

WOMAN SUFFRAGE VICTORY IN INDIA.

With Supplement from the World's Young Women's Christian Association.

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THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS



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WORLD'S Y.W.C.A. SUPPLEMENT .. Centre Pages.

It is long since we had such a stirring suffrage victory to celebrate as that of the women of a large portion of Southern India. In Madras, Cochin, Travancore and Jahalwar (a small Indian State) women have been enfranchised on the same terms as men, and in Cochin they are also eligible for the Legislative Council. A great deal of the necessary propaganda work was carried out by the Women's Indian Association, which is provisionally affiliated to the I.W.S.A., and we must congratulate its leaders and workers on the magnificent success they have obtained. Mrs. Jinarajadasa writes that their efforts will now be turned to converting Bombay Presidency—and that work there has already begun. A suffrage resolution was brought forward in Bombay in March, but failed to pass as the drafter of the resolution had incorporated a clause making women eligible as councillors as well as voters. The Council considered that to pass such a resolution was outside its legal power, and in consequence the whole resolution was dropped. Another is to be brought forward in the next session, and since Woman Suffrage is an extraordinarily catching reform, we have little doubt that Bombay will soon follow the good example of those southern Indian States which have now recognised their women as full citizens.

We publish overleaf a letter from Madame de Witt Schlumberger to Mrs. Catt, explaining why it

is impossible to hold the I.W.S.A. Congress in Paris in 1922. All will regret that inevitable decision and the causes which compel it. All will also recognise that under the circumstances our French Auxiliary has made a wise decision. They have put the success of the Congress before their own strong personal desire to hold it in France. Our disappointment is great, but it can be as nothing compared to the disappointment of our French Auxiliary, which had already begun its preparations for our welcome. Though the Congress is withdrawn, the welcome from French suffragists is as warm as ever, and we and they must possess our souls in patience till 1924. Up to the time of going to press no decision has been reached as to the meeting-place of the 1922 Congress.

A LATE telegram informs us that the Canton of Vaud has again rejected Woman Suffrage on the grounds that women are not yet ready for the vote! In South Africa General Smuts announces that though he and others are in favour of this reform, he cannot promise a Government Bill, and that the women must not be too impatient about this reform. We imagine that when the news of the enfranchisement of Indian women reaches South Africa the woman there will feel quite considerably impatient. And do the gentlemen of Vaud really think that the Swiss woman is less politically ready than the woman of India?

LE CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DE 1922.

Chère Mrs. Catt.—C'est avec une véritable tristesse que je vous transmets aujourd'hui la résolution du Comité Central de l'Union française pour le Suffrage des Femmes concernant le Congrès International de 1922.

Nous nous faisons une véritable fête d'organiser à Paris ce Congrès, et nous nous réjouissons de recevoir ici les femmes éminentes du monde entier. Mais hélas, nous nous rendons compte aujourd'hui que les relations actuelles entre les peuples jadis belligérants sont encore trop tendues pour permettre au Congrès de se réunir à Paris.

L'opinion publique est encore trop nerveuse, trop irritable dans les pays récemment en guerre, pour que nous soyons absolument certaines de pouvoir éviter des incidents qui nous seraient pénibles et qui risqueraient de faire du tort à notre cause.

Nous sommes d'avis qu'il est indispensable, pour cette fois encore, de réunir le Congrès dans un pays neutre... à la Haye, par exemple, où se tournèrent jadis les regards anxieux de ceux qui voulaient éviter les guerres; la Haye qui fut le berceau de la Société des Nations.

Nous avons consulté M. Justin Godard, Délégué du Gouvernement français au Congrès de Genève, et il a pleinement approuvé notre résolution.

Le Comité de l'Union française pour le Suffrage des Femmes demande instamment que Paris reste choisi pour le Congrès de 1924.

Nous pensons, chère Mrs. Catt, que vous comprendrez, ainsi que les Sociétés auxiliaires de l'Alliance Internationale pour le Suffrage des Femmes, que seules la prudence et la sagesse nous ont dicté notre pénible décision.

Mrs. Corbet Ashby, venue de Londres sur notre demande, assistait au Comité; elle a compris et approuvé notre résolution.

Nous espérons que vous l'approuverez aussi, chère Mrs. Catt, et nous vous envoyons l'expression de nos sentiments d'affection sincère et dévouée.

Signé : MARGUERITE DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER.,
Présidente de l'Union française pour le Suffrage des Femmes.

Paris, le 14 mars 1921.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE BERMUDAS.

BERMUDA, or The Bermudas, is an isolated group of coral islands in the midst of the Atlantic, two days' voyage east from New York, and by no means part of the West Indies (as is often presumed), which lie far to the southwards. It is a cluster of 100 or more islands—fifteen or sixteen only inhabited, and mostly connected by bridges. The population in 1917 was 21,629, roughly 7,000 whites and 14,000 coloured.

It is an English Crown Colony, with a representative government, administered by a governor (military) appointed by the Crown, and advised by an Executive Council of six (forming the *Cabinet*), and a Legislative Council of nine (also appointed).

The House of Assembly (or Parliament) consists of thirty-six members elected every five years by 1,303 electors (male, white or black) having a freehold qualification of £60. No women vote, not even in local matters. At a recent meeting of freeholders which was called, Miss Misick (a member of the N.U.S.E.C. of Great

Britain) being one herself, attended, and vainly tried to induce other women to do so. No objection to her presence was raised, but on the next occasion the summons was made to "duly qualified freeholders."

The white ascendancy is jealously guarded. A clause in the Constitution provides that should the vote of the House of Assembly ever show a preponderance of coloured over whites, Bermuda would lose her representative Parliament, of which she is exceedingly proud, copying closely the Ministries and Secretaries of State of the Home Government. The admission of women freeholders to the vote would, however, strengthen the whites considerably.

In May, 1919, a prominent member of the House of Assembly—Mr. Spurling—moved for leave to bring in a Bill for Women's Enfranchisement. It was carried, with only three opposers, and a committee of three appointed with power to take legal advice and draft a Bill. No further progress has been made, however, though Miss Misick is told the Bill is being drafted.

The only women's organisation here is that of the "Daughters of the Empire," of which Miss Misick is an official.

We have just had a visit from a commissioner sent by the National Council for Combating Venereal Disease, consisting of two doctors and a secretary—i.e., Dr. Wright and Dr. Letitia Fairfield—who were given a very warm welcome, and spoke to several meetings. There was a mixed committee for the chief meeting in Hamilton, but a special woman's meeting which was to have been held on this side was so entirely neglected and unorganised, that it fell through and never came off, or might have been very useful.

Neither Miss Misick nor any of our friends had any intimation of it whatever, or we might have helped in the matter.

If there is any probability of a Bill being discussed in the House of Assembly this spring Miss Misick may be able to organise a meeting in support; or even to get one up on general feminist lines.

CATHERINE OSLER.

Boag Island, March 3, 1921.

Scandinavian Suffrage Meeting in Finland.

THE Scandinavian Suffrage Jury of Denmark, consisting of representatives from Dansk Kvinde-samfund (Danish Women's Federation) and Danske Kvinders National Raad (Danish Women's National Council), has been invited by the Finnish section of Scandinavian Suffrage Co-operation (Sam-organisation) to a Scandinavian Suffrage meeting to be held in Helsingfors about June 7.

This is the first time that the Finnish women have invited the Scandinavian women to a rendezvous in a free and independent Finland to inquire into matters of common interest. They are hoping for a large attendance and hospitably open their homes for the Scandinavian guests.

The undermentioned preliminary programme promises interesting days, which will throw light upon different questions:—

- (1) Improved education for the young girl to a position in life (profession).
- (2) The nationality of married women.
- (3) Admission of women to the Ministry.
- (4) Our Suffrage Programme. Lecture to be given by one of the delegates from each country.
- (5) Legislation in Marriage. Proposal from Denmark.
- (6) State grants to Parents. Proposal from Sweden.
- (7) Proposal from Norway. Alteration of Jury Service so that in cases concerning sexual morality the Lagret (a kind of jury, but with power only to give advice) is to consist of equal number of men and women.

Tideus Kvinder and Nylande.

April, 1921.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE VICTORY IN INDIA.

WOMEN OF MADRAS, TRAVANCORE, COCHIN AND JAHALWAR ENFRANCHISED.

YOU will be glad to know that South India has taken a great step towards democracy. Last

Friday, April 1, the Madras Legislative Council passed a resolution giving equal suffrage to the women of the Madras Presidency. A great deal of work had been done by the women previous to this. Notification of the resolution was given early in February by the mover, Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair. The resolution was as follows:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that the sex disqualification prescribed in sub-clause (b) of clause (1) in Rule 7 of the Madras Electoral Rules for registration on the electoral roll be removed in respect of women and that the qualifications which entitle men to vote be made applicable to women."

From this time a great educational campaign was begun in Madras, led by the Women's Indian Association. We got up public meetings in the different centres of Madras which were attended by large numbers of women. The meetings in the Georgetown district were specially enthusiastic, the women there not considering the vote sufficient but wanting to be allowed to stand for the Legislative Councils. One woman even suggested that if the resolution did not get through the Council the women of Madras should immediately start militant methods! In the provincial districts also several meetings were held and resolutions passed asking that the sex disqualification should be removed and the Krishnan Nair resolution passed. A letter was sent by the W.I.A., signed by representative women, to all the Council members asking them to support the resolution and also various deputations were arranged to meet the members of the Cabinet. The first one was to the Hon. Mr. K. Srinivasa Iyengar, Minister for Law. After that the Hon. Rao Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Naidu, Minister for Development, and later the other two Ministers also received a deputation.

It was interesting to notice the difference in the reception of our deputations here from the way the Suffrage deputations were received in England. There hordes of police came out to prevent the women approaching the Minister and the women were arrested and thrown into prison. Here, in India, everything was done to make it easy for the members of the deputation, the Ministers receiving us with the utmost courtesy and friendliness, and listening with grave attention to all the arguments put forth, and seriously and earnestly asking questions to gain the women's point of view. After the business of the deputation, refreshments were offered to the members! We also received an invitation to visit the Cosmopolitan Club, which is the chief men's club in Madras, where reside many of the Council members. We went there and met many of the members of the Legislative Council and they asked us questions and presented their difficulties. We had a long and most interesting and instructive conversation. Private members, of course, were also interviewed and asked to support the resolution when it came up. I wrote a short pamphlet embodying all the anti-suffrage arguments quite briefly, which was given to every member, and it was interesting to visit the Council Chamber to see this little brief pamphlet everywhere in the House, and members sitting in the Chamber reading it!

We did not find very much serious opposition, except from the Mohammedans. There was a great deal of interest shown, especially as it is a new thing for women in modern times to go forward and definitely take an active part in asking for some reform of this sort.

On the day of the debate a large number of women assembled in the Council Chamber. Two galleries in the best position in the House were reserved by the President of the Council for the use of women only. The debate lasted two hours and a half, and most excellent speeches were delivered. At the beginning of the discussion Sir Lionel Davidson announced on behalf of the Government that the Government as such would remain neutral, members being free to vote as they pleased, though he himself was against the vote being given to women, considering it premature. This latter argument was most ably answered by Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandara Rao in the course of the debate. The fact that members were left free helped us considerably, as if the Government had ordered its followers to vote against the Resolution, some of the members would have done so, even against their own convictions. The large majority of the Hindu members spoke for the Resolution. The only serious opposition came from the Mohammedans who all voted against the Resolution, though they had no arguments against it except that they wanted the women left alone. Their leader even wished that an amendment should be introduced especially to exclude Mohammedan women, which fortunately was not even brought up. Great excitement prevailed in the House at the time of division, which resulted in 47 voting for the Resolution, 13 against and 10 remaining neutral.

It is a splendid victory for Madras women and we are very proud of ourselves here to be the first Presidency to grant the suffrage to women. We always felt convinced that the Indian Legislative Councils would, on being asked, without much opposition accord suffrage to women. There is very little opposition here in India to women obtaining anything if they really want it. Of course, there are customs and prejudices to be overcome and many reforms needed; but if once a woman demands that something shall be done, that thing is done. I do not think that the men of India will oppose any desired progress on the part of women, if they once really asked for it. We hope that the Bombay Presidency will also give the suffrage to women during the hot weather session at Poona. The Resolution was brought up a short time ago in Bombay; but a clause was introduced asking that women should be Legislative Councillors. But as the Councils have no power to do this, the resolution had to be declared out of order. I think that there is no doubt that next time the Resolution is brought up it will pass.

In the Purdah districts of India matters will not be quite so easy, as there the demand on the part of the women is not great and the leading women are many of them working in the Non-co-operation movement. In three Indian States the suffrage has already been given to women. In Travancore, one of the most important of the Indian States, in Cochin, also an important State, women are going to be admitted to the Legislative Councils, in addition

to their being enfranchised. The smaller State of Jahalwar has also enfranchised the women. So we are now in South India in a better condition than what you are in England, as here we have equality in the franchise with men and in England you are still suffering from limitations. This rather explodes one of the old arguments that was once used in England against giving the English women the vote that "the people of India would not tolerate that women send representatives to the House of Commons which governed India."

DOROTHY JINARAJADASA,

Adyar, April, 1921.

Bombay Suffrage Resolution Defeated owing to Technical Mistake.

I AM sorry to say that a resolution was brought forward for the granting of Woman's Franchise by an Indian Member of the Council, in the Bombay Legislative Council, on March 21, 1921, but it was ruled out of order by the President, at the suggestion of the Honourable Mr. Havard.

His plea was this, that the resolution was worded in such a way that it seemed to convey two motives. One was to give to women the power to vote, and the other was to allow them to stand as councillors.

Objection was taken by the Honourable Mr. Havard to the second motive. He said that it was in the hands of Parliament only to let women be councillors, and the Legislative Council could only grant to women the power to vote.

A lively debate followed the resolution, some members voted for it and a few Conservative members were against it.

It is hoped that another resolution will be brought forward next session.

HERABAI A. TATA.

London, April 24, 1921.

WOMEN AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

WOMEN have been weighed in the balance by a certain section of opinion in the Church of England, and have been found wanting. From time to time news paragraphs in *JUS SUFFRAGI* have told us that women are coming into their own and are making good in the life of organised Christianity throughout the world. From U.S.A., Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, news has been given us recently. In the Church of England, too, history on this subject is being made very rapidly. In July of last year 252 Bishops from all parts of the world assembled to discuss questions of the day and their bearing on the life of the Church. The ministrations of women in the Church received careful consideration, and it was felt, especially by the Overseas's Bishops, that more and more women's influence and active work were desired in their dioceses.

The report of the Committee of Bishops makes very interesting reading, but attention, of course, centres upon the resolutions promulgated in the name of the whole conference.

Space will not permit the publication of these in full, but they most certainly should be read and studied in their entirety.

Resolutions 47-52 advocate the readmission of women to the diaconate, and among other functions with which the deaconess is to be entrusted is the

reading of morning and evening prayer, except such portions as are assigned to the priest only, and permission is also given her to instruct and exhort the congregation.

Resolution 53 lays down that opportunity should be given to duly qualified lay women (with the approval of the Bishop), to speak and pray at services other than the regular services of the Church.

This was a real step forward and the Lambeth Report was welcomed on all sides.

Then the storm broke. Threats of "direct action" were heard, and vague misgivings assailed the hearts of some of the Bishops. They evidently feared they had been too liberal, and while the Upper House of York Convocation passed a resolution embodying the principles of resolution 53, the Upper House of Canterbury, in an effort to placate a hostile minority of Church opinion, passed a similar resolution with the added phrase that such ministrations "are intended normally for congregations of women or of children."

The opposition became articulate in a petition organised by the English Church Union to the effect that—

"We the undersigned, women communicants of the Church of England, in accord with the fact that no part of the Catholic Church has recognised women as being capable of receiving the grace of Holy Order, desire to protest against the suggestion that they are capable of receiving that grace, and deprecate the endeavour that is being made to ignore this fact, and to allow women to preach or minister publicly in churches."

In the *English Church Union Gazette* the argument is put forward that the public ministry of women involves grave "danger," for while a man is exposed to similar dangers he receives the specific grace of Holy Order which controls and disciplines him. "In the case of a man we are sure the protective grace is there, in the case of a woman . . . we are sure that it cannot be there."

To many people it came as a distinct shock to learn that men and women could conceive of a God Who bestows graces on His sons that He deliberately withholds from His daughters.

The League of the Church Militant was asked at once to promote a memorial in support of the Lambeth resolutions, and all communicants of the Church of England who may read this are earnestly invited to sign and to assist in making it known. It reads:—

"We, the undersigned, communicant members of the Church of England, affirm and assert the principles of the Catholic Church as to the fundamental equality of all baptised persons, and we entirely repudiate the assertion that any Christian soul is considered on grounds of sex incapable of receiving any Christian gift or grace. We strongly urge that the Lambeth Conference resolutions on the ministrations of women in the Church shall be put into practice forthwith, without limitation or hindrance."

Services have been held and sermons preached by women in several churches, notably at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, where a woman preacher at the Thursday mid-day service has become an almost regular feature. Miss Maude Royden conducted the three hours' service at this church on Good Friday. The Bishop had not given his permission, but as the only reason stated for withholding it was that she was a woman, Miss Royden felt it would have been "a great act of betrayal of all women" if she had not accepted the Rector's invitation. The Fellowship Services at Kensington Town Hall still draw large crowds hungering for the spiritual message Miss Royden has to give.

It was proposed to open a theological bureau for information as to the training available and opportunities open for women in the church, but the

scheme is not yet in working order, as up to the time of writing sufficient financial support has not been promised.

Literature recently published by the L.C.M. is of exceptional interest. It deals with the position of women in the church from the historical standpoint as well as in its application to modern needs. A detailed list would encroach too much on valuable space, but mention must be made of sermons and pamphlets by Miss Maude Royden, a study circle outline on the Lambeth resolutions, and pamphlets and leaflets by Miss Picton Turbervill, Miss Gilchrist and others, on the diaconate and lay position of women. The League also published the full report and resolutions of the Lambeth Conference on the Ministrations of Women in the Church (7d. post free), to which reference has been made above.

An interesting venture was started in March. Owing to a growing desire that the contribution to the religious thought of the age made by the Fellowship sermons should be preserved in some permanent form, the L.C.M. decided to issue a monthly supplement containing three of Miss Royden's sermons. This supplement has been given a warm welcome by all interested in the development of women's work in the world.

The L.C.M. is anxious to get into touch with Overseas correspondents who are interested in the Ministry of Women, and Miss Rodgers, the Overseas Secretary, is always glad to hear items of news as to the position of women in the Councils of the Church and in other departments of Church life.

To women very largely in the past has credit been due for the maintenance of organised religion throughout the world. Women have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for so long that it is high time that they should be given greater opportunities for service and responsibility in all branches of the Church's life. A woman who has received a call to the diaconate or to exercise the prophetic gift will no longer be content to be a "holy housemaid," and the eyes of women of all nations will be turned with sympathy and understanding towards those pioneers in the Church of England who are slowly entering into their kingdom.

E. LOUIE ACRES.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Presentation to Parliament of the Monster Petition for the Enfranchisement of Women.

54,500 SIGNATURES.

ONE of the most representative deputations that have ever waited upon the Government of this country," said the Prime Minister (General Smuts) recently, when addressing the ladies gathered in the Conference Chamber of the House of Assembly to present petitions in favour of the enfranchisement of the women of the Union. Those who saw the procession in its progress from the Old Cathedral Hall to the House of Assembly, and noted the hundreds of prominent ladies from the four Provinces who were taking part in it, would realise that the Prime Minister in no way overstated the case.

Amongst the ladies present in the Conference room were:—

Lady Rose-Innes, Lady Steel (Natal), Lady De Villiers, Lady De Waal, Countess Von Moltke, Lady Beattie, Lady Viljoen (Elgin), Lady Smith, Lady Phillips, Lady Smartt, Lady Watt, Mrs. Erasmus (Bloemfontein), Mrs. Krige (Caledon), Mrs. Blackwell (Women's Reform Club, Johannesburg), Mrs. Nixon (Johannesburg), Mrs. Thoday, Mrs. Johnston (President W.C.T.U.), Miss Solomon, Mrs. Colin Steyn (Free State), Miss Johnstone-Scott (Free State), Mrs. Leslie Blackwell (Transvaal),

Mrs. Weiner (President National Council of Women), Mrs. John Christie (Mayoress of Johannesburg), Mrs. Mary Fitzgerald (Deputy Mayor, Johannesburg), Mrs. Kish (Johannesburg), Mrs. Lowe (President, Co-Operative Women's Guild), Mrs. Carter (wife of Gen. Carter), Mrs. Adrian Corbett (Somerset West), Mrs. Flint (Rhodesia), Mrs. Robinson (Nairobi), Mrs. Thoday (England), Miss Delf (Australia).

Mr. Jagger, in introducing the deputation, said the ladies were representative of all parts of the Union of South Africa.

Lady Rose-Innes introduced to the Prime Minister the heads of the deputation from each Province as they presented the petitions. She read the following letter from Mrs. Botha: "My heartiest greetings. May your endeavour to obtain the franchise for the womanhood of South Africa be crowned with success."

Lady Steel, the President of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union, presented petitions bearing 54,500 signatures. These petitions asked that the women of the Union should be enfranchised. By doing so the Union of South Africa would be brought into line with most of the civilised nations of the world.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY.

General Smuts, in reply, said: I think I am quite right in saying that this is one of the most representative deputations that has ever seen a Government in this country. I look upon you as having come here with a very serious object, and with a cause which, not only in this country, but all over the world, is recognised as one of the great causes. You need not make any effort to convince me about the rightness of your cause; I have been convinced long ago. I am one of those who for years was doubtful about this very grave issue, because it is quite possible to conceive many arguments against women's franchise, which have been used and exploited to the full, and I, years ago, when I was less experienced, was impressed by the weight of those arguments, but I have come to recognise that those arguments do not weigh up against the tremendous force, not of argument, but of truth, which there is on the other side. I think the case for women's franchise has passed beyond the region of argument.

If there is one matter which has been more emphasised than any other by the great events through which the world has passed during recent years, it is that women must bear their weight with men in the world if the world is to be righted again. The old man-made world, what has become of it? The old man-made world lies buried on the ruins of the battlefields of Europe, and if we want to see a better world, if we want to rise again from the ruin which we have ourselves inflicted on the world, then I am sure that that resurrection will not be due merely to the efforts of men, but also to the combined efforts of men and women. Therefore, I am entirely in sympathy with the great object which you are here for to-day and with the cause which you are advocating.

I also think there is another reason. It is not only the ruin which we have brought on the world and out of which you must help us in the future, but I think there is another very strong reason for the case you have made out for the participation of women in future in public affairs. The politics of the world are undergoing a very fundamental change. Social questions are coming to the fore much more than they have done in the past. We have in the past looked upon the task of politics as of a different character. We are coming more and more to see that the true province of legislation is social questions—improvement of the social and moral and economic conditions of the people, the conditions under which citizens are born and brought up, the conditions under which they live and discharge their duties as citizens, male and female, and in proportion as it is recognised that the true function of legislation in the future is social questions the more it will be apparent that men alone cannot do that work and discharge that function. When you look at social questions, questions of right living, right doing, right

arranging of our order in life, then women have as important a say as, and perhaps a more important say in many respects than men have.

If you look at our legislation in recent years you will see that these social and economic questions are rapidly coming to the fore, and on these questions we want women to have their voice, and have their voice not in private, not by argument at home with their husbands and brothers and friends, but we want them to have their voice officially and properly in the council chambers of the nation.

Your cause is great, it is a great cause all over the world. We have been lagging behind in South Africa, it is true, but remember that the women in South Africa have always occupied a much better position than women occupy in the old world. Here in South Africa women have taken an honourable part, an equal part with men in all the great things in life, and I do not see why in due time your position in South Africa should not be consummated by your participation in the public life of the country.

I never make promises, and I am not going to make a promise to-day. I am going to tell you what has happened in regard to this question so far. You remember that during last session a Bill was brought before Parliament by Mr. D. M. Brown. Towards the end of the session, after it became clear that that Bill would not become law, a number of members from different parties in the House who were interested in this question saw me, and we had a little conference to discuss the question as to how we should set about this matter for the future.

After discussion we were agreed that the only way to put through this great far-reaching measure of reform was not to make it a Government measure, for as soon as you make it a Government measure it tends almost inevitably to become a party measure and party capital is made out of it.

The position is this—that in all parties you have large numbers of earnest men in Parliament who are for women's franchise. You have in all parties also a number of men who are opposed to women's franchise; and, therefore, you can see that it would be eminently wrong and probably disastrous to make this a party question, and make the Bill embodying this great reform a Government Bill. We were agreed at our conference that the measure should be brought forward before the House by a private member, so as to obtain the largest support possible from all sides of the House and so as not to run the risk of being looked upon as a party measure.

I hope this Bill will be forthcoming. So far as the Government is concerned it is not united on this question. Governments seldom are united on big questions. On this question it is common cause that we are not united. The Government is prepared as far as possible, with the exigencies of our Parliamentary time, to help by giving time and otherwise. Those members of the Government who, like myself, are in favour of this measure will help it, and see whether it is not possible to carry it through this session.

I say it depends on the length and exigencies of the business of this session. We will give this Bill, which is going to embody your cause, every chance and every opportunity. That is all the Government can do, and that will be done.

For the rest, as I have said, you need not address your missionary enterprise to me, but address it to the country, and address it mostly to the women of this country. I think you will find that the men of this country are really more convinced and more prepared to give the franchise to women than probably the majority of women in this country are to receive it. I think you have made a great deal of progress, and if you continue to work along these lines, and look not merely to Parliament, but to the growing public opinion in this country, you are sure to succeed, and probably at an early date. I hope your efforts in this matter will meet with the success they deserve.

Woman's Outlook, April, 1921.

ITALY.

The Dissolution of Parliament.

AS we had foreseen, Parliament has been dissolved and the new elections are to be held on May 15. For the second time a Suffrage Bill, after being approved by a great majority of votes in the Lower Chamber, has been shelved owing to the dissolution of Parliament. It is really grievous, but this time we have not lost very much, and our disappointment has not been so great as in 1919. The Bill which should have been passed by the Senate was only intended to give us the Municipal Suffrage, so that we should still have to fight in order to obtain the political franchise.

Nevertheless there is one reason for which the dissolution of Parliament seems to be a loss for us. It very seldom happens that an extension of the suffrage (as all electoral laws) comes under discussion at the very outset of the session; if 11,000,000 of women were given the vote, the members elected only by men could not be considered as the true representatives of the country, and it would be possible for a Party or for the Government itself to obtain the dissolution of the Chamber, especially after the present dissolution which was asked for by the Government for the reason (or the pretence) that new elections had to take place in the new provinces. No politician is willing to commit suicide!

For this reason we think that it will be very difficult to have a new Suffrage Bill discussed for quite a couple of years, unless a Party has an interest in it—which is not likely to be the case.

In the last Chamber there was a great number of Socialists and Catholics. It is thought that the new elections will give a great majority to the other parties, and that the number of Socialist and Catholic members will form a half or two-thirds of their present numbers. In a very short time it may be to the interest of both these parties to dissolve Parliament and to secure a great number of new electors who (for the first time at least) will vote for both the extreme left and right parties.

Nevertheless our present condition is a very sad one, and we are planning to start a new Suffragist campaign.

An Appeal to the Senators.

Before the dissolution of Parliament the Suffragists of Milan and other towns addressed an appeal to the Senators, asking them to discuss as soon as possible the Suffrage Bill which had passed the Lower Chamber. The dissolution of Parliament made it impossible for them to do so, but we now intend to change the appeal, which had been addressed privately to each Senator, into a petition as soon as the Senate meets again.

Electoral Campaign Started by the Suffragists.

In Milan the electoral campaign has been started by a big Suffragist meeting which took place on Saturday the 16th. The meeting was attended by a great number of women, and addressed by Mr. Jasparratto, M.P., and by several women. No other politician was invited, for though all the members for Milan had promised to help women to get the vote during the session, they had in nowise attempted to fulfil the promise!

Very strong speeches were delivered against them for having deceived the women.

New Liberal Party.

A big Congress of all the Liberal Associations of Italy was held in Rome on April 15 and 16, in order to organise the Liberal Party. In fact, the Liberals were not yet organised as a political party, but they had a great number of big and little associations without any connection between them. The women's political associations were invited to attend the Congress, and Mrs. Besso from Rome appealed to the new party to help the women to obtain the vote. The chairman, Mr. Luzzatti, an old Suffragist, promised that the new party would secure for the women the political franchise. But no mention of women's suffrage can be read in the programme of the new party.

April 23, 1921.

M. ANCONA.

EQUAL PAY AND RIGHT TO WORK SECTION.

THE INDUSTRIAL WOMAN AND PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION.

[The Geneva Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (June, 1920) laid down the policy of the Alliance with regard to the position of women in industry in a resolution demanding "recognition of the right to work of both married and unmarried women and that no special regulations for women's work different from regulations for men should be imposed contrary to the wishes of women themselves, and that laws relative to women as mothers should be so framed as not to handicap them in their economic position." We quote this resolution, which was first quoted by the writer of the previous Notes on the Position of Women in Industry. In the following article Mrs. Maud Swartz, of the National Women's Trade Union League, supports the protection of women in industry and the limitation of their hours of work. "Phylax" will answer Mrs. Swartz's article in the June number of *JUS SUFFRAGII*. The Editor hopes that others will contribute their views on this subject—one of the most vital and most controversial of the many equality subjects on the programme of the Alliance.—E.P.]

I CAN'T help wishing the lady with the Greek name (at least it is Greek to me) would adopt some name that working women could read as long as she elects to speak with authority on women in industry. I am much interested to know whether the lady with the Greek name speaks for the International Woman Suffrage Alliance paper or is she just speaking for herself. That is important.

In order to clarify this whole question we must begin by distinguishing between professional and semi-professional women and the plain industrial worker. The first has no restrictive legislation in the United States and no one wants to give her any. However, I cannot be too emphatic when I differentiate between these two classes of women workers. As industrial workers we have practically no future. We are "hands," and for lack of education, environment, the very necessities of industry itself, the vast majority of us will remain "hands." We find that restrictions, instead of curtailing our liberty and opportunity, give us a chance to some freedom. Without a strong union we are absolutely at the mercy of our employers. As you say, it is extremely difficult to organise the poorly paid workers. Restriction of hours and minimum wage laws take from us the necessity of being forced to cut each other's and our brothers' throats. Short hours by law and minimum wage laws will make girls less tired, less harassed, happier, more ready to listen, therefore better subjects for the trade union to talk to. You talk of the vicious circle of unequal pay, bad conditions, low wages, and then you appear to attribute it to restrictive legislation. The facts in this country are that in many cases restrictive legislation is about the only thing that saves hundreds of thousands of women from low wages. Do you think that unrestricted competition between men and women workers is what will benefit women workers? We are not seeking any more opportunities to cut our brothers' throats than the employer already takes care that we shall have.

Of course, we believe in "equally good human conditions in industry for men and women." But do you want millions of us to suffer all the unnecessary hardships for many more years to come because society is not yet ready to recognise "human" conditions for men? Do you realise all the "human" conditions we have brought about for our brothers who are working with us, and how much we have educated society to the need for humanity in industry through our efforts and through what we have gained? We also want men to be protected by law and more and more the working men in this country are turning to the law for protection.

Of course, we realise that a few women here and there are handicapped by protective legislation, but what is that against the happiness and welfare of half a million women? Every law for the good of the many has injured a few. In our State of New York a woman legislator (who, of course, is a professional woman), has been seized with this feminist "bug," and is trying to destroy our night-work law for women. A large group of working women of many trades and representing over

sixty thousand working women affected by these laws went to her home and insisted that she withdraw the bill.

It is not true that restrictive legislation has restricted the opportunity of the industrial worker. In our State opportunities for women have increased tenfold in the past years although we have more restrictive legislation than any other really industrial State in the Union. New Jersey, our next-door neighbour, a great industrial competitor, has no night law for women, and only a sixty-hour limit per week. Wages there are miserably low for women, hours are inhumanly long, and conditions all round are much worse than in New York State. Bad employers have a habit of moving to New Jersey, but there is no sign that the poor, tired foreign women there seem to be revelling in their equal opportunities.

Women are not cheap because of restrictive legislations. They are cheap because women worked so many centuries for nothing. Now they are awfully glad to get anything at all. It will take us all a long time to get away from this age-long idea. They are cheap because the great majority are not supporters of family, and are paid as individuals. They are cheap because they are mostly transient in industry, as the great majority in our country leave before they are 25 to be married—therefore they are only slightly interested in industry, and consider marriage as their real calling.

We think that the woman of education with a chance to advance should have a fair field and no favours, as she really is obliged to compete with man for the race and the prize. There is no race and no prize with us. We are the hewers of wood of the world—one in a million of us steps out. We are not pining for the liberty of being more exploited than we are. We are not afraid employers will not want our work. That is what they say each time we wrest a little concession from them. But they employ more and more of us in better and better jobs, legislation or no legislation. We are good workers, faithful and honest and too obedient, and then we are cheap—but not because we have protective legislation.

You say, "in a world gasping for production, a tragic example of sheer waste is the disuse or misuse of women's work." The world is not gasping for production, but for proper distribution. There are millions of pounds of everything put away in our warehouses, yet millions of us are unemployed. We do not need more production, but a more intelligent distribution. Chambers of Commerce in the United States are always making such statements, but we pay no attention to them any more. As an industrial worker for many years, I would like to say just this word: "Please go slowly—do not take away lightly what it has cost the woman worker so much to get until you have something which you are reasonably sure is at least just as good."

MAUD SWARTZ,

Secretary New York Women's Trade Union League.

Secretary International Working Women's Congress.

March 22, 1921.

NOUVELLES FÉMINISTES.

Victoire suffragiste aux Indes.

Nous célébrons ce mois-ci la première victoire des femmes de l'Est. Le 1^{er} avril le Conseil législatif de Madras passa une résolution donnant le même droit de vote aux femmes et aux hommes de la Présidence de Madras. Les femmes de l'Association féministe des Indes avaient organisé une véritable campagne pour l'éducation de la Présidence de Madras, et plusieurs grandes assemblées publiques, également organisées par l'Association, s'étaient montrées tout à fait en faveur du suffrage pour les femmes. Le Ministre de la Loi, le Ministre de l'Éducation publique et deux autres Ministres faisant partie du Cabinet reçurent les députations.

La résolution, qui aboutit à si bonne fin, fut proposée par Dewan Bahadur M. Krishna Nair. Le Gouvernement resta neutre, donnant ainsi aux membres du Conseil pleine liberté de voter selon leur désir. Si le Gouvernement avait agi autrement et avait avisé certains de leurs partisans de voter contre cette résolution il est probable qu'un certain nombre auraient suivi cet avis.

La discussion dura deux heures et demie, et après beaucoup d'agitation parmi les membres de la Chambre en allant aux voix il se trouva une majorité de 47 votes pour le suffrage — 13 contre et 10 membres restèrent neutres.

La seule opposition sérieuse fut faite par les membres mahométans du Conseil, qui demandèrent à faire un amendement qui priverait les femmes mahométanes du vote. Heureusement il ne fut plus question de l'amendement.

Le Travancore, le Cochin et le Jahalwar, trois États indiens, ont aussi accordé le vote aux femmes. Dans le Cochin, les femmes sont éligibles pour le Conseil législatif.

A Bombay une résolution pour le suffrage féministe fut rejetée. La cause de cette défaite fut plutôt causée par une faute technique dans la rédaction de la résolution que par une conviction contre le principe. Si le Gouvernement reste neutre à Bombay, il y a bon espoir que le suffrage sera voté cet été.

Il est à espérer que certaines contrées de l'Ouest se montreront au niveau de l'Est en donnant le vote aux femmes. Voici un des grands États des Indes qui adopte le suffrage avant certains pays de l'Europe. C'est presque incroyablement, et nous nous réjouissons de ce succès plus que magnifique.

Afrique du Sud.—Une énorme pétition a été présentée au Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud, signée par 54,000 personnes, hommes et femmes de l'Union. En recevant la pétition, le Général Smuts fit un discours très éloquent en faveur du suffrage, mais ayant soin de ne rien promettre de la part du Gouvernement. Il se pourrait que le bon exemple de Madras et des autres États des Indes aient un effet salutaire sur le Parlement de l'Afrique du Sud.

Allemagne.—Quoique le nombre de femmes membres du Reichstag soit tombé à 33, il est à remarquer que le nombre de femmes dans les Parlements des différents États a beaucoup augmenté. Dans la Prusse il y a 41 femmes M.P. En Saxe cinq femmes au lieu d'une. En Mecklenburg-Schwérin deux au lieu d'une. Dans certains États du Parlement le nombre reste le même qu'auparavant et dans d'autres, par exemple le Wurtemberg, Baden et Thuringen, le nombre a diminué.

Nous n'avons pas encore reçu le résultat final des élections. Les électeurs conservatifs et les socialistes radicaux sont surtout responsables pour le nombre grandissant des femmes M.P., tandis que la bourgeoisie démocratique, à laquelle la plupart des membres suffragistes appartiennent, n'a pas obtenu autant de votes aux scrutins.

Le nouveau code pénal est rédigé, et il est inclus quelques-unes des réformes proposées par les femmes. L'âge des enfants jadis punis à 12 ans sera désormais

14 ans (les femmes avaient désiré qu'ils ne soient punis qu'à 16 ans). Les femmes d'ivrognes sont mieux protégées.

Par rapport aux fautes sexuelles, la loi s'est renforcée surtout en ce qui concerne le trafic des femmes et l'encouragement de la prostitution sous toutes ses formes. Les filles sont mieux protégées contre la séduction, surtout par leurs maîtres ou patrons, et la même protection est donnée aux filles imbeciles. L'âge de consentement à la séduction reste encore à 14 ans et dans certains cas à 16 ans. Les femmes avaient demandé que l'âge de consentement serait 16 ans, et dans certains cas, si l'homme profitait de sa position ou de son autorité, à l'âge de 18 ans. Le nouveau code pénal n'abolit pas la loi qui force les prostituées de s'inscrire au registre, sous peine de prison. Il est cependant probable que cette clause serait rayée du code pénal et considérée dans une loi qui, en combattant les maladies vénériennes, abolit sans doute à abolir le système d'inscription adopté jusqu'à présent.

Bermudes.—En mai 1919 la Chambre des représentants (House of Assembly) des Bermudes fut d'accord pour rédiger une loi pour l'affranchissement des femmes. Cette question fut confiée à un comité composé de trois personnes, qui devait s'occuper d'étudier la chose ; mais depuis lors on n'en parle plus.

Bulgarie.—Les résolutions du Comité exécutif ont été présentées à notre comité, qui les a approuvées et qui fera son possible pour s'y conformer.

Comme nous avons déjà eu l'honneur de vous écrire, nous avons demandé une entrevue à M. le ministre président pour lui présenter la lettre de Madame Chapman Catt. N'ayant pas reçu de réponse, nous lui avons envoyé la lettre en question, accompagnée d'une autre de notre Conseil, avec laquelle nous le prions de soumettre à la Chambre une proposition législative pour accorder aux femmes le droit du suffrage.

Notre Union reprend peu à peu sa vie normale, mais nous avons toujours à lutter contre de nombreuses difficultés, surtout financières. Malgré cela nous avons la joie de vous annoncer que cinq sociétés de femmes se sont affiliées cette année à notre conseil.

Le 29 mai nous allons célébrer le vingtième anniversaire de la fondation des Femmes bulgares. Ce jour il y aura des matinées artistiques et des conférences sur la question féministe dans toutes les villes où ils existe des sociétés affiliées.

France.—Le féminisme a bien des façons diverses de se manifester, et ce n'est pas uniquement en réclamant le droit de vote que l'on peut mettre en valeur l'importance de la femme.

Nous y travaillons aussi à Paris en préparant l'Exposition de la Maternité et de l'Enfance qui s'ouvrira le 15 juin dans les pavillons et dans toute l'étendue du Jardin d'Acclimatation.

Grouper et faire mieux connaître les différentes œuvres se rapportant à la mère et à l'enfant au-dessous de 13 ans, rehausser la valeur et l'importance nationales de la mère au point de vue social ; rappeler que la mère française est la meilleure et la plus importante créancière de la France, c'est du féminisme auquel travaillent volontiers les personnes même les moins suffragistes, et nous ne discutons pas avec elles, car nous pensons en nous-mêmes : "Faites connaître l'importance nationale de toutes les œuvres destinées à aider et protéger la mère et l'enfant, vous travaillez pour la femme et vous démontrez l'importance de son rôle, vous travaillez sans le vouloir pour le suffrage."

L'Exposition de la Maternité et de l'Enfance se subdivisera en cinq grandes divisions :

Première Section. — La Mère et l'Enfant dans l'Art et dans l'Histoire, avec des Peintures, des Sculptures, des Costumes, des Berceaux, des Collections de Jouets anciens et nouveaux.

Deuxième Section. — La Natalité, la Maternité, l'Enfance. C'est là qu'un Comité de Dames Patronesses

(La suite à la page 121.)

et un Comité de Travail, présidés par Madame de Witt Schlumberger, groupent toutes les œuvres sociales s'occupant de la Mère et de l'Enfant :

Maisons de maternité recueillant la mère après la naissance.

Mutualités maternelles.

Cantines maternelles.

Dispensaires d'enfants.

Crèches — Garderies d'enfants.

Gouttes de lait — Consultations de nourrissons.

Jardins d'enfants — Éducation Montessori.

Sanatoria et Préventoria.

Colonies de vacances — Écoles de plein air.

Centres d'élevage et de puériculture — Pouponnières.

Recrutement et formation du personnel pour les œuvres d'enfants.

Lutte contre la mortalité infantile.

Œuvres d'assistance, Éducation, Morale.

Troisième Section. — L'aide sociale dans la Grande industrie indiquant les efforts sociaux des grands industriels en faveur des familles nombreuses et du sursalaire familial, etc.

Quatrième Section. — Comité des Fêtes — Concerts et Conférences sociales de tout genre — Distractions et amusements pour les enfants.

Cinquième Section. — Commerce et industrie concernant les produits alimentaires et les spécialités pour enfants.

Nous comptons sur un grand succès pour cette Exposition, et nous espérons que, par son groupement d'œuvres et d'idées, elle sera grandement instructive pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'Enfant qui est la joie de la maison et l'espoir du pays, et à la Mère qui est la ressource suprême de la nation.

Le 25 avril.

Grande-Bretagne.—Un grand pèlerinage national aura lieu en juin. Des pèlerins de tous les coins de l'Angleterre se rendront à Londres, où une énorme assemblée se tiendra dans Hyde Park, le 25 juin.

Le 6 juin on présente à la Chambre la loi sur la tutelle à titre égal pour le père et pour la mère. Voici les points essentiels de cette loi : La mère est tutrice en commun avec le père et elle a la même autorité que lui, les mêmes droits et la même responsabilité envers l'enfant.

Le parent d'un enfant est responsable de l'entretien de cet enfant en proportion et d'après les moyens à sa disposition. La même responsabilité existe si les parents vivent ensemble ou séparément et le travail que fait la mère dans son intérieur pour l'enfant est considéré comme étant sa part des frais à faire pour l'entretien de l'enfant. La mère a le droit de nommer, pendant sa vie, une personne qui prendrait sa place avec le père pour la tutelle de l'enfant, après sa mort.

Italie.—Le Parlement a été renversé et de nouvelles élections auront lieu le 15 mai. Pour la seconde fois, une loi du suffrage après avoir été votée par la majorité dans la Chambre inférieure se trouve mise de côté par la dissolution du Parlement. Les suffragistes craignent qu'il se passera au moins deux ans avant qu'une autre loi n'ait la chance d'être votée, à moins cependant que l'un ou l'autre des partis n'épouse la cause des femmes suffragistes. Avant la dissolution du Parlement les femmes suffragistes de Milan et d'autres villes de l'Italie adressèrent un appel au Sénat demandant aux sénateurs de discuter la loi du suffrage déjà votée par la Chambre inférieure.

Vu la dissolution du Parlement, cette supplique sera envoyée maintenant à chaque sénateur, sous forme de lettre.

Le 16 avril une grande réunion suffragiste eut lieu à Milan. Parmi les orateurs se trouvait M. Caparotto, M.P.

Norvège.—Une députation de femmes membres du Conseil national des femmes norvégiennes a présenté une requête au président du Storting, lui demandant de donner son appui pour que les femmes puissent faire partie du clergé.

Grèce.—La commission chargée de la Revision de la Constitution a inclus le suffrage pour femmes parmi leurs propositions de réformes.

Suède.—L'Association suffragiste des femmes suédoises s'est réunie pour la dernière fois le 29 mars et a célébré leur victoire. Il fut proposé à la réunion que l'Association suffragiste s'amalgamerait avec le Fréderika-Buemer-Forbundet, qui est une des sociétés principales s'occupant des droits de la femme. Ce plan fut abandonné et Madame Holmgren proposa qu'une nouvelle association serait formée qui mettrait à part toute idée de partis politiques, et ayant comme objectif l'éducation de la femme électeur. Cette société serait affiliée à l'Alliance internationale des femmes (I.W.S.A.). On décida finalement qu'un comité serait nommé par le bureau central de l'Association suédoise des femmes suffragistes, pour entretenir les relations nécessaires avec le I.W.S.A.

Une ligue, dite Femmes citoyennes, a aussi été organisée pour travailler à l'égalité des deux sexes et à l'éducation des femmes électeurs.

SUISSE.

Les Conventions de Washington et les Femmes Suisses.

Le fait d'intérêt féministe le plus saillant du mois d'avril chez nous a été la discussion par l'une des Chambres de notre Parlement fédéral (Conseil National) des Conventions internationales de Washington. Notre pays, étant membre de la Société des Nations, avait à ratifier ou à refuser son adhésion à ces dispositions législatives internationales, dont quelques-unes présentaient un si grand intérêt pour les femmes. Et comme cela arrive toujours là où les femmes ne sont pas encore électrices, tous les débats ont eu lieu sans que le point de vue des femmes ait été simplement mentionné. Pire encore : le Conseil fédéral (gouvernement) avait fait plusieurs propositions de ratification ou de refus des Conventions de Washington, et pour ces propositions, résultant d'études préalables faites par des Commissions d'experts, on n'a jamais demandé l'avis des femmes ! C'est là véritablement un exemple frappant de la désinvolture avec laquelle on se passe de notre opinion sur des sujets qui nous touchent cependant de très près !

Nous reviendrons une autre fois sur ces débats, et sur ce qu'ils ont présenté d'intéressant pour nous.

JAPAN.

MRS. GAUNTLETT writes on March 16 from Tokio: "We are pushing forward slowly but steadily. There is another Women's Society under way and is expected to complete its organisation in the near future. It ultimately aims at taking suffrage as its main work."

In *Life and Labour* for March Mrs. Tanaka, who was Japanese delegate to the International Washington Congress of Working Women, writes: "... There are beginnings of small societies of women according to occupations, such as work exchanges and an association among the typists called 'Love of Labour.' Not directly connected with labour, there are many associations among the women of new thought and ideals... 'Shin-fujin Ryokwai'—the New Women's Alliance—of which I am a member, is trying to push Woman Suffrage."

The Y.W.C.A. monthly also reports that there is a Bill under discussion in the Japanese House of Representatives, which would nullify the law prohibiting women from joining political associations or attending political meetings.

April 29, 1921.

BELGIUM.**Women admitted to Legal Profession.**

THE *Times*, of London, reports that on April 27 the Belgian Chamber of Deputies passed, with only one dissident, a Bill authorising women to practise as lawyers.

April 28, 1921.

GREECE.**Woman Suffrage Recommended by Grand Commission.**

THE *Times* (April 23) reports that Woman Suffrage has been adopted by the Grand Commission for the Revision of the Greek Constitution.

GERMANY.

DURING last winter new elections for most of the German State Parliaments took place. While the number of woman members in the new Reichstag had diminished, compared with the elections to the National Assembly in 1919 (33 instead of 39), the total of the woman members in the State Parliaments seems to have increased. For instance, 47 women (instead of 21 at the first elections) have been elected to the Prussian Diet, six (instead of four) in Saxony, five (instead of one) in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, two (instead of one) in Brunswick. In some States the number is the same as it was before—in Bavaria eight, in Hamburg 17; in others it has gone back—in Württemberg to eight (instead of 13), in Baden to seven (instead of nine), in the new State of United Thüringen to two (instead of 12 altogether in the eight former single States). When all the elections have taken place and the lists are published I shall give a definite account. So far as can be seen, now, the percentage of the women members in the State Diets differs from 5 to 10 per cent., and as a rule their increasing number is due to the proportionately increased number of the Conservative and of the Radical Socialist voters, the former being represented in the German People's and the German National Party, the latter in the Independent Socialist and the Communist Party, while the Democratic middle-class party to which most leaders and members of the woman's and especially of the suffrage movement belong, has been much less successful than at the first elections with woman suffrage. The old question of women's lists is therefore, and also for other reasons, coming up again from time to time. But the many difficulties which lie chiefly with the women themselves—their masses would resist any organisation outside of the political parties—would make it impossible to carry such plans into practice.

The draft of a new Penal Code for Germany, which was worked out by prominent criminologists many years since, has been issued. It was preceded in 1909 by a so-called preliminary draft (Vorentwurf), which then had called forth a protest not only from the criminologists of a modern school, who soon afterwards published a controversial draft (Gegentwurf), but also the feminist women's organisations. In the first place, it was the National Council of Women who had in many petitions and memoranda laid down their views and claims from the women's standpoint. We are glad to state that this new draft in many directions meets our wishes—though by no means all. As a whole, its characteristic feature is the modern social spirit that will always consider not only the deed but also the personality and psychology of the accused, his or her environment and origin, social, moral and intellectual conditions, and therefore very often will provide for social, educational or sanitary measures, instead of punishment. The age of punishment for children, which until now was 12 years, is raised to 14 years (not to 16, as the women had claimed), and sufficient protection is provided for the wife and family of a drunkard against his outrages.

In respect to sexual offences also a great progress on the line of our claims is visible. The new paragraphs dealing with traffic in women and with furtherance and support of prostitution in any form are rather severe, and will bring the necessary clearness into this most complicated matter. The law also contains a better protection for the employee against assaults of her employer, for the weak-minded or in other way helpless women against misuse, for all those who socially or economically are dependent on their seducers. But one logical consequence of this new system of protection for the weak our modern criminologists have not yet drawn; they did not raise the *age of consent*, which is generally 14, and in special cases of misused authority, 16 years, to 16 and 18 years respectively, as we had claimed. The arguments brought forward for this conservatism are rather threadbare. Nor did they abolish the legal basis for the regulation of vice, which our present Penal Code contains in sections 361-6, where it is laid down that a female person who prostitutes herself *without being registered and under regular sanitary control* shall be imprisoned, etc. Though this paragraph has been for many years the chief object of an ardent fight on the women's side, the draft does not mean a defeat for them in this point, because most probably the whole matter will be taken out of the Penal Code, and all questions in connection with prostitution will be decided by the Bill "to fight venereal disease," which does away with the whole system and policy of State regulation, and is already before the Reichstag. I shall tell the readers of the INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS more of it later on, and also of another most important question, that of *abortion*, on behalf of which an eager fight of principle is going on at present, and on which, even amongst feminists, opinions differ very much. In accordance with the present Penal Code, the punishment for artificial abortion is very hard, and though the draft of the new Penal Code shows some progress on this line, it will not bring a change of principle or system. But two motions of the Socialist parties have been brought before the Reichstag which do this in a more or less radical way. It is not yet known whether these motions will be treated apart, or together with the whole Penal Code to which they belong; but in every case we are glad that 33 women of all parties will be on the spot to decide this very difficult woman's question from a woman's point of view.

MARIE STRITT.

Dresden, April 19.

GREAT BRITAIN.**National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.****The League of Nations Pilgrimage.**

Much interest has been aroused in the great Pilgrimage which is to take place during June, and which it is hoped will bring the League of Nations convincingly to the notice of not only the man in the street, but the man, woman and child in the remotest by-ways and lanes of the countryside. The National Union has been asked to help in the organisation of this great demonstration, and Miss Helen Ward, a member of our Executive Committee, is vice-chairman of the League of Nations Union Pilgrimage Committee. The "pilgrims" will follow routes already associated with historic interest—Watling Street, the Great North Road, Canterbury Pilgrims, etc.—and all routes will converge at Hyde Park on June 25. Meetings will be held in the towns and villages passed through.

At its Annual Council Meetings of both 1920 and 1921 a democratic League of Nations and the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity for men and women within it, was placed as one of the reforms on the Immediate Programme of the Union, and this year an enthusiastic resolution was passed in support of the Pilgrimage. We hope our societies will respond by giving the effective help which they

and every effort is being taken to induce the Government to adopt it as a Government measure and to allow time for its passage into law this session. The present state of the law of this country which gives the married mother no legal rights over her children, while the unmarried mother is the sole guardian, is intolerable, and women's organisations of all kinds, political, social, moral, temperance, religious, as well as those existing for the welfare of children, are practically unanimous in desiring immediate reform. The principal points in the Bill are as follows:—

Lady Astor and our Common Cause.

—Lady Astor, popular though she is in her own constituency, seems more and more to merit the description, "M.P. for women and children of Great Britain." Realising the need for common action in matters on which women are agreed, she has on two occasions recently invited representatives of women's organisations of various types to her house in St. James's Square. At the second of these conferences over 40 important societies were represented, and important decisions were arrived at. The first of these, moved by our President, Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, dealt with the formation of a permanent Consultative Committee, composed of representatives of different bodies of organised women which, without binding its constituent societies, would promote joint action on matters on which a large measure of agreement prevailed. This will, to a large extent, be the revival, with a far wider reference, of a Consultative Committee organised by the N.U.S.E.C. which existed in pre-war days, and there is every hope that societies covering a very wide range of political views, interest and activities, will find themselves working through this new scheme of linking up hand in hand for the great "common causes."

The second resolution which was carried will appeal to a narrower circle; it proposed the establishment of a "flying column" to strike terror into the hearts of Members of Parliament of all parties—unsatisfactory from a feminist point of view—by active propaganda in their constituencies. The N.U.S.E.C. will throw itself whole-heartedly into the first scheme, and will consider the more aggressive tactics of the second, at its next Executive Committee.

In addition to these fruitful conferences, Lady Astor has arranged monthly gatherings at her house, when representatives of the various women's organisations are invited to meet Members of Parliament in an informal way.

We are prouder than ever of our first woman in Parliament for the way in which she has risen to her responsibilities and opportunities, and we only hope, in view of the arduous nature of her task, that it will soon be relieved by the presence of women colleagues by her side at Westminster.

Women and the next General Election.

—It is generally supposed that a General Election is not far distant. So far very few women's names have been mentioned for definite constituencies. Among these we are glad to have two from our own ranks, both well known to our fellow suffragists in other lands—our President, Miss E. F. Rathbone, for the East Toxteth Division, Liverpool, and Mrs. Corbett-Asby, Independent Liberal Candidate for Richmond, Surrey. Other women candidates who have been definitely adopted are Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Scott Gatty, Miss Mabel Billson, and Mrs. Egerton Stewart Brown.

We hope that before long other names will be announced.

Equal Guardianship of Children.

—The hopes of the National Union are for the moment centred on the Guardianship, Maintenance and Custody of Infants Bill, which was drafted largely by the National Union in collaboration with Colonel Greig, M.P., who was fortunate enough to secure a place in the ballot. This Bill comes up for its second reading on May 6,

and every effort is being taken to induce the Government to adopt it as a Government measure and to allow time for its passage into law this session. The present state of the law of this country which gives the married mother no legal rights over her children, while the unmarried mother is the sole guardian, is intolerable, and women's organisations of all kinds, political, social, moral, temperance, religious, as well as those existing for the welfare of children, are practically unanimous in desiring immediate reform. The principal points in the Bill are as follows:—

1. The mother is made joint guardian with the father and has equal authority, rights and responsibility with regard to the child in every case.

2. The parent of any child is made liable for the maintenance of that child according to his or her means.

3. The liability to maintenance holds whether the parents are living together or separately, and the work of the mother on behalf of the child in the home is deemed a contribution on her part to its maintenance.

4. The mother is given the right to appoint a guardian to act with the father after her death.

(The clause which enables the court to authorise the sums due for maintenance to be deducted from wages and paid direct to the collecting officer will probably arouse opposition, but it is earnestly to be hoped that this will not be dropped. Every social worker knows the difficulty at the present time in enforcing maintenance allowances.)

As no financial outlay is involved, and there is at least so far no articulate opposition, hopes of success are entertained.

Women Police.—In spite of the strong recommendations of the Report on Employment of Women on Police Duties, many local authorities have taken no action whatever with regard to the appointment of Women Police, and the Home Secretary appears to be ineffective in the matter. Even more unsatisfactory is the fact that some authorities which have appointed women police have decided, for reasons of economy, to abandon the experiment. Plymouth, for instance, by a majority of one has recently dismissed its two women officers. It is very encouraging to find that the best opinion among men of the police force is in favour of women. In a recent issue of the *Police Chronicle*—the official journal of the British Constabulary—Plymouth's action is referred to with disapproval, and it is stated that "the new arm of the Force has already proved its usefulness."

ELIZABETH MACADAM.

April 23, 1921.

NORWAY.**WOMEN AS CLERGYMEN.**

A DEPUTATION consisting of Miss Kirsten Holst, Miss Dorothea Schjoldager, and Mrs. Louise Rüs Böhn, was received on March 10 by the President of the Storting, and submitted the following petition:—
"The Norwegian Women's National Council has on several occasions been earnestly requested to take up the question of the admission of women to the Ministry of the Church.

"The present difficult position within the Church and the scarcity of theological students has put the country in the unfortunate position that 90 ministries are vacant. One would think that the Church should make use of all the power at its disposal in its service, and it seems curious to us that the Norwegian Church, under these circumstances, still shuts out a power which would be of great service to the country, and which, to such a great extent, is already engaged in difficult work in the missionary field. In addition, our actual parochial affairs are mostly supported by women.

"With regard to the consideration as to women being entitled to the Ministry, we hold that the

difficulties they have to overcome are a guarantee that only those women possessing great capacity and a real desire to become preachers will enter for a theological degree examination. Further, the new authority of the vestry precludes the possibility of women being appointed to communions where they are not wanted.

"It has been said in public debate that no women entered for the theological course; but this is easily understood, as the Ministry has been closed to them. The parochial affairs in which the women have been engaged have not necessitated a theological degree.

"The Norwegian Women's National Council therefore respectfully request the Honoured President to take an interest in this important matter, and to support the admission of women to the Ministry of the Church."

Each of the three ladies, who were kindly received, supported their case from different points of view, and a promise was received that the petition should be sent to the Committee for the Church, which would send it on to the department concerned.

April 1, 1921.

Nylande.

SPAIN.

THE ILLEGITIMATE CHILD.

By KATE E. TROUNSON.

WORD about the unmarried mother and her child in Spain. The matter is less acute than it is in England, one reason for this being that there are so many convents and religious houses of the Orders whose members devote themselves to the care of children and of the unfortunate baby, to receive the child illegitimately born; thus the question of accommodation is not the burning one it is in England. Then the law makes careful provision for the protection both of the mother and child. And, lastly, the child born out of wedlock in Spain has not the same stigma attached to it as it has in this and some other countries. This is perhaps partly owing to the fact that, in times gone by, it was the custom, and allowed by the law, that a child legitimately born could, if it was so desired, be known by its mother's name. Hence it was no uncommon thing to find children known only by their mother's names.

This custom was formerly honoured up to quite recent date in the West of Ireland, as is mentioned by Crofton Croker. It dates, one fancies, from the old Brehon laws of pre-Christian times, and is but one more instance, if such were needed, of the regard paid to woman and the safeguarding of her position by the admirable Brehon laws in which Patrick, the Irish Apostle, found so little to alter when he introduced Christianity into the country.

The unmarried girl, who is expecting to become a mother, stays at her work as long as she can before she applies to the house at Maternidad, where her confinement is arranged for. If it is found that the girl is unable to support herself during the whole period of her pregnancy she is often admitted at the seventh month. Further, should the medical authorities, for any reason, consider it advisable, she is sent in the fifth month to the San Carlos Hospital (College of Doctors).

For girls belonging to the middle classes there is a Home in Madrid, under the rule of a very strict religious Order, to which application can be made for admission; it is generally understood that admission implies entire obedience to the severe rules of the establishment.

Apparently there is no fixed time for the recently-confined mother to remain in the Hospital after her delivery; she is allowed to leave as soon as she wishes. As a rule the young mother is extremely poor and lives with her parents in one or perhaps two rooms. There has been no time for the maternal love to have even begun to mature; the girl only knows that she feels tired and ill, and that she dreads the future. So, on her way home, more often than not, she finds her way

to the Calle de Embajadores, where the Inclusa is situated.

The Inclusa is a convent which takes the place formerly taken by the Foundling in London (admission to which used to be open and unrestricted, as is the Spanish Inclusa, but which is now a more difficult matter of election, and is only available for very young unmarried mothers of previous respectable character). At the Inclusa a nun answers the summons and receives the child; unless the mother speaks, no questions are asked nor any stipulations made. But should the mother wish to arrange to keep in touch with her child, she is able to do so; later, if she desires, she can take it again into her own care. The babies that survive—there are very many who do not—are, after being examined and proved free from disease, passed into the Surcursal de la Inclusa. The boys are kept until they reach the age of five years, when they are sent to the Father's Hospicien. Each one is taught a trade, and situations are found for them when they are considered fit to earn their livings. The girls remain in the Surcursal until they are 12 or 14 years old. They are taught all kinds of needlework, and are also trained for the various branches of domestic service. Situations are found for many; for those who have reached this age and for whom no situations are available, there is always the Inclusa to return to. Many do this, going out to work daily; they are also instructed in the more advanced kinds of domestic work.

The Reverend Mother mentioned that many of the girls marry. The nuns keep in touch with them as much as they are able. There is no stigma attaching to the fact that the girls visit the Inclusa, or that they are visited by the nuns, as it is well known that these convents receive the children of married women as often as those of the unmarried mother. Neither is there any difference made in the treatment of any of the women or of their children. Only one rule obtains in the convent, and this is that everyone coming for assistance must be tended with great care and with abundant love.

Notes on the Law in Spain as it relates to Illegitimacy.

The Civil Code (Article 135) states that the father is obliged to recognise the illegitimate child in the following cases:—

(1) When there exists undoubted documentary evidence in his writing in which he expressly acknowledges paternity.

(2) When the child is found to be in continuous possession of the status of the natural child of the accused father or of his family.

(3) "In cases of violation, ravishment, or rape," recognition of the offspring will be "in accordance with the dispositions given in the penal code."

The penal code is always favourable to the woman, and a simple declaration by her is sufficient for judicial action to be taken against the man she may accuse.

In order to show how Spanish law considers it can best protect the woman from the consequences of possible mistakes into which her love for a man may lead her, Article 321, in speaking of a woman's majority (this is not until she reaches the age of 23 in Spain), says: "Notwithstanding that the age of majority begins at 23 years, daughters of a family who are of full age but are under 25 shall not be able to leave the paternal roof without permission of the father or of the mother with whom they live, unless it is to be married or when the father or mother have married again."

When the woman is a minor (under 23), even if she does not desire to proceed against the man, action may be taken against him by her father, mother, brother, etc., or legal representative, and only by subsequent marriage can such legal action be discontinued.

The crimes of violation, separation of a woman from her home by means of fraud, are, in the case of a minor, proceeded against in the Spanish legislation with every severity, and the legal action can only be stopped by subsequent marriage.

Consideration of the question of "investigation" of the natural fatherhood or motherhood has, as is well-known, occupied the profound attention of many legislators and authors of treatises. There are apparently three criteria concerning this difficult matter.

The first, which obtains in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, and Uruguay, prohibits the investigations, excepting in cases of rape or violation.

The second, which is followed in England, Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and Argentina, gives facilities for such investigations.

The third, which obtains in Spain and Portugal, permits the investigation of paternity, subject always to certain preceding conditions.

The first system protects the peace of the domestic hearth; it tends to keep it free from the disturbances which false investigations would arouse and from investigations being carried out for monetary considerations, and even for the extortion of "hush money," or blackmail. Experience has demonstrated that this has occurred in many countries.

The second system considers the rights of the child, who is entitled to the care and protection of those who begot him, even if their honour and social standing are prejudiced by it.

The Spanish system combines both advantages, since it accepts the investigations with the limitations which are indicated in the above-mentioned Article 135.

In every case it falls to the Tribunals to decide according to the ruling of the Supreme Tribunal (February 10, 1897, and November 7, 1891) if there is sufficient evidence to prove the case in any one or more of these circumstances: having the child in the house to maintain him, or to educate him, or to treat him publicly as such, or to have mentioned him in writing in any form.

Legal actions may be raised during the parent's lifetime. If, at the parent's death, the supposed child is a minor, he will, after reaching his majority, have a limit of four years during which to claim his rights according to Spanish law.

The Civil Code also provides that the natural child, whether voluntarily acknowledged already by the father, or compelled to be acknowledged on account of his transgression or fault, or by legal disposition, will have the right:—

(1) To bear the surname of the man who acknowledges him.

(2) To receive alimony for food, lodging, clothing, medical assistance, and education while under age, according to the social position of the family.

(3) To receive in due form the hereditary portion fixed by Article 840.

This last article declares that when the testator leaves natural children they have the right to the half of the share or quota of the legitimate children. The legitimate children may make good the share which corresponds to the natural one's portion in money, or in other properties of the heirship, by just arrangement.

Further extracts from the Civil Code could be adduced to show the position of the unmarried mother and her child in Spain, and how their interests are safeguarded by Spanish law. But the above shows the outstanding points of general interest, and are such as best enable us to compare the manners, laws, and customs of one land with another on the question which interests us all so greatly at the present time.

(Reprinted by Courtesy of National Health.)

March, 1921.

SWEDEN.

AFTER the enfranchisement of the Swedish women on January 26, the S.W.S.A. considered its purpose fulfilled, and the last meeting of its Central Board was held on March 29. A great many members attended this meeting, which was to decide the final fate of the Association.

This question had been first spoken of in 1918, and in 1919 the plan of joining together the S.W.S.A. with

the Fredrika-Bremer-Förbundet, our principal woman's rights organisation, was brought forward. But there were other voices heard too, first among them our revered "suffrage mother," Mrs. Ann Margret Holmgren, who proposed the forming of a new Association to continue as direct heir to the old S.W.S.A., the purpose of which would be to impart political information without party colour, and to maintain the relations with international suffrage work. A vote having been taken first among the local suffrage societies and then among their members individually, showed that the majority, although a very small one, voted for the forming of a new Association. This meant, in the first instance, that all plans for joining the F.-B.-F. must be abandoned. The majority for a new Association being so small, however, the Executive Committee of S.W.S.A. found its prospects rather dark, and instead propounded a third alternative, i.e., the forming of a committee, elected by the Central Board, to maintain the relations with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Only a fortnight before the last meeting of the Central Board the Swedish Women's Citizen League was formed which was to unite women from all political parties in the work for women's rights, and to impart political information without party colour. This League had asked to be allowed to continue the work of the old S.W.S.A. and take its place in the International Alliance. The Executive Committee, however, found that the new League was too recently formed, and without guarantee for its being able to outlive the first difficult months of its existence, and therefore kept to its last proposal. After a long and animated discussion at the meeting this proposal was at last accepted, and a committee of fifty, including all the leading and active workers of the old S.W.S.A., was elected to carry on the international work. This committee is, however, to surrender its functions to the new League as soon as its capability of fulfilling the task of the old S.W.S.A. in the International Alliance has been proved.

Immediately after the proceedings the new committee held its first meeting and elected an Executive Committee consisting of Mrs. Anna Wickzell, Dr. Gulli Pettrini and Miss Ligne Jacobson.

The business part of the meeting over, the members of the Central Board assembled with a great many other Suffragists to a dinner at the Grand Hotel Royal, where speeches were held and thanks conveyed to those women who had inspired, organised and directed suffrage work during the past years, and to all those who, without being members of the Central Board, had borne the burden and heat of the day.

In the evening the last public meeting of the S.W.S.A. was held at the large and most beautifully decorated hall of the Musical Academy, which was filled to the last place. The public consisted mainly of women, as was right and proper, but also a few men were seen, among them the Mayor of Stockholm, Mr. Carl Lindhagen, who has always been the most ardent supporter of woman suffrage, and the leaders of the Socialist and Liberal parties, Mr. Branting and Mr. Eden, both former Prime Ministers. On the platform were seated the members of the Central Board, almost all the well-known faces from the Suffrage Movement during the last two decades. When all had taken their places, the band played a festive march, and in marched a number of young girls carrying the banners of the local suffrage societies, which were also placed on the platform, forming a brilliant background in the suffrage colours.

The public was welcomed by the president of the S.W.S.A., Dr. Karolina Widerström, who pointed out that Swedish women now having got the vote are not presumptuously triumphant; they know that greater cares and harder work are now awaiting them, but they know also that behind the clouds the sun is shining, and they look hopefully towards the light. The great speech of the evening was given by Ellen Key, who spoke of the necessity for women to cultivate the development of their political possibilities. Especially in the country information is needed again and again.

The speaker was no friend of the existing parties; she wanted women to reform political life, to join with all good forces in the great work where the great hope, the great faith and the great charity again prevail.

After some well-performed music, the evening was at an end, and now the Swedish women are going to begin their life as political citizens in their country.

ESTER BRISMAN.

Stockholm, April 14, 1921.

Formation of Women's Citizen League.

THE Swedish Women's Citizen League was founded at a meeting in Stockholm on March 16 last. After the discourse of Mrs. Ann Margret Holmgren and Miss Gertrud Bergström followed a lively discussion, and afterwards the League was founded and provisional committee elected.

The programme is as follows:—

The Swedish Women's Citizen League is a non-party federation, which will bring together women from all classes of the society of different kinds of occupation and of different political parties to work in common for the programme of the League.

(1) To work for making Swedish women good fellow-citizens and peace-loving world citizens.

(2) To promote equal rights for men and women in social and economic matters, and to be on the guard that the new rights women have won be justly applied.

(3) To strengthen solidarity among women.

(4) To work for the women's point of view on social and legislation questions.

The League's activity comprises instruction and propaganda on humanity and questions in common which may serve the above-mentioned League and thereby regulate social and communal work, and specially qualify women for public purposes.

The League desires to join the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and support the work for the emancipation of women of all countries.

MORGONBRIS.

April 13, 1921.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Annual Convention of National League of Women Voters.

THE tremendous success of the Convention of the National League of Women Voters, just completed in Cleveland, Ohio, is certain to have far-reaching effects upon American political life.

The 1,000 women who attended the Convention have returned to the various States convinced that the League is on a foundation firm enough to withstand any attacks. This is of the greatest significance in view of the fact that the political parties in the last few months have done their utmost to discredit the League and its objects of educating voters and agitating for good legislation. And the increase in strength of the League is certain proof that it will successfully continue to war upon the political machine by developing the activity of the individual voter.

To the women who realise the consequences of the uncertainty and bewilderment of nations throughout the world to-day it seems cause for reverential gratitude that a large group of women are indicating that they have thought clearly upon Government problems, and are going forward confidently with a programme founded upon knowledge and understanding of what is needed, not only in one country but through the entire world.

What are the tangible evidences of the spirit of unity felt so deeply by those of us who attended the Convention? First, the unanimous, enthusiastic declaration of the Convention for reduction in armament, a declaration which women of every State are uniting in a deputation to lay to-day before the President of the United States. Not satisfied even with this radical action to make their desires known, the women ordered the appointment of a committee to ascertain sentiment for reduction of armament through all the States, and to present these findings to Congress. The Convention went on record thus after an evening programme devoted to the subject of Disarmament.

Mrs. Chapman-Catt, as the final speaker, summed up the situation in the United States at this moment when she declared that the country favoured peace, that the other speakers had taken no critical stand in urging disarmament, but that it was in pointing to any definite way to peace that a speaker must prepare to face prejudice and opposition. For herself she declared that she wanted disarmament, whether by a Republican League of Nations or a Democratic League of Nations, or by any other honourable means.

There was another very concrete way in which the delegates showed their eagerness to advance those ideals for which the League stands. That was in the pledging in less than an hour of \$80,000 as the Budget for the coming year. Of this amount, \$15,000 was announced by Mrs. Chapman-Catt as the gift of the Leslie Commission. One pledge of \$1,000 was made by Mrs. Herbert Hoover and, besides a gift from Mrs. Stanley McCormick of \$1,500, other women whose husbands are prominent in national politics joined Mrs. Hoover in generous pledges, strengthening the belief that there is a growing rather than a lessening understanding among political party members that the ideals of the League of Women Voters are needed to supplement political party standards. One gift of \$100 for the first college League of Women Voters, that at Smith College, which had a delegate at the Convention, was a tribute to the large number of young women who are joining the older suffrage workers.

The States had a spirited contest over the place for the next Convention, invitations being extended for Conventions clear up to 1925, and the choice for next year was left to the Executive Board. In view of the fact that no invitations were extended to the League at its last Convention for the one just held, there was special cause for gratitude in this indication of increased popularity.

Mrs. Chapman-Catt, the League's founder, was the most honoured delegate. She was unanimously elected Honorary President, and was also asked to undertake the most important department of work. She has been at the head of its committee on improvement of election laws, and herself suggested that this committee be made a department on an equal standing with the two departments of organisation and citizenship training, which are considered vital to its existence. The new department is to be termed Government Efficiency, and will undertake such reforms as will give the individual voter power over machine corruption.

It was voted to ask President Harding and Congress to name as a national holiday August 26, the date of the issuing of the woman suffrage ratification proclamation.

Following a spirited debate between former United States Senator Albert Beveridge, of Indiana, and Job Hedges, of New York, the Convention endorsed the primary system as preferable to the Convention system of selecting candidates for public office. The country is just now facing an attempt to overthrow the recently-gained primaries, and during the Convention the Legislature of New York State did succeed in abolishing the primaries there.

Among the endorsements of the Convention are the following:—

- Federal protection of maternity and infancy.
- Federal department of education, and Federal aid to the States for educational purposes.
- Abolition of common law marriages.
- Removal of all common law liabilities of married women.
- Minimum age of consent as 18 years.
- Federal employment service with a woman as associate director.
- Extension of vocational education opportunities to women and girls.
- Re-classification of the Federal Civil Service.
- Appointment of a woman delegate to the next International Labour Conference.
- Federal regulation of the meat-packing industry.

A feature of the large dinner given during the Convention was a film, "Women Who Represent Women in Washington," the scenario by Anna Steese Richardson and Marjorie Shuler, being based on the legislative activities of the League of Women Voters and the other national women's organisations on the Joint Congressional Committee in Washington. The film itself is the first of an educational series which the *Woman's Home Companion* is making as part of its gift to the citizenship work of the women of the United States, and several hundred copies of it are to be loaned by the magazine to any women's group in the country desiring to show it. Stereopticon slides illustrating the first year's work of the League were also shown at the dinner.

THE BOOKSHELF.

"Anna Howard Shaw, a Biographical Sketch." By Marla Tamm-Göthlin.

ANNA SHAW was a born conqueror of souls, and she might have said with Caesar, "Veni, vidi, vici." Wherever she went the world round to spread the light of truth over the paths trodden by poor blindfolded humanity, she won loving hearts and enthusiastic disciples willing to take up her noble work and follow in her footsteps.

This little book is one of the many tokens of this power, and a result from Dr. Shaw's visit to Sweden in 1911, when the International Suffrage Alliance held a congress in Stockholm. The author—then a young girl—was one of the students appointed to attend on our foreign guests, and Miss Tamm had the good luck to be in attendance on Dr. Shaw as her special page-of-honour. Of course, she lost her young heart at the first look in her beautiful eyes and met the smile on her lips; and now, when Anna Shaw is no more, it must have been a work of love to devote these pages as an offering to her dear memory.

To write about Anna Shaw's life and work must have been a difficult task, because of the rich, overwhelming materials, but I think Mrs. Tamm-Göthlin has succeeded very well in selecting just the essential traits of her personality, always gladly offering herself to serve humanity, of her great loving heart, her kindness to all, her wit and humour. The tale of her work could fill volumes, but we must content ourselves and be grateful for having got this exquisite sketch of a noble life to feed the souls of our young Swedish generation.

When Anna Shaw's voice was heard no more, we who knew her felt as if the world was empty. But the memory of her said: "There is no Death: only ceaseless Change, and through it all no part of the Life of the World is lost."

FRIGGA CARLBERG.

"The Christian Family." By Margaret Fletcher. Catholic Social Guild. 1s. 6d.

In this book, written from the Catholic standpoint, Miss Fletcher has attempted to give a sketch of the rise of the Christian family and the vicissitudes through which it has passed down the centuries. In reading her picture of family life in early times, one is tempted to think that distance has lent enchantment to the view. Miss Fletcher is ill at ease in the world of to-day; in almost everything to which she is unused she scents an attack on Christian ideals. She is timorous of novelty, and when she comes to deal with certain schemes for the endowment of maternity, her fears amount to panic. She foresees the time "when it would be impossible for a working man to beget more than a standardised number of children. Not only could the State refuse help; it might even decree the child's death." This may seem a fantastic and improbable forecast, she tells us, and even bitter opponents of the endowment

In connection with the Convention of the League there was a meeting of the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at which it was voted that the Association perpetuate itself in order to safeguard the interests of women voters in the event of any legal controversies over ratification. The present Board, with Mrs. Chapman-Catt at the head, was continued.

MARJORIE SHULER.

New York, April 18, 1921.

Equal Pay and Right to Work International Committee.

IT is proposed to draw up a pamphlet setting out the present actual economic position of women, industrial, professional, housekeeping in different countries, and the legal restrictions (or privileges) imposed upon women on the grounds of sex with regard to wage earning and property holding.

Preliminary enquiries are on foot, but the data is, of course, so voluminous and so diverse that it will be difficult to reduce it to a compact and readable whole. It is hoped, however, that when done this may prove a useful starting point for further pressure towards real economic freedom for women in every country.

(Signed) RAY STRACHEY.

April 22, 1921.

Vice-Chairman.

of motherhood will agree that it does. She appears to have a grievance against the State for providing free education, clinics, free meals for the children of the poor. She admits that the children were in dire need of meals, but the question which should have presented itself to the public mind was: "How can all parents be enabled to provide properly for the essential physical needs of their children?" "While the grass grows the steed starves," the proverb is something musty. It serves, however, as an excuse for those people who provided free meals for the hungry children, while the difficult and complicated problem of providing all parents with means to provide for their children is under solution. There is no doubt a great deal in Miss Fletcher's book with which Christians of all churches will be in agreement, but were she to drop her censorious tone, and learn to look with sympathy on the difficult problems of our complex times, she might stand a better chance of making Christian ideals attractive even to those who have abandoned the Church.

"Woman and the Church." By Canon Streeter and Edith Picton-Turbervill. T. Fisher Unwin, London 3s. 6d.

This little book, first published in 1917, is a very able and temperate plea for "a reconsideration of the position of women in the Church of England, and especially for their admission to a recognised and active share in its preaching and pastoral work, though not necessarily into the actual orders of the ministry, as at present constituted." We agree with the authors that "principles which are valid in their application to the Church of England cannot but apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to all branches of the Church of Christ," and on that ground we commend this volume to those, outside the communion of the Church of England, and outside the bounds of Britain, who are interested in the question of the ministry of women. Canon Streeter contributes a very sound and broad-minded chapter on the Church and the Woman's Movement, and points out that that movement—whatever its outward and temporary form—is an endeavour to assert a fundamentally Christian principle, that the personality of a woman is not a thing of inferior value to that of a man, and that a solemn responsibility rests on the Church as to how it shall deal with that world-wide movement—whether by lack of sympathy and understanding, through lack of a real sense of values, it will alienate the women of the coming generation and lose the respect, the confidence, and the affection of its women members. Miss Picton-Turbervill, in her chapters on the Spirit and the Letter, and the Coming Order in the Church of Christ, makes a noble plea for a fuller interpretation of the spirit of Christ and for that completer Christian message to the world which the Church will never be able to give until women as well as men are its messengers.

Third International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

THIS Congress will meet in Vienna, July 10-16, 1921. Mornings will be given to plenary sessions, and afternoons to committee meetings and private informal discussion. There will be public meetings of general interest in the evenings. Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, International President of the League, will preside. For information apply to Miss Emily G. Balch, Secretary, 6 rue du Vieux-College, Geneva, Switzerland.

LATE NEWS. GREAT BRITAIN.

On May 6th the Equal Guardianship Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons. Lady Astor made an effective and witty speech in its support—and we are deeply indebted to her for all the hard work she has done in connection with this Bill. In spite of various carping criticisms from the non-progressive element in the House, support of the Bill—when it came to the vote—was practically unanimous.

Honorary Associate Members.

We have pleasure this month in welcoming the seven new Honorary Associate Members obtained by the Dansk Kvindesamfund Hovedkontor, and congratulate Mme. Girardet-Vielle on the result of her appeal to Denmark. It is to be hoped that other countries will follow this excellent lead.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Suffrage Campaign Begun.

IN a letter to Miss de Alberti, of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, Mrs. Hutton writes from Newfoundland: "Our suffrage campaign is in full swing, but we will not get the vote this session, though some people fondly hope we will. Not enough fuss is being made—and not enough names on the petition—only 1,500 women—not near enough. We need help. Send along any papers, and tell the Alliance to stir us up for all it is worth."

April, 20, 1921.

"JUS SUFFRAGII."

We must apologise to our readers for the late appearance of this month's *JUS SUFFRAGII*. The reason is the coal strike, which necessitates shorter working hours for big printing firms, and a consequent delay in sending proofs.

In our June number we shall publish a special article dealing with Mrs. Henry Fawcett's recent visits to Egypt and Palestine and her meetings with the leading feminists of those countries.

HUNGARY.

Position of Women as Wage Earners.

- (1) Women do chiefly unskilled labour.
- (2) They worked in factories and industries to a very great extent during the war. Now their number has diminished, but it is still much greater than before the war.
- (3) Their pay is less than that of men in nearly every trade.
- (4) They form 17 per cent. of organised working people in the trade unions. In some skilled trades—skilled printers, bookbinders, etc.—men do not allow them to enter the trade unions.
- (5) In Government service they are employed almost exclusively in subordinate jobs. Evolution goes on very slowly with regard to this.

Before and during the war, the Women Clerks' Association and the Feminists Association struggled very energetically for equal pay. The former was dissolved in 1919, the latter is at present very much hampered by political difficulties.

Budapest.

MÉLANIE VAMBÉRY.

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

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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."

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May 4th, 8 p.m. ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.
 May 11th, Debate—"The Endowment of Motherhood." Proposer: Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE. Opposer: Miss HELEN FRASER.
 Chairman: Mr. PERCY HADCOCK (Barrister-at-Law).

LECTURES:
 May 19th "Old London" Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, LL.D.
 Chairman: Mr. J. WELLS TRATCHEL (Barrister-at-Law).
 May 25th "The League of Nations Pledge" Mrs. J. SKELTON.
 June 1st Musical Evening. Chairman.
 For full particulars and Syllabus of Lectures apply Secretary.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. MEETINGS HELD IN THE MINERVA CAFÉ, 144, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C. 1.

May 4th, Speaker: The LADY AMHERST, of Hackney. Subject: "The Swing of the Pendulum."
 May 25th, Speaker: Miss LINDA-F-HAGEBY. Subject: "The Principle and Practice of Dismissing Married Women."

SPECIAL EVENING MEETING.
 May 9th, Speaker: Mr. E. G. CLAYTON, late of "The Athenaeum." Subject: "The Position of Women in England a Century Ago."
 7.30 p.m.

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THE WOMEN OF PORTUGAL.

By MAY DAWSON SCOTT.

TO the sun-worshipper, debarred during the war from the pursuit of warmth and colour in brighter realms than ours, the spring of 1920 sounded an irresistible appeal to go south. Whither in the still disturbed state of Europe could one travel with greater prospect of comfort than to the shores of our most ancient ally?

A sojourn of three months in Portugal led the writer to study with interest the present condition of the women of the country with the special object of finding out how they had been affected by the war.

The most superficial glance showed an extraordinary change in the class of people met with in the streets and praças of Lisbon and in the hotels of the Riviera.

Since 1911 a social revolution has taken place. The aristocracy has disappeared. Its members are imprisoned or in hiding. In their place we now find the new rich, the profiteers, the members of the Republican Governments, which follow one another with bewildering rapidity. The change does not add to the amenity of life.

The women that one now meets are idle, over-dressed and under-developed physically and mentally. What else can one expect from their way of life? They do not emerge from their rooms till noon, when they totter down on four-inch heels, smartly dressed for the day.

A huge repast necessitates an afternoon's repose, preferably in a salão with closed windows and drawn blinds. They do not read—they do not even work much. They seem able to sit for hours in a sort of trance, doing and saying and apparently thinking of nothing.

After five o'clock the day really begins. Talk seems to be the national recreation for men and women—it goes on incessantly (save with a break for dinner), from five to midnight, and the amount of scandal talked is appalling. Its flow is only interrupted by card-playing. Last spring the casinos, of which there are hundreds, were closed by order of the Government. This act was alleged to be the cause of the revolution in March, as gambling is a passion with the Portuguese. Its result was a great increase of play in the hotels.

In Portugal neither men nor women believe in physical exercise. Wealthy women never walk if they can help it. Everyone who can afford it drives. The result is a race of under-developed, fat, sickly-looking women, whose children are brought up on the same unhealthy lines, and who become little old men and women prematurely. In spite of the splendid climate, consumption takes a heavy toll of the population annually.

Truth to tell, there still remains in Portugal a strong element of harem life. There slavery lasted later than

in any other part of Europe, and the mental outlook inherited from the Moors still lingers. The women are not expected to want to go out or to share in the occupations and intellectual interests of the men. There is little home life, as we understand it. The women stay in the house, and the men seek their pleasures and occupations elsewhere. There is no intercourse allowed between the young of the two sexes. Courting is begun by a youth seeing and admiring a girl: he then serenades her and throws flowers into her balcony. If the relatives approve, matrimonial arrangements are embarked on, but the young couple are never left alone. A Portuguese friend told me that though her parents had been engaged for ten years, they had only spoken together privately five times ere they married.

The effect of this, given the mentality and the moral outlook of the race, is an enormous percentage of unhappy marriages. Yet from their earliest years love and marriage absorb the thoughts of the young. Most girls marry at sixteen, or soon after, and there are few spinsters.

Girls' education is superficial and mainly consists of accomplishments, music and fancy work. Languages are essential as there is little literature in modern Portugal: few novels, no magazines or serious reviews, only one weekly paper *L'Illustrao*, and no children's books at all. French novels form the staple of women's reading.

All education is backward. In 1900 illiterates numbered 80 per cent. of the population. Since the Education Act of 1913 the number has dropped to 68 per cent. The proportion of girls attending at the secondary schools is low, roughly about twelve girls to 170 scholars. At the Universities the disproportion is even greater. At Coimbra lately there were less than fifty women students among 1,700 men.

Women have made few attempts to take up any of the professions, though there are some five or six women doctors and ten advocates in the country.

Feminism and the Suffrage movements attract very little interest among the mass of the women. Their exponents are mostly "Americanas," i.e., women of Portuguese race returned from the New World. Last spring Doctor Paulina Luisi, of Uruguay, attracted fair audiences to her conferences at which she demanded for women "the same rights and liberties which are claimed by men as the heritage of every human personality."

Want of interest—the absence of the wish to understand and to live—these are the stumbling blocks in the path of progress in this country among women. "Why do you English always want to know things?" said a Portuguese friend to me. "We do not, but then we are so lazy (*priguicosas*)."

The present lack of ideals, so sadly lamented by the great writer Ramalhao Ortogao, is generally attributed to the hostile attitude of the Republic towards religion. "No God and no religion" is its motto. On the first page of the school primers, where in the days of the Monarchy was printed a short prayer, now stands the words, "There is no God, there never was a God, there never will be a God." The result of the absolute divorce of education from religion is seen in the growing immorality and lawlessness of the rising generation.

A feeling of helplessness and hopelessness overwhelms the well-wishers of their country. "What can we do against all this Bolshevism?" they sadly exclaim.

In 1911 the churches were closed, religious property was confiscated, the orders were expelled. Many of these were sisterhoods employed in various charitable and useful works; started, it is true, often by foreign queens, they yet formed a valuable outlet for women's work and interest. This opportunity of service has now been abolished.

One good result of the war was the growth of the Red Cross movement. Nursing, since the nursing orders were banished, had fallen into the hands of low-class women with inadequate training. When the enthusiasm for war service spread to Portugal, the girls there clamoured to be trained as V.A.D.'s. The doctors welcomed their help in hospitals. Then, in 1918, when the Army went to the front, many of these V.A.D.'s. claimed the right to go to France to nurse the wounded. In nearly all cases their relatives refused to let them go, but a party of 26, one of whom was English, did actually go on active service, and did very good work.

The writer was told that this event was epoch-making in the history of Portugal. Nothing like it had ever happened before. Attached to English hospitals the Red Cross doctors and nurses were brought face to face with a standard of organisation and efficiency hitherto undreamt of. They came home unable to talk of anything else.

It is much to be hoped that now the ideal of social service has been set before them, Portuguese women will throw themselves into work for the welfare of others.

Where could they find a better organisation ready to their hand than the Young Women's Christian Association? Its methods and aims are just what the country needs, the full development of the body, soul, and spirit of every woman.

The work of the Association has already been carried on for many years, though, unfortunately, its activities have had to be curtailed of late through the scarcity of workers. Formerly there were two branches in Lisbon, and others in the surrounding districts. Now there is only the one in Lisbon. A young Portuguese girl went to the Emergency Training School in Paris in 1919, and returned full of enthusiasm for physical training. She now holds classes, which are well attended.

In Oporto there are four flourishing branches. The women of the North are more progressive. They go out to work much more than the Southerners. Unfortunately, the factories of Oporto are not well run. There is much more opportunity here for Y.W.C.A. work. The President of the National Committee lives at Oporto, and she and her sister are splendid leaders to the Associations.

There is one great difficulty which the Y.W.C.A. has to face in Portugal if it is to bring all the help which it could bring to the country, and which is so sorely needed: the difficulty of working an inter-denominational organisation in a Roman Catholic country. A National Y.W.C.A. should be able to reach the whole nation, which, in spite of Government opposition, is still predominately Catholic. At present, the Association is an exotic movement, financed and organised by foreigners. It is entirely Protestant and Evangelical.

Therefore, "good Catholics" will have nothing to do with it, and it is only the indifferent Catholics and the Protestants that gain the benefits of the Y.W.C.A.

It is puzzling to see how this can be avoided, but a way must be found before the Association can really be considered national. A start has been made in Oporto, where one of the best branches is led by a Portuguese, a dressmaker by profession. A delegate from this branch was sent to the Champéry Conference last year.

The work is going forward, though slowly. All those who are interested in the fate of "our most ancient ally," with her wonderful country and her backward people, should do what they can to help. The watchword of the Y.W.C.A., "By love serve one another," should be the motto of every foreign and home-worker of the Portuguese Association. Then may we look forward to the time when the women of this favoured land will reach their full development of body, soul, and spirit. Then, and then only, will Portugal be prepared to take her place in the comity of nations, where every country has her own peculiar gift wherewith to enrich Christendom.

[NOTE.—Baroness Olga Meyendorff, one of the World's Y.W.C.A. Travelling Secretaries, is now in Portugal holding training classes for would-be leaders in girls' work. The "Jovens do Triangulo Azul" have a very comprehensive programme (much the same as that followed in Brazil), and a uniform resembling that of the All Round Clubs in Australia—a grey jumper-blouse, with badges and triangle in blue. Y.W.C.A. rooms were opened in Lisbon in the second week of April this year.—*Edit.*]

"O TRIANGULO AZUL."

THE heading of this paragraph sounds like the title of an aria from an opera. Actually it is the title of the little monthly paper published by the Y.W.C.A. of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It has two editions, a small one in English and a larger one in Portuguese, and it serves as a link between the 1,100 members and the other girls who make use of the facilities offered by the Association. Girls following forty-seven occupations come to the present inadequate building; representa-



Brazilian Members of the Associação Christa Femina, Rio de Janeiro.

tives of twenty-six nationalities and members of nineteen different churches. The educational department members run into three figures and a waiting list is necessary. A cafeteria-lunchroom opens in June, and a trained director for gymnasium work, recreation, hygiene and swimming is now necessary. A hostel is planned for April to accommodate at least thirty to fifty residents and generally this young Association is following in the footsteps of its Buenos Aires sister.

LES UNIONS FRANÇAISES

vues par une Américaine, Mary F. Dixon.

Voici une voyageuse venue d'un autre continent pour faire votre connaissance, et à laquelle on demande ses impressions pendant ses deux années en France.

Quand je suis arrivée, je ne connaissais pas du tout les Unions chrétiennes de France, et maintenant je les connais très bien; je les connais non pas par ce qu'on m'en a dit, mais par les avoir vues moi-même.

Ma première Conférence de Groupe, après que j'eus appris assez le français pour comprendre ce qu'on me disait, fut dans le Midi. "Mais, comme les jeunes filles françaises sont sérieuses," pensai-je en les entendant chanter, "Jusqu'à la mort," et quand on a annoncé une réunion de prières pour 8 heures du matin! Je ne m'attendais pas à cela quand, en Amérique, je voyais toutes les modes venir de France!!

Et d'un autre côté, quand j'ai vu faire des jeux et des promenades le dimanche après-midi, j'ai pensé: "Comme c'est un pays agréable, la France. On peut être sérieux et s'amuser le dimanche en même temps."

Et mes premières impressions sur les Unions françaises—sérieux et gâté—n'ont pas changé depuis que je les connais plus à fond.

Vos Unions ne sont pas tout à fait pareilles aux nôtres en Amérique. Les nôtres développent leur œuvre spirituelle par des conférences, des cours bibliques, des camps d'été où l'on forme des leaders; mais leur œuvre sociale est plus développée que dans les Unions de France.

Notre pays est essentiellement protestant. Nos jeunes filles sortent plus facilement de chez elles pour gagner leur vie que les vôtres, et se rendent dans les villes industrielles et commerciales. Pour cette raison, il faut que nos Unions aient de grands locaux avec chambres, restaurant, cours de toutes espèces, gymnase, salles de conférence, etc. En un mot, il faut que nous donnions aux jeunes filles tout ce dont elles ont besoin dans leur vie quotidienne: un home et les moyens de développer leur corps, leur intelligence, leur âme. Mais toujours nous plaçons le côté religieux de l'œuvre comme base de notre triangle.

Mais ce n'est pas de l'Amérique que je veux vous parler. Je voudrais vous dire combien je considère mon séjour en France comme un privilège et combien intéressantes j'ai trouvées vos Unions. Je les connais très bien, les petites Unions de la campagne où quelques jeunes filles se réunissent chaque dimanche, les Unions plus nombreuses des villes où il y a bien des réunions en semaine comme le dimanche, et la grande Union de Nîmes qui possède 600 membres!

Ce qui m'a frappée, au début, c'est la place que vous donnez à vos études bibliques et réunions religieuses. C'est là que se trouve la puissance de vos Unions, et vous êtes des privilégiées d'avoir depuis si longtemps cultivé profondément ces études. Mais à cause de cela aussi, puisque vous connaissez si bien l'Évangile, vous portez une lourde responsabilité; on a le droit de vous demander de vivre cet Évangile pour que d'autres jeunes filles puissent le comprendre en vous voyant vivre.

La France que je connais est une France d'après-guerre, une France qui avait beaucoup souffert et qui pendant cinq années a mis tout son effort à gagner la victoire. Ai-je trouvé que les Unions ont perdu ou gagné par cette guerre? Oui et non. Elles ont été organisées, surtout dans le Nord. Elles ont modifié leur activité parce qu'elles se sont occupées d'œuvres de guerre. Mais les jeunes filles sont plus prêtes aujourd'hui à prendre une responsabilité qu'avant la guerre et elles sont plus capables, je crois, de travailler pour les autres. On peut dire que les Unions qui ont le plus souffert sont les plus vivantes en ce moment.

J'ai visité les Unions du Nord. Dans ce pays qu'on ne peut qualifier de triste, puisqu'on y trouve un courage qui surmonte toutes les difficultés et accomplit l'impossible, j'ai trouvé dans les Unions un esprit vraiment remarquable. Ce sont les jeunes filles qui, revenues dans les ruines de leurs maisons, avaient tout perdu qui pensaient le plus aux autres.

Une Union d'une ville dévastée était en train, quand nous y sommes arrivées, de faire une fête pour trouver

un peu d'argent pour les Missions. Une autre Union, qui ne possédait plus rien qu'une vieille table, ne nous a rien demandé parce qu'il y avait d'autres Unions qui pouvaient avoir plus de besoins qu'elle. Partout régnait un esprit de reconnaissance et un désir d'étendre, d'élargir le travail des Unions. Comme l'a dit un unioniste: "Nous ne pouvons pas rester à part des autres, maintenant que la guerre nous a fait sortir de notre égoïsme. Il nous faut aller maintenant aux jeunes filles qui ne sont pas membres des Unions."

Et ce n'est pas seulement dans le Nord que l'on trouve ce désir de travailler pour les autres. Partout les Unions se réorganisent, se préparent au travail. Partout les Unions demandent des études bibliques vivantes touchant aux questions actuelles. Après deux ans de collaboration avec le travail dans les Foyers et les Unions, je peux vous dire que vous devez avoir beaucoup de foi dans l'avenir de vos Unions. On ne peut pas rester sur place; il faut avancer sous peine de reculer. Vos Unions ont choisi de marcher de l'avant avec courage, prêtes à accomplir tout le travail qu'elles trouveront sur leur chemin.

LA C. O. S.

Par MARIE BRUNETON.

La C. O. S., qu'est-ce que cela? Que veut dire ces signes cabalistiques?

C'est que, voyez-vous, on est très occupé dans les Unions, très pressé, et dire: "La Commission des œuvres sociales," à tout bout de champ, ce serait fatigant et ça perdrait du temps.

Alors, comme ces dames sont très occupées, on parle de la C. O. S., de la C. P. (Commission permanente), de la C. E. (Commission exécutive), etc., etc.

Cela vous donne un air important et mystérieux qui rappelle le G. Q. G. de la guerre et qui nous sied très bien.

Or donc, la C. O. S. est une commission qui dépend du Comité National. (Merci, chères Américaines, de nous avoir apporté ces géniales commissions qui rajeunissent nos Unions et les emplissent d'une noble ardeur, mais pouvez-vous nous garantir vie double à chacune pour nous permettre d'assister à ces douzaines de commissions qui surgissent de partout comme champignons après la pluie?).

La C. O. S. est très sérieuse et se prend très au sérieux. C'est elle, ne vous en déplaise, qui est en train de créer un lien entre toutes les œuvres sociales nées des Unions, et en particulier des Foyers.

Née il y a quelque deux ou trois mois, elle fait preuve de suite d'une vitalité incroyable. Car elle a voulu inviter à se fédérer, non seulement les Foyers unionistes récents créés par les Américaines (Paris, 9, rue Daunou, — Bordeaux, Nîmes, Strasbourg, Maubeuge), mais encore les Foyers anciennement fondés par le Union (Foyer de l'ouvrière, de la jeune fille, à Paris et en province), et aussi bien des Foyers des Amis de la jeune fille. Nous avons déjà une vingtaine de Foyers fédérés et la porte reste ouverte à qui veut entrer.

N'est-ce pas là une jolie idée de solidarité?

La C. O. S. est maligne, et elle s'est dit: "Tous ces gens-là, pour qu'ils soient heureux dans ma maison et qu'ils ne se disputent pas, il faut que je me rende utile, indispensable."

La C. O. S. a trotté, couru, parlé — surtout beaucoup parlé! — et voici les plans qu'aujourd'hui elle peut offrir à ses affiliés:

1° *Education*: Tous les mois, une — oui, encore une commission qui est une sous-commission de la C. O. S. — enverra à chaque Foyer une masse de suggestions intéressantes pour cours, discussions, développement intellectuel sous toutes ses formes. Comme cela, toutes les idées nouvelles d'un Foyer serviront aux autres Foyers;

2° Une *Secrétaire-voyageuse*, charmante et capable, ira deux fois l'an visiter les Foyers et les faire profiter de ses expériences;

3° Ouvrez l'oreille! Cet été, en août, au château d'Argeronne, auront lieu deux camps d'instruction, l'un pour les filles membres des Foyers affiliés, l'autre pour leurs directrices;

4° Voici encore le meilleur pour la bonne bouche : une *Maison de vacances*, près de Grenoble, est mise à notre disposition cette année par les Y. W. C. A. pour les membres des Foyers et pour les unionistes ; celles-ci auront à payer en plus un droit de 10 francs d'inscription.

La C. O. S., munie de toutes ces belles offres, est rentrée chez elle fièrement, sûre que tous les Foyers de France et de Navarre ne tarderaient pas à venir demander l'affiliation.

Je ne m'étends pas sur les statuts (vous n'y comprendriez peut-être pas plus que moi, ce qui veut dire pas grand'chose) ni sur les cotisations à payer et autres détails du même genre ; je vous dis simplement : venez et constatez que nous ouvrons chaque jour plus larges, dans nos Unions, les portes aux principes de solidarité et de collaboration fraternelle.

NOTE.—The two preceding articles appear by the courtesy of the Comité National de l'Alliance Française des Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Filles.

["Pro Gallia," l'Ecole d'Action Sociale, is giving a four weeks' course this month (May), for prospective Directrices of Foyers, under the supervision of Mademoiselle Diemer and Mademoiselle de Montmart. The course will be given at 4 rue Blanche, Paris (the Siège Social des Foyers Cantines Féminins), and there will be practical work at Notre Foyer (9 rue Daunou), and other Foyers in Paris. Full particulars may be obtained from Mademoiselle Diemer.—*Edit.*]

IN THE SERVICE OF THE MIGRANTS.

By MARY E. HURLBUTT, *Migration Secretary World's Y.W.C.A.*

BODIGA was fifteen years old, and small for her age, far too small (and dark and pretty) to be stranded alone in the chaos of a French port city. After the interminable anxiety and discomfort of the trip from Jugo-Slavia, the bewilderment of reaching the dock in time for the sailing of the big ocean liner, the cruel fight for a place in the line of inspection, Bodiga had been rejected. The steamship doctor had turned back her eyelids as she passed by, one of a dumb, frightened mass of humanity—she had been taken out of the line, told she had trachoma, and could not sail. Bodiga had her ticket, but little money. One dreads to imagine what might have happened to her had not a lanky, kind-eyed man in uniform come up to soothe her despairing wails. The only one in that great, struggling, gesticulating mass who noticed her, or cared what happened, the tall man listened and understood when she told him in poor German why she *must* go on to her father in America. There was none left in Serbia to go back to. Later he cabled to her father for money for medical treatment. Now, Bodiga is lying in a small white bed in a Paris hospital, and the stubborn disease is being fought by skilled medical care. The uniformed angel was a Y.M.C.A. Patrol officer who unofficially extends his duties to the care of these travellers whose glorious adventure has turned into grim tragedy.

Bodiga's plight is typical of scores who are turned back each week at the ports of Europe. Have you seen the shawled mother holding close to her the child that has been pronounced feeble-minded, and turned back after reaching the port of New York? Together, and probably without funds, they must find their way back to the remote little village from which they started months ago. There is the man who started from home all unconscious that his was a false American visé ; the girl whose money bag hanging about her neck had been stolen as she slept in the railway station.

One asks why these tragedies could not be prevented by the right warning and instructions. Why, before breaking home ties with the hope of the unknown in their hearts, these people are not mercifully warned that they cannot be accepted and must not start. In some cases medical treatment, in others, a few months of schooling, would make the immigrant admissible. Carefully prepared papers—and adequate money supply

—should be assured before each one starts forth. Once the hero or heroine has departed amid awed or envious good-byes, once his property is sold or his position given up, his place in the community is lost—the humiliation of a return is unbearable—the difficulties great to overcome. Small wonder that many rejected immigrants prefer oblivion in the first city which will swallow them up.

Even the path of those who can meet the requirements of the law are beset with difficulties and dangers. Wherever the trail of the migrant leads there springs up a swarm of petty and great profiteers, and the emigrant's every need is grist to their mill—the transportation of his goods and chattels, his lodgings, his money exchange, his very ignorance of direction is turned into gold. Nor are all of his sufferings due to cruelty or conscious dishonesty. That bogey of reform, "the law of supply and demand," inevitably acts in the emigrant's disfavour, because of his ignorance of how to direct his "demand" in order to secure fair treatment. The dollars of the emigrant pay for more than their share of the ship's comfort and efficiency!

Other hardships are due to laws, framed with regard to protecting the interests of the country he desires to leave, or cross, or migrate to, but almost never designed or administered in his interest. Laws administered *en masse* and without discretion are almost always cruel.

He suffers, too, at the hands of overburdened officials irritated by the stupidity of these people "who cannot even understand a civilised language."

This phenomenon of migration has been observed and written about from a legal, from an industrial, from a sociological point of view. It needs to be observed and analysed in terms of human experience. There must be an effort to measure the effect of this process of uprooting, anxiety and exploitation. We need to know what happens to these wanderers who are handled, inspected and often discarded, as Bodiga was, like defective merchandise. We need to build up a realisation by government and commercial agencies of the misery to the human by-product caused by the present methods of handling this profitable traffic.



Russian maid of all work—type of illiterate migrant.

At last, and perhaps at best, we need to push back to the roots of this problem, to the artificial stimulation of emigration, to the social conditions which drive men and women to this ceaseless process of uprooting which so often brings only deterioration. We need to prepare a different reception to the foreign-born who settle in our communities—a reception which shall not

condemn them, through indifference, to isolation from our own best culture, and, on the other hand, shall be receptive to their contribution to our lives.

It is with the courage born of a sense of the neglect of this problem, and of its urgency during these post-war years, that the World's Young Women's Christian Association has undertaken to develop an emigration service programme for women in its constituent societies. The wide-spread and yet intimate touch of Associations with the lives of women in every sort of community should give wisdom to our plans, should enable us not only to ensure a safer journey, but a wiser decision in starting and a happier adjustment in the new homes.