

BRITISH VICTORY.

DOUBLE NUMBER.

JUS SUFFRAGII.

The International Woman Suffrage News

The Monthly Organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

FRENCH EDITION.

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



HEADQUARTERS:

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

Telegrams: Vocorafto. Telephone: 4255 Regent.

Volume 12. No. 5.

FEBRUARY 1, 1918.

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

International Woman Suffrage Alliance Board of Officers.

President: CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, 2, West 86th Street, New York, U.S.A.

1st Vice-President: MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT, LL.D., 2, Gower Street, London, England.
2nd Vice-President: ANNIE FURUHJELM, M.P., Helsingfors, Finland.
3rd Vice-President: ANNA LINDEMANN, Degerloch, Stuttgart, Germany.
4th Vice-President: MARGUERITE DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER, 14, rue Pierre Charron, Paris, France.
1st Treasurer: ADELA STANTON COIT, 50, Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W., England.

2nd Treasurer: SIGNE BERGMAN, 15, Grevmagnigatan, Stockholm, Sweden.
1st Cor. Sec.: KATHERINE DEXTER McCORMICK, 395, Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
2nd Cor. Sec.: JANE BRIGODE, 252, Avenue Albert, Brussels.
1st Rec. Sec.: CRYSTAL MACMILLAN, M.A., B.Sc., 17, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Scotland.
2nd Rec. Sec.: MARIE STRITT, Reissigerstrasse 17, Dresden, Germany.

Chairman of Committee on Admissions: ANNA WICKSELL, Stocksund, Sweden.

AFFILIATED COUNTRIES:—Austria, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Galicia, Germany, Great Britain, and British Dominions Overseas—viz., Australia, Canada, South Africa, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Features of the Month	65
Austria: Municipal Suffrage	66
France: Woman Suffrage in the Chamber	66
Germany: Socialist and Suffragist Women's United Manifesto	66
.. Congratulations to British Women	67
Great Britain: Victory—Woman Suffrage Passed House of Lords	68
.. History of British Suffrage Movement	69
.. Pictures of Suffrage Leaders ..72, 73, and ..	74
.. Church League	75
Canada: British Columbia—Woman M.P.	75
New Zealand	75
South Africa	75
Hungary: Government Woman Suffrage Bill	76
Netherlands: New Constitution	77
Norway	78
Russia: Women's Manifestoes	78
Sweden: Women on Food Committees	78
Switzerland: Bâle Council Votes for Woman Suffrage ..	79
United States: Victory—Federal Amendment Passed by Lower House	79
Treasurer's Receipts	81
Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson	82
Elsie Inglis	82
Uruguay: National Council of Women	83

600,000, in Finland about 800,000, in Denmark about 800,000.

Thus over twenty-one million now have a political vote, and about ten million have the full Parliamentary vote.

Such an event is of far-reaching importance in the history and development of mankind. Half the human race is in process of emancipation, and the results must be momentous. One of the first results must be the freeing of the energies so long devoted to gaining the Suffrage, for other work. All the knowledge, skill, and enthusiasm hitherto absorbed in that struggle will now be liberated.

American women will soon get equal universal Suffrage—many more millions will enter the ranks of voters.

On January 10, the same day that the British Bill passed the House of Lords, the American House of Representatives passed an amendment to the Federal Constitution giving women the vote as soon as two-thirds of the State Legislatures ratify it.

The Senate has still to endorse this, but it is confidently hoped that all adult women will vote at the next Presidential election. Subsequent reports on the New York victory show that overseas soldiers voted two to one for Woman Suffrage—a fit answer to those militarists who fear feminising influence and who hold that in war time only the mailed fist should have access to the ballot-box.

Russia has seen women voting for the Constituent Assembly on a system of universal suffrage and proportional representation. It would appear, however, that for the present all votes for the Constituent Assembly will be non-effective, as the Assembly is dissolved and its place taken by the Soviets, in which, as far as we can gather, women will not be represented.

One remarkable event, however, in the present régime is the inclusion of a woman, Mme. Bicencko, in the Russian delegation of plenipotentiaries at Brest Litovsk. Surely the women of all countries should have a voice in the peace negotiations. The Illinois women have demanded that an American woman should be included in the representatives of that country, and we may hope that Russia's example in this respect may be followed.

Canadian women have scored another success, having secured the election of Mrs. Ralph Smith as member of the Provincial Legislature of British Columbia, making the third woman M.P. in Canada.

South Africa, too, has progress to report, the Provincial Council of the Transvaal having passed a Woman Suffrage motion by 26 votes to 14.

Features of the Month.

The year 1918 opens with the greatest victories yet won by the cause of Woman Suffrage—victories so momentous that they undoubtedly indicate the speedy triumph of our cause throughout the world. In Great Britain the House of Lords has accepted Woman Suffrage, and the enfranchising Bill has only its final stage to pass before receiving Royal Assent.

For the first time a Great Power gives women the vote for a Sovereign Parliament. Six million women will have the vote. It may safely be predicted that other countries will not lag far behind. As Frau Stritt writes in her generous message to British women, success for them brings success nearer for all.

The numbers of voting women are rapidly increasing by millions at a time. In November last New York enfranchised three million, and there are now eleven million women in the United States who can vote in Presidential elections. In New Zealand about 250,000 women vote, in Australia about 1,000,000, in Canada over 1,000,000, in Norway about

BRITISH FRANCHISE BILL Became Law February 6th.

AUSTRIA.

Municipal Suffrage Reform.

The "Times" of January 22 publishes a Reuter telegram as follows:—

Count Toggenburg, Minister of the Interior, explained the Government's standpoint regarding the reform of municipal suffrage.

He said that the Government recognised that the democratic principles already underlying the Reichsrat Suffrage must now be more widely extended, and as soon as possible Bills would be introduced with that object. These measures would be drawn up to meet the special national conditions in each individual State, and would embody proportional representation.

HE SAID THAT HE WOULD RAISE NO FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTION TO THE REALISATION OF THE WOMEN'S JUST CLAIMS TO PARTICIPATE IN PUBLIC LIFE.

FRANCE.

Woman Suffrage Speech at the Opening of the Chamber.

Our friend M. Jules Siegfried, as the doyen by age of the Chamber, had the honour to make the opening speech when the Chamber met after the New Year recess. He would not let pass the occasion to speak his opinion plainly on the subject of Women Suffrage, and expressed his views as follows:— "Women should be given the vote at the next elections by an act of justice and gratitude, in view of their admirable attitude during the war."

These words were greeted by three rounds of applause from all parts of the Chamber, and these cheering plaudits prove to us the considerable progress made by the cause of Woman Suffrage in the Chamber, as well as in public opinion.

M. Latapie, the doyen by age of the Senate, on a similar occasion in the Senate a few months ago insisted on the necessity of enfranchising women.

One of our great dailies, *Les Débats*, consented the day after M. Siegfried's speech to insert an article by the President of the French Union for Woman Suffrage on the question of Woman Suffrage. It would probably not have consented a few years ago.

Let us note progress in little things while waiting for greater. We give below one example from many of what a woman can do in the municipality, even without the municipal vote.

A Woman's Work in a "Mairie."

A noble woman's figure is revealed by the work accomplished at the mairie of the XIVth Arrondissement of Paris since the outbreak of war, by the wife of the Mayor, and it is an encouraging example of what the administration might become when directed by an eager and sympathetic woman.

Mme. Brumot, called Mme. Mayor by all who approach her, has since August 1, 1914, helped her husband, Mayor of the XIVth Arrondissement, in carrying out his tasks. All the suffering with which she was brought in contact made her feel the necessity for instituting relief of various kinds, which she organised bit by bit with the help of her husband: soup kitchens, clothing depôts, milk distribution at low price, bread, etc. Later on Mme. Brumot founded the first of the fuel depôts which have been carried on in Paris since the winter 1914-1915, distributing fuel to 3,974 families of the arrondissement. Then came the Society of War Orphans, born in March, 1916, not from an abstract idea, but from the necessity proved each day by all the widows who came to ask advice and help in Room 9.

This Room 9, which is the really original foundation of Mme. Brumot, is the sanctuary where all those who are in distress receive help and advice; it is the incarnation of the Communal House, the family council; it is also an information bureau with card index duplicating that of the Public Assistance, for in accordance with the principles of Mme. Brumot, "no one may be maintained in whole or in part by the relief without inquiry." Thus the Institution of the War Orphans, which now sees the necessity for becoming a General Federation, sends on orphans to other societies suitable for one or other, and which accept them all the more readily because they receive all the desirable information.

Other relief agencies are: "Individual Money Relief," which relieves hidden poverty; "Provisions at the True Price," furnishing complete meals at 75 centimes, distributed in a place

provided by a great shop on the Avenue du Maine; "The Gardens Society." All these agencies have been lately federated in a "Union of War Societies of the XIVth Arrondissement," thus giving more cohesion to all branches of the same trunk.

But what touches us more than all the work accomplished is the atmosphere of kindness, unselfishness and feminine ingenuity which Mme. Brumot has brought to her functions of collaborator with her husband as Madame Mayor. She has made a home out of what is generally a lifeless and dry institution, a mairie the communal house where all unfortunates are received, where each one knows that help and comfort will be given, advice which will renew courage, and the support which will follow in life.

By the control exercised over these various relief agencies Mme. Brumot's work is a model of intelligence placed at the service of good. We quote it as a model of what women's influence may be placed at the service of the city when they have the vote.

Women have taken their place more or less officially in many mairies in France since the commencement of war, both in Paris, where they are much appreciated as substitutes for men employés, and at Soissons, where Mme. Macherez acts as Mayor, and in the provincial village where Mlle. Lespinasse has for three years replaced the Mayor, who is mobilised. When official nominations come with the Suffrage, certain habits will have already been formed.

A MEMBER OF THE PARIS COMMITTEE OF THE U.F.S.F.
(Affiliated to the I.W.S.A.)

GERMANY.

We have received the following report from Frau Stritt. Part of it is practically identical with the report taken from the *Frauenfrage*, which appeared in our January issue:—

Suffrage Society's Annual Meeting.

For the first time since the amalgamation of the two Suffrage Societies into one united organisation, the German Reichsverband invited its branches from the various States and localities to a general meeting in Berlin on October 8 and 9. Besides the settlement of various questions affecting the society, the decisive factor was the political situation at home, which called for our attention and urgently needed discussion.

The constitutional reforms which came into view last August in the German Federation, and whose object is a considerable extension of men's franchise, also open out new prospects for Woman Suffrage, in spite of the fact, or perhaps because of the fact, that German women have not received the very slightest consideration from the authorities.

Considering the extraordinary difficulties of travelling, the meeting was fairly well attended from all parts of the Empire, and the delegates took a lively part in the discussions, not only on the problems raised by the various lecturers, but also on the organisation of a propaganda centre and the change in the Society's paper necessitated by the war, and which took up the largest share of time at the gathering. The resolutions adopted testified to the solidarity and sense of responsibility of the State and local branches.

The Secretary's report on the work of the Executive and of the State societies showed satisfactory results considering the sad circumstances of the times. The President was able to report the astonishing and unprecedented progress of the movement abroad, a veritable triumphal procession in the two years. Dr. Margarete Siebert succeeded in giving a deep philosophical historical treatment of the question, "Should a nation or section of a nation think of attaining new rights at a time which demands the strictest fulfilment of duties?" and answered it with a decided affirmative in the case of women who are striving for their rights as citizens.

Dr. Berlin-Neubart's clear exposition of local government representation, and vote gave valuable indications and directions for the most pressing tasks and objects, and for the practical work of the State and local societies. The further objects, and the need, at home and abroad, for women's participation in the work of legislative bodies and the political vote, were explained by the Vice-president, Dr. Fischer-Eckert, in a brilliant lecture in the light of historic development.

So, in spite of the limitation of the programme to a few subjects, there were plenty of inspiring suggestions which the delegates could apply to their work. The evening meeting for members and guests in the Philharmonic was also well attended. "Women's Demands in the New Political Order at

Home" were treated from the standpoint of women, of legislators, and of the community, by Freifrau von Funck, Herr Weinhausen, member of the Reichstag and of the Diet, and Frau Adèle Schreiber. [The resolution passed was given in full in our January issue.]

Propaganda for Women Suffrage is at the present time not limited to the Suffrage societies; the whole organised women's movement stands for women's rights as citizens. At the last meeting of the whole Executive of the German National Council of Women, a memorandum by the President, Fräulein Gertrude Bäumer, was passed almost unanimously (with only the three votes of the representatives of the German Evangelical Women's League against, and four non-voters), and sent to all the German Governments and Parliaments, and distributed in thousands of copies. The effect has so far been only one of demonstration: no positive result has been attained, either by these steps of the League or by the well-reasoned petitions and other demonstrations of the Suffrage organisations in a number of States (Saxony, Baden, the Hansa towns of Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, etc.). As *Jus Suffragii* has already reported, the Reichstag flatly rejected Woman Suffrage after the splendidly reasoned claim by the Social Democrat, Dr. Gradnauer. The Prussian Lower House showed even less understanding for the question on the occasion of the first reading of the new Electoral Reform Bill. Here again only the ten Social Democrats supported it, while the bourgeois parties, partly on principle, partly on opportunist grounds, showed themselves either hostile or did not declare themselves. The Prussian Society for Woman Suffrage is developing as active a propaganda for women's demands as is possible at the present time; but there is no prospect of a favourable development of the proceedings.

The most important event lately in this domain is, that for the first time in the German women's movement Social Democratic women are acting in co-operation with the middle-class Suffragists. At the suggestion of the Social Democratic women, the two Suffrage Societies joined with them in a joint protest against this continued denial of rights.

Manifesto.

In the struggle for the democratisation of political life in Germany it has so far only been a question of the participation of all citizens of the male sex in all legislative and administrative bodies. In spite of the year-long efforts of German women, up to the present day only the smallest concessions have been made them, and no public rights have been allowed.

The co-operation of women in public life grew rapidly from year to year until during the war the number of employed women in Germany at last exceeded that of men. Women's work includes all departments of human activity; without them it would not be possible to maintain the economic and social life of the nation. Women, indeed, acknowledge their duty to the community as workers. But, on the other hand, this duty carries with it the right to co-operate in the reconstruction and development of society. In most civilised countries women have already been granted public rights. Besides New Zealand, the Australian Colonies, and many American States, Finland and Norway had granted them political rights before the war; England, Sweden, and Russia either full or limited communal rights. The war brought also victory in England, Canada, Denmark, and, through the Revolution, in Russia; in Holland, France, and Hungary there is a safe prospect of extended political rights for women.

Up to to-day Germany is behind other lands with regard to women's claims. They are denied the political vote, nearly everywhere the communal vote, and even the vote for commercial tribunals (*prud'hommes*). Women protest against this deprivation of rights, on the strength of their work and on the strength of their dignity as human beings. They demand equal political rights with men, universal, equal, direct and secret franchise for all legislative bodies, full and equal rights in the commune and in the representation of legal interests. The Social Democratic parties supported Woman Suffrage repeatedly in the Reichstag and in the State Diets. Their demands always remained unsuccessful. In spite of all the petitions of the Woman Suffrage Societies and other middle-class organisations, none of the other political parties has so far hastened to support women's claims, either in the Reichstag or in the Diets.

The Prussian Government, in response to popular pressure, has now introduced into the Prussian Diet a motion for equal manhood suffrage, but again there is no word of mention of Woman Suffrage. In view of this continued setting aside of women's claims, Social Democratic women and women of the

"bourgeois" parties (*i.e.*, all parties except the Social Democratic parties) have joined together to fight for their rights. The representatives of the Woman Suffrage movement, who form the Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht and the Frauenstimmrechtsbund, with the women organised in the Social Democratic party, address this manifesto to the public to give emphasis to their demand. The declaration of the women here united goes at the same time to the Reichstag and all State Parliaments.

The first common demonstration will be followed by others until the victory of our cause is assured.

For the German Social Democratic Women,
MARIE JUCHAEZ.
German Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht,
MARIE STRITT.
German Frauenstimmrechtsbund,
MINNA CAUER.

In spite of the fact that we German women have no cause at present to rejoice over the progress of our cause in our own country, we have heard with all the greater joy and with the warmest sympathy of the great and unexpected successes of our sisters in the International Alliance in other countries. Not only as successes for the cause which binds us together beyond all the sufferings and horrors of the world war, but also from a pardonable egoism; because these successes promise us, too, ultimate success. We greeted the victory of English women as especially significant for the women of the whole world, now that they have won it after the struggle of half a century. We rejoiced also with the brave women of Russia, to whom the storms of the world war and of the revolution brought full citizen rights all at once; with the women of the enfranchised provinces of Canada, and of those States of the American Union in which Woman Suffrage has lately been introduced; as well as with all our women comrades who have won a step forward in our common cause during the past year. To them all in this place we offer our heartiest congratulations. As the dawn of a new and brighter day, hope arises for us women and for tortured humanity out of the night of unspeakable, immeasurable woe of the last four years. When responsibility for the welfare of the people and humanity is in our hands, in the hands of the mothers, there can never be a return of the horrors we have had to experience. May this hope and this faith, that can remove mountains, remain living in us all in the new year.

MARIE STRITT,
Deutscher Reichsverband für Frauenstimmrecht
(Affiliated to the I.W.S.A.)

Prussian Electoral Reform.

During the debates in the Diet a deputation of Women Suffragists, consisting of representatives of the big Suffrage Societies and of the Majority and Minority Socialist women, interviewed party leaders, who had been previously requested by letter to receive them. The first to consent was the Conservative, Excellency von Kries, who informed the deputation that he was opposed to Woman Suffrage, as he and his party did not want their most sacred possession, woman, to be dragged in the mud. The Progressive People's party's position was less definite: its representatives declared that in supporting the present Prussian reform they wished to avoid anything that might jeopardise it. Women's rights must be extended, but the party was not united on the subject. The Social Democrats give now, as always, unconditional support to women's claims. The other parties have not yet received deputations.

Press and Woman Suffrage.

Suffragists are disappointed at the failure of the Press to support their claims, or even to publish their manifesto. It was sent to 400 papers, but only published in a few Liberal organs.

Women's Communal Work in the War.

Anna Blos has published a brochure on this subject. She writes: "At the outbreak of war about 12,000 women were working in various branches of local administration. In 79 towns with over 5,000 inhabitants women sat on 120 committees. But as Germany has 1,300 towns with over 5,000 inhabitants, there were 1,221 towns who refused women any share in administration. Only in 30 out of 48 big towns did women take part in the commune, and in general they were only on one committee."

The author gives a full and clear account of the work awaiting women in poor relief, housing, provisioning, care of mothers and infants, guardianship, police, and education.

VICTORY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PASSES HOUSE OF LORDS.

LAUS ET JUBILATIO.

By MRS. MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT, LL.D.

The week which ended on Tuesday, January 15, was packed with victories for Women's Suffrage. We were not ashamed when we met with the enemy in the gate. We met him again and again, and came out triumphant.

Ever since our series of victorious divisions in the House of Commons in May and June, we have sung *Laus et Jubilatio*; but the Anti-Suffragists were still prowling around and boasting that though they had failed to defeat us in the Representative House, the result in the House of Lords would be very different. Perhaps they boasted more than was quite prudent. The House of Lords is very tenacious of its absolute independence, and it may be that certain of its Anti-Suffrage leaders took offence at the tone of the Anti-Suffragists outside the House, who seemed to assume that they virtually had control of the voting in the Gilded Chamber. However that may be, it is certain that those who knew the House of Lords from the inside and sought to influence its vote, were very careful again and again to emphasise the fact that the Peers were free to do exactly as they chose with the women's clauses of the Representation of the People Bill. "You have the right and you have the power," they said in effect, "to cut women's franchise out of this Bill, but if you do this you kill the Bill, throw down a direct challenge to the House of Commons, and embark upon a conflict in which your own House is bound to be worsted."

This advice came not only from Lord Selborne, our trusted Suffrage leader in the Lords, but also from Lord Curzon, President of the Anti-Suffrage League, Leader of the House, and a member of the Inner Cabinet.

With the sense of responsibility thus appealed to and thoroughly awakened, the Peers first of all (1) on Tuesday, January 8, rejected without a division Lord Weardale's motion to instruct the Committee to omit from the Bill everything which had not been unanimously agreed upon by the Speaker's conference. (2) They next rejected by 134 to 71 Lord Loreburn's motion to omit the Women's Suffrage clauses. (3) They then agreed to an extension of the Local Government Register, which multiplied by six the number of women voters; and (4) extended the Parliamentary vote to women who had fulfilled the conditions required at Oxford and Cambridge for presenting themselves for examination which in the case of men would have entitled them to receive degrees. Numbers 1, 3, and 4 were agreed to without a division, and No. 4 went beyond what had been done for women in the House of Commons.

Great was the joy of the Suffragists, and great the anger and dismay of the Anti-Suffragists, who vented their rage and spleen especially against Lord Curzon in the columns of the *Morning Post* of January 15 to 21. The Anti-Suffragists had, however, one more shot in their locker. They sought to destroy, or at any rate to delay, the enfranchisement of women by subjecting it, before it came into operation, to a twofold referendum—first, to all the women who would be enfranchised by the Bill; and secondly, to all the men. This extraordinary proposal would have created the necessity of having, before a new Parliament could be assembled, not one general election, but three. All the turmoil, disturbance of business, waste of money, absorption of labour, and other disadvantages of a general election, deeply undesirable as these always are, would be multiplied by three, and at a time when, owing to the exigencies of the war, every ounce of man-power and women's power is required for the services. An interesting debate was raised, and the foregoing and other points against the proposal were brought forward. One noble lord pointed out that what was proposed as far as women were concerned could not properly be called a referendum, the principle of which is, when representative institutions were held to work badly, to refer back to the electors a decision upon one particular point. It was also shown that where the referendum exists it is generally accompanied by the parallel institutions of the Recall and the Initiative. Another peer called attention to the inconsistency of Anti-Suffragists who were supporting the referendum, because they base their case against Women's Suffrage on an allegation that women are necessarily and permanently un-

fitted to pronounce a judgment on questions of first-class political importance; but a referendum to women would require them to pronounce such a judgment. Lord Denman, who had recently been Governor of Australia, bore testimony to the good results of Women's Suffrage there, saying he had never heard it suggested, when subjects such as compulsory military service or the formation of an Australian Fleet unit had been before the country, that the vote of women had been given unwisely or indiscreetly. But he added that he had not been favourably impressed by the working of the referendum in that country. He said that a referendum was virtually a general election in miniature, and he believed that it would tend to exalt the power of the wirepuller, who would be enthroned in a position of power which he has never held, and Lord Denham hoped never would hold, in this country.

In the course of the debate the Anti-Suffragists attempted to save their ship by jettisoning the larger half of their proposal—the referendum to men; but this sacrifice was unavailing, and their amendment was defeated by 90 votes to 62.

Congratulatory letters and cables from all parts of the world are pouring in upon us. We feel that this victory is not only for ourselves, but that it will favourably affect the position of the question in all other countries. It was a continual and deeply felt reproach that this country, the Mother of Parliaments, hung back from the application of the principle of free representative institutions to her daughters.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION: WOMAN SUFFRAGE PASSED BY HOUSE OF LORDS.

To triumph!

At last Women's Suffrage has been accepted by the House of Lords as an integral part of the Representation of the People Bill, and if the Bill becomes law, as there seems every likelihood of its doing, Women's Suffrage will go through and become law along with it.

The final battles of Women's Suffrage in the Upper Chamber were extraordinarily interesting. The Suffrage Clause was debated in detail for two days in the fullest House since the war, and until almost the close of the debate no one could surmise how a division would go. All the old arguments for and against the enfranchisement of women were duly produced by both sides. But the crux of the discussion was undoubtedly the unanswerable argument that the rejection of the Women's Clause was virtually the rejection of the whole Bill, and must inevitably result in a deadlock between the two Houses. This was a responsibility which the Upper House did not feel inclined to undertake, particularly at a moment when its own position was somewhat precarious, and in a case where the solid support of the nation was behind the determination of the House of Commons.

Lord Selborne was a staunch champion of Women's Suffrage in the House of Lords, but curiously enough the balance was finally inclined in favour of women's enfranchisement by one of its bitterest enemies, the President of the Anti-Suffrage League, Lord Curzon. After a sweeping denunciation of Women's Suffrage as catastrophic, revolutionary, and dangerous to the State, he declared himself yet unable to vote against it because of the political difficulties which would result, and he advised those peers who opposed Women's Suffrage in their hearts to follow his example and abstain from voting. The division was taken immediately after his speech, and in the result Women's Suffrage was carried by the substantial majority of 134 to 71, or almost two to one.

There remained on the Order Paper amendments proposing to submit women's enfranchisement to several forms of referendum, suggestions quite unconstitutional in this country, where the use of the referendum is altogether without precedent. These were all withdrawn except that of Lord Halifax, which proposed a referendum to women only. The amendment was defeated by 90 to 62 votes, and Women's Suffrage was, so to speak, over its last fence!

The Representation of the People Bill will not become law until it has been discussed on "Report Stage," and read a third time in the House of Lords, and until any amendments made

in the Upper House have been accepted in the Lower. As far as one can predict, however, no further controversial point seems likely to be raised. It is, therefore, merely a matter of time before Women's Suffrage is in actual force in Great Britain.

THE WOMEN WHO WILL VOTE.

Nothing is more needed than a plain statement of the practical results of the Representation of the People Bill as far as they will affect women. Nothing is more difficult to produce. The following can hardly be called a plain statement, but it is the plainest statement possible. The wording and the intricacies of the Representation of the People Bill forbid clarity of thought or speech in connection with the women enfranchised under its provisos, and as yet one is not even sure that the Representation of the People Bill on paper will be recognisable in the Representation of the People Bill in practice.

The Bill will probably enfranchise about six million women. Roughly speaking, married women over thirty and unmarried women and widows over thirty who are residing in premises taken by themselves will be enfranchised, but this will be found to be a very rough test when the business of registration actually begins. For any attempt at detailed classification the women to be enfranchised fall into three classes:—

(1) All women will receive Parliamentary franchise who are over thirty years of age and married to local government electors, and they will form by far the largest class of voting women, numbering roughly five million.

(2) All women will receive the Parliamentary franchise who are over thirty and themselves on the local government register.

(3) All women will receive the Parliamentary franchise for a university constituency who are over thirty years of age and have taken a university degree.

It is at once apparent that the important question in connection with the women's vote is what are the necessary qualifications for the local franchise.

The local government vote for women, as for men, is based on occupation, and, in addition, women over thirty married to local government electors are eligible for the local government vote. Occupation of land or premises of any kind (other than furnished lodgings), and of any value, will give a woman the local government vote, and, *ipso facto*, if she be over thirty years of age, the Parliamentary vote. In this way her vote differs from the man's Parliamentary vote, which is given on one of two qualifications: residence in premises of any value, or occupation of business premises of an annual value of £10. It is a moot point whether or not the women will have an advantage here. For example, whether by "occupying" a 2s. 6d. allotment a woman will have a vote, whereas, since he cannot "reside" on his allotment, a man must buy one of an annual value of £10 in order to secure his vote by treating the allotment as "business premises"!

Two provisions of the Bill leave the woman voter at a marked disadvantage. One is the permission accorded to the elector to vote for two, and not more than two, constituencies at a general election, on two distinct qualifications. Under this rule, if a man "reside" in Surrey and has "business premises" in Middlesex he may vote for both county members on different qualifications. The woman in an identical position may not. She "occupies" both her Surrey residence and her Middlesex business premises. She has but one qualification, and consequently but one vote. The other unequal proviso is that which limits "joint occupation" to two persons. Three merry bachelors sharing a house have each a Parliamentary vote as residents. But three bachelor girls in the same position must toss for "odd-man out." Only two of the three can vote as joint occupants.

Doubtless many test cases could be produced which would defy interpretation, and doubtless much interpretation will be necessary before the working of the Representation of the People Bill will become simple. For any confusion caused by this explanation in the mind of the reader we apologise. But, as we said at the beginning, this is not a plain statement.

THE WAY OUT OF THE ALLEY.

The British Ministry of Food is at the moment embarking on an experiment which deserves the attention and support of all women interested in education. In carrying out its schemes for food registration it will be obliged to employ from 600 to 900 girls between the ages of 16 and 18. The Ministry recognises the responsibility it incurs in enlisting these girls in a "blind-alley" trade. It has, therefore, drawn up a scheme of education under which so many hours of the working week will be spent by these girls in attending classes on subjects

which they themselves may select as likely to fit them for profitable future occupation. They have a choice of book-keeping and general business training; arithmetic and accounts; dressmaking, millinery, cooking, and nursing; shorthand and typing; a general educational course in English; or a course in secretarial training and languages. The experiment has not yet been started. We await its results with the greatest interest.

THE NEW SERVICE.

There has been launched this month a companion service to the British Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, or "the Waacs." It is the Women's Royal Naval Service, and has been already nicknamed "the Wrens." From ten to twelve thousand women are wanted for this new service, and they are to be employed on all kinds of shore-work, in connection with the Navy, where they can relieve men for active service. Among other things they will be employed as chaffeurs, wireless operators, aeroplane repairers, cooks and waitresses. Experienced women have already been appointed, and, needless to say, a special uniform has been designed for "the Wrens."

RAY STRACHEY,

Parliamentary Secretary, N.U.W.S.S. (affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

THE PROGRESS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE REFORM BILL OF 1832 TO VICTORY IN 1918.

The actual movement for Women's Suffrage may be said to date from their exclusion from the Reform Bill of 1832, though it was some years before public activities were developed.

The first leaflet directly claiming the vote for women was issued in 1847 by Anne Knight, a Quaker lady. In 1848 Disraeli, in a speech in the House of Commons, said: "In a country governed by a woman . . . I do not see, where she has so much to do with the State and Church, on what reasons she has not a right to vote." Women were already taking an active part in politics, especially in humanitarian movements such as Free Trade and Anti-Slavery. Cobden, at a great meeting in 1845, said he wished women could vote. (His daughters have been and are staunch Suffragists.) In 1851 an essay on the Enfranchisement of Women by Mrs. John Stuart Mill appeared in the *Westminster Review*.

In the same year Anne Knight formed the Sheffield Female Political Association, which held a public meeting claiming the franchise, and agreed to a petition to the House of Lords, which was presented by Lord Carlisle in 1851.

In 1858 the *Englishwoman's Journal* was started by Barbara Leigh Smith, later Mme. Bodichon. The movement entered on its Parliamentary career with the election of John Stuart Mill as M.P. for Westminster in 1865. In his writings he had argued powerfully for women's enfranchisement, and he now put it forward as his policy in his election address, the first time that Woman Suffrage had been thus included. True to his word, he brought forward an amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867 to omit the word "man" and insert the word "person" in the enfranchising clause, and supported it with a speech that deeply impressed the House, although his amendment was lost by 73 votes to 196.

Before the introduction of the Bill a women's petition was presented, signed by 1,499 women, including many whose names are well known as writers, social workers, educationists, and in the professions—*e.g.*, Frances P. Cobbe, Harriet Martineau, Mary Somerville, Josephine Butler, Mrs. Haslam, Florence Nightingale.

Mill had consented to present a petition if 100 names could be got; in a fortnight 1,499 women signed it. On June 7, 1866, Miss Elizabeth Garrett (later Dr. Garrett Anderson) and Miss Emily Davies (one of the founders of Girton College) drove with the petition to the House of Commons, and, feeling embarrassed what to do with it, hid it under an old apple-woman's stall! They then inquired for Mr. Mill, and Mr. Henry Fawcett went in search of him. Mill was greatly pleased with the signatures obtained, and presented the petition in support of his amendment. Thus began the Parliamentary campaign, which lasted sixty years. Mrs. Haslam and Miss Emily Davies are happily still with us to share in the triumph of the cause which they were amongst the first to launch. Dr. Garrett Anderson died on the eve of victory. The movement took a new form from 1867. So far it had been supported by isolated individuals. The first societies were now formed, in Manchester with Lydia Becker as secretary, and in London and Edinburgh, and shortly afterwards also in Bristol and Birmingham. Mrs. Fawcett was president of the London

Society, and in 1868 they agreed to co-operate in their political work, and later united to form the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, which continued to grow, until it has over 500 branches. In this year the first Suffrage meeting with women speakers was held, at which Lydia Becker moved a resolution claiming the vote for women "on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men"—the formula which has always been adhered to. In those early days it was thought that the struggle would be short, that women had only to make their claims known to have them acknowledged. Lydia Becker thought women would vote at the next election, but she died in 1890, and the struggle was still far from won. The next move was the attempt to prove that the word "man" in the English and Scotch Acts of 1867 and 1868 included women, and to claim that women already had the right. Vigorous propaganda was carried on, and many women registered. The Courts, however, decided against them in both cases, and ruled that although the word "man" must be held to include women (when the observance of laws, taxation, and duties are concerned), "this did not apply to the privileges granted by the State." It is interesting to note that the barrister in the English case was the husband of Mrs. Pankhurst, who later became leader of the militant section.

The campaign and the publicity that followed no doubt helped in the gaining of the municipal vote, which was granted to English women in 1869. At the first School Board elections in 1870, Miss Elizabeth Garrett, M.D., and Miss Emily Davies were elected in London, Miss Garrett by 47,000 votes; Miss Becker in Manchester, which continued to elect her for twenty years; Miss Flora Stevenson in Edinburgh, which also re-elected her for thirty-three years; and in every department of public life the most active social workers were ardent Suffragists. In 1870 Mr. Jacob Bright introduced the first Women's Suffrage Bill, whose second reading was carried by 124 to 91, but whose further progress was opposed by the Government.

Mrs. Fawcett's first Suffrage speech was made at a public meeting in 1869, when other speakers were: Professor Fawcett, John Stuart Mill, Sir Charles Dilke, and Charles Kingsley.

In 1873 a memorial was sent to Disraeli, signed by 11,000 women, and in acknowledging it he wrote that he hoped to see the anomaly abolished by which women householders were excluded from the franchise. Bills and resolutions were introduced in successive years, and the subject kept before Parliament. Amongst early Parliamentary supporters was Mr. Leonard Courtney, now Lord Courtney. Meanwhile the movement in the country was spreading, meetings and demonstrations were held in large towns, and memorials sent to the Government.

A great landmark in the history of the movement was the Reform Bill of 1884, which was the occasion of a great betrayal of the women and failure to keep their pledges of over 100 declared "friends." The Bill extended the franchise to about two million additional men voters, including agricultural labourers, and making some seven million in all. On June 12, 1884, Mr. Woodall moved an amendment for including women. This was opposed by Mr. Gladstone for the Government, and he declared that "the vessel carried as big a cargo as it could safely carry," and urged that the amendment should be dropped, and consequently the women were thrown overboard! Mr. Gladstone had previously in vague terms approved the general principle of Woman Suffrage, but in his long career did nothing to advance it practically, and in 1884 was responsible for the exclusion of women from the Reform Bill, and their consequent exclusion from citizenship for a generation. The politicians who denied women responsibility and freedom as citizens were only too anxious to use their energy and intelligence to further their own political ends, and after the Reform Bill of 1884 made paid canvassing illegal, the most arduous work of electioneering has been done by members of women's party political associations, notably the Primrose League (Conservative) and the Women's Liberal Federation. Mr. Asquith, in his most unregenerate "Anti" days, urged the party agents to "use every available woman." Englishwomen had always taken a keen interest in politics and worked actively for political causes; they now acquired a great deal of experience of the workings of the party political machines, and of the strategy and tactics of electioneering. All this helped to equip them for their own fight, besides showing up the hypocrisy of those who used their services and yet wished to "keep them out of politics." The influence of women organised in political parties has grown steadily, and they have been able to exert useful pressure on Parliamentary candidates and members.

Since 1890 the Women's Liberal Federation has supported Woman Suffrage, and has counted for much.

In 1892 Sir Albert Rollit introduced a Woman Suffrage Bill to enfranchise those women who already had the municipal vote, and after great efforts had been made to defeat it, it was rejected by a majority of only 23—the last time a Woman Suffrage Bill was defeated on a straight issue in the House of Commons. Since 1869 Bills and resolutions have been constantly before the House of Commons. Debates on the question took place in 1870, 1871, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1892, 1897, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913. In those years when no debate took place it was because the efforts of Suffrage supporters in Parliament to secure a date for discussion were thwarted, generally by the Government. Altogether, besides resolutions, fifteen Woman Suffrage Bills have been introduced in the House of Commons, and seven passed their second reading—viz., in the years 1870, 1886, 1897, 1908, 1909, 1910, and 1911.

There has been a majority in the House of Commons of members who have declared themselves in favour of Woman Suffrage since 1886, with the exception of 1892. Petitions to Parliament in favour of Woman Suffrage were presented every year from 1890 to 1912; in some years the number of petitions ran into hundreds, and the signatures ran to hundreds of thousands. A great petition, with 267,596 signatures, including those of numbers of women engaged in every department of public usefulness, was organised in 1896.

Meanwhile Woman Suffrage was adopted in 1893 in New Zealand, and in 1894 in South Australia, the other Australian Colonies following quickly, so that when the Commonwealth of Australia was formed in 1902, women at once received the Federal vote, and both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament passed a resolution in 1910 testifying to its "most beneficial results."

In 1897 Mr. Faithfull Begg's Bill for the enfranchisement of women householders passed its second reading by a majority of 71, and after this date no majority could be found against the principle of Woman Suffrage. It was side-tracked again and again, every Parliamentary trick being used to avoid debates and divisions on the subject. Either the day fixed for the debate was taken by the Government, or the Bill was "talked out," or some previous subject discussed at such length (on one occasion it was a Bill dealing with "verminous persons") that no time was left for Suffrage.

In 1902 the Women's Social and Political Union was founded by Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel. Their adoption of new methods, commonly called militant, was the outcome of careful consideration of the fact that many years of peaceful agitation had not yet secured success, and that the trickiness and insincerity of politicians, who would support nothing but their party programmes, had hitherto succeeded in burking an issue which cut across all parties, and which was mainly supported by women, whose very votelessness made them negligible quantities.

The first protest made by the new society was under the following circumstances: In 1905 Mr. Bamford Slack, in introducing a Woman Suffrage Bill, said he was appalled at the extraordinary abuse of the forms of the House which had been used to avoid discussion, and he begged members to see that a great wrong was redressed. The Bill was the second order of the day, and the discussion on a trivial matter (the lights to be borne by carts) was wilfully spun out so as to leave no time for the Suffrage debate, which was talked out. These had been the usual tactics for years. On this occasion Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Wolstenholm-Ebury held a protest meeting outside the House, until removed by the police. This marked the beginning of the militant movement, which went on until the outbreak of the European war. At first only similar breaches of police regulations to that described above took place, and the militants courted arrest and were imprisoned time after time. Subsequent developments are too well known to need repetition here; from technical breaches of the law, the "Suffragettes" proceeded to attacks on property, breaking of windows, burning of public buildings, and personal assaults on members of Parliament. The effect on the public was divided and difficult to estimate; attention was drawn to the movement, but deep disapproval and antagonism were also aroused. It seems, however, ridiculous for those who believe in war as a means of settling political differences to blame the "militants," who were applying militaristic methods of violence to their own ends. If fighting can be justified at all, it can be justified in the attempt to win

freedom; moreover, women shed no blood and inflicted no serious injury, though many of them voluntarily sacrificed their own health and life in prison.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies meanwhile continued its work of propaganda and political organisation, and "strongly condemned the use of violence in political propaganda."

The election policy of the two sections of the movement was different. The militants opposed the Government, as they were in power and refusing them the vote. This led them to shout down the most devoted and valuable supporters of the cause, and naturally caused intense exasperation. The National Union policy was to support Suffragists, whatever camp they belonged to; this was somewhat modified later on by the policy of giving special support to Labour, as being the one party which had Woman Suffrage on its platform. The Parliament of 1906 was overwhelmingly Liberal, and had more than 400 members pledged to Woman Suffrage. Yet Mr. Stanger's Woman Suffrage Bill in 1907 was "talked out." It was reintroduced in 1908, and the second reading carried by 273 to 94. But, as usual, failing Government support, it was not proceeded with. The same year the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, informed a Suffrage deputation of Liberal M.P.'s that the Government intended to introduce an Electoral Reform Bill, and that a Woman Suffrage amendment on democratic lines would not be opposed by the Government; he renewed his promise in December, 1909, on the eve of the General Election of January, 1910, at which the subject of Woman Suffrage was prominently before the electors, and 245 Parliamentary candidates mentioned it in their election addresses. At these elections voters were invited to sign a petition in favour of Woman Suffrage, and 280,000 signatures were obtained. A Committee of the House of Commons was then formed to promote the passage of a measure of Woman Suffrage that would win the support of members of all parties. The chairman, Lord Lytton, and the hon. secretary, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, were staunch friends of the cause. The Bill that resulted was known as the Conciliation Bill, and represented a compromise between the different parties, and was loyally accepted by them all. It would have enfranchised women householders, approximately 1,000,000 women, and of these it was calculated that the great majority would be working-class women. Although limited in scope it was welcomed and supported by the Suffrage Societies, and introduced by a Labour member, Mr. Shackleton. The second reading was passed by a majority of 110, and then hung up, but reintroduced in the session of 1911 after the interval had been used for an intensive campaign. Thousands of great meetings were held and petitions signed. All the Suffrage Societies supported it, and militancy was suspended. The second reading was passed with an increased majority of 167, and Mr. Asquith assured Lord Lytton that in 1912 the Government would give facilities for its passage into law.

It was then, when Suffrage efforts were at their maximum and Suffrage hopes at their highest, that Mr. Asquith announced a forthcoming Electoral Reform Bill to give *more votes to men!* and, in his words, to all "citizens of full age and competent understanding," excluding, of course, all women. It is a remarkable instance of the barrier separating a so-called "democratic" politician from half the nation that the Prime Minister failed to realise the outrage that this announcement was to women, who after half a century of unequalled political effort saw their claims brushed aside, and the vote offered to men who had been making no claims or efforts to get it.

The militants resumed their methods of violence; the older party set to work to meet the new situation with political methods and to secure women's inclusion in the coming Reform Bill. Mr. Asquith agreed that if the House of Commons agreed to an amendment to include women, he would accept it, and would consider it an integral part of the Bill.

The Conciliation Bill was reintroduced in March, 1912, but partly on account of militancy, partly in view of the promised Reform Bill, it was this time rejected by 14 votes.

The Reform Bill was introduced in 1912, and Suffragists' hopes ran high in view of the promises to support their amendment. All hopes were, however, crushed by the ruling of the Speaker that the introduction of Woman Suffrage would so alter the scope of the measure as to make it a new Bill, and could not be admitted. In view of the formal, public, and reiterated pledges given to women, it was impossible for the Bill to proceed without them, and it was dropped. Thus a stage was reached at which no further extension of the fran-

chise could be made to men unless women were included. It was also clear that no Bill had a chance of passing unless it were a Government measure. Suffragists therefore did not work for the Dickinson Bill in 1913, which was defeated by 47 votes. Subsequent history is fresh in the public mind. The present Government, obliged to alter the existing qualification for men voters so as to allow soldiers, sailors, and munition workers to vote, was faced with the army of women war workers, equally indispensable for the carrying on of the war. The steady campaign of education had at last borne fruit in a general conversion of public opinion to the justice of women's claims, as was clearly evidenced by the Press, and by resolutions and manifestoes from the chief public bodies and leading individuals in the country. The opposition had shrunk to a small and unimportant, unrepresentative clique, whose internal bickerings have added a note of farce to their failure to impress public opinion.

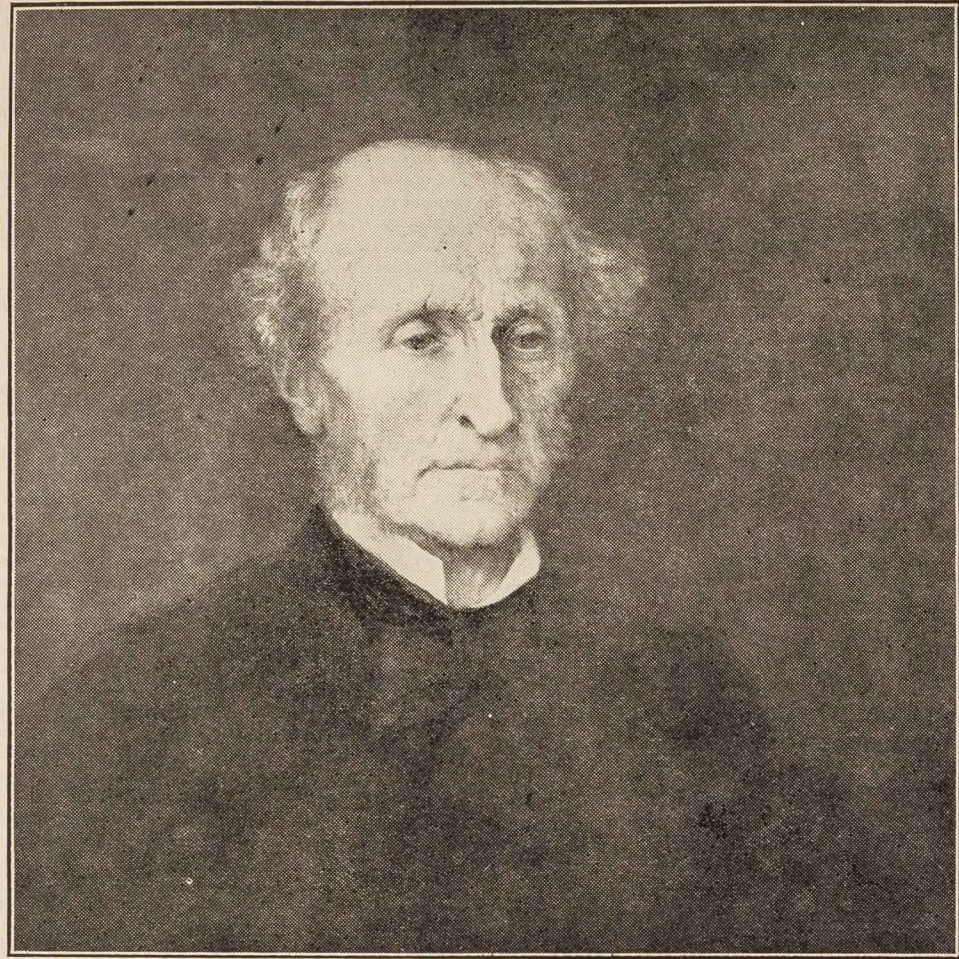
A conference of members of Parliament of all parties was convened to consider the subject of electoral reform. The members were chosen by the Speaker, who presided, and who nominated an equal number of Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists. The conference reported in February, 1917, and included in its recommendations the enfranchisement of women householders (local government voters) and the wives of men who had the local government vote, the women to be above an age limit, the ages suggested being 30 or 35. These recommendations were embodied in a Bill, which, after passing the House of Commons (the women's clauses being passed by overwhelming majorities), has now passed the House of Lords.

Victory has come quietly; the bitterness of justifiable resentment at dilatory and insincere tactics on the one side, and anger at militant violence on the other side, have been softened by the common sorrows and efforts of the nation during 3½ years of war. The predominating feelings now are those of gratitude to the splendid women who, beginning sixty years ago, have had the courage, the idealism, and the statesmanship to lead this great movement to victory. All honour to the pioneers, who faced every kind of ridicule, contempt, neglect, and hostility, strong in their faith in woman's destiny as a human being with equal rights with man, and devoted their lives to the realisation of this great cause, a part of the greatest human cause—that of liberty. Their efforts have already during all these years done an immeasurable amount to improve women's status, to give them education, to open careers to them, to bring them into civic life, and thus to extend their opportunities for a happy and useful life. The present generation owes them infinite gratitude; without their efforts girls would still have to be content, like Charlotte Brontë's Shirley, to limit their activities to making "a shirt—for a man to wear, and a pie—for a man to eat." With the winning of the political vote a fresh era of useful activity opens to the present and coming generations. The world has to be rebuilt, and rebuilt better. Women will share in the task. Women in all countries will benefit from the arduous struggle and final victory of Englishwomen. Great Britain is the first Great Power to enfranchise its women; its six million women voters are the largest number of women so far enfranchised at once. This cannot fail to react on the women—and the politicians—in other countries. Because British women have toiled and suffered and sacrificed themselves, other women will be spared the experiences they have voluntarily undergone. A generation hence it will probably be considered extraordinary and prehistoric that men and Governments, and even some women, were found to deny and resist the elementary human claim of women to a share in self-government.

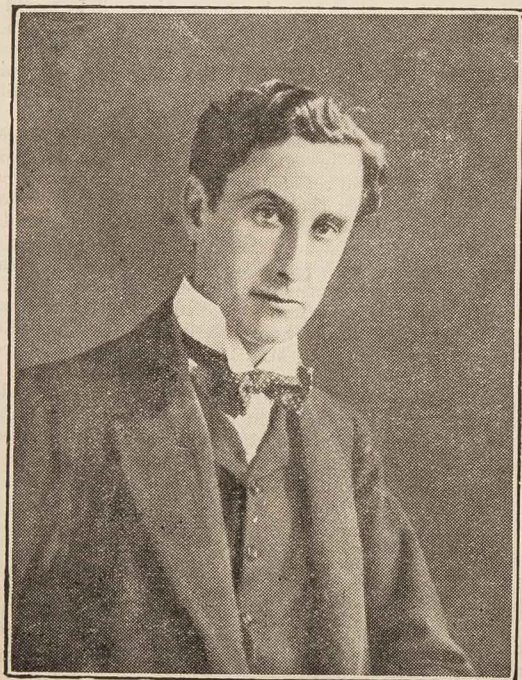
Many of the early leaders have died before the realisation of their hopes; some are happily still with us—Miss Emily Davies, Mrs. Haslam, and Mrs. Despard,—and it is above all a matter of intense rejoicing to British Suffragists that Mrs. Fawcett, who began her Suffrage work as a young bride in 1868, and has led the movement with unflinching courage, faith, and statesmanship to its final triumph, should be now receiving the thanks of women throughout the British Empire, and congratulations from women in the whole world.

Jus Suffragii.

Owing to the splendid efforts of Miss Schlingheyde and others at the National American Women Suffrage Convention at Washington in December, over a hundred new annual subscribers were secured for the *International Woman Suffrage News*. A telling leaflet was issued, and a large number of the November issue was sold and new subscriptions booked.



JOHN STUART MILL.
Author of "The Subjection of Women." Introducer of the first Woman's Suffrage Bill in the House of Commons, 1865.



THE EARL OF LYTTON.
Chairman of the Conciliation Committee.



MRS. PRISCILLA BRIGHT MACLAREN
Promoted the Married Women's Property Act.
Founded the first National Suffrage Society in Edinburgh.



PROF. HENRY FAWCETT AND MRS. FAWCETT. (From Ford Maddox Brown's Picture in the National Portrait Gallery)



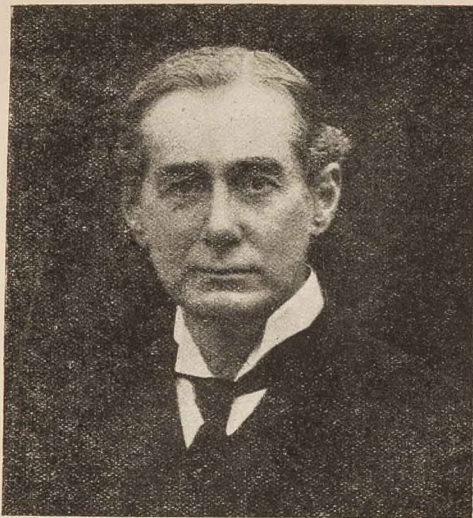
LYDIA BECKER,
Secretary of the Manchester Woman Suffrage Society, 1867.



MRS. CHARLOTTE DESPARD,
President of the Women's Freedom League.



JOSEPHINE BUTLER.
Secured the repeal of the C.D. Acts.
Signed the first Petition for Woman Suffrage.



WALTER MACLAREN, M.P.
Lifelong supporter of Woman Suffrage.
Member of Executive of N.U.W.S.S.
Son of Priscilla Bright Maclaren.



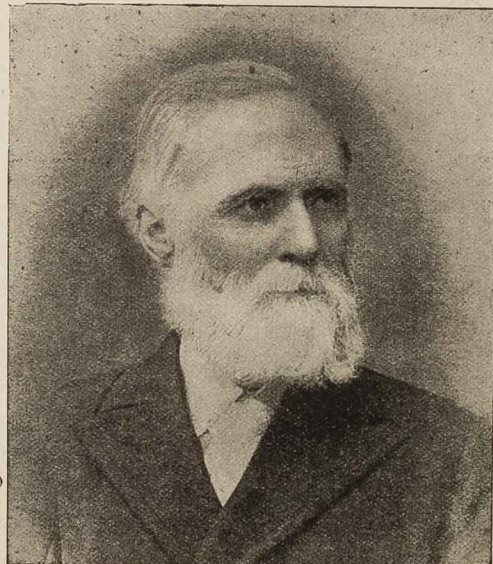
MISS EMILY DAVIES, LL.D.,
One of the Founders of Girton College.
Elected to the first School Board.
Presented the first Woman Suffrage Petition to the
House of Commons, with Miss Garrett.



MRS. EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.
A "Militant" Leader.
Founder and Editor, with her husband, of *Votes for Women*.



DR. ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON,
First Woman Doctor, First Woman Mayor.
Presented first Woman Suffrage Petition, with Miss Davies.



JACOB BRIGHT, M.P.
Introduced Woman Suffrage Bill, 1870.
Brother of Priscilla Bright Maclaren.

Church League for Woman Suffrage.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage is making arrangements for a day of thanksgiving and dedication to be held on Saturday, after the Reform Bill receives the Royal Assent. In the afternoon there will be a special thanksgiving service, in which Suffrage societies are being invited to take part. The preacher will be that tried friend of the women's movement, the Bishop of Lincoln. It is greatly hoped that all Suffragists who can possibly do so will attend to take part in this corporate act of thanksgiving and rejoicing.

When the Reform Bill came before the House of Lords, the C.L.W.S. several times approached the Bishops urging them to support the Women's Suffrage Clause, and the League greatly rejoices that the two Archbishops and twelve of the Bishops recorded their votes against Lord Loreburn's amendment.

CANADA.

A British Columbia correspondent writes from Vancouver: "I went with some of the heads of women's organisations on a deputation to the City Council ten days ago; we were all very well received. It was to ask them to consider giving pensions to mothers. I think this will be done before very long: the mayor is most anxious for women's help in civic matters as well as in other questions of the day. There is no doubt that women are much more looked up to since they have the franchise.

Of course, the women are very angry about Sir Robert Borden letting them down about voting in the last election. He just appealed to the sentiment of the soldiers' relations, and certainly had the wisdom of the serpent in thus securing a huge majority.

Democracy is getting a force in this country and means to have a clean Government. Mrs. Ralph Smith is putting up for election, and I should think would have a very good chance. Although a Liberal, she is standing as an Independent member.

The voting here was absolutely wonderful; no extra people seemed about the streets, and there was, as far as one could see, not a rowdy person about. Every block had a polling station handy for all voters, and there was not the least confusion. I went with a young cousin who had the right to vote, and saw how easily everything was done. The women were splendid, and acted as scrutineers in many of the polling stations, remaining at their posts from early morning till all was over.

The women here in Vancouver entitled to vote turn up wonderfully, and no one can now say that they neglect their privilege.

Since prohibition came in, the improvement in the streets and elsewhere is extraordinary: crime is very much diminished, and at least one of the jails was shut up some time ago.

Another great improvement entirely owing to the women is the new matron of the Girls' Detention Home; a man was at the head before. The management has been immensely improved."

A Third Woman M.P.

British Columbia, like Alberta, is now to have a woman M.P. Mrs. Ralph Smith has been elected for Vancouver.

Notes from New Zealand.

The success of Canterbury's baby week last winter, by which £10,000 was raised to build an up-to-date babies' hospital near Christchurch, was the prelude to a general baby week in October. The movement has the hearty support of Parliament and people, being subsidised by the State, and the Plunket nurses are bringing ever-increasing light and help to mothers all over the country, so we feel we can lend Dr. and Mrs. Truby King to Britain next year with confidence that all will go well till they return.

As the country becomes more depleted of men—first ballot of the married men comprising the Second Division is taken to-day—more and more work is being undertaken by women to the great satisfaction of the community. In a quiet, practical way country girls are doing much of the work once done by brothers and fathers, while gardening is being well taken up in the larger towns, and the places opened to women in banks, offices, and State Departments are being held with great and increasing credit. The immense organisation of Red Cross and patriotic work draws in every section of women more or less.

But while war activities thus predominate, progress is reported on other lines, too. 1917 has seen the formation of a National Council of Women, each of the larger centres appointing a local council of representatives of societies and women who have achieved distinction in various fields. These councils are already making their voice heard, although the formal inauguration of the national body will not take place till the early autumn of 1918. There is great promise in this co-ordination of women's forces.

Though war necessities compel strict economy in many houses, there is little or no unemployment, and no scarcity of food or comfort. There was never, perhaps, a brisker general circulation of money, and, despite the heavy vital drain of this year, there is surprisingly little visible difference in the national life.

The outstanding measures passed during the session just concluded were the Six o'Clock Closing Bill and the Social Hygiene (or Venereal Diseases) Bill. The long delay in giving effect to the will of the people as to the sale of liquor had stirred up every reputable section of the community, and, needless to say, the women took a noble part in the agitation, which finally compelled the passing of the measure by a large majority. The Bill comes into force on December 1, and continues for six months after the war. The mass of opinion in favour of total prohibition is steadily growing, helped by the fine Press and platform work of the Free Churches, and the ceaseless efforts of the Temperance organisations, including the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

The Social Hygiene Bill, as first drafted late in the session, contained highly objectionable clauses, providing for the compulsory detention for treatment of prostitutes and those consorting with them, and conferring autocratic powers on the Minister of Public Health. Only the vigilance and prompt action of a few informed women, notably Lady Stout and Mrs. James McCombs, prevented it passing in this form; but meetings of protest were hastily summoned in the chief towns, analysis and comments printed and circulated, and other representations made. A fine and helpful attitude was taken up by the leading men doctors, notably Dr. Newman, M.P. Subsequent conferences with the Cabinet ended in a most gratifying readjustment. The Bill as passed has no compulsory clauses, but demands effective precautions on the part of the public and medical profession. It heavily penalises sufferers of either sex who do not seek qualified treatment, or who are convicted of knowingly infecting other persons: workers and employers alike are liable in the matter of diseased persons being allowed to handle food, and quacks are sternly put down. Health patrols of both sexes are to be appointed for the protection of young persons, and the Minister of Public Health is empowered to arrange for the treatment of sufferers in hospitals, and for an educational campaign regarding sex hygiene.

The Bill is now in harmony with the best thought in the country. A free clinic is being opened in Wellington. Christchurch has one already. Very fine work with the happiest result is being done in camps by lectures from doctors, officers, chaplains, and Y.M.C.A. leaders, while the authorities also circulate leaflets of the highest scientific and moral value among soldiers. The dry canteen, in force from the beginning of the war, helps these agencies of betterment, and six o'clock closing will have an immense effect next month.

Thus on every side the women of New Zealand have been cheered in their labours this year, and feel that their co-operation with our men in public affairs has produced sound and lasting results.

JESSIE MACKAY.

November 6, 1917.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Woman Suffrage Scores a Success in Transvaal.

On November 1, 1917, the Provincial Council of the Transvaal carried, by 26 votes to 14, Mr. George Hay's motion for the extension of the franchise to women.—From *The Woman's Outlook*, December.

INDIA.

A Woman President of the National Congress.

The National Congress meeting at Calcutta on January 2nd was the largest on record. Four thousand delegates from all the provinces attended, and the visitors included four hundred Indian ladies.

Mrs. Annie Besant was elected president.

HUNGARY.

Government Introduces Woman Suffrage Bill.

The greatest event since the foundation of our national Suffrage Association, our Feministák Egyesülete, took place on December 21, 1917, when Mr. Vázsonyi, Minister for Suffrage, presented to Parliament the Suffrage Bill, which includes Woman Suffrage as the first Governmental measure in Hungary to enfranchise women. This gives us great satisfaction, and we certainly have cause to rejoice, and can but hope that this Bill will become law.

*We have not seen *Jus Suffragii* for many months, but heard that in its last number was an article in which this Bill was reported to be based on a tax-paying principle, and consequently strongly condemned. We wish to emphasise that this is not the case; that, on the contrary, Woman Suffrage is proposed in the Bill exclusively on the ground of educational qualification. On this ground it manages to give the vote to working women, peasant women, and many women of very modest means, while owners of great fortunes will remain unfranchised in many cases, as there are many older members of the aristocracy and the higher middle class who, according to the customs of their time, have not visited public schools and have not passed the public examinations. This Bill gives the vote to all these women of 24 years of age who—

1. Have passed the examination of the fourth class of the "civic school" or other middle schools (secondary schools), or can prove a similar education before a commission specially organised for this purpose.

2. To the "war widows" in so far as they are mothers of legal or legalised children by fathers who died on service in the present war. The war widows remain voters and eligible even in case of re-marriage. This title enfranchises women of all classes and nationalities.

3. To women who are since at least two years actively working members of scientific, literary, and artistic institutions, academies, societies, etc.

We certainly do not consider this Bill as the fulfilment of all our wishes, but greatly rejoice at it as a very democratic beginning of the enfranchisement of all women in Hungary. This Bill has not been given to us as a present; we earned it by hard, persevering work, of which our international fellow-workers know the details, and which I wish to complete in the following account:—

Since the foundation of the Suffrage Block in June, 1917, composed of the formerly Opposition parties in Parliament, the two fractions of the Independent parties, the Károlyi fraction and the Apponyi fraction, the Constitutional party whose leader is Count Julius Andrássy, the Democratic party leader Vázsonyi, the Christian Socialist party leader the Prelate Giesswein, the Roman Catholic People's party leader the Count A. Zichy, and the following parties not represented in Parliament: The Social Democrats, the Radical party, our Feministák Egyesülete, and other Radical organisations; and since the recent Coalition Government was formed, our task was a threefold one. We had to be represented at all the propaganda meetings of the Suffrage Block; we had to proceed very energetically with our organising work in the country, and we had to remain in contact with the Government and the leaders of the Governmental parties to watch the fate and progress of the Suffrage Bill.

In all our proceedings we were perfectly successful. In fact, there was no party or organisation which ever made such splendid propaganda work in Hungary as we did during the summer. Week-end and Mondays at headquarters were lively with the swarm of Suffragists going to and returning from the country and reporting on the progress of the cause, on the great number of new members who joined our Society, and on all the difficulties and vicissitudes of the journey in time of war. Urgent invitations were pouring in with every mail to send speakers and to come and organise the women who were waiting to join our Society. Country towns which we had nearly given up as hopeless years ago, formed strong branches at the first lecture held this summer, and have been busy and active ever since. All these branches and meetings kept on sending letters and telegrams to the Prime Minister, the

[* This is an error. The Hungarian Bill has not been condemned by *Jus Suffragii*.—Ed.]

Minister for Suffrage, the Minister for the Interior, and the Minister for Public Welfare, who is the Representative of the Suffrage Block in the Government. Greetings were sent also to the party leaders who were known to be particularly in favour of Woman Suffrage, to Count J. Andrássy and to Count Michael Károlyi, to whom we felt grateful also for his pacifist work.

Meanwhile the Minister for Suffrage and his Ministry were busy preparing the Bill, and as we secured our position in the Suffrage Block from the first rumour of its formation with constant consultation with its leaders, and so secured the Woman Suffrage plank in its platform, likewise we called on each codificator who had anything to do with the Bill. At first only university women were to be enfranchised, but after our energetic protest the circle was widened. We were asked to give a plan to enfranchise several hundred thousand women, so that all classes and conditions of women should be represented. We would not accept this task, as our principle is and ever will be that all women should have the vote. Therefore we led to the Minister a large deputation of women of all classes and occupations from all parts of the country, and arranged a great meeting to demonstrate that the peasant women as well as the aristocratic lady, the university woman as well as the clerks, working women and housewives, are claiming the vote as a measure of justice and as a means of bettering their own position, as well as serving the nation's interests.

All this time rumours were spread that women shall get only the vote without eligibility, which would have been quite an unprecedented innovation in Hungary, where we never dreamt of the possibility of dividing the franchise this way. We called on each Minister, urging him to advocate women's eligibility in the Cabinet Council, but we were crushed with the information that the final Council of the Government proposed for Woman Suffrage only the vote, excluding them from eligibility.

At this crisis we urged Rósika Schwimmer, who was working abroad on our behalf on the question nearest to the heart of all real women, on peace work, to come home at once instead of going straight from the Netherlands to Switzerland, as she intended to do at that time. During the nine days of her stay at home we succeeded, with her co-operation, in proving to all those in power that no real democratic purpose would be served by giving women the vote without making it possible for them to take an active part in the political house-keeping of the nation. We consider it as a special triumph that in granting us the vote and eligibility the Government was moved, not by the consideration for war work that women have done, but by acknowledging that the full reconstruction of belligerent countries cannot be fulfilled without the active help of women.

The papers received that part of the Bill which provides Woman Suffrage with unanimous courtesy and sympathy, so that we hope to pass through all the stages necessary to the final passing of the Bill. It has to pass the following stages: After the Christmas recess the Bill will be discussed by a special Parliamentary Committee of 48 members. The Committee reports to the House of Deputies, which has to pass it in three readings. In the Upper House the same proceeding is followed, and after that the Bill has to be signed by the King. The very complicated political situation might bring difficulties and dangers, but we know that the minority parties which now form the Government will stand by our cause, since they are convinced that their programme of democratic reform in Hungary can never be carried out without women. The struggle for the final passing of Woman Suffrage will also be the struggle of the new democratic forces against reaction, which still fights to regain the power lost, according to the common wishes of the vast majority of the people and the sincerely democratic young King. As women, deeply suffering by the insane destruction which is menacing the whole human race, we keep on dividing our forces between our struggle for peace and for the power to help through political work to safeguard the coming generation against the recurrence of such a race-destroying catastrophe. The coming months will find us prepared for the final struggle to secure votes and eligibility for the women of Hungary.

EUGENIE MISKOLOZY MELLER,

For the Hungarian Woman Suffrage Association,
the Feministák Egyesülete. (Affiliated to the
I.W.S.A.)

THE NETHERLANDS.

The "Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht" held its annual meeting in Amsterdam on December 22 and 23. Dr. Aletta Jacobs opened the proceedings with an address in which she reviewed the present position and the immediate task of the Dutch movement.

The year 1917 was a quiet one, she said, as in consequence of the political truce the elections were not contested. It was used for the internal consolidation of our organisations and for the preparation of our members in view of their future task as voters. For, if the Constitution did not bring us equal political rights for men and women, the debates in Parliament brought us much nearer to our goal. The Press was obliged to give prominence to our cause, and even timorous spirits became familiarised with it. Even in ecclesiastical circles authoritative declarations did not lack, that our cause had nothing against it from a religious point of view. It has suddenly been realised that Woman Suffrage is a necessity of our times. But if the political parties, continued Dr. Jacobs, are practically unanimous in admitting that Woman Suffrage must be introduced, there are two questions of the greatest moment where divergent views still prevail.

1. Which kind of Woman Suffrage should be granted? Social Democrats and Radicals emphatically declare for universal Suffrage. Catholics and one of the two Protestant parties consider that if Woman Suffrage must be introduced, it will have to be direct universal Suffrage. The preference of the Liberal parties goes to a gradual introduction of the franchise. There is already some talk of an age limit of 30.

2. When shall the Suffrage come? The parties here maintain an ominous silence. True, three parties—Socialists, Radicals, and Liberals of the Left—declared in their electoral programme that they considered the question as one of urgency. But how far does this vague word go?

At any rate, this much is certain to Dr. Jacobs: that the period of quiet for our movement has come to an end. "We shall have to conduct an energetic campaign during this year, where it imports that you all give your strenuous collaboration. With united forces we must endeavour to bring our struggle to a decisive end at the earliest possible moment. There is no doubt that for this end we shall once more have to go out into the streets. Much as this kind of propaganda is repulsive to us, there is no escape from it. It is becoming ever clearer that the gentlemen of the Cabinet and of Parliament forget us when they do not see us and hear our voices."

Dr. Jacobs concluded with a review of the movement abroad, which clearly shows the progress of the Women's Franchise cause, and must, therefore, also hearten its Dutch champions in the continuation of their struggle.

From *Maandblad*, January, 1918.

The New Constitution and Woman Suffrage.

The new Constitution has now been officially promulgated. It makes women eligible for Parliament, and enables the legislators at any time to pass a law granting women the full franchise. Of these two conquests the latter is decidedly the more important. It may even be doubted whether the first has really any practical value. As Dr. Aletta Jacobs remarks in the *Maandblad*, it may just as well prove a disadvantage as a benefit in the struggle for the final conquest of the vote. For those women who might be returned to Parliament (after all, as the mandatories of men only) might do great harm if they were but lukewarm feminists. The value of the "passive franchise" is, therefore, essentially a moral one: the recognition by the Constitution of Women's claim to take part in public affairs.

It must have been partly the fact that this view of the "passive franchise" was taken which caused a great majority of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht to reject the proposal that the V. v. V. should enter the electoral struggle with a candidates' list of its own.

There has undoubtedly been some disappointment in certain Suffragist quarters because no more positive results were reached, and it is indeed rather paradoxical that the document which continues to keep women away from participation in the country's affairs required the sanction of the holder of the highest office in the State, who is a woman herself.

But no time is being lost in vain regrets. The women's movement has now got to tackle the very practical problem how to obtain from Parliament the law conferring the vote. This now is a question of ordinary propaganda. The Constitu-

tion offers no longer any obstacle which can only be removed through complicated bargaining and delicately balanced compromises. A bare majority of M.P.'s can now give the franchise. How are they going to be influenced so as to take this decision?

The Committee of the "Vereeniging" judged that one way was a direct appeal to each M.P., and the following letter has been sent to every one of them.

Amsterdam, December, 1917.

Sir,—The new Constitution has now been accepted, whereby a difference has again been made between citizens of the same country, so that the female population will continue, as long as no electoral law modifies their status, to be the obedient part, as distinguished from the male, which remains the exclusively dominant part.

The directors of the V. v. V. express their deep regret at the course which has been taken, because according to their view the good of the country has not been promoted thereby.

The letter then points out that, where State after State is recognising the rights of women, the Dutch Chamber declined to adopt this course, merely for party considerations, as no objections in principle could be maintained. But now that every constitutional obstacle has been removed there is no reason to refuse any longer to keep the women of Holland in an inferior condition to those of other countries.

Meanwhile, the controversy as to whether it is advisable for individual members of the "Vereeniging" to join existing political parties in order to promote the franchise cause continues, and the December issue of the *Maandblad* contains some further correspondence on the subject. It concludes with a letter from Mrs. Thiel Wehrbein, who sums up the arguments and gives her own view thus:

"Let us realise that, in consequence of our ardent action, and, still more, of the social work of so many women, men have gradually become reconciled to Woman Suffrage, though they do not yet feel as passionately as we do on the subject. Even in political parties which adopted Woman Suffrage as part of their platform there are, side by side with warm supporters, indifferent ones, and others who accept it merely as an unavoidable evil. We cannot even bear them any ill feeling for it: the ancient instincts are still in their blood.

"Where can we shake those lukewarm and indifferent ones: where can we better awake them than in the political parties, which are the organisations formed in order to reach the solution of the many problems that concern the interests of the whole nation?"

"By giving our full attention to these organisations we shall certainly be able to increase their interest in our cause, and we may even exercise our influence upon the composition of programmes and the choice of candidates."

In view of the elections which will be held next spring, the different political parties are stocktaking and considering questions of programmes and coalitions. Some recent Press extracts have an interest as an indication of what may be expected in the near future.

Het Huisgezin (Cath.) says: "The fact that from our draft-programme every mention of the active vote for women is absent must undoubtedly be considered as the result of absence of a crystallised opinion in our party on that question. It is, nevertheless, a lacuna, because there is a chance that Women's Suffrage will, in this next Parliamentary period, be brought up for solution in a concrete form. And then it will not do for us to reply: 'We are still thinking.'"

De Tijd (Cath.) says: "The solution of the electoral problem cannot lead to a difference of opinion such as would form an obstacle to the formation of a Catholic Cabinet, because from one side there will not be now—that is, during the first coming period—either a grant or a regulation of Woman Suffrage."

Mr. Marchand, the Radical leader, writes in his *Vrijzinnig Democrat*: "In matters of Woman Suffrage, as in finance and defence matters, there is every chance that we will find allies in the Social Democrats. On the question of Woman Suffrage the same could probably be done with the Liberals." But the *Fakkelt* (Right Wing Liberal) says no assistance need be expected from its party for universal Woman Suffrage.

These extracts make it clear that the franchise movement will find no active assistance in the Right or in the Centre parties.

NORWAY.

No Women on the Franchise Commission.

The "National Women's Franchise Society" and the "Norwegian Women's National Council" petitioned the Storting to include one or more women in the Franchise Commission. The Commission refuses the request, because it has advanced so far in its work that it considers that the nomination of any new members so late in the day would unduly retard its progress.

—Nyglaende (December 15).

Peace Prize, 1915.

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1917 has been awarded to the "Comité International de la Croix Rouge" in Geneva. This was announced by the chairman of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting at the ceremony connected with the founder's birthday.

The Nobel Prize Secretary, Raguvald Mor, gave a series of interesting notes as to the origin of the Red Cross Committee, laying stress on the importance of its humanitarian work in peace as well as in war. By means of its "Agence de Prisonniers" at Geneva, between August, 1914, and June, 1917, news has been sent as to prisoners of war in 770,028 cases to families in the countries at war. This service is the cause of the proposal to give the Nobel Prize to the Red Cross Committee. A wave of joy went through the great meeting when the news was announced of this great prize being given to the Committee as a sign of appreciation, and it was recalled that Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross, was the first to win the Nobel Prize.—Kristiania, December 10, 1917.

—Nyglaende (December 15).

R. B.

The Government has appealed to the people of Norway asking that every individual would contribute to the commonweal by personal economy. True, the Government have only seen good in individual cases to put women on the food administration, and in this have acted foolishly.

—Nyglaende (January 15).

Norway's Women Teachers' League.

Norway's Women Teachers' League has sent in a memorial to the Storting and the Church and Education Departments to petition that in the Towns-schools Law a recommendation may be inserted as to posts of principals (vestyrerposterne) in elementary schools to secure the appointment of women as well as men in these positions in schools.

With reference to §33 of the Towns-schools Law which admits women to them, the administration proposes the following addition: "When more than one principal's post is established in the board-schools of a market town (kjøbstad) there shall be at least one male and one female principal (bestyrer)." —Nyglaende (January 15).

The Reception in Norway of England's Suffrage Victory. "England's Women Have Got the Political Franchise."

Everywhere the victory of the Englishwomen is hailed with joy. For 50 years they have fought, and nowhere have they had more to put up with. But the indifference and contempt which they have encountered never diminished their courage, and they never slackened until the war broke out, when they at once devoted their whole strength to helping their country. Their usefulness was so great that even Mr. Asquith, their toughest opponent, admitted his complete conversion. In the middle of the war the Englishwomen have gained their flag of victory, and it is the more precious since it is dyed with the blood of their husbands and sons.

We rejoice that women will share in the reconstruction of Great Britain after the war, and that British men have realised that it is unreasonable not to use the valuable powers of women to share in this task. Although we are sorry that the conditions of the franchise are not yet the same for both sexes, we shout the hurrah of Norwegian women for the victory won at last. Hurrah! Hurrah!! Hur—rah!!!

—Nyglaende (January 1, 1918).

FR. MÖRCK.

RUSSIA.

Protest of the Russian League of Women's Rights Against the Provisory Government's Decree Concerning the Exclusion of Women from the Jury.

The Russian League of Women's Rights, to its great surprise, having heard of the decree of the Provisory Government excluding women from the right of taking part in the jury, protests energetically against this measure, contrary not only to the progressive spirit of the times, but also to the most elementary demands of justice.

The Russian woman, freed after a long and strenuous fight from her slavery and from her centuries of deprivation of rights, will not and cannot consent to such unjust measures, which prevent her from accomplishing her civic duties, depriving one half of the population of a productive and necessary work. At the present moment, when regular working of the popular conscience seems more necessary than ever for the salvation of the country, the Russian woman, strong in her right and in her love for her country, energetically demands her share in this work as in all the other legislative and political spheres of her country. This is why we ask the Provisory Government for the immediate abolition of this unjust and humiliating decree.

Resolution of the League of the Defenders of Women's Rights, Presented to the State Council at Moscow on August 14, 1917, by the President, Delegated by the League, to the Council.

Considering that to the present State Council all questions not absolutely necessary for the moment must be laid on one side, and that only one fundamental question must occupy us all—the salvation of our country and that of its endangered liberty,—the League of Defenders of Women's Rights, as representative of organised Russian women, has decided to set aside all questions that interest it above all—complete equality of rights before the law, the protection of women, of children, and of old age, guaranteed by the State—until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, only chief and head of the Russian country.

This critical moment in our history imperiously demands that all the vital forces of the country, absolutely all, should be utilised, and for this reason it is indispensable that women's work—actually employed in all spheres—should not be voluntary, casual, approved, or tolerated by the Government; but a well-regulated force, an immense equalising force, collaborating in the work of the revolution and in the creation of New Free Russia. Because for the Russian woman there is no sacrifice or duty, howsoever great it may be, that she will not accomplish willingly for the salvation of her people and country, that clamorously claims for the consolidation of true liberty, equality and fraternity, and the conclusion of an everlasting and steadfast peace of nations, that the Russian woman and mother calls for with so much heartfelt warmth and feeling.

DR. SCHISCHKINA JAWEIN,

President of the League of the Defenders of Women's Rights

(Affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

Petrograd, December 4, 1917.

SWEDEN.

Women's Expert Knowledge for Food Administrations.

Agnes Ingelman suggests the formation of women's committees in connection with the food administering offices of their district by the Women's Council of the People's House-keeping Commission (Folkhushållnings-kommissionens kvinnoråd).

As the prevailing scarcity increases, the expert knowledge of women on food questions is badly needed.

Women are not yet sufficiently included in the task of food control, and are in some cases to blame for standing back and shunning responsibility.

Since the establishment of the Women's C. of the P. H. Commission in March, 1917, it has regretted its want of touch with responsible women in the country districts of a scattered land where local conditions in the home are of so varied a nature.

Consequently the Commission sent a circular to the food offices on November 28 last to propose that they should collect suggestions for the founding of women's committees of a permanent kind of about three members.

Women have hitherto been too often left out of the food administrations (livsmedelstyrelser) and food boards (livsmedelsnämnderna). The difficulty is increased by the fact that there are as many as 2,601 food boards (nämnderna) and only 36 food administrations. If the Women's Council would combine with the food administrations a link might be established between the Women's Council and the home.

The time is past for women to keep apart from public responsibilities. War-time teaches our dependence on each other, and that we all belong to one imperial household. In this household, as in the private house, the combined efforts of men and women are needed. The man is generally better at administration and the woman at detail. Women must seize the opportunity now given for the training given by practice in public functions. As the vacancies in the food boards occur they should be filled by duly qualified women. If they neglect this chance, women will find in an all too near future that their interests are neglected by the administrations because they were too faint-hearted to step forward and stand up for them.

—Hertha (December 15, 1917).

AGNES INGELMAN.

SWITZERLAND.

Bale Council to Consider Women's Suffrage.

The Welti motion passed the Grand Council of Bale by 63 votes to 48. It was rejected last year by 61 votes to 45. This means that the Bale Council agrees to consider the question of Woman Suffrage—when it has leisure and inclination,—and to propose a motion which will again be discussed by the Grand Council.

M. Miescher, State Councillor, accepted the motion for the Government.

A certain M. Kully led the Opposition, arguing that Switzerland had done very well without women's political cooperation for 600 years, and therefore did not need it to-day. The motion was supported by MM. Sarasin and Platt, one a great textile manufacturer, the other the director of a large school.

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

The Swiss Association for Woman Suffrage is making this year, at the request of the French University Feminist Federation, an inquiry into the salaries paid to men and women for the same work. This inquiry is, unfortunately, not far enough advanced for it to be possible to give here an account of its work. As in other domains, the fact of our different legislatures in the various cantons complicates inquiries, when it is a question of officials' salaries. On the other hand, the war has not brought about with us the replacing of men's work by women's, as in belligerent countries, therefore the material for our researches is infinitely less than, for example, in France or England.

Here are some figures with regard to public instruction which may interest the readers of *Jus Suffragii*—

I.—Primary education in the canton of Geneva.

Stagiaires (men or women teachers not yet officially appointed to a post):

Young men (according to the number of years of duty), 1,080f., 1,500f., 1,800f.

Young women (same conditions), 840f., 1,020f., 1,200f.

The studies are the same, the final diploma equivalent.

Masters and Mistresses of Primary Schools:

Men (according to the number of years of service), 1,800f., 1,900f., 2,100f., 2,500f., 2,700f., 2,900f.

Women (same conditions), 1,320f., 1,520f., 1,720f., 2,150f., 2,250f., 2,450f.

On the other hand, the annual increases arranged for by the law are the same for the two sexes: 100 and 125f.

The four last (higher) classes of boys are taken by men, the two first (lower) classes of boys and all the girls' classes are taken by women. The programme is the same for the two sexes with the exception of sewing and cutting out, which are taught in girls' classes for four hours a week, but without increase of the total hours worked per week. The little girls have, therefore, to work more intensely to carry through the same programme as the boys, and consequently the mistresses also have to work harder.

Special Classes (backward and abnormal children, etc.). Supplementary grant to the two sexes is the same: 400f. per annum.

Supplementary Classes (compulsory for children who have left the primary school and are not receiving secondary teaching): Men, 4,000f.; women, 3,600f.

The programme is the same for boys and girls, but the boys receive civic instruction and the girls receive domestic instruction.

Inspectors of Primary Teaching:

Men, 4,500f.; women, 4,100f.

Gymnastic Inspectors:

Men, 4,000f.; women, 1,320f.

The inspector inspects all the classes in the canton where gymnastic lessons are given to boys; the woman inspector all the girls' classes in the town of Geneva and suburban communes. The boys' classes are in the proportion of one-third, the girls' two-thirds. As the canton is very small, travelling expenses do not in the least justify the great difference of salary.

II.—Secondary education in some Swiss towns.

Women—Zurich 4,700—6,800 (18—22 hours).

Bâle 3,100—4,700 (20—26 hours).

Saint-Gall 3,300—4,500

Berne 4,000—6,000 (22—26 hours).

Lausanne 2,700—3,650 (22—26 hours).

Neuchâtel 2,500—3,000 (22 hours).

Men—Zurich 5,400—8,700 (30—25 hours).

Bâle 4,000—6,000 (20—26 hours).

Saint-Gall 4,000—6,000

Berne 5,000—7,000 (22—26 hours).

Lausanne 4,000—4,600 (20 hours).

Neuchâtel 4,000—5,500

(Inquiry by the Neuchâtel Society of the Members of the Teaching Body.)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Victory for Woman Suffrage: Federal Amendment Passed by Lower House.

The long-looked-for event—the vote in the Lower House of Congress on the Federal amendment for Woman Suffrage—took place on January 10th, and it was the most exciting moment in the history of this movement. The large galleries of the House were packed to their fullest extent, women forming the greater portion of the spectators. The Hon. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House, had invited Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Hon. President and President of the National Suffrage Association, and other prominent Suffragists, to lunch with him in his private room at the Capitol that day and to occupy what is known as the Speaker's Bench in the gallery. The debate began promptly at noon and closed by agreement at five o'clock, the time being divided evenly between those members in favour and those opposed to the amendment. The opening speech was made by Miss Jeanette Rankin, the first and only woman member of Congress. The excitement was intense, and when the Speaker announced the result of the vote—274 ayes, 136 noes—all rules were defied, and the members on the floor and the spectators in the galleries rose to their feet with cheers and waving of handkerchiefs.

When Congress adjourned for the Christmas holidays the prospect of success was far from encouraging, but, as stated in another part of this letter, the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment was expected to have considerable influence. By the time Congress assembled again, on January 3, the situation had improved. All the members of the Cabinet, except one, had come out strongly in favour of Woman Suffrage, and a number of them in favour of this amendment. Public sentiment everywhere seemed to be changing in favour of it, on the ground partly that the work of women in the war had proved their right to the vote, and partly because it was felt that the agitation for it had become so universal that it was only a matter of time anyhow, and it might as well be now as later. The Republicans decided to make it a party measure, and held a conference which pledged its members in the Lower House to vote for it. This alarmed the Democrats, who felt that if the Republicans secured the credit for the adoption of the amendment, it would cause the women voters to support the Republican candidates for Congress at the elections, which will take place this year, and to defeat the Democratic candidates. The Democrats, however, were almost fatally handicapped by the Southern members, who cling to the old before-the-war doctrine of the right of every State to determine the Suffrage for itself. They never had been reconciled to the

Federal Amendment which gave the vote to negro men, and they were determined that this should not be extended to negro women.

It had been well known to the leaders of the fight in Congress, and also to the women leaders of the Suffrage movement, that the President had come to see that it would be many years before the franchise could be won State by State, and that the Federal Amendment was absolutely necessary, but that he was very reluctant to express himself because the platform of the Democratic party declared for the State-by-State method. As the time for the vote drew near, however, the opposition gained so much strength that twelve of the leading Democrats, who were in favour, asked for an audience with the President and laid the case before him, saying that nothing but a declaration from him would save the day. Therefore, the evening before the vote was to be taken, President Wilson made an announcement which, abbreviated, was as follows:—

"The party platform was adopted before the present exigencies arose, which make it all-important that women should be allowed to vote. Therefore strict adherence to that platform cannot now be expected of Democrats. The matter of Suffrage is primarily a national and constitutional question, and has been so decided by the Supreme Court. If the members of Congress believe that women should have the right to vote, they should accept the first favourable opportunity to grant them that right."

The whole country was electrified by this statement; but, notwithstanding the President's almost supreme influence at the present day, the opposition of the Southern members was so bitter that the amendment came very near being lost. It requires a two-thirds vote of the members who are present, and there were 410 in their seats. It needed, therefore, 272 votes, and it received 274. If it had been a tie the Speaker of the House had announced that he would cast his vote in favour, but two more opposing votes would have defeated it. The vote stood as follows:—For: Democrats, 104; Republicans, 165; Independents, 2; Socialist, 1; Prohibitionist, 1; Progressive, 1—total, 274. Against: Democrats, 102; Republicans, 33; Progressive, 1—total, 136.

While it was actually Republican votes which carried it, yet it could not have been carried without the strong support of the President and his Administration. Therefore the Suffragists feel equally indebted to both parties, and this is the situation which they ardently desired.

The resolution now must be adopted by two-thirds of the Senate before it can be sent to the Legislatures of the various States for ratification. The small majority in the Lower House will encourage the opponents, and will make it harder to put the measure through the Senate. A canvass of that body shows that it lacks five or six votes of a two-thirds majority. Whether those votes can be secured remains to be seen. If the Suffrage leaders in that body think that they can, the vote will be taken very soon, possibly within ten days or two weeks, but if there is a prospect of defeat, it will be deferred for a while. It is probable that an early date will be decided upon.

In another part of this letter something has been said of the tremendous efforts that were made to influence the members of the Lower House. During the last two weeks these were increased a hundredfold. The leaders of the organised Labour movement used all the pressure within their power. This is also true of the organised Farmers' movement, which is very strong in the Equal Suffrage States. The Governors of all these States telegraphed to Washington urging the adoption of the amendment. Men and women distinguished in all lines sent in their letters and telegrams. The National Council of Women, at its recent convention, adopted an urgent resolution. There was literally not a stone left unturned in the United States. Mrs. Catt will not return to New York, even for a day, if it is decided to have an early vote in the Senate. This is a crisis in our movement, and nothing will be left unturned.

At the time the Democratic deputation visited President Wilson and he made his favourable declaration, he stated that the Duke of Devonshire, Governor-General of Canada, had lunch with him that day, and said that the complete Suffrage would very soon be extended to the women of the Dominion. The cables announced the favourable vote in the House of Lords on the same day that the Lower House of our Congress gave its majority for the amendment. Each of these seems a significant coincidence.

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

New York, January 11, 1918.

Position of Federal Amendment at New Year.

In my last letter I said our measure in Congress would probably come to a vote December 19, but fortunately our friends were able to have it deferred until January 10. As Congress did not meet until December 3, and all the attention was concentrated on the National Prohibition measure, which was to be voted on the 17th, there would have been no opportunity for us to do the necessary work. The "Antis" were on hand in full force, and tried hard to have the Suffrage vote taken immediately, but the Committee on Rules fixed the date we wanted. This is giving us three weeks for our preparations, and the members will be fresh from their holidays, and not yet in the turmoil of the great war measures to be considered.

The *International News* will be able to print a cable despatch giving the result of the vote. At the time this is written (January 2) the most experienced politicians will not make a definite prediction. All of them say: "After the New York election we are prepared to expect anything that may happen." Our honorary president, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, is living in Washington now because of her duties as chairman of the Women's Committee of National Defence, and is using her great influence for the amendment in places that other women could not reach. Mrs. Catt went down December 7 for the National Suffrage Convention, and remained until several days after Congress adjourned, consulting with its members and with other men in high official position, and arranging the plan of work with our large Congressional Committee which remains in our Washington headquarters. She left for that city again on December 31, and will stay till after the vote is taken. To a few of us here she said just before she left: "If that Bill is defeated I shall be brought home in an ambulance. It will be almost the death of me. I simply cannot endure it." We know that if it is defeated she will not die, but will rise up the next morning, put on her armour, and go forth for another battle. That was the way Susan B. Anthony and her co-workers did for fifty years, and it is the way the present generation of us have been doing for more than half that length of time.

The Work Done for the Amendment.

If the measure fails it will not be for lack of effort. The Congressional Committee consists of 250 energetic, well-informed, influential women in the various States, who, acting under national direction, create and utilise a public sentiment which will influence the members of Congress to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and they use whatever persuasion can properly be employed. Thirty or forty of these women from as many States are constantly in Washington—this "lobby" changing from time to time—calling on the members at the Capitol building and on their wives at home, arguing and urging. Eastern women deal with Eastern Congressmen, Southern women with those from the South, and women from what is known as the Middle West with the members from there. Very little work is necessary with those from the Equal Suffrage States of the Far West, but occasionally one will say that while he believes in Woman Suffrage, he does not believe in "a national measure to force it on States where the people don't want it." He says "people," but he means "where the men don't want it." The women voters of his State are at once notified to take him in hand. During our National Convention the members of Congress from each State were asked to assemble in a committee-room and receive a deputation of women from their own State. Most of them did so, and thirty-five new converts were made, who promised to vote for the amendment.

When a member cannot be moved by the pleadings and arguments of the women, influential men in his State, other members of Congress, and leading officials in Washington, are asked to reason with him. Perhaps some day it may be told how "high up" some of these officials are. The speech which Mrs. Catt, as national president, made to the recent Annual Convention was prepared in the form of an Address to Congress. It is a masterpiece of logic and analysis, an unanswerable argument for a Federal Amendment to enfranchise the women of the United States, and in handsome pamphlet form has been presented to every Senator and Representative. They are being supplied with other literature on this subject. It is my own special province to deal with the editors of the country, and during the year just ended I have been in communication with two thousand. Within the past few weeks I have sent to a carefully compiled list of over two thousand in all of the States a letter of one thousand words, giving as convincingly as possible the reasons why the women should no longer be required to obtain the Suffrage State by State,

and why Congress should submit a National Amendment. In many papers this letter is reproduced in full, in others it is treated editorially, and a nation-wide discussion has been started in the newspapers.

Procedure in Congress.

This Federal Amendment, as the readers of the *International News* doubtless understand, is a proposed addition to the National Constitution, which has been the Magna Charta of our Government since it was founded. For this purpose each House of Congress by a two-thirds vote must adopt a resolution to submit an amendment to the Legislatures of all the States. We generally refer to ours as a "Bill," for brevity, but the proper name is a "concurrent resolution." The same one is introduced in each House and referred to a Committee. This may report it favourably or unfavourably or not at all. In the Senate there has been a Special Committee on Woman Suffrage for thirty years, but we only succeeded in getting one in the Lower House last month, as related in my letter. In the meantime our measure was in the hands of the Judiciary Committee, which had reported it "without recommendation," and now refused to let it go to the new committee. The Speaker, who is our friend, ruled that its chairman could introduce a new resolution. He did so, and it was referred to his committee. On January 3 Mrs. Catt and other speakers will have a hearing before that committee, and then the two committees will have to "fight it out" as to which shall have charge of it for the debate and vote on January 10. The result will not be materially affected whichever wins, as the rules require that pros and antis shall have the same amount of time for the debate.

The Federal Prohibition Amendment.

The Suffragists have been also as much interested in the National Prohibition Amendment as in their own, and the whole country has shared in this interest. The two movements have run side by side almost from the beginning, many of the same people working for both, but some persons in each not approving of the other. The Prohibition party has always had a Woman Suffrage plank in its platform, but neither National nor State Suffrage Associations have ever officially endorsed the prohibition of the liquor traffic. The Prohibitionists knew that the votes of women would be of the greatest assistance to them. The Suffragists knew that party never would be strong enough to enfranchise women. When the Prohibition Amendment finally was obtained from Congress, the party itself was smaller and weaker than at any time in its existence. Its doctrines, however, had permeated the two dominant parties—the Republican and Democratic,—and the political machinery was in the hands of a so-called Anti-Saloon League, versed in politics, working with all parties and largely ignoring the religious and moral-suasion features of the Prohibition party and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

This Anti-Saloon League was able to utilise in a practical and political manner a public sentiment which had come to regard intemperance from an economic standpoint. It had awakened to the knowledge of the heavy burden put upon the taxpayers through the crime, pauperism, ruined manhood, wrecked homes, and defective children caused by intoxicating liquor. The Employers' Liability Law, which has been widely enacted, holding employers liable for all accidents to employes, has made them very desirous that their workmen should be able to protect themselves. The great corporations of all kinds were anxious that their employes should be in a condition of highest efficiency. To meet these requirements it is absolutely necessary that men should be sober. There was a very large class of citizens who were indignant at the domination of legislative bodies—city councils, legislatures, and in some degree Congress itself—by the liquor interests. The entrance of the United States into the war creating the vital necessity for conserving grain, sugar, etc., and the strong desire to protect the soldiers from the dangers of alcoholic drinks, were powerful influences in favour of prohibiting the manufacture and the traffic.

Reasons for the Amendment.

It was the psychological hour for Congress, supported by the public sentiment of the country, to take favourable action on a National Prohibition Amendment. This was adopted by the Senate in the closing hours of the session last August, to the consternation of its enemies. They did not, however, believe it possible that the House of Representatives would take similar action, and they moved heaven and earth to prevent it. But the members went home for three months, and many of them found their constituents approving what the

Senate had done, and the newspapers supported it. The victory for Woman Suffrage in New York created a universal sentiment that nation-wide enfranchisement of women was near at hand, and they realised that they would have the approval of women. A wave of patriotic and moral sentiment was sweeping over the land, caused by the war. They returned to Washington, and two weeks from the day Congress opened they adopted the resolution to submit the Federal Prohibition Amendment by a vote of 282 to 128! It does not have to be signed by President Wilson, but goes at once to the State Legislatures for ratification.

The resolution reads as follows: "After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territories subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited."

Effect on Suffrage Amendment.

The country has not been so electrified by any Act of Congress since the declaration of Civil War in 1861. It is the first legislative body of any independent country in the whole world, so far as we know, to declare for national prohibition of the liquor traffic. The all-absorbing question now is how soon it will be ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the forty-eight States. Twenty-four of them already have this prohibition by State law or constitutional amendment, but it may be that the Legislatures in some of them will hesitate to vote to impose it on States that may not want it. Most of the Legislatures meet biennially—next winter and then not again for two years,—so that the full number of ratifications can hardly be expected before 1921. The Governor of New York is most anxious that its Legislature, which meets annually, shall endorse it this winter, as this would give it an immense impetus. It may do so if the age of miracles has not passed.

What will be the effect of the submission of this Prohibition Amendment upon the Suffrage Amendment? We believe it will be distinctly favourable, and we wanted it adopted first. The Southern members, who are our chief opponents, on the ground that it will interfere with the right of the State to decide its own matters, have nullified their own arguments by their strong support of the Federal Prohibition Amendment.

We have now received the complete official report on the Suffrage Amendment in New York State and City. It received a majority of 102,344, out of 1,303,896 votes. To our great delight our soldiers and sailors voted in favour more than two to one.

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

New York, January 2, 1918.

Treasurer's Receipts.

AFFILIATION FEES.		£	s.	d.	
Canadian Suffrage Association	.....	2	0	0	
HONORARY ASSOCIATES' SUBSCRIPTIONS.					
Name.	Year.	Country.	£	s.	d.
*Robins, Miss Elizabeth	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
*Harrington, Mrs.	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Vickery, Dr. Alice	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
*Lloyd, Mrs. Lola	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Coates, Mrs. Alice Schofield	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Sheppard, Miss	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Hobhouse, Miss Emily	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Rose, Miss A.	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
How Martin, Mrs. Edith	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
*Prelooker, Mr. Jaakoff	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
*Hudleston, Miss	..... 1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Bagley, Mrs. Fred. P.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Brady, Mrs. James H.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Drier, Mrs. H.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Dietrich, Mrs. C. H.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Everett, Mrs. H. A.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Lathrop, Mrs. Julia	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
McBride, Mrs. M. L.	..... 1918	U.S.A.	2	0	0
Notman, Mrs. George	..... 1917 & 1918	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Percy, Mrs. M. Crittenden	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Peck, Mrs. Christiana	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Draper Smith, Mrs.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Safford, The Rev. Mary A.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Gardner, Mrs. Helen	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Dunning, Mrs. George A.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
*Gannett, Mrs. Wm. C.	..... 1917	U.S.A.	1	0	0
*Notman, Mr. George	..... 1917 & 1918	U.S.A.	2	0	0
*Notman, Miss Winifred	..... 1918	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Rosenberger, Mrs. Jules	..... 1918	U.S.A.	1	0	0
*Wilcox, Mrs. Wm.	..... 1918	U.S.A.	1	0	0
*Dunlap, Miss Flora	..... 1918	U.S.A.	1	0	0
Ashton, Miss Margaret	..... 1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0

Name.	Year.	Country.	£	s.	d.
Polly, Miss M. A.	1917	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Hultqvist, Fru Draga	1917	Sweden	1	0	0
Atkinson, Miss E. M. L.	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Lamont, Miss	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Fluegel, Mrs. C.	1918	Gt. Britain	1	1	0
Stoehr, Miss	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Crichton-Stuart, Miss Constance	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Lees, Miss	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Zimmer, Miss Alice	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Pearce, Mrs. J. D.	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0
Marsh, Miss Edith	1918	Gt. Britain	1	0	0

£47 1 0

* New Members.

ADELA COIT, Hon. Treasurer.

Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson.

Born 1836, died 1917.

Elizabeth Garrett was one of the greatest women in a great movement—the movement for women's emancipation.

She was a pioneer of pioneers; the first English woman doctor, the first woman elected to a School Board, the bearer of the first Woman Suffrage petition to the House of Commons, the first woman to be elected mayor.

She was thus instrumental in opening the great medical profession to women, in promoting women's share in local government, and securing for them the political vote, and by her life contributed in a large measure to opening a fuller and happier life to women. Her own happy home life and the careers of her distinguished son and daughter testify to the perfect compatibility of successful wifehood and motherhood with strenuous public activity.

Elizabeth Garrett was fortunate in her early home life. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Newson Garrett, encouraged and sympathised with their daughter's aspirations. Her sister Millicent, Mrs. Fawcett, is the well-known leader of the English Suffrage movement.

Miss Garrett determined to study for the medical profession after hearing Elizabeth Blackwell, who had obtained medical training in the United States, speak on medicine as a career for women, in 1858. She encountered immense obstacles, as no school or university would admit women. She obtained a certain amount of private tuition, but could not obtain admission to any examination. Eventually it was discovered that the Apothecaries' Society, however unwilling to admit women, had not legally the right to refuse them. Elizabeth Garrett accordingly entered for and passed the examination in 1865. The society then made a rule that no certificates of instruction would be received by them unless issued by a recognised medical school. This rule effectively excluded women, as all British medical schools refused to admit women students. The Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons refused women, and so did the University of St. Andrews.

Florence Nightingale's magnificent work for the British Army in the Crimean War had opened the nursing profession to women, and that arduous and badly paid department of healing was now considered "womanly," but the more lucrative and highly honoured medical career was still defended against women's encroachments by every argument that prejudice and jealousy could command. It needed great courage and perseverance to persist. Miss Garrett went to Paris to study, and took the M.D. degree of that university in 1870.

It was amazing that with all these obstacles to overcome, she yet found time for other public activities. All the Garrett sisters were keen Suffragists, and when John Stuart Mill included Woman Suffrage in his election address and proposed to move an amendment to the Reform Bill of 1867, Miss Garrett was one of those who got up a petition to Parliament to strengthen his hands, and it was she who with Miss Emily Davies took the petition to the House and handed it to Mill.

In 1870 the first School Board elections were held, and women were eligible. Miss Garrett stood and was returned for Marylebone (London) at the head of the poll, receiving 47,000 votes, said to be at that time the largest number of votes recorded in England for one person. Her active interest in local government continued all her life, and in 1908 she was elected Mayor of Aldeburgh, the first woman in England to hold that office.

To return to her professional career. In 1866 Miss Garrett opened a clinic for women and children in London, and women were for the first time able to consult a woman doctor. They flocked for treatment from all parts. Soon larger premises had to be taken, and twenty-six beds were provided. In 1887 the work had developed so much that Dr. Garrett-Anderson decided to raise funds to build a hospital for women, to be staffed by

medical women. The new hospital for women was opened in 1890, with Dr. Garrett-Anderson as senior physician. This hospital has been of inestimable value, not only to the patients, but for the training of medical women, who have thus gained the experience denied to them in general hospitals and essential for their full training. There are now three hospitals for women, staffed by women, in London alone, and the marvellous achievements of women doctors during the war, and of military hospitals entirely staffed by women, may be traced in no small degree to the new hospital and to the London School of Medicine for Women, which Dr. Garrett-Anderson took an active part in founding in 1874, and where she held the post of lecturer in medicine.

In 1892 she was admitted as a member of the British Medical Association, the first woman member, and in 1900 acted as vice-president of the Section of Medicine.

She lived to see women urged to enter the profession which had been so jealously barred against her, and her daughter, Dr. Louisa Garrett-Anderson, entrusted by the War Office with an important military hospital, though again in this instance bureaucratic prejudice had first refused services which it afterwards requested, and which had meanwhile been gratefully accepted and utilised by the French. Dr. Garrett-Anderson's son, Sir Alan Garrett-Anderson, is Controller of the Navy, and both he and his sister Louisa recently received the decoration of the Order of the British Empire for their eminent services.

Dr. Elsie Inglis—An Appreciation.

When the history of the greatest war of modern times is read by future generations, one figure will stand out among the many splendid heroes of land, sea, and air as that of a woman, small in stature, great in heart and brain, bearing the now widely-honoured name of Dr. Elsie Inglis.

From her earliest days Elsie Inglis was possessed of a passion for protecting the weak, for righting wrongs, and while still a schoolgirl her powers of initiation and organisation were a source of pleasure and advantage to her companions. Many a scheme for securing greater liberty of action, tempered by discretion, owned its inception to her fertile brain.

As school days changed to college days the same spirit of upholding the rights of the minority, and claiming a fair hearing for any who had wittingly or unwittingly broken the regulations, animated her conduct, and at times involved considerable personal inconvenience.

At the conclusion of her medical studies, Elsie Inglis obtained her degree at the hands of the University of Edinburgh, in which city she established herself in general practice; but it was her special gifts for surgery that were destined to gain for her the widespread recognition of the profession.

Her fifteen years of sturdy professional work in Edinburgh have left a special record in the founding in the High Street of a hospice for the care of poor women before and after childbirth. That this kindly refuge should be in the very heart of the city, close to the homes of those seeking its help, was one of the conditions laid down by its founder. It is pleasant to learn that the extension and development of this hospice are to form part of a national memorial to Dr. Inglis.

Running parallel with medical interests, all social movements for the uplifting of the down-trodden, the securing of wider opportunities for women's work, and especially for the gaining by them of the Parliamentary Suffrage, aroused a responsive echo in the heart of this truly womanly woman doctor.

When in the year 1909-10 the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies determined to further develop and strengthen their organisation by the formation of federations throughout Britain, in order that all the districts of the country might be more closely linked up with each other and with headquarters, Dr. Inglis willingly put her organising powers and splendid enthusiasm at the service of the Scottish societies, and, as hon. secretary, may truly be said to have done "the work of ten." To the larger societies already in full activity in the chief cities were soon added in villages and scattered country districts, from the far North to the Border, many keenly interested local societies, where the best wits of the neighbourhood gladly responded to the trumpet call to awaken bucolic indifference to lively appreciation of the great movement for obtaining full citizenship for one half of the human race.

In the midst of our thankfulness for the recent twin-success of our "Common Cause" in the homeland and in New York, one cannot but sigh for the loss of the actual presence of one who bore so large a share in the burden and heat of the day.

We know well that her congratulations to our American friends would have been no less hearty than to our own beloved nation. Patriotic to the very heart's core, but with no narrow, national limitations, her sympathies were world-wide, and to her the international aspects of the Women's Suffrage movement were of no less moment than the purely British.

The same spirit of the solidarity of the human race animated her striking achievements throughout the three years of active war work that crowned the last period of her life.

As a true British subject, her first thought on the breaking out of war was to offer her services and that of other women doctors to the Government, but meeting with no encouragement she turned to our Allies, realising that in supplying their need her units would be honourably employed. With characteristic promptitude and enthusiasm she approached the Scottish Federation of Women Suffrage Societies with the suggestion that the sending out of hospital units should be adopted by them as a special piece of war work. The idea met with instant approval, and received a little later the co-operation of the N.U.W.S.S. as a whole. A sub-committee, with power to add to their number, was speedily formed, and within less than three months after the outbreak active work was organised in France and Serbia. No need to repeat here the now well-known tale of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, working in almost every country of our Allies; but it is of interest to note the dawning of a certain political influence that this bit of women's work seems to herald.

The tragedy of Serbia, that splendid, if numerically small nation, can never fade from the memory of her big Ally—Britain; but the bitterness of our regret at the unavoidable failure to bring her help in her darkest hour will be forever tempered by the thought of the loving care bestowed on the gallant men by the Scottish women at Kraguevatz, Valjevo, Mlandanovatz, and Lazarovatz. Generous acknowledgment of this sympathetic and practical service is made by the Serbian authorities, and, indeed, the poetic, mystical nature of this nation is seen in the exalted place they give in their hearts to the founder of the Scottish Women's Hospitals. After the evacuation of all hospitals and the retreat of the majority of the population became necessary, Dr. Inglis saw all possibility of serving the nation in their own land was at an end for the time being, and she turned her thoughts to the needs of the Yugoslav Division in Southern Russia.

This gallant effort to give aid to the Yugoslavs was destined to bring to a close Dr. Elsie Inglis' chivalrous, though withal practical, career. Within twenty-four hours of her return to England her bright spirit took its flight to higher spheres.

URUGUAY.

National Council of Women Formed

We have just received the second number of *Accion Femenina*, the official organ of the National Council of Women of Uruguay. The National Council, which has for its object the establishment of a bond of union between all women working for the social, intellectual, moral, economic, and legal advancement of women, was founded at Monte Video on September 30th, 1916, with Dra. Paulina Luisi as president, and is affiliated to the International Council of Women. Like the other National Councils, it is independent of any religious sect or political party. Its formation is a further indication of the steady progress of the woman's movement in South America, where up to the present the Argentine Republic has been the only country with a Women's National Council. In addition to commissions dealing with education, health, emigration and immigration, legislation, peace and arbitration, the Press, Women Suffrage, equal moral standard, and professions for women, which correspond to the similar committees of the International Council of Women, it has special commissions dealing with benefit of children, benefit of women, library, meetings and propaganda, labour, and traffic in women.

That the new Council owes its inception to three French women whose names are well known internationally—Mme. Jules Siegfried, Mme. Avril de Sainte Croix, and Mlle. Marie Bonneval—is another proof of great value of the international aspect of the woman's movement in helping their sisters in undeveloped countries. Besides biographies of these three Frenchwomen, this number contains reports of the work for a Women's Association for Assisting the Blind, which is affiliated

to the National Council; and of the "George Junior Republic" of the United States; while the importance of Woman Suffrage is recognised by articles on the movement in Britain, the U.S.A., Russia, and Porto Rico.

The following is a summary of the main features of the leading article on the woman's movement, which gives the spirit of the new Council. The organisation is the first with a definite feminist object, and the meeting of the Council has shown that its formation has met a felt want. The Council has been formed not so much with a view to creating special work as for the purpose of collecting and diffusing information, and of increasing and stimulating the goodwill and zeal of our women, and suggesting the practical manner in which any undertakings may be carried out. Feminism seeks simply to make things more just, more natural, more social. It seeks to show that woman is something more than a material thing created to serve and obey man as a slave obeys his master, something more than a housekeeper and machine for producing children; that woman has moral worth and intelligence; that if it is her mission to perpetuate the species, it is not only bodily service she gives. She is also a mother and teacher with her brain and her heart. She must co-operate with man as his counsellor and friend, and not as his slave.

Feminism demands that in the life of the home and in maternity, conscience, foresight, and responsibility should be guiding principles; that a woman should have full right to administer her property and earnings; that the law should establish her full right to a part in the education and upbringing of her children, and should exact in return her complete responsibility for her acts; and that for this it is necessary that she should have the opportunity of developing her faculties of judgment and reason, which cannot ripen without a full knowledge of life.

Feminism demands that the sex of an individual should in itself not be made either a help or a handicap in the undertaking of any human activity; that woman should be considered equal to man in social value. It asserts that there is no justification for keeping her a perpetual minor, as do the laws of nearly all countries; and that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work. Feminism demands that all mental and physical opportunities should be open to women in arts, industry, science, and letters.

The article calls attention to the enormous progress made in recent years, and gives credit to the pioneers of all nations: Hypatia, the great philosopher, who was murdered by the ignorant mob; Sofia Germain, whose mathematical studies had to be carried on in secret; Olympe de Gouges, martyr to her audacious belief that woman is born free and with equal rights with man; Elizabeth Blackwell, who, in spite of ridicule and abuse, became the first woman graduate in medicine; and Marie Popelin, who struggled for twenty-five years, but died before her country had opened the legal profession to women. It points to the progress made to-day, when Mme. Curie is recognised by the Institute of France, and Jeanette Rankine sits in the United States Congress. Thanks to thousands of self-sacrificing pioneers, woman had advanced to the position of consideration she held at the end of the historical epoch which closed for Europe and North America on August 1st, 1914. When the peoples turn again to peace a new force will have to be taken into consideration—the new woman.

In the war women have demonstrated their aptitude in every sphere, and have proved their contribution to the life of the nations to be invaluable. These facts have afforded a convincing proof of the hitherto disputed affirmations of the feminist. They have proved the truth of the fundamental assertions of feminism that "in the life of humanity woman is equal to man; in the life of society she is of the same value." The prejudice against women is at an end; the hour of reparation is here, and with it the recognition of the rights of women. This is the work of the historical era which peace will initiate, and the coming century will praise the word "feminism" as the past has praised the word "slavery."

The following are the names and addresses of the Secretary of the Council, and of the Presidents of the different Commissions: General Secretary, Dra. Francisca Beretervide, Yaro, 1,312, Monte Video, Uruguay; General President, Dra. Paulina Luisi, Paraguay, 1,286; Education, Enriqueta Compte y Riqué, Gral Luna, 1,270; Suffrage, Carmen Cuestas de Nery, Pte. Berro, 38, Pocitos; Legislation, Dra. Beretervide; Peace and Arbitration, Elisa Villemur de Aranguren, Rio Negro, 1,495; Hygiene, Cata Castro de Quintela, 8 de Octubre, 217; Immigration and Emigration, Maria Passano de Flocchi, San José, 1,436.

**International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton St., Piccadilly, W.
FOR MEN AND WOMEN.**

Subscription: London Members, £1 11s. 6d.; Country Members, £1 5s. per annum from date of Entrance. (Irish, Scottish, and Foreign Members, 10s. 6d.)

**Weekly Lectures. House Dinners.
Discussion Teas Every Saturday Afternoon
AT 4 O'CLOCK.**

Feb. 2.—The Swine Gods. MIRIAM BLOCH.
" 9.—Poland's Life as a Nation. W. MAJDEWICZ,
S.U.O.U., President Polish Circle in London.
" 16.—Women as Masons. Mrs. St. JOHN.

**NEW LIBRARY and SMOKING ROOMS
NOW OPEN.**

**Valuable Feminist Lending & Reference Library.
FREE TO MEMBERS.**

EXCELLENT CATERING
LUNCHEONS AND DINNERS A LA CARTE
ALL PARTICULARS—SECRETARY. Tel.: 3932 MAYFAIR

**WORLD'S "The Women's International Quarterly."
Y.W.C.A.**

A magazine of 64 pages. Was founded in October, 1912, as the official organ of the World's Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association, and with the purpose of serving as a means of communication between the leaders of Christian and Social work among women and girls, whether connected with the Association or not. Its aim is to help the women of to-day in the interpretation of Christianity, and in the application of Christian principles to the conditions of modern life.

Articles and news appear in English, French, and German, and contributions are received from many parts of the world from those who are seeking to serve the Women's Movement from the Christian standpoint.

Subscription, 2/- per annum, post free to any part of the world.
Specimen copies free on application to the Office Secretary, World's Y.W.C.A., 22, York Place, Baker Street, London, W. 1, England.

The Catholic Suffragist

(Organ of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society).

PUBLISHED ON THE 15th OF EACH MONTH.

PRICE 1d. (Annual Subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.)

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY,
55, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

"THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT"

(Editor: E. Sylvia Pankhurst).

ADULT SUFFRAGE, PEACE, SOCIALISM,
WOMEN'S INTERESTS.

OF ALL NEWSAGENTS, OR

400, OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E. 3.

Every Saturday.

—:o:—

One Penny.

EVERY FRIDAY.

ONE PENNY.

THE VOTE

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE PAPER.

144, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.

To the **International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.**

New York Office: 171, MADISON AVE.

* Please enter my name as an Honorary Associate Member,
for which I enclose the sum of one pound (\$5).

* Please enter my name as a Subscriber to "The
International Woman Suffrage News," for which
I enclose the sum of four shillings (\$1).

Name

(Please say whether Mr., Mrs., or Miss.)

Address

(*) Please cross out the entry not wanted.

THE HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE

and INTERNATIONAL NEW THOUGHT ALLIANCE (British Headquarters)

39, MADDOX STREET (HANOVER BUILDINGS), REGENT STREET, W. 1.
Tel.: Mayfair 4881 Secretary, Miss A. M. CALLOW.

SUNDAY MEETINGS, 11-30 a.m., are held at

THE GRAFTON GALLERIES, Top of Dover St., W.1.
And at 40, COURTFIELD GARDENS, S.W.;

Also a MEDITATION SERVICE, 11-30 to 12-30,

and
**EVENING MEETINGS, with ADDRESS, at 6-30
At 39, MADDOX STREET.**

These meetings are open to all those interested.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

Special Lecture at 4.30 at the Grafton Galleries. "Rhythm
and Religion," illustrated by Music and Plastic Move-
ment. Tickets 2/6 and 1/6.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

will hold

PUBLIC MEETINGS

On WEDNESDAY AFTERNOONS

at 3 p.m., in the

MINERVA CAFE, 144, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.

Feb. 20.—Miss Normanton. "The Worst Despotism—Dress."

Feb. 27.—Mrs. Aldridge on "Serbia."

Mar. 6.—Miss Lind-Af-Hageby.

ADMISSION FREE.

Tea can be obtained in the Café at close of Lecture, 6d. each.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage

Invites all Members and Friends to Unite in Observing

THE SATURDAY IMMEDIATELY

following the day on which the Royal Assent is given to the

REPRESENTATION of the PEOPLE BILL

as a

DAY OF THANKSGIVING

for the New Powers and Responsibilities conferred on Women,
and

THE DEDICATION

of these to the

SERVICE OF GOD

and the

WELFARE OF MANKIND.

Full particulars of Special Services in London can be
obtained from the Secretary, C.L.W.S. Offices, 6, York
Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

"Votes for Women."

(Official Organ of the United Suffragists.)

Published on the last Thursday of each month.

Price 1d.

(Annual Subscription, Post Free, 2s.).

United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

All communications respecting advertisements to be addressed to

The Advertising Manager, Miss F. L. Fuller,

99, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.

Telephone: 2421 Mayfair.