANCE.

Senate Commission Votes Against Woman Suffrage.

The work of discussion and persuasion carried on by the suffragists with the members of the Senate continues with laudable ardour, and they do not let themselves be discouraged by any coolness or any argument. What we demand above all is that the Commission of the High Assembly should act, and that the reporter, M. Bérard, should present his report so as to arrive at a discussion before the Senate. This is what all our friends are claiming.

We are therefore not unduly moved by the new action of the Commission, which was foreseen. We asked it to act, and it did act on July 18th by rejecting by 10 votes to 3 (out of the 26 members composing the Commission) the bill which the Chamber of Deputies had passed, giving full suffrage to all French women.

By a second vote the Commission also rejected the proposal of M. Beauvisage for giving eligibility to women of 30 years of age and over.

M. Alexandre Bérard was chosen as reporter. In a subsequent meeting the Commission will consider the proposal of M. Delapage granting the vote to the widows, mothers, or sisters of soldiers killed during the war, and who would take their places at the ballot box. It will also consider the proposal of M. Las Cases with regard to the family vote.

The French Woman Suffrage Union is at present addressing a fresh letter to impress on them the affront that would be offered to French women by a complete refusal of any form of suffrage when the women of all other countries already have it.

Almost all the Senators admit that woman suffrage is inevitable in the near future in France as elsewhere. It is a question of opportunity, but suffragists will not weary in claiming the suffrage for to-day and not to-morrow.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,
President of the French Union for Woman Suffrage.

GREAT BRITAIN.

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION BILL.

The career of the Women's Emancipation Bill, which we outlined last month for the benefit of readers of the *International News*, has not failed to preserve the interesting character of its initial stages. It will be remembered that the bill, which opens to women all posts and professions directly or indirectly under the Crown, enfranchises women on the same terms as men, and enables peeresses in their own right to take their seats in the House of Lords, expectedly passed through its Parliamentary Committee stage unaltered in spite of Government opposition. The Government's one remaining opportunity of defeating the bill in the House of Commons was on July 3rd, when the bill was reported by the committee which considered it in detail back to the House of Commons, to be read a third time. A large number of women were present in the House to hear the third reading, among them a number of members of the Union, who had been busily engaged in organising meetings and demonstrations in support of the bill. The debate was of moderate length, but somewhat apathetic, no member having any real argument to oppose to the bill. The Government opposed the bill strenuously, promising shortly to introduce a bill of its own which should embody the whole of the present bill, save the clause extending the franchise. Optimists as feminists have learned to be, there were few of us who had seriously expected that the Government would fail to carry its point. Our delight then was extreme when the bill was pressed to a division, and on the division the Government was defeated. The Women's Emancipation Bill went on to the House of Lords with a majority of 15 in its favour.

THE NEW WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION BILL.

The Union immediately transferred its attention from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and prepared evidence of women's support of the Emancipation Bill to submit to the Lords when the bill should come before them. When, therefore, we heard news that the House of Lords was shortly to discuss a Women's Emancipation Bill we received it calmly, and our calm was only broken when we discovered that the Women's Emancipation Bill before the House of Lords was not the Emancipation Bill which we were supporting, but a new bill of the same type but very different substance, introduced by the Government into the House of Lords and given precedence over our own. This new bill feigns a likeness to the other, since it opens to women public professions—such as the professions of solicitors and justices of the peace—from which they have long been excluded in this country; but—and that "but" is of momentous importance—it leaves it possible still to exclude women from the upper posts in the civil service, and also there is no clause extending the franchise to women on the same terms as to men. The union is resolutely opposing this bill as unsatisfactory, and is demanding that

the original Women's Emancipation Bill, which has triumphantly passed through the House of Commons, be forthwith submitted to the Upper House for its verdict. It is also protesting very strongly against the action of the Government in opposing this measure, since the Government was returned to power at the last election on a programme which pledged it to securing equal opportunities of citizenship for both its men and women electors.

WIDOWS' PENSIONS.

A conference arranged by the Union to discuss the basis of a bill for giving pensions to widows with dependent children was held on July 8th. A very large number of women's societies were represented, and many members of Parliament wrote expressing their great interest in the subject under discussion. Our President (Miss Rathbone) was in the chair, and in her opening remarks sketched the rise of the movement in favour of pensions for widows with dependent children. She pointed out how the greatest stimulus had been given to this scheme by the mothers' pensions movement which had been started in America, and how much we owed to the inspiration of Judge Neil. On April 8th the House of Commons had declared itself in favour of the principle, but Dr. Addison, on behalf of the Government, pleaded for a carefully thought-out scheme. The object of this conference was to prepare some such scheme, though none of the organisations present were to consider themselves in any way bound by the proceedings. As a basis for discussion, it was proposed to take a scheme which had been very carefully drawn up by the N.U.S.E.C. A very keen discussion took place as to (1) who should be included in this scheme (in particular, whether the mother of an illegitimate child should receive the pension on behalf of that child). It was decided, however, that the bill would stand a much greater chance of practical success if it was kept as simple and non-contentious as possible. (2) Income limit: The meeting was in favour of there being no income limit at all. It is known that the cost of the scheme would be very little increased by the inclusion of all widows, and that a great deal of administrative work and many vexatious inquiries would be saved. (3) Whether the pension should, or should not, be contributory. Many speakers thought it would be more popular on a contributory basis; this was, however, not the general opinion of the meeting. Keen discussion was aroused on the advisability of subjecting the widow to supervision. Some of the speakers held that widows should be exposed to no further supervision than is the ordinary married woman; others that the State must insist on proper services being rendered in return for payment out of public funds.

INEZ M. FERGUSON, Secretary.

Women's Freedom League.

Early in July we held a crowded meeting in Essex Hall to demand votes for Indian women, the speakers being Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and the chairman Mrs. Despard. The following resolution was passed unanimously, and copies sent to the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P., the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P., and the Right Hon. Lord Sinha:—

That in the opinion of this meeting Indian women, possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, shall not be disqualified on account of sex.

PRE-WAR PRACTICES (RESTORATION) BILL.

On the refusal of the Minister of Labour to receive a deputation from our League, we sent him a written statement setting forth the grounds of our opposition to this bill. We also circularised the members of the Standing Committee which is dealing with this bill in the House of Commons.

WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION BILL.

In spite of the opposition of the Government, this bill with its franchise clause extending votes to women on the same terms as men passed its third reading in the House of Commons on July 4, and we have written to members of the Upper House urging them to give their support to this bill through all its stages.

SEX DISQUALIFICATION (REMOVAL) BILL.

This is yet another bill introduced into the House of Lords in the interests of women, its object being to secure that women may be appointed as Justices of the Peace and become

ITALY.

THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION.

An important suffrage convention was held in Milan on July 1, in which representatives of the suffrage associations of Milan and Turin took part, and representatives of political parties. Among the deputies present were the Hon. Gasparotti, the mover of the new motion for woman suffrage which will be presented at the opening of the Chamber on July 9. The following is, in brief, the suffrage situation at the present moment:—

As has been known for some time, there is in Italy a strong movement for electoral reform (proportional representation and *scrutin de liste*). The last Ministry under Orlando seemed reluctant to grant it, and it seemed rather as if they intended to arrange for the elections to be held quickly on the old system, and that the new Chamber should examine and solve the whole electoral question, including woman suffrage. The Orlando Ministry having fallen unexpectedly the Nitti-Tittoni Ministry was formed, which finds itself in this strange position. Tittoni, and the delegation to the Paris Conference over which he presides, are approved and supported by the same organisations and parties that oppose Nitti and the rest of the Ministry. Immediately he was nominated, Minister Nitti promised to present in co-operation with the proportionalists, a Bill for electoral reform, *i.e.*, for proportional representation and *scrutin de liste* without woman suffrage. The suffragists then insisted to Signor Gasparotti that the Milan Congress last April had undertaken to formulate a Bill for full suffrage so that he might present it. The proposed Bill provides in article 1 that the existing franchise should be extended to all citizens of both sexes, and in article 2 that a royal decree may be issued to carry out the law.

This Bill, supported by the Hon. Martini, Agnelli, Bevicone, etc., will be presented on July 9th, with an explanation by the Hon. Gasparotti. But there is no hope that it will be voted on in this form soon, for parliamentary procedure is long. There is also a second difficulty that was explained in the Convention and fully discussed by the members of Parliament present. To make the electoral lists of all Italian women (for the Martini motion would give universal woman suffrage, as our law already gives universal manhood suffrage) would take at least six months, and it would be necessary to postpone the elections until at least 1920, which neither the Government nor the political parties at all wish, because the present legislature has already been prolonged many months (since October, 1918).

The socialist party proposed in the Convention that electoral reform should be carried out in a way that would debar women again from the elections, that is, that in 1919 they should not vote in the political elections, but only in the administrative, although having all political rights.

The difficulty of the drawing up of electoral lists is serious, but it must be understood that the objection comes from the official socialists, *i.e.*, those who were against the war, because they are afraid of the Catholic and conservative influence of women among whom the Catholics in particular have carried on an active propaganda, whereas the other parties have not done so.

On these two points, *i.e.*, on the method of securing a debate and especially a vote on woman suffrage during the discussion on proportional representation and on the time and method of application of the reform, the discussion was very lively. It was agreed:—

1. That, while presenting the Martini Bill in the regular form of a law initiated by Parliament, our friends should propose during the discussion of electoral reform an amendment or addition containing article 1 of the Martini motion.

N.B.—According to our Parliamentary procedure an amendment or an additional article can be voted on in the same session in which they are proposed. If the amendment is approved it passes straight to the Senate. But for the moment we are not thinking of the Senate, though, perhaps, it will not be opposed like the French one.

2. That on the method of application of the law we should leave that to the decision of Parliament, though for our own part remaining firm to our demand to exercise electoral rights at once.

solicitors and barristers. It also renders them liable to serve as jurors, though they may apply for exemption in certain cases. This bill indicates the measure of equality which the Government is prepared to bestow on women as compared with men. It does not extend the franchise to women on the same terms as men, and, in the view of the Women's Freedom League, it can in no way be considered as a fulfilment of the pledge given in the election manifesto signed by the Prime Minister and Mr. Bonar Law that—

"It will be the duty of the new Government to remove all existing inequalities of the law as between men and women."

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

On April 8th, 1919, white women in B.E.A. obtained with white men the right to vote in the election of the non-official members of Legislative Council, and the next day they were given equal eligibility to become elected members of the Council. The writer believes that this is the first country where men and women have won this democratic measure at the same time on the same terms.

The demand for votes for white men in this Protectorate was made some five or six years ago, the demand for votes for women only two years ago, when the East Africa Women's League was founded for the purpose of winning votes, and also studying and taking action on any question of interest and importance to white women and children of B.E.A. After two years of work—meetings, newspaper articles, and correspondence, the organisation of a widely signed petition of men and women, and other similar constitutional work,—and after the great victories for the women's movement all over the world, women here have not been denied their political rights.

The debate in Legislative Council on April 8th was preceded the evening before by an interesting public debate, to which His Excellency the Governor and Lady Northey and several Legislative Councillors came unofficially.

The Legislative Council discussion showed that out of the seventeen members only one, Lord Delamere, was really an anti-suffragist, but seven others were of the type who always say "the time is not ripe." After a very interesting debate the voting was 8—8, and the motion was carried by the Governor, Sir Edward Northey, giving his vote for the women, on the grounds that he believed a mandate for such existed in the country.

It is good to feel that the time of busy women will now no longer be wasted in agitating for a political right, but that we shall be able with men to help in positive reforms and reconstructive work. The East Africa Women's League interests itself in many questions, such as education, and women visitors to the lunatic asylum and prison, and is trying hard now to collect funds to bring out a Plunket nurse from New Zealand to work in the cause of infant welfare among mothers and children of all races in this country.

ISABEL ROSS,
President, East Africa Women's League.

ICELAND.

English women, perhaps, know that Iceland has become a sovereign state in union with Denmark. In connection with this, and according to an appeal from Kvenrittindafelag Islands Women's Rights Association, the Icelandic Government has brought a bill before the Althing proposing an amendment of the constitution, giving equal political suffrage to all men and women, 25 years of age, for the elections in districts, 35 years being the limit of age for both sexes for elections to the upper house.

There is no doubt that this amendment will be passed by the newly assembled Althing, and then elections will take place next spring.

As you will remember, Icelandic women got the vote four years ago, but with some restrictions regarding age, which will be removed by this amendment. We heartily congratulate our English sisters on the political rights they at last have won after such a long and brave struggle.

BRIET ASMUNDSSON,
President of the Women's Rights Association.
Reykjavik, July 8th, 1919.

At the meeting methods of propaganda were agreed upon, especially for the work of the delegates we are sending to Rome. The attitude of the Press was deplored, which does not mention woman suffrage, and it was decided to continue propaganda in our papers. (*Voce Nuova* for two weeks had contained nothing but suffrage articles.)

I should add that for some days the Milan Press has broken its silence by an unexpected series of suffragist articles by Romolo Murri, one of the Radical leaders, in the *Secolo*, and an editorial in the *Popolo d'Italia*.

The Liberal Press has, so far, not declared itself. As for the Government, it includes, besides Nitti, who is an opportunist, and will adopt the opinion of the majority, a declared opponent, the Hon. Bellotti, deputy of Bergamo, and some of our old friends, the Socialist Celli, the Liberal Chimenti, the Radical Pantano, and especially Senator Mortara, a learned and distinguished judge and Minister of Justice. Fifteen years ago he gave a famous judgment in which he declared that an Italian Commune had done well to include women in the political election lists. This judgment was reversed by the Court of Cassation (the Supreme Court of Appeal).

In two or three days our delegates will be received by Sen. Mortara, who is the man of whom we hope most in the new Government. But among the many possibilities there is the one that the Minister Nitti may fail.

MARGHERITA ANCONA.

Milan, July 6, 1919.

SENATE PASSES SACCHI BILL.

The Senate has passed the Sacchi Bill, after full discussion by 58 votes to 17. It had already passed the Chamber. As soon as it has received the royal sanction the law will come into force, and Italian women, besides the abolition of marital authority, which respects their economic independence and rights of guardianship, will also have the possibility of obtaining public offices and exercising the liberal professions, including the practice of law (advocates and notaries). Suffragists are very pleased at this victory, not only for its practical usefulness, but also because, having obtained judicial capacity, the greatest anti-suffrage objection falls to the ground, which denied women political rights because they had not yet got judicial rights. Let us hope that also in this justice may soon be obtained. The latest news is very reassuring: our delegates, who have now returned from Rome after conferring with ministers and deputies, assure us that the Martini-Gasparotto motion for the administrative vote will be passed in a few days by the Chamber, with the sole restriction, proposed by the Socialists, that we cannot vote in Parliamentary elections this year.

Milan, July 16.

M. ANCONA.

THE NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

A new women's society has been constituted here in Rome, "The National Political Union for the Women of Italy," of which I subjoin the Appeal. From it may be judged the scope and methods of the association, and its importance. Women are freely entering on a new life, and with a clear conscience are setting to work to develop all their capacities and latent activities to co-ordinate them and co-operate for the greater good of the country. They feel that they have reached the moment when, with equal rights with men and equal duties, they must express their views.

Thanks to the work of the Central Committee for Woman Suffrage, the Hon. Martini has consented to present to the Chamber a bill which is supported by other important Members of Parliament.

ARTICLE I.

The laws referring to the electorate, both political and administrative, and regulations concerning it, are extended to all citizens of both sexes.

ARTICLE II.

The Royal Government is authorised to issue a decree to put the present law in force.

Another women's enterprise worthy of the highest praise is the institution of a "Women's Agricultural Union," which has been founded to increase rural industries like aviculture, apiculture, silkworm culture, and horticulture, and all in-

dustries adapted to women and which, carried on intelligently will become a source of good earnings.

This enterprise was the result of the publication, "Woman in the Fields," supplement to "The Land," by Prof. Pasquale Torneo, and edited by Signora Ester Lombardo.

Even when the enterprise is not confined to women they take a good share in it. It will be enough to record how much the "Association for Woman" has done, not only in the field of her special activities, but for everything concerning the most important problems of labour, succeeding in getting women representatives in circles where up till now women were always excluded.

A woman is at the head of a purely political enterprise, the active woman director of "Young Europe," Signora Adami. Her programme says: "The Association works to organise all the forces of democracy and of labour, which have as an immediate object on their programme the proclamation of the constituent elected on a system of proportional representation, including woman suffrage."

ELISE BATTAGLINI,

Corresponding Sec. of the Italian Wom. Suff. Federation (Affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

NETHERLANDS.

Much of the history of the Dutch suffrage movement was published in our June issue, after the Second Chamber had passed the Marchand Bill. It now remains for us to give pictures of some of the leaders and the workers, and a brief calendar of the movement.

Before the suffrage victory in the Second Chamber on May 9th women were eligible for the legislature, and Mme. Suze Groeneweg, Socialist, was elected to the Second Chamber. In April and May of this year we had the elections for the provincial States and for the municipal councils.

The Socialists and Radicals gave the women good places on the lists of candidates, putting their names immediately after those of the councillors actually sitting. All the municipal councils were to be re-elected on the proportional system, and nearly all the lists contained at least one woman's name, but all the political parties were not equally generous towards women, which explains the result.

In the Netherlands we have 1,123 communes, and in 398 the Socialists gained a number of seats varying from 1 to 19. That proves that now a quarter of the electors (on manhood suffrage) vote for the Socialist party.

This increase of the Dutch Socialist Party has favoured the entry of women to the municipal communes; 44 Socialists have been elected. The total number of women municipal councillors is more than fifty; three are communists—i.e., they belong to Mr. Wynkoop's party, which calls itself "the purest representative of Bolshevism in Western Europe." The others for the most part belong to the Liberal fractions, and two are Catholic. It is interesting to notice how accurately the latter have been able to adapt themselves to present circumstances with regard to feminism. The Catholics give lectures to the future women electors; they place women on their candidates' lists, and they encourage women to join the Catholic trade unions.

We are sure of the Catholic vote in the First Chamber when the vote is taken on the Marchand law for women suffrage, and they form the largest party. At present we have one woman in the States General, 15 women in the Provincial States, and more than 50 women on municipal councils. Mme. Suze Groeneweg is on all three governing bodies, and her speech on May 9th was the only one to give an aperçu of women's social position, which has been entirely changed by modern evolution. She alone mentioned the number of women in the professions, and woman's share in production, when the greater part of men's speeches only deal with the task of each sex and of the weight attached by their opponents to modern democracy.

It is with hope that we see women entering the municipal councils and provincial States, and we can predict with sufficient assurance that soon the equality of the sexes will be established by law in Holland.

MARTINA KRAMERS.

Apeldoorn, May 21st, 1919.

NETHERLANDS VICTORY.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES.

A Calendar of the Movement.

In May, 1893, the Executive of the *Vrije Vrouwenvereniging*, of which Mrs. Drucker (later also Mrs. Haver) was the soul, convened a number of men and women to discuss the creation in Holland of a union for women's suffrage. Preparations were made, and in November the decision was taken by a few people to form a union. In February, 1894, the union was founded. First president: Mrs. A. Versluys-Poelman, until 1903. From that time onward, Dr. Jacobs.

In the beginning naturally only mockery, even from progressive men—"women were not ripe." One of them even wrote that W.S. is an obstacle for the women's movement. Great difficulties: no speakers, no money, no literature. But young union did not give up courage.

After five years of quiet labour there were 14 sections and 800 members.

In 1899 the young union hesitatingly ventured to take part in the agitation for universal suffrage, but also demanded W.S. and reserved the freedom to vote for its own candidates. This decision caused first split, because it went not far enough for Socialists.

In 1902 Mrs. Versluys resigned owing to excess of private work. Dr. Jacobs, active member from the start, became president. In 1883 she had already attempted to be put on the voters register, but without success, although the constitution did not expressly forbid it. In 1887, afraid of the emancipation of women, Parliament introduced such a prohibition into the constitution.

In 1904, festivities in Leyden, on the tenth anniversary of the union. Professor Oppenheim, in his standard work on Dutch local government, wrote a chapter on W.S. The administration of lands beneath sea-level in the province of North Holland gives the vote to women landowners. Two parties, Radicals and Socialists, put W.S. on their programme.

After ten years, 18 sections and 1,400 members. 1906: Secession from union (Vereeniging) for personal reasons, of certain members under Mrs. Wynands Franken-Dyserinck, who form the Bond. 1908: A propagandist is appointed. Miss Groot and her friend Marytje travel through the country, speaking everywhere. World congress converts public opinion and press. In 1911: A banner. 1912: Permanent bureau in Amsterdam. 1913: Political bloc for W.S. stage of practical politics. Memberships now over 14,000. Shortly before elections big protest meeting against Premier Heemskerk's proposed constitutional amendments. Heemskerk said: "I don't see the women!" Thousands of women reply by slowly marching round Parliament. 1913-1914, big petition (16,469 signatures) delivered by Executive and delegates from 122 sections to Premier Cort van der Linden. Colossal agitation throughout country to get W.S. introduced in new constitution of 1915. Difference of opinion about battle-cry. Shall it be "constitutional equality for men and women," or "universal suffrage for men and women." In 1916, September 19: Propaganda-day in the Hague. Thousands of women with movements' colours throughout town. Manifestations continue. Picketing of Parliament throughout debates on constitution. Only passive suffrage granted to women.

1914-1918. Agitation for active suffrage.

1918. First women candidates for Parliament: Dr. Jacobs, Mrs. Van Balen-Klaar, Mrs. Bakker-Nort. Suze Groeneweg returned for Parliament.

1918, September 20. Marchand Bill for active W.S. November 18th. Threat of Socialist revolution. Government promises speeding up reforms.

Vereeniging now has 150 sections and 25,000 members. W.S. debates in the Lower Chamber.

May 6th had been set aside for the opening of the debate of the Marchand Bill. Many members of the Suffrage movement had gone to The Hague, and the public gallery was too small for all those interested. It was, unhappily, not possible to start the debates before the following day. They lasted for three afternoons. The speaker proposed (but without success) to limit every speech to three-quarters of an hour, because, as he quite rightly said, "we might really divide at once, as we all know each other's arguments, and the bill will be passed anyhow."

The Catholic M.P., Wijnbergen, opened, declaring himself a supporter out of necessity of the bill. The Christian-Democrat, Staalman, was the only opponent that day. On the 8th also there was but one opponent, the "anti-revolutionary" (Protestant) de Wilde; and on the last day the solitary opponent was the "Historic-Christian," Schokking. Mrs. Suze Groeneweg (Soc.-Dem.), in a strong and dignified speech, pointed out how absurd it was that 16 women, returned for the County Councils, would now have the right to vote for the Higher Chamber (elected by indirect suffrage), while they have no vote for the Lower Chamber; that she could herself sit and speak in Parliament, but was not an elector.

Mr. Marchand's task in defending his bill was easy. His irony for Mr. Staalman, who had declared that a man, to be able to advocate W.S., had to be effeminate, was pitiless. Mr. Marchand declared that W.S. has to be granted, because it is demanded by democracy. The cause has been won at last, because it is that of truth and of justice. The bill was passed with 64 votes to 10. At the end of the sitting, Mr. Marchand received a deputation of suffragists, headed by Mrs. Van Balen-Klaar, who offered him flowers and thanked him for successful championship of the cause of women.

In the excellent commemorative volume ("Gedenkboek") published by the Vereeniging on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, Mrs. Van der Meer van Kuffeler contributes an article on the influence of the struggle for W.S. in Holland. It is evident that the propaganda for the suffrage continually drew attention to questions related to the general position of women in the State, and that therefore the general emancipation of woman was aided. In the *Maandblad* articles appeared on woman and marriage, on questions of salary and labour, which, though not expressing the view of the union (owing to the latter's political neutrality), nevertheless put forward progressive views on these matters, and must have had a salutary influence. Wherever legislation favoured men, protests were issued. Questions of investigation of paternity, maternity-care, and others, were examined. The movement has aimed not only at getting women the vote, but at making them fit to use it. Series of lectures for this purpose have been held ever since 1910.

Some Pioneers of the Dutch Movement.

Elise A. Haighton (1841-1911), was a feminist before the start of the official movement, and was first secretary of the Executive of the Vereeniging. She took a leading part in the organisation of the national exhibition of women's labour in The Hague, but especially in the preparation of the World Congress of Amsterdam in 1908.

Theodora P. B. Haver (1857-1912), was one of the founders of the Vereeniging. Her ideal was: "Equal opportunity of development for boy and girl, equal technical training for young men and girls, equal opportunity of appointment and equal salary for men and women." She started as a teacher, and became head of an institution for social welfare. For years she was president of the Amsterdam section of the Vereeniging and editor of the *Maandblad*, she took part in many advanced movements, and was a propagandist of New-Malthusianism in those days when it was still generally condemned.

Antoinette Versluys-Poelman (1853-1914), was the first president of the Vereeniging. Initiated into politics by her father, the well-known blind Parliamentarian Poelman, she had never been able to see anything in them, and she always gave much time to them, and to social work (such as help for unmarried mothers), notwithstanding the fact that she managed her household herself, and assisted her husband in his business.

Jeanne van Lanschot Hubrecht (1864-1918) was secretary of the Executive of the Vereeniging. She continually travelled through the country speaking at meetings, and rekindling enthusiasm where it was slackening. During the war she took an active part in the women's peace movement.

Propaganda.

The "Gedenkboek" gives some of the ways by which propaganda was carried on. There was of course the tribune and the Press. Then there was the *Maandblad*, and all the divers pamphlets and other literature: poetry, drama, songs, posters,

illustrated post-cards, etc. Much was done by means of ingeniously devised thimbles, pencils, bookmarks, stamp and food-card holders, boxes, brooches, etc., etc. The great international congress was a perpetual source of propaganda. A special mention among the propagandists is due to Mrs. Palthe Breese van Groenou. Her last idea has been to erect a small hut in the centre of The Hague Market-place, where, among other things, useful household articles, adorned with the colours and insignia of the women's movement, were sold.

Propaganda journeys with motor-cars, carriages, and bicycles were held several times, a very successful one being that which went right through Dutch Limburg. The 15th of June has been set aside for an annual day of propaganda. This is the day when, in 1908, the World Congress was opened.

Mrs. Mansfeldt de Witt Huberts organised the propaganda among the soldiers who were mobilised from 1914 to 1918.

In 1913 there was an exhibition in Amsterdam on "Woman from 1813 to 1913." The Vereeniging had a pretty kiosk at this exhibition. Daily adorned with fresh flowers, it made a pleasant impression on visitors, and much literature was sold. During luncheon time short addresses were made to the public. In order to keep the visitors a little longer in the Suffrage room, tea was served there, and voluntary helpers were never lacking for the work. It was remarkable how the attitude of the public became daily more friendly towards our cause, and how many a day the place was filled by an attentive and sympathetic audience.

The Bureau.

In 1912 the Vereeniging organised a modest home for itself. It was on the top floor of a house in the Keizersgracht, Amsterdam. Soon, however, it was found too small. Now the offices occupy a whole house, Heerengracht 627. The administration of a union of 25,000 members, and the editing and expedition of the monthly organ, occupy a considerable staff.

Political Parties and W.S.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs writes an article on this subject in the "Gedenkboek." When the Vereeniging was founded in 1894, all parties except the young Radical Bond were hostile. The clerical parties considered W.S. opposed to God's word, and the progressives of every hue saw in the movement nothing but the activities of a few hotheads who wanted equality with men. Against both these views propaganda had to be directed. It had to be shown that the movement had nothing unchristian, and that women did not claim to be exactly like men. On the contrary, women asked the right to decide for themselves, owing precisely to the fact that they were different from men.

The first triumph was obtained in 1901, when the Radicals put at the head of their programme "universal suffrage for men and women." The left wing of the Liberals followed in due course, though not without reservation. In 1912 a concentration of both Liberal wings and of the Radicals was formed to obtain a revision of the constitution, and it was decided to work for the removal of the constitutional inability of women to vote.

The parties of the Right remained hostile till the end.

The Socialists were very hostile at first, owing to tactical reasons, but gradually turned round, without, however, becoming very warm supporters. (This is due to the fear of the reactionary weight of women's votes, not to any theoretical hostility.)

LETTER FROM DR. ALETTA JACOBS TO MRS. CHAPMAN CATT.

My Dear Mrs. Catt,

Soon after your letter of May 24th arrived the newspapers brought us the great news that your Senate, too, has passed the Bill for the amendment of the American Constitution, in order to have the women of all U.S.A. enfranchised. Our hearty congratulations. We will now soon all be enfranchised women.

Although our enfranchisement is not yet an accomplished fact, we used our annual summer meeting to reorganise our society for Woman Suffrage, and to rebaptise it. It will be called in the future the Netherlands Society of Women Citizens, and the aim will be fourfold: 1st, to promote legal, social, and economical equality of men and women; 2nd, to watch over the interests of women as working-women in every direction, and as mothers and as wives; 3rd, to give women information upon matters of general importance, and to develop their knowledge upon economic and social affairs; and 4th, to propagate women's views about social and legal questions in representative bodies.

We will remain a member of the Alliance.
We feel very sorry you decided not to call an Alliance congress this year; in contradiction with you we are of opinion that while

the whole world is in a stage to prepare new foundations whereupon a new world has to be built, our international body of suffragist women has an important task to fulfil. When once the foundations are laid and the new world has begun to develop, it will be more difficult to change the once-made arrangements with which we do not agree, than to prevent them from being accepted.

Therefore, we feel it of the greatest importance that, now there is no congress before October, the Woman Suffrage Alliance should be present in Washington in October to watch carefully what is proposed for the Covenant of the League of Nations during its meeting in Washington or before, and to influence that almighty body in every possible way in the interest of women.

The Netherlands Society for Woman Suffrage shall send one or more representatives to Washington at the first session of the League of Nations, if the Alliance will be represented there.

But if it is accepted by a majority vote that only a memorial of our Alliance should be presented, then we earnestly advise to send another one than that proposed in your letter of May 24th, and which was sent by the Western Headquarters office.

It seems to us that where the International Council of Women, and the International League of Women for Peace and Freedom (as the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace now is called), sent such an elaborate women's charter to the League of Nations, we shall weaken the influence of their memorials if we, as such an influential body of women as our Alliance is, only ask for Woman Suffrage and are content with that.



CORNELIA GROOT, 2nd Secretary.

We propose to send the same women's charter as that which was sent by the International League of Women for Peace and Freedom, which was formulated and accepted at its international congress in Zurich, May 12th-18th, 1919, with only a few slight changes in article 4 and article 9, and with a new article added—article 13. So that it runs now—

1. That suffrage should be granted to women, and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, recognised.
2. That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery, such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa.
3. That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and should not be under the tutelage of her husband.
4. That the mother should have the same rights over her children as the father.
5. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.
6. That all opportunities for education should be open to both sexes.
7. That women should have the same opportunity for training and for entering industries and professions as men.
8. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.
9. That the traffic in women should be suppressed; the regulation of vice abolished; an equal moral standard recognised.
10. That the responsibility not only of the mother, but also of the father, of a child born out of wedlock should be recognised.
11. That there should be adequate economic provision for the service of motherhood.
12. That no political or industrial quarrel should deprive the mother of food for her children.
13. That the education of children, as far as the laws of the country can influence them, should be based upon international understanding and goodwill among the nations.

In the meeting of the League of Nations in Washington there shall undoubtedly be discussed several questions of the greatest importance for the women of the world, and therefore the representatives of our



F. S. v. BALEN-KLAAR,
1st Vice-President.



V. C. v. D. MEER v. KUFFELER,
2nd Vice-President.



J. VAN BUUREN-HULIS,
1st Treasurer.



S. GOMPERTS VAN EMBDEN,
2nd Treasurer.



ROSA MANUS,
1st Secretary.



DR. G. DOCTERS v. LEEUWEN
v. MAARSEVEEN.



DR. ALETTA JACOBS,
President.



CLARA MULDER v. DE GRAAF
DE BRUYN.



MARIJTTE VAN BROEK IN
WATERLAND.
One of the popular speakers, who
addressed the people, as a
peasant woman, in dialect.



BETTY v. D. HOEVEN.



S. v. D. HOEVE-BAKKER.



B. BARKER-NORT



MARTINA G. KRAMERS.

DUTCH SUFFRAGE LEADERS.

Alliance there ought to be given the power to act in our common name in all cases in which women's interests ought to be defended or protected in the League of Nations.

ALLIANCE CONGRESS.—Our Dutch society repeats its invitation for the Alliance Congress, even if that Congress will not take place before next year. Our members will gladly take the trouble for the preparing work, and they will do their utmost to make our guests feel comfortable, but the costs of the meeting, even if they are much smaller than usual, ought to be paid internationally. As no country needs now the propaganda which is the result of such a meeting, such international meetings ought to be paid internationally. Rent of halls, printing, stenographers, typewriters, etc., etc., are much larger than half a dozen years before, and even if there are no entertainments the costs will be too much to bear for a society in a small country.

THE TASK OF THE ALLIANCE.—We are of opinion, although we ought to be thoroughly reorganised, that our task in world affairs, now that most of us have gained the vote, just begins. An international parliament of women could be of great power in the future. Plans for re-organisation ought to be discussed at our next international meeting, and perhaps it would be good if some countries would already begin to discuss such plans in *Jus Suffragii*.

The Hague, July, 1919.

NORWAY.

Extract from a speech made to the Women Voters' Union, April 10, 1919, by H. E. Bemers (it was Mr. Bemers who in 1884 founded the Norse Women's Union, and was its first president. It was also through his work that Norwegian universities opened their doors to women):—

"The communal elections in 1904, when men had received universal suffrage, was the first time that women with a property qualification voted in a public election. At the communal elections of 1904 women had obtained universal suffrage. At the Storting elections of 1909 women with a property qualification were allowed to vote. It was only in 1912 that women took part in Storting election with a universal suffrage like the men.

"The women voters were in 1916 about 565,000, or over half the total number of voters. Women therefore had the authority of numbers. They were the most sovereign part of that sovereign people. They had the chief power. They could by their votes carry through all their demands.

"But what happened? In the communal elections in 1916 in the country districts there were 366,200 male voters as against 390,000 women, but all the same women only got 27 of their number elected, as against 1,168 men. In the towns there were 1,388 men, as against 186,500 women, but women had only 165 successful candidates as against 2,064 men. And at the Storting election it was just the same.

"At the election of 1915, where women also were in a majority, their success at the elections was just as poor, especially in the country. Of all the majority of women not one was chosen to be a member of the Storting.

"There were women candidates in only four constituencies, and these only obtained 1,446 votes between them, and none of them was elected.

"The fact is that this defeat is due to the fact that women have not been organised like men. Against organised, practised hosts like men, unseasoned masses of women will always come off badly, however large their numbers.

"But the defeat has not failed of its effect. The Women Voters' Union is on the lookout to prevent any more such shameful defeats in the future."

—*Nylacnde*, June 15.

The housing question is in the order of the day in almost every country. Its importance cannot be measured in square or cubic measure or be calculated in shillings. It is its social and moral import that we speak of. As the chief mover in house reform, Chr. Gserloff wrote a little while ago: "Housing is woman's social revolution. If women (I had almost said 'manfully') took the housing problem as their question it would soon be settled, if only because men would not dare to leave it unsettled."

—*Nylacnde*, July 1.

ROUMANIA.

The feminist movement is in full swing. The Association takes a wider and wider scope because of its completely democratic spirit. The struggle that it has carried on for the eight years of its existence has thoroughly prepared the ground for the changes that are to come.

Besides the Socialist Party, which has in its programme the full claims of women, the Liberals have included in their programme the right to vote and be elected for communes and provincial councils. The Labour Party and the Progressive Conservatives have done the same thing. The Chambers have dissolved until the new elections, which will take place in November for the Constituent Assembly. The Liberal Party, which is in office, by a decree has granted women the right to be nominated for the interim communal councils. We have at Jassy, Mme. Marie Colonel Dr. Gavilescu, at Bukharest, Mme. Sarmisa Bilescu Alimanasteanu, the first woman in Roumania to be doctor of laws, and Mme. Sabine Bratianu Cantacuzino. For the provincial councils, Mme. Sanda Tilitiu was nominated at Jassy. No elections were held.

EUGÈNE DE REUS JANCOULESCO,
President National Suffrage Association of Bukharest.

SWITZERLAND.

DEFEAT IN NEUCHÂTEL.

It is rather humiliating for us to come and tell of defeat in these numbers of *Jus Suffragii*, which for some months have only told of successes. But still we recognise that we have suffered one because our political organisation presents a much greater obstacle than is met with in other countries, viz., the referendum. That is our great stumbling block. To convert a Parliament to suffrage is relatively easy, but to convert all the electors, those of town and country, the intellectuals and the workmen, the great mass which only too often does not reason for itself, and lets itself be led by a phrase, that is where the task is complicated! And, nevertheless, that is what awaits us, for no constitutional modification can be carried out whether in the cantonal or the federal domain until the "sovereign people," that is, the male electors, have given their opinion! As we have to go through that process whatever path we follow, we may as well begin without delay to confront the popular verdict. It is the inevitable first stage.

For the first time we have met this popular verdict in the canton of Neuchâtel. The idea of suffrage seemed to have made great progress in this canton, where in the Grand Council, between February and April, there had been very significant debates on the granting of woman suffrage. The Grand Council having voted in favour of it by a large majority, it was for the electors to decide in the last resort. A fine campaign was then opened in the last weeks of June. Fine on the feminist side, where the work was carried on with as much dignity as energy, through the Press, public meetings and lectures, and sermons, so as to interest in our cause all those who should vote in all the canton. The Socialist party, the only one to come out in our favour (neither the Radicals nor the Liberals dare compromise themselves, and remained neutral), worked actively for its part through its organ, *The Sentinel*, which published a series of excellent articles by its leaders, in the front rank of whom must be placed M. Paul Graber, deputy. But what is to be said of the opponents? of their methods of work, neither correct nor even honourable? Three members of the government were not ashamed to carry on this campaign against us while making use of their official position, which should have had no place there. Posters, whose vulgarity was only equalled by their stupidity, covered all the walls, automobiles scattered all over the country a harvest of copies of a little paper, "For Home and Family," which was a réchauffé of all the old catch words, claiming that the future of the race was at stake, and finally the liquor trade joined in the game, if not openly, at least by furnishing formidable financial aid to this sickening struggle. The saying of a drunkard on the night of the election is in itself a confession and a programme: "We are still the masters!"

The results were the following: Woman suffrage, passed by the Grand Council, was rejected by 12,017 votes to 5,346 in all the canton. In the town of Neuchâtel we had 831 yes votes against 1,647 noes; and at Chaux de Fonds, an industrial and socialist town, which we thought our citadel, about 1,800 yes against 2,400 noes. It is a crushing majority against us.

But we are not discouraged. We knew very well that the first time the suffrage question was put to the electors we could not hope for success. An idea must make its way, and

it is only by repeated popular votes that it ends by winning heart and mind. As Madame Porret, president of the Neuchâtel Suffrage Committee, has well said: "The best of causes cannot triumph at the first attempt. Politicians have shown us this, with examples to prove it; psychologists have explained it, showing how slowly minds accustom themselves to new ideas, even to those which seem presented with the force of evidence. The disappointment we feel is not relative to ourselves but to our opponents. A disappointment largely compensated for by our joy in finding so much support, so many friends. Our opponents are right to agitate and be uneasy, if they had lost the game it was lost for ever. But we can look forward with confidence to the future. None of our trouble is lost. Rich in experience, and with numbers of recruits gained in some weeks, we shall get the better of the error in which our adversaries have carried off an ephemeral and inglorious triumph."

The same week in which woman suffrage was put before the electors for the first time it was also for the first time before the Federal Chambers. Swiss women are indeed in a position almost analogous to that of American women when they began the struggle which has just been ended so gloriously. We can get the vote in two ways: either by winning each canton, one after the other, or by a revision of the Federal Constitution, which would give us the right to join in elections and vote in federal matters only. For the federal vote would not give us *ipso facto* the cantonal vote, and conversely; but it is evident that if several cantons show conclusive results it will be difficult to refuse us the federal vote for long; similarly, if the latter is instituted, the cantons will have no pretext not to do the same within the limits of their sovereignty.

The two paths can then be followed parallelwise, and far from injuring one another, they support and reinforce each other.

In December two motions had been presented to the National Council (the Lower Federal Chamber) asking the Federal Council (Government) to present a Bill on woman suffrage. These motions were only discussed after six months. Well supported by their authors and by some of our suffrage friends in Parliament, they were only combated by a peasant deputy, who thought it funny to be witty at our expense, and by a representative of the Conservative Clerical party, who opposed the emancipation of women on principle, and in the name of his political friends. It is, indeed, to be noted that whereas in other countries Catholics support woman suffrage, in Switzerland they oppose it as an element in the destruction of the family! The Federal Council, through the organ of M. Motta, Minister of Finance, has declared that he accepted the motions for study, but for study only—that is to say, that he does not undertake to present a Bill, but wishes to study the question first. M. Gottscheim, one of the authors of the motion presented, assured us that this study might last three or four years, our government thinking that there were other questions more important to solve!

My report cannot, therefore, to-day, strike a very encouraging note. We must expect the struggle to be long. But we began it long after the other countries, and we have not, as in belligerent countries, given women an opportunity of proving their capacity, nor suffered the shock of revolution.

A mountainous, agricultural country, of which certain regions are difficult to reach; a confederation, that is to say, a country where from this very fact efforts are less co-ordinated, complicated by differences of language and the individualism of each canton; finally, democratic constitutions which demand a consultation of the population—this is the kind of obstacle that we meet, but with courage and perseverance we shall overcome them.

EMILIE GOURD,

President of the A.S.S.F. (affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

BALE PENAL CODE.

The Federal Penal Code is still not finished, and meanwhile the town of Bâle has decided that certain reforms cannot wait, and has undertaken a revision of its own code.

One new provision has given rise to wide agitation. It was not in the Government's proposed amendments, nor in those of the Commission, but was introduced in the Grand Council by a private member and passed by 55 votes to 30. The proposal is to cease to treat abortion as an offence provided that when it is carried out, if in the case of a married couple,

it shall be with the consent of both parties, if in the case of a single woman with her consent, that the pregnancy shall not be of more than three months, and that the operation be carried out by a qualified doctor. Organised women have raised a protest against a matter of such great importance to women being decided by a body of men, in the choice of whom women have no voice. Medical men and women are also strongly opposed to the new law.

The women's societies of Bâle have addressed a petition to the Grand Council protesting against the law on the following grounds:—

1. Injury to public health.
2. Withdrawal of legal pre-natal protection of the child.
3. Lowering of woman's status and dignity, and blow to maternal sentiment.
4. Lowering of sense of responsibility in sex relations.

In conclusion, they say that the improvement of economic conditions is necessary in order to do away with the chief temptation to practise abortion.

Large women's meetings have been held at Bâle and elsewhere to discuss the subject.

The law was rejected on second reading by 61 to 54.—*Le Mouvement Feministe*, July.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Death of Dr. Anna Shaw.

I had expected that this letter would fairly scintillate with the good news of the progress our Federal Suffrage Amendment is making in the State Legislatures, but instead it will be the saddest one ever sent from the United States to the affiliated societies of the International Alliance. A crushing sorrow has come upon us which will be shared by all of them, and will be felt especially by those members who have attended our congresses during the past fifteen years. On the evening of July 2 Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President of the National American Suffrage Association, passed from life.

Her death was entirely unexpected. She had become ill the last of May while speaking in the West, and later Lucy Anthony, who had hastened to her bedside, wrote to the New York headquarters:

"We left Springfield last Thursday (June 12), as Miss Shaw felt that she could not live in that hospital another day. We secured a drawing-room through to Philadelphia, and I am happy to tell you that the journey was made in comparative comfort and she does not seem to have suffered from it even a little bit, with the exception of being very tired. Her temperature did not rise at all, her appetite was better, and she slept well.

"When we reached Philadelphia two of our good neighbours had carried out our instructions to the letter, had a wheeled chair at the door of the car when we arrived, and two of the biggest porters the Pennsylvania R.R. employs were detailed to convey her to her own car, which was waiting. She stood the trip out from the city nicely. We found the house all bright and cheerful with sunshine and flowers. I am sure she was the happiest person in all the world to be home again. She slept eight hours the first night and has slept well each night since. The fearful perspiration has ceased, her appetite is excellent, and she has consented to stay in bed for a few days and be very lazy, as she calls it. She reads her mail and the daily paper.

"A physician has been out and given her all sorts of tests and pronounces her in good condition after such an illness. She is worried because she is willing to do nothing—but, of course, that is her salvation just at present. She plans to enjoy her home and friends all summer long and not to try to begin work till the fall. It has been a great trial, you may be sure, that she could not be at the Victory celebrations in Washington. She sends greetings to one and all."

A week later Miss Anthony wrote: "Will you please pass around the good word about the dear lady? She is getting on finely. A trained nurse comes each day, gives her a bath, makes her bed in approved style, and for the first time in her life she enjoys doing nothing. The house is very quiet and it seems heavenly to her after the doors slamming and train bells ringing. She had the last strawberries from our garden yesterday and will have the first red raspberries to-day."

Dr. Shaw was looking forward eagerly to the coming of Miss Caroline Reilly, who had been connected with the national suffrage work for years, formerly as chairman of the national press committee, and was executive secretary during her two

years as Chairman of the Women's Committee of National Defence. Together they were going to put all her papers and documents in order and do a vast amount of writing. On June 30th a big bundle of stationery was sent to her from the national headquarters. On Tuesday, July 1st, Miss Reilly wrote to Mrs. Catt:

"I arrived here Saturday afternoon at half-past four and Dr. Shaw had so far recovered that she motored to West Philadelphia to meet me; was as happy and gay as a lark. All day Sunday she was in the best of spirits, hurrahed every now and then about the ratification news, planned a lot of work she was going to do for it, talked about the great things that may be accomplished through the League of Women Voters, and showed as much strength and enthusiasm as she ever did when at her best. Imagine our consternation on Monday morning to find her in a state of collapse with chills and a temperature of 104. Lucy immediately called in the doctor and nurse, both of whom had considered her entirely cured, and they were in attendance every minute through the day and night. She is resting quite comfortably this morning, and the doctor says is out of danger, but warns her to be very careful for a long time. If you do not hear further from us, you will know that she is getting on well."

This was received on July 2nd and our hearts were gladdened at the news that her fine constitution had triumphed. At 7 o'clock that evening the dauntless spirit yielded to the master hand of death!

Dr. Shaw literally died of overwork. She could not refuse a request to speak for a worthy cause; she never spared herself and never gave up to fatigue. She was sustained by her will power, her inexhaustible fund of humour, her optimism and her faith that justice must ultimately triumph. She died at the height of her splendid career. There is some consolation in the thought that she lived to see the victory of the two reforms to which she had especially devoted her life—prohibition and woman suffrage,—but she knew that much work was yet to be done before the victory was complete, and she wished to help in this work. It is some consolation, too, that she lived to see the end of the war and the dawn of peace, but to make both complete and final she realised that a vast amount of time and effort must still be expended and she wanted to give from her own store to its full extent, so even this consolation is shadowed with regret.

No words can express the personal loss to the friends on two continents who knew and loved this rarely gifted woman, but the loss to public life is far deeper. Not even the death of those other leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, left such a vacancy, for they had lived far beyond four-score years and their great work had gone into the hands of younger women, but Dr. Shaw died in the fullness of her power and there is none to inherit it. She was seventy-two years old, but her wonderful voice was as rich and musical as in her youth, and her keenness of mind and force of expression seemed to increase with every year. During the more than two-score years that she pleaded the cause of temperance and equal suffrage she had no peer among women as an orator, and during the past two or three years that she had been pleading first for loyalty to the government and courage to win the war, and then for the League of Nations to end war for ever, she has had no peer among men.

It was because of her power of oratory that Mr. Taft, president of the League to Enforce Peace through Arbitration, called her last winter from her home in Florida, where she was obliged to go each season because of repeated attacks of pneumonia, to speak in one or two of the Southern States, and as the weather was not severe she did not return, but kept on speaking for it and for suffrage. She was about to finish up her suffrage engagements and go abroad for a rest with Miss M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, a devoted friend, when the urgent summons came again from Mr. Taft to put aside everything and accompany him and President Lowell, of Harvard University, on a speaking tour from New Hampshire to Kansas. She cheerfully cancelled all engagements and the European trip, spent every night on a sleeper and spoke in a different State each day, often several times a day, to large audiences. At Springfield, Ills., she was suddenly stricken with pneumonia and after several weeks in a hospital was able to be taken home. Here she seemed to recover quickly and on Sunday appeared almost well, was singing and laughing and planning for the first summer she ever had been able to spend in the beautiful home she had built twelve years ago in Moylan, a suburb of Philadelphia. Suddenly on Wednesday evening the heart ceased beating and all was ended.

Dr. Shaw died for her country as truly as did any soldier on the field of battle, and the suffragists would rather have it so than that she should have been sacrificed for their cause. It was because of her great work for the political freedom of women that President Wilson and the members of his Cabinet who constituted the Council of National Defence chose her to head the Women's Committee and organise and direct the work of the women of the nation during the war. These were the most critical two years in the whole course of the suffrage movement, as the Federal Amendment was before Congress most of the time, but when some anxious one would express regret at the loss of Dr. Shaw's much needed assistance she would answer: "I am doing the best work for suffrage that I ever did in my life. I am in daily companionship with men and women of influence whom I could never otherwise have met, and have countless opportunities in many ways to make friends and sentiment for it."

The movement has now passed from the period of propaganda into that of systematic organised political work, and in this Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is unsurpassed, but it is a grave mistake to say that Dr. Shaw's task was finished. She spent two precious days at the New York headquarters before starting on this last tour, and never had she seemed to be planning so much to do in the future. She was looking forward to the great celebration when the last State should ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment; she wanted to help put the new League of Women Voters on its feet; she was desirous especially to bring the women of the world together again in the International Council of Women and the International Suffrage Alliance and begin the healing of the wounds of the war. Above all else she longed to take part in the vast social reconstruction which promises to absorb the time and effort of the leaders of thought and action in all countries. Dr. Shaw felt that with the new influence and power that had come to women they would be a strong factor in the solution of world problems, and, now that she was soon to be released from her forty years' work for the suffrage, she rejoiced that she would be free to devote herself to these national and international questions. Her loss is irreparable.

Only the relatives and nearest friends attended the funeral services, conducted by her lifelong co-worker, the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, with a tender and eloquent address by Mrs. Catt, her closest associate for the past quarter of a century. The Secretary of War had sent an officer from the War Department as his representative, and the League to Enforce Peace was represented by its executive secretary. A wireless message of sympathy from the President of the United States was read, and there was a magnificent floral tribute from the White House. Dr. Shaw lay under a covering of golden-hearted roses from the National American Suffrage Association, of which she was vice-president-at-large, president and honorary president during the last twenty-seven years. Every room was filled with flowers, some of which had been ordered by telegraph from as far away as the Pacific coast. Pictures of Susan B. Anthony looked down from the walls, and articles from her home were scattered about the rooms. Built on the edge of a ravine through which flows a brook, with immense oak trees at the back and embowered in vines and shrubs, it is a simple, comfortable home, which Dr. Shaw toiled many years to pay for and beautify. She had never had leisure to spend a whole month here at any one time, but Lucy Anthony, her private secretary and companion for thirty years, niece of Miss Susan B. Anthony, had kept it always ready to welcome its cherished mistress. As she lay there among the flowers in the stillness of death the vision of her public life faded away, and those gathered around her thought only of the charm of her hospitality, of her generous, loving nature, of the sweet womanliness of character which held her friends by unbreakable ties and won the admiration of those even who opposed the measures which she so fearlessly advocated.

I stood long by her side and gazed on that noble head and face in the majesty of death, the Medal for Distinguished Service and the "suffrage flag" with its tiny diamond stars resting on her breast. I recalled an incident that occurred some years ago in Amsterdam, where a congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance was being held. Dr. Shaw was to preach on Sunday evening in one of the large Dutch churches. Two men back of me were talking contemptuously in English of "women ministers," when she came in and walked slowly up the narrow winding stairs to the high pulpit. In her flowing robe with her crown of white hair she looked like an angel and one of the men exclaimed: "What a beautiful face!" She seemed to speak with even more than her usual inspiration, and

when she had finished he exclaimed again: "What a beautiful mind!" Could he have known her he would have said: "What a beautiful soul!"

The night after Mrs. Stanton died Miss Anthony wrote: "It seems impossible that voice is stilled which I have loved to hear for fifty years!" And so to-day women in all parts of the world, who at the great congresses of the International Council and the Alliance had listened entranced to this matchless orator, are asking: "Can it be that voice is stilled for ever?" There are no more appropriate last words than those which were uttered by Dr. Shaw herself as she stood among the snow drifts by the open grave of Miss Anthony in the late afternoon of March 15, 1906:

"Dear friend, thou hast tarried with us long; thou hast now gone to thy well-earned rest. We beseech the Infinite Spirit who has upheld thee to make us worthy to follow in thy footsteps and carry on thy work. Hail and farewell!"

RATIFICATION OF FEDERAL AMENDMENT.

"The workers pass on but the work remains" has always been the motto of the suffragists when a leader has been taken away by death, and so with their farewell to Dr. Shaw they have consecrated themselves anew to the completion of the task which she left not quite finished. "Ratification of the Federal Amendment by 36 State Legislatures before the general election in November, 1920," is now the slogan. The opponents had hoped to prevent this by postponing its submission until nearly all of the Legislatures had adjourned not to meet again until 1921, not dreaming that they would be called in special session for the purpose of ratifying it. Neither did the suffrage leaders believe this possible, but, as related in my last letter, Mrs. Catt, the president, instantly began a nation-wide effort for these special sessions, and my letter of June 12th told that the Governor of New York had set the example by calling one for June 16th. It also said that the Legislatures of five States were still sitting, and those of Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan had already ratified the amendment, but there was not much hope of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. We did not realise the full force of party pressure, but we do now, for both were under Republican control and obeyed orders. Neither party intends that the other shall have the full credit for this amendment, and, though eight of the eleven States which have now ratified it are normally Republican, two—Missouri and Texas—are Democratic, and Arkansas will soon be added. The victory in New York was bi-partisan, for, while a Democratic Governor called the special session, a majority of the Legislature is Republican, and here, as in all the Legislatures, members of both parties voted for ratification. This is evident from the large favourable majorities and in many instances a unanimous vote.

The calling of these special sessions is a remarkable tribute to the popularity of the amendment, for it involves great expense. The New York Legislature was in session only three and a half hours and it cost the State \$7,000. In other States where distances are long it cost several times this amount. In Kansas all the members paid their own expenses as their contribution to the success of the amendment and those of other States have offered to do so. At this date the list of ratifications is as follows:

1. Illinois, June 19th, 1919: House, 132—3; Senate unanimous.
2. Wisconsin, June 10th, 1919: House, 54—2; Senate 23—1.
3. Michigan, June 10th, 1919 (Special Session): House unanimous; Senate unanimous.
4. Ohio, June 16th, 1919 (Special Session): House 76—6; Senate, 27—3.
5. Kansas, June 16th, 1919 (Special Session): House unanimous; Senate unanimous. (Kansas legislature convened at expense of legislators.)
6. New York, June 16th, 1919 (Special Session): House unanimous; Senate unanimous—Sage not voting. (Session cost State about \$7,000.)
7. Pennsylvania, June 19th, 1919: Senate vote 31—6. June 24th, 1919: House vote, 153—44.
8. Massachusetts, June 19th, 1919: Senate vote 31—6, June 25th, 1919: House vote, 185—47.
9. Texas, June 24th, 1919 (Special Session): House vote, 96—21; June 28th, 1919: Senate vote, 19—10.
10. Iowa, July 2nd, 1919 (Special Session): Senate unanimous. July 2nd, 1919: House, 95—5.
11. Missouri, July 3rd, 1919 (Special Session): Senate, 28—3. July 3rd, 1919: House, 125—4.

The Texas session was called for other purposes also.

Attention is called to the size of the majorities, as the opponents insist that the legislators are cajoled or bullied into voting for the amendment. One can hardly believe that nearly the entire Legislatures of a dozen States would be amenable to one or the other of these methods. By the time this is read Arkansas and Nebraska doubtless can be added to this list, as special sessions are called for July 28th. One is announced for an early date in half-a-dozen other States, which will ratify. About thirty States can be counted on positively, but there will be a struggle for the last five or six to make up the three-fourths that are absolutely necessary. It would be idle to predict how long this will require, but it is generally accepted that there will be universal suffrage for the women of the United States before another President and Congress are elected.

New York City,
July 10th, 1919.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

Peace Appeal Last Work of Dr. Shaw.

There was received at the office of the League to Enforce Peace the last written message of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. The manuscript, much of it in Dr. Shaw's handwriting, is an appeal to the women of the country for the League of Nations. Dr. Shaw was a member of the National Executive Committee of the League and one of the first women elected to office in that organisation.

In the manuscript received Dr. Shaw said:

"Everybody must die some time; and it does not make as much difference, perhaps, as to the number of days we live as it does to the manner in which we live the days we do live."

Dr. Shaw's statement, which probably represents her last work before the relapse which caused her death on Wednesday, is entitled, "What the War Meant to Women." In it she makes an impassioned plea for the establishment of a League of Nations for permanent peace and calls upon the women in the United States to use all their influence to bring about the ratification of the League covenant. Following are some of Dr. Shaw's most striking sentences:

"We know that men are ready to die in war; but there are a great many things harder than to die. There are some things that are worth a great deal more than life, and one thing which was worth more than life to the men who went out and laid down their lives for the countries was not to leave a dishonoured nation, a nation unworthy of the civilisation of our time, a nation which had no heart to feel and no understanding to realise the conditions of intimate association between nation and nation and the obligation which one nation has to care for and sympathise with another.

"WANT PEACE NOW AND FOR EVER."

"While Mr. Wilson said we want nothing out of the war, I said in my own heart: 'It may be that we want nothing material out of the war, but, oh, we want the biggest thing out of this war that has ever come to the world. We want peace now and peace for ever.'"

"If we cannot get the peace out of this war what hope is there that it will ever come to humanity? Was there ever such a chance offered to the world before? Was there ever a time when the peoples of all nations looked towards America as they are looking to-day, because of our unselfishness in our dealings with them during the war?"

"We must look facts in the face. All humanity is one. The world is one. And no nation can suffer unless all nations suffer. No nation can prosper without all nations prospering. We have got to take facts as they are and we have got to find out the best thing we can have. The best thing that has been given us and the only thing we have before us is this League of Nations. We have no other League of Nations. We have only this one. We must take this one or no one can tell what will come. We have no midway point. We have no purgatory. We have to choose either heaven or hell. We must take it or we must reject it.

"Oh, men, we women, the mothers of the race, have given everything, have suffered everything, have sacrificed everything, and we come to you now and say, 'The time has come when we will no longer sit quietly by and bear and rear sons to die at the will of a few men. We will not endure it! We demand that either you shall do something to prevent war or that we shall be permitted to try to do something ourselves.'"

"To you men we look for support. We look for your support back of your Senators, and from this day until the day when the League of Nations is accepted and ratified by the Senate of the United States, it should be the duty of every man and every woman to see to it that the Senators from their State know the will of the people."

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN CIVIL SERVICE THREATENED.

The New York Legislature has passed a Bill, known as the Martin-Beaumes Bill, after its two promoters, which will give preference in civil service posts to ex-soldiers and sailors. It will not come into force unless ratified and submitted to popular vote in 1921. Meanwhile, it is being strenuously opposed by the Women's Trade Union League, the Women Voters' League, the Young Women's Christian Association, and other bodies of organised women.

Other States are considering similar bills, and if they pass it is said women will stand no chance at all of any civil service posts for forty years to come.

—*Woman Citizen*, June 28.

INDIA.

INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY.

About a year and a half ago, contributions appeared above the signature of Sir W. Wedderburn, and myself, on the Indian Women's University, newly started in Poona, for the education of Indian women through the vernacular.

It is true that among the recent women's movements in India we have to count many meetings of women to protest against the disqualification of women in the recent reform proposals of the Government; but it is to be presumed that a sane educational attempt which has the sympathy of all India must mean much more to the country than mere thin-ranked protestations against a decided measure. It must be stated, however, in this connection that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, of poetic renown, and Mrs. Jinnah, the Mahomedan leader's wife, are going to England to create public opinion in favour of Indian women's suffrage.

Returning to our subject, the Indian Women's University held its first convocation on the 16th instant, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarakar, the great old Orientalist of India, presiding. Three candidates had appeared for the degree, and the University passed one of them, Mrs. Varatal Shinde, and Chancellor Bhandarakar conferred the degree of Graduate in Arts on her. In his convocational address, he exhorted the graduate to realise and maintain the true character of an educated woman. He said that there should be no divorce between university life and home life, and that India should follow Japan in self-sacrifice, freedom from prejudice, conservatism, and unhesitating acceptance of all that is good and efficacious. All India concurs with this advice to its graduating women!

G. R. JOSYER, M.A.

27th June, 1919, Bangalore, India.

Miss Sheepshanks' editorship of the *International Woman Suffrage News* ceases with this issue. Communications intended for her personally should be addressed c/o 1917 Club, 4, Gerrard Street, Soho, London.

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