

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday,
2nd January, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Mrs. Briggs, Miss Courtney, Lady Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ellis, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Hobson, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Sandiforth, Mrs. Unwin, Miss Ward, Miss Wilson Wilson, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies

for absence. Apologies for absence were received from Miss Ford, Miss Huntsman, Miss Morland, Mrs. R. Russell, Miss Sheepshanks, Mrs. Wedgwood.

Minutes.

The Minutes of meeting on 19th December were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

Reported cable from Holland saying decision as to place of meeting of Congress must be deferred till Vote of all Nationals had been taken.

Urgency was granted to discuss our response to an appeal in the Manchester Guardian by Mr. Nevinson for one million rubber teats to be sent immediately to Germany, because only bone teats were obtainable there and babies unable to use them were dying of starvation. Decided that a letter should be sent to the War Office quoting the article and saying that we wished to respond to the appeal and asking for facilities to do so. Decided also to get into touch with any others who might be acting in the matter, - (The Friends' Emergency Committee, the Red Cross and Miss E. Sharp ^{being} referred to) and also to send an appeal to the Press for contributions.

Hague Congress.

Miss C. Macmillan was invited to attend the Executive for the discussion of a letter from Miss Addams asking for a vote as to place and date of Congress; proposing:-

- (a) Paris in February;
- (b) The Hague in February;
- (c) Paris or the Hague in May.

Decided to wire to Dr. Jacobs and Miss Addams voting for the Hague in May, but adding "preferably Switzerland." Miss Addams further proposed that an attempt should be made to send five women representatives to sit in Paris during the negotiations to be consulted on matters pertaining to women and children. Decided that owing to the difficulty of getting representative women this should not be advocated.

Discussion of the future of the W.I.L.

Letters were reported from Miss Ford, Miss Sheepshanks, and Mrs. Wedgwood opening up the question of our relations to the Socialist International and the Labour Party. Mrs. Swanwick advocated the calling of a Council owing to the acuteness of the question on account of the Election results. Miss Courtney urged that the International Congress should come first and a Council Meeting after. A discussion took place in which it was emphasised that to join the Labour Party would limit our scope outside it; that our best work even for labour is to convert the middle classes, and that international feminism, ^{as} such

has a very great contribution to the whole current of world politics and in education a strong progressive feminist movement is urgently needed and that this is just the moment and the chance for our Society. With regard to training in political affairs Miss Ward advocated a series of classes on "How best to make the W.I.L. a political force," considering specially the technical difficulties of our branches acting "as themselves." Miss Ashton reported that the Manchester Branch proposed to have a junior Branch to train young men and women in political matters.

Reports of sub-Committees.

(a) Organisation and Finance. Reported a Debate on a Capital Levy between Mr. Pethick Lawrence and ^{Mr.} Bernard Shaw had been arranged for Thursday, January 16th at Essex Hall at 8 p.m. Tickets 2/6d and 1/- were on sale, and 5/- tickets might be sold by any members of the Executive *or others willing to take them.*

Meeting on International Construction and in support of President Wilson's policy. Reported it had been decided to change to the small Central Hall, if possible; to ask other Societies to co-operate; to invite the following speakers: Major Gillespie, Mr. Villard, Mrs. Despard, Mr. Nevinson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, and proposed to change the date to 4th, 5th, or 6th February, owing to the Hall not being free February 12th was fixed on and the other proposals agreed to.

Lectures by Mr. Homer Lane.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence reported that arrangements were going forward satisfactorily, and that Mr. Homer Lane would give us any syllabus we desired and would help us with the names of people he is connected with to increase the audience; that the title of his course would be "Authority: its effect on the individual and the Community." Recommended that the meetings should be held on six consecutive weeks at 8 p.m. on Tuesdays from February 25th to April 1st at the Central Hall in the Conference Chamber; proposed that Mr. Homer Lane should be given a fixed fee and that the charges for the course should be £1.1.0, 10/6d and 5/-, single lectures 2/6d and 1/-. Decided to leave details of advertisement, charges, etc. to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Miss Ward.

Finance. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence reported on the low state of the finances. She is sending again to 600 members who did not reply to the special appeal, but she felt strongly the time had come for someone to be associated with her to help in the raising of money, and tap new sources. Further discussion was referred to the Executive as the question was felt to be closely connected with the whole future of the W.I.L., which would be discussed in the afternoon. Decided to ask Miss Ashton to see Mrs. Snowden and have a conversation with regard to her desires and aims for the Women's Peace Crusade. The balance sheet was read showing a balance on December 31st of £131. 10.11d. Decided to recommend to Branches on behalf of Headquarters Funds, the holding of White Elephant Sales. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence asked ~~xxx~~ if every member of the Executive would undertake to write to one person for a subscription, giving her the names first so as to avoid clashing. Mrs. Despard kindly consented to see what she could do to co-operate with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Conference proposed by Manchester. Recommended to Executive that this should take place sometime after a Council Meeting and that a Council Meeting should be summoned as soon as possible. Decided that it should be left to the Officers to arrange a date and to the Organisation Committee to arrange details, but that letters should be sent to Societies who had agreed to send delegates making the suggestions of subjects for discussion as proposed by Manchester and asking them for further suggestions. Mrs. Hobson reported a proclamation by the German Ministry of Sciences and Arts in November 1918 denouncing the teaching of hatred in schools, etc., and begging for a facing of the true facts of history. Decided to add to the Manchester suggestions proposals for a resolution on "anti-Hate Education" in Education and Civilization. Reported that various suggestions had been received for lantern lectures and that a detailed scheme was under consideration. *"Conference"*

(b) Literature. The remainder of the M.S. of the Educational Bibliography was approved by the Committee, and passed for despatch to the printers. It was agreed to recommend to Branches the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene "Revision of Policy" the U.D.C. leaflets "Wilson's Peace Terms" and "Popular Control over Foreign Policy," and the N.P.C. leaflet, "Russia: the Acid Test."

(c) London Sub-Committee. Owing to the small attendance there was nothing to report except that it had been decided members of the Executive speaking at meetings should be asked if they would kindly allow any W.I.L. Members who wished to go with them as apprentices and get practice in speaking. Agreed.

Election of Alternates to Congress.

Election of Alternates to Congress was left till nearer the time. Mrs. Sandiforth recommended that there should be a working class woman representative elected. Nominations were invited.

H. M. Swanwick

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee, Thursday,
16th, January, 1910, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ellis, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Ford, Mrs. Hobson, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Morland, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Unwin, Miss Ward, Mrs. Wedgwood.

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Salter, Miss Cooper Willis.

Minutes.

The Minutes of meeting on 2nd January were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

Rubber Teat Fund. Mrs. Ayrton Gould reported on how she had obtained permission from the Foreign Office to send the teats into Germany through the British Red Cross. By arrangement with the Red Cross it had been settled that the cases should be sent to the Red Cross Representative in Berlin, General Sir Richard Ewart to hand over to Dr. Elizabeth Rotten to arrange the distribution. Letters had been sent to both these explaining what was being done and the teats were being packed, Messrs. Schaerer having undertaken all arrangements for packing. A letter was read from Mr. Schaerer giving exact details of numbers of teats obtained and expenses (£2,150 up to date) and asking for ^{a sum} to be transferred to him on account. Agreed.

Decided that an appeal should be sent to Miss Picton Turbervill, ^{asking if she could appeal through} ~~who is connected with~~ the Y.W.C.A., Miss Courtney agreed to see Miss Irene Cox and promises were made to appeal to clergy. Other names suggested for appeals were the Hon. Lily Montagu, the Duchess of Marlborough and Miss Halsford.

Reported that Miss C. Macmillan had received a cable from Miss Jane Addams announcing the result of the vote as to time and place of the Congress was for The Hague in May.

Reported that the arrangements for the meeting on February 12th were going forward, Miss Marsh organising. Speakers would be billed as follows:- Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, recent Labour Candidates for Rusholme and N. Battersea respectively; Mr. G. Lansbury "on his return from Paris," Major Gillespie, D.S.O., Mr. H.W. Nevinson, Official War Correspondent on his return from occupied German Territory. Numbered and reserved seats 2/6d, reserved 1/-, admission free and collection.

Reports of Sub-Committees.

Financial and Organisation. Reported that subscriptions in response to the special appeal during the last week had amounted to £235, £100 was owed to the Deposit Account. Mrs. Huth Jackson informed the Committee that Mr. Huth Jackson would subscribe £100 in her name to general funds and £50 to the fund for rubber teats.

In connection with a letter from Mrs. Rollo Russell the question of organising a big "White Elephant" Sale in the spring was discussed and at Mrs. Ayrton Gould's suggestion decided to ask Miss Bertha Brewster if she would undertake to run such a Sale as Hon. Organiser. Mrs. Ayrton Gould promised to write to her.

Miss Ashton reported that she had seen Mrs. Philip Snowden, had had a talk with her about the future of the W.P.C., Mrs. Snowden thinks some branches will join the W.I.L. and she will give us the names of branch Secretaries.

Mrs. Snowden also offered to give us the copies she has remaining of her leaflet "Militarism in Schools," or to send it out to selected places for us. Agreed to accept. Suggested some Head Mistresses Associations and Educational Societies might be sent to.

Reported that Miss Picton Turbervill had received a message from Miss Jane Addams saying that she was hoping to come over almost at once. Decided to write to Miss Picton Turbervill to ask her whether this was a fact. Recommended to Literature Committee to consider a leaflet on the food question and pacification as a W.I.L. propaganda leaflet for the meeting of 12th February.

Recommended Organisers' Work. After a discussion on the work of the organisers in future and on arrangements at Headquarters the Committee recommended the Executive to consider terminating Miss Ashby Wood's engagement on the grounds of re-arrangement and retrenchment. The Executive decided to accept the recommendation and that a letter should be written to Miss Ashby Wood expressing appreciation of her work and giving her the opportunity of resigning; her full work to terminate at the end of January and one month's salary (to the end of February) to be given to her if she had not obtained fresh work, her only obligation being the fulfilment of engagements already made. Suggested by Organisation that in the interval Miss Ashby Wood should start branches at Leicester and Nottingham. The suggestion was rejected.

Conference proposed by Manchester. Recommended that branches should be circularised telling of the Conference and subjects of discussion, and invited to send in resolutions if they wished for the Committee to consider; and also that Societies co-operating and branches should be informed that branches might send representatives to the Conference as well as the headquarters body. Agreed.

London Sub-Committee. Dramatic Section. Mrs. Huth Jackson reported that a play was being prepared "Land of Heart's Desire" (not W.I.L. Members) and she would be glad to hear of any members willing to begin and work up others. It was suggested that we might get people who are doing plays to give extra performances for the W.I.L. and the names of Mrs. Erhardt (Dal Croze), Mrs. Schutze, Laurence Hausmann were mentioned who might be consulted.

Time of Meetings. Recommend the London sub-Committee should meet at 11.30 on third Thursdays and that no other Committee should be called to curtail these meetings. Agreed.

At Homes. Recommended that the "At Homes" should be held on Tuesdays or Thursdays. Social from 6-7, "At Home" 7 - 9 p.m. Agreed they should be held on Thursdays, The date of commencement being fixed as 20th February. (Room to open at 5.30 p.m.) A rota of the Executive to attend and one of the Branches each time to be responsible for arrangements. The first speakers were left to the sub-Committee to settle. ^{Suggested} Decided the House-keeper should be asked if she could provide tea or cocoa and that any who wished could then bring food.

Wire from Dr. Jacobs.

A wire was read from Dr. Jacobs as follows:-
"Urge your Branch to write greeting to opening Peace Conference. Jacobs Manus."

Agreed ^{wire} this should be sent to President Wilson ~~as President of the Peace Conference~~, emphasising our support of his ~~support~~ and in particular the connection between the food and pacification.

N.P.C. Proposal for co-operation over the food question.

Mrs. Swanwick reported on the Quarterly Meeting of the N.P.C. at which two resolutions had been passed, as follows:-

1. That the National Peace Council calls upon its affiliated organisations to combine in a great effort to get wide public support for a movement in this Country to confine ourselves to the consumption of the necessaries of life only, until countries which have suffered more from starvation and disease have been provided with such necessaries,
2. That the National Peace Council calls upon the Government immediately to raise the blockade, and to refrain from using the necessities of ^{the} starving peoples to put upon them political pressure, and thus prejudice the questions which should be left for the Peace Congress and the League of Nations.

It had been ~~decided~~ decided to hold a meeting on Thursday, 23rd January, at 3 o'clock at the Kingsway Hall and in this way to start a movement nationally in support of the aims embodied in the resolutions. Miss Ellis reported that the Executive which had been set up had had one meeting; that it had been decided to call the Committee the "Fight the Famine" Committee; that the Committee formed should carry on the work with an Honorary Council to support it, and the meeting on the 23rd should have the resolutions put before it with some slight revisions. Agreed that the W.I.L. should send in the following amendment to resolution

1 and should vote for resolution 2.

"This meeting, deeply concerned for the suffering in many parts of Europe from want of the necessities of life, assures the Government of its cordial support in any measures of impartial relief based on pure humanity and pledges itself to comply cheerfully with any curtailment of unnecessary consumption which the Government may impose on this people, in order to provide material or transport for relief.

This meeting further pledges itself to do its utmost to secure widespread support for such humane policy."

A letter was read from Mr. Heath asking for the Committee's opinion on action on various lines (a) the engaging of a Hall for a preliminary joint meeting or Conference as sent implying willingness to co-operate in work and costs;

(b) To notify their London members especially interested and the Secretaries of provincial branches, of this meeting;

(b) To supply one speaker empowered to state briefly, at this meeting, what his or her organisation was prepared to do (e.g. in direct work on a General Committee, specific work as a separate but co-operating organisation, financial help, etc.)

Mrs. Ayrton Gould agreed to act as W.I.L. Representative. Suggested that the W.I.L. should agree to watch the question of baby feeding, etc. Agreed. Various questions in the letter were considered (1) how to draw in the general public; suggested the formation of a strong press Committee with a good Agent. Miss Ellis reported on a small sub-Committee already being convened by Miss Leaf. Miss Ward reported a National Brotherhood Meeting in the Albert Hall on February 2nd. Suggested the Conveners should be approached. Agreed. (2) How to get powerful sections to put pressure on the Government. Decided in addition to those mentioned capitalists and fearers of Bolshevism might be added. (3) How to unite the women as mothers and housewives in this question. Suggested Societies should be approached and the resolutions sent them. (4) How to bring the question home to Clergy, etc. Reported the League of Nations Union have sent to all Clergy asking for a League of Nations Sunday. Suggested they should be urged also to have a "Fight the Famine" Sunday the first Sunday in Lent.

Mrs. Swanwick raised the question of how to get at Provincial Centres and suggested a resolution at the meeting to call on Societies represented to invite their branches all over the country to form "Fight the Famine" Committees. Miss Ashton suggested Mayors and County Councillors might be interested. Other suggestions were that the Red Cross Organisations, Y.M.C.A., etc. should be approached, and that resolutions should be passed by Town Councils. (5) How to utilise the American example of reconstruction for the direct purpose of feeding other nations. Discussion on the advisability of having "Days" for emphasising this need. Recommended

that the question of these in Schools should be gone into.

Correspondence. Church League for Women's Suffrage. A letter was read from the Church League for Women's Suffrage asking for co-operation in a service of thanksgiving and dedication at St. Martin's in the Fields on Thursday, February 6th at 6.30 p.m., the first anniversary of the day on which the Representation of the People Act received Royal Assent. Decided to accept invitation. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence undertook to carry our banner.

German
I.C.W.P.P.

A letter was read from Dr. Anita Augspurg and Gustava Heymann thanking the W.I.L. for resolutions of sympathy sent in November to the German Section.

(An appeal from Ellen Key and Selma Lagerlöf was read asking co-operation of all women that the hungering mothers and children in Germany may be fed. Decided to reply saying what we are doing and hope to do in this country.)

Rusholme
Labour Party.

A letter of grateful acknowledgment of the contribution made to the Rusholme Labour Party by the W.I.L. was reported.

Miss O'Shea.

A letter offering on behalf of the Women's Conference at Portsmouth the organisation of public meetings asking for the relaxation of the armistice in response to the appeal by German women on behalf of the W.I.L. was read and the offer gratefully accepted.

Miss Cooper
Willis.

A letter was read from Miss Cooper Willis informing the Committee that she had obtained her permit, subject to the obtaining of her Passport for Holland, and asking consideration of what arrangements should be made for her going over. Decided a letter should be written to Headquarters asking them when they would like her to come, suggesting a month now or a month immediately before the Conference as possible and asking what arrangements could be made to put her up economically owing to the very high cost of living in Holland at present.

Election of
Alternates.

(The election of Alternates for Congress was deferred to a later Executive.)

H. Swannick

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday, 13th February, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Bwanwick in the Chair, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Briggs, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Hobson, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Miss Morland, Mrs. Rollo Russell, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Unwin, Miss Ward.

Apologies for absence.

Lady Courtney, Miss Ford, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Sandiforth, Miss Cooper Willis, Miss Wilson Wilson, Miss Huntsman.

Minutes.

Minutes of Meeting on January 16th were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

Reported that £1,300 were still needed for rubber teats. Decided to close the fund at the end of February. Mrs. Ayrton Gould reported on the German insistence in collecting money in return to send over for some English War Charity. After discussion it was decided that Mr. Nevinson should be asked to put Mrs. Gould in touch with the Authorities and that they should be asked to give the money to the needy relations of interned Englishmen in Germany and the English wives and children of interned Germans now being sent back to Germany.

Reported acknowledgment of Mrs. Swanwick's letter had been received from Miss Ashby Wood.

Reported the following wire had been sent to President Wilson on January 24th:-

"Women's International League, British Branch, warmly supports Wilson's policy, prompt relief and pacification of Europe."

Reported Miss Picton Turbervill was unable to appeal to the Y.W.C.A. for the rubber teats fund owing to her withdrawal from directing Y.W.C.A. appeal.

"Fight the Famine" Committee. Miss Ellis reported important additions to the Council, including Miss Mary Macarthur, Mr. Henderson and Lord Henry Bentinck. A large meeting is being planned and the Press Department was spreading information widely. A circular would shortly be sent out to Societies co-operating; the chief difficulties were shipping and credit, hindering proper distribution. Urgency was asked for a letter from the Ministry of Health Watching Council, inviting a representative of our Society to attend a Committee at 5 p.m. and report to the Executive for consideration of sending a delegate to the Society's meetings. Mrs. Despard undertook to go.

Report of Sub-Committee.

LONDON SUB-COMMITTEE. Decided to issue a leaflet with all London fixtures up to Easter, sending two to each member and distributing 1,000 for advertisement. Mrs. Huth Jackson was elected Chairman. "At Homes." Decided that each Branch should be responsible in turn for providing a Chairman and finding stewards to see to literature, refreshments, etc. The following programme was planned, ~~subject to arrangement with speakers:-~~

Feb. 20th. Kensington Branch to provide a Chairman.
Speaker: Mrs. Swanwick.

Feb. 27th. Croydon Branch. Speaker: Mrs. Rickman,
if possible, on Russia.

March 6th. Hampstead Branch. Speakers suggested:
Major Gillespie, Francis Meynell and Mr. Gould.

March 13th. Chelsea Branch. Speaker: Mr. Lansbury
on the Berne Labour Conference.

March 20th. Golders Green Branch. Speaker from the
National Federation of Women Workers on "Women ^{in Industry} and Labour."

March 27th. Balham Branch. Speaker: Mrs. Sanderson
Furness on "Housing."

April 3rd. Kingston Branch. Speaker: Mr. Ewer on
"The League of Nations," and its development during the
Peace Congress."

April 10th. Barnet Branch. Speaker: Miss Courtney
on the I.C.W.P.P. Congress at the Hague.

LITERATURE. January 17th, 1919. Agreed to have
in the Literature Department and to recommend to Branch-
es, Judge Parry's book "The Law and the Woman" offered
at discount price by the N.U.W.S.S. and to recommend
General Smuts' book on "The League of Nations." Agreed
sufficient copies of W.I.L. Manifesto be printed to last
until May, when it was hoped the International Congress
of Women might meet, and Manifesto might be changed.

Special Meeting, Jan. 24th. Agreed to invite to
another Conference, as soon as the date of publication
of the Bibliography was fixed, all those who had been
invited to the Conference on March 12th, 1917, at which
the Bibliography was planned. Agreed a notice of the
book should be sent to all officials responsible for the
selection of text books for elementary and secondary
schools, and in training colleges. Articles in educa-
tional and other journals and addresses bearing on the
whole question of history teaching, were also suggested,
in addition to the usual publishers' methods as being
likely to help the circulation.

The Chairman submitted M.S. of a leaflet "Food
and Justice" which was passed.

Special Meeting, January 28th. The proposal made
by Mr. Stanley Unwin to Mrs. Unwin that Allen and Un-
win's name should appear as joint publishers of the
Bibliography, in return for commissions amounting to
48 1/3% per copy was discussed, but negatived, so far
as the present edition was concerned.

FINANCE. A rough estimate of average monthly
working expenses was read: total being just under
£120 per month. Balance on Jan. 31st, 1919, General
Fund £518. 9.11d. Teats Fund £401. 11. 11d. The total
of the Campaign Fund up to date was £566. 10. Od.

Resolution
proposed by
Miss Ward.

Miss Ward proposed that the following resolutions
should be passed and sent to President Wilson and the
Prime Minister in view of the danger of bodies being
formed to discuss labour problems from a purely theoretic
standpoint: That the W.I.L. notes with satisfaction
the terms of President Wilson's address to the women of
France and urges upon the British Delegates at the
Peace Conference, the necessity for the Conference to pro-
vide an opportunity for the working women of all nations

concerned officially to express their views in regard to any labour problem which may come under the consideration of the Conference in view of the fact that the conditions of women's and children's labour form an integral part of any such problems."

Decided that a resolution embodying the ideas it was desired to express should be drawn up by Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Miss Courtney and sent to the Prime Minister, President Wilson and the Press. Further decided on Miss Courtney's suggestion that a cable should be sent to President Wilson making a claim to representation on any women's commissions in Paris during the Peace Conference. The following cable was sent:-

~~was~~ ^{of} International Consultative Commission of Women ^{is} formed in Paris, British W.I.L., Headquarters President, Jane Addams, requests representation. Decided to inform Headquarters and Miss Jane Addams that this had been done.

Women's Conference.

A sub-Committee to draw up the resolutions to be submitted to the Conference was appointed to meet at 4.30 p.m. on Friday, 14th, consisting of the Officers, Miss Courtney and Miss Ward.

Correspondence.

N.U.W.S.S. A letter submitting the text of a proposed Bill on the guardianship of children was submitted to the Executive. Mrs. Ayrton Gould undertook to consider the Bill and to reply on behalf of the Executive.

Miss Phillips. A letter was read from Miss Phillips asking for permission to attend the Executive Committee in order that all matters connected with Finance might be referred to her direct. Decided that Miss Royds be asked to report all points definitely. Mrs. Salter moved, Miss Courtney seconded that Miss Phillips should attend the Organisation Finance Committee and that any recommendations connected with Finance should be typed out and returned to her from the Executive endorsed, or otherwise. Agreed with Miss Ward dissenting. The question of Miss Marsh attending the Organisation Committee was referred to that Committee.

Consultative Committee. Agreed in response to a letter that the W.I.L. should join the other Societies in sending congratulations to the German women on having obtained the vote. Suggested by the Committee that assistance should be given to a scheme for a campaign on Widows' Pensions. Decided to reply that we will do all we can to further a practical scheme immediately, emphasising that to be successful the pensions must be adequate and not administered by the Poor Law Guardians.

N.E.F. A letter was read from Miss Tillard asking if the W.I.L. would be willing to organise a deputation of women to the Leader of the House of Commons to press for the release of C.O's. Decided that the W.I.L. would join in a deputation but considers it best that it should not be organised by our Society.

Mrs. Raymond Unwin. A letter from Mrs. Raymond Unwin was read recommending the Executive to approach Societies such as the N.C.F. as to the desirability of arranging a Memorial Service for C.O's. who have died in prison or Camp. Mrs. Hobson reported the N.C.F. was trying to organise a meeting

N.C.C.L. A letter was read from Mr. Langdon Davies asking for co-operation in a demonstration everywhere for the abolition of conscription on Sunday, March 2nd. Decided to reply that we would be glad to co-operate, send out bills etc. and to notify our Branches.

Frederick Threadgold. A letter was read urging the need of effective measures at once on behalf of missing men and deported girls in Germany and Austria.

Board of Trade. A letter sent to Mrs. Keeling (W.I.L. Member) suggesting that the Board of Trade might be able to take up the question of supplies for Germany was read. Decided to refer it to the Friends Emergency Committee with a strong recommendation to follow it up. Further decided ^{to} recommend to Miss Fox to get publicity for the facts of the ~~de~~ transportation of women and children (wives of German interned prisoners) by letters to the Press from influential people. Recommended to Organisation Committee to consider our sending a letter on the subject to religious bodies.

Headquarters. A letter was read ^{to} from Miss Cooper Willis from Dr. Jacobs and Miss Manus urging the sending over of helpers from the National Sections to Amsterdam at once. Decided Miss Cooper Willis should be consulted as to her views and that Miss Royds should see Miss Macmillan and find out her plans and that Headquarters should then be informed.

Election of Alternates to the Congress. This was referred to the Executive Committee next time.

W.I.L. Industrial Programme.

Mrs. Ayrton Gould reported a suggestion made by Manchester that in view of unemployment troubles the W.I.L. should have an industrial programme. Decided Manchester be asked to make a concrete proposal to put before the Organisation Committee.

W.I.L. Colours and Badges.

Proposed by Manchester. Decided that this was a matter for the general Congress *at the Hague.*

H. M. Swannick

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday, 20th February, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. R. Russell, Mrs. Trevelyan, Mrs. Unwin, Miss Cooper Willis, Mrs. Wedgwood.

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Ellis, Miss Ward, Miss Wilson Wilson. *Miss Norland.*

Minutes.

Minutes of meeting on 13th February were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

Miss Cooper Willis reported that she had received a cable announcing that the date of the Congress was fixed for the middle of May and asking her to go over as soon as possible. She was unable to go over immediately as, when she had undertaken this, she believed the Congress would be in February. She would be able to go over about the month beforehand and Miss Macmillan is willing to go in March.

Reported that the "Fight the Famine" Committee Meeting in the Central Hall would take place on 12th March, with Lord Henry Bentinck in the Chair.

Mrs. Swanwick reported a letter from Mrs. Snowden giving an account of an "At Home" given and a meeting held in Berne by members of the I.C.W.P.P. and resolutions passed. Decided to publish letter and summarise resolutions for the News Sheet. Miss Courtney reported that Madame Duchêne was very anxious about the Conference in Paris and urged the need for representation of organised women's bodies. Suggested that at the Feminist Conference we should put forward a united appeal that women representative of various bodies should sit in Paris. Decided to put a resolution on the Agenda on the lines of that sent to President Wilson (See Minutes of 13th February).

Election of Alternates to Congress.

Decided that before the Election of the remaining Alternates representatives attending Congress should be asked if and how far they would be prepared to pay expenses and then the question of sending a full number of Alternates should be considered.

Reports of sub-Committees.

(a) Organisation and Finance. (Re Office Theft. Decided to recommend to the Executive that they should make themselves responsible for the amount of the theft and that the Staff should be permitted to contribute. Agreed.)

Mrs. Ayrton Gould reported that on account of the size to which the Sale had grown she had thought it better not to try to arrange Miss Hilda Saxe's Concert till later. Mrs. Huth Jackson kindly offered the use of her room and garden for a summer concert if

Miss Saxe would consent to play. Agreed to accept.

Recommendation to Executive with regard to the Sale that the following resolutions be passed:-

"That all contributions made to the Sale in kind should be free gifts and nothing should be accepted at percentage rates."

Reported the Teats Fund now stood as follows:- Received £5,233. 4. 3d, paid out £4,594. 9. 9d, balance in hand £638. 4. 6. Mrs. Ayrton Gould reported that Mrs. Waldorf Astor seemed confident that she could raise the remaining sum required. Reported that the Executive had decided that the Teat Fund be closed at the end of February. Agreed the accounts should be audited as soon as possible after the Fund closed, and the Financial Secretary was instructed to arrange for this with the Auditor. Reported that the total of the special Campaign Fund was now £569. 18. 0d. Reported a request from the Housekeeper for an increase of wages from 12/6d to 14/- a week was agreed to. Committee of Inquiry on Social Morality. Reported this Committee had asked for a grant of £10 previously promised by the W.I.L. and that the cheque had been sent.

Glasgow affiliation to Scottish Home Rule Association. Decided to accept the Organisation Committee's recommendation that the Glasgow W.I.L. should be allowed to affiliate to the Scottish Home Rule Association as they desired.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence urged the necessity for an energetic "Fight the Famine" Campaign," emphasising the need of some practical scheme. Mrs. Wedgwood referred to a leaflet on Food Conditions in Germany and Austria of which Dr. Markel has offered us free copies. Decided to accept and distribute as far as possible and to send sample to Branches with a letter urging them to organise a campaign and information as to the sort of help wanted and offering speakers.

(b) Literature Committee. At the meeting on Friday, February 14th, M.S. was submitted by Mrs. Newenham Hoare of a leaflet giving examples of kindness shown by individuals of "enemy" nationality towards the Allies. The M.S. was referred to the Officers for revision. Bibliography. It was reported that the name and description of every book in the Bibliography was being submitted for correction to the publisher responsible for it, in order to secure accuracy. Revision of stock. It was agreed to withdraw from circulation Election leaflets 1 & 2, the leaflet "Our War Aims," and the pamphlet "War in its effect on Women" and to print 1,000 copies of the leaflet describing the I.C.W.P.P. (leaflet O). Endowment of Motherhood Publications. Agreed to reprint Miss Royden's pamphlet "Endowment of Motherhood", copyright of which offered by Mr. Emile Burns was accepted, which would allow the pamphlet to be sold at 2d. a copy. Also agreed to reprint in leaflet form an article "EQUAL PAY AND WOMEN'S WAGES", by Mr. Brailleford in the "Nation" after it had been edited by Miss Courtney. Mrs. Ayrton Gould

reported Mr. Burns was having leaflet on subject reprinted to sell or give away.

Proposers
of reso-
lutions at
Conference
of Women's
Societies.

Decided the following should be asked to propose resolutions. The N.U.W.S.S. resolution A. 1 (a) "Equal Opportunities" and 3 "Guardianship of Children." Miss Bondfield for the National Federation, resolution A. 1. (b) on "Equal Opportunities" and B. 4. the "Standard Minimum". The W.I.L. to propose the following:- "Endowment of Motherhood", Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; "Users' Rights", Mrs. Swanwick; "Women as Home-makers", Miss Courtney. Resolution on the "Need for Women's Commissions in Paris", Miss Ashton. The Women Clerks and Secretaries "Equal Pay for Equal Work;" Women's Freedom League, "Conscription", Free Church League "Education in International Co-operation." Delegates chosen from W.I.L. were Miss Ashton and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Chair: Mrs. Swanwick.

Corres-
pondence.

Mr. Dennis Milner. A scheme for a State Bonus put forward by Mr. Dennis Milner was submitted for consideration. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence suggested a debate on the subject. Decided to ask Mrs. Stocks of the London School of Economics if she would undertake to take part, and if so, the debate is to be arranged.

Mrs. Bruce Glasier. A letter was read from Mrs. Bruce Glasier giving an account of Mr. Bruce Glasier's very serious condition. *Mrs. Swanwick had answered, expressing the sympathy of the Executive.*

Miss Fox. A letter was read from Miss Fox, the Friends Emergency Committee, making suggestion that the money sent over by the Germans in return for the gift of rubber teats might be devoted to an international fund in Berlin for Widows and Orphans. Decided to reply that it had already been suggested to those offering the money that it should be devoted to the wives of interned aliens in Germany and the British wives and families of Germans now being deported.

Cable from Dr. de Jong van Beek en Donk inviting the W.I.L. to send representatives to a League of Nations Conference at Berne in March. Decided that this was impossible, but that a letter of sympathy and regret should be written.

Political
Situation.

A discussion took place on the need of a pronouncement on the draft of the League of Nations. Agreed that Miss Cooper Willis should draft a letter on the subject for the Branches, and that it should be sent round with the following resolution drafted by Mrs. Swanwick:-

"The W.I.L. welcomes the draft constitution of a League of Nations signed by the Allied and Associated Powers in so far as it is a declaration of the solidarity of mankind in the establishment and practice of a world peace; but declares that no League of Nations will command the confidence and co-operation essential to success until it is open on impartial terms to all nations and until its constitution gives to all nations power to effect decisions and opportunities of

democratic representation."

Other
business.

Decided the Organisation Committee should meet on
first Thursdays in the month.

H. M. Swannick.

Draft of criticism to be sent to British Delegation at
Versailles and to Colonel House.

The Women's International League - whose desire, ever since its foundation at the Hague Congress of Women in 1915, has been to see established a League of Nations for the settlement of disputes by means other than war - submits, in response to the invitation to discuss the protocol signed by the 14 Allied and Associated Powers, the following comments.

A. GENERAL AGREEMENT.

The W.I.L. rejoices that in this Protocol a number of principles have been broadly laid down:-

1. The abandonment of the absolute sovereign rights of States and the recognition that the world is one (Preamble and Article 11).
2. Open discussion of disputes (Article 15).
3. The establishment of machinery for Arbitration and Conciliation (Articles 12, 13, 14, 15).
4. The reduction of armaments and consideration of the restriction of the private manufacture of arms (Articles 8 & 9).
5. That Powers which administer countries inhabited by peoples "not yet able to stand by themselves" shall do so as "a sacred trust of civilisation" and that "securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League."
6. The establishment of a Permanent Labour Bureau.
7. The granting of "freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of all States members of the League."
8. The abolition of Secret Treaties (Article 23).
9. The abrogation of obligations inconsistent with the terms of the covenant (Article 25).
10. Provision for the revision of "treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world." (Article 24).

The universal recognition and practice of these principles would be the longest step the world has ever made towards international co-operation, but the Protocol in its present form makes such universal recognition and practice impossible. For this reason, we suggest amendments as follows:-

B. CRITICISMS.

MEMBERSHIP. Many points with regard to membership are not clear, but it appears that there are three categories of States (Article 7):

1. The original signatories, who include all and only the Allied and Associated Powers;
2. States to be named in the Protocol (but not yet named) and therefore, presumably, to be invited to modify the Protocol before it is ratified and becomes an operative covenant;
3. States to be admitted with the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States in the first two categories. This will be, presumably, after the ratification of the covenant and when amendments will be exceedingly difficult to introduce, since unanimity on the part of the Executive Council and a three-fourths majority of the States belonging to the League are required (Article 26). A heavy handicap against this third category.

The first requirement for a League of Nations which is to establish and administer Courts of Arbitration and Conciliation is that it should be trusted by all the world to be administered impartially for the benefit of all the world. This will not be unless membership of the League is, from its inception, open without distinction to all self-governing States which express (a) their desire to become members, and (b) their willingness to perform the duties of members.

It is to be hoped that when the "invited" States consider the Protocol, they will recommend and carry an amendment to it making provision for the invitation of all such States, but we must regret that the victorious Allies did not themselves insert such a provision, since this would have helped to create an atmosphere of confidence and conciliation without which the League will not be an instrument of Peace.

The animus shown against the disrupted and conquered Central Powers becomes more striking when we consider how little there is to fear from them. The members of self-governing States and Dominions would be roughly as follows:-

Seventeen Allied and Associated:-

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|-----------------|
| United States. | } | The "Big Five." |
| Great Britain. | | |
| France. | | |
| Italy. | | |
| Japan. | | |
| Belgium. | } | Europe. |
| Greece. | | |
| Portugal | | |
| Rumania. | | |
| (Serbia | | |
| (with Montenegro). | | |
| Poland. | } | South America. |
| Brazil. | | |
| China. | | |
| Canada. | } | Dominions. |
| South Africa. | | |
| Australasia. | | |

Seven European Neutrals:-

Denmark.	Luxemburg	Spain.
Holland.	Norway.	Sweden.
	Switzerland.	

Nineteen South American States:-

Argentina.	Ecuador.	Paraguay.
Bolivia.	Guatemala.	Pern.
Chile.	Haiti.	Salvador.
Columbia.	Mexico.	Uruguay.
Cuba.	Nicaragua.	Venezuala.
Dominica.	Panama.	Costa Rica.
		Honduras.

Three African neutrals:-

Morocco.
Liberia.
Abyssinia.

Five Asiatic Neutrals:-

Persia.
Afghanistan.
Thibet.
Nepaul.
Siam.

Leaving Russia out of account (because at present it is impossible to say how many "self-governing States" may emerge from the present chaos) we find that, in all probability there will be only

Four other Powers:-

Germany	(Diminished by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, of Polish Provinces and of Colonies. Increased by German Austria).
Hungary.	
Bulgaria.	
Turkey.	(Diminished to vanishing point).

To us it seems obvious that there would be no danger in the immediate admission of the 4 last-named Powers to a League which included 17 of the Allied and Associated Powers and Dominions together with 34 European, S. American, Asiatic and African Neutrals. The omission of the Central Powers can be interpreted only as a sign of exaggerated and groundless panic or of a determination to use the League, not as an instrument for the co-operation of the world, but for the continued oppression of our late enemies.

Since (Article 21) "freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce" and since (Article 19) "equal opportunities for trade and commerce" in countries administered under the mandatory system are to be necessarily granted only to Members of the League, it is obvious that any device for keeping any country out of the League brings with it the possibility of penalising the trade, the finance and the industry of the excluded country, e.g. if Germany be excluded, it would be possible for (say) the British to deny all trading facilities and all export of raw materials to Germany from any part of the British Dominions or from any country which they may have a mandate to administer (such as Mesopotamia, Samoa or the African colonies lately belonging to Germany). Germany would not only have lost her colonies, but might be denied any chance of purchasing supplies from

them. The penalty for an infraction of the laws of the League would be imposed upon her, although she might have broken none and had been forcibly prevented from becoming a member of the League.

It is not clear (Article 3) how long the Executive Council is to remain half-formed, but if the intention is to form it as soon as the States in the second category have joined the League and the covenant has been ratified, it is clear that the penalty of permanent exclusion from the Executive Council is laid upon States in the third category.

Lastly, with regard to the Neutrals and the drafting of the Protocol, it is a regrettable circumstance that more attention was not given and more respect shown to the needs and contribution peculiar to the Neutral Powers, whose problems and whose power to help or hinder are vitally affected by this neglect. The Neutrals have been treated as if to be neutral was only a degree less criminal than to be a defeated enemy. The Protocol bears in nearly every article witness to the fact that the Neutrals had not the weight which they should have had, if an impartial document were desired.

CONSTITUTION.

1. Body of Delegates. The functions of this body (with one exception) are so vague that full criticism must wait. The Body of Delegates (for whom we hope a more inspiring name may be found) is the only body which is in the least likely to be democratically appointed and we are sorry that it should have no organic relation with the Executive Council and (with the exception aforesaid) no function except to talk.

The very important exception occurs when it may be called upon (Article 15) to make an award upon a non-justiciable matter in dispute. Whether this award is to be made by a majority and if so by what majority is not specified. If unanimity is required of the Body of Delegates before any award in a non-justiciable matter can be enforced by the League, ~~six~~ it seems probable that the League may never be in a position to use this weapon of force in non-justiciable matters, since unanimity in a body of some 60 delegates (including the parties to the dispute who appear not to be excluded) is not to be anticipated. This we hold to be sound. We are opposed to enforcing an award on a non-justiciable matter.

2. Executive Council of Nine. To this Council, the Allied and Associated Powers have nominated a permanent majority of five of their own number (Article 3). It is probable that these five Powers would have been placed upon the Executive in any event; it would therefore have reasonably safe and would have created a much better impression if they had refrained from nominating themselves. But we would go further and say that 11 would have been made a better number than 9, because this would not have given the Allied and Associated Powers a certain majority on the Executive at the outset. Doubtless, in course of time, the balance will readjust itself and the world will cease to think in terms of existing Alliances; and this will be all to the good. But a good beginning makes an enormous difference in creating that spirit of universal

confidence in and loyalty to the League without which the machinery will remain mere machinery.

Since the Executive Council is to have such important functions as (1) determining of military equipment in the various countries, members of the League, (2) considering the private manufacture of arms, (3) formulating plans for a Court of Arbitration, (4) inquiring into disputes, (5) proposing ~~the~~ steps to be taken to give effect to the arbitration awards - it is absolutely essential that the Executive Council should from the beginning bear the highest character for impartiality.

GENERAL AGREEMENTS.

(1) Mandatory Powers. (Article 19). If the object of introducing the Mandatory principle is the welfare of the inhabitants of the regions in question, there seems no reason why all regions "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves" should not come under the mandatory system.

(2) Reduction of armaments (Article 8). It is obvious that no reduction of armaments imposed by a majority of the Allied and Associated Powers upon their late enemies will be regarded by the latter as an act of impartial justice and it is, in fact, in the highest degree improbable that it would be such an act.

(3) Enforcing Covenants. Small or poor States and those at a distance from the scene of dispute should (Article 16) have special terms granted them, so that they may not be ruined.

(4) Permanent Labour Bureau (Article 20). The success of this branch of work will depend entirely upon whether the workers, including women workers, are given their due representation and upon whether those countries which have established socialism are freely admitted to carry their full weight in council.

(5) Amendments to the Covenant. The article relating to amendments to the covenant (article 26) makes it too difficult for the League to change with a changing world and this may bring it into disrepute and cause defections. This evil would be greatly enhanced if any countries were excluded until the covenant were ratified. These countries would then be invited to come into a cast-iron scheme partly devised to keep them in an inferior position.

OMISSIONS.

We regret that no mention has been made of:

- (1) The principle of the self-determination of peoples;
- (2) The freedom of the seas;
- (3) The universal abolition of conscription;
- (4) The duty of Mandatory Powers to assist in the gradual emancipation from sex slavery of women within the countries which they administer by mandate.

C. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. Membership of the League of Nations should be open to all Self-governing States which express their desire to become members and their willingness to perform the duties of members.
2. There should be an organic connection between the Body of Delegates and the Executive Council. If the Body of Delegates were enlarged and democratically elected, it might nominate 11 States which should appoint the 11 members of the Executive Council. Provision should be made for the possibility of changing the States appointing to the Executive Council, from time to time.
3. The Executive Council should not be appointed ~~with~~ every self-governing State had had full opportunity to become a member of the League. until
4. The parties to a dispute should have no vote upon the award in that dispute, whether the award be made by the Body of Delegates or the Executive Council.
5. Provision should be made for varying degrees of responsibility for international action involving coercion, to meet the varying capacities of smaller Powers and their nearness or remoteness from the scene of dispute.
6. The mandatory principle should be applied impartially to all regions "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves" and one of the tests of good government should be whether it is preparing the inhabitants to "stand by themselves" with a view to granting them self-determination at the earliest possible moment.
7. It should be the duty of Mandatory Powers to assist in the gradual emancipation from sex-slavery of women within the countries which they administer by mandate.
8. In the consideration of Article 8 it is essential that all States concerned shall be consulted.
9. On the permanent Labour Bureau, the workers, men and women, must have adequate representation and countries which have established socialism should be freely admitted.
10. Amendments to the covenant should take effect when ratified by nine (out of 11) of the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the Body of Delegates.
11. In making awards on matters of nationality the first consideration should be the desires of the inhabitants.
12. The seas should be free to the merchant navies of all countries in war as well as in peace, except in so far as they might be closed by order of the League of Nations and any infringement of this law should be treated as an offence against the League.
13. Compulsory military service should be abolished by covenant among all nations members of the League.

H. M. SWANWICK.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday, 6th March, 1918, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Cooper Willis, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Hobson, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Trevelyan, Mrs. Wedgwood, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Miss Unwin

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Ashton, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Miss Ellis, Miss Ford, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Morland, Mrs. Rollo Russell, Mrs. Salter, Miss Ward.

Minutes.

Minutes of meeting on 20th February were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

Reported that the Teats Fund was now closed, £5,552. 14. 1d having been collected up to date. A cable had been received via the Swiss Red Cross from Elizabeth Rotten as follows:-

"Elisabeth Rotten wires first consignments baby teats arrived speedy and national distribution carefully prepared in connection with Deutsche Wohlfahrtstelle including Rhine and as well as German Austria gladly following your directions stop please convey heartfelt thanks to all kind givers. Your sympathy and goodwill deeply felt and broadly acknowledged gratefully. Civil Section Red Cross."

and a letter from Dr. Rotten before the arrival of the teats expressing her gladness to be appointed and willingness to act for us on any occasion, and explaining how she was arranging distribution in conjunction with I.C.W.P.P. representatives in various towns.

Mrs. Swanwick reported that before the resolution sent from the Feminist Conference she had, on behalf of the W.I.L. written a letter of sympathy to Mrs. Anderson on the death of Mr. W.C. Anderson.

Miss Huntsman reported that Mrs. Snowden had left for the Berne Conference on the League of Nations, obtaining her passport as a representative of the N.P.C.

Hague Congress. A letter was read from Dr. Jacobs and Rosa Manus explaining that acting under advice from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, they had postponed the Congress till August/September. Decided that it should be strongly urged the Congress should be held elsewhere, but not postponed. Miss Cooper Willis undertook to send letters and cables. A second letter from Dr. Jacobs and Miss Rosa Manus containing a copy of a letter from Mme. Duchene strongly urging the sending of a delegation as soon as possible to Paris was read. This was supported by a cable from Miss Thora Daugaard heartily supporting the proposal of an unofficial Committee in Paris. Decided on recommendation from the Organisation Committee that the W.I.L. should send delegates. Agreed that Mrs. Pethick

Lawrence should be asked to go to stay, accompanied by Mrs. Swanwick for a week or ten days, and that Dr. Jacobs and Miss Manus should be urged to go to Paris to meet them. Agreed that as soon as the delegates reach Paris it would be advisable to get into touch with neutrals over the Congress. Mrs. Swanwick undertook to write to Mme. Duchene.

A letter was read from Miss Ellis expressing her willingness to attend the Congress and one from Mrs. Hamilton regretting she was unable to. Decided Miss Ellis should go as delegate instead of Mrs. Hamilton.

Requests from Dr. Ethel Williams and Miss Adriani Hahn for information as to whether visitors were allowed at the Congress were deferred for further information.

A letter was read from Mrs. Barton offering to resign her position as delegate. Decided she should be urged to remain a delegate as it is very essential working women should be represented. Recommended from Organisation Committee that £500 should be offered to Headquarters at any time that they wished to ask for it for expenses of Congress. Agreed, subject to consultation with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

(Election of Alternates. The decision as to the election of further alternates was deferred.)

Criticisms and suggestions upon the draft of a League of Nations.

A criticism of the draft of the League of Nations to be issued and submitted to the British Delegation at Versailles and to Colonel House, drawn up by Mrs. Swanwick, was considered in detail. Decided the criticism should be printed as a four page ~~quarter~~^{octavo} leaflet. (Copies of the original draft of the final draft as amended are appended.)

Report of Sub-Committee.

Organisation and Finance. Recommended to Executive that the suggested debate on a State Bonus should be left over for the present, but that a debate on the question of clothing for women with demonstration of various kinds of suitable and unsuitable should be organised. Agreed. Details referred back to the Organisation Committee.

Recommended that the Easter Holidays for the Office should be from Thursday, April 17th to Sunday, April 27th, inclusive. Agreed. Arranged that Miss Marsh should have the week previous as she had been working on Saturdays, Sundays and evenings for some time in connection with meetings.

(Reported that the finances were in a satisfactory position at present as a result of the special appeal)

Correspondence.

(N.P.C. A letter asking for the reappointment or the appointment of fresh delegates to the Joint Commission on the Problems of the International Settlement was referred to the next Executive.)

N.U.W.S.B. An invitation from the N.U.W.S.S. to the W.I.L. to send representatives to a Conference on Saturday, March 8th at 11 a.m. to consider what shall be done to follow up the International Allied

Suffrage Conference in Paris was considered. Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Miss Marsh were appointed.

United Press Association of America. A letter was read suggesting the possibility in Great Britain of a referendum on the League of Nations as has been suggested in America. Decided to reply that the Executive are of opinion such a referendum would not be possible in this country.

Questionnaire on the League of Nations. from the Central Organisation for a Durable Peace in Holland was referred to Miss Cooper Willis.

H. M. Swannick.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday, 20th March, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ellis, Miss Ford, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Morland, Mrs. R. Russell, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Trevelyan, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Ward, Miss Cooper Willis, Mrs. Wedgwood, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Briggs, Mrs. Huth Jackson.

Minutes.

The Minutes of Meeting on 6th March were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

N.U.S.E.C. A letter was read explaining proposals made at the Conference for the representation of women on Commissions in Paris. A later letter from the Secretariat General saying that it had been decided by the Peace Congress that women's organisations should be heard by Commissions specially considering questions concerned with women's interests had modified the situation, and Mrs. Corbett Ashby and Miss Margery Fry were to represent the N.U.S.E.C. in Paris.

Re Teats. A letter was read from Dr. Rotten and a leaflet sent through the Friends Emergency Committee which she is giving out to all the recipients of the teats in Germany was considered and the leaflet referred to the Literature Committee with a recommendation that some account of the work of German women on behalf of enemy aliens should be incorporated. (Reported that there had evidently been some misunderstanding between Dr. Siegert and Dr. Rotten as to whether money was to be taken in return for the teats, but that a cable and letters had been sent making the point clear.)

Letter from N.P.C.

A letter was read asking for the reappointment or fresh appointment of our delegates on the Joint Commission on the Problems of the International Settlement. Mrs. Raymond Unwin consented to attend and Miss Leaf was nominated, *Lady Courtney remaining a representative.*

Reports of Sub-Committees.

Literature Committee. League of Nations Pamphlet. At the meeting of the Literature Committee on March 7th, 1919, it was agreed to have the Executive's suggestions on the draft Constitution of the League of Nations printed as an 8 pp. pamphlet, with explanatory foreword, and with the text of the draft itself printed on a large sheet attached to the pamphlet for convenient reference. Agreed also that copies of the "Suggestions" be sent to selected list of press, with information that the pamphlet was following. Agreed that meanwhile no further action should be taken in response to the resolution from the Chelsea Branch, referred ~~from~~ the Executive. (Monthly News Sheet. Estimates were submitted for Volume III of Monthly News Sheet, in its new 4 pp. form. That of the Guardian Press was accepted, their work having been satisfactory for the past six months.)

Bibliography. Matter & form for the cover was agreed on, and also for the advertising leaflet. Agreed organisations likely to stock the book should be approached, and their consent obtained to their names being printed in the leaflet.
Endowment of Motherhood. Proofs and estimate for Miss Royden's pamphlet "National Endowment of Motherhood" and reprint of Mr. Brailsford's article in the "Nation" were passed.

London Sub-Committee. Recommended to Executive that as Miss Courtney was speaking at the "At Home" on March 27th instead of April 10th, the "At Home" on April 10th should be dropped. Agreed. Decided to offer light refreshments before the "At Home" between 6.30 and 7 o'clock for the remaining two. Recommended to Executive that garden meetings should be held in gardens in different districts during the summer and that Miles Malleon, Miss Buckton, Lady Margaret Sackville and others should be approached as to possible performances. Agreed, and referred to Organisation Committee.

Mr. Homer Lane's Fee.

Reported that up to the present £172. 17. 9d had been taken at Mr. Homer Lane's lectures and that expenses, including a fee of £30 amounted to £105. 17. 0d. Agreed that Mr. Homer Lane's fee should be made up with an honorarium to £50. Decided that at the last lecture a special appeal for the W.I.L. and an appeal for funds for the Congress should be given out. This was referred to the Literature Committee. Decided also the Chairman should make an appeal in a short speech.

Financial Statement.

The financial statement for February was read showing a balance at the Bank of £543. 15. 0d. German Babies Fund balance £820. 4. 5.

The International Women's Congress.

Mrs. Swanwick reported she had received no reply from Madame Duchene to her letter. Difficulties of obtaining Passports for Paris. were reported. Decided that all delegates to the Congress should state in applying for Passports that they wished to attend a Congress of the I.C.W.P.P. at Berne on May 5th, that when Passports had been obtained they should be sent to Miss Cooper Willis at the Office and Miss Cooper Willis undertook to try to see the Swiss Official with a view to getting the Swiss visé done all at once. Decided also inquiry should be made of Messrs. Cook as to possible arrangements for all delegates together. Mrs. Trevelyan regretted that she was unable to go as a delegate. Lady Courtney was transferred to the Alternates and voting was then taken on two delegates and five alternates for whom there were still vacancies.

at her request
Delegates chosen:- Mrs. Annot Robinson, Miss M. Fry.
Alternates Chosen:- Miss Picton Tuberville, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Mrs. Lewis Fenn, Mrs. Henry Lloyd Wilson, Mrs. Briggs.

Decided if any fell out to take the following in order, the order being according to the number of votes received:-

Miss Matthaei, Miss Eaton, Mrs. Harvey.

Decided that Miss Macmillan should be given £100 for Congress expenses and informed that she might draw a further £400 according to need after she had seen what arrangements were being made with other Nationals.

Correspondence.

Mr. Godfrey Locker Lampson. A message was reported from Mr. Locker Lampson asking if we could do anything to help him in his single-handed fight to get income tax disabilities imposed on married women removed in the coming Finance Bill; he suggested that we might send a letter to all M.P's. Agreed to write our appreciation and hearty agreement with his action and to say that we are urging branches to put pressure on their M.P's. and finding out what action other women's societies are taking in the matter, and offering co-operation.

Other Ministry of Health Watching Committee. Mrs. Despard business. reported on the Committee which she attended. Decided at present not to appeal to be placed on the Committee as we are concentrating on international questions.

The Blockade and Famine in Europe. Mrs. Despard urged that we should be doing something against the blockade. Miss Ward suggested a Trafalgar Square Meeting. Decided that this should be held on Sunday, April 6th, at 3.30 p.m. A sub-Committee was formed to make arrangements, consisting of the Officers, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ellis, Miss Ward.

Margaret Ashton
April 3. 1919 -

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Meeting of Special Executive Committee, Monday,
14th April, 1919, at 1.45 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Mrs. Briggs, Miss Courtney, Lady Courtney, Miss Ellis, Miss Ford, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Hobson, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Rollo Russell, Mrs. Salter, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies
for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Wedgwood, Miss Macmillan, Miss Wilson Wilson.

The Executive was called to see what action, if any, should be taken with regard to the W.I.L. possibly becoming involved in a prosecution of Mrs. Ayrton Gould in connection with the posting of some bills dealing with the food situation in Europe on various hoardings in London. (The appended letter exactly explains the situation.)

A letter was read from Mrs. Ayrton Gould:-

- (1) Putting on record that the W.I.L. had nothing whatever to do with the poster campaign organised by her about starving Europe and much regretted that through an oversight on her part and two mistakes on the part of others the W.I.L. had become implicated.
- (2) Apologising for lack of foresight and offering to resign from the ~~Under~~^{Hon.}-Secretaryship.

Mrs. Swanwick explained that she had felt it wise to call the Executive in order to pass a resolution making the fact plain that the Executive had nothing to do with the bill-posting in case of aspersions by the Police. Mrs. Ayrton Gould explained the aim of the campaign and said that among the addresses given to which to send bills the W.I.L. Office had been included by an error of judgment as convenient for her. The parcel was not opened in the Office. Miss Anderson who had undertaken some of the posting, losing her head when stopped by the police, gave this address because she forgot Mrs. Gould's number. Mrs. Swanwick said that she had questioned Miss Anderson, who had not clearly understood who was responsible for the posting. Miss Courtney proposed the following resolution, seconded by Miss Cooper Willis and carried unanimously with the change of "apology" to "explanation."

Resolution: "Having received Mrs. Ayrton Gould's account of what occurred on the night of Sunday, April 6th, and her explanation and offer to resign the hon-Secretaryship of the W.I.L., the Executive, while regretting that the League may be publicly associated with actions not submitted to the Executive accepts Mrs. Gould's explanation and requests her not to resign the hon. Secretaryship."

It was emphasised that the resolution was not a vote of censure. //

Other business.

Mrs. Swanwick asked the Executive to allow the Officers to decide the delegation to the Congress in Switzerland if it became necessary to limit the numbers owing to Passport difficulties. Agreed.

A letter was read from Lady de la Warr offering to pay half the travelling expenses of a delegate, as she is unable to attend the Congress herself. This offer was gratefully accepted.

Margaret Clinton

June 5. 1919

TELEPHONE,
PADDINGTON 1544.

54, ST MARY'S MANSIONS,
PADDINGTON, W.

10: 11: 1919

Dear Mr Swainick,

I want to put it on record that the W. I. W. had nothing whatever to do with the poster campaign I organised about starving Europe - I was entirely responsible for the whole thing without the knowledge of the W. I. W. Executive, & I very much regret that through an

I will of course attend the committee on Monday to answer
any questions & state my case more fully

oversight on my part & two
mistakes on the part of others
the W. S. L. has in any way
become implicated - I want
to apologise for my lack of
foresight which caused their
name to be brought in as I
am ultimately responsible for
the whole thing, & I think
under the circumstances the
best thing I can do is to
resign from the Hon Secretaryship
& disassociate my self from the league
Will you please convey my regrets &
apologies to the committee?
Yours sincerely
Barbara Agden Gault

Women's International League

BRITISH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF WOMEN FOR PERMANENT PEACE

International President: Miss JANE ADDAMS, U.S.A.

Chairman:
Mrs. SWANWICK.

Treasurer:
Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Hon. International Secretary:
Miss I. COOPER WILLIS.

Hon. National Secretary:
Mrs. AYRTON GOULD.

Executive Committee:

First Vice-Chairman:
Miss MARGARET ASHTON.

Mrs. BARTON.
Mrs. BRIGGS.

Miss M. H. HUNTSMAN.
Mrs. HUTH JACKSON.

Mrs. SANDIFORTH.
Miss M. SHEEPSHANKS.

Second Vice-Chairman:
Miss K. D. COURTNEY.

Lady COURTNEY OF PENWITH.
Mrs. DESPARD.

Miss CATHERINE E. MARSHALL.
Miss L. F. MORLAND.

Mrs. C. P. TREVELYAN.
Mrs. UNWIN.

Third Vice-Chairman:
Miss MARIAN E. ELLIS.

Miss I. O. FORD.
Mrs. J. A. HOBSON.

The Hon. Mrs. ROLLO RUSSELL.
Mrs. ALFRED SALTER.

Miss A. HELEN WARD.
Mrs. ETHEL WEDGWOOD.
Miss TH. WILSON WILSON.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: WILPERPAX, HOLB, LONDON.

TELEPHONE: HOLBORN 5498.

INQUIRIES: 11 A.M. TO 4 P.M.

Secretary: Miss K. E. ROYDS,

14 BEDFORD ROW, W.C. 1.

10th April, 1919.

Dear Madam,

An unfortunate situation has arisen of which I think the Executive Committee must be at once informed and to consider which an urgency meeting of the Executive will be held on Monday, April 14th, at 1.45 p.m. at the Office (the Delegates' Conference is at 2.30 p.m.)

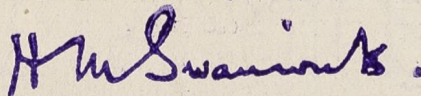
On the night of Sunday, 6th April, Mrs. Ayrton Gould (Hon. Secretary) and Miss Anderson (Financial Clerk) acting as private individuals, posted some bills dealing with the food situation in Europe, upon various hoardings in London. The bills had been drawn up by Mrs. Gould and Mr. Langaon Davies and had not been seen by Miss Royds or by Miss Cooper Willis or me, or any other member of the Executive, who were in no sense responsible either for the bills or for the act of posting.

Both Mrs. Gould and Miss Anderson were detected by the police in the act of posting the bills and they are possibly threatened with prosecution, on two counts:- (1) The wording of the bills; (2) the illegal act of posting them.

Quite apart from the fact that Mrs. Gould's position as Hon. Secretary and Miss Anderson's on the staff of the W.I.L. connects the case with the W.I.L., there are two other circumstances which will undoubtedly tend to make the connection closer in the mind of the Prosecution:- (1) Mrs. Gould ordered that delivery of 600 of the Bills be made to the W.I.L. Office by the Labour Press. Miss Royds was unaware of this and when the police visited the office she told them that she had been unaware of it and was subsequently informed by Mrs. Gould that it was unfortunately true. Mrs. Gould much regrets this. (2) Miss Anderson, when detected by the police, gave the address of the W.I.L. Office, instead of doing as Mrs. Gould had advised (i.e. giving Mrs. Gould's address).

There is a possibility that the police intend to prosecute and it seems necessary, therefore, that the Executive should meet to consider the situation.

Yours truly,



Chairman.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday, 3rd April, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Miss Ashton, (Chairman), Mrs. Briggs, Miss Courtney, Lady Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ford, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Hobson, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. R. Russell, Miss Ward, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Ellis, Mrs. Salter, Miss Morland, Miss Wilson Wilson, Mrs. Raymond Unwin.

Minutes.

The Minutes of meeting on 20th March were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

Reported that Miss Koritschoner had been to the Office with a message about the distribution of the teats for Dr. Rotten and about some doubts which had arisen as to whether we wished to accept money for them. Our answer cabled to Dr. Rotten was shown to her.

Reported that 20,000 handbills were being ^{got} out announcing the Trafalgar Square Demonstration and that it had been given out at all the Platforms of the Hyde Park Demonstration to inaugurate the "Daily Herald." Agreed that the leaflet distribution campaign should be continued during the week following our demonstration, that in speeches at Trafalgar Square and possibly on the leaflet all should be urged to write to Mr. Lloyd George about the raising of the blockade.

The question of what leaflet to distribute (1) one having been drawn up by Miss Ward and (2) with a photograph of starving children in Vienna, was referred for consideration to the sub-Committee, various suggestions being made as to its contents.

Reports of Sub-Committees.

(1) Literature. It was reported at the meeting of the Literature Committee that the pamphlet "National Endowment of Motherhood" and the leaflet "Equal Pay and Women's Wages" were now in stock, and also the pamphlet "League of Nations or Holy Alliance." The cover ~~the~~ the Bibliography for Teachers of History was chosen, and the price fixed at 2/-. The Conference on the circulation of the book was provisionally fixed for Friday, April 11th at 3 p.m. (afterwards changed to 11 a.m.). Recommendation from the Executive that an appeal leaflet be drafted to be given out at last Homer Lane lecture was agreed to, and Mrs. Swanwick was asked to draft it. Recommendation as to the use of Dr. Rotten's leaflet about the teats was also considered. Agreed to embody the leaflet in the report, unless the Friends wished to publish it themselves.

(2) Organisation and Finance. Recommended that Miss Marsh be asked to investigate and report on the possibility of arranging summer garden entertainments for propaganda and profit. Suggested Mr. Miles Malleon, Mr. Norman McDermott, the Hon. Lily Montagu and the lady who tells Hans Andersen fairy tales might

be consulted (the latter through Mrs. Gardiner). Miss Marsh to undertake the organisation of these under the Organisation and Executive Committees. Recommended that Miss Huntsman be asked to allow her name to be sanctioned to sign cheques during the absence of the usual signatories at the Congress.

Staff Holidays. Recommended that the following should be the summer holidays of the Staff:-

Miss Royds. All August.
Miss Horscroft, First three weeks in July.
Miss Marsh. All August.
Ethel Gibbs. 7-10 days in September.
Miss Phillips. Three weeks in July and one in September.
Miss Anderson. Three weeks in August.

Agreed.

Recommended to Executive to sanction the engagement of Ethel Gibbs as Office Girl for three months at 15/- per week. Salary to be reconsidered at end of three months. Agreed.

Recommended to Executive that resolutions to be sent in the name of the W.I.L. to the Congress should be considered in the afternoon and that resolutions on the Constitution of the I.C.W.P.P. and on its name should be considered. These were referred to a meeting of Executive and Delegates on April 14th.

Decided also that the following resolutions from the Feminist Conference should be sent to the Congress. Those on "Equal Opportunities," "Nationality," "Equal Pay for Equal Work," "User's Rights," Education in International Co-operation, "Women as Home-makers," "Minimum Wage," "Traffic in Women," "Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice," "International Marriage Laws," "Conscription."

Further, that there should be a resolution asking the Agenda Committee to draft a resolution on the subject of the eligibility of women on the League of Nations. A resolution sent in by the Kensington Branch of the W.I.L. on the Penal Reform was considered, but it was decided that this was not sufficiently international to justify its being sent in to the Congress.

Name of the Society. Recommended ^{for consideration at Congress} that the name of the Society should be the "Women's International League" and that each section should be a national branch.

Reported that the statement of accounts for March showed a balance in hand of £411. 18. 2d., the German Babies Teats Fund was now closed, a guarantor having sent a cheque for the remaining £163. 16. 2d not collected.

International Congress.

Decided Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence should leave on April 24th, Miss Cooper Willis, Miss Courtney on April 25th, and the main party on May 1st. That to make up the number of delegates, some having fallen out, representatives going as Alternates should be asked to go as Delegates. The names of Mrs. Giles (Manchester) Miss Hardcastle (Newcastle) and Miss Leaf were added.

Two further subjects suggested for resolutions were (1) a resolution on the representation of small nations on the League of Nations, which Mrs. Huth Jackson undertook to draft, (2) a general resolution on the question of the blockade and the making of distinction between forms of Government, ^{in connection with} laying stress on the principle that the power should never be used to interfere with the internal affairs of any nation. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence undertook to draft this. Suggested that revision of the constitution should include provision for each national to choose its five national representatives.

Corres-
pondence.

N.U.S.E.C. Letter was read from the N.U.S.E.C. asking the W.I.L. to give support to those supporting the WOMEN's Emancipation Bill. Agreed letters should be sent to Members immediately.

A second letter from the N.U.S.E.C. asked for resolutions in favour of the Widows Pensions Bill and letters to local Members. Decided to circularise Branch Secretaries and to put a paragraph on the subject in the News Sheet.

Letter from Midlothian W.I.L. A letter was read from the Secretary telling of her resignation and the amalgamation of the Edinburgh and Midlothian Branches, and asking the opinion of Mrs. Swanwick on the position of the President of the Branch, who is in favour of Conscription.

Mrs. Sandiforth. A letter was read from Mrs. Sandiforth resigning with great regret from the Executive owing to inability, for private reasons, to attend the Committees. Miss Ward proposed, Mrs. Briggs seconded that Mrs. Sandiforth be urged to reconsider her decision and to come to the meetings when possible.

Consultative Committee. A letter was read from the Secretary asking for W.I.L. co-operation in a deputation to Mr. Austen Chamberlain on the subject of Married Women's Income Tax. Mrs. Ayrton Gould undertook to go. Further recommended that constituent societies of the Consultative Committee be urged to pass the following resolutions and forward them to Mr. Austen Chamberlain:-

(a) That this Society urges him to provide in the coming Finance Bill the separate taxation of husband and wife. Agreed.

(b) That this Society regrets to notice that only one woman has been appointed to the Royal Commission on Income Taxes, which consists of 24 persons, and urges the Chancellor of the Exchequer to appoint a fair proportion of women to the Commission, and to ask women's organisations to suggest names of suitable women. Miss Ward moved that the W.I.L. should add such women as Mrs. Auerbach, Mrs. Barbara Drake, Mrs. Ayres Purdie and Mrs. Lewer as excellent. Agreed.

Miss S. Pankhurst. A letter was read from Miss S. Pankhurst asking that we should do what we can in the News Sheet to deny the baseless allegations as to the bolshevik nationalisation of women. Mrs. Huth Jackson undertook to get the facts from Mr. Joseph King, the facts then to be sent out to the Executive in case any of them are able to write letters to the papers.

Other

Mrs. Despard reported on the Labour Conference at

business.

which a resolution had been taken to demand the ending of conscription, the raising of the blockade and the release of the C.O's. and if the Government refused, to call another Conference to consider direct action.

Date of
next
meeting.

Decided the Executive should be called on May 15th unless changes in Congress plans made another alteration of date necessary.

Margaret Ashton
June 5. 1919

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Meeting of Executive and Delegates to the Congress,
Monday, April 14th, at 2.30 p.m. 1919.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Mrs. Briggs, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Miss Eaton, Miss Ellis, Miss Ford, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Macnaghten, Miss Macmillan, Miss Marshall, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Snowden, Miss Sheepshanks, Mrs. Rollo Russell, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies
for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Morland, Mrs. Wedgwood, Miss Wilson Wilson.

M

Mrs. Snowden reported on the preparations being made in Zurich and a cable was read from Madame Tybjerg and Ragaz as follows:-

"Preparations Congress going on satisfactorily Dutch and Norwegian Sections announce 20 delegates each Swiss Section sent your list of delegates at once to Swiss & Office of Travellers control Hope you will soon get visa. Tybjerg Ragaz."

Reported Miss Addams was sailing on the "Noordam" on April 9th and that she had cabled before starting from New York that the Congress would be on May 5th. Miss Macmillan reported she had not, as yet, obtained her permit. Mrs. Snowden said that Madame Ragaz had told her that she had arranged with the Government for the permits. Miss Cooper Willis reported on arrangements being made to obtain visas.

Resolutions
for the
Congress.

The resolutions passed by the Feminist Conference on February 28th and by the Executive on April 9th were considered and approved, with a verbal alteration in resolution 3. Copies of all resolutions are appended. X

Literature.

Miss Ashton proposed that some copies of the Bibliography should be taken over and Mrs. Swanwick suggested a sample box of literature be taken in a separate package as "Conference matter." Decided Dr. Jacobs should be asked to suggest to other sections that they should bring samples.

A discussion took place on "What the Congress should aim at doing internationally on definite lines as distinct from the theoretic and general resolutions to be passed. Agreed resolutions on vital current questions should be kept to the end, such subjects as the food question, raw materials, return of prisoners and return to abnormal life being kept in mind.

Recommendations to Agenda Committee:-

(I) That resolutions should be drafted:-

(a) calling on Governments to contribute public

public money for the feeding of Europe, and emphasising the fact that many in countries not suffering would be prepared to sacrifice a greatdeal to assist to this end.

- (b) on the retaining of prisoners.
- (c) on the teaching of hatred and the means of influencing the press in connection with it (suggested that this be drafted at the close of the Conference as an urgency resolution).

II. Recommended that:-

- (a) a session be devoted to the League of Nations; that resolutions on the draft be drawn up by a special Committee;
- (b) some scheme of affiliation to the I.C.W.P.P. be arranged which shall give the fullest possible representation to any nation, great or small, desiring to join, to be devised by the International Committee and that in our opinion, only one organisation should be admitted to represent each affiliated nation.
- (c) The Committee drafting the Constitution should adopt for the Society the name of the Women's International League and each nation to be a national section thereof.
- (d) That international Officers should be chosen at the Congress, but one national member should be chosen by each national section to sit on the International Executive with the right to send an alternate.

A ~~following~~ resolution drafted by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on the blockade was considered and passed in its final form as follows, after discussion:-

"The Women's International League urges that it shall be laid down as a definite principle in the Constitution of the League of Nations that the Blockade, or the Economic Boycott in any form, shall never be used to limit the freedom of any people to decide its form of Government."

Resolutions were next considered on the representation ~~and~~ of small nations in the League of Nations and on the I.C.W.P.P. Decided that instead of resolutions being passed, recommendations II A.B. should be made to the Agenda Committee.

A discussion took place on whether various affiliated societies send delegates to represent a national section.

Decided that the W.I.L. should support one national organisation only, sending delegates. This was embodied in the recommendation B.

Interpre-
ters.

Decided that Miss Courtney, Miss Sheepshanks and Miss Royds should be asked to act as interpreters from French and German into English. Decided that the resolutions should be translated into French and German. Arrangements were reported for the journey and it was decided the main body of delegates should go in two groups on two successive dates.

Margaret Ashton
June 5. 1919

Special Meeting of Executive Committee on Monday, 12th May, 1919, at 11.30 a.m.

Present. Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Lady Courtney, Miss Ellis, Mrs. Hobson, Miss Helen Ward, Mrs. Unwin, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Apology for absence. An apology for absence was received from Miss Cooper Willis.

Summons against Mrs. AYRTON GOULD.

The Chairman said the meeting had been called to consider what action the Executive should take with regard to the summons which has been served on Mrs. Ayrton Gould for contravention of Regulation 27C. of D.D.R.A. with respect to the leaflet "Our Blockade has caused this." She read an extract from the Minutes of the Executive on April 3rd, 1919, when the issue of a leaflet on the blockade had been sanctioned, and the details referred to the Demonstration sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee had decided that the leaflet did not come under 27C and need not, therefore, be submitted to the Censor. Mrs. Gould had later been threatened with prosecution on another charge, with which a special Executive on April 14th had definitely resolved the W.I.L. could not associate itself. Mrs. Gould said that when the police had first asked her about the leaflet in question, she had accepted full responsibility for it. She read the summons (one of three, the other two referring to the charge which did not concern the League) and pointed out that the date of order for leaflet should be "about April 2nd" as the order was not given until April 3rd, and that the National Labour Press was entirely responsible for the part of the charge relating to the printer's name, as they had put out the work without her knowledge. Miss Ward asked for authority to deny the current rumour that the charge was one of issuing "obscene literature" and this was given by Mrs. Gould, who said the police inspector had told her that charge had been suggested but could not be sustained.

^{it}The Chairman submitted the draft of a letter (~~attached~~) which was proposed to send to Mrs. Gould, setting forth the Committee's view of the matter and of their responsibility. After some discussion, the letter was agreed to with a few alterations.

The Chairman stated that the London members of the W.I.L. were being informed by letter of the time and place at which the summons would be heard, and that it was proposed

to have a full report of proceedings.

Mrs. Gould stated she intended to appeal, and this would put off the final result of the trial until July, before which the whole Executive would have met.

Margaret Ashton
June 5, 1919

12th May, 1919.

Dear Mrs. Ayrton Gould,

I want to submit some points for your consideration:-

(1) With regard to the responsibility of the W.I.L. for the leaflet. Quite clearly we are corporately responsible and you acted for us as stated in my letter. But we must, I think, distinguish between the three Officers (Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, you and me) and the remainder of the Committee, with regard to the non-submission of the leaflet to the Censor. So far as my (very bad) memory serves me, the question of submitting to the Censor did not arise in Committee, and therefore we may assume that if the matter had been discussed the Committee might have decided that the leaflet should be submitted (as all our others have been). So, though the Committee is corporately responsible for the leaflet I think only the three Officers are responsible for not submitting it to the Censor.

(2) With regard to what you plead. Since you acted on behalf of the League, I think that the League has a right to enter its own plea, through you. You may have your personal point of view, but

In your capacity as Hon. Secretary acting for the League I think you are bound to put forward the League's intention in publishing the leaflet without submitting it to the Censor.

In my view the League (through you) should plead "Not Guilty." The Executive passed the leaflet and if it had considered the point, would have realised that there was not time between six o'clock on Thursday and Saturday afternoon (when the leaflets had to be delivered for Sunday's meeting) to submit to the Censor. I do not know how many of them did realise this since it was not even mentioned in Committee.

The Sub-Committee, in whose hands were left the final arrangements for issuing the leaflet (and of whom only three Officers were present) dismissed the notion that it need be submitted to the Censor, because Regulation 27C relates to the conduct of the war or the peace and we are in the interim situation of an Armistice, which is neither war nor peace, but "a temporary suspension of hostilities." The blockade, therefore, cannot be regarded by the British Government as an act of war, for in so regarding it, the Government would be confessing a breach of the Armistice (which is "a suspension of hostilities.")

It seems to me clear that the Government cannot evade this dilemma: either (1) the continued Blockade is an act of war, in which case the Government is guilty of abreach of the armistice; or (2) it is not an act of war, in which case comment upon it

does not come under 27C.

As far as I remember we scarcely discussed the matter, assuming that 27C did not apply.

(3) With regard to any undertaking not to repeat the offence.

You are, of course, quite free as an individual to make or refuse any undertakings you please. With regard to the W.I.L. it seems to me that you can only say that you have not been able to consult the Committee, but that, as a matter of fact, the Committee has never yet sanctioned the deliberate breaking of any regulations under D.O.R.A.

(4) With regard to the possible option of a fine. I do not know if this is likely to be given, but I think we should be prepared for it. I want to urge very strongly that you accept this. I know that there are cases in which it is essential as a protest to refuse the fine and go to prison, but I submit that this is not one of them. The breach of 27C. was not made as a challenge to that regulation. The most important work for the moment is to keep pegging at the abomination of starving little children and not to attack 27C which has been in force for many months. I think you should keep out of prison if you can, so as to go on with the work. I think the W.I.L. ought to raise the money for a fine. I feel very little doubt that it will.

Very truly yours,

Chairman.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Meeting of Executive Committee, Thursday, 5th June, 1919,
at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Miss Ashton in the Chair, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Salter, Miss Sheepshanks, Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Unwin, Miss Ward, Mrs. Wedgwood, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies
for ab-
sence.

Apologies for absence were received from Lady Courtney, Miss Ford, Mrs. Hobson, Miss Morland.

Minutes.

The Minutes of 3rd April, 14th (2), May 12th were read and confirmed.

Business
arising.

Mrs. Ayrton Gould reported on the deputation she had attended as W.I.L. representative to Mr. Austin Chamberlain on the question of the married woman's income tax.

The Chairman asked for permission for Miss Macnaghten to attend the Committee. *Agreed.*

Zurich
Congress.

Occasional Paper. Decided that an occasional paper on the lines of "Toward Permanent Peace" should be published, giving an account of the Congress. Proposed that Miss Leaf and Miss Ward should be asked to undertake it. Miss Leaf, who was in the Office, was called in and undertook to edit the paper, Miss Ward being willing to give some assistance. Suggested that it should be issued as a supplement to the Monthly News Sheet in August. Further details were referred to the Literature Committee.

Mrs. Gould's
Trial.

Miss Cooper Willis reported that when Mrs. Ayrton Gould learned she was not to be allowed to go to prison but that if the fine was not paid her goods would be distrained upon, Miss Cooper Willis paid the fine privately. Since then Miss Ellis has sent cheques to cover the £10. The Executive was asked if it wished to repay the £5 which was part of the fine for the publication of the W.I.L. leaflet. Further reported that Miss Ellis had paid £60 and Miss Jebbs £60 towards the fines imposed on the printer. His fines and expenses amounted to about £160. Suggested that £21 imposed on the printer for printing our leaflet should be paid by the W.I.L. Mrs. Unwin moved, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence seconded that the rest of the National Labour Press' expenses should be raised. Referred to Organisation and Finance Committee to consider method of raising the money.

Mrs. Ayrton Gould opened the question as to whether we should in future submit our leaflets to the Censor before publication. Mrs. Swanwick put the alternatives:-

- (1) should we submit and obey;
- (2) should we submit and not obey;
- (3) should we not submit?

The discussion was defined under the question "How can we best do our work?" Mrs. Salter pointed out the real difficulty under (2) & (3) would be finding a printer. Decided that any leaflets on a

war subject should be submitted to the Executive for final decision before publication by the Literature Committee. Agreed. The general opinion was that in case any leaflet were published without submission it should be chosen very carefully as a test leaflet and the occasion should be specially important. Suggested we should, wherever possible, use the "Fight the Famine" leaflets. Agreed. Further suggested editors should be approached with photographs and articles and that an attempt should be made to use the provincial press.

Reception
for Miss
Addams.

Decided a reception should be held. Date and other details to be settled on Miss Addams' arrival.

Public
Meeting
for Miss
Addams.

Decided this should be, if possible, in the week beginning Sunday, June 15th and that provisionally, the 18th, 19th and 20th should be pencilled in, if possible, at the Central Hall.

Corres-
pondence.

N.U.S.E.C. Letters were read (1) inviting representatives of the W.I.L. to a meeting to discuss a scheme for Widows' Pensions to be held on July 1st (afterwards changed to July 18th) at the Fabian Hall at 4.30 p.m. Delegates chosen:- Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Unwin, Miss Courtney and Miss Ward hope to attend as members of the N.U.S.E.C. and Miss Ashton will attend if possible. (2) Reporting a meeting to be held on July 1st for "Women under 30" to support the Labour Party's Emancipation Bill. Decided on recommendation from Organisation Committee to distribute handbills and to take part in a procession to the Memorial Hall, which Miss Marsh will help to organise. Agreed to allow £5 for expenses ^{in connection with} ~~of distribution of handbills and preparing banners.~~ *Also demonstration*

N.P.C. (1) A letter was read asking for nomination of representatives to the N.P.C. meeting in Manchester on June 25th ~~and 26th~~. Representatives nominated:- Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Mrs. Russell (on the 25th and 26th), Miss Ashton and possibly Miss Courtney. (2) A letter was read asking for nominations for the N.P.C. Committee. Mrs. Swanwick and Mrs. Ayrton Gould were nominated. Miss Cooper Willis resigned.

Teschen
Care Com-
mittee.

A letter was read from the Teschen Care Committee asking if we could send 20 dozen teats for distribution. Reported permission had been obtained from the Foreign Office and the gift was agreed to.

Organisa-
and Fin-
ance.

Recommended Reception and General Meeting for Miss Jane Addams. Agreed.

Recommended a Trafalgar Square Demonstration on the League of Nations on June 22nd or 29th. Agreed. Details referred to special Organisation Committee.

Concert for Miss Hilda Saxe. Mrs. Swanwick moved that this should be postponed until early Autumn.

Garden Entertainment. Recommended that if Miss Margaret Morris were willing to give an entertainment this should be arranged, but that no other should be undertaken. Mrs. R. Russell said on behalf of the Kensington Branch that they did not wish to organise any social function this summer. It was, therefore, decided the entertainment should be organised from Headquarters if it is held.

Finance. Reported the balance on May 30th was

as follows:-

Congress Fund £749. 8. 7d, out of which £400 had been offered to Headquarters. General Fund Balance £330. 6. 2d. Suggested some of the balance which would be over from the Congress should be spent on the Occasional Paper.

in meeting the economic situation
Should the W.I.L. organise relief? This question was discussed at some length. Decided that in any action we should use appeals as a political lever making ^{to press for} it our aim that rationing must be done by the Government *action*. Agreed on recommendation from the Organisation Committee, that we should offer our speakers to ~~any~~ relief organisations, taking care not to be merged in them, but using the meetings to help on our political influence and having speakers announced as from the W.I.L; that we should have our own fund, which it was decided (moved by Mrs. Salter, seconded by Mrs. Raymond Unwin) should be passed on to the Friends Emergency Committee.

H. M. S. Unwin

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday,
19th June, 1919, at 2.30 p.m. at Lady Courtney's,
15, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Mrs. Briggs, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ellis, Miss Ford, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Hobson, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Sandiforth, Miss Sheepshanks, Miss Ward, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies
for ab-
sence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Salter, Miss Morland.

Minutes.

Minutes of meeting on June 5th were read and confirmed with some alterations.

Urgency was called for considering the resolution for Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 22nd June. The following resolution was agreed to:-

This meeting protests against a Peace of Violence and pledges itself to work for a Peace of Reconciliation based upon freedom, self-determination and economic justice.

Business
arising.

Miss Ward reported on what she had done in connection with the procession to the Memorial Hall on July 1st to demand the vote for women under 30. She had visited various organisations and planned out special banners and made suggestions for a handbill. The question of the exact purpose for which the £5 was to be used was discussed and decided that the Minutes should run "for expenses in connection with the demonstration." Agreed that Miss Marsh should now be responsible for all arrangements.

Reported that the Friends Emergency Committee were of opinion we need not be registered as a War Charity if we passed on money to them which we received for aiding the starving in Central Europe.

Reported that Miss Margaret Morris was too busy to give a garden entertainment for us and that matter was therefore dropped.

Report of
Literature
Sub-
Committee.

Occasional Paper on Congress. It was agreed this should be issued as a supplement to the News Sheet, that Miss Leaf should be asked to edit it and that details should be left to her.

Educational Proposals. Miss Royds was asked to draft a memorandum embodying suggestions on the educational proposals of the Congress. This memorandum to be submitted to the Literature Committee and then to the Executive.

Membership form. It was agreed to publish a new leaflet with membership form attached, briefly summarising the aims and scope of the Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom, and giving particulars of the British Section.

Bibliography. Reported 430 copies remained of the 1,000 that had been printed. Decided to ask Miss Power whether she could attend a Conference in July, and offering to fix the date to suit her.

Arising from the report the question of the position of the Occasional Paper if issued, as a supplement to the News Sheet was discussed. Decided that the legal point must be ascertained and that the paper should be issued as a supplement if practicable. Decided Miss Leaf should go into the question of cost with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

National Council of Women.

Miss Courtney reported that she had attended as W.I.L. delegate the meeting to consider how to get women appointed on the Commissions of the League of Nations. (The first scheme discussed had been one drawn up by Mrs. Fanny Fern Andrews said to be on the suggestion of Colonel House for forming a special ~~Commission~~ ^{Bureau} of women ~~on the League.~~ This was unsupported.) The Conference then discussed the best means to get women on to the Commissions and passed two resolutions:

(1) that one of the two Government Representatives on the Labour Convention should be a woman; this was opposed by Dr. Marian Phillips on the ground that the women should not be appointed to represent the Government standpoint;

(2) that women should be on the body of delegates and on the Commissions. It was proposed to ask Sir Eric Drummond to receive one or two deputations to ascertain the constitution of the Commissions, etc. and delegates present at the Conference were asked to go on the deputation. Mrs. Swanwick emphasised the need of deciding what we want as a method of nomination and our attitude in general to the League of Nations.

Miss Courtney further reported that Mr. Hobbes of the Board of Agriculture who recently attended an inter-allied and neutral agricultural conference in France reported the Conference drew up resolutions upholding the policy of international action over food supply and Miss Courtney suggested the W.I.L. might consider urging this policy on the League of Nations.

Other Business.

Mrs. Swanwick reported that our Headquarters Offices at Geneva had been secured and the address was 19 ~~Boulevard~~ ^{Boulevard} George Favon. Miss Addams then came into the Committee and a discussion took place as to the attitude of the League with regard to the League of Nations Covenant. Mrs. Swanwick introduced the subject emphasising the need of considering our position in view of the possibility of Germany coming in, in a few months; but on other objections ~~we have~~ ^{at of} to the draft we shall be obliged to decide ~~on~~ ^{in any case} what attitude to adopt. Miss Addams pointed out that three good ideas were embodied in the draft:-

- (1) The emphasis on conciliation;
- (2) the abolition of secret treaties;
- (3) mandates.

but what we must do was to count up the possibility of improving the draft as against aiming at overthrowing it to secure a better. A further question was, should

we press for the inclusion of women in general on the Commissions or work only for the right women from our point of view. A discussion took place in which some members urged the acceptance of the draft as a tiny nucleus to be made into something workable by amendments and by the turning out of Governments now in power; others urged out and out opposition to the League as the last stronghold of capitalism. Miss Addams inclined to the opinion that it would be best to try to transform the League and to use able experts on it for investigation on expert problems, - The great drawback being that its first act must be to enforce the nefarious treaty. It was urged that we should look at the League apart from what interests had formed it as an instrument of international advance and holding out possibilities of hopeful and economic developments. Mrs. Sandiforth said she felt that it would be impossible to gain the support of the workers for the League; Mrs. Briggs speaking also for the workers said she found the general feeling was that it should be accepted and amended; provided Germany comes in. It was then decided that the question must be further discussed at a Council Meeting. Mrs. Despard proposed one should be held in July, Miss Ford seconded it. Decided a special Council Meeting should be called for Wednesday, July 16th and if necessary, Thursday, 17th, and that Branches should be informed they might submit resolutions, but the Executive would only do so if, at the last moment, the situation seemed sufficiently clear and that voting may not be taken.

Corres-
pondence.

Correspondence was deferred till next Executive.

H. M. Swanwick.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday,
July 3rd, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Miss Ford, Mrs. Hobson, Mrs Pethick Lawrence, Miss Morland, Mrs. Salter, Mrs Raymond Unwin, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies
for ab-
sence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Briggs, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Rollo Russell, Mrs. Wedgwood, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Minutes.

Minutes of Meeting on June 19th were read and confirmed.

Business
Arising.

The question of whether the Occasional Paper ought to be submitted to the Censor was discussed. Decided that in view of the probable coming to an end of D.O.R.A., we should go ahead with the preparations and see what was the position when we were ready to publish, the decision being deferred till the next Executive.

Reports of
Sub-Comm-
ittee.

(a) Organisation. Recommended to the Executive that the W.I.L. should co-operate with the Labour Party demonstration on July 21st if the proposed meeting against war in Russia and Hungary, and against conscription were organised. Agreed.

Recommended to Executive that Miss Madeleine Doty on her return from Germany and Austria should be asked to speak at a meeting on July 16th in Essex Hall after the Council Meeting. Agreed.

Recommended to Executive that in reply to letters from Mrs Crawford forwarded through Mrs. Huth Jackson, Mrs. Crawford be told that the decision as to whether Scotland becomes a separate international section must rest with Scotland, and that it would involve entire independence. Agreed.

Recommended to Executive that the London Sub-Committee be dissolved. Agreed.

Report of
Literature
Sub-
Committee.

Arrangements for the Bibliography Conference on July 11th at 11 a.m. were reported. Reported that it had been agreed that the Occasional Paper on the Congress should be published not later than August 1st, even if that meant leaving out non-essential matter.

The National Peace Council Meeting in Manchester was also reported and the suggestion made that Mr. Gooch be asked to give his lecture again for us in London later on.

The question of reproducing General Smuts' letter as a leaflet was considered and it was decided to ask the Literature Committee to see about this, ascertaining first if the League of Nations Society was publishing it.

Correspondence.

Mrs. Huth Jackson. A letter was read from Mrs. Huth Jackson regretting that she was obliged to resign from the Executive, temporarily, on grounds of health. Decided that in accepting her resignation the regrets of the Executive should be expressed and thanks sent for all the help and interest she has shown.

Miss Sheepshanks. A letter was read from Miss Sheepshanks resigning from the Executive owing to frequent inability to attend meetings. Decided her resignation should not be accepted, and that she be asked to attend whenever possible.

Mrs. Swanwick put forward the name of Miss Macmillan as a most suitable member for the vacancy and reminded the Executive that we shall need to choose two consultive members of the Committee.

Dr. Jacobs and Miss Manus. A letter of farewell and good wishes on the transference of Headquarters from Holland to Geneva was read. Miss Cooper Willis undertook to answer it.

Central Committee for Restoration of International Relationships. A letter was read from Dr. Marie Rusiecka containing suggestions for the founding of an international club and social centre at Berne, to which the U.D.C. wished to be affiliated. The choice of Berne as a centre was discussed and criticised in view of the Labour centre already there in the Volks Haus. Decided that it was not a project we could take part in, *as our Headquarters is at Geneva, & it was affiliated to the U.D.C.*

Miss Wilkinson. A letter was read thanking the Executive for the privilege and opportunity accorded through the visit to Zurich for the Congress.

Dr. Hertz. A covering letter with copy of article reviewing the Bibliography which appeared in the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" was reported.

Miss Herbert. A letter was read sent with resolutions for the consideration of the Executive. Decided to thank Miss Herbert and point out that we were working on the lines suggested in the resolutions.

Miss Sheepshanks. A letter was read reporting that in the "Française" for June 28th, a long letter had appeared from Mademoiselle Mélin on the Zurich Congress, giving Fräulein Heymann's protest against the German Government's conduct of the war, and that Madame de Schlumberger includes this letter in her report on the U.F.S.F. Decided to ask Miss Sheepshanks where it is obtainable and to consider using it for the Occasional Paper or for leaflets.

Suggestions
for Head-
quarters.

Suggested that a monthly report should be made to Miss Balch in the form of a letter.

Reported that according to present arrangements an international sheet should be sent out periodically, entitled ~~"Fax et Libertas"~~, and that Miss Adams very much hopes before long we should have a feminist international paper, perhaps weekly.

Annual
Council
Meeting.

Miss Ashton proposed, Mrs. Salter seconded, that the Annual Council Meeting should be held on October 2nd, and, if necessary, 3rd. Carried.

Special
Council
Meeting.

Miss Courtney proposed that the first part of the meeting, up to about two hours, should be devoted to an open debate, and that, resolutions drawn up by the Standing Orders Committee on the policy of the W.I.L. should be put and discussed. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence agreed to open the debate and to draft the resolution defining the issue. Miss MacMillan to be asked to oppose.

Further suggested for discussion...

- (1) Proposed by Miss Ashton from Manchester, the need for the direct representation of women on the Council of the League of Nations.
- (2) Should the basis of representation be one of associated interests rather than geographical units.

Decided that Branches should be urged to get their delegates to study the draft of the League of Nations as amended, and the final draft criticism drawn up at Zurich, and that in the letter it should be pointed out that the duty of every country was to work to the end that its own country should do right; thus for example, we have specially to consider the question of Free Trade: the settlement of Mandates after the admission of Germany and Russia; the reduction of the Navy and of Armaments; and the abolition of Conscription.

H. M. Swannick

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday,
July 17th, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Mrs. Briggs, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Morland, Mrs. Rollo Russell, Mrs. Sandiforth, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Ward.

Apologies
for ab-
sence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Ashton, Miss Ford, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Bowen Wedgwood.

Minutes.

Minutes of Meeting of July 3rd were read and confirmed with one alteration.

Business
Arising.

Decided that the Occasional Paper "Towards Peace and Freedom" need not be submitted to the Censor, *it being regarded as a book.*

Reported that the Bibliography Conference had decided to lower the price of the Bibliography to 1/s for teachers and students in Training Colleges, and to raise a special fund to allow this to be done.

(Mrs. Rollo Russell offered to send round notices of the Bibliography.)

Mrs. Sandiforth reported that the Leeds branch had sent a copy to the Chairman of the local Education Committee.)

Reported the Government "£1 for £1" offer for relief work meant that the Government would give £1 to the Societies raising the money for every £1 raised.

(Decided to print Mlle. Mélin's letter, with covering note by Mme. Slumberger which appeared in "La Française" in the News Sheet.)

Conference
on the
Appointment
of women on
the League
of Nations
Commissions.

Reported that as a development of the Conference called by the National Council of Women, six societies were co-operating to invite representatives from Feminist societies and organisations to consider the best way of securing the representation of women on the League of Nations. This Conference was to meet on September 4th, and if necessary, 5th, and the W.I.L. would be asked to send six delegates. Joint organisations were also being asked to co-operate if there was a big proportion of women members.

The following were nominated as our representatives:- Miss Courtney, Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Ward, Miss Ashton, Miss Morland, and Mrs. Briggs as an alternate.

Suggested subjects for resolutions were, the representation of women on the Council and the Assembly of Delegates, and on the Commissions. It was further necessary to consider a scheme for providing for the representation of women on all these and for producing a Panel.

(Miss Ward reported on a scheme already suggested by the N.C.W. Committee for obtaining nominations from all societies; for discussing the nominations at a meeting, and a postal vote of a limited number, but details had been left vague. Mrs. Swanwick suggested that different Panels of women were needed for different objects, and that we should be ready with proposals of suitable women for each.)

Decided our six representatives should meet and draft resolutions to meet these points.

Reports of
Sub-
Committee.

Organisation. Pre-War Practices Bill.

As the result of a letter from the Women's Engineering Society some discussion took place on our attitude to this Bill, and it was recommended to the Executive that we should send to the Labour Party, to the Prime Minister, and to the M.P. in charge of the Bill,

(1) Our support of the Bill in so far as it is a redeeming of pledges,

(2) A protest against any clause in the Bill ~~and a demand for the amendment of any clause which will have the effect of imposing fresh disabilities on women in industry.~~

Reported that the Organisation Committee was considering the necessity of concentrating our energies on developing a good political department, and in that case, was proposing that Miss Marsh be appointed as Political Secretary or Organiser with an increase of salary. A special Organisation Committee is to meet to consider this further.

A letter was reported from the N.U.S.E.C. asking for the views of the W.I.L. as to resolutions which could be proposed to the International Labour Conference at Washington with regard to women in industry.

Decided Miss Macmillan be asked to draft resolutions and submit them to the W.I.L. Officers for consideration.

A discussion took place in which the serious and scientific consideration needed before the imposition or condemnation of restrictions could be advocated, was emphasised.

A second letter was reported from the N.U.S.E.C. asking for support in a protest against a Bill about to be tabled embodying the recommendations of the Gladstone Committee on the employment of women in the Civil Service.

Mrs. Despard urged a strong protest against the over-head selection of certain posts for certain women which was proposed in the Bill.

Agreed to send the protest suggested when the Bill came forward.

Memorandum on the Resolution on Education as passed at Zurich. The draft criticism and further suggestions drawn up by Miss Royds at the request of the Literature Committee was considered and passed with a few verbal alterations.

Appointment of two consultative members on the International Committee. Proposed and seconded that Miss Courtney be one of the consultative members.

Agreed.

Decided to postpone the choice of the second member till the September Executive.

Appointment of British Member of International Finance Committee. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was proposed but hesitated to agree as she did not see the aim of such an appointment.

Decided Miss Balch should be written to explaining that the British section does not see its way to appointing a Finance Member of a Committee ~~not sharing in the general policy~~ ^{which will not} ~~expressing the opinion of the~~ The funds must be raised by the National sections in their own sections, and the Central Executive must make its own estimates.

Agreed Miss Balch's opinion should be asked on this difficulty.

Appointment of Member of Education Committee.

Decided to postpone this appointment till September.

^{Inter}
Formation of ~~National~~ Sub-Committee. Suggested that the ~~three~~ members under ~~5~~ and ~~6~~ together with the two British members of the International Executive form an International Sub-Committee of the W.I.L. Executive and meet at Bedford Row in the same way as other Sub-Committees.

Agreed.

Correspondence. Consultative Committee. A letter was read asking for the W.I.L. representative to attend a Conference on the question of ^{the new} ~~Widows~~ Pensions. ^{Bill} Miss Ward undertook to attend.

Miss Balch. A letter was read from Miss Balch asking the W.I.L. Executive to nominate another representative to the Socialist Conference at Lucerne in August, in case Mrs. Snowden, who was nominated at the Zurich Congress, was not able to attend.

Decided to ask Miss Marshall in that case if she would represent the W.I.L.

Other Business. Decided that the six delegates to the Conference on the League of Nations Commissions should meet at the office on the 21st, 24th. or 25th to frame resolutions.

Agreed that the Executive Committee should not meet again until Wednesday, September 3rd, unless called for any special reason.

H. M. Searns.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Wednesday,
3rd September, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Mrs. Briggs, Lady Courtney, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Mrs. Hobson, Miss Huntsman, Miss Morland, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Cooper Willis, Miss Ward.

Apologies
for ab-
sence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Ashton, Miss Ford, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Rollo Russell.

Minutes.

The Minutes of meeting on July 17th were read and confirmed.

Business
arising.

Towards Peace and Freedom. A vote of thanks to Miss Leaf with an expression of great satisfaction ~~at~~ ~~the satisfaction~~ felt with the result of her work on the Occasional Paper was moved and passed unanimously.

League of Nations Conference. Reported Mrs. Briggs was taking the place of Mrs. Ayrton Gould as a W.I.L. Delegate. Miss Royds was appointed in place of Miss Morland, who was unable to go. The Agenda for the Conference was then considered and instructions given to delegates as to voting ~~as~~ ~~on~~ the addenda proposed.

A letter was read from Dr. Marion Phillips asking for the support of the W.I.L. for the scheme proposed by the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations for securing representation on the League of Nations. Decided to continue to support the scheme proposed by the W.I.L. if it came forward.

Report of
Organisa-
tion Com-
mittee.

Winter Programme. Reported that the Hon. Lily Montagu had offered to give an entertainment for us on November 8th at the West Central Girls' Club (and that it had been decided to book that date and to try to get, if possible, a distinguished foreigner to make a speech on the occasion, Madame Montessori ~~is~~ having been suggested; another suggestion being visitors coming from the Economic Council of the Fight the Famine.)

Reported Mr. Miles Malleson had referred Miss Marsh to Miss Elder of the Arts League of Service and Miss Marsh had an appointment with her with a view to arranging an entertainment towards Christmas, and to Mr. Goldring of the League of Peace and Freedom. Miss Marsh would pursue the latter if further inquiries make this advisable.

Reported that it had been decided to ask Mrs. Butler, Secretary of the Esperanto Society to speak at a meeting on the evening of October 2nd in Denison House in a discussion entitled "Esperanto or Babel", Miss Ashton to be asked to take the Chair and give a word picture of the babel of an international conference. The meeting to be free with collection.

(Reported it had been decided to ask Mr. Gooch if he would kindly speak for us on the same subject as his speech at the National Peace Council at Manchester towards the middle or end of November.)

Reported that it had been decided to accept the invitation of the Women's Freedom League to have a Stall at their Green, White and Gold Fair on November 28th and 29th.

Recommended to the Executive by the Officers that:-

- (1) we should concentrate in our work on internationalism and international feminism with reference to
 - (a) The League of Nations;
 - (b) The political side of international reconstruction;
 - (c) International education.

Agreed with the addition of "for the present" after "concentrate:

- (2) Ask the Council to rescind the Election Policy resolutions.

Agreed. Resolution on the subject being drawn up for the preliminary Agenda.

- (3) Changes in organisation of Staff. Recommended that the work should be divided as follows:-

- (a) The Secretary at the Head of the Office;
- (b) Miss Anderson entirely responsible for the book-keeping;
- (c) A Literature Secretary;
- (d) A rather more efficient girl than the present office girl should be engaged to give help on both sides.
- (e) An Organiser.

Agreed.

Recommended that Miss Brewster be appointed Literature Secretary in the place of Miss Phillips. Agreed.

(Recommended that Miss Marsh be given an increase of salary while continuing her work as Organiser. X Agreed, it being decided that the salaries of the Staff should be graded accordingly, the Officers being left to make detailed arrangements.)

Reported that Mrs. Ayrton Gould was unable to continue to stand as Hon. Secretary.

Annual Report.

The Annual Report was read and passed with some alterations and a hearty vote of thanks was moved to Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Miss Cooper Willis.

Resolutions
for the
Council
Meeting.

The resolutions received from different Branches were reported and referred to the Agenda Committee. The Executive made some suggestions for alteration of rules and constitution, and the following resolution was drawn up on our Election Policy to be placed on the Agenda:-

"That since it is no longer legal for Candidates for Parliament to accept the help of outside bodies during Election Campaigns the W.I.L. shall no longer have an Election Policy as a League, but this does not prevent individual members from working at Elections."

Nominations
for the
Executive.

Nominations for the Executive already received were reported, viz: Mrs. Lloyd nominated by Mrs. Swanwick and Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Chick, nominated by Mrs. Gould, Miss Macnaghten, nominated by Mrs. Swanwick.

Correspondence.

N.U.S.E.C. A letter was read from the Secretary of the N.U.S.E.C. inviting the W.I.L. to affiliate to that Society. After some discussion as to possibilities of co-operating with the N.U.S.E.C. in different spheres of action, it was decided that the Secretary should be asked exactly what affiliation would commit us to and whether we would be bound by the resolutions of the Council. The decision was postponed.

Mrs. Hobson. A letter was read from Mrs. Hobson resigning from the Executive on the ground of long absence in the near future. Miss Royds was instructed to express the regrets of the Executive and the hope that Mrs. Hobson would again ~~with~~ ~~for~~ the League on her return.

(Mrs. Lloyd. A letter was read from Mrs. Lloyd accepting the invitation to stand for the Executive on the understanding that she might be leaving England for some time in the Spring. Agreed to ask her to stand in the meantime.)

(Mr. Israel. A letter was read thanking the Committee very much for their appreciation of Mr. Israel's help in designing the baby poster for the teats distribution and for the parcel of food which was sent him.)

(Mrs. Wedgwood. A letter was read offering to take any message from the Committee to Switzerland, if it wished to send one.)

(Britain and India. An invitation from the Britain and India Association to send delegates to a Conference on October 4th was read. Nomination was postponed to next Executive.)

Election of Second Headquarters Executive Consultative Member and Education Committee Member was deferred until after the Council.

Meeting for Mrs. Besant.

Decided that Mrs. Besant be asked if she could speak for us on Women's Suffrage in India on some date in October. Suggested Mr. Wadia be also asked to speak and that Miss Royden be asked if she would take the Chair. That the meeting be held in the Central Hall and a charge made with some free seats.

Other business.

Mrs. Swanwick reported that a Mr. Sparre Petersen had called on her to consult her and give information about the proposed establishment of an international People's College in Denmark, the plan seemed well under way and there was a possibility that Mr. Petersen might be glad if we could undertake any organising for him that was necessary in this country.

(Questions were asked as to the objects, etc. of the International Congress of Youth, of which notices had appeared in the "Nation" and other papers. Miss Royds was asked to make further inquiries about it.)

Margaret Ulaton

Sept. 18. 1919 -

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Meeting of Executive Committee, Thursday, 18th September, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present. Miss Ashton in the Chair, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Morland, Mrs. Salter, Miss Wilson Wilson, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Briggs, for ab- Miss Ford, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. R. sence. Russell, Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Raymond Unwin.

Minutes. The Minutes of meeting on 3rd September were read and confirmed.

Business N.U.S.E.C. A letter was read from the Secretary of arising. the N.U.S.E.C. explaining that societies affiliating were not obliged to work for the whole programme of the union, but were merely required to have the general equality object amongst their objects. The question of whether the Council Resolutions were binding was to follow in a letter after the N.U.S.E.C. Committee had met. The decision as to affiliation was, therefore, again deferred, but Mrs. Pethick Lawrence moved a resolution that we should not affiliate but should express our sympathy and friendliness and willingness to co-operate in all matters over which we agree. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was totally against an international society becoming affiliated to a national body.

Nominations for the League of Nations Committee. The W.I.L. was invited to nominate six members for the election of 15 additional members to serve on the League of Nations Provisional Committee. The Committee nominated the following:-

Mrs. Swanwick, (nominated by Miss Cooper Willis,
Lady Parmoor, (nominated by Miss Ashton,
Lady Courtney, (nominated by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.)
Lady Selborne,
Miss C. Macmillan,
Miss Mary Macarthur,

and in case of any of these being unable to serve Mrs. Lloyd Wilson was nominated.

Nominations were also asked for by Saturday, 8th November, for a list of names of women suitable to serve on the various bodies, etc. of the League. Decided to circularise Secretaries for nominees to submit to the Executive and to ask the Chairman to mention this important matter at the Council Meeting.

Miss Macmillan. A letter was read regretting her inability, through excess of business, to stand for the Executive. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence kindly undertook to write to Miss Macmillan, urging her, if by any means possible, to reconsider her decision.)

Miss Morland. A letter of resignation on grounds of probable absence from January onwards was read. Miss Morland, however, agreed at the Executive Committee to let her nomination stand and undertook to endeavour to approach

Societies and individuals who might possibly be interested in our work in South Africa on behalf of and as a member of our Executive.)

Britain and India. An invitation to the W.I.L. (deferred from last Executive) to send delegates to a Conference on a wider range of subjects connected with India on October 4th was read. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Salter and Miss Morland agreed to attend, if possible. Decided to ask for some blank tickets in case any members attending the Council Meeting might like to wait for the Conference.

Organisa-
tion.

Reported from the Organisation Committee that the meeting "Esperanto or Babel" had been arranged at Denison House for the evening of October 2nd; that the entertainment offered by the Hon. Lily Montagu on November 8th at the West Central Girls' Club had been accepted and that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had ~~kindly~~ undertaken to write to Mr. Pett Ridge to see if he would speak, and in that case would herself take the Chair and strike an international note. As an alternative Mr. Zangwill was suggested.

Reported that the Queen's Hall had been engaged for Mrs. Besant for Friday, November 14th, that she would speak on "Votes for Indian women", that Mr. Bernard Shaw had been written to to see if he would take the Chair and failing him, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence would ~~kindly~~ ask Lord Lytton.

Reported that Miss Elder of the Arts League of Service had referred Miss Marsh to Mrs. Spencer Watson, who might give an entertainment for us, and who would be asked if she would kindly give one early in January.

Recommended to the notice of the Executive that November 11th is to be kept all over the country as League of Nations Day, and that this might be an opportunity for for our speakers to put our point of view at meetings.

Correspond-
ence.

International Anti-Militarist Union of Holland. A letter was read from Mr. Joseph Giesen, Utrecht, asking for our co-operation in the holding of an International Congress in Holland with the object of making the Anti-Militarist Movement throughout the world as general as possible. Miss Wilson Wilson reported that Mr. Giesen had been in communication with the "Crusader" and that she, herself, was going to a Christian Conference in Holland shortly and would make an opportunity of getting into touch with Mr. Giesen. Decided before any further steps were taken the Committee should await Miss Wilson Wilson's return and receive a report from her. Miss Wilson Wilson brought up the point for possible connection between the W.I.L. and the "Crusader." The "Crusader" was starting an international page and possibly we might make use of it to spread W.I.L. news. Mr. Wellock, former Editor would now work in Holland as Editor of the "Word," and would be in touch with all international Peace activities.)

Mrs. Roden Buxton. A report on Conditions in Russia sent by Mrs. Roden Buxton was read and a request to pass resolutions protesting against the continuance of the blockade. Decided to pass a resolution and send it to Mr.

Winston Churchill. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence ~~kindly~~ undertook to draw it up.

A letter was read from Mr. S.A. Bailey, Solicitor, offering to take a member of our League in his Office and give Articles in return for her services, if she seemed to him suitable for the Profession. Decided to put the offer in the News Sheet and to make inquiries as to a suitable Candidate.

At the close of the business of the Committee Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said there was a matter about which she desired to have direct information from the Committee.

Before she went away for her holiday there had been a good deal of discussion between the Officers about the development of the Autumn campaign, and a Committee had been called in which certain developments had been very seriously discussed including a proposition for the development of the political side of the work. She had heard nothing more of the matter until on her return to London she heard ~~quite indirectly~~ that it had been decided at a Committee Meeting held in August that the idea of developing the political side of the League's work had been abandoned. She wished to know whether this was so, and expressed regret that a matter so immensely important should have been decided at a small Committee held in the holidays in the absence of some of those who were most keenly interested in the matter. She felt convinced that the decision that had been taken would entail a loss of general interest and of popular backing throughout the country and she feared that it would lose for the W.I.L. the active and growing support of the general public.

The Secretary pointed out that the meeting of Officers held in August was so very small that it had not taken the responsibility of making any decision on the proposed development, but had referred the whole question to the Executive which met on 4th September, only making recommendations as to the re-organisation of the work of the Office. These had been sanctioned by the Executive as well as the proposal not to start a political department at present. Miss Cooper Willis explained that the recommendations made had been largely due to the fact that Mrs. Ayrton Gould found it quite impossible for private reasons to give the time she had hoped to the proposed Political Department, nor did she quite see what purpose such a Department would fulfil. Miss Marsh herself had no proposals for the development of such work.

H.M. Swain

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Special Executive Committee Meeting, Monday, 6th October, 1919, at 11.30 a.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ford, Miss Morland, Lady Parmoor, Mrs. Rollo Russell, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Ward, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Salter, Miss C.E. Marshall.

Statement.

The meeting was called to consider the present situation in view of the strike of the National Union of Railwaymen. It had been proposed that we should make a protest against the massing by Government of machine guns and munitions during the present crisis. The question as to whether the W.I.L. should act alone in this matter if the Committee decided to act, or should take joint action with other Societies was to have been discussed.

Mrs. Swanwick said that in view of the fact that the strike had ended and it was too late to postpone the Committee Meeting, she would like to ask the Committee whether they would waive the formal fact that things not on the Agenda for a special Committee should not be settled, and settle the date of the deferred Council Meeting and have some discussion on our attitude to industrial struggles.

Decided that as the postponement of the Council Meeting had been owing to the emergency the date should be settled by the Emergency Committee. The date was fixed for October 30th and 31st. It was decided that Miss Goldstein be asked to speak early on the first day and Miss Marshall at 2.30 p.m. on the afternoon of the first day. Mrs. Swanwick then put forward the question as to whether we should not on rather broad lines, without entering into details which would entrench on technical labour ground consider propaganda in industrial crises for continuous mediation and against all ultimatata, applying our general attitude in international strife to internal strife on industrial questions. She analysed the causes of industrial strife, as the same as the causes of war, viz:-

- (1) secret diplomacy;
- (2) the question of honour;
- (3) popular indifference to wrongs of others which directly leads to shock tactics and strikes. Our aim should be to rouse the conscience of people, the question of the welfare of the whole body;
- (4) as a general principle we should emphasise that we do stand for a living wage for all, and we should think out what we consider the proper action and duties of Governments in industrial strife. We probably agree that it

is their duty (a) to keep things going (e.g. feed the people, etc); (b) to keep order. This is difficult to interpret - (should we protest against the use of all force or intimidation?); in general we should stand for a fuller life for all.

After some discussion of the points suggested, Mrs. Swanwick kindly undertook to draft a Manifesto on these lines to submit to the Executive on 16th October for them to consider its submission to the Council Meeting. Miss Wilson pointed out that she thinks our particular influence should be a mission to our own class to advance voluntarily themselves along the path of reconciliation. There was a general agreement that a campaign on these lines might be very helpful. Mrs. Despard pointed out that the settlement was one of the greatest events in economic history, in that the Government had officially recognised the relation between the cost of living and wages.

Other
business.

Reported that an appeal had been received, sent by Frau Scheu Riesz from Max Winter Vice-Mayor of Vienna, to the Women's International League on behalf of the women and children of Vienna. Mrs. Swanwick had been consulted as to whether this could be sent to all our members as a leaflet and had agreed. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, on consultation with Mrs. Roden Buxton (who had sent us the appeal) had arranged with her to use some of the matter contained in a leaflet for the Save the Children Fund direct. The Committee, however, felt very strongly that the appeal had been made directly to the W.I.L. and should, therefore, be answered directly by the W.I.L. and that we should send an appeal to our members asking them for subscriptions and saying that this would be sent direct to Frau Scheu Riesz for us through the Friends Emergency Committee. Agreed that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Buxton should be written to explaining the situation. Decided the first instalment should be sent to Vienna on November 1st.

Miss Ward reported that at the Britain and India Conference on Saturday, a Mrs. & Miss Tata were present who had come over from India to work in a rather informal way on the question of Indian Women's Suffrage, and were anxious to get introductions to some of our members, and willing and anxious to speak at meetings. They had asked Miss Royden and Miss Ward to pass on their message. A letter was reported from Mrs. Tata and arrangements were made to get in touch with her.

Chairman for Mrs. Besant, November 14th, at Queen's Hall. Reported Lord Haldane had not answered. Decided to send him a pre-paid wire asking for his decision and if he was unable to take the Chair to ask (1) Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, (2) Sir Michael Sadler. Mr. Charles Roberts was also suggested.

H. M. Swanwick

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee, Thursday,
16th October, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Parmoor, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Trevelyan, Miss Cooper Willis, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Apologies
for ab-
sence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Briggs, Mrs. Despard, Miss Ford, Mrs. Salter.

Minutes.

The Minutes of meeting on 18th September were read and confirmed.

Business
arising.

Nominations for the League of Nations Committee.
Reported that Lady Courtney and Mrs. Lloyd Wilson were unable to serve on the Provisional Committee and their names had, therefore, not gone forward. Nominations of women suitable to serve on the various bodies had been received from different branches and would be considered on November 6th. The Executive nominated Mrs. Barbara Drake, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Dr. Jane Walker, Miss Mary Macarthur.

Anti-Militarist Union of Holland. Miss Wilson Wilson reported that Mr. Wellock now Editor of the "Word" had seen Mr. Giesen and that his proposed organisation was at present postponing activities. The question of any co-operation was, therefore, deferred.

Draft
Memorandum
ON Indus-
trial War.

The draft memorandum drawn up by Mrs. Swanwick was discussed. Alterations suggested by Lady Courtney and Mrs. Despard were incorporated and one or two omissions made. The memorandum was finally drawn up for submission to the Council Meeting, (as appended.)

Report of
Organisa-
tion Com-
mittee.

Reported that Mr. Pett Ridge would speak at the entertainment at the West Central Girls' Club on November 8th and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence would take the Chair; that Miss Hilda Saxe would give her concert in Mrs. Huth Jackson's house somewhere towards the end of January; that Mrs & Miss Tata, in England as representatives of the Bombay Women's Franchise Work, had agreed to speak at the Queen's Hall Meeting for Mrs. Besant on November 14th and that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald would take the chair; (that Mr. Wadia had obtained a Passport for Washington and would, therefore, be unable to speak, but Mr. Scurr was trying to find another Indian man to take his place.)

Finance. Reported that the Balance at the Bank on the 30th September was £130. 4. 9½d and that the Vienna Children Fund up to date was £113. 4s. 6d.

Women's Indian Association. Recommended that this Association's request for affiliation to our League be agreed to. Agreed.

Reported that Mrs. Tata urged the sending of resolutions on the question of Votes for Indian Women

to the Joint Committee on the proposed Bill now sitting and to the Secretary of State for India. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence explained that this Bill for the first time in Indian history introduced a Sex Disability into the Laws. Agreed that the Branches should be circularised on the subject and that an emergency resolution should be passed at the Council.

An Appeal of the Women's Social Economic League, Graz, giving a terrible picture of conditions in Vienna was read. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence urged that the time had now come for us to ^{consider whether a joint effort should} undertake a big campaign throughout the country appealing to the women and children of the world to help these suffering women and children. She suggested that we might concentrate on getting the Vienna children transported to countries willing to take and feed them. The question of how to work in with the "Save the Children Fund" was discussed and it was suggested a Press Campaign and Press Funds might also be opened. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence undertakes to plan out a scheme and make definite recommendations to the Organisation Committee at its next meeting. It was pointed out that such a Campaign might really help our political Campaign for the revision of the treaty.

Suggested that presentations might be made to the Supreme Economic Council on the sending of Bohemian Coal to Austria. Agreed to have an emergency resolution at the Council.

Lady Parmoor announced a large meeting during the Fight the Famine Economic Conference, on November 5th at the Central Hall, at which Miss Balch would be speaking and asked for assistance in sending out leaflets and possibly over the stewarding. Agreed we should send out the leaflets and that Miss Marsh should be consulted about organising the Stewards.

(Reported that the British Dominions Women's Suffrage Union might be giving a lunch to Mrs. & Miss Tata. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence suggested that, if so, we might co-operate. Agreed.)

Correspondence.

Miss Marshall. Reported that Miss Marshall hoped that by staying a few extra days in Paris, where she had gone to sit on a ^{on a delegation} Commission to protest against the taking of milch cows from Germany, she might get into touch with people important for our work. That on these grounds she had asked if it would be possible to grant her expenses above those which she would have incurred living in England. Agreed.

N.U.S.E.C. Decided in reply to letters requesting our affiliation that we should not affiliate with the N.U.S.E.C. as it was considered an international body should not affiliate to a purely national body.

Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill. A letter was read asking for our co-operation in support of amendments to be moved by Lord Robert Cecil and others which would bring this Bill more into agreement with the Women's Emancipation Bill as passed in July. Decided to circularise Branches urging them to write to Members on those amendments dealing specifically with the question of sex equality, while expressing no opinion on the other amendments.

(Miss Balch. Letters were reported, the questions

in which were deferred for consideration at the first Committee Meeting after the Council. A memorandum on the Hungarian Prisoners in Siberia was also reported.)

N.C.C.I. War Emergency (Continuance) Bill. A letter of protest against the passing of this Bill to extend D.O.R.A. for six months or a year was read. Agreed to draft an emergency resolution for the Council and to circularise Branches.

Miss Durham. A letter was read from Miss Durham with an enclosure from the Turkish Women of Smyrna, telling of the condition of things under Greek Occupation and asking what we could do to make the facts known. Decided to put an article in the News Sheet on Oppressed Minorities, including facts from other appeals from Alsace-Lorraine and Albania.

N.P.C. A letter was read from Mr. Heath announcing his resignation from the Secretaryship of the N.P.C. to take up the organisation of the Friends' proposed International Work. The Secretary was instructed to write expressing the regrets of the Committee and thanking Mr. Heath for all his kind and ready assistance in the past and expressing their best wishes for his work in the future.

Other
business.

Miss Huntsman reported that a Miss Burritt and Miss Holbrook who had been travelling in the Famine Stricken Districts of Europe and were unable to get back to America were contemplating coming to England for propaganda, if the various Committees concerned in relief work could make use of them. Decided Miss Balch should be asked her opinion about their suitability for such work. Any further decision to depend on reports received.)

Margaret Ashton
November 6. 1919

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Draft Memorandum on Industrial War.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR AND FOR PEACE.

The Railway Strike is over for the present, but no one can feel that the dispute is settled. The believers in compulsion are claiming that they have won a victory over a section of their fellow-men and that the lesson to be learned from the strike is to prepare for further victories of compulsion. Those, on the other hand, who believe that compulsion settles nothing are glad to recognise that the agreement of October 5th was arrived at by negotiation, and they know well that industrial peace, like all peace, can be established only by vigorous and persistent preparation for peace.

CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL WARS.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom stands for co-operation rather than conflict in national and international affairs and it finds that the causes of Industrial War are similar to those of International War. We heard that the War of 1914-1918 was "inevitable;" that the Railway Strike was "inevitable." So they were: they were the inevitable result of men's precedent words and actions. But these were not inevitable; these could at any moment have been changed, if men's minds had been changed. It is the duty of the W.I.L. to work for such changes in men's minds and so remove the causes of war.

The first duty of all citizens is to use the pause between the settlement of this strike and more serious industrial warfare to consider carefully the cause and its remedy. The question at issue is not one merely of wages and hours of work, important as these are. It is also a question of the status of the workman; of the control of railways, mines, and industrial concerns. It is a question of the relative place of labour, of organising and directing ability and of the place of capital in our industrial and social system.

These are not simple problems nor can they be solved by violence without disaster to all. Nor can they be solved by feelings unaccompanied by knowledge and experience. The knowledge of all those concerned in industry is wanted. This Council, therefore, urges that the changes, which must come, should be discussed in a spirit of good will; each class working out the answer from its special point of view with self restraint, and open-eyed and open-eared readiness to hear all others and to accept change where it can be shown to be for the good of all.

Good faith and the confidence which it alone breeds, is a first essential for peace. Therefore, the people should choose leaders first and foremost for their candour and honesty. The present system enables interested parties to keep the mass of the people in the dark, to trick and deceive them, to distribute false information and strengthen corrupt influences.

The W.I.L. is of opinion that at all stages of a dispute, mediation, conciliation and negotiation should be persisted in and it congratulates the Trade Unions on the part they played in this respect.

The W.I.L. expresses its sympathy with the N.U.R. in its resolve to insist that everyone should receive for his work enough for a full human existence and its admiration of the better-paid men who threw in their lot with the worst-paid. The W.I.L. expresses the hope that men workers will, in future, stand by women-workers in the same way.

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT DURING A STRIKE.

The legitimate use by the Government of the powers it possesses is a matter of extreme difficulty and complexity. The W.I.L. is agreed that, in a strike which withholds the means of subsistence from the people, it is the Government's duty:-

- (1) To keep going the vital processes of provisioning and to refuse them to none (Mr. J.H. Thomas himself recognised this duty);
- (2) To protect everyone, impartially, from violence;
- (3) To prevent the suffering of animals and irreparable damage to national wealth, such as the flooding of mines.

The W.I.L. holds that any Government would be justified in preparing to fulfil these duties should the need arise.

On the other hand, the W.I.L. protests indignantly against the mustering or parading of troops armed with machine guns and other weapons, as a monstrous misuse of power. Provocation or intimidation is the only possible object of such militarist exhibitions, which inevitably put in the wrong the Government which indulges in them.

THE ABANDONMENT OF PRIVILEGE.

The W.I.L. believes that the great mass of the people could be led to desire the welfare of all and to seek to achieve it. It declares its intention to strive that the effort and the understanding for such an achievement shall be created, and in particular that those who are in privileged positions shall become willing to yield their privileges, economic and social, and to inherit, instead, the peace and happiness that will follow the exercise of their reason and the fulfilment of their social instincts.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee, Thursday,
6th November, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Miss Ashton, Mrs. Briggs, Miss Chick, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dehn, Mrs. Despard, Miss Eckhard, Miss Leaf, Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Lloyd, Miss Macnaghten, Miss Marshall, the Hon. Mrs. R. Russell, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Ward, Miss Cooper Willis, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Apologies
for ab-
sence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Ford and Miss Morland.

Mrs. Swanwick announced that Madame Duchène and Mlle. Melin were in England for the Fight the Famine Council and had been asked by her to come to meet the Executive. She would take the liberty of taking the Chair to introduce them. Madame Duchène was then introduced and Mlle. Melin came in a few moments later. Mrs. Swanwick in introducing Madame Duchène pointed out the peculiar difficulties of the French Section of the W.I.L. during the war. We should like to know how we could co-operate with the French Section, particularly in working for the revision of the Treaty. We might help each other and the French Section could certainly help us because the sufferings of France were constantly put before us as an obstacle in working for any revision, and it would be a great assistance to be able to say that the French women themselves desire it. Madame Duchène said they were very desirous of any action. With them, work for the revision of the Peace Treaty would be a continuation. They had already issued a protest which had appeared in the Press. Mlle. Melin explained the psychology of the French women during the war was very different from that of the women of other countries because France found herself immediately plunged in a war of defence. She was hopeful of increasing the membership of the French Section, for if a few women had been able to maintain their attitude through the war period, women who wanted to prevent war in the future would presently come into line with them. She had constantly met women who had really thought as she did during the war but had not felt they could give expression to it. At the last Socialist Congress the Women's Section had voted a resolution against intervention in Russia and against the Peace Treaty. There was more hope for the movement in the Provinces than in Paris. Madame Duchène reported that unfortunately the appeal for Save the Children, about which arrangements had been set on foot by Miss Marshall with Madame Brunchveig had not yet been brought about, as in a later interview at which Miss Pye (Friends War Victims) was present, Madame Brunchveig had eliminated one thing after another - not for want of agreement but because she was still afraid. Miss Pye had decided at last to draw up a protest and submit it to the French Suffrage Society and if they would not sign it it would be sent out by the "Minority." Mlle. Melin explained that they were really still anxious about French children. Madame Duchène further reported

that so far it had not been possible to find anyone to go to Germany to begin the inter-change of visits for which Miss Marshall had been hoping. Suggested we might have an inter-change of visits with French women for taking meetings in the Provinces.

In reply to questions, Madame Duchene said that she thought the attitude even of pacifists to the class-conflict was that there was no possibility of solving the questions peacefully. The feelings were extremely bitter and the employers little accessible to reason. Mlle. Melin asked about the possibility of an international re-union at Paris. Mrs. Swanwick suggested this might take place when members were journeying to a Committee which she hoped would be held in February in Geneva. Madame Duchene concluded that she felt the chief work which could be done in France was on Educational lines.

Miss Cooper Willis, Hon. International Secretary, now took the Chair. Miss Ashton reported that Lady Parmoor was unable to accept the Chairmanship. After some discussion Miss Ashton moved that Miss Morland be appointed Chairman for the year. If she felt it necessary to resign on going abroad another Chairman would then be appointed. Mrs. Swanwick seconded. Miss Ashton was then nominated First Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Swanwick Second Vice-Chairman, Miss Courtney, Third Vice-Chairman. The nominations were seconded and carried. Decided that any Committee letters which it was desirable ^{should} ~~to~~ be sent ^{out} by the Officers should be signed also by Miss Ashton, as First Vice-Chairman.

Minutes of Meeting.

The Minutes of meeting on October 16th were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

"Votes for Indian Women" Meeting. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence reported that it had been discovered we were leaving out of our meeting on November 14th the people officially deputed to represent India on a deputation now in England, which included Mr. Patel, the head of the Supreme Legislative Council and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. On this account the meeting was being boycotted by the whole Indian Community and an advertisement had been refused by their official organ. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had managed to smooth things done and won them over, Mr. Patel and Mrs. Naidu would now speak at the meeting and the advertisement would be accepted. Miss Courtney moved that the Committee thank Mrs. Pethick Lawrence very much for her prompt and tactful action, and this was unanimously agreed to.

Appeal for Vienna Children. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence reported that there was nothing further to discuss on this subject as the decision taken at the Annual Council Meeting was conclusive as to future action.

Voting on Nominations for the League of Nations Provisional Committee. Decided that the W.I.L. should vote for the following among the nominees:- Miss Mary Macarthur, Miss Macmillan, Lady Parmoor, Countess Selborne, Mrs. Swanwick, Brigadier Booth, Lady Denman, The Hon. Mrs. Franklin, Miss Margery Fry, Mrs. Arnold

Glover, Miss Grier, Mrs. Hood, Miss M.E. Phillips, Miss Somers, Mrs. How Martyn.

Appointment
of Sub-
Committees etc.

(a) Organisation and Finance: Miss Ashton, Mrs. Dehn, Miss Eckhard, Mrs. Lloyd, Miss Helen Ward, the Officers.

(b) Literature and Education:- The Officers, Miss Chick, Mrs. Lloyd, Miss K.D. Courtney, Mrs. Swanwick.

Miss Ward proposed that Miss Leaf be asked to be Press Secretary and this was unanimously agreed.

Headquarters Consultative Members. Mrs. Swanwick explained that it was proposed to form an International Sub-Committee, consisting of the two members of the Headquarters' Executive, two Consultative Members, who would meet and attend the Headquarters Executive without voting power and an Education Headquarters' Committee Member. She made clear that the two Headquarters Executive Members, herself and Miss Macmillan would have no responsibility to this sub-Committee. They must, of course, act with undivided responsibility as members of Headquarters Executive. Miss Courtney had already been chosen as one Consultative Member; Miss Cooper Willis proposed Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as the second. Mrs. Swanwick nominated Miss Marshall in order to link her to us and assure her constant keeping in touch with us if she was doing work abroad. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was elected Second Consultative Member and Miss Marshall put as an extra member on the International Sub-Committee. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence reported that she was going on the 21st of this month to Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland on a ~~little~~ Women's International League tour.

Appointment
of Member to
Headquarters
Education
Committee.

This appointment was left to the Education Sub-Committee.

Suggestions
for Future
Work.

Miss Marshall gave an account of proposals made in conversation with Miss Balch as to future developments in our work. She summarised them under the following headings:-

1. Inter-change of visitors between women of the belligerent countries;
2. Exchange of individual workers for some longer period.
3. The development of a system of ^{envoys or} ~~inter-work~~ of ambassadors living as our representatives in other countries and keeping closely in touch with progressive movements. These should return to England fairly constantly and should make it part of their work to watch press and official communications between the countries. We should thus get gradually a small group of ^{women with} international knowledge. As regards expenses there would be living expenses whether at home or abroad and there probably were people who might give lavishly for such a scheme.

4. The organisation of Summer Schools to study special subjects. This might be at once possible in France.
5. The sending round of individual speakers or groups of speakers. Labour Organisations might be particularly useful to get up meetings.
6. The sending of missions to form sections in countries where they ~~were~~^{are} not as yet founded.
7. The making of international inquiries on particular points, e.g. C.O's. etc.

It was proposed that the International Committee should discuss these questions and should submit a scheme to the Executive.

Other business.

Reported that Miss Riley had offered to take a model Committee in Esperanto. Any who would like to attend it ~~would they please~~^{were asked to} send in their names to the Secretary.

Margaret Ashton
Nov 20 - 1919

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Meeting of Executive Committee, Thursday,
20th November, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present. Miss Ashton in the Chair, Miss Chick, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Mrs. Dehn, Miss Eckhardt, Miss Huntsman, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Lloyd, Lady Parmoor, the Hon. Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Swanwick, Miss Cooper Willis, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Apologies for absence. Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Briggs, Miss Ford, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss C. Marshall.

Business arising. A letter was read from Miss Morland expressing her appreciation of the confidence shown in her by the wish of the Executive that she should act as Chairman, but explaining that in view of her approaching journey to South Africa and New Zealand it was quite impossible for her to accept. Miss Ashton reported that she had talked the matter over again with Mrs. Swanwick and that Mrs. Swanwick felt that if one of the new younger members would take the Hon. Secretaryship and so relieve her of a good deal of the routine work she might reconsider her decision and occupy the Chair for another year. Mrs. Dehn would be willing to undertake this. Lady Courtney proposed, Lady Parmoor seconded Mrs. Dehn as Hon. Secretary. Agreed. Miss Ashton then asked Mrs. Swanwick to take the Chair for the ensuing year. Agreed. Mrs. Swanwick took the Chair. A letter was read from Miss Leaf asking her to defer her decision owing to extreme business as to whether she could undertake the work of Press Secretary.

Women's League of Nations Committee. The list of those selected for the Provisional Committee was read, more than half being members for whom we had voted. Mrs. Swanwick reported on some proposals to be discussed at a Committee Meeting on the next day, and some discussion as to the advisability of a Women's Bureau in the League of Nations followed, the general opinion being that it might be the means of shelving the women's demands but if a part of the League from within it might be effective.

Reports of Sub-Committees. International Sub-Committee. Reported that on the question of the opening of the Archives as to the origins of the war we were getting in touch with the French Society for the Study of Documents, whose Organ would be "Clarté". Decided to suggest an exchange of literature with them. The German Society of which the delegates from Versailles and Count Max of Baden were active, with its centre at Heidelberg, had been written to. A request from Geneva as to our protest about the retention of prisoners in Siberia was read and Lady Parmoor suggested a Memorial with weighty names might be got up urging their return home. Agreed. Suggested letters might be sent to various papers, such as the Westminster Gazette, etc. and some members of the Executive asked for information in case they were able to spread it.

Interchange of Visitors. Recommended to Executive to consider inviting Dr. Rotten over for meetings, etc. in the middle or end of January, and Ellen Key (Sweden) and Miss Kjelsberg (Norway), first Woman Representative on the League of Nations. Agreed, and details referred to the Organisation Committee for settlement.

Organisation & Finance Committee. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence reported that the balance at the Bank on the 31st October was £115. 1. With a normal expenditure of about £250 per month this was a very serious state of affairs, and there was an outstanding Printer's bill of over £53. An appeal was made to the members of the Committee to do all they could to help ~~help~~ for the finances.

International Anti-Militarist Union. A letter was read from Mr. Giesen asking for promises of participation and advice about the holding of an Anti-Militarist Congress in the summer of 1920 at the Hague. Miss Wilson reported that Mr. Wellock would be over very shortly from Holland and could give further information. The matter was, therefore, held over.)

Recommended that a letter be sent to Branches telling them of an offer of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association of free lectures on Housing, and advising co-operation wherever possible with the Fight the Famine Council and the League of Nations Campaign. Agreed, with the proviso that, in co-operating with the League of Nations Union, we keep in the forefront the revision of the Covenant and avoid any defence of the Covenant as it stands.

Report of meetings. Mrs. Swanwick moved that the best thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Miss Marsh on the organisation of the Indian Meeting and an appreciation of her very arduous work in making the best of a very difficult situation. *Agreed.*)

Reported that we were considering appeals to various Peace Foundations for Funds, some internationally from Headquarters at Geneva and one from this Office to the Garton Foundation. Recommended that ~~Mr~~ John Hilton, formerly connected with the Organisation and now at the Ministry of Labour, Montagu House, be written to for advice.) Recommended that Mr. Keynes be asked to speak in early December on the Economic Effects of the Peace Treaty, a member of the Committee taking the Chair. Decided this should be done aiming at an audience and good platform of business men, and that failing Mr. Keynes before Christmas, Dr. Starling should be asked to speak before Christmas and Mr. Keynes after. Suggested Mr. Hirst of 'Common Sense' might assist over this.

Literature and Education Committee. Reported it had been decided to ask Miss M.P. Willcocks to act as our member on the International Education sub-Committee, and failing her Miss Wallas and Mrs. Harrison Barrow. A letter was read from Miss Willcocks expressing doubts as to her suitability as a member of the Committee, but not refusing. Decided to ask Miss Wallas and in case of her refusal to urge Miss Willcocks to accept.)

Pamphlets on Revision of Treaties. Decided to publish short pamphlets on:-

- (1) Political Clauses of Treaty;
 - (2) German States outside Germany;
 - (3) Economic Reparation: Ports and Waterways' Clauses,
- and to ask Miss Cooper Willis and Mrs. Hamner to write the first, Mr. P. Baker the second and Mr. Arnold Foster the third.

Miss Cooper Willis and Mrs. Hamer agreed to write the first. Mrs. Lloyd reported that Mr. Baker had suggested Mr. Woolf as a possible writer for the second and Mr. Arnold Foster has not yet answered. It was agreed to leave the arrangements to Mrs. Lloyd.

Title Suggested. "Plain Pamphlets" or some such catch word.

Further decided that there should be a pamphlet on the Covenant of the League of Nations. ~~Series.~~

Questions for Elections. Questions which Croydon had sent to their Members in the Bye-Election were read. Decided that most of the lines taken up were desirable, that it was advisable to ask questions which could be answered by "yes" or "no." Decided that the Officers should be left to frame the questions and submit them to a later Executive.

Miss Wilson Wilson gave notice of bringing up at the next Committee our treatment of African Natives. Bantu Chiefs were at present over in England protesting against the abandonment of the natives to the control of the Boers, from whom it was impossible to get redress because of the colour-bar. The question was referred to the consideration of the Committee.

Corres-
pondence.

Mr. Heath. A letter was read from Mr. Heath thanking the Committee for their letter sent to him on the announcement of his resignation of the Secretaryship of the N.P.C.

Fabian Women's Group. A letter was read offering tickets for a Conference on November 27th on the Economic Position of Women. The following hoped to attend: Mrs. Swanwick, Miss Ashton, Miss Huntsman and Mrs. Lloyd.

Other
business.

Miss Ashton moved that a recommendation be sent to Miss Balch that the next International Conference be held in Esperanto. Decided after some discussion to ask Miss Balch to sound the National Sections on the possibility of this arrangement, and failing that to suggest:-

- (1) Using Esperanto as the medium of translation;
- (2) Having some sessions in Esperanto;
- (3) Making it a subject of study at the Summer Schools.

H. M. Swanwick

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, Thursday, 4th December, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Mrs. Briggs, Lady Courtney, Miss Courtney, Miss Chick, Mrs. Dehn, Miss Ford, Miss Eckhard, Miss Huntsman, Miss Leaf, Mrs. Lloyd, Miss Macnaghten, Miss Marshall, the Hon. Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Ward, Miss Wilson Wilson.

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Morland, Lady Parmoor, Mrs. Salter, Miss Cooper Willis.

Minutes.

The Minutes of meeting on 20th November were read and confirmed.

Business arising.

Miss Wilson Wilson reported that she had seen the Native Chieftains again and that the native women in South Africa desired to know a group of women over here with whom they could get into touch from time to time on various questions, religious and political.

Miss Ford undertook to ascertain Mrs. Olive Schreiner's sympathies and opinions as to which some doubt was expressed, and Miss Royds was instructed to get in touch with the Aborigines Protection Society and the Overseas Dominions saying we would be glad to be put in touch with them.

Pamphlets. Mrs. Lloyd reported that Mr. Phillip Baker and Mr. Arnold Forster would undertake those they had been asked to deal with.

Election Questions. The question on the War Emergency (Continuance) Bill was criticised as not including the question on the Candidates' attitude to the continuance of the right to search, seize and destroy without warrant. Decided to add this to the question.

Memorial on Prisoners of War in Siberia. Names of those who had been asked to sign the Memorial and of those who had signed were read. Further suggested the Archbishop of Westminster, Sir William Beveridge and Lady Astor (through Mrs. Oliver Strachey) should be asked. Reported Miss K. Walla was unable to accept the invitation to serve as Headquarters' Education Member on the Education Committee and that Miss Willcocks had, therefore, to be written to again.

Meetings.

Miss Ward proposed that a postcard should be sent to members of the Executive directly any meeting was fixed. Agreed.

Reports of Sub-Committees.

(a) Organisation and Finance. Meetings. Reported that on December 11th at Essex Hall, Mr. Norman Angell would speak on the "Economic Effects of the Peace Treaty and Mr. Hirst on the "Depreciation of the Paper Currency." That on January 9th at 5.30 p.m. Mr. Victor Russell and Mr. Palmer of the International Students' Bureau would speak at a meeting arranged by the W.I.L. during the Teachers' Conference at University College on the Teaching of Languages and the Growth of Internationalism. In each case Mrs. Swanwick would take the Chair. Recommend to Executive that a debate on Bolshevism be held towards the middle or end of

January; that if possible Mr. Lincoln Steffens be asked to take the pro-Bolshevik stand-point, and failing him Colonel Malone and Mr. Paul Dukes the anti-Bolshevik, and that Miss Cooper Willis be asked to take the Chair.

Reported the Organisation Committee had decided to invite Dr. Rotten to England towards the middle or end of January. Reported that Frau Hertzka had written to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence saying she expected to come to England after December 13th on the question of the repatriation of War Prisoners, and that Miss Royds had been instructed to try to find hospitality for her.

Finance. Reported that the balance on November 30th amounted to £221. 2s 4d, £55 of which was ear-marked for the Vienna ^{children}. Mrs. Swanwick reported on the seriousness of the financial situation; funds in hand only being sufficient to take us to the middle of January. Reported that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had suggested that she thought the time might have come for her to give up the Treasurership; that she felt she had exhausted her ground and would gladly welcome any decision of the Executive which they thought would help forward the finances. The Executive were unanimous that they did not wish for any change, but agreed that a letter should be sent out making a financial appeal from the whole Executive, that this should be drafted by the Officers and that copies should be sent out by members of the Executive with personal covering letters, a list of those being sent, to be sent to the office in each case in order to avoid clashing. Mrs. Lloyd undertook to approach Mr. Motteno. Mrs. Dehn undertook to draft the letter.

Recommended to Executive that the W.I.L. should join in a deputation to the Archbishop of Canterbury if it were accepted, being organised by the Voters' Council, in which the N.U.S.E.C. and other Societies were taking part, on the subject of the unequal responsibility between father and mother in the case of illegitimate birth. Agreed. Decided that Mrs. Briggs should, if possible, go on the deputation, and as Alternates Mrs. Raymond Unwin and Mrs. Swanwick.

Recommended to Executive that in response to an appeal from the Secretary of the Armenian Society on behalf of the Armenian Girls in ~~Armenian~~ ^{Turkish} Harems, we should suggest a deputation to Lord Bryce urging him to bring the matter before the Government and expressing willingness to take part in such a deputation. Agreed.

On the question of Travelling Organisers, and meetings throughout the country, a long discussion took place on the co-operation with the League of Nations Union and the Fight the Famine Council. Miss Marshall as a matter of interest undertook to ascertain whether Lord Robert Cecil considers the League can be any good until the late enemy countries are included. Miss Ward reported a Women's League of Nations Campaign was being inaugurated and that a Manifesto might possibly be sent to Mrs. Swanwick, with a request to sign it. Left to Mrs. Swanwick to decide whether she thinks the League would agree and in that case append her signature.

Correspondence.

Miss M. Green. A letter was read reporting the announcing of another Conference ~~being held~~ to consider the nominations for the bodies of the League of Nations ^{to be held} at the end of February, and asking for an advance subscription towards ^{general} expenses from the Societies co-operating. Mrs. Swanwick moved that the W.I.L. give £5. Agreed.

Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. An invitation to send delegates to the Conference at the Olympia Exhibition on February 10th was read. The following agreed to go as delegates:- Mrs. Rollo Russell, Miss Courtney, Miss Ward, Mrs. Lloyd, Mrs. Raymond Unwin and Mrs. Briggs as a Branch Delegate.

Other Business.

Miss Marshall reported on what she was doing to try to clear the ground for Frau Hertzka with regard to Siberian Prisoners. She had found ex-Lord Mayor, Sir Steward Samuel, who has control of shipping, might be able to arrange for the journey from China by the Lloyd Trieste Line, this being a question of money. In Paris she had seen a member of the Reparation Commission, who told her that the main reason for the detention of the prisoners was the war with Russia; as long as the Czecho-Slovaks were wanted it was impossible to return the Austro-Hungarians, owing to the damage to discipline they were sent back and the Czecho-Slovaks were detained.

With regard to food for Vienna and Credit Miss Marshall reported that the Reparation Committee were very anxious. It was important that public initiative for a loan should come from U.S.A. and it was bound ⁱⁿ anyway to take two or three months. In the meanwhile, relief was, therefore, important and it would be valuable to get a set of questions asked in the House to keep attention focused on the subject. Miss Courtney said that a good deal could be done by fostering business relations with Vienna. Miss Royds reported that, as a result of a cable from Mr. Mitrany, Manchester Guardian Correspondent, saying that large quantities of food stuffs were detained in Trieste for lack of Credit, she had written to Mr. Lloyd George, Viscount Curzon, Lord Henry Bentick and members of the Supreme Economic Council and seen Baron von Ofenheim as to possible action. As a result, Viscount Curzon had put down another question for day that, Thursday. A second cable, however, from Mr. Mitrany, stated that the food stuffs were now released and that the thing to press for was Credit for Argentine grain.

H. M. Swanwick

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Meeting of Executive Committee, Thursday, 18th December, 1919, at 2.30 p.m.

Present.

Mrs. Swanwick in the Chair, Miss Ashton, Miss Chick, Mrs. Dehn, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Lloyd, Miss Macnaghten, Miss Marshall, Mrs. R. Russell, Mrs. Salter, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, Miss Cooper Willis.

Apologies for absence.

Apologies for absence were received from Miss Courtney, Lady Courtney, Miss Eckhard, Miss Ford, Miss Huntsman, Miss Morland.

Minutes.

Minutes of Meeting on 4th December were read and confirmed.

During their reading Frau Hertzka of Vienna, who arrived that day in London, came to the Office. She reported that Alice Masaryk was forming a Branch of the W.I.L. in Prague. Frau Hertzka had come to England from Scandinavia to see what could be done about the repatriation of Austrian and Hungarian Prisoners still in Siberia. She outlined plans for bringing all East of Irkutsk by steamer from Vladivostock and all West of it through Poland. Scandinavians would form delegations along the route to aid the plan; she hoped to get money from Austrians in America and the Scandinavian Y.M.C.A. and the Chinese Red Cross would help. [Our part might be:-

- (1) to get pressure put on Poland to allow the passage of the prisoners;
- (2) to put an English Commission on the Polish Border;
- (3) Possibly to help over getting transport arrangements made by steamer, through Sir Stuart Samuel.

There was a proposal for a rest camp in Shanghai and perhaps at Port Said.

Agreed if Frau Hertzka stays long enough to arrange a Drawing Room Meeting for her for members. Mrs. Dehn offered a room.

Business arising on Minutes.

Reported that the Armenian Red Cross was trying to get Lady Astor to take up the question of Armenian girls in Turkish harems and if she received a deputation would be glad if we would join.

A variety of information about the South African native women and their aspirations was reported as received from Miss Wilson Wilson and Mr. John Harris of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. Miss Cooper Willis undertook to look into this material.

Mrs. Swanwick reported that the League of Nations

meeting she had attended at the Curzon Hotel had not accepted the memorandum presented then, but that Miss Royden, Mrs. Fawcett and Lady Rhondda had undertaken to draw up another, which she would not sign without submitting it to the Committee, unless she felt quite certain of their agreement. The League of Nations Union was considering asking Societies to affiliate. A meeting at which Lady Astor would speak was being arranged for the ~~5th~~ ^{12th} of January. Agreed, if asked, we should co-operate in this meeting.

Report of
Sub-
Committee.

Literature and Education. Reported the pamphlets by Miss Cooper Willis and Mr. Arnold Forster on the Peace Treaties were ready and would very shortly be printed. Mr. Philip Baker's would be ready at latest by January 10th.

Reported an offer had been received and accepted from Messrs. Methuen & Co. for the publication of three or four volumes of the histories, with an agreement to continue if these were successful. Mrs. Swanwick reported that Miss Royds would appear as Joint-Editor with Mr. Gooch.

Reported that Miss Wilson Wilson had so much matter at present for the "Crusader" that she felt they ought not to use space for specifically W.I.L. matter unless the W.I.L. could pay what had been suggested. It had been decided that at present we could not do this, but Miss Wilson Wilson had been thanked for the offer.

Finance.

Reported that the balance at the Bank up to date was £324. 17. 2d, that £159. 1. 3d, had already been sent to Vienna for the Children and that donations received since November 1st amounted to £104. 6. 11d. Decided to send sums in future ~~to Vienna~~ through the Swiss Bank Corporation to Frau Scheu Riez.

Miss
Marsh's
Report.

Reported no reply had been received yet from Mr. Lincoln Steffens about the debate on Bolshevism, as he was in Paris. He had been written to there.

Hilda Saxe Recital. Reported provisionally fixed for Tuesday, February 3rd at 5 - 6.30 p.m. at Mrs. Huth Jackson's. Agreed admission should be 5/- by programme.

Asked if we might arrange a meeting in the centre of the City on the Economic Effects of the Treaty or on Currency, asking the Rt. Hon. F. Huth Jackson if he would take the Chair. Decided Miss Marsh should try to arrange a meeting on the International Guaranteeing of Credit at 5.30 p.m. one day early in February, (avoiding Thursday) at the Cannon Street Hotel, if possible. A speaker to be found on the subject and Mr. Hirst be asked to put his point of view. Recommended Mr. Huth Jackson be asked to advise as to a speaker and failing him Mrs. Lloyd would ask Mr. Lloyd to suggest someone.

Correspondence.

Miss Morland. Miss Morland asked if in view of her long absence in New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, the Executive would wish her to resign, or would like her

to travel as a member of the Executive. Decided that she should be asked to remain on the Executive and to represent them.

Miss Wilson Wilson. A letter was read from Miss Wilson Wilson resigning with very much regret from the Executive on grounds of inability to give to the League the work that she felt she should. Decided to accept her resignation with much regret, and expressing the admiration and sympathy of the Executive for her work. Decided to co-opt a member later on.

Fight the Famine. A letter was read from Mr. Noel Buxton, Treasurer, outlining future plans for obtaining funds. Decided we should offer to co-operate in any meetings held in the country where we had branches.

International Suffrage Alliance. Mrs. Swanwick read *a letter she had received* an invitation to the W.I.L. to send a delegate to the Madrid Convention in April, *the question of sending a delegate was discussed* it was pointed out expenses would be at least £40 probably, and the question was referred to a later Executive.

Alpha Union. An invitation to send delegates to a series of Conferences on the attainment of social and spiritual unity on Saturdays, beginning January 10th, was read. Decided to ask for two tickets and try to find delegates for each meeting.

Other
Business.

Mrs. Rollo Russell asked if the W.I.L. would be willing to bring Vienna's children over to England. Decided help in the way of relief must come from other Societies, but the question could come up again.

Reported Miss Courtney was willing to speak at large or small meetings to the "unconverted" after the middle of January on her return from Vienna. Decided to ask Branches to get local organisations to invite Miss Courtney. Miss Ashton asked Miss Royds to write to the Lord Mayor of Bradford asking him if he could arrange for a meeting in Bradford for a lady speaker direct from Vienna, mentioning Councillor Margaret Ashton.

Suggested re appeals for subscriptions, Mr. Hirst might suggest some names.

Decided that the Executive should meet on the 8th and 22nd January, 1920.

H. M. Swanwick