

JUS SUFFRAGII.

The International Woman Suffrage News

The Monthly Organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

FRENCH EDITION.

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



HEADQUARTERS:

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

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Telephone: 4255 Regent.

Volume 13. No. 10.

JULY, 1919.

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

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Bye-law of I.W.S.A. Constitution.

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

Notice on the Policy of “Jus Suffragii.”

In the present critical position of affairs, when any reference to political conditions may hurt national susceptibilities, it must be clearly stated that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance maintains a strictly neutral attitude, and does not publish matter controversial between the various countries involved in the war.

FEATURES OF THE MONTH.

Only the briefest mention could be made last month of the woman suffrage victory in the United States, but this month we can celebrate this long-hoped-for triumph. If, as is anticipated, a number of State legislatures hold special sessions to ratify the Federal Amendment to the Constitution, it will be possible to get the necessary vote of three-quarters of the States in time to enable women to vote in the next Presidential elections in 1920. Dr. Anna Shaw says she still maintains that the United States will beat Turkey in the race for woman suffrage! It is pleasant to record that Jamaica has joined other British Dominions in emancipating women.

The new Hungarian Constitution guarantees women equal voting rights with men. How the “Council” system of government may affect women’s rights is a matter of dispute. In Germany Frau Stritt and Dr. Bäumer fear that women’s newly won enfranchisement may be lost under a possible “Council” system which only represents organised industry. But the “Council” system need not involve any such disfranchisement of the housewife, and, as we understand it, in Hungary the housewife has the vote equally with all others engaged in useful work. As far as our information goes only the idle are disfranchised, idleness being considered anti-social under the new régime, and involving disfranchisement as crime involves disfranchisement in other countries. If elections are organised on an occupational instead of a local basis, that is no reason why women should be excluded; watchfulness may be needed, and organisation, but in States founded avowedly on a popular basis there will be no intention to debar women. Unfortunately we have no information as to the working of the system in Russia; but in Hungary, apparently, women are given full political equality with men. In Switzerland the Federal Government has declared itself ready to consider the introduction of a woman suffrage measure. It is much to be hoped that this action may be taken, and that Swiss women may be spared the toil and anxiety of fighting for each separate canton, first in the legislature and then on a referendum. The victory in America will be a great encouragement to them, and probably shorten their task considerably. The Swiss Republic, containing the capital of the League of Nations, and with fully enfranchised women on its borders in

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Germany, Austria, and Hungary, will want to march forward abreast of its neighbours.

In Tcheko-Slovakia women are playing their part in government. Mme. Kuneticka, who was elected to the Bohemian Diet in 1913, while the country was still part of the Austrian Empire, and was not allowed to take her seat, is now duly elected and working for maternity and child welfare. Women are sitting in the Polish Parliament, and in Germany a hundred women are sitting in the legislatures of the various States, and hundreds in the town and communal councils.

The speeches made by German women members in the National Assembly show that they have been able to emphasise a specially woman's view of current events. In this paper matters of national controversy between belligerents cannot be discussed, and we are therefore unable to report the action of the German women members, but we may note the eloquent speeches of Frau Bohm Schuch and Frau Weber on May 12 on the peace conditions, which made a deep impression on the other deputies, and were widely reported. German women are fortunate in having secured representatives in their legislatures who can voice ably and eloquently the aspirations of women, and who keep before them their responsibility to the coming generation. They exemplify the feminist contention that women's special contribution to politics is the guardianship of the race.

In Italy events are progressing. Electoral reform is pending, and a motion is down for woman suffrage. If Italy enfranchises women, there will only remain the Balkan States, Spain, and Greece, and in the two latter countries an active young movement is springing up. Roumania and Serbia have long been working for the vote. In Spain the Union of Spanish Women is doing propaganda; in Greece a group of ladies, with the encouragement of M. Venizelos, is forming plans for a suffrage society. War misery and care for refugees absorb much energy, but for the work of reconstruction women will find the vote an indispensable tool. It is therefore worth while to work for it at once, in spite of the pressing claims of benevolence.

In France women are concentrating on securing the passing by the Senate of the woman suffrage motion already passed by the Chamber of Deputies.

Luxemburg has at one stroke given all women over 21 years of age full political rights. They can vote and be elected for Parliament and communal councils.

We shall soon be able to publish a map of Europe painted white. Meanwhile, next month will, we hope, be a "victory" number for the Netherlands, if, as is expected, the woman suffrage bill passes the First Chamber in July.

MARY SHEEPSHANKS.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE NEWS.

Mrs. Harriet Dunlop Prenter, president of the Political Education League, writes from Toronto:—

"May I say again how indebted we are to *Jus Suffragii*; you are practically the only woman's journal that has succeeded in saving its soul alive, and in so doing you have preserved the honour and integrity of thinking women the world over. With congratulations and deep gratitude."

DENMARK.

THE NEW MARRIAGE LAW: AFTER ITS INTRODUCTION.

The introduction of the new marriage law has given rise to a Press campaign of a kind to give women food for thought. The attack has been of a kind to excite feeling in connection with the bill, and feeling has indeed been excited, but perhaps in another direction from that intended.

Is the bill indeed so revolutionary as to undermine the foundations of marriage to the damage of the family and society? Against this question I will put another, Would that not be strange, and indeed unbelievable, if many years' work for the reform of the marriage law should result in a law cutting the ground away from the institution itself? The bill's provision that either husband or wife should dispose of the means he or she brings into the marriage, and the gains in whatever way, was already introduced in 1872, nearly half a century ago, by Goos, whom no one will accuse of having been a destroyer of marriage or society. It would need courage to maintain that this provision would loosen the relation between husband and wife, or be less conducive to good feeling than

the present law, which gives the husband the disposal of the wife's property in so far as this is not earned by herself. One might just as well draw the conclusion that all marriages are undermined where there is separate owning of property as a result of a marriage settlement. These marriages are many, and the circumstance that the number has increased shows that the present arrangement of property is unsatisfactory.

—Extract from article by A.H.-B., in *Kvinden og Samfundet*, May 15.

THE NEW MARRIAGE LAW.

Under the existing law divorces have increased, as shown by a comparison of the years 1908 and 1917.

In 1908—	1917.
Copenhagen had 377 divorces as against 573	
Market towns 127 "	240
Country districts 146 "	170

—*Fidens Kvinder*, June 7.

From the Rigsdag.

ELNA MUNCH'S DEFENCE OF THE FREE ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO ALL OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

Fru Elna Munch opened the debate on the second reading of this bill. She said, with reference to the objection of the Conservative minority, that positions in the Church had not been expressly mentioned; that it is not by any means a rule without exception that the Church should be expressly mentioned in a bill which had reference to other circumstances. Comparison between ecclesiastical and military positions did not harm, because whereas women had no wish for military positions, the demand for admission to the Church was of long standing. The opinions of the bishops as to the opinion within the Church were absolutely contradictory, and no conclusions could be drawn from them. Only one of the seven bishops holds it to be contrary to the teaching of the Church; the rest rely on an appeal partly to various practical difficulties and partly to popular inherited prejudice. If woman's feeble health is to be made a ground, surely this should be ground for winning her way to other offices—*e.g.*, that of a judge. As to the difficulties and hardships of work in country districts, what of the women doctors and midwives who are already at work there?

The bill passed the Folksting by 66 to 18.

—*Kvinden og Samfundet*, May 15, 1919.

FRANCE.

How to Win The Senate.

The suffrage campaign is being carried on in the Senate, so as to gain the individual Senators to our cause. One of the best means is always personal conversation, and we divided the Senators amongst us; but how difficult it is sometimes to reach the Senator whom one wishes to convince with the telling arguments of the justice of our cause, and who on his side is not particularly desirous to receive the visit of a suffragist, and is still less wishful to be convinced. These gentlemen are very polite when we discuss things with them; but it is a far cry from that to promising a vote for suffrage, especially for Parliamentary suffrage. It is easier to get a promise for municipal suffrage, and even this is sometimes impossible.

Still we are conscious of gaining ground, but the unfortunate thing is that we have not much time before the elections. We must make haste if we wish to avoid the first-class funeral to which the enemies of the bill in the Senate wish to condemn it.

We also find ourselves in unfavourable circumstances because of the strikes, because of the Peace Treaty, because of the law for electoral reform, etc. Whatever is a subject or pretext for agitation at home or abroad is given us as a reason for refusing our demand. It is the eternal refrain, known to the suffragists of all countries: "You understand, madam, that at present we are preoccupied with very different things from woman suffrage. It will certainly be given you by a future Parliament, but this is not the time."

As we find, on the contrary, that the present moment is unique, we succeeded in getting a hearing from the Senate Commission for the presidents and general secretaries of the principal French suffrage societies.

This audience took place on Wednesday, June 11, at the Senate, and the President called upon those of us to speak who had been charged to treat one after the other points in the women's programme, and our reasons for asking for the vote.

GERMANY.

OVER A HUNDRED WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT: HUNDREDS OF WOMEN TOWN COUNCILLORS.

Little more than half a year has gone by since German women won the vote for all legislative and administrative bodies, little more than four months since they were able to use this right for the first time, and already the fact of our political emancipation seems so far from being a sensation that it is taken for granted.

The most obstinate opponents of woman suffrage are dumb, so that it might be thought they never were opponents. It is the old experience: faced with the logic of facts even the apparently invincible theories set up for eternity must strike their colours.

To-day, besides the 38 women members of the National Assembly (the thirty-eighth was a Social Democrat who got in through a place falling vacant on her list) there are about 80 women on the legislative bodies of the various federal States: Prussia 23, Württemberg 13, Baden 9, Bavaria 6, Hesse 5, Saxony 3, Hamburg 17, etc., and several hundred women town councillors.

More than half these women are Social Democrats, in accordance with the relative strength of political parties.

A comprehensive survey of the women in communal representation has so far only been published in Greater Berlin, where in the different districts altogether 112 women have been elected town councillors. And the women fill their places in all these bodies not merely decoratively, they have shown themselves in the proceedings capable and intelligent speakers for the parties and sections they represent.

The first opportunity for a common action of women of all parties was the women members' proposal for a joint protest against the hunger blockade and retention of prisoners.

Women have been elected in large numbers on the various commissions, both in the National Assembly and in the lower chambers of the federal States and on the town councils.

ALL PUBLIC OFFICES OPEN TO WOMEN IN BADEN.

Whether it has been possible to make their women's influence tell here is not possible to know after so short a time, and can hardly be assumed, as the matters treated up to now did not include any specially important women's questions. But there have been various gratifying evidences of official consideration for women's wishes—*e.g.*, the new Baden Constitution contains the following ordinance: "Public offices are open to all properly qualified persons without distinction of sex." That means that a woman may under certain circumstances fill the office of Minister President. A similar ordinance may find place in the constitutions of the other federal States and of the Empire, and that would expressly give women theoretical equality with men in public and legal matters.

WOMEN IN THE LABOUR WORLD.

How little this equality rules in practice is shown in the present relations in the labour market, where every effort is being made to exclude women in almost all occupations in favour of the returning soldiers, and sometimes with the hardest methods. (I hope to send soon a special report on this subject.)

WOMEN AND THE SOVIET SYSTEM.

Another danger threatens woman suffrage itself—and the democratic principle altogether—at the present time through the efforts to give the *Council system* a legal basis in the Constitution. As Gertrude Bäumer has clearly shown in the *Frauenfrage*, "this danger is already great when it is only a question of the system of representation of occupations with economic tasks. The danger will be greater as soon as any political tasks are entrusted to the Councils. . . . Every limitation of the rights of democratic popular representation by the Council system means forcing back the housewives—the women who do not work for wages. For them there is no representation in the Council system. None of the proposals which have sprung up for the organisation of this system have aimed at anything but the creation of representation for production, in which housewives are not included.

"Nearly all kinds of women will be represented in an economic Parliament, built up somehow or other. Women will not, and cannot, be represented in it.

"If their rights are taken away from the democratic Parliament in favour of any council organisation, that means at the same time that housewives are deprived of a voice in affairs in which to-day they are consulted. From women's standpoint, the transference of political rights to the Councils must be called a step backwards and be strongly opposed."

No answer from the Senators of the Commission; no discussion. We heard later that our judges had been impressed by the clearness, calm, and moderation of our explanations, but the chilliest silence met our speeches. We knew beforehand that we should not convince the Commission, which was strongly hostile to our claims, and in which we have only six or seven supporters out of twenty-seven members.

Luckily the proportion of suffragists among the Senate members is quite different, and will be seen when we have succeeded in getting the bill discussed.

The following is the communication that we read to the Senate, and that we left for each member:—

Mr. Senator,—We ask you to be good enough to consider favourably and in a spirit of justice the bill for woman suffrage which has been sent to you by the Chamber with a magnificent majority. We ask the suffrage, because women citizens who pay taxes and contribute largely to the wealth of the country, should also share in its direction. Their opinion is not represented, and yet it would be the merest justice that they should be liable to protect their own interests and those of the family, which they wish to see stronger and more respected.

In all countries where they have the vote and eligibility, women, while studying general questions, have specialised in those concerning childhood, hygiene, education, and morality. It would be the same in France. Women demand suffrage to struggle against depopulation, but they only recognise their special responsibilities in this question if they are given civic rights, which alone will permit them to work better for the protection of children and the home.

They ask it for the fight against infant mortality—this scourge of our country which has diminished so rapidly in countries where women vote, and where they have proposed and obtained effective laws. In Australia, mortality of infants under one year has decreased in fourteen years from 111 to 67 per thousand; in New Zealand, from 113 to 50 per thousand in 23 years.

Women also wish to vote in order to fight more effectively against prostitution, against venereal disease, against alcoholism (which has to a great extent disappeared where the women electors have had laws passed prohibiting the sale of alcohol as drinks).

We ask that the suffrage may be granted us now to help in the immediate reorganisation of the country, which needs the help of all its children in this hour, unique in history.

France has in its hands a marvellous tool; women's forces are offered to it with the absolute devotion of which they have already given proof. You will not, Mr. Senator, allow these forces to be disdainfully repulsed, when most nations have accepted women's collaboration with gratitude, and have recognised its utility.

Frenchwomen would suffer profoundly at being treated as inferior to the women of other nations; they do not think they deserve it, and it is this affront, Mr. Senator, that we beg you to avoid by giving us the suffrage we demand.

We approach you with confidence, Mr. Senator, and we beg to remain, etc.,

For the French National Council of Women (Federation of 150 women's associations): MME. JULES SIEGFRIED, President; MME. AVRIL DE STE. CROIX, General Secretary.

For the French Union for Woman Suffrage (Federation of 80 departmental groups): MME. DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER, President; MME. BRUNSCHVICG and MME. PAULINE REBOUR, General Secretaries.

For the French League for Women's Rights: MME. MARIA VÉRONÉ, President.

For the Fraternal Union of Women: MME. AMÉLIE HAMMER, President; MME. JULIETTE RASPAIL, General Secretary.

For the Society for Improving Women's Conditions: MME. FONSÈQUE.

For Human Rights: MME. MESSAGE.

Other delegations are to be received shortly by the Commission; first, that of the women workers, then a great deputation of war widows, which we hope will produce a certain effect. We are also thinking of a petition of women of Alsace-Lorraine.

If we had more time before us we should be happier about getting some sort of vote before the elections; what we must avoid, I repeat, is being buried under flowers. We do not wish to be buried.

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

For the present we may hope that it may not come to that; in any case the further development will be followed with the closest attention, and an adequate representation of women on the workmen's councils must be thought out, even if these are confined to purely economic functions.

After its chief object has been attained so unexpectedly quickly, the German National Union for Woman Suffrage (Reichsverband) is engaged in a lively discussion whether to dissolve or to turn into a society for the political education of women. The question cannot come to a decision before the next general gathering in the autumn, and will probably be solved in the latter sense.

HELENE LANGE HONOURED.

Finally, I have to report two events—one an episode which is pleasing as a sign of the times, the other a sad event.

It happened that among the elected members of the people's chamber of the Hamburg Republic, the well-known leader of the German women's movement, Helene Lange, with her 71 years, was the oldest of the members, and as president by age opened the session of the Chamber. No one took exception to this; rather everyone appreciated the distinction and dignity with which this woman president accomplished her task.

DEATH OF HEDWIG DOHM.

A few days ago the oldest pioneer of woman suffrage in Germany, the President of Honour of the National Union for Woman Suffrage, Hedwig Dohm, died at the age of 86.

From the beginning of the 'seventies, when in her book, "The Nature and Rights of Women" ("Der Frauen Natur und Recht"), she made the claim, she never ceased to stand for the political emancipation of women. In early days treated with hostility, mocked, morally stoned by all the world, especially by the so-called intelligentsia, she had the rare good fortune at the end of her days to see the dreams of her youth realised. Although she never took an active part in our work, but only helped it by the inspiration that she sent out from her desk, she remained the soul of it. She united the strongest intelligence with the kindest motherly heart, an unflinching logic with the most fiery temperament, the courage of an uncompromisingly sharp pen with the most timid shrinking before every personal step into publicity.

There is a peculiar pathos that this chosen leader and emancipator of her sex so shortly before her end experienced the momentous event of going to the ballot as the fully enfranchised citizen of her Fatherland.

MARIE STRITT,
President of the German National Union for Woman Suffrage.

The *Frauenfrage* for May contains two articles of special interest: "Women's Part in the League of Nations," by Dr. Alice Salomon; and "The Danger to Woman Suffrage in the Soviet System," by Dr. Gertrud Bäumer.

DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

The Berlin Labour Exchange has published a specimen contract for household helps, in which the employer specifies the size of the household and duties, whether, *e.g.*, laundry, carpet-beating, window-cleaning, coal-carrying, etc., are included, and the employee guarantees qualifications. Regulations are given as to the bedroom provided, which must be fitted with a lock, a fireplace, an outside window, and properly furnished with washstand and clothes cupboard.

An 11-hour day is suggested—7 a.m. to 8 p.m.—with two hours off for meals. Half-day Sunday and one other half-day are free. Tribunals consisting of representatives of employers and employed are to decide disputes.

WOMEN MAGISTRATES AND JURORS.

The Minister of Justice is preparing a bill to enable women to become magistrates and to sit on juries. These lists will in future be made by election, not by nomination by the authorities.

THE CHURCH VOTE.

The Wurttemberg, Westphalia, and Silesia Church Synods have granted women the church vote and eligibility.

WOMEN AND THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

The German Democratic Party in Hamburg has at the request of its women's group, requested the Chamber of Commerce and Senate of Hamburg to admit women to the Stock Exchange.

TCHECHO-SLOVAKIA.

The Social Political Committee of the National Assembly has decided, on the motion of its member, Mrs. Bozena Vilkuneticka, to recommend the National Assembly to take over

the protection of mothers and infants in the State administration. The Committee points out that the bringing up of a healthy and capable race is eminently the duty of the public administration, the care of maternity and infancy can no longer be left to private enterprise or chance. It therefore recommends that the Minister for Social Welfare bring in a bill to provide for the proper protection of mother and child.

—*Frauenfrage*, May.

GREAT BRITAIN.

National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION BILL.

There are two measures at present before the House of Commons, which are of the greatest possible importance to women. The first of these is the Women's Emancipation Bill which has already been mentioned in the N.U.S.E.C. report for the Women's International News. It will be remembered that this Bill extends the franchise to women on the same terms as those on which it is given to men, opens all posts directly or indirectly under the Crown to women equally with men, and enables peeresses in their own right to sit in the House of Lords.

The Bill was introduced by the Labour Party and found itself in the unusual position of having no opposition, since at the last general election all parties pledged themselves to care for the interests of their women constituents and to give them equality of opportunity with men in public service. The Government, however, took exception on so-called grounds of expedience to the proposal to alter the franchise, and in consequence although it adopted the Bill it declared its intention to delete the objectionable clause when the Bill was considered in detail in Committee. On this understanding the Bill passed its second reading on April 4th.

Imagine, then, the surprise of British feminists when, on May 14, the Bill passed out of Committee unamended, and it was found that the Government proposal to delete clause 2 had been defeated. On investigation, too, the situation was found to contain elements of humour—the House of Commons proceeding has quite recently been altered and several standing Committees have been set up to consider Bills in detail. To one of these the Women's Emancipation Bill had been referred, and one can only imagine that the Government had forgotten the date on which it was to be discussed, while the friends of the Bill had remembered. The Bill having passed through the Committee unamended, the Government is now faced with considerable difficulty in altering it, for a Bill which is reported to the House of Commons from a Committee as unamended, cannot technically then be altered by the House. We are still quite uncertain what the Government will do, and look forward with the liveliest interest to July 4th, the day fixed for the report stage of the Bill.*

Meanwhile, the N.U.S.E.C. is organising everywhere support for this measure which is of such immeasurable importance to women. It is urging its societies to hold meetings and pass resolutions in its support, and in London is arranging a large public meeting for "Women under Thirty"—that is for the women still unenfranchised—where the speakers will all be under thirty themselves. Processions decorated with banners and badges will march to the meeting.

PRE-WAR PRACTICES BILL.

There is also before the House of Commons a second measure likely greatly to affect women, but with a far gloomier feminist outlook than the Women's Emancipation Bill. This is the Pre-War Practices Bill. Those who have interested themselves in Labour conditions in Great Britain may remember that on the outbreak of war, when the industrial trade unions relaxed their regulations in order that the nation might have the largest possible supply of workers and of products, the British Government pledged itself to restore these regulations when the war should end. This pledge is known as the Treasury agreement and the Pre-War Practices Bill is the Government's attempt to give it effect.

During the war greater and greater changes have taken place in the British world of industry, which have made the restoration of pre-war Trade Union conditions increasingly difficult. Of these one of the most remarkable is the alteration in the industrial position of women. There has been a vast increase in the number of women industrial workers and they have proved themselves of the greatest possible use to the nation as producers. Feminists necessarily look forward with consider-

* See page 147.

CANADA.

The Ontario Government has prorogued for the session, leaving quite a crop of interesting legislation behind it, though shelving a great deal for which the women have been asking for a very long time, including an equal guardianship law, mothers' pensions, etc.

It did, however, make women eligible for election both to the Provincial Legislature and to Municipal Councils. Also, it passed an Act making it illegal for any woman to be put into a "home" or house of refuge except on a judge's order, which must be renewed at least once in two years. This was passed because it was found that a parent had had a refractory daughter confined in a "home" against her will for many years.

It defined who will be considered "British subjects" for the purposes of Provincial elections. With regard to women, the new Act states that a woman will be considered British provided (1) she is British born and is either unmarried or married to a British subject, and has not become a subject of any foreign Power; or (2) she is foreign born, and has become naturalised on her own account, and has not since become a subject of a foreign Power; or (3) she is foreign born, but has become naturalised by marrying a British subject, or by the naturalisation of her parents while she was a minor, provided that in either case she (a) has not done anything to forfeit her status as a British subject, and (b) has obtained a certificate, under the signature of a judge of the Supreme Court or of a county or district court, stating that such female is 21 years of age, and has all the qualifications which would entitle a male to naturalisation, and has taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty.

You will notice this only holds for Provincial elections. The question of nationality and the qualifications mentioned as being necessary for a man to be entitled to become naturalised are a Dominion matter, and the women are doing everything in their power to urge the Dominion Government to give women the right to decide on their own nationality, both before and after marriage. Our present Nationality Act, as far as married women are concerned, is the same as the British Act, from which it was copied. EDITH LANG.

WEST INDIES.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN JAMAICA.

On May 14th the Legislative Council of Jamaica granted the franchise to women. The Bill, introduced by the Hon. H. A. L. Simpson, O.B.E., member for Kingston, met with no serious opposition. The qualifications for women are a little higher than those for men, viz.:—the age limit, which is 25 years, and the payment of rates, which must be £2 a year (men 10s).

On the 16th the Legislative Council passed a special bill to enable the newly enfranchised women to vote at the elections due in the autumn.

Women in Jamaica have not yet the right to be elected on the Legislative Council, or even on the Parochial Boards and City Councils. The Jamaica Women Suffrage Society (hon. sec. Mrs. Alice M. Swallow), which was started only last September, has now expanded into the Women's Social Service Club, with Mrs. De Cordova, president, and Mrs. Latreille, Rosedale Avenue, Kingston, hon. sec. The members of this Club are greatly cheered by the success which has followed the movement, and hope that the advance will be greatly accelerated by the coming visit of the Governor to England. He, Sir Leslie Probyn, has been in sympathy with the movement from the first, and on his visit to England will no doubt hear much of what has been accomplished by women there.

HARRIET C. NEWCOMB,

Hon. Sec. British Dominions
Women Citizens' Union.

19, Buckingham Street, Strand, London.
June 19th, 1919.

International Council of Women.

The International Council of Women held an informal conference in London on June 18 and following days of representatives from Allied and neutral countries. The following countries were represented: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Serbia, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United States.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

INDIA.

Summary of Suffrage Work Done in India.

Demand for the grant of the vote placed before Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu by the representative All-India Women's Deputation on December 18, 1917. Members: Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Miss Joshi, Mrs. Saralabai Naik, M.A., Mrs. Srirangamma, B.A., Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Kibe, Mrs. Dalvi, Mrs. Jinarajadasa, Mrs. Lazarus, Mrs. Chandrasekara Aiyar, Mrs. Cousins, Mus. Bac., Mrs. Herabai Tata, Begum Hasrat Mohani, Mrs. Guruswami Chetty, supported by telegrams from Lady J. C. Bose, Miss H. Petit, Mrs. Rannade, Mrs. Saraladevi Choudhuri, Mrs. Nilakanta, Mrs. U. Nehru, Miss Arundale, Mrs. Padmabai Sanjiva Rao, and Miss Gokhale.

The demand was that "when the franchise is being drawn up women may be recognised as 'people,' and that it may be worded in such terms as will not disqualify our sex, but allow our women the same opportunities of representation as our men."

National Congress at Calcutta, 1917.—A woman suffrage resolution appeared for the first time on the agenda paper, but owing to lack of time was withdrawn without discussion. A woman was president of the Congress—Mrs. Annie Besant.

Bombay Provincial Conference, April, 1918.—A resolution in favour of the removal of sex disqualification from the Reform Bill was moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and passed unanimously and enthusiastically. Bombay Presidency contains nineteen million people.

Madras Provincial Conference, April, 1918.—Similar resolution to above moved by Mrs. Guruswami Chetty, Sister Balambal seconded, and passed unanimously and enthusiastically. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, president. Madras Presidency contains forty million people.

Malabar District Conference, March, 1918.—Similar resolution moved by Mrs. Jinarajadasa, and passed unanimously.

In all these the requisition asking that the subject should be put on the agenda was signed by a large number of women's societies and prominent ladies of the provinces.

A woman suffrage resolution was passed by the Provincial Congress Committees of the Central Provinces, the Punjab, the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the United Provinces.

The India Home Rule League voted in favour of Indian woman suffrage at its Executive meeting in October, 1918.

The Andhra Provincial Conference also passed a vote in favour of woman suffrage being included in the Reform Bill, which was proposed by Mrs. Lakshminipathi.

The Bombay Special National Congress and the Muslim League, in September, 1918, passed the following resolutions, the first, after a discussion, by a three-quarters majority; the second unanimously:—

Resolution VII.—Women possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the scheme shall not be disqualified on account of sex.

Resolution VIII.—That so far as the question of determining the franchise and the constituencies and the composition of the legislative assemblies is concerned, this Congress is of opinion that instead of being left to be dealt with by committees, it should be decided by the House of Commons, and be incorporated in the statute to be framed for the Constitution of the Indian Government.

The Delhi National Congress, December, 1918.—Passed unanimously the first of the previous resolutions, proposed by Mrs. Saraladevi Choudhuri and spoken to by several Gujerati ladies.

These two Congresses were the representative assemblies of All-India, and at each there were over 5,000 delegates and as many visitors, including hundreds of ladies.

Requisitions expressing women's desire for the vote, and explaining their reasons, were sent to the Southborough Franchise Committee by all the forty branches of the Women's Indian Association; by the members of the former All-India Women's Deputation to Mr. Montagu; by the Women Graduates' Association, Bombay; by Women's Branches of the Home Rule League; by the Bharata Stree Mandal and other Women's Societies. Ladies representing the Bengal and Punjab Provinces interviewed the Committee, but the extremely difficult expert nature of their "oral examination" (as the report itself names it) deterred other Indian ladies who are unaccustomed to such male cross-examination from requesting interviews, and they put forward their claims by correspondence instead.

Municipal Voting.—For a number of years the municipal vote has been exercised by the women of the Bombay Presi-

dency intelligently and interestedly. A motion to extend the eligibility of women to election for the Corporation was defeated by a narrow majority. This year the municipal vote has been granted to the women of the Madras municipality. The Corporation were in favour of extending eligibility to women for election to the Corporation, but this was vetoed by the Government of Madras.

Mrs. Cousins, secretary of the Women's Indian Association, writes on behalf of its forty-five branches to protest against the decision of the Southborough Committee that the franchise shall not be extended to women. This decision is in direct opposition to the votes of the Bombay and Delhi Congresses, and will be met by women's protest meetings throughout India.

HUNGARY.

NEW CONSTITUTION.

The Federative Socialist Constitution gives the vote to all inhabitants of Hungary over 18 years of age employed in work useful to the State, without distinction of sex. The State will not recognise any distinction of race, nationality, or class.

ITALY.

COMING ELECTORAL REFORM AND VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The question of electoral reform is said to be likely to be considered immediately. Signor Ferdinand Martini will introduce a motion for woman suffrage.

LUXEMBURG.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND ELIGIBILITY.

Henri Meier, of the Luxemburg Socialist Party, writing in *l'Humanité*, says:—

Luxemburg women have now acquired political rights. The Constituent Assembly on May 8 adopted universal suffrage by 39 votes to 11. Elections will in future take place by proportional representation on the Hagenbach-Bischoff system.

All Luxemburgers, without distinction of sex, of 21 years of age, are electors, and eligible for Parliament and for communal councils.

A violent campaign was carried on against woman suffrage by the Liberals. All the Socialists and all the Clericals except two voted for women's political emancipation. The Liberals fear women's votes because the latter are by a great majority Clericals. These so-called democrats wished to impose a probation period of six years, during which they would have only the communal vote.

We think women know life as well as men. They have learnt direct from life—life which for them means continual family cares, war miseries, long impotent submission to the caprices of men, who, as the great Ibsen said, made laws for them. If women are to be deprived of the suffrage because they vote "wrong," the men who elected the present Clerical majority must also be disfranchised.

Socialists know that human rights belong to women as to men, and since the Stuttgart Congress, 1907, when the International pronounced for the political rights of women, the idea has made its way.

NETHERLANDS.

Declaration of Principles.

The Dutch League of Women Citizens, non-partisan in religious and political matters, declares its opinion that insight and sense of equity in the women as well as in the men of our country should be an active force for social and legal reform, and that the nation should strive for a better future, with equality of rights between the sexes.

The aim of the L.W.C. is: (a) To further legal, social, and economic equality of men and women; (b) to promote the interests of women as workers, wives, and mothers; (c) to enlighten women politically; (d) to proclaim the women's insight into social and political questions, and make it known in representative bodies.

NORWAY.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

The Electoral Reform Commission, in its report, is unanimous for proportional representation. In reference to other

SWITZERLAND.

Woman Suffrage Association's Eighth General Assembly.

Our Association held its eighth general assembly at Chaux-de-Fonds in Canton Neuchâtel. We were happy to meet in this privileged canton, on which all eyes are fixed. In Neuchâtel they are on the eve of a referendum on a modification of the canton constitution to give women full political rights.

Besides about fifty delegates from all parts of Switzerland, in response to the cordial invitation of the Section of Chaux-de-Fonds, a large audience was present at the discussions, which, after the procedure was settled, became very interesting.

REPORT ON YEAR'S WORK.

The session began with a very clear account by our president, Miss Emily Gourd, on the activity of the Association for the past year. I will quote only the chief points. At the end of the year 1918 the Central Committee was obliged to meet often, on account of the general strike at home and the revolution in the Central Empires—events which gave quite a new importance to the suffrage question. The Olten Socialist Committee having included woman suffrage in its programme, the Central Committee sent to the Federal Council a telegram recommending the grant of woman suffrage, while adhering to the most scrupulous constitutionality. Then an extraordinary general assembly met, which decided that the A.S.S.F. should support the demand for a total revision of the Constitution, demanding the introduction of suffrage.

The Central Committee was then invited by the Bâle section to study the following question: Bâle thought it must take advantage of the referendum on proportional representation to submit to the people at the same time the question of woman suffrage, so that if the latter were adopted women could take part in the next elections to the National Council. M. Göttsheim, National Councillor, offered to bring in a motion to this effect. The Central Committee rejected this proposal, on the ground that it would be difficult to ask the people to give their verdict at the same time on a question they had already accepted and on a new principle like woman suffrage. The following motion by M. Göttsheim was, nevertheless, brought forward:—

The Federal Council is invited to present to the National Council a bill for the revision of the Constitution which will give Swiss women the benefit of political rights which the Constitution confers on citizens.

This motion was preceded by that of the Socialist leader, M. Greulich, supported by eleven co-signatories. But with the slowness of Federal procedure neither of the two motions has yet been submitted.

On December 4 the Central Committee sent to the Federal Council and to the Chambers an address asking for the introduction of woman suffrage in the Constitution, followed by a short brochure setting forth the reasons for the suffrage, then a petition signed by 157 women's societies and mixed societies. Six large societies sent a separate address, as their reasons were different from ours. Mlle. Gourd finished her interesting speech by telling us that as future citizens, conscious of our duties, we can salute the future with immense hope, however heavy it may sometimes seem.

NATIONALITY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

Mme. Girardet Vielle then presented a very clear report on the nationality of the married woman in different countries. This account proved the difficulties arising from the different systems prevailing at present in each country, and the necessity of revision by international legislation. The Central Committee not having yet come to a decision on this complex question, it remains pending for more complete study by the Committee.

FEDERAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A proposal from Geneva: How should woman suffrage be introduced in the Federal Constitution? was the subject of a long exposé by M. de Morsier. The speaker proposed that the Association should send to the competent authorities a motion asking for the introduction into the Constitution of one of the two following articles:—

(1) All Swiss persons of the twenty-two cantons form the Swiss people; or,

(2) Every person of Swiss nationality is a Swiss citizen. An interesting discussion arose on this subject. The National Councillor, M. Graber, pointed out that we are faced with motions for immediate partial revision of the Constitution, whereas M. de Morsier's proposals could only be applied after

points, the report is in four sections. The Majority Report proposes that the number of representatives in the Storting shall be 138—46 for town and 296 for the country districts. The elections shall be proportional on the list system; that is to say, similar to the present system for communal elections.

(2) The second report is in favour of 150—50 for town and 100 for country. Of these 126 are to be chosen by one-man districts, the remaining 24 are to be "extra seats." The 126 are to be chosen first; afterwards the 24—16 for country and 8 for town—are to be divided among the parties that take part in the election in proportion to their whole number of votes.

(3) One member of the Commission, Magnus Nitssen, is in favour of fixing the number of Storting representatives at 150. According to his proposal, the country should be divided into equal large electoral districts on the basis of population, indifferently for town and country.

(4) Another member of the Commission proposes that the number of representatives should be 150, each county to form an electoral district with the exception of Kristiania, Bergen, Trondhjem, and Stavanger, which are to be special districts. —*Nygaende*, Kristiania, June 1.

SWEDEN.

The readers of *Jus Suffragii* have learnt already that on May the 24th both Chambers of the Swedish Parliament accepted the Royal Proposition of political suffrage and eligibility for Swedish women.

The debates contained nothing new or striking. Some words of welcome from old friends, among them the Premier in the First and the Minister of Justice in the Second Chamber—that was all. Our old opponents, who had given up their former position of absolute unwillingness, had not one word for us or about us or even against us—nothing but the silence of resignation. But the Speaker's stroke with his hammer as he affirmed the resolution sounded strong and definite and even joyous, and, sitting in the gallery, we heard it with a certain sense of solemnity. It was done after all.

Formally speaking, however, it is not done as yet. To be definitely valid, the resolution must be confirmed by a new Parliament, after new elections. We hope a dissolution of the Second Chamber will take place next year and the new Parliament called in to corroborate this and other Constitutional amendments. If so, we shall be able to vote already at the ordinary elections in September, 1920.

Our own celebration of the event took place on May 29. Festivities began the evening before by a church service in Stockholm's oldest and most venerable church. The next morning our Central Board had an extra meeting. Telegrams were sent to Mr. Lindhagen, the Premier and the Minister of Justice, and, last but not least, to Mrs. Borg, widow of F. T. Borg, who brought in the first motion on woman suffrage in the year 1884. Mrs. Borg has herself ever since her husband's death been a fervent champion of the cause. A deputation with a cordial greeting was also sent to the Social Democratic women, who celebrated the day at a special meeting.

The great celebration was in the Auditorium, our greatest hall. The cantata of 1911, with chorus and orchestra, was again given, and speeches by Selma Lagerlöf, Anna Whitlock, and Mrs. Lydia Mattson-Sager. From the Social Democratic women a deputation came, headed by Miss Anna Lindhagen, and greetings were given, too, by representatives of Norwegian and Danish organisations.

In the evening a large open-air meeting was held on the Skansen, with music and speeches.

Even in Göteborg, Malmö, Upsala, and many other places similar meetings have been held. In Upsala the speakers were Dr. Selma Lagerlöf, the Premier, and the Archbishop.

Dr. Lagerlöf said in her speech that of all the gifts that she expected to emanate from the granting of woman suffrage the one she considered most valuable was that we had all won a firm conviction that an impossible cause could be led to victory. And, indeed, impossible causes are tumbling down over the present generation of men and women, peace problems and social problems, demanding not only slight amendments but real practical solutions. In all countries woman suffrage comes with greater aims and greater responsibility than ever before in history. May we be able to furnish justice and goodness to the public life of the future.

ANNA WICKSELL.

total revision, which may not be carried through for many years yet. We must aim at partial revision.

After consideration the following resolution was adopted by a large majority:—

The Assembly reaffirms its desire to see woman suffrage introduced in Switzerland as soon as possible by the immediate revision of the Federal Constitution; it further asks that when the total revision of the Constitution is undertaken, it shall stipulate explicitly what form part of the Swiss people as citizens, consequently possessing the same political rights as male citizens, by introducing at the head of the Federal Constitution the principle that every person of Swiss nationality is a Swiss citizen.

VENEREAL DISEASE.

Should the Swiss Association for Woman Suffrage take part in the combating of venereal diseases? This new point in the programme was brought forward by Mme. Gerhardt, of Bâle, who insisted on the urgency of action to combat the extension of venereal disease—a danger increased by the war. She said that as women have not yet the right to collaborate in the laws or to vote for them, they have no alternative but to treat these questions in their Associations, and eventually to present proposals to the competent authorities. A Swiss Society has been formed to combat venereal disease, and women are admitted to it. Among the 30 members of the Committee there are 17 doctors and three women, which suggests that the work will be done more from the purely scientific point of view than from that of the protection of women.

Everyone applauded the arguments of the Bâle Society; but, as the subject is outside the scope of the Association, the Assembly voted the following resolution:—

Considering that the combating of venereal diseases is an urgent necessity, but that it does not enter within the scope of the A.S.S.F. to discuss it in technical detail, the assembly of delegates charges the Central Committee and recommends the sections to support the organisations which make this their object, while insisting on the moral factor and on the principle of the equality of the sexes, without which no preventive measure could be efficacious.

The third great question on the programme is that of women's civic service, proposed by the Winterthour Section. This subject meets from the outset with strong opposition in the assembly. The latter does not greet with pleasure a rapprochement with military service. Women have amply done their social duty up till now; they will continue to do it when they have the right to vote—a right they are entitled to without having to buy it. It is not the moment when we are hoping to abolish men's military service, to introduce an analogous service for women. Perhaps we shall arrive later at having a regular agricultural service at the heavy seasons, so that the agriculturists shall not have too heavy work.

The proposal for civic service was unanimously rejected. On the other hand everyone was in favour of the principle of improving the social and professional education of girls and young men.

LIMITATION OF WOMEN'S WORK.

M. de Maday presented, in the name of the Neuchâtel Section, a report on the attitude of feminists to the legal regulation of women's work. He brought forward the articles adopted by the Labour Charter in Paris, presented by the Socialist Congress, and that of the Berne syndicates. He recalled the formula, equal pay for equal work. The two following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

(1) The Association sees with satisfaction that the principle, equal pay for equal work, without distinction of sex, figures in the International Labour Charter, forming part of the Peace Treaty.

(2) The Association expresses the wish that a Committee on Women's Work may be constituted in Switzerland, composed solely of women (representing the trade unionists, medical women, women's societies, etc.), to which should be submitted on a consultative basis all legislative proposals affecting women. The Federal Council will consult this Committee, making use of the right which has been conferred on it by Article 65 of the new factory law, to forbid certain branches of manufacture to women.

Two individual proposals of M. de Morsier were referred to the Central Committee for study. The first proposed that a specimen lecture should be distributed to the sections to prepare the feminist federal campaign. It would be a means to train speakers quickly. The second asked that two delegates from the Association should be present at a session at which the whole problem of Switzerland and the League of Nations would be examined.

Finally, to finish this fine day, eight speakers explained the position of woman suffrage in various cantons, and in the Federal Chambers. Canton Neuchâtel is in the front rank of progress, where the suffrage question has triumphed in the Grand Council. It will be submitted to popular referendum

on June 28 and 29. Motions are before the Grand Councils of Bâle and Geneva, which are studying the question.

At Saint Gall the Grand Council will take up the question in the autumn session. In the Canton of Vaud the Government does not hurry. It is possible that a popular initiative may be decided on, or that a petition may be circulated by the suffragists among the Vaudois women.

In Canton Zurich they have decided on the gradual granting of political rights to women, beginning with the communal vote.

After a day so rich in interesting problems, in which we shared with increasing pleasure, we arranged to meet at Château-d'Œx, where a holiday course in suffrage is organised for the month of July.

Woman Suffrage in Switzerland.

Berne, June 23.

Replying in the National Council to an interpellation by Socialist and Radical deputies, M. Motta, Federal Councillor for the Department of Finance and Customs, stated that the Government was ready to consider the introduction of a measure extending the suffrage to women.

M. Motta emphasised that, as female suffrage has already been introduced, enacted in some European countries, and in process of being introduced in others, the Government felt bound to give the matter serious consideration.

It was M. Motta's personal opinion that the collaboration of women in politics would prevent a return, in the future, to such catastrophes as world wars.—Reuter.

Hawaii.

An attempt to secure suffrage for the women of Hawaii by action of the territorial legislature this month came close to success according to dispatches just received at the Washington headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Among the speakers in favour at the hearing of the bill granted by the House of Representatives was J. Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, delegate from the Territory to the Congress of the United States, who last year secured from Congress the right for the legislature to confer suffrage upon the women of the islands. The hearing opened dramatically with the reading of a letter from Mrs. C. J. McCarthy, wife of the Governor of the Territory, announcing that she had been converted from an opponent to a supporter of the bill. Other speakers in favour were Princess Kalaniana'ole, Mrs. Walter F. Frear, wife of a former Governor of the Territory; Judge Dole, first President of the Republic of Hawaii, and first Governor of the Territory; Mrs. Ke-hii.

Dr. Shaw Honoured.

On the opening day of the 66th Congress, which stands pledged to the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, for which she has worked so long, Secretary Baker presented the Distinguished Service Medal to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Dr. Shaw served during the war as Chairman of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defence, and it was inevitable that her remarkable record in that capacity should be officially recognised. Suffragists the world over rejoice in her honour. And she, characteristically, says:

"I realise that in conferring upon me the Distinguished Service Medal, the President and Secretary of War are not expressing their appreciation of what I as an individual have done but of the collective service of the women of the country. As it is impossible to decorate all women who have served equally with the Chairman of the Woman's Committee, I have been chosen, and while I appreciate the honour and am prouder to wear this decoration than to receive any other recognition save my political freedom, which is the first desire of a loyal American, I nevertheless look upon this as the beginning of the recognition by the country of the service and loyalty of women. And above all that the part women are called upon to take in times of war is recognised as equally necessary in times of peace. This departure on the part of the national government through the President and Secretary of War gives the greater promise of the time near at hand when every citizen of the United States will be esteemed a government asset because of his or her loyalty and service rather than because of sex."

—Woman Citizen.

UNITED STATES.

Federal Amendment Passed by Both Houses of Congress.

Victory!

At last! At last! The women of the United States can send the joyful message to the suffragists of the world that their Federal Amendment has passed both Houses of Congress and is now on its way to ratification by the State Legislatures! The Senate gave the final vote on June 4, which will henceforth be Independence Day for women, as July 4 is now for the nation. For the two hottest and almost the two longest days of the summer we sat under the glass ceiling in the Senate gallery and listened to the debate with strained ears, tense nerves and quickly beating hearts. We tried to convince each other that it was certain to win, but whenever a friendly Senator left his seat to walk in the corridor some one of us would slip out and come back presently with the renewed assurances that it was perfectly safe, that its supporters were all present, or if any were absent they were carefully "paired" with other members, and that it could not fail. And then we would force ourselves to listen in patience while the Senators talked on and on and on.

The measure was in charge of the new chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, Senator James E. Watson, of Indiana, formerly a member of the lower house. He presented it in a speech that filled just twelve lines of the *Record*, not a word more than was actually necessary, and then he "sat tight" and watched the opponents struggle against fate. They had promised not to "filibuster"—that is, to talk simply to kill time—but it was soon evident that this was precisely what they intended to do. The friends of the amendment, Republicans and Democrats, had agreed to let its enemies do all the talking, and only spoke when it was necessary to correct some misstatements. There is no rule in the Senate to limit debate and on the first day when 5 o'clock, the hour for adjournment, approached, Senator Watson said: "I shall move a recess until to-morrow at 12 o'clock, and when we convene I shall insist on the Senate remaining in session until this question is finally disposed of." The presiding officer agreed to this request.

This was on Tuesday, and on Wednesday the discussion began again. Amendments of various kinds to weaken the original were offered, debated and voted down as soon as there was a chance. Practically nothing was said on woman suffrage *per se* but the whole fight was against a Federal Amendment instead of leaving the question to be settled by the voters of each State. This "State's right doctrine" never has been accepted by the Republican party, but on this occasion Senators Wadsworth, of New York, and Borah, of Idaho, Republicans from equal suffrage States, outdid the Democrats in upholding it. Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, the Republican leader, who is bitterly opposed to woman suffrage by any method, did not speak once during the two days, and he was not busy, as on former occasions, consulting the opponents in both parties in scheming for the defeat of the amendment. He showed in his face and manner the mortification of seeing his position repudiated by his own party.

Finally 5 o'clock approached again. The opponents were angry, worn out and crestfallen. The advocates sat calm, smiling and confident. The presiding officer said: "If there be no further amendment the joint resolution will be read the third time." It was read as follows:

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

ARTICLE 19.

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

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

"The secretary will call the roll," said the presiding officer. It came so suddenly that we looked at each other bewildered and whispered, "We're off!" We sat in breathless suspense

during the roll call, which was short, as there are only 96 members, and then, almost as in a dream, we heard the words: "The ayes are 56 and the noes are 25. A quorum being present and the joint resolution having received the affirmative vote of more than two-thirds of the Senators present and voting, is declared to have passed the Senate in accordance with the Constitution of the United States." And we knew that the contest of half-a-century was ended! Several thousand persons were in the galleries, nearly all women, and, while demonstration there of any kind is absolutely forbidden, round after round of applause swept over them without any effort to check it by the presiding officer. The U.S. Vice-President, who is an opponent, was out of town both days, and we were glad to have in the chair Senator Cummins, of Iowa, who always has been a loyal friend of woman suffrage.

LOWER HOUSE FOR THE AMENDMENT.

The House of Representatives had already passed the amendment. In my last letter, written on May 9, I said that committees of both houses were sure to make favourable reports; that probably they would not consider it necessary to give any "hearing" to advocates or opponents; that there would not be any attempt to prevent a discussion and vote, and that two-thirds of the members of both houses were pledged to vote in favour. All of these statements were proved to be correct. I said the only question in doubt was whether any member would break his pledge. Not one of them did so, and a number of Representatives voted in favour who were not pledged. The entire lower house was newly elected but many of them had been members of the last one. Of the thirteen new members of the Senate, eleven were in favour of woman suffrage.

I said in my letter that the lower house would probably want to consider appropriation and other bills and the Senate to consume weeks in discussing the Peace Treaty and League of Nations, and it might be mid-summer or even the regular session next December before our measure was taken up.

This is the way it looked at that time, and yet exactly four weeks from the day that letter was written the amendment had passed both houses and the struggle was over! The women did not realise what the political party in power could do with a measure when it really tried. The Congress met on May 19; on May 20 the suffrage amendment was reported favourably in the lower house and placed on the calendar; on May 21 it was passed after only two hours of discussion! The Republicans rejoiced that they got it on the calendar an hour or two before the President's Message was read, which is always done after twelve o'clock on the second day of a new session. They knew he would recommend it—hence their haste. President Wilson said in part:—

"It seems to me that every consideration of justice and public advantage calls for the immediate adoption of the amendment to the Constitution which would extend the suffrage to women, and its submission forthwith to the Legislatures of the several States. Throughout all the world this long-delayed extension of the suffrage is looked for; in the United States, longer, I believe, than anywhere else, the necessity for it and the immense advantage of it to the national life have been urged and debated by women and men who saw the need for it and urged the policy of it when it required steadfast courage to be so much beforehand with the common conviction. I, for one, covet for our country the distinction of being among the first to act in a great reform."

The concluding sentence is an enigma, as the United States is already among the last to act. The amendment received 304 affirmative and 89 negative votes, a clear majority of 215, and 42 more than the required two-thirds. The Republicans gave 84 per cent. of their voting strength in favour and the Democrats 54 per cent. The latter, however, deserve much appreciation, as they have by no means such support of public sentiment, in the Southern States especially, as the Republicans have. Although in this new Congress it was really a Republican measure, not one of the Democrats who had stood by it when their party might have claimed the credit, wavered in his support. Nine of their old members changed from foes to friends, and 37 of their 45 new members voted in the affirmative. The Republicans have 71 new members, and 65 of them voted in favour.

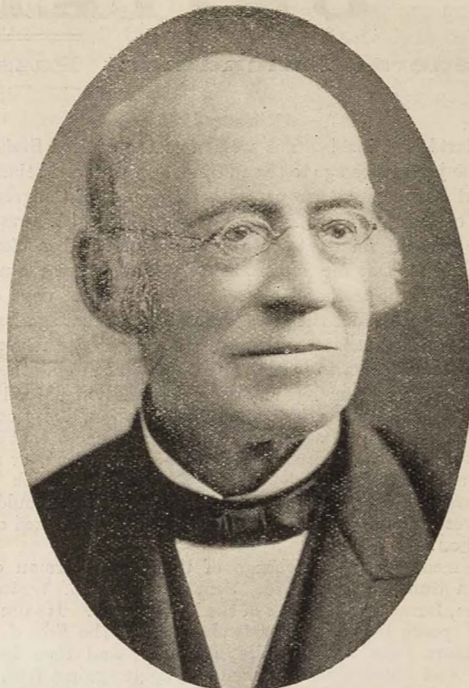


ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Vote in the Senate.

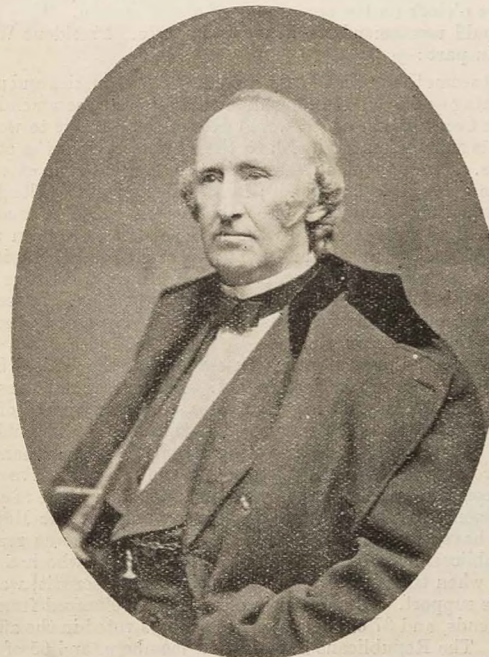
This amendment had the unusual advantage of receiving the vote of the Senate complete. Generally there are vacancies in the 96 seats. During 1918, it will be remembered, ten Senators died. On this occasion every Senator either answered to his name or was "paired" with a Senator on the other side, who thus agreed not to vote. The vote was full and free and fair, and its validity never can be questioned. Two weeks and two days after the 66th Congress convened the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment had been passed by both houses, after every Congress had been urged to take this action since 1839.

A pleasant incident occurred as soon as the Senate vote was taken, when a group of the leaders who had for years worked under the banners of the National American Association were escorted to the private room of the Speaker of the House, where he sat ready to sign the amendment. A battery of



WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

cameras in charge of the moving-picture photographers almost filled the large room. Former Speaker Clark and a group of the Republican and Democratic Representatives who had made the fight for the amendment were waiting. A little later this scene was repeated in the spacious room of the Vice-President, with Senators substituted for Representatives. It was an especial satisfaction to receive the official recognition of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House when they presented to Mrs. Maud Wood Park, as the chairman of the Association's Congressional Committee, the gold pen with which they signed the amendment; and later to have that implacable enemy, the *New York Times*, say editorially: "To the National American Woman Suffrage Association, so ably and so subtly led by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the gold pen with which the golden resolution was signed was given in just testimony of the skill, the sagacity, and the habitual moderation of the majority feminist organization."



WENDELL PHILLIPS



IDA HUSTED HARPER.



LUCRETIA MOTT.

And then came the tribute from the Government itself—the cablegram from President Wilson to Mrs. Catt: "I join with you and all friends of the suffrage cause in rejoicing over the adoption of the suffrage amendment by the Congress. Please accept and convey to your Association my warmest congratulations."

But this was not the only delightful thing that happened. Before the ink was dry on these signatures the Governors of the few States whose Legislatures are still sitting and others who intend to call special sessions for various kinds of business began telegraphing to the office of the Secretary of State in Washington for a certified copy of the amendment in order that it might be ratified. This was sent as soon as possible, and the Illinois Legislature on June 10 secured the honour of being the first State to ratify it, unanimously in the House and with three opposing votes in the Senate. The Wisconsin Legislature ratified a few hours later, with one dissenting vote in the Senate and two in the House; and before nightfall the Michigan Legislature sealed its own ratification with a unanimous vote in both Houses. The only other two now in session are those of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and, while the hostility



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

of their Senators might indicate little hope, we are learning that nothing is impossible in the movement for woman suffrage.

The climax came, however, when, on the evening of this memorable day the Governor of New York called an extraordinary session of its Legislature to meet on June 16 "to act upon ratification of the Woman Suffrage Constitutional Amendment." In a proclamation of considerable length he said that although the Legislature would meet in regular session on January 1, he considered it necessary that New York should give its approval at an early date, as he believed its good example would be followed by other States, so that all women would be able to take part in the next Presidential election. The Ohio Legislature meets June 16 on purpose to ratify this amendment.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the National President, did not take the time to go down to Washington to see this vote in the Senate, but remained at home and perfected the plan to begin on the very next morning a great "drive" to obtain enough special sessions of Legislatures to secure universal suffrage for women within the coming year, and instantly telegrams were sent to the Governors of States throughout the Union. As this



LUCY STONE



ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

letter is written answers are coming in expressing a willingness to take this action provided the prospect is favourable for the ratification by thirty-six States. After all our hopes and disappointments, it is not improbable that the women of the whole United States may be able to cast their votes in 1920 for the next President.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

New York, June 12, 1919.

American Suffrage Pioneers.

"The three chief figures of the Woman's Right movement, like the three Fates of a new dispensation, dignity, intelligence, and beneficence making them prominent—Lucretia Mott, with her serene presence; Mrs. Stanton, with her patrician air; Miss Anthony, with her sharp intellectual fencing,—is assurance that the women of our country have advocates equal to the great demands of their cause."

Susan B. Anthony, born February 15th, 1820. The woman whose name the Federal Amendment has borne, rightly stands first in any account of the pioneers of the American Woman Suffrage movement. She published a Woman Suffrage paper, *The Revolution*, whose motto was, "Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less." Although not the first woman's rights paper, it was the first periodical of special prominence, and used modern methods of printing and circulation. In 1854 Miss Anthony directed the first legislative hearing ever given to women, and also the first Congressional hearing on January 26th, 1869. Together with fourteen other women, she went to the polls on November 5th,



SUSAN B. ANTHONY.
(Aged about 50.)

1872, as a test of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: "No State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens." The women who voted and the inspectors who permitted them to vote were all tried and found guilty, and Susan Anthony was the first woman to be imprisoned for the Suffrage cause. Although the Fourteenth Amendment gave to the National Constitution for the first time a concise definition of a citizen, and forbade any abridgment of the privileges or immunities of a citizen of the United States, it was found inadequate to protect the political rights of the coloured men. The proposal was therefore brought forward for a Fifteenth Amendment, which should prohibit disfranchisement on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude. The efforts of women were then directed towards securing the enfranchisement of women by the introduction of the word "sex," but in vain. However, the Fifteenth Amendment had opened the eyes of women like Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton to the possibility of Federal adjustment of the Woman Suffrage question. They sketched the Federal plan of work, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association came into existence to carry this out. Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton, and Matilda Joslyn Sage were jointly responsible for the Federal Woman Suffrage amendment, long called the Sixteenth Amendment, because it was modelled on the Fifteenth. It was drafted in 1875, being based on the simple wording of the Fifteenth Amendment upon the advice of the friends of Suffrage in the Congress. It was first introduced in the Senate

on January 10th, 1878. It was passed by the House of Representatives on January 10th, 1918—forty years to a day after its first presentation. The Senate passed it on June 4, 1919.

The Amendment has retained its original wording during all these years. Miss Anthony's interests were not exclusively confined to Woman Suffrage, though closely bound up with it. She was an ardent worker in the temperance cause; she fought for the rights of women teachers, made speeches on co-education. More than fifty years ago she advocated a "Woman's Land Army," and foreseeing a great extension of women's sphere of work, tried to introduce a certain measure of dress reform. She was a keen champion of working-women, and became chairman of a committee on female labour, of the National Labour Union Congress. For her all these things formed part of the woman movement, which owes her so much.

Lucretia Mott, born 1793, of Quaker parents. Worked for the Anti-Slavery Society, and was one of the women who crossed the ocean as delegate to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, where the women were not allowed to take their places. This insult burnt into the women the need of woman suffrage. She preached in Unitarian churches as well as in those of the Society of Friends. President of National Women's Rights Convention, Syracuse, 1852, and of the American Equal Rights Association, 1866, for the securing of equal rights, especially the right of Suffrage irrespective of race, colour, or sex. President of the first National Woman Suffrage Convention, Washington, 1869. She died in 1881, aged 88.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention, 1840; together with Lucretia Mott



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

organised the Seneca Falls Convention, 1848, "to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman." She took a leading part in opposing the XIVth and XVth Amendments to the Constitution, which established Manhood Suffrage, and in supporting the XVIth Amendment for Woman Suffrage.

Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison supported the admission of women to the Anti-Slavery Convention. Supported the women's cause from the outset. (Lloyd Garrison refused to take part in the Convention when it decided to exclude the women.)

Rev. Anna Shaw, for many years president of the American Woman Suffrage Association, and one of the most prominent figures in the American and in the International Suffrage movement.

Lucy Stone, in addition to her early work with other pioneers, will be chiefly remembered as one of the founders of the American Woman Suffrage Association. Her name heads the signatures appended to the circular letter sent out in the summer of 1869 proposing a convention of friends of woman Suffrage. She presided at this Convention—the first American Woman Suffrage Convention,—held at Cleveland, Ohio, in November of the same year. As chairman of the Executive Committee, she read the first annual report of the American Woman Suffrage Association at the first annual meeting, which was held a year later in the same place. In her opinion, Woman Suffrage was the first condition upon which the new womanhood should base itself. For almost fifty years she was

its mainstay and unflinching champion. She married Henry Blackwell, and was the mother of Alice Stone Blackwell, who continued her mother's work and became editor of the *Woman's Journal*.

How They Won the Vote.

By MARY OGDEN WHITE, Leslie Woman Suffrage Bureau.

The most human story ever written is that of the triumph of Woman Suffrage in the United States of America. Great names are written into it, but vast numbers of little-known and long-forgotten names as well. It is by no means a story of great leaders; it is a story of the virile force of American womanhood. The soul of it is the pioneer soul. Its great captains came from small cities or villages. It never knew prosperity or fame or social recognition or financial ease until within the last two years, and then only in spots.

All of this—the slow forging ahead of an irresistible mass, the might of an ideal—makes the movement's brilliant finish the more spectacular.

Such women as Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony brought the ideal of woman's liberty into being. Their names are wrought into the whole fabric of American freedom. Woman's right to her property, her children, her earnings, her education, are one with the struggle for the ballot.

The principle of National Suffrage for women has been introduced into the Congress of the United States practically every year since 1869, the National American Woman Suffrage Association having been formed in that year for the single purpose of its advance. In its present form, without a word of change, the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment was proposed in 1878. Just forty years to a day after its first entrance it passed the House, January 10th, 1918.

In those forty years it had been reported with a favourable majority from the Senate Suffrage Committee eight times. It had been voted upon favourably in the Senate Chamber in March, 1914. It had been favourably reported from the House Committee twice, and defeated on the floor of the House in January, 1915.

When Susan B. Anthony laid down her leadership in 1906 there was no great political backing for the Federal Amendment anywhere in sight. It had had powerful individual promoters among statesmen, but it was not yet demonstrated as a political asset. The women had always been turned back upon the State by State method of gaining the vote. In 1906 the four sparsely populated Suffrage States, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah, still huddled together in a little white block amidst the general unenfranchised gloom of the Union.

Fourteen years, from 1896 to 1910, without any signal victories for Suffrage passed. And then the most north-westerly State, Washington, broke the deadlock. These lean years meant no strong support in the House, where men are elected on the basis of popular representation, and only eight senators out of 96 whose constituents were clamorous for the cause.

But the year after Washington came into the fold the Suffrage question became a national one with the victory in California. "The Woman Suffrage cause has passed its crisis," said Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, the authoritative historian of the movement, to a reporter on that night in 1911 when the news that California's votes-for-women fight was successfully ended after many struggles. "California," says Mrs. Harper, "was our greatest victory up to 1917, when New York State was won."

"Every State which had accepted Suffrage before 1911 was sparsely populated, but California is an old, rich State, thickly settled, and known all over the world. It touches the Orient on the West, and is as familiar to England as New York or Massachusetts."

"The 1915 campaign, in which four populous Eastern States brought the question to a test vote, marked another epoch. All four States lost, but each rolled up a large minority for Suffrage. The aggregate 'Yes' votes of these four States was a sign of growth to which sensitive politicians became at once awake. But it was only after the Presidential elections of 1916 that the matter of women's political liberty became a party asset. This was the turning-point in the political status of the movement."

All through the early years of the struggle for woman's enfranchisement the cause had been dear to the reformer and the idealist. Its abstract justice appealed to men like Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry

Ward Beecher. Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt were the only Presidents in office before Woodrow Wilson openly to espouse the woman's movement.

Lincoln's famous saying, "I go for all sharing the privileges of the Government who assist in bearing its burdens—by no means excluding women," has been prized by all women since that time. Rutherford Hayes was privately convinced of the right of the woman's cause, and James A. Garfield predicted its prompt and definite settlement. Both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson have voted "Yes" on a Woman Suffrage Bill—Mr. Roosevelt in the Legislature of New York before he was President, and also at the polls in the New York elections of 1917. Mr. Wilson voted for Suffrage in the New Jersey referendum of 1915. Four past vice-presidents voted affirmatively for the cause, and a host of political leaders espoused it.

It had been championed by reformers outside the two great Socialist parties including Woman Suffrage as a matter of course. But its definite entrance into the political arena was achieved when the Progressives in 1912, and again in 1916, made Woman Suffrage an unequivocal plank.

The votes-for-women cause found itself on an entirely new basis when the Republican, the Progressive, and the Democratic parties met in convention in Chicago and St. Louis in 1916. Neither party dared ignore the women. Each was fencing to see how little it must concede. All three conventions were in session at about the same time—the Progressives and Republicans simultaneously in Chicago, the Democrats in St. Louis. The Progressives moved their hearty endorsement to the cause, and the Republicans were marking time to see how little they need yield, when one of those dramatic incidents occurred which no staging could have brought about.

The Suffragists were parading in the rain. It was no gentle June rain, but a drenching deluge, with the raw wind of Chicago blowing sharply off the lake, biting through the very bones of marchers and into their souls. The ants were having a hearing in Convention Hall, and had arrived at that eloquent moment when they were assuring the Republican leaders that women do not want to vote. Into the hall, with banners whipped to tatters and clothes wet to their wearers' skins, came the staunchest and most resolute set of women that ever appeared for the rights of their sex. They put the antis' ladylike protestations of feminine reliance on masculine support quite out of commission, and aroused a storm of applause. It wasn't easy then to persuade the Republican leaders that those resolute women, weathering that Chicago storm, represented any mere whim of a negligible few.

When all parties in 1916 put a Woman Suffrage plank in their respective platforms the cause was confessedly at the stage where politicians knew it to be too important to be overlooked. If it was not a party asset, its omission would be, to say the least, a party menace.

From that time on women began to know their strength. Parties snatched at their help in the Presidential contest that followed, but reserved to themselves the right to treat that help with neglect, contempt, or blame, as they saw fit. It was not until the Presidential vote was analysed, and the importance of Suffrage States in the closely drawn contest was weighed, that politicians really saw the light. Then suddenly the martyred cause of Susan B. Anthony became a political asset, the apple of Paris.

Ever since the summer of 1917, even before the New York State victory, political parties have watched each other covertly that neither should gain an inch in prestige on the Suffrage issue.

Indications of how tensely the far-sighted ones were holding themselves became vivid to Suffragists in Washington when the question of a Woman Suffrage Committee in the House of Representatives was up for consideration on September 24. Maine had just lost a referendum. It might have been thought that this was a time when it was politically safe for statesmen to turn their backs on the Suffrage movement. Maine has been considered a political barometer. "As goes Maine, so goes the nation," has been a party forecast for a generation. The antis were making much of the defeat in Maine, and Suffragists were not without their anxieties. Before them loomed the New York referendum, the gaining of a Suffrage Committee in the House as a favourable stepping-stone towards the passage of the Federal Amendment, the Amendment itself, and the ratification by three-fourths of the States.

The House Amendment was in the hands of a committee whose chairman was hostile to Suffrage. Pressure was being put upon the Congress to remedy an old grievance. In the Senate a Suffrage Committee had existed for some time, but

the Suffrage cause in the House had ever been shuttlecocked from committee to committee. As early as August Suffragists smiled hopefully when they saw a definite jealousy manifest itself between the two parties as to which should have the prestige of advancing this measure. They began to have that sense of control which comes to a much-sought-after belle. Either suitor is hers; she has but to hold her eyes level and choose.

At the debate on the Suffrage Committee such advocacy of the principle of woman's enfranchisement was evoked as to hearten all Suffrage leaders. And much of it came from the South, the stronghold of opposition to the Federal Amendment as a move inimical to its cherished doctrine of State sovereignty.

If the winning of California was the crucial moment when the Suffrage movement passed its crisis and came to the dawn of a new day, the winning of New York was a sure sign of victory. Never was there so chuckling a victory for women as this. In the very State that had made "women's rights" its butt of ridicule for nearly three generations, politicians were suddenly clamorous in their asseverations of the length and strength of their devotion to the Suffrage cause. National victory was assured by the vote of the Empire State, yet the opposition to Suffrage by Federal means was still holding its sector in the South-East. As the "Solid South" is only another phrase for "Solid Democrat," this gave the Republicans an advantage they have used effectively. The house vote on January 10th was much more strongly Republican than Democratic, but the approval of a Democratic President and Cabinet crowded the Republicans hard for pre-eminence. All over the country Republican leaders have sought to prove their party—the party out of power—as champion of the women's cause. Therefore, when the Republican National Committee met in St. Louis in the second week in February, 1918, to elect its new national chairman and transact party affairs, the Democrats were on the *qui vive*. The Executive Committee of the National Democratic Committee, which was *not* in session, rushed a resolution endorsing Suffrage, and calling upon the Senate to pass the Federal Amendment. Thus they stole the Republican Jovian thunder, and got their resolution in first. Of course, the Republicans carried out their intention, and passed a similar resolution during their St. Louis session; but honours were again even, and the supreme support of the Suffrage Amendment was not allowed to rest in the hands of the Republicans.

As to what it has seemed like to be an asset instead of a liability—to be courted instead of flouted, to be one of the chief factors in party success,—only those can know who have drunk to the dregs the cup of discouragement. Not the least of the factors in the *bouleversement* is the fact that it is the anti-Suffragists now who are the victims of the cartoonist, who are smiled at, yawned at, and listened to with scarcely concealed impatience.

O tempora, O mores —!

Prohibition of Night Work Throws Women Out of Employment.

One thousand women guards, conductors, ticket agents, and gate tenders on the lines of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co. have been dismissed, and discharges up to the number of 1,531 are threatened. The Company takes as an excuse the Lockwood-Caulfield Transportation Workers' Bill, which went into effect on May 19, and which prevents women from doing night work. The discharged women have held a series of meetings, at one of which resolutions were adopted, reading in part:—

"Resolved, that we protest against unpractical reformers framing laws without consultation with the workers to be affected; that we call upon Governor Alfred E. Smith to call a special session of the Legislature to repeal the said law; and that if necessary we will bring a test case in court to have the law declared unconstitutional."

Public Service Commissioner Lewis Nixon has been ordered by the Governor to investigate the facts that led to the discharge of the women by the company. Governor Smith and Chairman Mitchell, of the State Industrial Commission, at a hearing on the 24th, expressed strong convictions on the advisability of barring women from night work as a general industrial and health policy.

While the resentment felt by the discharged women is quite natural, the fact remains that many of their charges against "the lady uplifters," as they dub the Women's Joint Legislative Conference, are absurd. The Transportation Bill was not passed either to further the interests of men or to force women back to housework. It was passed to establish the prin-

ciple of protecting the health and morals of women in industry. The bill was drawn up after an investigation by and at the recommendation of the 1918 May Grand Jury in Brooklyn. The investigation was made because of numerous complaints by the citizens of Brooklyn with respect to the conditions surrounding the employment of women on surface and subway lines, and during its course District Attorney Harry E. Lewis examined a large number of witnesses, including many employees and some of the railroad officials. It was shown that the Company employed as conductors and guards girls as young as 14 and 17 years of age, and that some of those employed were of bad character, that the long waits in car barns were not conducive to good conduct, and that the women were permitted or required to work more than ten hours a day. The bill was framed to correct these conditions.

Mrs. H. Edward Dreier, Chairman of the Brooklyn League of Women Voters, and a member of the Joint Legislative Conference, has thus stated her views:—

"I believe that the statement of the railroad management that the dismissal of the women was imperative on account of the law is an excuse rather than a reason. If the railroad management is sincere in its wish to continue the employment of women it may easily accomplish this by a readjustment of its schedules."

This is borne out by the fact that Frank Hedley, vice-president and manager of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, has declared that he does not intend to discharge the women on his lines who are doing well.

Miss Helen McCormick, Assistant District Attorney of Brooklyn, and one of our League members, defends with these words the bill which she framed:—

"The idea of protecting women in industry reverts back to the need of protecting the family even at the expense of the individual. Restrictions have been placed on women in other occupations, and, while they brought hardship at first, in the long run they have worked out to the satisfaction of all. The present law ought not to result in the discharge of the permanently employed women on the B.R.T. The temporarily employed would have had to make way for men in a short time anyway. Society believes it a wise policy to look out for the physical and moral welfare of women, since for the good of the race they must be regarded as potential mothers."

—New York City W.S. Party.

Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of the Woman in Industry Service, United States Department of Labour, writes:—In spite of their record during the war, millions of women in the United States receive less than a living wage and thousands of families are below the poverty line for no reason except that their bread-winners happen to be women earning women's wages. Millions of women are working too long hours for health and efficiency, and many women are working under conditions which are unwholesome and unsafe. In many well-managed establishments, however, standards have greatly improved during the war and the time is ripe to extend these improvements throughout industry. Continuous, careful investigation by a central bureau of information and a governmental policy formulated by women are of the utmost importance for reconstruction in America. Next to the suffrage amendment the measure of greatest importance to women before the new Congress will be to establish on a permanent basis, with an adequate appropriation, the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labour.

Legislation for the protection of women in industry to be introduced in the new session of Congress will have the active backing of the new League of Women Voters, which will have a committee to work for the following measures:

1. Abolition of child labour and compulsory education of all children from the age of 6 to 16 years.
2. Eight-hour day, and 44 hour week and a weekly day of rest.
3. Abolition of night-work for women and minors.
4. The establishment of minimum wage commissions in every State with representation of employers and employees and both men and women commissioners.
5. Equal pay for equal work and wages based on occupation and not upon sex.
6. Right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively through their chosen representatives.
7. The establishment of State and Federal employment systems, and the establishment upon a permanent basis of the women in industry service of the United States Department of Labour.

8. The adequate appropriation and inspection force in each State department of labour and a special bureau of women in industry in each.

9. Inclusion of women as duly constituted members of any national or international labour commission.

Ratification of Federal Amendment.

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

June 18, 1919.

Since the amendment was adopted by Congress, of the legislatures that were sitting at the time three have already ratified. Illinois, on June 10, at 10.48 a.m. 142 to 3 in House; unanimous in Senate. Due to a mishap in the way of a slight error in the certified copy of the amendment, Illinois had to re-ratify at a later date, by which this State technically loses the honour of being the first to ratify.

Wisconsin, on June 10, at 11.52 a.m. 54 to 2 in House; unanimous in Senate.

SPECIAL SESSIONS CALLED BY THEIR GOVERNORS.

Michigan, on June 10, late in the day. Unanimous in both Houses.

New York, on June 16. Unanimous in both Houses.

Ohio, on June 16. 73 to 6 in House; 27 to 3 in Senate.

Kansas, on June 16. Unanimous in both Houses.

The Massachusetts and Pennsylvania legislatures are both sitting and considering ratification. Yesterday the Committee to which the ratification bill was referred in the Massachusetts legislature reported 9 to 1 in favour of immediate ratification, and the Governor stands ready to veto any bill which does not call for straight ratification. An attempt is being made to include a referendum clause. It looks as though Massachusetts may ratify, and if it does probably the bottom will be knocked out of the opposition of all the other New England States, for a bitter fight has been made in Massachusetts. The Senate of Pennsylvania has ratified 30 to 6, and the House will probably ratify next Tuesday. Both these States have made hard and unrelenting war on the amendment in Congress. If both ratify there may be some chance of our country getting universal suffrage in time to take part in the Presidential election of 1920—something the politicians hoped to avert.

U.S.A. Militancy.

We regret that we are unable to find space for a long letter from Miss Sue White, of the Tennessee branch of the National Woman's Party, who placed the "effigy" of President Wilson on the fire in front of the White House.

Miss White protests against Mrs. Husted Harper's account of militancy as published in the *International Woman Suffrage News*.

She states that the National Woman's Party in holding their "demonstration" on February 9 knew that there was one vote short, and their protest was against the failure of President Wilson to secure that vote.

Mrs. Husted Harper sends us a reply to Miss White's letter, in which she says that it had been proved that that one missing vote, which would have passed the Federal Amendment, was lost by the militant effigy-burning. One Southern Senator, indifferent to suffrage, promised to supply the lacking vote, because of an urgent cablegram he received from President Wilson. After the burning of the effigy he flatly refused to give his vote, and the amendment was lost.

Vice-President Marshall and Speaker Gillett have presented to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president and honorary president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, autographed *facsimiles* of the federal woman suffrage amendment. The copies are engrossed on parchment, and bear the original signatures of Vice-President and Speaker. The copies have been placed in the Association's archives with the "Declaration of Rights" drawn up at the first suffrage convention in Seneca Falls, N.Y., in 1848. The display has been labelled, "The Beginning and the End."

ROUMANIA.

Mme. de Reuss-Janculescu writes from Bucarest:—

Since January, 1919, I have recommended the feminist struggle. Feminism is in full swing. Lectures every week on Saturday, meetings at my house every Wednesday. We put up our bills at theatrical performances, and also in the street. Our weekly review, *Drepturile Femeii* ("Rights of Women"),

we sell in the streets ourselves, and at restaurants, confectioners, theatres, etc. Here it is illegal to hold public meetings in the street or parks, but this street selling of the paper is an admirable method of propaganda, and gives us an opportunity to learn people's opinions and to combat anti-feminist opinions. The fact that in Bessarabia and Transylvania, now reunited to Roumania, women now have the vote has been a useful argument. Our National Suffrage Association has begun to have affiliated committees in the other towns.

In Moldavia, at Jassy, where the Government retired during the occupation, a new feminist organisation was started—"Civil and Political Emancipation of Women,"—different from ours inasmuch as it does not admit foreigners, and only asks the vote for educated women who have diplomas, and not for peasants or working women, whereas we are quite democratic.

Some Women's Papers.

After five years' interval, *La Suffragiste* (Paris), a monthly feminist review, edited by Dr. Madeleine Pelletier, and *Le Féminisme Chrétien* (Brussels), a feminist monthly, have resumed publication.

La Fiaccola, a handsome illustrated woman's magazine, published in Rome and Milan, is devoted to women's activities—artistic, literary, and historic,—and should help to popularise the women's movement in Italy.

Il Cimento, a weekly feminist paper, is the organ of advanced Italian women, and gives prominence to the pacifist movement. Professor Anita Dobelli Zampetti is a contributor. The issue of June 22 contains an interview with Dr. Alice Salomon.

LATE NEWS.

Death of Dr. Anna Shaw.

A telegram from Philadelphia, July 2, announces the death of the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. Dr. Shaw was one of the most brilliant leaders of the woman's movement in America, for many years president of the National Woman Suffrage Association and a well-known figure at International Congresses. She was born in England in 1847, but spent her life from four years of age in the United States. She graduated at Boston University in 1878, and was ordained in the Methodist Protestant Church. Her autobiography, "The Story of a Pioneer," is an enthralling story of adventure and achievement.

One consolation to all her friends and mourners will be the fact that she lived to see the triumph of the woman suffrage cause, to which she devoted her life.

Great Britain.

WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION BILL.

The Women's Emancipation Bill was carried on its third reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 15, in spite of Government opposition. The Government had declared that it could not possibly reopen the franchise settlement embodied in the Act of 1918, which limits the Parliamentary vote to women of 30 years of age and over. The bill will now go to the House of Lords. (It is significant and strange that this bill was promoted by the Labour Party, which at the same time supports the Restoration of Pre-war Practices Bill, which if passed will debar thousands of women from industry.)

At the last moment the Government tried to avert defeat by promising, if it were dropped, to introduce a measure admitting women to public office, but not extending the franchise.

The present bill has three main provisions:—

1. A woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from holding any civil or judicial office or place of profit or trust under the Crown.
2. The franchise shall be extended to women between 21 and 30 years of age.
3. Peeresses in their own right shall be qualified to sit in the House of Lords.

The bill was warmly supported by Lord Robert Cecil.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dear Madam,—In her interesting article in the June issue of your paper Miss Goodman finds historic continuity in the fact that Jewish nationalism has caused some Jewish women to work for emancipation. She considers these clever women to be worthy descendants of Deborah. Some of us, however, claim for Judaism the gratitude of the world on account of the spiritual and not the political conceptions of our brotherhood.

We feel that Jews, as witnesses to the Unity of God and man, and the consecration of life, can best fulfil their task if they remain scattered in all the countries of the world. It is the religious ideal, and not the racial ideal, which inspires them to the service of the country to which they belong.

They can and do identify themselves with all the social and political movements which interest their fellow countrymen. They do not feel isolated on account of their race, for their religion is as wide as the world itself, and can be expressed in any phase of national life.

We could not, without some qualifications, applaud a modern Deborah if she, on her part, were to approve the acts of a modern Jael, for we stand or fall by the doctrine that through righteousness alone can a nation be exalted, and that treachery cannot be condoned, even if it be used to destroy an enemy.

I hope that Jewish women all over the world will continue to do their share in furthering the cause of righteousness in political life.

We believe in the sanctity of every human life, and in its right to complete development. Therefore our religion is in harmony with the most democratic philosophy.

We believe in the perfectibility of the human race, which contains within itself the power of progressively revealing the goodness and love of God. Therefore we are the bearers of good tidings to the despairing peoples of the world, and would give a full justification to the faith of those who hope without end.—Yours faithfully,

LILY H. MONTAGU.

12, Kensington Palace Gardens, W. 8,
28th June, 1919.

To ROBERTINA ISABELLA ROBERTS.

WE, the undersigned, HEREBY GIVE NOTICE, that ISABELLA ROBERTS, late of 4, Manville Road, Liscard, Cheshire, widow, died on the 22nd September, 1918, after having by her will given the residue of her real and personal estate to her Executor, Matthew Henry Jones, of 51, North John Street, Liverpool, solicitor, upon trust for her daughter, ROBERTINA ISABELLA ROBERTS, who went to reside in London about 25 years ago, and had not been heard of for several years, on condition that the said bequest was claimed in accordance with this notice before the expiration of three years from the death of the said Isabella Roberts; and, further, that unless the said Robertina Isabella Roberts shall within the said three years give notice of her claim to the said Executor she will forfeit the said bequest.

Dated this 27th day of May, 1919.

MATTHEW JONES AND LAMB,
Solicitors for the Executor.

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