

Special Russian Article.

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 :

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Volume 12. No. 2.

NOVEMBER 1, 1917.

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

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The Women's Manifestation Organised by the All-Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement in Petrograd on March 19, 1917.

On one of the Posters was written: "Without the Participation of Women the Franchise is not Universal."



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**THE WORLD MOVEMENT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
AFTER THREE YEARS OF WAR.  
Especially in Europe and the British Overseas  
Dominions.**

Few would have been rash enough to prophesy that three years of universal and devastating war—a war involving all the Continents and carried on in three, a war of millions which draws more and more huge populations into its vortex, threatening great countries with famine and depopulation, and calling upon the utmost efforts of the nations to maintain their resources—would find the most live political subject in nearly every country—Woman Suffrage.

And yet, what is the position at the close of 1917?

On another page of this issue of *Jus Suffragii* will be found the stirring story of Russian women's triumph; how with indomitable vigour they demanded and obtained the pledge of equal rights, thus laying the first stone of women's freedom in the great empire covering half Europe and Asia. Russia, hitherto the most backward country politically, where men and women were almost equal in the lack of self-governing power, has thrown off the tyranny of centuries, freedom is still in the throes of birth, but none can doubt that it will thrive and that men and women together will work out their salvation. Women are taking a leading part in political life: Countess Panin is a Minister of State, Mme. Breshko Breshkovsky was invited by Kerensky to occupy the presidential chair at the Preliminary Parliament, Dr. Shishkina-Yavein was on the body appointed to draw up a constitution. Russian women, by their unparalleled sacrifices for liberty under the old, bad régime, by the martyrs they gave to the cause, have earned their right to take their place side by side with men. They have earned it too by the courage and promptitude with which in the early days of the Revolution they boldly claimed their freedom, undeterred by the chaos surrounding them, which would have led more timid women to put aside their claims until a more convenient season. The greater the danger to their country the greater need for women to share in the work of politics. It may be many months before it is possible in such vast territories to organise universal voting, but women's right is established and will not lapse.

In neighbouring Finland women have had full equal Suffrage since 1907, and the right to sit in Parliament. There are now 24 women in the Finnish Diet, and now that Finland's Constitution is once more restored, the part women can play under the new free régime will be greater than ever.

The neighbouring Scandinavian countries are fast joining the equal Suffrage standard. Norway has had equal, universal Suffrage since 1913, and in 1915 gave women the right to be members of the Council of Ministers (the Cabinet).

Denmark enfranchised its women in 1915 as a war measure, because the country had need of the support of all its citizens. Iceland's women gained the vote at the same time.

In Sweden the struggle has lasted longer, but now at last victory is in sight. The new Liberal Government announces Woman Suffrage as a foremost item in its policy. Swedish women have had the municipal vote since 1862, and have sat on town councils since 1909; and have gained valuable experience in administration. They occupy important public offices, as university professors, members of Royal Commissions—e.g.,

the Scandinavian Marriage Law Commission,—and have proved in every way their full competence to exercise the Parliamentary vote. Their Suffrage campaign has been carried on with the greatest zeal and ability even in the icebound, sparsely populated northern regions. Now success is in sight, and soon it is hoped that all the Scandinavian nations will have a free womanhood.

In Great Britain, so long the storm centre of the Suffrage agitation, the war has brought the solution. The seed of women's war work has fallen upon ground well prepared by half a century of Suffrage spade work, and has yielded a bumper harvest of politicians' conversions.

The Representation of the People Bill, now in Committee of the House of Commons, will enfranchise 6,000,000 women. The age-limit of thirty is designed to prevent the number of women electors exceeding that of the men, and will probably be only temporary. The Bill is not yet law, but the Suffrage clauses have passed by majorities of seven to one, and unless there should be a change of Government it may confidently be expected that British women will soon be enfranchised and vote at the next election. Political parties are working on this assumption. The Labour Party is sending women organisers to win the women electors for Labour. The Scottish Liberal Men's and Women's Associations have amalgamated; the Press is open as never before to the women's movement. Women are even remembered in the Honours List, and the new Order is conferred on women. New professions and occupations are thrown open to them: a woman preaches in one of the most popular London churches; medical women hold commissioned rank in the Army, and have charge of military hospitals; a woman was included in the small number of British officials who met German officials at The Hague and made arrangements for prisoners of war. Women have acquired an unprecedented place in industry, and assumed a new importance in national life.

In France, Austria, and Germany, although beneath the surface public opinion may have ripened favourably to women, no tangible progress has been made towards enfranchisement. There seems no immediate prospect of their gaining even the municipal vote. Perhaps, unlike the Russian women, they are too reluctant to press their own claims at a time of national crisis. Assuredly in no country have women accomplished more for the home country than in these three war-ridden lands, where women have stepped forward to replace men in every department of life, and where their co-operation is essential for the work of reconstruction. The French Bill for according the Municipal Suffrage to women is hung up indefinitely. In Germany Woman Suffrage has been debated in the Reichstag, but only supported by the Socialists, and rejected. In Austria women may not even belong to political associations.

In Holland the situation is amusing. The new Constitution, which is not yet law but soon will be, will allow women to be elected members of Parliament, though it does not give them the right to vote for members of Parliament. It also removes the constitutional obstacle to the introduction of a Woman Suffrage measure. On another page of this issue will be found a fuller account of the position.

Turning now to Southern Europe. In Switzerland Woman Suffrage can only come piecemeal. Switzerland is a Confederation; each canton is independent, and Swiss women have to gain one canton at a time. The population is largely agricultural and scattered in inaccessible mountain districts, which makes propaganda difficult. Then, too, there are fewer burning grievances than in larger industrial states. Women have free access to universities, and can practise medicine, and act in some cases as clergymen. At present Suffragists are working at obtaining various kinds of local vote—the Church vote, the vote for and seats on tribunals of prud'hommes, which are arbitration tribunals for cases between employers and employed, and other local bodies. They have had some successes, but progress is slow.

In Italy women's progress since the war has been remarkable. In few countries before the war did they take less part in public affairs. Now, however, they are everywhere replacing men in professions and industry, and are doing an immense amount of war relief and other public work. Their work has met with public recognition from politicians and Ministers. Steps are being taken to improve their civil position by abolishing the antiquated laws of marital authorisation (which forbids a married woman to dispose of her property without her husband's consent) and the prohibition of research of paternity in the case of illegitimate children. Suffragists are pointing out

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT A GLANCE.

## Enfranchised Countries.

AUSTRALIA.	
Women granted Suffrage and eligibility for both Houses of the Federal Commonwealth Parliament on the same terms as men.	1902
Each of the six States in the Commonwealth has its State Parliament, for which women vote on the same terms as men.	
NEW ZEALAND.	
Women granted Suffrage but not eligibility for the Legislative Assembly	1893
Women granted Municipal Suffrage and eligibility	1886
FINLAND.	
Women granted Suffrage and eligibility	1907
Women granted communal franchise	1863 and 1872
NORWAY.	
Women granted Suffrage and eligibility for Parliament with small property qualification	1907
Full equal universal Suffrage	1913
Communal vote and eligibility	1901
DENMARK.	
Women granted Parliamentary franchise	1915
Communal franchise and eligibility	1908
ICELAND.	
Parliamentary franchise	1915

## Partially Enfranchised Countries.

UNITED STATES.  
Of the 47 States in the American Union the following have full Woman Suffrage:—  
Wyoming, 1869; Colorado, 1893; Idaho, 1896; Utah, 1896; Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Arizona, 1912; Kansas, 1912; Oregon, 1912; Alaska, 1913; Montana, 1915; Nevada, 1915.

The following have Presidential Suffrage: Illinois, 1913; North Dakota, 1917; Indiana, 1917; Ohio, 1917; Michigan, 1917; Nebraska, 1917; Rhode Island, 1917.

Primary Suffrage: Arkansas, 1917.  
CANADA.  
Enfranchised Provinces: Alberta, 1916; Saskatchewan, 1916; Manitoba, 1916; British Columbia, 1916; Ontario, 1917.

Federal vote for Dominion Parliament granted to women next-of-kin to overseas soldiers, 1917.

Unenfranchised Provinces: Quebec, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia.

## Unenfranchised Countries.

France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Austria (in certain provinces—e.g., Bohemia, Silesia, and Styria, women taxpayers may vote for members of the Diet; in Bohemia women are eligible for the Diet), Spain, and the Balkan States.

## Countries where Woman Suffrage is Pending.

SWEDEN.  
Women have had the communal franchise since 1862. The new Government stands for Woman Suffrage.

GREAT BRITAIN.  
The Bill enfranchising women has passed the principal stages in the House of Commons by large majorities; it has still to pass the House of Lords.

HOLLAND.  
The new Constitution now being passed confers eligibility on women and removes constitutional obstacles to the passing of a Woman Suffrage measure.

HUNGARY.  
Government promises Woman Suffrage with property qualification.

RUSSIA.  
The Government leaders have pledged themselves to Woman Suffrage.

## 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 is only responsible for its official announcements. Reports from affiliated societies are inserted on the responsibility of the society contributing them. Other articles are published as being of general interest to our readers, and responsibility for them rests solely with their signatories.

the injustice of excluding women from the franchise, and Signor Boselli, the Premier, has expressed his support of women's local government vote. The report of the Women's National Convention on another page gives some idea of events and opinions.

Hungary, unlike its partner Austria, shows a great advance. A Government measure is promised which will confer the Parliamentary franchise on a limited number of women—viz., on those possessing property or earning their living independently. The Suffragists, who are also strong pacifists, had combined work for peace and Suffrage, and under Count Tisza's Government their activities were much restricted. After the accession of the new King (Charles, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary), with his outspoken support of democracy and peace, the Suffragists were encouraged to press their claims. The Budapest Town Council sent a message to Parliament demanding universal and equal municipal Suffrage. On June 8th a monster deputation sent a message to the King saying that the only Government that would have popular support would be one that granted universal equal Suffrage. The Burgomaster took the resolution to the King, and the same day a new composite Cabinet was formed, of which the majority were supporters of Woman Suffrage. Since then public meetings have been held, members of Parliament interviewed, petitions signed, literature distributed, and the Press kept supplied with news, and active propaganda carried on. The vicissitudes of politics are many, and the outcome uncertain. For the present, universal Suffrage, though demanded, is not promised; but it seems likely that women will get the vote with a property and educational qualification. The Hungarian women have worked heroically, and been true to their cause throughout; they have refused to separate pacifism from democracy, and are reaping their reward.

The position in *British Dominions Overseas* shows extraordinary progress. Australian and New Zealand women have been voters for over twenty years, and now Canadian women are joining them. In 1916 and 1917 five great Provinces have enfranchised women—viz., Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia, and Ontario. Then came the struggle for the Federal vote for the Dominion Parliament. This has been promised by the Dominion Premier, Sir Robert Borden, but it has been delayed by the so-called War-time Election Bill, which is a party measure, disfranchising aliens and giving the vote to women who are the next-of-kin to overseas soldiers. This pettifogging measure was forced through Parliament in the face of strong opposition from Liberals and Labour, and is now law. Sir Robert Borden promises, however, that if returned to power he will extend the vote to all women.

Canadian women may reckon on speedy and complete enfranchisement.

As this survey of international Suffrage is intended primarily for American readers, it is not proposed to deal with the situation in the United States.

There can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who studies the facts, and who can see the clear tendency of public opinion, that women will be enfranchised all over the world within the next few years. The wave of democracy is rising, and will carry all before it. Women's political task will then begin.

MARY SHEEPSHANKS.

## Jus Suffragii: International Woman Suffrage News.

A number of reports, articles, and letters are unavoidably held over till December owing to pressure on space. The January number will be a special issue devoted to women's place in municipal government.

All women interested in the enfranchisement of their sex, and all women who care for political progress, must realise the international character of the movement. All countries are interdependent, and women's advance in one country helps women in other countries. Unenfranchised women in one country are a source of political weakness and reaction in that country. It is of the greatest importance to human progress that all women should be responsible, fully enfranchised citizens. No country can claim to be civilised that denies to half its citizens the right of self-government.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance exists to bind all women together in their struggle for freedom. By its congresses it enables the women of all countries to consult on topics of common interest. Its monthly organ, *Jus Suffragii: The International Woman Suffrage News*, continues, in spite of the war, to carry Woman Suffrage news all over the world. Join the Alliance; subscribe to the paper; take sample copies for your friends, and thus help the world cause of Woman Suffrage.



## FRANCE.

Mme. de Witt Schlumberger, President of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes, sends us the following article:—

## An Innovation in Girls' Education.

We are pleased to point out to readers of *Jus Suffragii* the interesting experiment of Mlle. Sanua at the School for Higher Commercial Teaching, 292, Rue St. Martin, to give fresh openings to educated women outside the liberal professions by giving them a specialised instruction enabling them to fill higher posts in commerce and industry.

This experiment consists in the secretarial course side by side with the usual courses of commercial education, which are: Commercial legislation, commerce and commercial documents, bookkeeping, commercial and financial arithmetic, economics, geography, foreign languages, law, shorthand and typewriting, handwriting, and mercantile knowledge. The object of the new course, whose originality cannot fail to attract, is very actual and important. For a long time every commercial, industrial, and public organisation has felt the need of having, besides clerks for routine work, educated persons, well informed in economic questions and commercial technique, to second the director in the many ramifications of his business.

The secretary is first of all intended, as the name implies, to attend to correspondence under the director, but should also be able to relieve him of the reading of reports, of letters, of reviews, of newspapers, and supply him with a clear, brief summary of all that is of importance. He should be the "liaison officer" between the different departments of the firm; he should be capable of replacing the chief during his absence. He should be a sort of colleague in whom all confidence could be placed.

Who can contest that an educated woman could become such an intelligent assistant? Her method, order, detail, and clear-sighted instinct are already a pledge of success. But she needs special training to enable her to avoid mistakes, and to understand what a complicated machine every commercial undertaking is. Thus the School for Higher Commercial Education for Girls, under the direction of Mlle. Sanua, has in its first year instituted a secretarial course.

Space fails to give in detail the interesting courses offered the pupils, which include card indexing and filing, reporting of lectures, quick verbal reports by the pupils to give them readiness in speaking, and practical moral advice, on whose utility it is unnecessary to insist. Mlle. Weiss has given lectures on the complete study of Parliamentary Bills and the debates in the Chamber of Deputies. Each pupil has to study the official journal, and give a summary of the debate and the report of committees, deduce the arguments, the political consequences, party tendencies, point out the weak points, and attempt to show the whole effect and the objects, both visible and hidden; interesting hours which should develop in girls the critical spirit and penetration so indispensable in business, while at the same time giving them insight into life.

What have been the results of this first year of study? We may say that many situations as secretaries have been offered to the girls who have gained the diploma, who have all been placed without difficulty on leaving the school. Thus a new career has been opened to women in which they can be of great use.

We conclude this brief account by giving a test paper which was done by the pupils at the end of the secretarial course. The pupils were given the Annual Report of the Governor of the Bank of France on the Budget of 1916, and were told:

(1) To give briefly the patriotic and practical advice to the French public during the war contained in the report.

(2) To prepare, with a view to making the next report, the headings of statistics to be kept up to date from which the necessary economic information can be gathered at the end of the year for the compilation of the report.

(3) Supposing that you have to index the report in question, what headings must be entered on the index cards to enable it to be referred to? Only take from the report points which can be quoted as the original source.

(4) Draw up for a Swiss newspaper a documented article on the rôle of the Bank of France during the war year 1916. Four hours were given for the paper. The results obtained in this examination and in practical life (many pupils now holding posts as secretaries) showed how well the knowledge acquired in the year had been assimilated by the ripened understanding of the pupils whose intelligence was tested in this final effort.

## GERMANY.

## Suffrage and War.

Frau Regine Deutsch, president of the Prussian Woman Suffrage Society (affiliated to the "Reichsverband"), has received the following letter from a friend: "I send you a subscription from my sister, who a few days ago lost her only son, a splendid young fellow, in an air fight. Up till now she has resisted all my efforts to interest her in Suffrage. But now she wants to join us in the fight for Woman Suffrage, so that her daughters when they are grown up may not have to go through our suffering. [The writer of the letter has lost a son, too.] Please, therefore, use the money for Suffrage propaganda."

## Reichsverband Annual Meeting.

The Deutscher Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht (German National Union for Woman Suffrage) held its annual meeting in Berlin on October 8 and 9. Reports have not yet been received, but the preliminary announcement states that Frau Marie Stritt would preside, and would report on the international Suffrage movement. Dr. Margaret Siebert, of Leipzig, was to speak on: "Should a nation or part of a nation think of gaining new rights at a time which demands the sternest performance of duties?" Dr. Ilse was to deal with local government, and changes of organisation and propaganda were also on the programme. It is hoped to publish a full report in December.

## Women University Students' Union.

The women students at their eleventh annual meeting, held in Weimar, July 29 to 31, passed the following resolution: "The German Women Students' Union is the close association of non-political and unsectarian societies. Its members' objects are to fulfil their duties as university women and also German citizens \*(Staatsbürgerinnen). The central point of the work of the union is work for the women's movement and mutual education as intellectually independent true women."

\* Staatsbürgerin carries the meaning of "enfranchised citizens."—Ed. J.S.

## Hanse Towns Conference on Woman Suffrage.

A Social-Democratic Conference on Woman Suffrage took place in Bremen, at which twelve representatives were present from Hamburg, three from Lübeck, and eleven from Bremen. A resolution was passed demanding immediate reform of the constitution of the three Hanse towns on a free democratic basis, and the introduction of Universal Suffrage for both sexes.

## Mother's Parental Rights.

*A mother has duties but no rights! a father rights but no duties!*

The law court at Bochum has twice had before it the case of rival parental claims to decide on a child's religious education. A Frau Bockholt, a Protestant, married a Catholic, and it was agreed on marriage that the children should be brought up as Protestants. The couple were soon separated by the man's fault. The man did nothing to maintain his wife and child, and did not bother about the child's education. When the mother sent the child to a Protestant school, the authorities insisted on a written statement from the father deciding on the child's religion. The father, in order to spite the mother, declared for the Catholic. The mother appealed to her marriage agreement, which entitled her to send the child to a Protestant school, and she also pointed out that the father had done nothing for the child's maintenance or her own, and had taken no interest in the child's upbringing.

The court decided in favour of the mother, as she had fulfilled her duties to the child, and was responsible for its education; but this decision was reversed by the Berlin Court, who referred the case back for further consideration, and based its opinion on a statute of 1803, according to which the father had the right to decide the child's religion. The Bochum Court retried the case on June 28th, and, following the instructions of the Berlin Court, fined the mother for not sending the child to (a Catholic!) school.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

## National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

REASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT: PROSPECTS OF THE

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

The rumours which were set on foot before Parliament met, to the effect that the Representation of the People Bill would

not be proceeded with this session, until the Government had dealt with the problem of the reform of the House of Lords, proved to be unfounded. The Prime Minister informed a deputation of trade unionists who approached him on the subject that the Government adhered to its original intention of proceeding with the Bill as quickly as possible.

The Bill is now in Committee, and the House has agreed to Schedule No. 1, which includes the provision that the registration officer before registering a woman as a Parliamentary elector may, if he deems it necessary, require her either to produce a certificate of birth, or, if that is not convenient, to make a statutory declaration that she has attained the required age and is a British subject.

The hope was entertained that the Bill would be sent up to the House of Lords this month (November), but a difficulty has arisen over the question of the redistribution of seats in Ireland which may delay the passage of the Bill.

When the Bill reaches Report Stage an amendment will be moved to confer the municipal franchise on the wives of men who are duly qualified municipal voters. The amendment, if passed, will remove the present anomaly of a married woman being debarred from voting for a municipal candidate, although she herself may stand as a candidate for election to a municipal body.

Writing on the subject of this amendment in the *Common Cause*, Mrs. Fawcett points out that such an amendment can be moved without any risk of endangering the prospects of the Bill as a whole or of the Women's Suffrage clauses. "Such a change," says Mrs. Fawcett, "does not in any way upset the agreement reached upon the Parliamentary vote. We consulted friends in the House of Commons who encouraged us to believe that the House as a whole would readily accept the same principle as regards the municipal vote which it had endorsed by large majorities as regards the Parliamentary vote."

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies are calling upon their societies throughout the country to give support to this amendment by sending in resolutions to the Home Secretary (Sir George Cave), who is understood to be sympathetic to the proposed amendment.

## NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS.

At the annual Council meeting of the National Union of Women Workers, held October 3, important resolutions were carried, directed to the reform of its constitution.

The N.U.W.W. was created some twenty-two years ago for the purpose of linking up scattered organisations of women engaged in different forms of social work for the good of the community. To-day there is urgently required an acknowledged means of intercommunication between all women's societies, in view of the new social conditions brought about by the entry of immense numbers of women into industry, and of the impending enfranchisement of six million women voters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, one of the affiliated societies of the women workers, brought forward a resolution for appointing a committee to reconsider the constitution of the N.U.W.W. with a view to widening the scope of action of the Union, and making it of greater national importance as a consultative and educative body.

This resolution, and others with the same object which were accepted by the Council, will, it is felt, give this great association, with its 2,500,000 members belonging to organised bodies, the opportunity of more effectively co-operating in the near future in the great national task of reorganisation.

## WOMEN AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

The proposal for the reorganisation of the Labour Party issued by its Executive Committee involves several changes affecting the relation of women to that party. Under the new constitution membership will no longer be on the basis of membership of particular societies, but will be thrown open to individuals.

It is provided under the new constitution for a separate section of individually enrolled women and another for individually enrolled men who support the party programme and constitution, the women to pay a minimum subscription of sixpence a year. These sections will have representatives on the local executive committees, at the Party Conference, and on the National (Central) Executive. Provision has also been made that there shall always be four women members on the National Executive. The Labour Party will thus be the first political party to admit women to their Executive.

It will be interesting to see whether the lead given will be followed by the other great political parties—Conservative and Liberal. Up to now women have always been regarded by

political parties as useful adjuncts at election times—the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in the political field. As prospective voters it is quite possible that they may be considered worthy of a seat at the councils of the other two parties in the State.

## THE CHILD AND THE STATE.

The Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education (Sir George Newman), recently issued, contains much valuable information and suggestions for the treatment of children, not only of school age, but of children under the age of five, and the babes yet unborn.

Sir George's ideal is a complete and beneficent system of schools for mothers, day nurseries, nursery schools, medical inspection, sanatoria, special schools, school clinics, health visiting, and the many other committees and societies charged with the care of children, which should be closely linked up, forming an effective chain of successive guardians to watch over the child from the time it is conceived to the time it enters upon adult life. He speaks of the "invaluable and indispensable" work and "manifold services of nurses, teachers, and Care Committees," and advocates the teaching of mothercraft not only for the sake of the child but for the sake of the mother, and also that the attendance officer should be wherever possible a woman—a health visitor who would be able in the course of her duties to give mothers the help and advice so frequently needed. In one borough, where a woman filled this post, no male attendance officer had been employed for five years, and the percentage school attendance had steadily risen.

Sir George Newman lays particular stress upon the evil results of premature employment of children and young persons. "The increase in the employment of children and young persons in 1915-17 in munition work and otherwise," he says, "has demonstrated beyond all question or doubt that many boys and girls are spoilt physically, mentally, and morally," and that though these evil results are not immediately apparent in the form of any marked physical injury, the consequences of overstrain are nevertheless far-reaching, "producing a slow and steady deterioration of health in large sections of the juvenile population."

Among the many reforms women will have to undertake when endowed with the franchise, this saving of child life and the raising of happy, healthy children will stand first. It may perhaps be one of the many present signs of the approaching enfranchisement of women that local authorities have been moved to ask the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Hayes-Fisher) for new powers enabling them to establish day nurseries, to control the milk supply for infant feeding, and to care for both mother and child. Mr. Hayes-Fisher informed the deputation that it was his intention, with the sanction of the War Cabinet, to introduce a Bill into the House of Commons immediately, giving the necessary powers to local authorities. "If I do so," said Mr. Hayes-Fisher, "will you make vigorous use of them?" The deputation dutifully promised that they would.

## WOMEN POLICE SERVICE.

The report issued by the Women Police Force shows a great increase in the number of trained women employed, which now amounts to 612, and is steadily growing. The Ministry of Munitions have, with commendable foresight, availed themselves of the services of women police to act as guards in certain Government factories. Their duties include checking the entrance of women into the factory, searching them for contraband goods, dealing with complaints of petty offences, patrolling the neighbourhood for the protection of women going home from work. The good example thus given by the Ministry of Munitions has resulted in applications being made for the employment of policewomen in factories situated in every part of the United Kingdom.

In one factory both the military and male police guard have been withdrawn and the women police left in sole charge of the several thousand women engaged in the manufacture of dangerous explosives. "The policewomen who guard the various magazines know that they hold their lives in their hands," says the report, "and we are proud to state that not one woman has failed at her post or shirked her duty in the hour of danger."

Magistrates and other authorities are gradually beginning to realise the value of the work of policewomen. Twelve cities, towns, and boroughs are employing them not only as guardians of law and order, but as probation officers.

The various women's local government associations have greatly assisted in making known by meetings, and raising funds, and generally clearing the way of prejudice, by making



known to the public the necessity for this special work by trained women.

The policewomen go through a course of training and instruction in the laws affecting women, and of the regulations in force in carrying out these laws. It has been found that many women will gladly come for help and advice to a policewoman who could not be induced to apply to the male police. In the appendix of this report a large number of cases are given in which policewomen have been able to render very practical help not only to women but to soldiers.

At present women when employed by any police authority to carry out police duties and devote their whole time to such work are given a salary, but they have no proper legal basis, and are not given a pension nor compensation, although they may risk health or life and give the best years of their strength in the service of the State.

The chief objection against swearing in women as constables is that they cannot perform the whole duty of a male policeman with regard to men on account of physical unfitness for the task. In their report the policewomen meet this objection by calling attention to the fact that the male policeman cannot perform the whole duty of policewomen to women. In illustration of this contention the report says that "it has not infrequently happened that the policeman has stood aside to let policewomen handle a violent member of their own sex and convey her to the police station." In many of the cases recorded in the Report it is shown that "the appeal of policewomen for a quiet arrest and the power of moral force they use over attempted physical violence is more effective than overwhelming muscular demonstration."

The war has brought so many changes in its train that it is not improbable that before long an alteration will be made in the law which would give the Government power to provide for the appointment of policewomen as part of the recognised police force of the country, with the same powers and duties as the ordinary force, paid by the State and responsible to the State.

A COLLEGE OF NURSING.

A project for establishing a training college of nursing which was conceived some time ago by the Hon. Sir Arthur Stanley, chairman of the British Red Cross Society, has now been realised. The principal objects of this College will be to secure State registration for trained nurses, to raise the standard of training, to promote scholarships and the general advancement of the nursing profession.

Over seven thousand nurses have already placed their names on the register of the college. A council has been nominated. One-third of the members of the council will retire next year, and the members of the college will then proceed to elect those who are to succeed the retiring members. This election will take place every year, so that the college may be said to be established on a democratic basis.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK.

At an exhibition of women's munition work held at Birmingham, Mr. Waldron, of the Ministry of Munitions, stated that aeroplane engines were now made entirely by women.

The War Office has applied for women to act as guards at the large forage camps. Their duty is to keep away all suspicious persons from the camp. They will wear uniform, and will be recruited and drilled by the Women's Volunteer Reserve—a corps which has supplied many women for different branches of war work.

HONOURS FOR WOMEN.

The King has conferred the Military Medal on seven sisters and nurses for conspicuous gallantry in carrying out their duties under circumstances of extreme danger to life.

EDITH PALLISER, N.U.W.S.S. (affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

AUSTRALIA.

South Australia: Women's Non-Party Political Association.

The women of South Australia have been considering the need of protecting children better from criminal and indecent assaults. At their conference in July, at which 15 different women's associations were represented, the following resolution was passed:

That for all indecent or criminal assaults upon children the penalty should be detention with suitable employment, under special treatment and supervision; no release except with certainty of cure; total abolition of fines in all such

cases. For other offences against decency, heavier penalties and medical examination. Age of consent to be raised to 18.

The Chief Justice, Sir Geo. Murray, fortunately takes a very serious view of these crimes against children, and recently sentenced a man to imprisonment for life for a most brutal assault upon a girl of 12 in the parklands.

WOMEN JUSTICES.

The last act of the late Ministry was to appoint fourteen more women as Justices of the Peace, including all the women on the State Children's Council. Miss Tomkinson, J.P., does a great deal of work on the bench when cases concerning women are being tried.

WOMEN'S NATIONALITY.

The Association telegraphed to the Prime Minister to protest against the possible disfranchisement of Australian wives of enemy aliens. The disfranchisement did not take place.

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The Association has worked for the throwing open to women of the Commonwealth Civil Service higher examinations, but is still unsuccessful.

CANADA.

"War-Time Elections Act."

The Act for enfranchising the next-of-kin of overseas soldiers and for disfranchising citizens of alien birth has met with great opposition. An amendment by Dr. Neely, that in the five provinces where women had been granted the franchise by the provinces they should have the Federal vote, was defeated. Dr. Neely demanded that the franchise should be further extended. Naturalisation difficulties should not stand in the way of more complete franchise to women. By this law many British-born women would be excluded. Mr. Meighen (Minister in charge of the Bill) said he knew of nowhere else to draw the line than by giving the vote to the mothers, wives, and daughters of soldiers. The purpose was to make the vote a representative vote for the soldiers overseas. Mr. McCraney urged the Government to extend the franchise to the women of the country in the same way as is done to men. Dr. Pugsley urged that women should be enfranchised before the close of the session. The Premier (Sir Robert Borden) had led Canadian women to expect the Dominion franchise and was now disappointing them.

Sir Robert Borden again brought forward the naturalisation law as an insurmountable obstacle to granting the franchise to all Canadian women, though he adhered to the opinion that women were entitled to the general franchise. If given a mandate by the people at the coming election he would, he said, endeavour to see that women were given the vote. But, he said, this was an exceptional time. If the women of this country were entitled to the franchise, they were also entitled to determine their own citizenship. In the case of aliens that was now determined by marriage. It would be necessary to amend the naturalisation law, which would involve negotiations with other parts of the Empire. It was impossible to do this before the present Parliament expired.

SUFFRAGISTS OPPOSE THE ACT.

The Canadian National Suffrage Association, which has worked for Suffrage for thirty-five years, protests strongly against the Act, and calls it a "disfranchise Act." It contends that the Act is a purely party measure, designed to swell the Conservative vote. Dr. Margaret Gordon, speaking on behalf of the Association, vigorously denounces the Act.

THE NEXT STEP?

Sir Robert Borden having forced the War-time Elections Act through and prorogued Parliament, has now issued a statement outlining the policy of the new Union Government of Canada. The programme begins with the prosecution of the war as its first item; the second item is "the extension of the franchise to all women." Then follow a long series of domestic reforms.

Sir Robert Borden, in a letter to Mrs. Perry, of Vancouver, stated that if he were returned to power at the coming national election, he would confer the franchise on all women, and so amend the Naturalisation Act that there shall be no discrimination against women as compared with men. Women of foreign birth would have the right to obtain naturalisation on their own behalf, and women of British birth would not lose their citizenship on marriage, except with their own consent.

INDIA.

Ceylon Education Conference.

A correspondent writes: "Ceylon has just held the first purely Educational Conference in this part of the world—a conference on the lines of that held annually at the University of London. It included lectures on methods of teaching, school subjects, and child study. It had a social side that enabled teachers to meet each other and talk together. But what appealed to me as of most interest was the audience—five to six hundred Christians, Hindus, Tamils, Singalese, Europeans, Australians, and Americans—men and women, all met to discuss child welfare. One Singalese woman who began the week by being unable to go out alone, by the end of the week could get from her house to the lecture hall quite independently, because she was with European women who thought of doing nothing else. Little things like that mean much."

Indian Women's Interest in Mrs. Besant.

At a meeting of the Madras Provincial Conference, Mr. Madhava Row, in a resolution demanding the release of Mrs. Annie Besant (which has since been granted) said: "The internment of Mrs. Besant has created a sensation, especially among the women, who had the greatest possible regard for her. Whenever a movement has the support of the women of the country it is sure to command great moral force. The internment has wounded the feelings of the women in Southern India in particular."

Our correspondent draws special attention to this speech, as it is a remarkable innovation for an Indian to refer to women in a public speech, and shows how they are coming to count in public life.

HUNGARY.

Suffragists Welcome Government Proposals.

"To-day the Society for Woman Suffrage held a general Conference. The great hall of the Pester Lloyd Club was packed full with the representatives of thinking women of all classes. There were queer contrasts among the audience: a soft and refined, manicured, and eye-glassed gentleman among women with intelligent, hardened, manly faces, and at his side a dear little peasant woman, with a black silken kerchief as headdress. On the platform a long green table covered with flowers, and around it in large semi-circle the speakers, the delegates of the affiliated country societies, and the Ministerial Councillor, T. Vadnay, the representative of the Home Secretary.

"In her opening speech Miss Vilma Glücklich dwelt on the gratifying echo the movement found from above, the first ground for rejoicing after 13 years' bitter struggle. Thus not only with this formal act, but with the warmth of all her heart, did she greet in the name of the Conference the immediate causes of this echo: the Ministers Vázsonyi and Ugron, the Premier Wekerle, and the originator and leader of the women's movement in Hungary, Mrs. Rosika Bedy-Schwimmer.

"The next speaker was Mrs. Groák, Chairman of the affiliated society of Nyiregyháza, who pointed out that the recognition of the rights of the individual was more and more pressing, as compared with his duties, so much harped upon in war-time. After her, Mrs. Szirmai spoke in the interest of the housewives, who form a considerable proportion of women as to numbers, and certainly not an insignificant one as to importance. The vocation of the housewife and mother used to be pronounced as the most essential and the only satisfactory one for a woman, and now it is degraded by refusing the vote to it.

"After this, Miss V. Glücklich moved a resolution according to which the Conference greeted with heartfelt pleasure the intention of the Government to enfranchise women within the proposed democratic reform of the franchise, not wanting to dispense with their help in the future reconstruction of society. Thinking Hungarian women await the Bill of the Government with confidence, hoping that it will extend the full rights of citizenship to all those women who can claim them on the basis of conscientiously fulfilling all the duties of their life."

The motion was carried unanimously. —From Világ (Hungarian, Independent), Sept. 12th.

ITALY.

Women's National Convention in Rome.

The Women's National Convention met in Rome on October 7th, the Minister Sacchi as honorary president, and Minister Comandini and Donna Carla Lavelli as actual presidents. All

political parties were represented, and many well-known men and women took part. The Catholic women were represented by Princess Giustiniani-Bandini. Nearly all the Ministers supported the Convention, and the President of the Council, the Hon. Boselli, sent a telegram of greeting. The President, Donna Lavelli, was supported on the platform by Minister Sacchi, the Hon. Morpurgo, Commandant Apolloni (representing the Committee of Civil Organisation), and Minister Comandini. Countess Isolani represented Countess Spaletti and the National Council of Italian Women.

After the long list of supporters was read, Comm. Apolloni gave an account of the important patriotic and humanitarian work accomplished by Italian women in the committees of organisation. Donna Lavelli spoke on the women's problem in connection with the present grave situation. Minister Sacchi praised women's work, and dealing with present defective laws, especially on marital authorisation and the prohibition to establish the paternity of illegitimate children, which he is working so hard to reform, the speaker upheld women's claims, trusting them to keep them within proper limits.

The following session on October 8th was devoted to the question of Research for Paternity.

Dr. Teresa Labriola traced briefly the history of the question, and demanded the abolition of the articles in the civil code forbidding research for paternity. Signora Lebrecht-Vitali proposed a resolution for this purpose. Signora BarriCELLI demanded research for paternity in all cases, so that a greater sense of responsibility for parenthood should be inculcated. Advocate Martire disagreed with Dr. Labriola's theory that the State should undertake the research of paternity, but agreed that the prohibition should be removed. The Hon. Sandrini supported this view. Signora Vigano also spoke in favour of the resolution.

Signora BarriCELLI, Norwegian by birth, said that the experience of her country had not shown practical results, and that the best plan was for the State to assure maintenance to all necessitous children, whether legitimate or not. Marchesa Pellicano supported Signor Sandrini. Maria Rygiel opposed what would involve the recognition of illegitimate children, as encroaching on the rights of the lawful wife and children. Signora Lebrecht-Vitali's motion was carried unanimously.

In the afternoon session letters of support of the Convention were read from Ministers Ruffini and Dall'Olio and Senators Conti and Balenzano. The discussion was devoted to questions of social legislation for the protection of working women.

A paper by Signora Alice Schiavoni Bosio was read in her absence by Signorina Prof. Pons. The paper examined the conditions of various classes of women workers, and suggested laws necessary for their protection. Laura Casartelli proposed a resolution, and another, proposed by Signora Lollini, ran as follows:—

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

The Congress, noting that almost everywhere women have been called on to replace men, and have received payment beneath their dignity as human beings, which leads them to fail in solidarity with their fellow-workers, and to undercut men's work and create unemployment, and that this undervaluation of women is not only unjust to them but an injury to society, because the insufficient wage reduces their vitality and injures them as future mothers, calls upon all affiliated societies to carry on active propaganda for equal pay for equal work.

Advocate Sacchetti emphasised the fact that in some departments of labour women had shown themselves superior to men. Signora Ferri laid stress on the bad conditions of domestic service, and demanded that servants should be included in reforms for women workers. Comm. Vittore Rava regretted that women were not included in the councils for studying legislation, and proposed the following resolution, which was passed:—

The Congress hopes that women will be equally represented on the Royal Commission for After-war Problems.

Laura Casartelli's resolution was then discussed and passed. It demanded the extension of the labour laws for women and children to all industrial undertakings, whatever the number of persons employed, including transport services; compulsory insurance for all sickness, including confinement and old age; prohibition for children, under sixteen of theatres and cinematographs; extension of some labour legislation to home workers; increase of factory inspectors, especially of women inspectors; and the institution of arbitration committees for domestic servants.

The next day's session was devoted to advocating the placing of women on the governing bodies of benevolent institutions and on prison committees. Signora Vigano urged the right of women to the guardianship of children.



Dr. Tarugi supported the abolition of marital authorisation, and free entry for women to liberal professions. A resolution was passed unanimously in favour of Minister Sacchi's Bill for the abolition of marital authorisation, and for the opening of professions to women, and he was requested to enforce it by administrative decree if circumstances prevented Parliament from voting it.

#### Woman Suffrage.

Dr. Margaret Ancona demanded Suffrage for women on equal terms with men. The Hon. Comandini closed the Convention with a warm defence of women's work and women's equal rights.

#### Minister Sacchi's Opinion of the Women's Congress.

Minister Sacchi, asked his opinion on the Women's Congress, said:—

The Women's National Convention was not inopportune in the present grave times. It has not disturbed the eager and harmonious action of women, directed to civil assistance and patriotic charity. Every subject likely to divide sympathy was avoided, and attention was directed to arguments destined to receive general support. Thus it was just as well that there was no discussion of divorce, on which there was no agreement. It may be said that discussions centred on legal reforms, research of paternity, abolition of marital authorisation, the right to exercise all liberal professions and to hold public office, constituted a serious manifestation of women's conscience. From many quarters there was a demand to substitute by legal decree the decision of Parliament on the abolition of marital authorisation, but the Chambers have already had occasion to express their own favourable opinion on the subject, and perhaps it would not be amiss to solve these questions one at a time, beginning by giving legal sanction to principles already universally admitted.

### THE NETHERLANDS.

#### Political Parties and Woman Suffrage.

In Holland there are now seven political parties. In four of them, the Social Democratic Party and the three Liberal parties, women can be members on the same terms as men. But the three Clerical parties have till now not allowed women to enter the party as members. It was therefore that the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht sent these three parties the following letter:—

Gentlemen,—The time is now approaching in which the proposed revision of the Constitution will be a matter of fact, and in consequence thereof passive Suffrage [*i.e.*, eligibility] shall be granted to women for all the representative bodies, and where by that revision the introduction of active Suffrage is being made possible by common law, the interest in politics and for municipal and county council affairs will undoubtedly increase by women of every class of society and every shade of opinion.

Recent events at home and abroad will hereupon certainly be of great influence. The Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht is convinced that this greater interest will be a great benefit to the general welfare.

But whatever opinion one may hold on this subject, in any case it will be necessary, and be also in the interest of the political party which is organised in your party, to give a lead to the growing interest of these women who feel drawn to your political party. We are therefore of opinion that it is as much in the interest of your party as of the women concerned that they should obtain the right to be admitted into your party under the same conditions as men. In this way women can better attain a complete knowledge of the principles of your party than by remaining outside your political organisation. The result of this will be, when presently the active Suffrage is granted to women in our country, that in every direction a well-instructed army of women-voters will be obtained. But through this those women can make their voices heard in actual political questions in your organisation, and get a vote in choosing the representatives of your organisation in the different representative bodies.

Therefore we request you, if otherwise not possible, to change your rules of order, and to make it possible for women to obtain membership of your organisation on the same terms and under the same conditions as men.

One of the three Clerical political parties has already answered that it is going to change its rules in order to enable women to become members of the party.

ROSA MANUS,

Secretary, Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht  
(affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

#### The Position of Woman Suffrage.

In Holland the position of Woman Suffrage now is this: A distinction has been made between active Suffrage—the right to vote—and passive Suffrage—the right to be elected. The constitution is being revised, and though at the time of writing it has not yet in its new form become the law of the country, there is no doubt that it will soon be. The passive franchise has been granted to women by this new constitution: it is therefore possible that in the next Parliament women may sit. But on the active franchise a compromise has been reached between Liberals and Socialists on the one hand, and the Conservatives, who were anti-Suffrage, on the other. The active franchise has not been granted to women. But, whereas the former constitution expressly excluded women from all Suffrage, this constitutional impediment has now been removed. This is by no means an unimportant advance. For a modification of the constitution takes much time: a special general election and the assent of two-thirds of Parliament. Now an ordinary law, accepted by a mere simple majority, will be sufficient to enfranchise women entirely. To obtain this will now be the aim of the Dutch Suffragist movement.

#### Amendment of the Constitution.

The Second Chamber adopted the proposals for the constitutional revision in second reading on September 25th. The paragraph on electoral reform had 71 voting for; 2 against it.

The direction of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht advises its sections to make use of the increased leisure of working-class women resulting from the installation of communal kitchens (in consequence of the terrible scarcity of fuel in Holland), and to organise midday meetings for working women, where propaganda for universal Women's Suffrage can take place, and instruction given in matters of State organisation. In view of this new activity, an article has been written by Mrs. E. Van der Hoeven, published in the *Maandblad* of October 15th, and reprinted as a leaflet. The article, entitled "Look Out!" is to serve as a basis for speeches and debates at the said meetings. It is a clear exposé, in popular terms, of the working of the State machine and the aims of the different parties, excellently conceived as an introduction into and an incitement to the participation in public affairs, which will, of course, only become urgent when women get the active vote. But that stage has not yet been reached, as the constitution will only give her the right of being elected, and will therefore not impose active contact with the public life which must result from the extension to women of the universal compulsory vote. But as it has been an argument for the Liberal Government in favour of the granting of eligibility that women largely demanded it, so it may be hoped that, as a result of the new activity of the Vereeniging, a universal desire for the active vote will be created which will force the Government to grant that vote, the obstacle to which at least has been removed from the new constitution.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of *Jus Suffragii*.

Dear Madam,—*Jus Suffragii* being the organ of an International Alliance which stands pledged to respect the independence of each affiliated association, and to leave it entirely free to act in all matters within its own country, I think that during the present war, difficult, complicated, and especially most delicate problems, partly national, partly international—such as patriotism, Chauvinism, internationalism, Neo-Malthusianism, depopulation, re-population, immigration, emigration, colonisation, imperialism, etc.,—should not be raised nor discussed in our dear International Woman Suffrage paper.

For this reason I have, indeed, a strong objection to the article "Neo-Malthusianism Criticised," inserted in the last September issue. It will cause discord in the ranks of Woman Suffragists. I fear, instead of bringing them nearer to each other. Mme. de Witt Schlumberger urges, most earnestly and eloquently, I dare say, transmission of life as a sacred vocation, especially of woman, a plea that has my full sympathy, even in this time of horrible waste of human life. But when the authoress identifies the Neo-Malthusians with selfish and narrow-minded individuals, and even with abortionists, this may be the result of her personal experience, but for sure she has no right to generalise. For more than twelve years I have been the President of the Neo-Malthusian League here in Holland, preaching birth-control—that is, full responsibility of maternity,—and I must say that my experience is quite different. I have observed very often a high moral standard and a tender and careful sentiment in the Neo-Malthusian woman, especially in the working classes.

M. W. W. RUTGERS-HOITSEMA.

The Hague, October 2nd, 1917.

## RUSSIA.

### HOW THE ALL-RUSSIAN LEAGUE OF WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT STROVE TO OBTAIN ELECTORAL RIGHTS FOR RUSSIAN WOMEN DURING THE REVOLUTION.

In recent years the Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement in Petrograd has manifested itself by cultural work and by struggling for Women's Suffrage in many fields of life, and has developed a whole series of activities—*e.g.*, courses on co-operation, on municipal government, for the training of Sisters of Mercy and others; it has organised two large public dining-rooms, a lazaret, a home; delivered lectures, held debates, meetings, etc., etc.

In the first days of the Revolution the League decided to organise the feeding of soldiers in its two dining-rooms—on 5, Zabalkansky and 110, Nevsky. This was one of the chief needs of the moment. When the programme of the Provisional Government was published, and the League found that nothing was mentioned with regard to the abolition of limitations for women, and the extension of electoral rights to them, it set itself to work, and was the first women's organisation that raised its voice in defence of women's rights. The Council of the League, together with the delegates of the Women's High Schools and other separate women's groups and circles, passed the following resolution, which was presented to the Provisional Government:—

#### RESOLUTION TO PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

In the solemn days of the great liberation of the people, the Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement, actively participating in the general joy were profoundly astonished to find that in the programme of the Provisional Government nothing was mentioned regarding the removal of the injustice of the old rule which had been oppressing half of the population of Russia—the Russian women. Fearing lest any omission would lead to undesirable misunderstandings, the Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement demands:—

1. That to the words "immediate preparation for the Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal, equal, direct, and secret voting" (paragraph 4 of the programme) should be added "without distinction of sex," and to the words "abolition of all limitations of class, creed, and nationality" (paragraph 3) "and of all limitations concerning women," without which the renovation of Russia will not be complete.

#### APPEAL TO WOMEN TO ORGANISE.

Besides, an appeal was made to the women of Petrograd, calling on them to organise themselves according to districts and professions, and to unite in the name of the struggle for the political emancipation of women. This appeal was printed in 35,000 copies, posted about the town, and despatched to the high and secondary women's schools, to mills, factories, and workshops, and distributed in the streets. Appeals were sent to the provincial sections of the League, to the women's organisations, women's clubs, etc., of Moscow, Samara, Ekaterinburg, Kharkov, Tomsk, Baku, Tiflis, Riga, Revel, Kursk, and other towns. At the same time the League has repeatedly directed its members to the Council of Workmen's Deputies, with the purpose of ascertaining the views held by the members of the Council with regard to the extension of rights to women, but in each instance information was received that the Council regarded this question negatively. Such an attitude was explained by fear of conservatism on the part of Russian peasant women, whilst in some cases it was decided to postpone the solution of the question till the Constituent Assembly. All these circumstances have led the League of Enfranchisement to the firm conviction that now, under the existing conditions, the League should strive to obtain rights for Russian women with still more vigour and energy. Numerous brief appeals were composed calling the women to attend the women's meetings, the district conferences, etc.

In those days the women's movement increased considerably in Petrograd; crowds of women were besieging the premises of the League from morning till late at night. Uninterrupted conferences of different women's groups united around the League were going on, at which the plan of action for the given moment was being worked out conjointly. Telegrams began to arrive from the provinces expressing support for the actions of the League. To the provinces were despatched corresponding material, with information regarding the plans of action, the existing literature, etc. The League united around it about 90 women's organisations, circles, and groups, the majority of which were proletarian organisations. Already in the first week of the Revolution meetings were organised in all the districts of the town, as well as in the suburbs.

#### MASS MEETINGS FOR SUFFRAGE.

For the attraction of the public to the meetings, appeals were printed and posted all over the town. The meetings met with great success; in some places it was necessary to clear the hall three times in order to allow those waiting in the streets to hear the orators. At the Bestoujevsky Courses a large auditorium and the parade hall were occupied, but it was also necessary to speak in the streets.

At the first meetings there prevailed a public which it was difficult to raise to the level of understanding political questions. The speakers from the audience laid more stress on the necessity of ameliorating their economic position. At the succeeding meetings the public was already of a more uniform and intelligent composition. The results of the meetings were considerable, as they served to elucidate the great importance of the participation of women in the political life of the country and in its future construction. The speakers from the audience were already quoting examples from our speakers, and were already convinced partisans of the necessity for giving places to women in the Constituent Assembly. The meetings also served as a preparation for the women's manifestation.

Besides meetings, the League also sent its representatives to deliver speeches at the district conferences of the citizens. At a large district conference of the Rojdestvensky area, in the hall of the Kalashnikov Exchange, the president of the League, Mrs. Shishkina-Yavein, delivered a speech on the necessity for the participation of women in the Constituent Assembly, and was met with the general approval of the auditory. At the meetings speeches were delivered by the following orators: Gorovitz-Vlassova, Dorochevskaya, Jouravskaya, Zakuta, Kalmanovitch, Korsch, Krause, Louchinskaya, Rabinovitch, Shishkina-Yavein, Shabad, Stechepkina, and many others.

#### IMMENSE DEMONSTRATION AT THE DUMA AND SOVIET.

After a whole series of meetings the League organised a manifestation of women for the purpose of uniting the women together and preparing public opinion in favour of franchise rights, but the main purpose of the manifestation was the desire to get an answer to the resolution presented by the League to the Provisional Government on March 4th. Already before the manifestation a delegation of the League had visited the President of the Council of Ministers, Prince Lvoff, requesting an answer on the resolution presented. The first impression was very disappointing. Prince Lvoff declared that the programme had already been published, and only after a long discourse he promised to place the question for discussion in the next conference of the Provisional Government. Before the manifestation the resolution of the League demanding full franchise, with a list of all the women's organisations that had joined in support of the resolution of the League, and a notification of the day of manifestation, were presented to all the Ministers of the Provisional Government and to the President of the Imperial Duma, Mr. Rodzianko.

A notification of the manifestation was also sent to the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. A fortnight of intensive work under the direction of Mrs. M. G. Korsch gave the means of producing the grand spectacle which the women's manifestation (numbering 40,000 women, according to the estimation of the Press) presented on March 19th.

In front of the manifestation rode women—Amazons on horseback—for the maintenance of order, and a large standard ("The Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement"), and two bands of music. In the middle of the procession was an automobile surrounded by student girls of the Bestoujevsky High Courses, and in the car was one of the greatest pioneers of Russian liberty, Vera Nikolaevna Figner, accompanied by the President of the Council of the Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement, Mrs. P. N. Shishkina-Yavein. On the way of the procession from the Town Hall to the Imperial Duma crowds of people greeted the manifestants and V. N. Figner, throwing flowers into the car, and expressing their sympathy for the women's movement by shouts: "Long live Women's Franchise!" The maintenance of order in the procession and in the town was entrusted to several women's organisations, who formed squads of women-militia.



Amongst the numerous posters the following were foremost: "Place for Women in the Constituent Assembly"; "Electoral Rights for Women"; "Without the Participation of Women the Franchise is Not Universal"; "Women, Unite!"; "The 'Working' Women Demand Votes"; "A Free Woman in Free Russia," and many others.

The composition of the manifestation was very varied. Here were women of the intellectual professions, working women, students, servants, clerks, etc., etc. The halls of the Imperial Duma could not accommodate all the manifestants: V. N. Figner and the President of the Council of the League, P. N. Shishkina-Yavein, went inside.

The representatives of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies warmly greeted V. N. Figner as a fighter for liberty. V. N. Figner and P. N. Shishkina-Yavein questioned the Deputies, asking them of the views held by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies with regard to women's enfranchisement, adding that it was for this answer that the large manifestation of thousands of women had arrived. The President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, N. S. Tchkeidze, and the Vice-President, M. J. Skobelev, answered that they must confer with the Committee on this question.

V. N. Figner and P. N. Shishkina-Yavein returned to the manifestants. A good deal of time passed. At last the Vice-President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, M. J. Skobelev, appeared before the manifestants, and delivered a speech in which he welcomed them in general, and finished his speech with the words: "For the realisation of your just demands we shall struggle together with you."

#### WOMEN FORCE AN ANSWER FROM THE GOVERNMENT.

M. J. Skobelev's speech did not satisfy the manifestants. They demanded that the President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, N. S. Tchkeidze, and the President of the Imperial Duma, M. N. Rodzianko, should come out and give a definitive answer regarding the extension of electoral rights to women. They were told that N. S. Tchkeidze could not come out as he had lost his voice. The manifestants, knowing that shortly before N. S. Tchkeidze had delivered a speech to the sailors at the Duma, insisted further, and did not break up the meeting, declaring that they would content themselves with the briefest answer of N. S. Tchkeidze—"Yes" or "No."

The manifestants were compelled to wait very long, but they showed extraordinary persistence. The wet weather, the late hour, pools of water and mud, could not compel the women to disperse, although all of them had been out since ten o'clock in the morning.

The President of the Council of the League, P. N. Shishkina-Yavein, proposed to send a message to the President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies and to the President of the Imperial Duma that the women manifestants have decided not to disperse until they have received a definite and categorical answer. And if N. S. Tchkeidze had completely lost his voice, he could merely nod assent or refusal, thus expressing the attitude assumed by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies with regard to the question, which at this moment was of such deep interest for the millions of Russian women. The insistence on the part of the women forced N. S. Tchkeidze and M. V. Rodzianko to satisfy their desire and come out.

#### MME. SHISHKINA-YAVEIN'S SPEECH TO TCHKEIDZE.

They were addressed in the name of the manifestants by the President of the Council of the League of Women's Enfranchisement, P. N. Shishkina-Yavein.

"In these historical days," began Mrs. Shishkina-Yavein, "when the foundation of a new, great, healthy, and free Russia is being laid, we have come here to remind all those who are entrusted with the task of the great creative work for the welfare of the country that the liberty obtained had been prepared not only with the hands of men; that in those long, dreary years of stubborn fighting for the noble principles of liberation of our beloved Russia, we Russian women have been patiently sharing all the burden of cruel lawlessness with our comrades the men.

"We have come here to remind you that the women were your faithful comrades in the gigantic struggle for the freedom of the Russian people; that they also have been filling up the prisons, and boldly marched to the galleys; the best of us looked into the eyes of death without fear. Here at my side stands V. N. Figner, who has been struggling all her life for what has now been attained.

"We have come to tell you that now, when the long-desired dawn of freedom has lighted the horizon by your and our exertions, we are convinced of our imprescriptible right to obtain equality in the new free Russia, for the creation of which we have given all that we could. However, in the principles set at the foundation of the future free rule the abolition of all limitations—of class, creed, and nationality—was declared, but they have forgotten to declare the abolition of all limitations concerning women. It is decided to convoke the Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret voting; but they have forgotten to mention that it concerns women and men alike.

"We, of course, understand that the word 'universal' alone means all the citizens, both men and women. However, the experience of our Western sisters has shown us that even such insignificant omissions may lead to great, although absurd misunderstandings. Thus in Austria and France Suffrage has till the very present been called 'universal,' although the composers of this law—men—had reserved this right only for one-half of the population—for themselves, whilst women are deprived of electoral right like us, together with criminals, children, and idiots.

"Therefore, remembering the will of our sisters abroad, we have come to tell you that the Russian woman demands for herself the human rights to which she is entitled as a human being. We declare that the Constituent Assembly in which only one-half of the population will be represented can in nowise be regarded as expressing the will of the whole people, but only of half of it." (Exclamations: "And this the smaller half!")

#### TCHKEIDZE'S SPEECH TO THE WOMEN.

The speech of the President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies was welcomed with loud applause.

"We are standing for your rights not only because we are well disposed to you. The proletariat are interested with their blood that all Russian citizens should enjoy equal rights. We cannot allow that in free Russia women should continue to be slaves, deprived of rights. (Exclamations of "Hear, hear," and "Bravo!") In the name of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies I declare that we shall struggle for women's franchise." (Exclamations: "With whom must you struggle yet?")

Tchkeidze's speech was received with cheers. After Tchkeidze, appeared M. V. Rodzianko, who met with an ovation.

#### MME. SHISHKINA-YAVEIN'S SPEECH TO RODZIANKO.

He was addressed as the President of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Duma by P. N. Shishkina-Yavein with the following speech:—

"We have come here to declare that the Russian woman demands for herself the human rights to which she is fully entitled as a human being. When a new edifice is being constructed, it is most practicable and profitable to erect all the necessary buildings at once, as is admitted by everybody, and not to commence building with the intention of repairing, adding, and reconstructing soon afterwards. All the arguments against the extension of rights to women, if such are to be had, are *a priori* incorrect, and based on old prejudices, fears, and dread of novelty. However, experience has proved that none of the countries that have given women votes in the Legislative Chambers regret this step. I say nothing of our neighbours, Finland and Norway, but those who may doubt could learn a good deal from the resolution formed by the Upper and Lower Houses of the Federal Parliament of Australia. This resolution states that the grant of votes to women for the elections to the Legislative Chambers had produced the best results, and after enumerating all the advantages, the resolution concludes with the words: 'Since our reform has yielded only the best results, we should advise all the countries to confer upon women the right of voting.'

"A similar statement was made already in 1899 by the Legislative Congress of the American State, Colorado, which recommended all the States of America to confer upon women political rights, as a measure assisting in the establishment of a higher and better social order.

"On the contrary, the lamentable experience of our Ally, England, which has till the present postponed the solution of this question, does not promise us anything attractive or bright in the perspective.

"And it will be a pity if the enormous part of women's cultural energy in our country is to be expended on a similar struggle between the sexes instead of unanimous productive work, of which our distressed country is so much in need at

present. We should like to believe that the builders of a new free Russia will impartially consider this demand of the Russian woman, who is firmly convinced of the justice of her claims. Anybody who justly revolted against the tutelage of one group of persons over another will understand the protest of the Russian woman, and her desire to participate personally in the legislative construction of her life. If the Russian woman did not complain so loud till now, it was for the reason that the lack of rights was nearly equally shared by the man standing at her side. And this common state of outlawry rendered the feeling of inferiority of woman towards man less acute.

"But now, in this great moment when equality and freedom are declared, any injustice and disparagement are reflected in the soul much deeper than at any other time. And it is understandable why this sad omission has created so much anxiety and disturbance among the female population of Russia. The women are disturbed, not only in Petrograd, but all over Russia, as we can judge by the hundreds of telegrams and letters received by the Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement from the remotest parts of Russia. At present, however, our dear and afflicted country is more than ever in need of a general pacification, in order to be able to commence with united forces the great creative work on the principles of lawfulness and justice.

"That is the purpose for which we have come here, and declare the vital necessity of immediately issuing an official Government declaration concerning the abolition of all limitation with regard to women. We want no more promises of good-will. We have had enough of them! We demand an official and clear answer—that the women will have votes in the Constituent Assembly. *We shall not leave this place until we have received the answer that women will also have the right of votes in the Constituent Assembly, as only in the latter case will it represent the will of all the people—i.e., that the Constituent Assembly will be convoked on the principles of universal, direct, equal, and secret votes, alike for men and women, as without the participation of women the franchise will not be universal.*"

#### RODZIANKO'S REPLY.

"I am an old worker in the Zemstvos," answered M. V. Rodzianko, "and am accustomed to esteem deeply and appreciate the self-denying work of Russian women in all the fields of social life. I am fully aware of the great services the Russian women have already performed. I sign my name with both hands under everything that has been said by my comrade Tchkeidze, and I do not doubt that both the Provisional Government and the Imperial Duma fully sympathise with the idea of granting electoral rights to women." At the end of his speech M. V. Rodzianko gave the advice to apply to the President of the Council of Ministers, Prince Lvoff.

#### PRINCE LVOFF'S DECLARATION.

By demand of the manifestants a deputation went to the President of the Council of Ministers, Prince Lvoff, who declared that under the word "universal" the Provisional Government meant the extension of electoral rights to women as well.

Thus the day of March 9th may justly be regarded as the sacred day and festival of Russian women.

After these events the General Conference of the League formed the following resolution:—

Regarding the Russian woman as a free citizen after the explanation given by the Provisional Government that the word "universal" denoted the extension of electoral rights to women as well, and guided by civic duty, the Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement warmly calls upon all the women of Petrograd to help the country, and set themselves to work in accord together with their husbands, brothers, and sons, in services connected with the army.

At one of its next Conferences the League considered the moment opportune for raising the question regarding the immediate abolition of licensed houses and of regulation of prostitution in Russia, as the most degrading form of slavery for women, and has presented a report, together with a legislative Bill, concerning the abolition of regulation of prostitution to the Social Prefect of Petrograd, Professor Urevitch. The Bill was worked out by the President of the League, Mrs. Shishkina-Yavein, and a member of the Imperial Duma, A. J. Shingareff, and had been introduced through him in the Imperial Duma already in 1913.

When the burial of the victims of the Revolution took place the League took part in it, sending its deputation with a poster bearing the inscriptions: "Eternal Memory to the Fighters for Freedom" on one side, and on the other: "The Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement." The deputation was organised by a member of the Council, Mrs. Viuslikova. The poster of the League was left in the Marble Palace together with the posters of other deputations.

In response to the enormous number of telegraphic inquiries from the provinces and villages, and owing to the necessity for uniting all the women's forces, the League is at present organising an All-Russian Republican Union of the Democratic Women's Organisations, with the view of preparing them for the elections and to the understanding of the political moment, in order that they might assist in the consolidation of the liberties gained by the Revolution, and in the establishment of a democratic Republic, in which it is hoped the woman will occupy an equal place with man.

—Published by the All-Russian League of Women's Enfranchisement in Petrograd.

#### A Woman Presides at the Preliminary Parliament.

The Preliminary Parliament, or Provisional Council, of the Russian Republic was opened at Petrograd on October 20th. Mr. Kerensky, after declaring it open, offered the presidential chair to Mme. Breshko Breshkovsky, the senior member of the Provisional Council, who was greeted with enthusiastic applause. The following notes are taken from the *Women's Messenger*:—

#### What Women Demand.

Women are now eligible as members of the next Douma. Now is the time to make it clear to ourselves what we shall do with our new powers, and what proposals we shall bring forward in the Constituent Assembly. First of all, we must demand the annihilation of all houses of ill-repute, and of the medical police control of prostitutes. Whatever high-sounding words may be spoken from the tribune, no country which harbours a Government-acknowledged system of prostitution may call itself either cultured or free.

Women must demand complete and total prohibition of alcoholic drinks. Alcohol has poisoned humanity long enough. It carries the poison into the organism of each new generation. The women who will plead national interests in the Constituent Assembly must remember this.

Women must raise their voices and cry: "We demand that you should cease to devour each other like wild beasts. Leave your theoretic quarrels and place yourselves on the firm ground of every-day life. Appeals, speeches, and resolutions have now lost all meaning. Nobody listens to them. Let us all set to work for those who are suffering most from the present social chaos—our children."

We must formulate a course of action with regard to the many fatherless and illegitimate children. We must have properly organised and supervised orphanages, where babies are to remain until the age of three. They shall then be transferred to State kindergartens, and at the age of seven to State boarding-schools.

These are some of the demands which women are to present to the Constituent Assembly.

T. YOUCHENKO.

#### The Women's Battalions.

On July 9th the battalion under the command of Mme. Bochkareva took part in the battle. The regimental commander reports that the women's battalion behaved heroically. It took its full share of the fighting in the front line, side by side with the other troops, both in attack and counter-attack. The women soldiers inspired the men by their bravery, coolness, and stoicism, and they have proved their great value as part of the Russian army. On July 9th many cases occurred in which women stopped some would-be fugitives, prevented robberies and outrages, and took away and destroyed then and there bottles full of spirits which had come into the possession of soldiers. The commanding officer's report refers to the behaviour of the women as "above all praise."

A Women's Death Battalion was formed at Perm, and left for the front on July 25th.

#### Women on Juries.

On April 25th the Government Commission which deals with a revision of the Judicial Order in Russia examined the section referring to juries. One of the members brought in the following amendment: "The lists of persons liable to be called up for service on juries shall include all Russian citizens,



without distinction of sex or creed." There was considerable opposition to the admission of women under this clause, and the opponents of the amendment, as far as it included women, argued that the question should be referred to the Constituent Assembly. They also dwelt on the insuperable difficulties which would attach to the absence of women, sometimes for days or as long as a whole week, from their home and from their children. The Commission decided to amend the clause so as to make service on juries compulsory for men and only optional for women, who would, if they so desired, have to apply to have their names entered in the lists.

This decision, being an encroachment upon the equal rights of women citizens, called forth a protest on the part of women's organisations. The Association of the Petrograd Women Jurists\* sent a petition to the Ministry of Justice, in which it was pointed out that, having once entered upon a broad democratic path, the Government of Russia must once and for all renounce the former policy of making special laws for and over the heads of adult women, all the more so as under Sec. 649 of the Statute dealing with criminal courts the interests of persons liable to service on juries are fully safeguarded.

On June 8th, at a meeting of the above-mentioned Commission, the question came up again, and by a majority of 16 against 10 it was decided to adopt the amendment to include women unconditionally among the lists of persons liable to be called up for service on juries.

Since June 1st women lawyers and barristers are entitled to take cases into court and through all stages on the same conditions as men.

Unmarried wives and their children are to receive exactly the same separation allowances as married wives and their legitimate children, provided that in the case where there exist both related to the same man, the legitimate family only shall receive the allowance. The soldier must himself apply for separation allowances in the case of an illegitimate family.

## SWEDEN.

### New Government and Woman Suffrage.

The programme of the new Liberal-Socialist Coalition Government includes electoral reform with Woman Suffrage.

### The Result of the Elections.

The net result of the elections is that the Conservative party has been weakened. Even if the two new heavenly bodies which have appeared in the political skies, the National Union of Agriculturists and the Peasants' Union, may be looked upon only as moons which circle round the sun of the Conservative party, still that party is distinctly weaker than in the outgoing Parliament. The only clear point in the programme of these two new parties is that they will guard the interests of the peasants. As to their attitude on Women's Suffrage we have at present no clear indication. One of the members of the Peasants' Union has declared himself to be opposed to Women's Suffrage, but in another province the Union has declared that it will vote for the enfranchisement of women in Parliament. The opposition of the peasants is due to the fact that they fear that as their own women are so often kept at home by their work, they will not be able to record their votes, whereas all other classes of women will be able to go to the poll. This fear may be removed when the peasants knew that this particular point is taken into consideration in the Suffrage Bill, and it is proposed to insert a clause empowering the husband to act as proxy for his wife and vice versa, so that one of the votes of a married couple is not lost if either husband or wife is unable to go to the poll. Very many persons are probably not aware of this provision.

This weakening of the Conservative party will probably improve the prospects of our cause. Much, however, depends on the composition of the Government which is going to face Parliament. It would, in our opinion, be most favourable to us if a Coalition Government came into power, but if the Ministry were composed entirely of the parties of the Left, it would give our cause the best prospects if the Prime Minister were not one of the leaders of either of the political parties, as such a one would not be so provocative to the Conservative party. But whatever description of progressive Government we may get, it is now certain that a Women's Suffrage Bill will be introduced next year.

### Women's Work During the Elections.

The Progressive women took an active part in the electoral campaign by giving voluntary clerical assistance, distributing

\* In Russia both lawyers and barristers are included under this term.

literature, and speaking at meetings. The Progressive women alone sent out six detachments of speakers and organisers, and they have, according to the information received, spoken at about 70 meetings. Both men and women attended the meetings, and much interest was shown in Women's Suffrage. Last spring Women's Suffrage had not been placed on the programme of the Conservative party, though both men and women had demanded it at the meeting of the party when the programme was discussed. Nevertheless, the Conservative Women Suffragists placed themselves in communication with the party organisations in the provinces, and have thus been able to distribute some thousands of pamphlets. Their request to be allowed to speak at election meetings has, as a rule, been refused, but in Gothland Fru Benedict-Bruce spoke at several meetings, and Fru Törnell in Kumla. In Stockholm they requested the Conservative Association to nominate Hr. Wellin, who is a supporter of Women's Suffrage. He refused to stand, and when the candidate who had been selected in his place was questioned, he declared that he would oppose Women's Suffrage with his last breath. Only one of the Conservative candidates for Stockholm was in favour of Women's Suffrage, and he was not elected.

The Social Democratic women have during their campaign given the first place to Women's Suffrage. Fru Ström-Olsson's pamphlet, "Right or Wrong," has been distributed in thousands, and in Stockholm Suffrage literature has been distributed by the women's clubs and committees.

During the campaign of the Young Socialists, Fru Kata Dalström took a prominent part, delivering about 45 election speeches. She never gives a political address without dwelling on the importance of Women's Suffrage. Only in one of the villages was she unable to secure a hall on the ground that she was a woman speaker. Several other Socialist women took part in the election campaign.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor (October).

### The Proposed International Women's Congress at Stockholm.

At the same time as the International Socialist Peace Congress it is proposed that an International Women's Conference shall be held at Stockholm, to which those women of all countries shall be invited who wish to take part in radical work for the benefit of humanity.

As a large number of women from the belligerent countries may be expected for the International Conference, it is a favourable opportunity of exchanging views and laying down the lines in all international women's questions. A committee has been formed at Stockholm, with Fröken Anna Lindhagen as chairman, and Fröken Mathilde Videgren as secretary.

The Conference will deal with the most important women's questions, and will draw attention to the consideration that the present serious social, economic, and moral conditions cannot be cured solely by the cessation of the war unless measures are taken to remove the abuses and unjust conditions which prevailed before the war. The programme includes the following questions:—

- (1) Women's wages and conditions of labour (equal wage for equal work).
- (2) Women's economic position as sole supporters of the family.
- (3) Women's influence for the prevention of future wars (women as educators).
- (4) The ethical requirements in public life.

As it is to be expected that the International Peace Conference will give united expression to the demand for a just and lasting peace, and the conditions which are necessary to secure it, a proposal will be made that the Women's Conference shall support the resolutions passed at the Peace Conference, either in their entirety or in part. The women of the belligerent countries, who have been separated from one another by a Chinese wall, will come in contact with each other through this work, as the questions which come under discussion affect women of all countries, and it will be extremely beneficial if such a conference can be successfully arranged. It depends, of course, in the first place on whether the International Conference takes place, and on whether participation is permitted on the side of both belligerents.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor.

### The First Swedish Woman Rector of a Seminary.

Fröken Augusta Westerberg has just been appointed to the post of Rector at the seminary for elementary school teachers at Kalmar. This appointment is of importance, not only for the cause of education, but also for the women's cause. It is

the first time that a woman has been appointed to such a post, however high her qualifications may have been.

The outgoing Rector Wickbom has contributed to this victory for conscientious and persevering work, as, when he retired, he recommended Fröken Westerberg as his successor. Fröken Westerberg has had the opportunity of displaying her pre-eminent capacities as substitute for the Rector for five years at the seminary, and her appointment is welcomed by her colleagues and the students.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor.

## SWITZERLAND.

### The Church Vote in Vaud.

In the autumn of 1908 the Grand Council of Vaud (our legislative authority) passed almost unanimously (only four votes to the contrary) a new law on the national Vaudois Church. Since then women of Swiss nationality and members of the national church of over twenty years of age, and who have resided for at least three months in the parish, may take part, like the men, in parish meetings. The functions of these parish meetings consist, among other things, in electing parish councillors and pastors.

Vaudois women thus possess the right of electors in their church, but can themselves be neither parish councillors nor members of the Synod, nor pastors. Since these few rights were conferred on them they have made regular use of them, even those who beforehand had not wished for them, and public opinion has soon got used to seeing women vote in ecclesiastical matters.

### Municipal Suffrage.

In our Confederation, where each of our 22 Cantons is free to modify its constitution without necessarily involving any other part of the country in the same path, the question of women's municipal suffrage has been considered, as readers of *Jus Suffragii* know, in Berne and in Geneva.

In Geneva there is at present nothing particular to note. The very moderate and limited plan (see *Jus Suffragii* for July) giving the vote to women of over 25 years of age who demand it, has been referred, according to custom, to a committee of seven members, who are to report it to the Grand Council. This committee is in no hurry to meet, and the gentlemen who compose it seem to think that a host of other questions are more important and more urgent than the question of Women's Suffrage! This is not the opinion of feminists, as was shown by the crowd of women who were present at the Maison Communale of Plainpalais at the first meeting of the Suffrage campaign, which was a real success. A women's petition was started to support the principle of Women's Suffrage in the Grand Council, and this was signed by a large number of people; and the Executive Committee which was specially founded to take this affair in hand has other plans—in particular to visit the recalcitrant members of the Committee of the Grand Council and to demand that they should be received as an official delegation by this committee. The composition of this committee is satisfactory; out of seven members, five, including the author of the Bill, are convinced Suffragists, who have proved it on several occasions, especially by their speeches when M. Guillermin presented his Bill.

Unfortunately, what has happened at Berne is not at all encouraging from this point of view. The Grand Council of this Canton has also had to pronounce on the question of Women's Suffrage in local government, which has been before it since the spring of 1916. An intense propaganda has been carried on for a whole year by the Berne Suffrage Association. It has held 65 meetings in this agricultural Canton, by fifteen speakers, in spite of difficulties of communication. It has organised a petition which received 8,771 signatures, of which 8,862 were by women, for the greater part housewives, but also school mistresses, working women, employees, etc. It published a little occasional paper, *Die Burgerin*, very well edited. And all this only resulted in a check! It was during the course of September that the debates on this subject were begun in the Grand Council. First of all the question was raised of the eligibility of women for the Councils of Guardians (Conseils de tutelle), which in the Canton of Berne depend on the Communal authority. It seemed that such a just, reasonable, and useful proposal, not only for women, but for children and also for men, whom women would help to fulfil this duty better, was going to be passed unanimously. Alas! it was enough for one member, M. Seiler (his name deserves to be on record), to exclaim with terror that the men

of the Canton of Berne would be all under the thumb of their wives, to frighten the majority of these gentlemen at the prospect, and by 56 votes to 35 they rejected women's eligibility to the Councils of Guardians.

The Berne Suffragists have been sharply reproached with having caused this check by their campaign for the municipal vote, whose success has frightened the deputies. They have defended themselves against this opportunist point of view, declaring that however useful their co-operation in Councils of Guardians might be, their most urgent duty was to claim the Suffrage—that is, democratic equality with men. This first failure led to a second. On the 13th of September M. Buhler, president of the Committee to whom the petition had been sent, proposed to the Grand Council to ignore it, as the number of women who had signed it was so insignificant that it could not be held to show women's opinion on the subject. Always the same pretext—as if the justice of a cause depended on the number of those who support it, and as if a reform were demanded and obtained by men on account of the number of those who petitioned for it! But the Grand Council of Berne has not yet succeeded in getting rid of such prejudices, and by a large majority women's municipal Suffrage was definitely rejected in the second debate. It is a vexatious defeat to record. Nevertheless the Bernese Suffragists are not discouraged. They feel that their winter's work, far from being rendered useless by this vote, has gained them many friends and supporters, has allowed them to know what friends they could count on, has accustomed women who up till now had never thought of it, to speaking in public, and to carry to distant districts of the Canton, to villages lost in the mountains, as into the farms and workshops, the idea of the political equality of men and women. All this has been well worth a campaign of propaganda.

EMILIE GOURD,  
President of the Association Suisse pour le  
Suffrage des Femmes  
(affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

### Women in Elections for Prud'hommes, Neuchâtel.

In November, 1916, the Grand Council of the Canton of Neuchâtel gave women the vote and right to be elected to the Conseils de Prud'hommes, councils which adjudicate in disputes between employers and employed.

The elections took place on October 13 and 14, and for the first time women took part in Switzerland in an election other than ecclesiastical elections. Great efforts were made by Suffragists to propose suitable candidates, and in the town of Neuchâtel three women employer candidates and three work-women candidates were entered for Group V., which includes various liberal professions, and where the candidates were housewives on the one hand and office employees and a cook on the other. Greater difficulty was found in getting candidates for the groups of clothing and food trades. In the trades of watchmaking and machinery the trade unions agreed to put up three women candidates out of ten.

One important success achieved was that two women were put on the Electoral Bureau—Mlle. Tribolet, proposed by the Feminist Union; and Mlle. Emma Porret, president of the Feminist Union, and officially nominated by the Communal Council. This step forward is a notable sign of the times.

In Chaux-de-Fonds the men's trade unions, faithful to the Socialist programme, all had women on their list of candidates, so that thirteen women were proposed, including one needle-maker, one tailoress, one milliner, one corset-maker, one hair-dresser, three housewives, and one outfitter.

The results of the elections are not yet known, but are anxiously awaited, as they show women's first participation in public life.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The month of September brought both defeat and victory to the Suffragists of the United States—defeat in Maine, victory in the favourable action of Congress on certain phases of our movement. It has, as doubtless our friends in other countries understand, two distinct branches: one concerned with obtaining the Suffrage in each individual State; the other with securing from Congress a national measure which will enfranchise the women of all the States. The former is a far longer and more difficult process, and is attempted only because it is necessary to make the experiment in some States in order that they will exert pressure on Congress. Instead of growing easier, it seems to grow more difficult to win a State, as the



opposition, alarmed at the advance of Woman Suffrage, puts forth greater efforts.

Our movement is also hindered by the rapid progress of prohibition of the liquor traffic. It has been adopted now by half of the forty-eight States. There are eleven Equal Suffrage States, and eight of them have total prohibition. Wyoming will adopt it next year. It was defeated in California last autumn only by the vote of San Francisco, and will soon go before the people again. Nevada is a mining State, with twice as many men voters as women, but even there it is gaining strength, and the liquor interests feel that Woman Suffrage means prohibition. If the prohibitionists themselves would support it, women could soon vote in all of those twenty-four States, but they will not do so. South Dakota, West Virginia, and Iowa, which defeated Woman Suffrage last year, are all prohibition States; and Maine, which has just rejected it, is the oldest prohibition State in the Union, having enacted the law in 1851.

The reasons are many why prohibition can be carried where Woman Suffrage cannot. The great corporations and other employers of labour are very desirous of abolishing liquor in order to increase the efficiency of their employes; but they are much opposed to increasing the political power of these employes, which would be done by putting the ballot in the hands of women. So they will contribute largely for prohibition and against Woman Suffrage. The clergy and the more orthodox members of their congregations are nearly all in favour of stopping the sale of liquor, but many of them are not yet ready to give a vote to women. And so with a large number of women everywhere. They can see the evils of intemperance, and will work themselves almost to death for prohibition, but they will not see the necessity for their own enfranchisement, or do anything whatever to obtain it.

THE MAINE ELECTION.

The Suffragists are exceedingly tired of these referendum campaigns. They meet the same conditions in every State, and, what is more powerful than all of these combined, the uncompromising hostility of what are known as the party "machines," the dominating forces in politics, thoroughly organised, financed, experienced, and able to control a certain number of votes. In every election these "machines" are fighting each other, but when Woman Suffrage is an issue they unite to defeat it. This was the case in Maine. The former Attorney-General of the State said, in a public address just before the election: "There are between 15,000 and 20,000 purchasable votes in Maine, and they constitute the balance of power." The Suffragists do not buy votes; the opponents do.

Not very much work for Suffrage had been done by Maine women. Life is not hard there; the laws are favourable to women; there are no large cities with their big problems; no child labour; few manufactures, with their overworked and underpaid women; no open saloons. The women felt sure that the men would give them the ballot for the asking. The Republican Legislature, however, submitted the question to the voters not so much at the urging of the women as at the insistence of the Governor. He is an ardent Republican and prohibitionist, and he believed that if women had the Suffrage they would compel the enforcement of the prohibition law, and give him their votes when he needed them. This situation aroused the hostility of the Democrats, and of those Republicans who did not want the law enforced and opposed all of the Governor's "reform" ideas.

It was largely a political fight, and the Suffrage amendment was between two millstones. Maine is off the beaten track, and the people are for the most part native-born, and not especially progressive. The men have very firm ideas about "woman's place," and it was impossible to convince them that most of the Suffragists in the United States were not down in Washington "picketing" the home of President Wilson. The men's and women's Anti-Suffrage Associations put forth the strongest efforts they ever had made, sending their best speakers and flooding the State with literature. The National Suffrage Association met them with their own weapons, but the amendment was defeated by nearly two to one. This was the first time the "soldier vote" had been tested, and there was a majority in every camp against it, in about the same proportion as among the civilians—two to one. This was a hard blow to the Suffragists, who, ever since war was declared, have made their struggle for enfranchisement wholly secondary, and have worked day and night in the interest of the soldiers.

FAVOURABLE ACTION IN CONGRESS.

The Congress was nearing the end, and it was freely predicted everywhere that, because of the heavy defeat in Maine and the conduct of the semi-militant group of Suffragists in Washington for the past six months, it would take no action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The "picketing" had become a public scandal owing to the determination of the police to put an end to it. Sixteen of the "pickets" who were arrested and refused to pay their fines were sent to the workhouse for sixty days, most of them women of education and refinement. At the end of three days the President offered them a pardon, and they accepted it. Then they began "picketing" again and defying the police, with the result that altogether about a hundred have been sent to the workhouse and left to serve their time, usually a month. They have taken their case into the courts, where it rests, and the public has lost interest. They had, however, caused a sort of hysteria, which expressed itself in a thousand scathing editorials, and in many other ways entirely out of proportion to the small cause.

The situation gave the opponents of Woman Suffrage the best ammunition they ever had been able to get, which they made full use of, and the public was sure that on account of the way the President had been "harassed at this momentous time," Congress would repudiate everybody and everything connected with Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the president, and other officials of the National Suffrage Association, were in constant touch with the White House and with the leaders in both Houses of Congress, and had repeated assurances from the latter that the only two requests they had made would be granted before adjournment. These were that the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage would report favourably the resolution for a Federal Amendment, and have it placed on the calendar for action next session; and that the House of Representatives would create a Special Committee on Woman Suffrage, so that the question might be taken from the jurisdiction of the unfriendly Judiciary Committee. They felt that this was as much as they had a right to expect from an extra session called for the express purpose of considering war measures.

SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE FAVOURED.

The Representatives could not create this Committee unless it was recommended by the Standing Committee on Rules, and therefore the public was amazed when, at the very moment the "pickets" were doing their worst, its chairman received a letter from President Wilson, saying: "I would most heartily approve the appointment of this Committee. I think it would be a very wise act of public policy, and also an act of fairness to the best women who are engaged in the cause of Woman Suffrage." It did recommend the Suffrage Committee, and it was discussed vigorously by the House of Representatives for several hours, and it was finally decided to create it by a non-partisan vote of 181 to 107. The opponents asserted over and over again that the intention of its advocates was to "pack" this committee with members who were in favour of Woman Suffrage, but no sooner was it decided on than they themselves began trying to "pack" it with members who were opposed! It will be appointed by the Committee on Ways and Means, but this has not yet been done. We expect it to have fair and reasonable personnel. There will be thirteen members, and they cannot hold up and refuse to report Suffrage measures, as has been done almost invariably by the Judiciary Committee.

Before the Lower House had taken this action, the Senate Suffrage Committee of nine members, from as many States and from all parties, had by unanimous consent reported in favour of a Federal Amendment, and it was placed on the calendar for debate in December, when the regular session of Congress begins. The defeat in Maine occurred on September 10th, and the Senate Committee made this report on the 15th. It took away from the "antis" all the joy over their Maine victory, and drew the teeth from the criticism which some of the newspapers had started to make. Our case in Congress is now exactly where we want it, and it has a status which it never before possessed.

SUFFRAGE IN THE STATES.

All the attention at present is centred on the New York campaign for a Suffrage amendment to the State Constitution, which will be voted on November 6th. More money, more organisation, and more experienced work have entered into this campaign than in all others combined in the whole United States. In my next letter I shall be able to tell the results of this, and of the legal and other actions now pending in Ohio,

Indiana, and Nebraska to take away the partial Suffrage granted by their Legislatures in the early months of this year. The women of Arkansas will use in November for the first time the full Suffrage at the primary elections, conferred by the Legislature last March.

IDA HUSTED HARPER,  
Chairman, Editorial Correspondence, Leslie  
Suffrage Bureau.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt Stirs Suffragists to Wild Enthusiasm.

Reports from Saratoga describe Mrs. Catt's speech there as calling forth the greatest ovation that even that great leader has ever received. The report runs:—

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt turned a quiet Suffrage conference into a rousing, whooping, political mass meeting by her speech this afternoon. After a long, luncheon-less session, the thousand delegates and visitors jumped from their chairs at the conclusion of Mrs. Catt's speech, and for twenty-five minutes cheered, clapped, marched, and sang, while the Suffrage leader stood, with tears in her eyes, watching them.

"Whether New York wins or loses," said Mrs. Catt, "I predict, and will stand by the prediction, that within two years all the women of the United States will have the vote."

The hall was silent an instant, then broke forth the rain of applause that has marked this 1917 campaign as the most enthusiastic Suffrage demonstration in the history of the cause. For ten minutes the women clapped, then, seizing banners and flags, the entire thousand swung into the aisles and up to the platform past Mrs. Catt to a ringing chorus of "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!"

One passage in Mrs. Catt's speech ran:—

"We cannot say that there will not be other Napoleons and Caesars in the days to come. The only safety is in the people. The women have proved all the world round that if their nation is forced to war, if it is in danger, they go to the side of the men and fight with them, however their hearts may be torn by the sorrows of it all. But the way to do is not that; but to prevent, by looking far ahead, by establishing some kind of system—there are many theories,—that will put war for ever out of the world.

"So we cannot wait any longer. We must have the vote now!"

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To the Editor of *Jus Suffragii*.

Madam,—My dear husband, who passed away last January in his 92nd year, published in 1865 a little book on "The Duties of Parents," and other pamphlets, now out of print. We were always deeply interested in the Malthusian question, and held that maternity should be *consented to*, and not *imposed*; that no one had a right to bring children into the world unless they had a prospect of being able to rear them without appealing to others to help them to do so; that imbeciles, epileptics, consumptives, etc., etc., should not be permitted to bring children into the world to become helpless victims of their parents' unfitnes. We *totally* disapproved of abortion, and always understood that it was *not* advocated by Malthus. The articles, letters, etc., in *Jus Suffragii* have, therefore deeply interested an octogenarian who warmly welcomes the idea of the subject being opened out again in the light of the latter-day experience and education in such an important and widely distributed journal as *Jus Suffragii*.—Yours, etc.,

ANNA M. HASLAM.

163, Rathgar Road, Dublin, October 21st, 1917.

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