

Woman Suffrage carried in Sweden, U.S.A., Holland, and France.

JUS SUFFRAGII.

The International Woman Suffrage News

The Monthly Organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

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

Notice on the Policy of "Jus Suffragii."

In the present critical position of affairs, when any reference to political conditions may hurt national susceptibilities, it must be clearly stated that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance maintains a strictly neutral attitude, and is only responsible for its official announcements. Reports from affiliated societies are inserted on the responsibility of the society contributing them. Other articles are published as being of general interest to our readers, and responsibility for them rests solely with their signatories.

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FEATURES OF THE MONTH.

Never in the history of the woman suffrage movement have there been so many first-class victories to report as in the past month.

Holland first. On May 14 we heard by cable that the Lower House passed the woman suffrage bill by 64 to 10.

On May 22 a cable arrived from Mrs. Catt that the Federal amendment for woman suffrage passed the House of Representatives by 304 to 88, and on the same day news came that the French Chamber of Deputies had passed a resolution for giving women equal political rights with men by 344 to 97. The Senate passed the amendment on June 4 by 66 to 25. On May 26 a cable from Stockholm announced that both Chambers of the Swedish Parliament had adopted woman suffrage without a division.

Swedish women are therefore now fully enfranchised. Dutch women will be very shortly, as the Upper House is quite certain to pass the bill.

In France the Senate is unlikely to yield—yet; time and propaganda will be needed to convince them. It is even whispered that the Deputies passed the comprehensive measure much more readily than they would have passed municipal suffrage, calculating on the Senate to reject it. As M. Andrieux wittily put it: "Ils embrassent les femmes pour les étouffer." It is none the less an epoch-making event, and marks a speedy and radical alteration in the French political attitude to women. Full accounts will be found of all these events in the special reports from our correspondents in France, Netherlands, and Sweden.

If events continue at this rate there will be little for suffragists to do, and they will at last be free—free in many senses; free citizens able to take their share in the government of their own country, free from the shackles of political helotry, free from the particular depreciation and lack of

prestige that go with political impotence, free from the burden of forcing their propaganda in the teeth of all the forces of obstruction, of a hostile or indifferent press, of a careless or contemptuous public opinion, free finally to devote their energies to the objects they have most at heart. Thousands of women have been forced by their own public spirit to sacrifice their tastes, pursuits, and vocations in order to work for political freedom for their sex. Many of them have spent the best years of their life in this struggle, when they would have otherwise devoted themselves to art, literature, science, or constructive reform. Now for many this particular battle is over; but what a task faces them!

They have been given the vote when the world is reeling and tottering in a morass from which it must take years to extricate itself, and when all the united powers of men and women will be needed to save anything from the general wreck. We cannot hope that women will immediately bring a flood of new life and inspiration. On the whole, men and women are formed of the same clay. Heredity does not bequeath certain qualities from father to son, and others from mother to daughter. Women share the prejudices and passions of their men folk to a very large extent. Certain evils are no doubt aggravated by the segregation of the sexes; it remains to be seen whether peace and freedom will reign more securely in a world where men and woman have an equal voice in deciding a nation's destiny.

It seems likely that with all adult citizens enfranchised and sharing responsibility for the state, a deeper sense of duty, a more human note in public life, will prevail. Justice at least will have been done, and of one thing we may be certain, the special needs of one-half the human race will no longer be neglected as they have been under the one-sided régime of the past. If women are to use their new powers to the best purpose for the common good of humanity, they will need to stretch out in many directions and to co-operate along many cross lines. They will naturally join men in party organisations for certain purposes; many will belong to religious or other bodies which cut across party differences. Again, they will belong to trade or professional unions, according to their occupation, and probably, too, to societies of women voters for pushing on special feminist reforms.

Above all, it is necessary that they should keep alive an international spirit, associate with women of other countries, join with them in counsel on common interests, and learn mutual respect for differing ideals and methods. Women have more in common with women of similar social and ethical ideals in other countries than with those of opposed views in their own country. Intercourse and solidarity between like-minded persons all over the world can do much to establish friendly international relations and promote peace. All women voters should be invited and urged to join in association with the women of other lands to work for the happiness and well-being of the race.

MARY SHEEPSHANKS.

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS.

AFFILIATION FEES:		£	s.	d.
Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht...	Holland.... 1919..	2	0	0
Fédération Belge pour le Suffrage des Femmes	Belgium... 1919..	1	13	10
Landsforeningen for Kvinnans Politiska Rösträtt	Sweden..... 1919..	2	0	0
Canadian Suffrage Association	Canada..... 1919..	1	0	0
Kvennritindafelag Islands	Iceland.... 1919..	1	0	0
HONORARY ASSOCIATES' SUBSCRIPTIONS:				
Mrs. A. Montelius	Sweden..... 1919..	1	0	0
*Miss E. Klahr	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
*Mrs. M. J. Cass	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
*Mrs. H. C. Sumney	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
*Mrs. D. Breckenridge	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
*Mrs. E. Davies	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
*Mrs. R. Foster Avery	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
Miss M. Gray Peck	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
Mrs. C. von Klenze	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
Mrs. C. Hall McCormick	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
Mrs. W. McDougall	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
Mrs. W. G. Wilcox	U.S.A..... 1919..	1	0	0
Lady Steel	S. Africa... 1919..	1	1	0
Miss M. K. C. Macintosh	S. Africa... 1918/19	2	2	0
Miss E. J. Harley	Gt. Britain 1919..	1	0	0
Mrs. Coops-Broese V. Groenow	Holland.... 1919..	1	0	0
		£24	16	10
Acknowledged in May		124	9	0
Total		£149	5	10
* New members.				

BELGIUM.

We notice that there has been some misunderstanding of our last article; perhaps it was a little lacking in clearness to readers who are not initiated in the debates which have taken place in our country; two copyist's errors have aggravated the misunderstanding.

Let us try to unravel for our foreign sisters the complicated skein of the suffrage situation in Belgium.

The letter of a correspondent to *Jus Suffragii* in May, written by someone outside our organisation, clearly reflects the political passions which agitated the debate. The majority of members of the Parliamentary Left place party interests above considerations of justice, and for this reason reject woman suffrage. Among the members of the Right, some Conservatives would have liked to retain with or without modifications the plural vote under which all men voted at the age of 25; some only having one vote, others two or three votes, according to different conditions of age, family, property, and capacity. But they resigned themselves to its abolition.

On the other hand, the majority of the democratic Right supported the abolition of plural voting, and the principle of one man one vote. But on one point the Right was unanimous. It considered that to deserve the name universal this system should include also the suffrage of all women citizens. It being generally admitted that woman suffrage would be to the advantage of the parties of the Right, it is difficult to reckon how far Catholic men politicians are really inspired by the sentiment of justice, and how far they are guided by electoral interest. Let us look at the results.

On the one side a common declaration of the Right and of the Socialist Left read to the Chamber on April 10 stipulates: "The Catholic and Socialist supporters of women's communal vote reserve to themselves the right to pursue its realisation before the next renewal of the communal councils."

Following on this declaration a bill has been presented giving women the vote at communal elections.

The Chamber opened the debate on April 15, which occasioned a hostile speech from the chief of the Liberal Left.

However, women's communal suffrage is virtually won from now on, since it is secured by a sufficient majority, thanks to the Socialist vote.

But in the legislative sphere the amendment presented by the Catholics giving women universal suffrage was withdrawn and replaced by another amendment, which gives the vote to certain categories of women, mentioned in our last issue.

These conclusions were ratified by the Senate on May 6, and give the vote to about 30,000 women. But it is important to note that these dispositions are only provisional, and will only be applied once, for the formation of a constituent assembly, which will be charged in a few months with the final revision of the electoral law. Therefore our propaganda must continue actively throughout the summer.

JANE BRIGODE.

LOUISE VAN DEN PLAS.

May 19, 1919.

DENMARK.

WOMEN'S ADMISSION TO OFFICES.

On the 25th April there was the second debate on this bill. Elna Munch, the spokesman of the Majority, opposed the amendment of the Conservative Minority that it should be expressly laid down that the laws did not touch upon women's admission to the priestly office.

Jensen Sønderup maintained that this law did not make it in the least binding that the Church should admit women to the priest's office.

The Conservative amendment was rejected by 66 to 18, and the bill went to its third reading.

—*Tidens Kvinder*, May 3.

DANISH BISHOPS' OPINIONS ON WOMEN AS PRIESTS.

The Bishop of Aalborg has no objection in principle, but thinks this matter should be proceeded with only with very great caution. He thinks that in any case no woman should be admitted to any priestly office unless the parish council had a majority in her favour.

Bishop Wegener thinks that as a whole the parish will find it repulsive to see a woman in the position of priest. One has the impression that it is a social and political motive that has forced the question to the forefront. One feels that it is mere love of theorising and experimenting. Let it be said that it is not women that have brought this question forward. They have a deeper understanding of this woman question.

The Bishop of Viborg enlarges on the physiological difficulties. He thinks that fulfilling a priest's duties would be incompatible with fulfilling the duties incumbent on a married priest. The notion (of a married priestess) is repellent to his sense of propriety, or at least to his aesthetic sense.

The Bishop of Ribe sees nothing wrong in women who are theological students becoming priests in certain positions—for example, women's prisons and hospitals. He, too, foresees difficulties when these women priests marry.

—*Tidens Kvinder*, April 19.

MARRIAGE LAW.

On the 28th March was the first of a series of meetings in Copenhagen in support of the bill for altering the marriage laws. A speech was made by the well-known oculist, Fru Estrid Hein, who is the only woman member of the Commission on Family Rights. She again emphasised that it has been the wish of the Commission to equalise the position of both husband and wife in a legal as well as in an economic sense; especially with reference to their rights as guardians of their children. The father's veto in case of dispute, which is the most devastating injustice in the law now in force, will be done away with.

Magister Harold Nielsen characterised the law as—certain Bolshevik proposals apart—the most revolutionary in Europe. It does away with the patriarchy. Man's only function will be to propagate and pay.

—*Kvinden og Samfundet*, April 15.

On Friday, April 11th, the Minister of Justice Zahle brought in the bill for the new marriage law on the basis of the draft made by the Commission into Family Rights. That day will, whether the law is accepted in an amended shape or not, stand as a red-letter day in the history of the women's movement. The minister ended his speech with a special appeal to women to apply their energies to have the law carried. It is clear that a law that offers a real advance to housewives would get a really warm sympathy from their side, while no one doubts that many men's sense of justice will make husbands also wish the law to go through.

Many strange things have been said about this law, but nothing more senseless than the statement that it was a law which specially referred to the wage-earning wife. Now when one reflects that the intention of the law was to put the wife working in the home in as favourable position as possible—to make her as really self-supporting as any other woman or the man,—it would be odd indeed if the woman working outside the home had been unduly favoured in spite of the wishes of all the members of the Commission.

It is hoped that the law will have its first reading in May.

Extract from Article by ESTRID HEIN, in *Kvinden og Samfundet*, April 30.

WOMEN IN SCANDINAVIA TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN FORMING A PERMANENT COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION AND POPULAR ENLIGHTENMENT.

The proposal that the Scandinavian women, on the initiative of the Norwegians, are thinking of bringing forward at the International Women's Congress deserves to be supported on all sides. It is as follows:—"In order to secure a lasting peace between peoples it is of the greatest importance that in the minds of the rising generation should be imprinted principles such as may call into being the feeling for a development of peaceful organisation and national morality."

The three Scandinavian groups of the International Committee for a lasting peace are unanimous in proposing the formation of an International Council for Education and Popular Enlightenment. Such a council would concern itself with implanting in the rising generation developed international social sense.

—*Tidens Kvinder*, April 26.

On April 25th, Mrs. Astrid Stampe Feddersen presented to the Danish Rigsdag a memorial tablet containing the photographs of the eighteen chief pioneers of women's suffrage (fifteen women and three men) who worked to improve the position of women in the family and in society throughout the latter half of the 19th century.

—*Kvinden og Samfundet*, April 30.

DANISH CITIZENSHIP FOR WOMEN MARRIED TO FOREIGNERS.

When a Danish woman marries a foreigner she loses her native rights—that is to say, her right as elector or candidate for the Rigsdag and for all local offices, her eligibility for official and university posts, and her claim to support from the public funds either in the form of poor relief or otherwise.

The Danske Kvinders National Raad (Danish Women's National Council), and the Danske Kvindesamfund (the Danish Women's Union) have decided to approach the Government with the following proposals.

(1) A Danish woman marrying a man not a Danish citizen keeps her Danish citizenship while living in Denmark.

(2) A Danish woman marrying abroad a man without Danish citizenship regains her citizen rights on return to Denmark if she declares her wish to do so.

(3) A Danish woman married to a man who has no citizen rights anywhere keeps her Danish national rights irrespective of domicile.

(4) If the children are under the mother's sole guardianship they have the same national rights as the mother.

—*Tidens Kvinder*, May 17.

FRANCE.

Woman Suffrage Victory in the Chamber.

On May the 20th the Chamber of Deputies granted women the vote on the same terms as men by a majority of 377 votes to 97. We greatly fear that the law will not be ratified by the Senate; nevertheless our joy is immense at the thought that all our efforts for the cause of woman suffrage have obtained such a result.

The debates lasted through three sessions during which we went through periods of alternate hope and fear. The report of M. Etienne Flandin was debated, which was in favour of giving the municipal vote to women of over 30 years of age. At the beginning of the third session Messieurs Jean Bon and Andrieux proposed an amendment demanding exactly the same political rights for women as for men. M.M. Viviani and Aristide Briand, both former Presidents of the Council of Ministers, whom we had strongly urged to intervene in our favour, supported this amendment, and their intervention decided the Chamber, which until then was undecided.

Several speakers have urged that women do not want the vote, and claim nothing (said M. Viviani), but the chains of slavery have been broken against the will of those concerned; liberty has had to be forced on those who did not understand it. Nearer home, our labour laws were not passed on the demand of the working classes. The trade union law was passed in face of its hostility; workmen's pensions were voted in spite of the hostility of the C.G.T. The weekly day of rest was obtained without the support of those concerned. The laws of social hygiene were forced on employers and employed, who united in opposing them. If you wait to introduce laws until those concerned are unanimous in wanting them, all we have to do is to disappear and make way for a gathering of notaries, who will draft Acts registering the Acts to be carried out. Questions have remained in the background, and we should be ashamed. The law on public health is not applied; nothing is done against tuberculosis; and what have we proposed for the cure of alcoholism? How do we think we are going to solve the problem of the birth-rate?

The problems of war and peace are infinitely serious, but their solution can only be provisional if in our country, now praised to the skies, we are in twenty years only 42 millions, as against 84 million Germans. We have no reason, my brothers, to be proud of our work. In the highest interests of Republican dignity we ask you to bring this vote to the ballot. And we ask it on the morrow of the war. What! For four years, woman in hospitals at the front and behind the lines, risking her life, has offered the double consolation of her charity and her beauty, and there are men, Republicans, who would break with what was always the idealism of the Republic! I will not believe it!

M. Alexandre Varenne, president of the Commission of Universal Suffrage, then asked the Chamber not to let itself be dazzled by the eloquent speech it had just heard, but to vote for the recommendations of M. Flandin's report.

But M. Aristide Briand rose, and, listened to in complete silence, he said:

All reasons, sentimental and political, have been produced in this debate. It would be possible not to state the problem; reasons of opportunity, which are, moreover, exaggerated, might lead to its adjournment; but as soon as the problem is stated, the complete reform arises from the debate. We find ourselves in presence of this fact: that France, which often traces the lines of progress for other countries, does not follow them always assiduously. We have seen the principle of universal suffrage carry woman suffrage in other countries. And to-day we shall begin, thirty years behind, the little experiences made elsewhere. They have yielded results; they have proved that women are capable of voting in other countries, and, above all, in our own. As soon as the question is raised of the equality of women with men at home, by the side of men in political life, it can only be solved in the affirmative. Therefore I vote for the concession of full political rights.

The vote was then taken in the midst of great enthusiasm. We soon knew the result. In spite of the prohibition of applause we showed our enthusiasm by frantic bravos.

Now, what will the Senate decide? We are carrying on an active campaign with regard to the Senators.

SUZANNE GRINBERG,
Advocate at the Paris Courts,
Secretary of the Union Française pour le Suffrage
des Femmes.

GERMAN-AUSTRIA.

The women of Vienna and of a part of German-Austria went to the ballot for the second time on May 4th. This time the vote was for the Diets, the communes and the Vienna district representatives. In Vienna one election was taken for all three bodies. In the Crown lands the elections still continue.

Up to now the result of the Vienna elections is known, and that for the Diet of Lower Austria and for various communes.

In contrast to the elections for the National Assembly in February, the number of electors who actually voted was this time small. Then, about 90 per cent. of the electors voted, this time barely 60 per cent.

After the result of the elections to the National Assembly it was to be foreseen that the two leading parties, the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists (Conservatives), would have a majority. This forecast was verified. In the Diet of Lower Austria, out of 120 seats the Social Democrats have 64, the Christian Socialists 45, the German Nationals 7, the National Democrats 1, the Tschech Nationals 3. Among those elected are six women, and in Vienna the Social Democratic women, Anna Kaff and Cécilia Lippa, and the Christian Socialist Aloiser Schirmer; in the province, the Social Democrats, Käthe Grap, Marie Brunner and Marie Bock.

In the Vienna Communal Council, on which were elected 100 Social Democrats (out of 165 seats), 50 Christian Socialists, 3 German Nationals, 1 Free Bürgerlich, 3 Jewish, and 8 Tschech members, there are 22 women, including the well-known leaders, Adelheid Popp, Emmy Freundlich, Anna Boschek, Amalie Seidel, Gabriele Proft, Leopoldine Glöckel, and Amalie Pölzer; also Dr. Aline Fürtmüller, Marie Kramer, Marie Vejoda, Rudolfine Fleischner, Adele Bartisal, Marie Bock, Käthe Königstetter, Gisela Lafert, and Luise Appelfeld, Social Democrats; and Dr. Alma Seitz, Anna Strobe, Gabriele Walter, Josephine Kurbauer, Marie Wietsch, and Sophie Gärtner, for the Christian Socialists.

The Free Bürgerlich women are not represented in the Diet or in the Commune.

In some district councils, Vienna has 21 districts (Bezirke); 630 councillors were elected, including 68 women, four Free Bürgerlich women have been elected, including the secondary school director, Marie Schwarz, the well-known suffrage pioneer and vice-president of the suffrage society. The 39 Socialist Democrat women on the district councils include the school councillor, Stephanie Nauheimer, also one of the founders of the suffrage society.

The impression made by the elections may be briefly summarised.

(1) The electorate absorbed in economic suffering did not show all the interest that could be desired in the elections; (2) that the victorious Social Democratic Party, in spite of the decline in the number of voters compared with the February elections, again showed its power of attraction for many who hoped to get from their party an improvement of the present desperate conditions—or (and this applies especially to the young) who hoped to raise themselves under its wings; (3) that nationalisation grows and spreads to wider circles. In the Vienna Council Hall, 8 Tschechs and 3 Jewish Nationalists have seats and votes in this hall, built as a symbol of German progressive Vienna as a jewel of Gothic architecture. Lately the election results confirm the experience of February, that women's votes do not result in strengthening the reactionary parties. On the contrary, the majority of women have decided for political radicalism. This, however, is not to be ascribed entirely to inner conviction. Owing to the thousandfold suffering of the war and its after results they are confused and despairing, and seized the opportunity which offered them an influence on public events, to protest against the fatal past.

They could make this protest most emphatically from the ranks of the Social Democrats, whose excellent and effective organisation is especially suited to catch industrial electors who are not yet politically decided. The defeat of the Free Bürgerlich parties, for which all the societies affiliated to the progressive women's movement worked, is not only due to the apathy of want. These parties have no active organisation, and by their divisions drove electors into the other camp. The system of

proportional representation by lists also told against them. The elector has no choice of candidates, but is faced with rigid lists, and the individualism of the Moderate Liberal makes him disinclined to bow to the strict discipline and accept the list dictated by the party; he therefore does not vote.

The disappearance of this free liberalism is a loss to public life. After the break-up of the old order we live in a period of severe struggle. After dictatorship from above we are threatened with dictatorship from below. The most radical progress is to bring the salvation we long for. But how often in history has hasty doctrinaire progress brought the darkest reaction!

True democracy, whose principles decide our state structure, demands the co-operation of all classes in the community. If the progressive middle is no longer to bear the chief responsibility in political life, it must not be entirely excluded. It has a special mission to fulfil, to smooth over the opposition between radicalism and conservatism. Can this mission be fulfilled? That is the anxious question.

GISELA URBAN, Vienna, May 17.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Women's Freedom League.

Early last month the Women's Freedom League organised a joint meeting of women's organisations at the Central Hall, Westminster, to urge the Government to grant facilities for its passage through the House of Commons to the Barristers and Solicitors (Qualification of Women) Bill, which has already successfully passed through the House of Lords. A resolution to this effect was passed unanimously at the meeting, and a request added that the Prime Minister or Mr. Bonar Law should receive a deputation of women to discuss this matter. Mr. Bonar Law replied that as he had now given a promise that the bill should be proceeded with in the House of Commons, he did not consider that there was any need to receive a deputation on this subject.

We view with great satisfaction the successful progress of the Women's Emancipation Bill through the committee stage, including clause 2, which extends votes to women on the same terms as men, and we are urging members of Parliament to vote for this bill, as it stands, on July 4, when it will come into the House of Commons for its report stage, and also at its subsequent third reading. We are also glad that Lord Beauchamp's bill, which provides that "a woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being appointed a Justice of the Peace," has passed through the House of Lords. The Women's Freedom League has for years urged the necessity of a woman being on every magistrates' bench, and we are asking our friends in the House of Commons to see that Lord Beauchamp's bill is introduced there without delay.

During the month we have held a conference of representatives of women's organisations and women candidates at the last general election to consider what can be done to secure the return of women to the next Parliament. Various suggestions were made by those present, among these suggestions being that classes or discussion meetings should be held up and down the country, addressed by experts on the way in which constituencies should be divided up for election campaigns, the work to be done in committee rooms, what a canvasser may and may not do, the value of indoor and open-air meetings, etc. The holding of mock elections was also suggested as a means of arousing women's interest in political work. Another recommendation was that women, whenever possible, should run as Parliamentary candidates at by-elections; and, if the various political parties did not put forward or support women candidates, women should run as independent candidates.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

AUSTRALIA.

The National Party—Women's Reform League of New South Wales.

Dear Madam,—Owing to the uncertainty of the mails we were unable to unite with our English sisters in protest against the infamous Clause D, D.O.R.A., which we now learn is withdrawn "in its present form."

We are publishing the accompanying resolution in the press, and have sent a letter on the subject to Mr. Hughes.

Our League since its inception in 1902 has stood for "Equal Moral Standards," has raised innumerable protests against

attempts to revive any of the features of the C.D. Acts, and has advocated all measures for the protection of women and girls.

RESOLUTION.—That the Council of the Women's Reform League, while filled with thankfulness that the iniquitous 40D D.O.R.A. has been withdrawn "in its present form," desires to protest against its possible reappearance under some other title, believing the principles that it embodies to be unjust and immoral as well as futile and totally at variance with the glorious crusade of Josephine Butler against the C.D. Acts, and with the doctrine of "Equal Moral Standards," which forms the basis of the women's movement.

Trusting you will give publicity to this resolution, I remain, yours sincerely,

L. BOGUE LUFFMAN, President.

ITALY.

National Suffrage Congress, Milan.

The fourth National Suffrage Congress, which met at Milan, on April 26 and 28, was a real success. The number of delegates, more than 300, the participation of almost all political parties, and of a large number of men's associations, the support of many members of Parliament, would have been enough to ensure the success of a Congress at any time, and have been all the more notable at a time when the attention of the whole country was fixed on political events, owing to the withdrawal a few days before of the Italian delegates from the Peace Conference.

Those who had advised us to postpone our Congress till quieter times may note the times are always calm when the people is united, when they see that the large hall of the Commercial Bank, decorated with tricolour flags, was literally crammed with visitors, who had flocked to be present at the inauguration, and that some hundreds of persons had to be left outside.

On the platform were, besides the secretary of the Woman Suffrage Federation, Signorina Troise and Signora Zanini Valeri of the Roman Committee; Signora Pastore, of the Turin Committee; Dr. Simonetta-Sacchi, of the Mantua Committee; Signora Jacchia, of the Naples Committee; Dr. Ancona, of the Lombard Committee; the vice-prefect, Comm. Bodo, representing the Government; the Hon. de Capitani and Agnelli, deputies for Milan for the civil and military authorities; and the representatives of the political parties. A large number of Senators, Deputies, and personages were present in the Hall.

The imposing gathering was opened with a few brief words from Dr. Margherita Ancona, who pointed out that at the present moment she did not wish to open the Congress in the name of the Lombard Committee but in the sublime name of Italy, and called upon the official speaker, Baroness Carla Lavelli Celesia, who gave the opening address, weaving into the pattern the palpitating patriotic events of the moment, and evoking lively applause. She recalled the old hostility to woman suffrage, praised women's contribution during the war, to draw the corollary of a vaster contribution in peace and of the necessity of the direct participation of women in public life to begin at the next electoral campaign with a wide programme of political and economic demands; the extension of the franchise, electoral reform with representation of minorities, administrative and political decentralisation, development of local autonomy with participation of associations and organisations, spiritual and moral improvement, the establishment of the paternity of the illegitimate child, etc. The social question altogether expressed in its most useful instrument, politics.

This speech, thoughtful in matter and brilliant in form, was warmly applauded. Com. Bodo followed, on behalf of the new prefect, Com. Pesce, who, unlike his predecessor, is a convinced suffragist, and gave the greetings of the Government.

The representatives of the political parties followed. Naturally, the greatest curiosity was felt as to what would be said by the representatives of the new popular party (Catholic) and of the Liberal party, who had only been converted to our cause a few weeks before. Both Cav. Conio for the Catholics, and the Hon. Candiani for the Liberals, were as explicit as the most ardent of us could desire, the former assuring us of the co-operation of thousands of organised workers in the fields and workshops, the latter explaining sincerely the reasons of his conversion and that of his party. The applause with which their speeches were received showed perhaps the wish of some

suffragists to lean on the support of these new friends, although the old ones (democrats, radicals, republicans) have up to the present given nothing but words. And the Hon. Agnelli and Gasparetto, the two radical deputies of Milan, who took part in several sessions of the Congress, had to submit to not a few gibes on the part of the Congress members. The line of political delegates was closed by a woman, Professor Terruzzi, who spoke in the name of the Socialist Union (that is, of the socialists who supported the war), inviting women to boycott anti-suffrage candidates at the next elections. The imposing ceremony closed with a moving speech from the representative of the Suffrage Federation, Signora Troise, and with the sending of telegrams to the Hon. Orlando and Sonnino, Italian delegates to the Peace Conference. The telegram to Sonnino was specially applauded, as he is an old and proved suffragist. The work of the Congress was thus happily begun, and was continued for two days in the midst of the warmest interest of the large audience. The charming rooms of the Lyceum proved too small, and the Congress had to move to larger premises. The programme of the Congress was strictly suffrage, and Professor Zambler Mantella, of the Milan Committee, spoke on women's political capacity and electoral reform, giving an acute analysis of the present condition of the suffrage question in Italy, especially with regard to political parties and the Parliamentary situation. Professor Vigano, wife of the ex-Minister of War, spoke on women's legal status, explaining clearly and authoritatively the weak spots in our legislation with regard to woman and the family. Signorina Gagliardi, of Turin (a fully qualified engineer, who for some years has worked as engineer designer in one of our great aeroplane factories), spoke clearly and moderately on the burning question of the attitude of suffragists in the next elections. Finally, on the subject of general propaganda, Signora Zanini Valeri, the active secretary of the Roman Committee, spoke, on behalf of Professor Ferrari. All the speeches were discussed with eagerness and seriousness, which disarmed our opponents, and which the local papers (not always tender to suffragists) were forced to recognise and point out as an example.

The practical conclusions may be summarised as follows:—

1. It is necessary to insist that the Chamber should not separate the question of the reform in the method of voting (proportional representation, scrutin de liste) from that of woman suffrage, and that both should be discussed during the present session.

2. If they do not succeed in getting the vote before the next elections, the suffragists must take an active part in the electoral campaign, under the following conditions:—

- That suffrage committees as such should not support any candidate.
- That individual suffragists should carry on an intense propaganda with publications and lectures on political problems; that they should demand from each candidate an explicit declaration and pledge for or against woman suffrage; they should draw up lists of proscription of candidates who refuse to pledge themselves to the immediate support of woman suffrage in the new legislature.
- That suffragists in supporting candidates who give their word to assure to the nation the benefits of such reforms should note their political rectitude.

Other decisions were accepted on methods of suffrage propaganda in various localities and schools, so as to hasten the vote in the Senate on the Sacchi law.

As the Congress was closing with two patriotic speeches from Signora Pastore of Turin and Signora Troise of Rome, the welcome greetings to the Editor of *Jus Suffragii* were received.

M. ANCONA.

At the same time as the Congress the annual meeting of the Federation was held, whose Central Committee was elected as follows:—Signora Troise, Miani, Benatti, Rubini, Zanini Valeri, the last named entrusted with foreign correspondence.

NETHERLANDS.

Victory!

The Netherlands Parliament has passed woman suffrage by 64 to 10 in the Lower House.

The Dutch Parliament consists of 100 members, of whom several were absent when the vote was taken, but some abstained from voting, amongst them the Socialist leader, Troelstra, who left the House while the vote was taken. The ten against belonged to the most conservative and clerical

parties. The 64 includes men of all political parties. When we consider that the organised woman suffrage movement has only worked for 25 years, and all political parties were opposed, even the most advanced, it must be conceded a great victory. That we got it so soon is really because the whole people were in favour and showed it at the last election in 1918. But we got then a Clerical Government, and were afraid that during the four years it was in power we should not be able to advance. But in November, 1918, there was a fear of revolution, and the first thing the political parties asked for was woman suffrage. Then the Government agreed that the sooner woman suffrage was introduced, the better they would be pleased, and promised that it should be law before the end of the year. Marchand's bill had been brought in in September. It had been feared it would not be brought in for several years, but when the unrest died down nothing more was heard of it, and when questions were asked the reply was, More important things must first be dealt with.

Then at last the Woman Suffrage Society was tired of waiting, and held a large meeting in The Hague to protest against Marchand's bill being shelved. All important women's societies took part, either sent a speaker or sent telegrams of adhesion. At the end of the evening a resolution was unanimously passed and brought to the Speaker next morning, in which we urged Parliament to take up Marchand's bill now as soon as possible, otherwise we would go and rouse the people for this purpose—this was at the end of February. Next morning a deputation of a number of the various women's societies, about 15 women, went to the House and asked to speak to the Speaker. When he came out to see us we gave him the resolution, and all of us told him how dissatisfied we were.

(The Speaker has private bills entrusted to him, and has power to arrange for them to be brought in, together with the leaders of the political parties.)

He told us to have a little more patience, and he would do his utmost to bring it in. In our opinion this deputation was a decisive factor in accelerating the introduction of the bill.

The bill was accordingly brought in on May 7th, debated and passed. It now has to pass the Upper House, and there is no doubt it will pass, in view of our large majority. If it passes the First Chamber it goes to the Council of State, which has the power of revision and delay, but it seldom uses the power to delay. It then comes back to the Government and is signed by the Queen, and then is put on the Statute Book.

Up till now Parliament dissolved if there was any extension of the franchise, but this time it has been arranged that it will not dissolve. As at present foreseen, the next election at which women can vote will be in 1922, but the second thing demanded under fear of revolution was the removal of the First Chamber, revision of the succession to the throne, revision of the right to declare war, and several less important articles of the constitution. It is said that this will take place this year, and in that case Parliament has to dissolve in 1920 or 1921, so we may have an opportunity to vote in 1920 or 1921.

We must hasten to organise our women voters, and to prepare them for the task that awaits them.

ALETTA JACOBS,
President: Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

The 9th of May, 1919, will be engraved in the memory of the Dutch women as a historical day, for on that memorable date the bill was passed that made her the equal of her brother man, the bill was carried through that granted her her full political rights. The acceptance of this law gives the same rights to women as to men in all political matters. The women have got the right of electing and being elected under exactly the same conditions as men. A fierce and tenacious struggle preceded this victory, and the feeling of relaxation is proportionate to the strain of so often frustrated expectation.

As it became known that the bill presented to Parliament in September, 1918, by Mr. Marchand, the leader of the Vryz. Dem. fraction, and urged on by the revolutionary threatenings of the leader of the Socialists in November of the same year, would be debated, a great many women filled the tribunes of the Lower House to be present at the discussions. With great interest they followed the long and unnecessary speeches of the speakers of the many political parties.

Unnecessary, because there was not a shadow of a doubt that the bill would pass. The opposition, once so strong and inimical, was quite broken. The Prime Minister, a Roman

Catholic, had declared himself a supporter. The whole Roman Catholic fraction, the strongest in Parliament, had changed its view and no longer opposed but protected the bill. So did most of the members of the Conservative parties. The leader of the Roman Catholic party proposed not to open the discussions over the bill, but to vote on it at once. But those who had prepared their speeches would have their say. And they had it! Fourteen speakers succeeded in keeping the women from their domestic duties for four days, just to hear the old arguments of "auld lang syne"!

After much prattling, which gave the women no great idea of the firmness of men's conviction, the proposer of the bill had his turn.

In a brilliant, humorous peroration he defeated his opposers totally, and when at last the bill was put to the vote it was carried through with a great majority of 64—10.

The House heartily applauded the result, and so did the women in the boxes.

The absence of the president, Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, who is staying in Switzerland to be present at the Peace Congress, was sorely felt. After the memorable session, the Vice-president of the board of officers of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht, Mrs. F. S. van Balen-Klaar, addressed Mr. Marchand in behalf of many thousands of women, and offered flowers in the beloved suffrage colours.

It was a significant day for the Dutch women, and they felt it. For after the news of the passing of the bill had been wired all over the country, an abundance of greetings and congratulations came to headquarters showing the deep feeling of sympathy that animated our fellow-labourers all over the country.

Of course, we will celebrate in grand style this big victory, but we could not fully enjoy it without our eminent leader, to whose ever-vigilant initiative we thank the greater part of our success, so we must postpone the celebration until she has come home. May be that we may be able then to celebrate the complete victory, for the bill must still pass the House of Lords.

But the majority being so large there is no doubt that the bill will be carried through gloriously by the "Senate."

J. S. GROOT.

The 9th of May has been a glorious day for the Dutch women. With 64—10 Mr. Marchand's bill to eliminate the word "male" in the Ballot Act has been passed in the Second Chamber of our Parliament, and as we may expect will soon be accepted in the First Chamber. The new law will then come into force in 1922. Herewith the long battle for getting votes will then be ended. The most serious part begins then, however. For we Dutch women have then to prove that we take our new rights indeed very seriously, and want to be useful members of our Dutch community. And all the women who stood aside have now to throw off their indifference and have to become interested in the public affairs. Therefore there still will be work enough for "De Nederlandsche Bond voor Vrouwenkiesrecht." It partly can go on in the same line in which it has always been working. But there are now also other problems to view:

Equal pay for equal work.
Mothers' insurance.
Social equality with the men.
Equal eligibility of women with men for all public offices and employments.
Higher morals.
Housewifery training for every girl.

We have still a long way to go before we have reached the end, where women will stand as the political and social equals of men. But we are now on the right way. And the "Nederlandsche Bond" wishes to go this way as much as possible with other societies, which go in the same line, and tries to come to reorganisation and association.

Several Dutch women have been elected for "De Provinciale Staten" (County Councils.) Most of them belong to the Soc. Dem. Labour Party, but also three prominent Bondswomen have been elected. Among them is the former President, Mrs. Boissevain-Pijnappel. Now we are awaiting what the result will be of the municipal council elections.

A. PETERSEN.

Secretariaat: Nederlandsche Bond Voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

Early History of the Suffrage Movement.

In 1882, under the old constitution of the Netherlands, women were not expressly excluded from the franchise, but no women ever tried to claim it. Dr. Aletta Jacobs was the

first woman who asked to be entered on the Parliamentary and municipal register of voters in Amsterdam. When the revision of the constitution was pending and the extension of the franchise was proposed, it was urged that the word "male" should be inserted so as to prevent women claiming.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs had been in close touch with the British suffrage movement, and while in England for nearly a year, in 1879, for her medical studies, she attended suffrage meetings, and made the acquaintance of Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Mrs. Fawcett, and other prominent suffragists. When she heard, therefore, that it was proposed to expressly exclude women she saw that there was still a loophole through which women might still creep in, and resolved to put in her claim, and applied to be put on the municipal and Parliamentary register. The registering authority for Amsterdam was the town council, and her claim was formally discussed in the council, though it did not treat the matter very seriously, and replied to Dr. Jacobs that though the letter of the law did not exclude women, their admission would be contrary to its spirit, and they therefore refused her application. She took the matter to the law courts, who agreed with the town council's decision. She then took it to the High Court, who also supported the decision of the town council; but one member of the court, a friend, told the applicant that they had had a hard time in coming to the decision, as they knew she was legally right, and did not know how to find a reason for rejecting her claim. He thought that if she came with a dozen women individually, the court could not refuse. Dr. Jacobs then tried to find a dozen women who were qualified as voters, but found it a difficult matter, as the property and tax qualification was rather high, and married women were not eligible. It was therefore possible for very few women to have the qualifications, and in addition the opposition and ridicule shown by the press were so strong as to deter women from coming forward. This attempt therefore failed.

In 1885 the new constitution came into force which expressly excluded women by inserting the word "male" as one of the necessary qualifications for voters. It was some years before the group of women anxious for political rights were strong enough to form an organisation, but in 1898 there were enough to form a first Women's Suffrage Society. Great difficulties were encountered at the beginning, as in a small country where everyone is personally known, personal attacks are easily engineered. Any handle that can be used against unpopular leaders is seized upon and used to attack the movement; consequently development was slow, and in 1904 when the first full Congress of the I.W.S.A. met in Berlin, the Dutch suffrage group was so small that it only paid half the affiliation fees. Then it began to grow quickly. Preparations were begun for the I.W.S.A. Congress in Holland in 1908; the greatest efforts were made, the press was favourable, and brilliant Congress meetings which were so much enjoyed by all present did much to rouse popular enthusiasm, especially as they were held in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, and popularised the movement in quarters hitherto apathetic. Meanwhile some of the political parties were taking up the question: first the Radicals in 1901, then the Social Democrats in 1906, and later still the Moderate Liberals, put woman suffrage in their programmes. In 1912 a Clerical Government came in, and the Liberal parties, including the Radicals and Moderate Liberals and the Conservative Liberals, concentrated on working for the revision of the constitution for the next election. Their object was to have manhood suffrage granted at once and the removal of the constitutional barrier to woman suffrage. The Radicals who had formerly stood for woman suffrage, and the Conservative Liberals, who had hitherto opposed it, now took, the former a step backward, the latter a step forward, in order to meet on the franchise question, but in the case of each of these Liberal parties it was agreed that each should be free to go as far as it could to get as much as it could from the Government. In 1913 the new Government introduced a bill to revise the constitution, and this revision included manhood suffrage and the removal of the constitutional obstacle to woman suffrage; it also made women eligible to be elected to Parliament by men voters. The Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht at once launched a campaign to get universal suffrage into the new constitution. This campaign succeeded entirely in convincing public opinion, which since this has never wavered in its support of woman suffrage. Mr. Kort Van den Linden was such a strong anti that whenever Radicals or Socialists brought in amendments to the constitution for woman suffrage he declared all amendments unacceptable, and the political parties, instead of bringing pressure

to bear to get the woman suffrage amendments through, withdrew them. The full account of these debates appeared in *Jus Suffragii* in 1916. The result was to make it quite certain that as soon as a bill could be brought in for woman suffrage it would have a large majority. The women of Holland were quite assured that as soon as a man had the courage to bring in the bill it would have a large majority at the election in 1918 if the new constitution came into force. Woman suffrage was in all the election literature, and nearly all the political parties had women in their electoral list, though not one gave a woman a high enough place on the list as to ensure her election. It was only because the first man on the list, which included Miss Suze Groeneweg, got so many votes that the second and third names were also elected, that she got in. After this election the leader of the Radical party, Mr. Marchand, introduced the woman suffrage bill, which has now successfully passed the Lower House, and which it is confidently expected will pass the Senate very shortly. M.S.

NORWAY.

VENSTREKVINNELAGET.

The Left Women's Group had one of its big meetings on March 28th. The proposal discussed was from Katti Anker Möller's resolutions in connection with her child-birth insurance scheme.

The resolutions are—

(i.) The V.K.L. asks the Social Department to form a committee to work out a proposal to widen the scope of insurance so that all women on the insurance panel should receive 30 kroner a month from the beginning of pregnancy till the child reaches school age. The expenses to be borne by the State.

(ii.) The V.K.L. nominates a committee to form a company which is to open an educational mother-craft bureau. A feature of this bureau is to diffuse knowledge of "preventives," also to sell them. Each share of the company is to cost 10 kroner.

(iii.) The V.K.L. urges the judicial department to bring in a bill for a new marriage law wherein it is plainly stated that marriage is a free union of equal partners wherein sexual relations are not obligatory for either of the parties.

(iv.) The marriage age-limit should be done away with. Women should keep their own name. Treatment in pregnancy and at birth to be free for all women.

The institution of marriage rests on civil rather than religious grounds.

— Nylænde, Kristiania, April 15.

SWEDEN.

FIRST WOMEN MEMBERS OF A PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY (LANDSTING).

Fru Elsa Perselli (Progressive) has been elected to be member of the Provincial Assembly (Orebro division), and Edith Sköld (Labour) for the Oxie and Skytts Division.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor.

Selma Lagerlöf has been elected as member of the Communal Assembly at Ostra Emtervik Värmland.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor.

WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

The non-party educational courses which were arranged by the National Society for Women's Suffrage before the elections for Local Bodies which took place in March have proved an even greater success than was anticipated. *Rösträtt för Kvinnor* prints one among the many excellent lectures which have been given. This is an address by Rektor Steffens, of Visby, dealing with women's responsibility under their new rights. Rektor Steffens is of opinion that women ought not to join the existing men's political parties, but ought to discard the badges of party and to form a woman's party—which men ought to be allowed to join—inscribing on its programme all the principles for which women have always fought: political and social equality and reconciliation. Women will incur a great responsibility if they fail to accept this mission.

FRK. SIGNE BERGMAN.

Signe Bergman celebrated her 50th birthday on April 10th. Congratulations poured in from the whole of Sweden. A brilliant reception was held at the Grand Hotel, Royale, by friends and fellow workers of all parties and nationalities. Telegrams were received from ministers, members of Parliament, and many distinguished representatives of art, literature and social politics.

Fifty-four women town councillors have been elected at the recent municipal elections throughout the country.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor.

SWEDEN.

BOTH CHAMBERS PASS WOMAN SUFFRAGE, MAY 24.

The Swedish Woman Suffrage Movement.

It has been a "long, long way" to travel, is the first thought of the Swedish women when they look back upon the road that they have traversed before obtaining political enfranchisement. "Long and difficult and wearying" many are perhaps inclined to add. But when they now stand on the crest of the mountain and see the road as a long winding line at their feet, the aspect is wonderfully changed. The sharp stones and the obstacles on that road are swept away, made invisible by the distance; the sun lights it up, memory whispers, "Do you remember?" and scene after scene is rolled up before the traveller high up at the goal. In this condensed review we shall only refer to a few facts and dates in connection with the history and development of the movement in Sweden.

The great name of Fredrika Bremer has been the lodestar of the Swedish women's suffrage movement, and the first association which was organised in 1884 to work for improved conditions for Swedish women adopted her name in the Fredrika Bremer Society. Already, in 1864, the Swedish women who paid rates—an insignificant number—had received a vote in municipal elections. The woman's cause, however, made little progress, and the grievances were numerous and keenly felt. The idea was born that the women should direct their efforts to obtain political votes for their sex. The editor, Mr. F. T. Borg, had as early as 1884 proposed an amendment to the Constitution in the Riksdag, granting suffrage and eligibility to women. That was the first swallow, but it brought no summer in its trail; it fell instead to the ground with broken wings. Not until the year 1902 was the matter again brought to the attention of our legislative assembly, and that time by the indefatigable champion of the woman's suffrage cause in Sweden, the Mayor of Stockholm, Carl Lindhagen. His proposal on that occasion was a modest request for the appointment of a Royal Committee to deliberate on the question. The Riksdag rejected the proposition. From that time on, however, a systematic work was begun by the women themselves. Acting on the initiative of the Fredrika Bremer Society, a meeting was called, and a committee appointed. Offers of co-operation were extended to the Social Democratic women, who had also held a meeting and selected a committee, and thus the first Woman Suffrage Association was formed on a broad basis in Stockholm in 1902. The movement spread rapidly to the provinces, at first through the energetic efforts and self-sacrificing work of Mrs. Ann Margret Holmgren, in her capacity as travelling organiser and agitator. The newly formed local associations were amalgamated in 1903 into a central body—the Swedish National Woman Suffrage Association,—which in the following year became a member of the International Alliance. The growth was rapid, which shows that the Swedish women were far enough advanced to accept the principle of political rights for their sex. It is to be regretted that the Swedish men were not as far-seeing. At the start in 1903 the National Association comprised 23 local associations with a combined membership of 3,950, but the number was gradually increased, and is at the present time 237 local associations with 16,159 members scattered over the large but sparsely populated country. At the head of the organisation is an Executive Committee, together with a Central Board, the latter consisting of representatives from each of the local associations. The local associations have also formed provincial associations under separate boards. This form of organisation has shown the requisite firmness and unified strength to overcome outside resistance, and, at the same time, leaves a wholesome latitude for initiative to the individual societies, necessary in this case to maintain the enthusiasm and the readiness to make sacrifices for the great common cause.

At the head of the Executive Committee have been, in the order named, Miss Anna Whitlock, Mrs. Ann Margret Holmgren, and Miss Gertrude Adelborg. The National Association has for a period of eight years, comprising two separate terms, been under the pliant and wise leadership of Miss Anna Whitlock. The office of president has been held for two years by Dr. Lydia Wahlström, and since 1914 by Miss Signe Bergman, who during many years preceding her appointment had worked energetically and with important results in the cause as secretary and vice-president. The present president is Dr. Karolina Widerström. Although the Association has not

entirely been able to keep aloof from party strife and the antagonisms of political life, it has, however, succeeded in embracing women from all the political parties in united effort for the suffrage cause, and we expect on that account that in exercising their political rights the women will serve as a levelling and conciliatory element.

The associations have, in addition to their agitation for votes for women, carried on a very important social and educational work. Among the women who in the course of their travels and lectures have spread enlightenment, we desire to mention, besides Mrs. A. M. Holmgren, especially Dr. Gulli Petrini, Mrs. Frigga Carlberg, Mrs. Ellen Hagen, Mrs. Anna Wicksell, Mrs. Augusta Tønning, Mrs. Ella Billing. The National Association has received a large part of their funds for the educational work through a liberal donation by a Swedish lady resident in England, Mrs. Martina Bergman-Oosterberg, who is also well known from her work in introducing Swedish gymnastics to Great Britain.

At the time when the Swedish woman suffrage movement was started, it seemed no doubt to most of the participants that the goal was nearer. It had supporters among the members of the Riksdag, who were willing to introduce bills in their behalf, in all the political parties represented in the Riksdag, and the voting figures were steadily increasing in their favour from year to year. In 1906 we had reason to expect a realisation of our wishes in connection with the Government's bill, which was then laid before the House for the introduction of equal and universal suffrage, but we had the same experience as women of other countries. In guarding their own votes the majority of our supporters in all the parties left us out in the cold. Our gain was the very meagre one of a decision to leave the matter with a Royal Committee to deliberate and make a report on—an opportunity which our opponents used for delaying and shunting the question into wrong channels during five years,—and when their findings were at last published no attention was paid to the report. When the men had got their own votes settled, both of the Radical parties adopted the woman's vote in their platform. As the Conservative party took up a negative attitude it became a party question, which has delayed and put difficulties in the way of a solution. The Second Chamber of the Riksdag have passed bills in favour of the woman's vote at five separate sessions, which the First Chamber have rejected on each occasion. In the year 1912, when we had a Liberal Cabinet of which the late Mr. Karl Staaff was the leader, the question was again introduced in the form of a Government bill, but with the same result. The women have attempted to strengthen their position through petitions and resolutions. In 1907 a petition was presented which had gathered 142,128 signatures, and in 1914 a resolution signed by 351,454 women who demanded votes was laid before the Riksdag.

A red-letter year in the history of our campaign is 1911, when we had the pleasure to greet prominent women from all parts of the world as our guests at the great International Woman's Suffrage Congress. As a valuable result of that Congress may be recorded the impetus given to our Swedish movement, together with the formation of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. In 1918, when our demands were again laid before the Riksdag in the shape of a Government bill by the newly formed Edén Liberal Government, we hoped that the Conservative party would rightly interpret the signs of the times, and refrain from further obstruction. But they only listened to the German reports of victories—and rejected the bill. The democratic wave has now reached our distant country, and thoroughgoing changes in our constitution have been brought about without sanguinary revolutions and violent acts. Our country has become "the ancient home of liberty in the North," according to our national song. The power has been wrested from a Conservative minority party and laid in the hands of the people. The women have at last received the assurance that their question will be solved at the 1919 session of the Riksdag. Thus we too shall bear a part in the work of erecting the proud world structure which will be built on the ruins of the old. If that structure is not built on the foundations of justice and righteousness, woe be to us women; the responsibility will fall on us a thousandfold.

ELIN WAHLQUIST.



FREDRIKA BREMER.



ANN MARGRET HOLMGREN.



ANNA WHITLOCK.



LYDIA WAHLSTROM.



SIGNE BERGMAN.



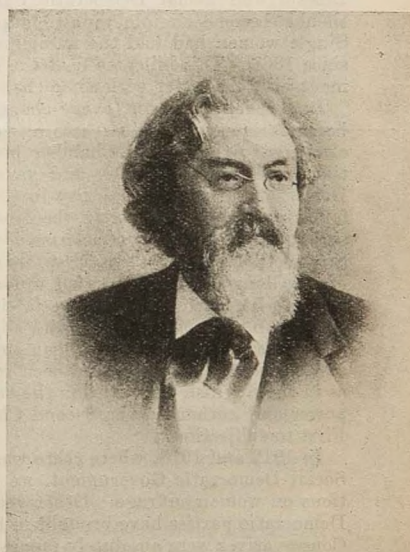
GULLI PETRINI.



ANNA WICKSELL.



KAROLINA WIDERSTROM.



F. T. BORG.

Woman Suffrage in the Swedish Parliament.

The first time woman suffrage was discussed in the Swedish Parliament was in 1884, when Fredrik Borg, a staunch friend of women's rights, introduced a bill to give women the vote and eligibility to the Second Chamber. The Standing Committee on Constitution declared that "no demand from the women themselves to be trusted with the rights which the introducer of the bill wants to give them has been heard of in our country," and the bill was rejected in both Chambers.

At the end of the last and the beginning of this century there was a great movement to make manhood suffrage universal. The women also took part in this work, and by and by the women naturally began to claim that when the suffrage was to be extended, they too should be enfranchised. In 1902 the Government introduced a bill which extended the vote for men without making it universal, and gave two votes to married men. This caused Mr. Lindhagen to move that the Parliament should induce the Government to undertake a thorough investigation of the question of woman suffrage. Mr. Lindhagen could refer to a petition from the Fredrika Bremer Association to the Government. The Women's Suffrage Society, which had been founded that very year in Stockholm, actively supported the Bill, but it was rejected in the Second Chamber by 111 votes to 64, and in the First Chamber unanimously. Nevertheless, there were speakers in both Chambers who declared their sympathy with the cause, among whom some Conservatives, who considered woman suffrage as a guarantee when they would become obliged to accept the universal vote. The Government bill and all other suffrage bills were rejected.

During the following years there was a constant struggle for universal suffrage for men, and at the same time we had some members in both Chambers who brought in bills on woman suffrage. They were constantly rejected, though the Women Suffrage Alliance did their best to support them. The general opinion in the Parliament was that the manhood suffrage must be settled first.

In 1906, however, the women had at least a fundamental victory. In both Chambers a bill was passed calling upon the Government to make a thorough inquiry into the question of woman suffrage. This year the Liberal Government had introduced a bill on universal suffrage for men, which was rejected in the First Chamber, whereupon the Liberal Government was replaced by a Conservative Government. At the Parliament of 1907, the latter introduced another bill with a fairly universal suffrage for men, in connection with the proportional election system. In their preamble the Government had a passage about woman suffrage, in which they declared that women's demand for the vote was quite legitimate, and expressed their desire that it would soon become a reality, but that the Government did not find it suitable to combine the cause of woman suffrage with the question of the men's vote, which had proved to be so difficult in itself. Six bills on woman suffrage were introduced by different parties during that session, but they were all rejected in both Chambers. The Government proposition, on the other hand, was connected with a reform of the municipal franchise, and the Liberal and Social Democratic parties moved that women should become eligible to all municipal church councils. Single women had had the municipal vote without eligibility since 1862. This bill passed at the same time as the Government bill, the latter with some changes.

In Sweden, however, every change in the Constitution, to become law, must pass two sessions of Parliament, with elections to the Second Chamber between them. Those elections took place in 1908, and gave the Liberal and Social Democratic parties a majority in the Second Chamber. The following year, consequently, the Liberal party's bill for woman suffrage and eligibility was passed without a division in the Second Chamber. In the First Chamber the bill was rejected after a long debate. Married women that year received the right to be taxed for their special income, and then also the right to municipal franchise and eligibility.

Since then the bills on woman suffrage have always passed in the Second Chamber, and been rejected in the First. But as in the Swedish Constitution the two Chambers possess equal power and authority, the Second Chamber cannot compel the First to subjection.

In 1912 and 1918, where there was a Liberal and a Liberal-Social Democratic Government, we had Government propositions on woman suffrage. Other years the Liberal and Social Democratic parties have brought in bills, but all in vain. The Conservatives were absolutely immovable. It is no use repeating their arguments; they are just the same in all countries.

Our First Chamber is elected by the county councils and the town councils in the largest towns, but the municipal vote has been graduated according to pecuniary circumstances, one person being able to possess up to forty votes. To make the municipal vote equal has been a reform that, as well as woman suffrage, has always been wrecked by the First Chamber.

Not until the revolution in Germany and Austria raised a feeling of unrest even in Sweden did the Conservatives realise that unrelenting resistance was dangerous. The Parliament was sitting in an extraordinary session to settle questions of supplementary grants for the raising of salaries. Such an extra session has no authority to make any change in the constitutional laws, but the Government introduced a bill on the municipal vote which does not count as constitutional law. Moreover, they declared that it was the intention of the Government to introduce in the next ordinary session another bill to make political suffrage universal both for men and women. Then the First Chamber was compelled to yield, and the Parliament resolved on December 17 that the municipal vote should become independent of taxes, equal and universal, with some insignificant restrictions. At the same time it was announced that the political vote was to be extended to the women. Now the ordinary session has begun, and we are waiting for the Government bill, in good hopes that this time we shall gain the victory.

GULLI PETRINI.

Leaders and Promoters of the Suffrage Cause in Sweden.

Upon such sacrifices, my Cordelia,
The gods themselves throw incense.
—SHAKESPEARE (*King Lear*).

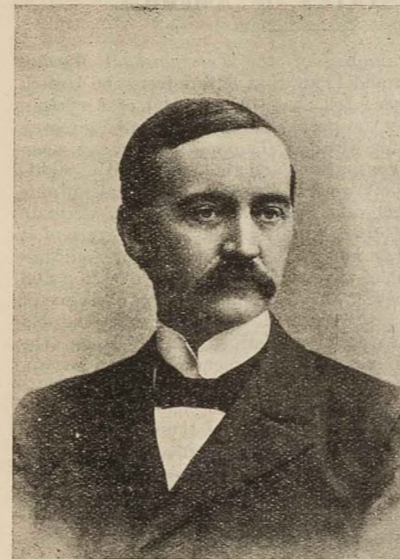
Every record of a movement to bring welfare to humanity is more or less the history of its leaders, and the effort of bringing political freedom to the daily lives of women is no exception to the rule. The demand for suffrage is not a sudden outgrowth; it is part of the continuity of human development, and no one can tell its hour of awakening. But what we know with security is that the claim for liberty was born with suffering and baptised with tears, and grew in silence and darkness till among the many weak voices one was strong enough to make itself heard. This voice in Sweden belonged to

FREDRIKA BREMER.

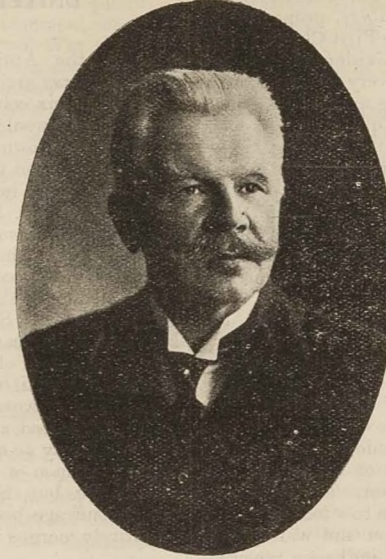
The woman who bore that name is known and honoured throughout the civilised world as an authoress and a champion for human liberty. In our country it has become the personification of the women's struggle for justice during the last century. Miss Bremer used to say, with Terentius: "I am a human being, and nothing human is indifferent to me." She had the firm conviction that it was a crime to tolerate an evil that could be amended. Neglected children, unhelped criminals, persons in illness and poverty not provided for, she tried to rescue. And she saw deeper than the existing conditions, and looked for the cause. She found it to be woman's position in this man-made world. After a visit to America in 1849 her conviction was stronger than ever that the cause of much evil in the world was the position of the women, their neglected education, their economic dependence, and their lack of means to take care of their own interests and those of their children and their homes. The State which had so long forgotten their existence must be reminded thereof. She wanted better schools for girls, better economical and legal position for women, and she never tired in working for these aims. The unfulfilled work she at her death in 1865 bequeathed to her sisters in Sweden, where a society for woman's progress bears her name—the Fredrika Bremerförbundet,—has been received with reverence and love and deep feeling of responsibility, which at last won what Fredrika Bremer gave her noble life's work to: *Liberty and equality*.

ANN MARGRET HOLMGREN.

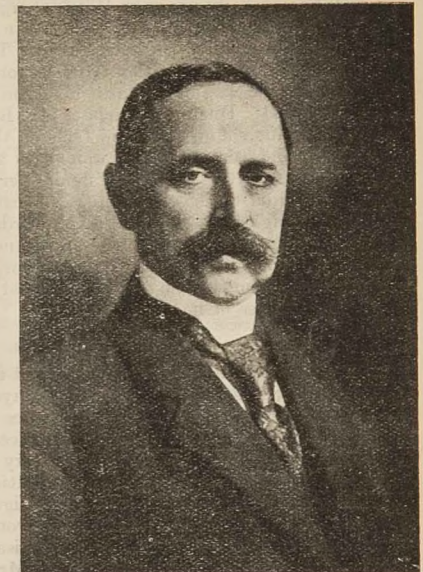
It was in 1902 that Ann Margret Holmgren began her suffrage work—"bright with the light of dawn"—lecturing all over the country. A more womanly woman's-right champion could not have been found. Her appearance, her charming voice, her social position—her deceased husband, Professor Frithiof Holmgren, distinguished himself as a man of science and letters,—her motherliness, silenced the opposition and won the hearts of the audience. Her enthusiasm and perseverance never failed her, not even when illness bound her to her bed and made further lecturing impossible. She eagerly watched



CARL LINDHAGEN



KARL STAAFF



NILS EDEN

the progress made; writing heaps of letters and cards, scattering them broadcast, to keep up interest, strengthening and encouraging in hours of depression.

Mrs. Holmgren has the initiative mind, and her many good ideas have been invaluable to the cause.

ANNA WHITLOCK.

As the first organiser and leader of the suffrage movement in Sweden, Miss Whitlock has left a strong impression on its character. She was one of the founders of the first Woman Suffrage Society in Sweden in 1902, and when about a year from that date it was found necessary to unite the many local societies into one central organisation, Miss Whitlock was elected president of the Swedish N.W.S.A. Her chief work in life has been education, and she has been one of the first to carry out the idea of co-education in Sweden. The step to political equality lay near at hand. But "knowledge before all" has been her motto, and so she has arranged courses for women on social and political questions of the day. If the Swedish women do not use their political power wisely and worthy of their sex, it is not her fault; she has been untiring in her efforts to raise the moral as well as the political standard of women. The enormous work on her shoulders became at last too much, and she left the presidency of the N.W.S.A. to

LYDIA WAHLSTRÖM.

Among Swedish women belonging to the learned professions Dr. Lydia Wahlström has won herself an honoured name as a "man of science," as well as sympathy for her personal qualities. As an author on historical subjects she has earned a high reputation. Her lectures on suffrage, on social, political, or historical questions, are a real treat to all friends of human growth. Knowledge, thoroughness, humour, warmth, and logic together make a lecture by Doctor Wahlström a pleasure not easily to be forgotten. After three years she was obliged by ill-health to resign her post as president of the N.W.S.A.

SIGNE BERGMAN.

After the resignation of Dr. Wahlström, Signe Bergman, who had long been secretary of the Executive Committee of the N.W.S.A., and during the last three years vice-president, was elected president. She is a born leader and politician with broad views, and her election was hailed with joy from all suffragists in the country. It is impossible to overestimate Miss Bergman's service to the growth and development of the suffrage organisation in Sweden. Never sparing herself, never granting herself a rest or a treat or other interests—working suffrage all the time she could spare from her profession as chief cashier in a big banking institution—the claim on her strength was at least too much, especially as both her masters, the bank and the suffrage, increased their claims on her services. And in Signe Bergman's nature there is no place for anything "half"—it is all or nothing,—and she left her presidency in 1917. She stands in the Executive Committee as honorary member, together with Mrs. Holmgren and Miss Whitlock,

and is second treasurer on the International Woman Suffrage Alliance board of officers.

GULLI PETRINI.

Doctor of philosophy, teacher, lecturer, and writer: "the woman with the smile of an angel and the tongue of a devil," as she was characterised by an anti after a suffrage meeting. Her force and fire, mingled with pathos and satire, have won her friends everywhere, and there is hardly a place in our country from south to north where she has not spoken on suffrage. Her oratory goes straight to the hearts, and, what is still better, straight to the brains, of the audience. Dr. Petrini belongs to the Executive Committee of the N.W.S.A., and is president of the suffrage society in Stockholm. She is a much-valued agitator for liberal ideas, and all friends of social and political progress are in debt to her for her untiring work.

ANNA WICKSELL.

As a student of law (C. and jur.), Mrs. Wicksell is an authority in the suffrage movement to fall back upon in legal questions. She, too, belongs to the Executive Committee of the N.W.S.A., and at the suffrage congress in Budapest in 1913 she was nominated chairman of the Committee on Admissions of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance Board. Mrs. Wicksell has a long register of agitating and organising suffrage work behind her. She is secretary of the Swedish Association for the League of Nations. Among her many social and political interests the peace question and votes for women come nearest to her heart, and she has worked long and faithfully for both these great aims.

KAROLINA WIDERSTRÖM.

When in the year 1918 a new president had to be elected, after Miss Bergman's resignation, the N.W.S.A. was happy to get a woman of Dr. Karolina Widerström's ability to take the leading post. She is the first woman physician in Sweden—from 1889,—she has belonged to the City Council of Stockholm, she is a member of the Central School Board of Stockholm and of the School Board of one of its parishes, she is also the president of the board of the Fredrika-Bremer-Förbundet's Higher Trade School for Women and of the Association School for the Care of Children. She has taken part in numerous committees on sanitary and education reforms, and has lectured on hygiene for women and children. With these interests first in her mind she was the right person in the right place as the leader of the suffrage work. Her reward has come: the cause has been won during her term of leadership.

Honour is due to the men who have shared in the work for righteousness to women. With deep gratitude do we all Swedish women in the hour of victory recognise their loyalty to our cause.

FREDRIK BORG.

The first time a bill to give votes to women was introduced in the Swedish Parliament was in April, 1884, by Fredrik Borg, a Liberal member of the Second Chamber, and editor of

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

a well-known daily paper in Hälsingborg. The Constitutional Committee, with reservation from five members, proposed the Chamber not to adopt the amendment. The First Chamber did not discuss the bill—without debate or division it was dismissed. In the Second Chamber it fell on a very small majority 53 against 44. During the debate Mr. Borg made an eloquent speech, giving sound and solid facts on the question. As long as society does not recognise woman as a human being in the full meaning of this word, and denies her the rights her nature claims in order to serve humanity, she cannot gain the position she has a right to. These are the words of a true reformer, with a warm heart and a clear brain and a courageous mind. The women have to deplore that Mr. Borg too soon got tired of Parliament, and that no one was inclined to take up his mantle before the lapse of nearly two decades.

CARL LINDHAGEN.

The next to deal a blow in Parliament to the political slavery of women was Mr. Carl Lindhagen, Mayor of Stockholm, who in 1902 aroused the sleeping conscience of the legislators by reminding them of the political injustice to women. The bill he introduced in the Chamber was a very modest one, claiming an investigation on the political position of women and a suffrage amendment built on this investigation. The event was the dawn of a new day, awakening the women to a feeling of the necessity to support the bill by organisation and widespread agitation. The bill was rejected, but Mr. Lindhagen renewed it in 1904 and 1905, the last year with 57 supporters. At last, in 1906, the bill was carried and the investigation was resolved. All these years the women's cause has had no truer friend in Parliament than Mr. Lindhagen.

KARL STAAFF.

It was during a Liberal Cabinet, with Mr. Karl Staaff as Prime Minister, that a bill on votes for women was introduced as a Government bill. It was carried in the Second Chamber, 140 ayes to 66 noes; but, as usual, it was defeated in the First Chamber by 86 against 58. Karl Staaff was a true friend of democracy, and consequently a supporter of political rights to women. He could boast, with Bismarck, "I am the most hated man in my country," and he could with still more reason have added, "I am the most beloved man in my country." He has won a nation's love and gratitude by a complete and selfless devotion to each call as it came, to each hard and strenuous task to redeem the needs of humanity. It would take volumes to dwell on his life-work. Only one of his many great tasks may be reckoned here: Karl Staaff was the man who, in the political conflict with our brother-land Norway in 1905, by his energetic and determined position saved the countries from a brother-war.

At his death, on the 5th of October, 1915, the loss was deeply felt by all who love and honour what is noble, strong, and unselfish in human nature, and—what is still rarer—in political life.

NILS EDÉN.

After the new elections in 1917 and the new Cabinet, consisting of Liberals and Social Democrats, with Professor Nils Edén as Prime Minister, was formed, the women regained hope, and in February, 1918, a Government bill was introduced, claiming votes for women on the same conditions as for men. The opposition in the First Chamber was strong as ever, and the arguments worn and rusty from age, the division showed 62 noes to 36 ayes. So came the sitting of the Extraordinary Parliament in the autumn of 1918, and the long opposition of the Conservatives was broken at last. The revision of the constitution had been carried, and when all women as well as all men now had got a vote in the community on the same terms, the great principle of democracy being established, they had nothing to save by opposing any longer.

The impression of the strong and warmhearted words spoken in the debate by the Premier and other supporters of the women's political rights is a solace for the long years of insulting opposition in the First Chamber. Freedom and equality are no longer empty words to the women; they have a deep meaning founded on responsibility to humanity.

FRIGGA CARLBERG.

United States of America.

A telegram of June 4 announces that the Senate has passed the Federal Amendment by 66 votes to 25.

It will now be submitted to the States legislatures, and must be ratified by 36.

When the April number of the *International Woman Suffrage News* arrived and I saw that letters from the United States filled six columns I felt that—to use a bit of American "slang"—it would be the proper thing for me to "go 'way back and sit down" for awhile. This is what we say when someone has been too conspicuous and should get out of sight. I did not wish to leave my work to attend the national suffrage convention in St. Louis, and Miss Marjorie Shuler, associate editor of the *Woman Citizen*, kindly prepared the report of it for the *News*. The May number has not come, but doubtless she gave a full account of that very successful convention and the launching of the new national organisation, the League of Women Voters. She probably made it clear that the old National American Association, formed in 1869 for the definite object of obtaining a federal amendment, will remain in existence until this object is accomplished, but meanwhile the millions of women who have already been enfranchised by their States need a special organisation of their own in order that they may co-operate in the use of their votes. Whenever the women of a State secure the franchise they will enter the League, but the two associations will work together until woman suffrage becomes universal and the original body can be entirely merged in the new one.

It has been very amusing to watch the effect of the League of Women Voters on the anti-suffragists and the politicians. The "antis" cried from the housetops: "Just as we told you it would be when women got the vote—sex-antagonism rampant, women arrayed against men!" The politicians naturally looked for ulterior motives and were sceptical as to the non-partisan and non-political character of the League. Each party was sure that it would be "used" by the other. From the national headquarters in New York thousands of explanatory circulars have been sent to the press, societies, and individuals, and the opposition is dying out. Nevertheless, party leaders recognise that a force has entered the political field which has never before existed and which henceforth will have to be reckoned with.

President Wilson has called an extra session of Congress to convene May 19, earlier than was expected, as he will not be here at that time. It is said that this was done at the urgent request of the Secretary of the Treasury, as the last inefficient Congress came to an end without passing any of the Appropriation Bills, even for bringing the millions of soldiers home from Europe. The first work of the Congress will be to dispose of these bills, and then the members will have to relieve themselves of an immense amount of oratory, which has been accumulating for months, on the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations.

The suffragists, who are so deeply concerned as to the action that will be taken on their federal amendment, must wait patiently until these national and international matters have been attended to. Any attempt to crowd it in ahead of them would be most unwise and would have no sympathy from the public. Everything connected with it passed out with the old Congress. The measure will not be before the new Congress until a resolution for the submission of the amendment is introduced in both Houses. This will be done immediately, and the wording will be exactly the same it always has been. This will be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage in each House. There it will rest until the proper time for action. Heretofore the procedure has been for the committee to grant "hearings"—that is, to permit suffragists and "antis" to appear before them and argue their case,—and later they made a favourable or unfavourable or not any "report" to their respective Houses. If favourable, then there was a long struggle to get the resolution before each House for discussion and vote.

This year the committees of both Houses are sure to make a favourable report, and possibly it will not be necessary to have any "hearings." It is not likely that the opponents can prevent a discussion and vote in both Houses. Whether the necessary two-thirds majority can be secured in each is the only question in doubt. This majority has been absolutely pledged to the Congressional Committee of the National Association, but not until the votes have been actually recorded can it be known whether the pledges have been kept. The last Congress had a majority of Democrats, not large enough to carry the amendment, but either party could have supplied the needed one or two votes. There was, however, a "gentlemen's

agreement" between the opponents in both parties that neither would do this. The present Congress has a Republican majority, but not large enough to put the amendment through. Neither party since a few years after the Civil War has ever had a two-thirds majority in Congress. Unless a bitter partisan fight should develop among the members the Federal Suffrage Amendment will be submitted the next time it comes to a vote. There is not much danger of this fight, as neither party will dare to be responsible for its defeat because of the millions of women who will be able to vote at the presidential election next year. How long it will be before Congress acts on the amendment it is impossible to say. If it should remain in continuous session this might happen by midsummer. There might be an adjournment till December, the time for the regular session. The suffragists have learned patience in their fifty years' striving for this amendment, and they can exercise more philosophy now than ever before, because the next effort will be the last.

THE VICTORIES GAINED.

Although the one great object was not achieved during the two years of the last Congress, far more progress was made during this period than in any other two years in the history of the suffrage movement, or in fact during several times two years. The situation must be confusing to people in other countries because of the various kinds of suffrage here and the various methods of getting it. Perhaps a little explanation will clarify the matter.

If Congress would submit a Federal Amendment—that is, an amendment to the National Constitution of the United States—saying, "The right of suffrage shall not be denied on account of sex," and 36 State Legislatures, three-fourths of the whole number, would ratify or accept this amendment, it would become a part of the National Constitution, and all States would have to be governed by it. They could make an educational or property or any kind of a qualification for voting, but it would have to apply to men and women alike.

Not in any State can the Legislature itself give the complete franchise to women. All it can do is to submit to the men an amendment to the State constitution, and if a majority vote in favour of it, the women have the same suffrage rights as men and the same eligibility to office. This has been done in fifteen States. The various States have been voting on these amendments since 1867, and there have been many more defeats than successes. Texas will vote on one May 24 and North Dakota next November.

Each State makes its own constitution without reference to any other, and many, but not all, of them are so worded that the Legislature can give women a fragment of school suffrage, which many of them have done. In late years it has been discovered that there is a loophole in a few State constitutions which enables the Legislature to grant a county or municipal franchise, or both, and there has been a disposition on the part of Legislatures to give all they could. As a result women have this partial franchise in five States.

Then, still another way was found by which Legislatures could extend the suffrage to women. Some of the States nominate their candidates at conventions, but others have primary elections, which permit the voters to select the candidates by ballot. Arkansas is one of these, and it was found that the law allowed the Legislature to decide who might vote at these primaries. In 1917 it said that women should do so. The Legislature of Texas took the same action in 1918. As the Democratic party is supreme in these States, its candidates when chosen are the same as elected.

The President and Vice-President of the United States are not chosen by direct vote but by a Board of Electors, or, as it is called, an Electoral College. Each State is entitled to as many members of this college as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress, so each party puts names for these electors on its ticket. The National Constitution expressly provides that the Legislature of each State may make any rules it wishes for choosing these electors. The suffragists saw that it could give women a vote for them, and they began many years ago trying to persuade Legislatures to make this experiment. They never succeeded until 1913, when the Progressive party of Illinois had elected a large number of its members to the Legislature. As woman suffrage was a plank in their platform they co-operated with

Republicans and Democrats, and gave this so-called presidential suffrage to women. There was a loud outcry over the country that it was unconstitutional, but 800,000 women voted in that State in the presidential election of 1916 without question, and the matter was settled.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Association, recognised the great opportunity, and when the Legislatures met at the beginning of 1917 she had the co-operation of a number of its affiliated State associations in having bills presented for presidential suffrage, and a number of them granted it. The effort was repeated in 1919, as most of the Legislatures meet biennially, and a still larger number did so, and now the women of fourteen States outside of those where equal suffrage prevails may "vote for President," as it is usually expressed. The following tables will show the present situation:—

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE AND ELIGIBILITY.

Wyoming.	Kansas.
Colorado.	Nevada.
Utah.	Montana.
Idaho.	South Dakota.
Washington.	Oklahoma.
California.	Michigan.
Oregon.	New York.
Arizona.	

COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE.

North Dakota, Nebraska, and Illinois.

MUNICIPAL ONLY.

Vermont and Tennessee.

PRIMARY SUFFRAGE.

Arkansas and Texas.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE.

North Dakota.	Wisconsin.
Nebraska.	Illinois.
Texas.	Indiana.
Minnesota.	Tennessee.
Iowa.	Rhode Island.
Missouri.	Vermont.
Arkansas.	Maine.

The Presidential vote has been given in Minnesota, Missouri, Iowa, and Tennessee since my last letter to the *International News*. Not many Legislatures will meet between now and the presidential elections in 1920, but at present there are over 8,000,000 women of voting age in the States that have granted this right. In the States where women have the full suffrage there are about 7,304,000 of voting age. Women will help to choose 40 more than one-half of the Electoral College. Does it not seem as if the political parties would vie with each other in securing the credit for submitting the Federal Amendment?

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

May 9, 1919.



Fifteen States have suffrage for women on equal terms with men. In twenty-nine States women can vote for the President of the United States. These 29 States control 306 electoral votes.

The New Abolitionists!

We wonder what Josephine Butler and some of the older Abolitionists would have said if they had seen some of the things which are being done in the name of morality and social hygiene in the United States. This is the wording of Section 2979A of the Political Code, California:—

The State Board of Health, or its Secretary, upon being informed of any contagious or infectious disease, may thereupon take such measures as may be necessary to ascertain the nature of such disease, and prevent the spread of such contagion, and to that end the said State Board of Health, or its Secretary, if deemed proper, may take possession or control of the body of any living person, or the corpse of any deceased person, and may direct and take such means as may be deemed expedient to arrest or prevent the further spread of such disease.

Following is the opinion of the Attorney of the California State Board of Health as to methods to be adopted to prevent venereal disease:—

I am of opinion that the State Board of Health would have the right, as a reasonable measure of prevention of the spread of such diseases, to inspect the person of anyone residing within the vicinity of army camps, and particularly so where information was received tending to show the existence of such disease.

Seeing this is the law it is scarcely surprising that reports are coming in as to raids being made on respectable working women who are being dragged into hospitals without trial and medically examined for venereal disease. This is what one of the papers of good standing in California says about it:—

An outrage and an infamy upon twenty-one innocent women, and a probable breach of an American citizen's constitutional rights, was the recent arrest by the police Moral Squad of the twenty-one suspects seized indiscriminately in lodging-houses and hotels and on the streets of this city.

But one of the twenty-one was found to have a social disease, the eradication of which is given as the reason for the raids of the Morals Squad upon orders by Commissioner of Public Health and Safety Simmons.

Sixteen of these women were held incommunicado all day at the City Isolation Hospital. They were compelled to submit to a humiliating test by the hospital physician.

The other six were kept in jail overnight. They also were deprived of their constitutional rights to establish their characters at once by communication with their friends.

One woman, the wife of an oil foreman in Richmond, and her sister, with whom she was walking to the meat market at 11 o'clock in the morning, were arrested by the Moral Squad, and forced to almost unbelievable tyranny.

This woman offered to give the officers all the identification needed to prove her right to respect, but was refused a hearing. She told the police of her little boy at school here who would need her attention.

But they dragged her to the isolation hospital, and compelled her to submit to as humiliating a degradation as could be imposed upon a respectable woman. And they kept her there all day, with an order to report in police court the next morning. This she did, but found she could not publicly defend herself because no charge had been lodged against her.

The assault upon such an innocent woman's reputation is almost as damnable as the outrage upon her self-respect.

And the only possible iota of a reason for such Czaristic methods was that her sister kept boarders and lived in a quarter of the city regarded as perhaps not so high-toned as other residence quarters.

In other words, because this woman was not obviously rich, she was subjected to this shame.

—*Sacramento Bee* (Feb. 27, 1919).

And this is a copy of the card which was given to a young woman arrested while in active newspaper employment by the Morals Police in San Francisco:—

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH,
San Francisco, California.

CIRCULAR OF WARNING TO WOMEN ARRESTED BY
MORALS SQUAD.

NOTICE!! SAVE YOUR MONEY.

You are in quarantine, and cannot be released on bail. The Health Department recognises no influence or "pull." If you are found ill with Venereal Disease, you go to hospital, and stay there until found negative.

When discharged from the hospital you will be tried upon the charge for which you were arrested, and the judge will fix your bail; until that time no lawyer or other person can obtain your release.

You are therefore advised to wait until your case is called in Court before spending your money.

WILLIAM C. HASSLER, M.D., Health Officer.

We ask our readers to mark the fact that not until the woman is released from the hospital will she be tried for the charge upon which she was summarily arrested—and then she may prove to have been innocent.

These details are given to warn social workers in all parts of the world against the dangers of the new form of regulation which is permeating the Health Administration in America, Canada, and many other countries. The old regulation is discredited, and was so obviously vicious and unjust that it is not likely to be revived in countries which have abolished it.

The new regulation is, however, far more insidious in that it gains the support of moral and religious people, and actually masquerades in the guise of Abolitionism. In Great Britain especially we must be on our guard against it. The medical health authorities of Britain and the United States are now drawing together in closer co-operation, and everywhere there are signs that venereal disease is to be one of the special subjects for united consideration and action. In so far as the co-operation is truly preventive and remedial it is all to the good, but if we do not want medical tyranny of the worst kind fastened upon us in the name of morality we must submit all administrative health proposals to the very closest and most critical scrutiny.

ALISON NEILANS.

THE JEWISH WOMAN IN HISTORY.

The rise of the Jewish national consciousness and the recognition by Great Britain and other Allied Powers of the Jewish claim to Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people have at last brought the Jew to the political forefront. If hitherto the Jewess merged her individuality in the dominant surroundings, the national resurrection of this ancient race will now give the Jewess a new mission in the liberation of womankind.

The Jewish woman shares the extraordinary history and genius of her race. Both the Orient and the Occident have contributed to her making. In spite of having been severed from the Orient thousands of years, the Jewess is not only Oriental by her physiognomy, but by her psychology, while at the same time she has assimilated the Occidental mentality to a degree which will often make her the leader of her kind. The restoration of the Jews to their homeland—rather the restoration of their homeland to the Jews, for only those Jews who voluntarily desire to rebuild the ancient glories of their race will settle in Palestine—this will create a new era in the social evolution of Oriental womanhood. In the Jewish Palestine woman has already achieved her political enfranchisement by having received the vote for the Jewish National Constituent Assembly on the same terms as it was given to the man. The protagonists of Zionism, the Jewish national movement, have always claimed that the return of the Jew to Palestine will prove an inspiration to the world, and, even at the very threshold of the national redemption of the Jews, one of the most precious ideals of the Occident—the enfranchisement of woman—has been brought by them to the Orient.

A cursory glance at the history of the Jewish woman reveals the touch which, in spite of sordid oppression, has made the numerically small Jewish people a leading factor in civilisation. The Jewish women in the Bible are known universally, but, like the Bible, they suffer from being treated too exclusively as inspired and exemplary, without those human traits which bring their joys and sorrows and passions naturally home to us. In the Jewish folk-lore (Hagadah), which runs concurrently with the written Bible and gives an insight into the Jewish popular mind, not only the Hebrew patriarchs but also the matriarchs, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah, are portrayed as having exercised an abiding influence on the destiny of the Jewish people. Although they lived in an age of concubinage, there are romantic aspects of courtship and wedded life which not even age or familiarity has dimmed. The wooing of Isaac is a tale in an Eastern setting that is full of truly Eastern dignity, yet, unlike the prevailing Oriental custom, he sought and met his future wife in the open. The service of Jacob for Rachel—those seven years which "seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her"—is a classical instance of romance in those far-off days. But of greater value in the appreciation of woman's place in the ancient Jewish State is the part which she played in the national life. Mother Rachel, the pathos of whose early death seemed to have stirred the popular imagination, became almost the patron saint of the Jewish people, whose religion rigorously excludes all trace of adoration of human exemplars.

These references to Biblical characters, not as religious types but as social prototypes of Jewish womanhood, give an indication that with the spiritual evolution of the Jewish people there went hand in hand a high appreciation of the place of woman in the household and in the national life. She could not only hold land in her own right, but, as is manifested in the remarkable story of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxvii.), this right was maintained by women of Israel with much assurance. Miriam and Deborah, Huldah the prophetess, Esther, Judith, Queen Salome—they are outstanding examples that even in those days, when man-

kind was still untamed, the Jewish polity had evolved a type of woman who led the people. The prevailing type was, of course, the Hausfrau—the goodwife—whose wisdom and virtues are depicted in the thirty-first chapter of Proverbs. But all these women of Jewish antiquity remain models and an inspiration to their female descendants throughout the ages.

Jewish literature of later times has preserved for us the names of women who ranked high in piety, in learning, and in virtue. Donna Gracia Mendesia was a Jewish grande dame of the sixteenth century, who, as a Mæcenas of literature and an international philanthropist, was distinguished among Jewish women in the Middle Ages as Lady Judith Montefiore, and Baroness Maurice de Hirsch in the nineteenth century. Of especial interest are those who became martyrs to their faith during the Crusades and at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. In the massacres that followed in the wake of the Crusaders, many women committed suicide in order to escape a worse fate; the victims of the Inquisition faced heroically torture and the stake. Unlike the Jewish women of Bible times, they belong to the domestic history of the Jews, but they remained true to type. Jewish women in the Middle Ages, like their menfolk, shrunk within themselves, away from the ribald gaze of the unfriendly outside world. But if the Jews during that period were the only literate people in Europe, the Jewess, too, was above her Gentile surroundings, for she was as often as not able to read and had a literature all her own, frequently written by women themselves. This literature of Jewish women, crude and naive as may be expected of the times, is a strange phenomenon in the general story of woman.

With the growth of the social emancipation of the Jews, which set in about the middle of the eighteenth century among the Jews in Germany, Jewish women arose like meteors as leaders of the intellectual world. The salons of Jewish women like Henriette Herz, Dorothea Mendelssohn, Rachel Levin, became the meeting places of the lights of that great epoch of German intellectual life. Their negative, if not hostile, attitude towards their own people gave, however, an indication to the subsequent development of those Jewish women who became the friends and leaders of their Gentile sisters. The narrow and depressing atmosphere, the lack of an æsthetic standard in the Ghetto, the natural desire for a full self-expression—all these influences combined to tempt the Jewess to venture out into the great world beyond, with its wealth of intellect, beauty, and opportunity. What was at first a mere sad necessity became a joyful fashion, and the Jewish women who won the recognition and applause of the world henceforth fought shy of their own people.

This prevailing feeling distinguishes a large part of the Jewesses who have made their mark in the world. The daughters of a great, gifted race had nothing left for themselves. Even the marvellously versatile Sarah Bernhardt has played every part except that of the Jewess. Sometimes, as in the case of Emma Lazarus, the American poetess, the poignant tragedy of her people would awaken an echo of a forgotten past in her heart. There is indeed the consolation that what they took from their people they gave to the world. In this connection at least two Jewish protagonists of the enfranchisement of woman may be mentioned—Jenny Hirsch and Lina Morgenstern—whose work for the emancipation of their sex gives them an honourable place in the annals of the suffrage movement. The number of Jewish women who have been creative in art, science, and literature is legion, but of the greatest value to the emancipation of woman in Eastern Europe is the extraordinarily large number of Jewish girls there who have received an academic training and have entered the liberal professions, the most distinguished of them being probably the bacteriologist Lydia Rabinowitsch-Kempner. This preponderance of Jewish intellectual women, notably in Russia and Poland, has made them a revolutionary force, and, with all the ardour and generosity of their sex, they sacrificed themselves selflessly in the cause of freedom that led to the downfall of the Tsarist régime. Since the days when the Jewish girl Helfand, who was prominently implicated in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. in 1882, Russian Jewesses have been in the forefront in the struggle for liberty in that country. Dr. Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jewess, whose name came prominently before the world in connection with the Spartacist outbreaks in Germany, was a type of that revolutionary woman with a Jewish caste of features whose presence is so marked at all Socialist Congresses and similar gatherings. Of a different type are those Jewish women who have devoted themselves to the spiritual advancement of their people, of whom in England may be particularly mentioned the gifted novelist Grace Aguilar, and, of the present generation, Lady

Magnus, Alice Lucas, Nina Salaman, and the Hon. Lily H. Montagu.

In the general movement for the social amelioration of Jewish women, a number of Jewish women's organisations are working harmoniously together with other bodies formed for cognate objects, and in England the Union of Jewish Women and the Society for the Protection of Jewish Girls and Women are known far beyond the extent of their activities. But such organisations, existing all over Europe and America, are usually of a charitable and educational character, and it required the advent of Zionism to give to the Jewish woman complete scope for social and political expression. At the first Zionist Congress, opened on the 29th August, 1897, the full franchise was accorded to women in the Jewish National movement. It was an event which should be marked as a red-letter day in the history of woman suffrage. Henceforth, Jewesses have not only taken part in the elections, but have usually sent a considerable number of delegates to the Zionist Congresses. Zionism thus provides a valuable training ground for the political education of Jewish women, of which they have been taking increasing advantage. While they have hitherto been content to work on a footing of equality with men Zionists, though frequently in women's societies, it has been thought advisable for the more effective self-expression of women Zionists to establish separate women's organisations for this purpose.

In England there was recently formed the Federation of Women Zionists, comprising the Zionist Women's Societies in the United Kingdom, in order to take part in the reconstruction of Palestine as the Jewish national home, and to further the Jewish national consciousness in this country. It is the object of the Federation to promote in a Jewish Palestine all efforts for the welfare of women and children, social administration and legislation, both in the educational and industrial spheres, as well as agricultural and other undertakings for women and girls in a manner suited to local conditions. The Federation will attempt to adjust the special difficulties arising out of the clash between Oriental and Occidental conceptions and of other problems with which Jewish women in Palestine are faced. The position which a Jewish Palestine will occupy within the British sphere of influence places a special responsibility on Jewish women in England, both as regards their British citizenship and their Jewish solidarity.

In America the existence for some years past of a similar body of women Zionists, under the name of Hadassah, has enlisted wide support, and a medical unit which this organisation sent to Palestine some time ago gave a very favourable impression of the capacity of those who are at the head of it. Among them may be mentioned Miss Henrietta Szold, who has secured distinction in American Jewish literature, and Mrs. Mary Fels, an apostle of the Single Tax idea, whose identification with Zionist aims is a guarantee that righteousness and justice are to be the foundations of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Among other women Zionist bodies particular mention may here be made of the Jewish Women's League for Cultural Work in Palestine, an international organisation of Jewish women for the benefit of women and children in Palestine.

In Palestine itself, situated at the gates of the continents of Asia and Africa, still awaiting their reawakening, it is the enfranchised Jewish woman who is destined to lead the way to the higher life of woman, the mother of the race.

ROMANA GOODMAN.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

After the international socialists, the international women—the women who moved by the horror of war, set out to find each other at the Hague in 1915 have been only strengthened in their union of hearts by all that has happened since.

They met again in Zurich in May. In spite of the suffering common to all, in spite of the guilt of governments and the shame of peoples at what their rulers have done in their name, in spite of the suspense and fear for the future, it was with deep joy that pacifist women of the warring nations met each other. It was a source of strength and consolation to know that though in each country pacifists are a despised and persecuted minority, needing faith and courage to face the hostility of their own fellow countrymen, they have the true fellowship of kindred souls among the likened all over the world, and among their so-called "enemies." From each country women had similar tales to tell, of their own struggle against the herd instinct, of the effort to keep alive a sane and truthful judgment of events, of the Government's suppression of free

speech, of the dissemination of falsehood and the hiding of facts, of the propaganda of hate by which war is kept alive.

The conference sat for a week, transacted business and passed resolutions on the present international situation, resolutions which were telegraphed to the Peace Conference in Paris, and afterwards presented by a specially chosen delegation.

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All were united in demanding conditions that will make for peace; education on sound non-military lines, a decent and fair press, the removal of present economic conditions which foster war, a *real* League of Nations including *all* nations, general disarmament, and free and equal international relations. A comprehensive programme for future work was laid down, international, educational, economic, feminist.

The Board of officers was elected as follows:—Miss Jane Addams, president, Miss Emily Balch, organising secretary, U.S.A., Mme. Duchêne, France; Fr. Hertzka, Austria; Fr. L. G. Heymann, Germany; Miss Larssen, Denmark; Mlle. Gobat, Switzerland; Mrs. Swanwick, Great Britain; Miss Chrystal Macmillan; Mrs. Ramondt, Holland.

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