

JUS SUFFRAGII

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FRENCH EDITION.

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

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

Notice on the Policy of Jus Suffragii.

In the present critical position of affairs, when any reference to political conditions may hurt national susceptibilities, it must be clearly stated that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance maintains a strictly neutral attitude, and is only responsible for its official announcements. Reports from affiliated societies are inserted on the responsibility of the society contributing them. Other articles are published as being of general interest to our readers, and responsibility for them rests solely with their signatories.

First Woman Member of U.S.A. Congress.



Jeannette Rankin.

The election of a woman for the first time to the Parliament of a sovereign State marks an epoch in woman's political progress. It should do much to dissipate prejudice against women's participation in politics, and should surely hasten the enfranchisement of all American women.

Visitors to Headquarters Office.

Among visitors and inquirers at our information bureau have been Mrs. Mabel Potter Daggett, of New York City, and Mlle. Eudoxie Cutxan, of Paris, both of them engaged in writing on what women are doing in the war. We have been able to place our material (press cuttings and papers) at their disposal, and to furnish them with introductions.

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Headquarters Notes.

Many complaints have been received by the Headquarters Office of the very late delivery of the October number. Government regulations require that all printed matter despatched to neutral countries should go through a licensed agent. The October number was duly handed to the agent, but was mislaid in the warehouse, and only traced several weeks later. The Headquarters Office does its utmost to ensure prompt despatch, but is helpless in the matter.

Copies of the British War Office book on women's work have been despatched by the Headquarters Office to all affiliated societies.

Jus Suffragii can be ordered by American subscribers from 171, Madison Avenue, New York (N.A.W.S.A.).

Corrections.

TREASURER'S REPORT.—Under subscribers, Great Britain, names appearing as Miss Discow and Mrs. Martin should be Miss Dixon and Mrs. How Martyn.

LIST OF SUFFRAGE PAPERS.—The Church League for Woman Suffrage monthly paper was omitted by mistake. Publishing Office: 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C. 1s. 6d. a year, post free.

Features of the Month.

The event of the month has been the Presidential Elections in the United States, and the important part played by women has been so prominent in the world's Press that we may safely say that for the first time women as electors have roused world-wide interest. About four million women are said to have cast their votes. As might be expected, women's votes were not cast solidly for either candidate. Many women, no doubt—and many men,—voted for Mr. Wilson "because he kept us out of war"; others were influenced in favour of Mr. Hughes by his pronouncement in favour of the Federal Amendment, which would greatly hasten women's enfranchisement. American correspondents of British newspapers report that desire for a peace policy and support of Woman Suffrage were important motives with women electors. For the first time, all political parties and both Presidential candidates had Woman Suffrage in their programme. One unique result of the elections has been the election of a woman to Congress for the first time in American history. The State of Montana has elected Miss Jeannette Rankin to the House of Representatives. Montana enfranchised its women in 1914. Miss Rankin has been an active Suffrage worker, and is said to have ridden all over the State on horseback, addressing meetings of miners and lumbermen.

In Holland the amendment of the Constitution is still under discussion. The Government proposes to amend the Constitution so as to merely remove the existing obstacle to women's enfranchisement. It does not propose to enfranchise women, but to remove the present bar, and thus enable a measure of Women's Suffrage to be introduced at some future time. Dr. Aletta Jacobs sends an interesting report of the speeches in the Dutch Parliament. The only party which accepts the principle of Woman Suffrage in its party programme is the Social Democratic Party, but in this case it has thrown the women overboard, without even waiting to see whether the ship would not carry votes for all, men and women, safely into port. The Social Democrat, Troelstra, assured the Government that his party would not insist on the inclusion of women, and that it would support the Government's limited measure sooner than jeopardise more votes for men. So it has been in politics. Women have looked in vain for a political party which, besides mere lip service to justice for women, will fight with its weapon of political power for those who have not that weapon with which to protect themselves. So far no men in politics have been willing to sacrifice or risk further gains for themselves in order to gain any measure of justice for women. So much for political chivalry! We hope that the same thing will not happen in Great Britain, where Adult Suffrage is likely to become a leading issue before very long. A genuine Woman Suffrage party will place that issue first, and will reject every measure that does not include women. Will the Press and public, so loud in their praise of women's war work, still deny the elementary rights of citizens to those whom it implores to double and treble their output of work?

Denmark, which has expressed its need of women's co-operation in strengthening and protecting the country in the hour of danger, enfranchised its women in 1915, and is now calling upon all men and women of twenty-nine years of age to vote in a referendum on December 14 on the proposal to sell the Danish West Indies. In order that voters may have at their disposal material on which to form an intelligent judgment, the Government is sending to all voters (over a million) a copy of the report of the West Indian Commission three weeks before the vote is taken. Denmark is not afraid to consult its women citizens on such important points of foreign policy as the retention of its colonies, while the "Great Powers," who refuse to admit women to their councils, and entrust their concerns to exclusively masculine hands, are engaged in tearing each other to pieces and destroying the civilisations which have been the joint work of centuries of men and women. Monsieur Waleffe, as reported in another column, well says, bring in women and let them try their hand; it would be impossible for them to manage affairs worse than men have done.

Australia has taken a referendum of all its men and women voters on the question of conscription, and has rejected it by a majority of 61,000. The Women's Peace Army, the Women's Political Association (affiliated to the I.W.S.A.), and other women's organisations, worked against conscription, while the Liberal women (who in Europe would be called Conservative) on the whole are said to have supported conscription. Of course, the men on each side accused the women in the opposite camp of being responsible for their defeat. That plea is as old as Adam. Somehow, it is always the woman's fault, from Eve to modern times. What would have been said if women could have been accused of causing the war? No doubt if European women had had the vote they would have been charged with that awful crime. As it is, men alone must bear that responsibility. Let us hope that they will at least call women in to help in the task of reconstruction.

The formation and great meeting of the Federation of Northern Women's Rights Societies are events of great importance, and judging by the reports of its first meeting, held in Stockholm, should prove a power for good. That delegates should have assembled at this time, and faced the dangers of ocean travel to gather and work together for peaceful reforms, is a sign of great energy, vitality, and will. Women travelled from Iceland, through wintry and mine-strewn seas, and from Finland women of a belligerent empire joined their neutral sisters in order to discuss urgent women's problems such as the need of equal pay for equal work. Such determination in a good cause is a hopeful augury for the future.

M. S.

Woman Suffrage in Ireland.

The position of Woman Suffrage in Ireland differs from that in Great Britain in one important respect. The Home Rule Act is on the Statute Book, and, according to that measure, no change in the franchise can be effected within three years of its coming into force. It has, however, been admitted by leading politicians on all sides, that if this Act comes into force some form of Amending Bill will be required, if only to meet the changed conditions which must follow the war. The position of the non-party Suffrage organisations in Ireland is therefore clear. They demand that if any change be made in the government of Ireland, such change shall include the enfranchisement of Irishwomen, whatever form that change may take. They further demand that if any measure affecting the register of voters be introduced into the House of Commons, such measure shall be so drafted as to render amendments enfranchising the women of Great Britain and Ireland possible.

Now what are the prospects of success? In the first place, it must be noted, the intensity of party feeling in Ireland has rendered Suffrage work extremely difficult, in the North as in the South. During those hot years of party strife which preceded July, 1914, the non-party attitude was incomprehensible to the majority. To quote George Birmingham, if you were non-party you were regarded by the Unionists as a more dangerous Nationalist, and by the Nationalists as a more subtle variety of Unionist. Another difficulty in bringing home the need for Suffrage was the non-industrial character of the population. The problems of wages, of employments closed to women, of housing, with which Suffrage propaganda in Great Britain dealt so largely, did not appeal to a population mainly agricultural. Now, however, war pressure has rendered the

problem of safeguarding infant life, of industrial organisation, of better provision for education, of an urgency recognised by all.

There is, further, at least a slackening of party feeling and a growing acknowledgment that some issues exist outside the bounds of party which are of pressing importance. Then the work of women in Ireland, as elsewhere, has been recognised as indispensable to the very existence of the nation. Irish Suffragists at the outbreak of the war threw themselves into constructive relief work. Some organisations decided to include such work among their activities; others carried on their propaganda, and left the question of relief to their members as individuals. A motor ambulance was provided by one organisation, special industries organised by another, and so on. At the present moment all agree in the recognition of infant welfare as one of the most pressing problems. Both in Dublin and in Belfast, the rate of infant mortality, high before the war, has increased to a most serious extent. The Suffrage Societies have striven to force local authorities to recognise the urgency of the question, and their work in this direction has extorted from many formerly indifferent to Suffrage the acknowledgment that things would be better had women more power.

Ireland was at no time Anti-Suffrage; the traditions of the ancient Brehon law, under which women enjoyed special privileges unknown in Great Britain, are still felt in the country. Women have always borne a leading part in Irish political agitation, whether in the North or South. The difficulty has been to drive home a recognition that the enfranchisement of women is of more vital importance to the country than any other issue. Events are forcing the truth of this, and in these respects Suffrage work has been rendered less difficult by the war. There is further the suggestion that the Irish question shall be among those left to the decision of the Imperial Conference which is to meet after the war. Now, this Conference will represent the women of Canada, of Australia, and of New Zealand. For Irish Suffragists it is unthinkable that Irishwomen should have no share in a Conference which is to deal with such a purely domestic problem as the government of Ireland. The future may therefore be regarded with much hope, whether the question be of some measure of Electoral Reform which shall enfranchise the women of Great Britain and Ireland, or of some settlement of the Irish question which shall give the vote to Irishwomen. There is, however, one real danger. We have heard during the Home Rule agitation of former years that a question so entirely Irish should be dealt with by whatever form of Government may be set up in Ireland. This was the alleged reason for the refusal of Irish members to support the enfranchising amendment moved by Mr. Snowden during the debate on the Home Rule Bill in 1912. In reply to this Irish Suffragists point out that the questions pressing for solution in Ireland are peculiarly women's questions, and it would be monstrous if they are decided without reference to women. Suffrage propaganda is, therefore directed largely to emphasising the urgency of enfranchisement. In no country does the precept, "Educate, educate, educate," apply more forcibly than in Ireland. Indifference, not hostility, is the foe; it is for Suffragists to leaven that indifference with such a passion of enthusiasm that longer delays of justice shall be impossible.

DORA MELLONE,

Hon. Press Secretary, Belfast Suffrage Society.

Safeguarding Women Munition Workers.

"It is a small irony, but no small compensation, that the making of weapons of destruction should afford the case to humanise industry. Yet such is the case. . . . It may well be that when the tumult of war is a distant echo, and the making of munitions a nightmare of the past, the effort now being made to soften asperities, to secure the welfare of the workers, and to build a bridge of sympathy and understanding between employer and employed, will have left behind results of permanent value to the workers, to the nation, and to mankind at large."

Thus wrote Mr. Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions, in the autumn of 1916, in reviewing the eighteen months of activity that had passed since the creation of the Ministry of Munitions in London. During that brief period a revolution has been effected in British industry, of which perhaps the most notable characteristic is the advent of women in the munition works.

The women of Great Britain, as in other countries, had, of course, taken their share in the life of the factories since the beginning of the industrial era, and by means of national legislation and international agreements their position as "protected persons" had been painfully secured in the works. Night-shifts and Sunday labour had been forbidden to them, and their hours of labour were ever under keen scrutiny to prevent excess. Then the war broke out, and its cyclonic influence threatened for the time being to uproot every milestone of progress in this direction.

The danger was increased by the rise of a tide of opinion in this country which swept the women in their thousands into factory life. Many of these women and girls were not only new to industrial life, but were unacquainted with any work outside their homes. Their ready patriotism bade them submit to long hours and heavy work, without heed of surroundings or fear of consequences.

At this juncture the attention of the Minister of Munitions was called to the condition of the workers in the munition shops, and he realised that inexorable fact which is the keynote of the women's movement the world over. "The workers of to-day are the mothers of to-morrow," wrote Mr. Lloyd George, in a survey of the situation.

Measures were immediately adopted to improve the conditions of the workers in the factory. A Departmental Committee was appointed to consider all questions relating to the health of munition workers; a Canteen Committee was set up to assist in the establishment of factory dining-rooms; and at the Ministry of Munitions a Welfare Department was established, charged with "securing a high standard of conditions for all workers in munition factories, and more especially for the women and juvenile employés." Step by step the machinery is being set in motion to safeguard the well-being of the munition workers; for, in spite of the war, or perhaps because of it, public opinion in this country has been stimulated as to the value of the lives of ordinary people.

In pre-war days a small group of Eugenists here reiterated with emphasis: "A nation's wealth is life." During the years of struggle their gospel is slowly gaining ground as a national creed.

Scarcely twelve months have elapsed since the State came to grips with the human problems of the munition factories, yet much has been done.

The Health of Munition Workers Committee has investigated at factory after factory such questions as the employment of women, hours of labour, Sunday labour, industrial fatigue, canteen equipment, the dietary of workers, and juvenile employment. It has published its conclusions in memoranda stripped bare of officialism, so as to reveal with frankness facts acquired by the patient inquiry of scientists in touch with realities. The basic conclusion may fairly be summarised in a sentence: It pays to give the workers good conditions.

Working in connection with this expert Committee is the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions. It has closely followed the suggestions of the experts, and the emissaries of the Department are moving continuously up and down the country, now offering a suggestion to the management of a factory, and again assimilating some practical experiment in welfare work originated by an enlightened factory directorate. Thus a "pooling" of ideas is being effected, and isolated experiments of value are now being propagated throughout the country.

But possibly one of the most valuable tasks of the travelling officer from the Welfare Department is the suggestion to a management, which may be employing women for the first time, to engage a factory nurse, a woman doctor, or a woman welfare supervisor, who will undertake the entire supervision of the personal interests of the female workers.

A panel of selected women is in readiness at the official Welfare Department—women whose training for their special task has not been overlooked. Hence a busy factory manager has at hand a choice of welfare workers.

How excellently these arrangements can work out may be attested by the present writer. Given an enlightened factory management—and in these days enlightenment as to the requirements of women in industry is becoming as essential as a knowledge of the machines,—it is not too much to assert that the problem of the employment of women in unaccustomed factory tasks is solved.

In one large factory in this country a super-woman is apparently in charge. She deals with thousands of women workers drawn from many social grades. She has trained a staff of assistants in the housing of industrial immigrants—no

light task in a thickly populated area,—and has helped the successful organisation of huge canteens. She interviews all new employes, arranges for their necessary transference in the shops, inquires into complaints, initiates recreation for the girls in free hours; in fact, releases the manager from the stupendous task of the care of the feminine human factor in his works.

In another works the writer has noted the factory nurses attending to minor accidents of any of the staff. They live in a small flat over the ambulance and rest rooms within the works, and are ever present, cheerful and resourceful, and practising that greatest of war economies, the saving of human power.

At another factory in the North-country, where women had never been employed before the war, the principle of welfare supervision has been adopted in an informal manner. One woman, not even dignified with the name of supervisor, has been put in charge, and this one brain, aided by the enlightened desire of the managers to guard the health of their women, has evolved almost perfect cloak-room accommodation, and a canteen management of surprising sagacity. The food is abundant and inexpensive, and afternoon tea is arranged at a minimum cost of money and time.

Now and again one hears how improvements suggested for women employes are extended to the men. At a certain engine works, where in pre-war times women had never been employed, a travelling officer of the Welfare Department suggested that seats should be provided for the women employes. The management looked askance. It would be "such a bad example to the apprentices," it was stated. The point, however, was pressed, and on a re-visit, after a lapse of a month, the travelling officer found her suggestion materialised.

The manager then stated with surprised satisfaction that the seats "seemed to renew people," and he had accordingly extended the improvement to men.

What these pioneer factories are accomplishing with so much success during the throes of the great war can assuredly be achieved universally in the future.

The hope, then, is justifiable that the welfare of the work-people will become a commonplace of industrial life. It is for international women to see to it that this effort is repeated throughout the world.

L. K. Y.

FRANCE.

Public Opinion and Woman Suffrage.

Although Frenchwomen cannot yet flatter themselves with the fine hopes of the Suffrage that our English sisters see shining before them, nevertheless we may say that in France too the Suffrage cause has made serious progress, especially in the last few months, in spite of the intentional silence of Suffragists on the subject since the war, absorbed as they have been by more pressing duties.

We have not wished to ask anything for ourselves while our men were at the front, but we keep our eyes and ears open and watchful, and every new Suffrage Bill (so-called universal) finds us ready for the necessary inquiries and action.

Maurice Barrès.

Maurice Barrès' Bill to preserve the vote of soldiers who have died for their country has never been brought in in the Chamber; it is talked about from time to time, but it has not much vitality. It would give the vote to a woman or a man belonging to the family of the deceased, who would represent it until his own death, and who would be supposed to represent and give voice to the opinions of the dead man.

The Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes has no intention of using its influence to oppose this scheme, but it will take no part in it; it arises from a poetic and patriotic impulse, but in no way stands for the principle of women's votes. It would have the one advantage of accustoming people to the sight of women voting. As it would involve plural voting, the vote of the dead not being reserved exclusively for women, it would meet with great opposition in the Chamber from certain parties.

Possibly after all it will never be brought in, for we are happy to say that the celebrated author, Maurice Barrès, is in process of developing, as is shown in the following passage in an article in the *Echo de Paris* of November 13, 1916, called "Amongst the Widows of the War":—

"The wives and mothers whose home is bereaved deserve to inherit the civic legacy of those whom they have helped with

all their energy to save France. Before the war I had never given my mind to the claims of women, or rather, I felt repugnant to them, and saw no reason for them. To-day a series of facts, the whole experience of the war, have persuaded me. Our soldiers, in the great majority of cases, have received from their home, from their mother, and from their wives, powerful support. Large numbers of women work on the land, in munitions, in offices, in field hospitals. It seems to me just and right that those who have collaborated in the national defence should to-morrow be closely associated with the whole life of France. I am ready from to-day to join with them in this claim."

The *Echo de Paris* is much read in certain circles which are still out of sympathy with Woman Suffrage, and the opinion of M. Maurice Barrès may have considerable influence in these quarters. The president of the Union Française therefore wrote to thank him for having given public expression to his change of opinion.

Suffrage Bill of M. Roulleaux Dugage.

Another proposed Universal Suffrage law has been introduced in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Roulleaux Dugage. It demands an extension of the franchise to represent women and children, an important part of the population which at present is unrepresented. The Bill would give a personal vote to unmarried women, but would not allow it to married women; the father would vote for wife and children. A widow would regain her right to vote, and would exercise it for her children. The Bill, involving as it does plural voting, would meet with great opposition in the Chamber, and as it does not recognise in any way the right of the married woman to vote as a responsible person, but classes her with minors, we are not concerned in any way with the proposal.

The Suffrage Bill of MM. Buisson and Flandin.

The President and General Secretary of the U.F.S.F. have, on the other hand, taken various steps with regard to the Suffrage Bill introduced in the Chamber in June, 1914, by M. Ferdinand Buisson, and the discussion of which was arrested by the war.

M. Ferdinand Buisson not having been re-elected deputy, the Bill has been entrusted to a new reporter who has been appointed, and we may hope that the Bill introduced by M. Etienne Flandin will come before the Chamber before the end of the year. We are unable for the present to give further details about it.

THE PRESS.

The Press is more and more favourably disposed towards us, and in conclusion I will quote a passage by Monsieur de Waleffe and another by Monsieur Urbain Gobier, which both appeared in the *Journal*, one of the most widely read papers:—

"In view of the happy manner in which he has conducted European affairs, dare the European male presume to claim a monopoly of good sense? Women are deficient in genius? Agreed! All great discoveries have been made by men? Be it so! But, to reconstruct the France of to-morrow, we shall need above all laws concerning the birthrate, care of children, tuberculosis, alcoholism, good finance, wise economy. In our homes the qualities of men and women balance each other. Why do we destroy the natural balance in the home state of France? In any case, even sceptics admit what the result has been in the world of government by man alone. We risk nothing by associating woman with him. Even if she does no better, I defy her to do worse!"—*Maurice de Waleffe*.

The woman voter would mean the end of alcoholism and of prostitution; it would mean hygiene at school, in the workshop, in the factory, in the farm; it would mean equal pay for equal work, protection secured for children, for war orphans, for all orphans. The war, which seemed to provide an argument against Woman Suffrage, furnishes an argument for it. Women do not fight. Well, and what about men of 50, and the reserves, and the shirkers, and the mobilised men not called to the front? There are seven million male electors who will not have been under fire. The vote must be taken away from them or given to the women.—*Urbain Gobier*.

Our Suffrage friends will agree with us that if some degree of Suffrage is not yet guaranteed to French women, and if we must not rejoice too soon, nevertheless our affairs seem in a fair way.

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,

President of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes, Affiliated to the I.W.S.A.

GREAT BRITAIN.

National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies.

The Political Situation and Women's Suffrage.

The New Register Bill was introduced by the Government in November. Its object was to replace on the Parliamentary register men who had lost their votes through absence on service, and to place on the register men who would have been qualified to vote had they not been absent at work during the qualifying period. As no amendments could be moved to this Bill, it was universally condemned by the House of Commons because it did not go far enough, and the Bill has now been postponed. The Prime Minister has promised to consider, in conference with Sir Edward Carson and Sir John Simon, the best means for allowing the whole question of giving votes to war workers (which necessarily includes women) to be dealt with in the House of Commons, and a debate is expected to take place shortly on this matter. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies have been working in close touch with their friends on the conference memorandum, and quietly preparing for an active campaign.

A manifesto issued to the Press by prominent Anti-Suffragists on November 17th and 18th declares their intention to oppose by every means in their power the claim of women to the franchise. The chief points in this manifesto are dealt with in a letter signed by well-known women in almost every field of work, as follows:—

November 24th, 1916.

A manifesto has been issued by those who are opposed to the enfranchisement of women. It contains three statements to which we wish to reply.

The first is the statement that "for all practical purposes it may be said that there are only two alternatives. One is to maintain the existing law . . . The other is to sanction Universal Suffrage for all men and all women."

It is now admitted by all parties that the "existing law" cannot in any case be maintained, since it would have the effect of disfranchising all men who are absent on service at home or abroad, and all workers who have changed their residence to meet the demands of war work. The attempt to meet this difficulty by a Bill altering the terms of registration, but leaving unchanged the basis of the franchise, has apparently broken down.

A measure must therefore be introduced before the next General Election which, to a greater or less extent, will alter the existing basis of the franchise. How far one alteration will go cannot at present be determined, since the Speaker's Conference has been appointed for the special purpose of drawing up recommendations upon the form which this alteration should take. Our own attitude in the matter was made clear by the Prime Minister on August 14th. Speaking of the representations he had received from Suffragists, Mr. Asquith said: "If we are going to bring in a new class of electors, on whatever ground of State service, they (*i.e.*, Suffragists) point out—and we cannot possibly deny their claim—that during this war the women of this country have rendered as effective service in the prosecution of the war as any other class of the community.

The second point is this: Among those who have hitherto opposed Women's Suffrage there are some who, by their own admission, recognise "that the experience gained during the war has introduced some new elements into the case which will require careful consideration." We are probably right in assuming that among these "new elements" are the changed position of women in industry and the number of women who, owing to the loss of men in the war, are now heads of wholly unrepresented households.

But in the "careful consideration" of the industrial position of women which will be necessary after the war, not only in the country, but also in Parliament, it is essential that women themselves should be heard. Mr. Asquith has emphasised the urgency of this point. After referring to the "special claim" of women to be heard on questions of industrial reconstruction, he said: "I cannot think that the House will deny that, and I say quite frankly that I cannot deny that claim." Those among the former opponents of Women's Suffrage who also admit this claim cannot but recognise the necessity of enabling women to take part in the election of the Parliament which is to deal with reconstruction. It is obvious that this can only be done by including women in any franchise measure which is passed by the present Parliament.

The third statement to which we wish to reply is that "the present Parliament has no moral right to deal with the matter." In so far as the present Parliament has the moral right to alter the basis of the franchise and to bring in a new class of voters, it has the moral right to include women as well as men. Moreover, a majority of the present members of Parliament, previous to their last election, declared themselves in favour of the enfranchisement of women.

But in so far as this Parliament, or any future Parliament, is elected without the votes of women—of half and more than half of the nation (as the opponents of Women's Suffrage are anxious to show)—it must, in the phrase used by the Prime Minister in a different connection, "be described as wanting in moral authority, and not representing the opinion of the nation at large."

Another reply to the Anti-Suffrage manifesto has also appeared in the Press bearing the signatures of members of Parliament of all political parties in the House of Commons, members of the House of Lords, and dignitaries of the Church. The text of this letter is given below:—

21st November, 1916.

We have observed a letter signed by a number of prominent Anti-Suffragists, which declares in effect their continued opposition, at any rate at the present time, to any extension of the franchise to women.

We have always recognised that there were serious objections to raising controversial questions during the war. At the same time, if the franchise of this country is to be remodelled on new principles, and a large number of male voters introduced who are not qualified under the existing laws, actually or potentially, we feel that it would be a very grave injustice to women that their case should not be considered at the same time.

There must not be a repetition of what has too frequently occurred in the past, namely, the application of a rule which enables the electoral interests of men to be considered, while those of women are disregarded.

Millicent Fawcett Hospital Units in Russia.

Mrs. Elborough, the secretary of the Units, has been in Russia for six months. During that time she visited all the hospitals where the doctors and nurses of the Millicent Fawcett Units are working. These visits involved long journeys to various districts where the hospitals are situated—Petrograd, Kazan (children's hospital), Chulpanova, Stara Chelnoe, and Zaleschiki, in Galicia. The hospital at Kazan has many cases of scarlet fever and diphtheria, mostly refugee Jewish children. The Zaleschiki Unit is fighting an outbreak of smallpox. The doctors have opened a "barak" for smallpox patients in a little town ten miles from Zaleschiki, and are working tremendously hard.

Scottish Women's Hospitals.

ROUMANIA.

News has been received first hand of Dr. Elsie Inglis's unit and Mrs. Haverfield's motor transport, who were with the Serbian division in the retreat from the Dobroudja. After the evacuation of Meddigia, Dr. Inglis was able to organise rapidly and set up dressing-stations at every available point, and followed in the wake of the retreating army, succouring large numbers of wounded. Her hospitals were almost the last train load across the Tchernavoda bridge before it was destroyed. The unit encountered terrible hardships in their work of rescuing the wounded, chiefly from lack of food and sleep, and the bad road, which rendered their task extremely difficult. The latest cable announces the safe arrival of the unit at Odessa, where it is refitting, much of its equipment having been lost in the retreat.

MACEDONIA.

Dr. Agnes Bennett's unit is doing exceedingly good work at Ostrovo, where conditions make the work of medical relief very arduous, owing to the bad weather which hinders transport of the wounded from the fighting line, and lessens the chances of saving their lives.

SALONIKA.

Dr. Louise McIlroy has been awarded the medaille de guerre for her services.

Miss Kathleen Burke, honorary organising secretary of the London Units of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, has sent £1,000 to the Scottish Women's Hospitals, proceeds of her tour in America.

Women and War Work.

In the introductory note to the "Report on Women's War Work in Maintaining the Industries and Export Trade of the

United Kingdom "the Adjutant-General of the Forces makes a statement which would no doubt have been received with contemptuous amusement a year before the war. "Women," he says, "have shown themselves capable of successfully replacing the stronger sex in practically every calling." A few of the processes in which women are successfully replacing men may be quoted here:—Twenty-five processes in furniture making, 78 in boot and shoe making, 19 in grain milling, and 53 processes in papermaking. In some of the national factories set up by the Ministry of Munitions women labour amounts to as much as 95 per cent. of the total. A well-known member of the Institute of Automobile Engineers, who has taken a leading part in the dilution of labour, gives it as his firm conviction that should the need arise, he could build a battleship from keel to aerial, in all its complex detail, and ready for trial, entirely by women's labour. This is a claim which not even the most pronounced feminist would have ventured to make.

Medical Women in Military Service.

The number of medical women now working in military hospitals at Malta is 80. The Royal Army Medical Corps are asking for 50 more medical women for service at home.

E. PALLISER.

* A copy of this document has been sent by the Headquarters Office to all affiliated societies.

Workers' Suffrage Federation.

If women are not to be ignored in the Suffrage changes contemplated by the Government, propaganda work must go forward without relaxation during the coming months, until women are definitely admitted to the franchise on a democratic basis. The Workers' Suffrage Federation, realising this, brought together an Adult Suffrage Joint Committee, and a demonstration was held at the Euston Theatre on October the 8th last. The following resolution was passed unanimously with great enthusiasm: "That this mass meeting, realising that all men and women have an equal claim to the franchise, calls upon the Government to introduce not a Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give a vote to every man and woman who has reached the age of 21 years." Sixty-three women's and Labour organisations took part in the demonstration.

On the 12th October a similar demonstration took place in the City Hall, Glasgow, and the same resolution was passed unanimously.

On September 2nd, a Conference of all Labour and Women's organisations in East London was held to discuss the industrial and political position of women now and after the war. A good discussion took place. In Barking a demonstration was arranged with the Trades Council in favour of Adult Suffrage.

Regular "At Homes" are being held every Thursday afternoon at Chandos Hall, Maiden Lane, W.C., at which subjects of importance to women and Labour are discussed. These "At Homes" are part of a comprehensive scheme of education for the winter months, which includes public meetings on Friday and Sunday evenings at 400, Old Ford Road. In addition, an extensive open-air campaign goes on concurrently with our other activities.

In the provinces we are making good progress. Mrs. Stephen is forming a number of new branches in Yorkshire. Our Leicester branch is calling an Adult Suffrage Conference of all local organisations.

Our London headquarters continue to be the centre of an ever-growing social work, with the details of which readers of *Jus Suffragii* are familiar. Our latest enterprise is the formation of a Montessori class for babies in the Nursery. Miss Muriel Matters, who was trained under Madame Montessori in Spain, is responsible for this work, and the formation of the class is due to her energy and enthusiasm.

On December 7th, 8th, and 9th, we are holding an exhibition and bazaar at Caxton Hall, Westminster. The openers are Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. J. M. Hogge, M.P. (who has done so much good work for soldiers' and sailors' pensions and allowances), and Miss Emily Hobhouse. There will be Sweated Industries, Mothercraft, and Food Prices exhibits, and a demonstration of Montessori methods of education. Miss Norah March will lecture on sex education; and the Proportional Representation Society have arranged to conduct a ballot to illustrate the practical working of their system of voting.

There will be an exhibition of the toys made at our toy factory, and we hope that all our friends and sympathisers will do their Christmas shopping, as far as possible, at the bazaar.

Northern Men's Federation.

A mass meeting of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage was held on December 3rd in Edinburgh, at which Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett presided. She said that the meeting was called to protest against any Register or Franchise Bill going through Parliament without the inclusion of women on equal terms with men.

Councillor Bruce Lindsay, J.P. (Edinburgh), said that he believed that when women obtained a voice in Parliament there would be a new heaven and a new earth for men.

Baillie Hamilton Brown, J.P. (Glasgow), said that before long, if the vote was denied to women, there would be a hurricane over the land, because votes for women was not a programme, it was a passion.

Councillor Doolan (Glasgow) said democracy was impossible while woman was the political serf of man. If the women of Europe had been consulted on the policy which brought about this war, it never could have come about. It was absolute folly on the part of the trade-union movement of the country if they did not help women to get the vote.

Mr. Brunton, Trustee of the Trades Council, Edinburgh, said Mr. Asquith had tried to break the spirit of the women of this country, but he had failed to do so.

Mr. Wilson McLaren, Edinburgh Executive N.M.F., passed a vote of thanks to the speakers.

The sale of the Northern Men's Manifesto, signed by the sixteen Glasgow magistrates and the Northern Men's Federation Executive, was brisk as a result of the speeches.

CANADA.

British Columbia.

REFERENDUM SHOWS 2 TO 1 MAJORITY FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Our majority without overseas soldiers' vote in Suffrage is 26,700. I think the soldiers' vote will make it 30,000. So far it is two to one in favour—a record which is hard to beat. The age of chivalry is surely reviving!

In regard to the Dominion vote, the present usage (law) has for many years been that Provincial voters' lists have been used for Dominion elections. In an interview recently Prime Minister Borden said that, while this is the present law, it is possible to change it. I do not think, however, it is at all likely that it will be, in the face of all Western Provinces being for Woman's Suffrage; it would not be a wise policy for any party to be responsible for such legislation.

Next March our women can vote as soon as registered, and can sit in Parliament just as the men, and on the same terms. We count one more privilege than Australian women. I do not think there will be any Dominion legislation regarding Woman's Suffrage until the Eastern Provinces get it, and then probably a general measure will be passed enfranchising women. We certainly will test the present law at the first Dominion election.

MARIA GORDON GRANT.

NEW ZEALAND.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Veneereal Disease.

A particularly hopeful campaign has been inaugurated in New Zealand under the Department of Public Health. The increase in veneereal disease had led to more decided action as regards the segregation for cure of both men and women engaged in immoral traffic. Much correspondence has taken place, and the Department has made it clear that it has no intention of reverting to any principle of the C.D. Act, while it is determined to root out disease as far as possible. The Minister for Public Health, the Hon. G. W. Russell, has declared for an educational campaign to break up the old conspiracy of silence and ignorance. The Hospital Boards (composed of men and women) are assisting the Department in organising public lectures, those to women being given by women doctors, notably those already in Government employ as inspectors of public schools and the health of factory employees. Medical examinations and reports in connection with diseased women under the new regulations are to be conducted by women nurses and doctors. A conference has been proposed of women, either medical experts or members of Hospital Boards, to settle more extended schemes of dealing with these diseases, and much good is expected from this crusade of public health and morality.

THE NETHERLANDS.

Woman Suffrage Debate in Parliament.

Woman Suffrage is now in the Netherlands one of the topics of the day. The Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht did what could be done to make the cause in our country as popular as it could become. From the moment Parliament began its sessions this year, the 19th of September, there is daily a watch of twenty-five or thirty, sometimes even more, women standing at the entrance of the Parliament building, from morning till evening, till the last M.P. has gone. At the beginning these women were ridiculed, but by-and-by the men began to understand what it meant for women of different classes, married and unmarried, young and old, to stay there in wet and cold weather waiting till justice is done to them. At the same time the public and private tribunes of the House are daily crowded with women, and the President of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht, with one of the members of the Board, are always sitting in the private box of the Speaker of the House to listen to the discussions on Woman Suffrage and to be at hand to give the necessary information to the M.P. friends of our cause. On October 18th, the day that the discussions about Woman Suffrage in Parliament really began, the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht assembled many thousands of women from all parts of the country in The Hague, and that crowd went together to the Binnenhof to present an address to the M.P.'s, in which is claimed *Universal Suffrage for Women in the new Constitution*. As I have reported before, it is not allowed to hold demonstrations or to march in procession in The Hague during the war; but one of the members of our Board, Lady Sophie Wichers, has made "an impossibility possible," as one of the papers called it. We were divided by her into groups of twenty-five women, walking behind each other, but with a space of two metres between every group; and this endless chain of women, which began in the Dierentuin, marched on to the Binnenhof, where the first women had long arrived before the last had left the starting-point. The Speaker of the House received a deputation including Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs, Miss Van Lanschot Hubrecht, and Lady Wichers in his room to place in his hands the address, and to listen to what the women had to say to him. In his answer he gave the assurance that he is a convinced believer in our cause, and would be only too glad if the M.P.'s would and could assent to our wishes. As they are of great importance, I quote here a part of the speeches which were made by the leaders of the different political parties and some of their members in regard to Woman Suffrage. I shall give them in the same order as they were delivered.

MR. VAN IJDSINGA (member of the Histor. Cleric. Party): I am of opinion that nowadays it is impossible to refuse women a vote because of their incapacity. I believe that the most incapable woman is at least better fitted to vote than an incapable man. But I am against Woman Suffrage, and will vote against it, because the right to vote is given to the voter not for his own benefit, but for the benefit of society. And I believe that society will be better served by *not* giving women the vote, because of the high moral duties they have to fulfil in society. For this reason the women must not be troubled with the burden of the ballot. But I will not deprive legislation of the advice of women. Therefore I propose to create an Institution, a kind of a Council of Women, which should consist of twenty-five women, elected only by the women of the country, and with the Queen as President, in which all questions of importance for women and children should be discussed, and out of which three women should be chosen to represent that body in Parliament, with the right to speak there, but not the right to vote. If we give the women this opportunity to make themselves heard in Parliament they will certainly be satisfied.

MR. DE SAVORNIN LOHMAN (Leader of the Histor. Cleric. Party), a man of more than eighty years old: From a clerical point of view there are no reasons to exclude women from the right to vote. And to take in consideration the nature of women, then we must say also there are no obstacles. But there are qualities which make some women unfit to vote. But one can say the same of some men. And we must admit that in several cases of great national importance the co-operation of men and women will have the most desirable results. I only wish to remember what the women have done to ameliorate international hatred, to protect the unmarried mothers, to fight against alcoholism, etc. And if we attend their public meetings, if we follow the way in which they propagate for questions of general importance, then we must say they do all

that with at least the same ability as men do it. We are now living in a time in which one must find reasons why we give the vote to some persons and refuse it to others. I have been on the look-out for reasons why women ought not to have a vote, and I must confess that I could not find one reason why unmarried women ought to be excluded from the vote. But for married women the case is not the same. They are not less capable or of less value than the unmarried ones, and I am not afraid that the vote for married women will multiply quarrels in the home; but married women, like soldiers in barracks, are not free. If you insist upon giving married women a vote, I should then rather propose to give the married men two votes. Married women have such important household duties that there is no time left to attend public meetings, and when, before elections, the whole atmosphere is soaked with political bacilli they might become infected, and be unable to fulfil their regular task at home. For this reason I can never give my vote to "Suffrage for Married Women." And it is for this reason also that I cannot vote for a Constitution in which the Suffrage for *all* women is laid down.

MR. DE BEAUFORT (member of the Conservative Liberals).—(In Holland there exists a political party of such a "contradictio in terminis" name. The members of that party are Conservatives, but as they are not clericals, they call themselves Liberals. They are the greatest opponents of the Clericals, and at the same time are of a most Conservative character. They prefer to be called Free Liberals; but these men are not free, and not liberal in their thoughts and opinions, and if our country contained a majority of them we would still live in a prehistoric condition. Notwithstanding, they are not against Woman Suffrage; but not yet, later.)—Mr. De B. said: I am convinced that it will be better for society when the women can determine for themselves what ought to be their functions in society. The Netherlands have always had excellent women, but our great women of the past never asked for a vote. It seems, however, that time has changed, and that they now want a vote. Therefore, we must give them the possibility to gain the Suffrage and take the obstacles out of the old Constitution. They say women feel very much interested in the Suffrage question, and according to what I see every day—women who brave cold and wet weather to wait for their ballot,—I must admit that several of them want a vote. Only this morning a poor woman handed me a petition for Suffrage of 10,000 labour-women, and I must say that seems much, but it is not, because in our country there are millions of women, and many of them do not want a vote. (The whole population of the Netherlands is not yet six millions. By Universal Suffrage for Women only 1½ millions of women could get the vote.) If we give all the millions of women the vote at once it would bring a muddle in the leading of all political parties. I feel sure that the women do not wish that.

MR. TYDEMAN (Leader of the Conservative Liberal Party): The Government will no longer limit the vote to the men, but will open the way to the political sphere for women. That shows a higher condition of culture in Holland. I agree with it. The position of the women in a country is the reflection of the mark of culture of a country. We are now living in a time in which we cannot longer exclude high-cultured women from the vote. But if we withdraw from the Constitution the obstacles for introducing Woman Suffrage, that does not mean that we admit that we ought to give women a vote directly. There can be reasons of great importance why a State ought not to enfranchise its women. I feel sure that a Parliament elected by the votes of women, too, could not be such a good one as it is now. Very probably it would be worse. I am not against Suffrage for the married women. I believe the married women are more reasonable than the unmarried ones. The married women, therefore, ought to have a vote in the first place. But let us not forget that, as a rule, Dutch women have not yet had a political education. Look at the lot of women who do not want a vote. Do not imagine that the Woman Suffragists are the type of the Dutch women. One must do homage to them for the clever way in which they propagate their cause; but it must not be forgotten that they are the élite of our women. For my part, the Government goes far enough, as it withdraws the obstacles to introduce Woman Suffrage; but let us leave it to the future to enfranchise our women.

MR. TROELSTRA (Leader of the Social Democratic Party): Woman Suffrage is, in the Labour Party, not in the first place a feminist question. It is for our party a question of labourers. Capitalism is worse for women than for men. By modern industry women are more exploited than men. Even

the married women are thrown on the labour market. There is no more liberty for women. Against their wish and will they are driven to the manufactories, and because they are women—not for other reasons—their work is paid less than that of men. And if one asks a vote for them to protect themselves, then the same kind of men as the employers are say that women belong to their family, that Suffrage will interfere with their household duties, that the possession of a vote will spoil them as women. The bad results of the exploitation of the women by the employers are felt alike by men and women labourers. They have to fight *together* against capitalism, and therefore women as well as men need a vote. This is not the same with the middle-class women. They have to fight *against* men on the labour market. The higher standard of life makes marriage more and more difficult in the middle classes, and therefore these women have to find their own way through life, and have to struggle against men for every footstep they advance in a self-supporting career. Is it not unfair of men to let women do all kinds of work for the elections, and to say to them on election day, "Now, you must stay at home"? From a practical point of view women have more right to speak of injustice done to them than the men. There are only 30 per cent. of men unenfranchised, and even with the existing system of Suffrage that number decreases every year. But the 100 per cent. unenfranchised women remain as long as we do not change our Suffrage laws. It is for that reason that the Suffragists are right, as they say that the revision of the Constitution is of more importance to them than to the men. But the Socialists will only accept Universal Suffrage for Women. When the Minister admits that women take part more and more in all kinds of social work, and are able workers; that they sit already in all sorts of Governmental and municipal committees; that they ought to have a vote to protect themselves; and where the Minister does not go farther than to introduce a Bill in which he only withdraws from the Constitution the obstacles for introducing Woman Suffrage, there must the Minister be afraid that if he asks more his Bill will not pass. The Social Democrats are of opinion that this Bill does not go far enough. The women ought to be enfranchised very soon, but the Socialists will co-operate with the Premier in taking what they can get now. *The Minister need not be afraid that the Social Democrats will insist upon giving the vote to the women this time. As soon as we have got Universal Suffrage for men in the Constitution, and the obstacles for Woman Suffrage are removed from the Constitution, we Social Democrats will help the women in the future in their struggle for right.* The women must understand that with what is proposed they gain already very much. They must not continue in asking more now it is so uncertain if we can get a two-thirds majority for a Bill which introduces Universal Suffrage for Men and Women together. It is true we have not yet heard all the political parties on the right side of the House; we do not yet know how strong the opposition will be. In the meantime my friends and I have amended the Bill so as to give Universal Suffrage for Men and Women; but if our amendment does not get a majority, *we are in no case unwilling to help the Minister to get his Bill to become law.*

MR. DE MEESTER (Leader of the Moderate Liberals): Now a few words about Woman Suffrage. I and my party regret that the Minister has not gone farther in his Bill than to remove the obstacles for Woman Suffrage. We all would gladly have given our vote for an article which introduces Universal Suffrage for Women. Only with Woman Suffrage will the ballot-box really reflect the voice of the people. It would be an advantage for legislation if the women in so many cases could give their point of view. I feel very sorry that this Bill, which in its first edition made it at least obligatory for the common-law giver to give a part of the women a vote, in its second edition has been altered, and now leaves it free to the common-law giver to introduce Woman Suffrage or not to do it. But where the Minister offers us in his Bill what was asked him by different Liberal Parties in 1913, we are obliged to vote for it as it is there. More so, now I and my party are of opinion that as soon as the Constitutional obstacles are removed Woman Suffrage will be a fact in our country in a very short time. I hope, however, that the Bill can be amended so that the Suffrage question for men and women will be solved at once. If we do not do that the agitation for Woman Suffrage will grow in our country, and will be stopped only by giving the women later what we had better give them now. The tenacity which the women show in the agitation for Suffrage has my full appreciation. I admire the women who with an

inexhaustible patience brave weather and cold to demand their vote.

MR. VAN DER VOORT VAN ZYP (Leader of the Calvinist Party): I am against Woman Suffrage, but if it is impossible to avoid it, then give it in the first place to the married woman. She is the woman in the full meaning of the word, as God intended her to be. That is all I want to say about this question.

MR. LOEFF (Leader of the Roman Catholic Party): I must first say a few words about passive Woman Suffrage (eligibility). All the speakers have forgotten it, and it is just the question that is laid down in the Government's Bill. I believe that it is a good beginning to let women first sit in Parliament, see how they act there, and if that is satisfactory, let them have a vote. Passive Woman Suffrage is only an extension of the rights women possess already, where several of them are actually taking part in all kinds of municipal and Governmental committees. And if there is really in our country a demand for Woman Suffrage, the constituents can easily bring some women in Parliament. That is, after all, the aim of Suffrage—to bring your own representatives in Parliament,—and as that is done by the male voters, women can be satisfied. And about active Woman Suffrage. For me and many of my party this is not a question of principle. There is a pro and a contra side to it. But we need not bring it in discussion now, where the Bill does not propose it; and we are determined not to go farther than what is proposed. We are willing to help the Minister in removing the Constitutional obstacles for introducing Woman Suffrage, but we will not go farther. In the last twenty-five years the woman movement has brought different surprises, and we do not know how soon we in our country may have to change our opinion about the place of the woman in society; therefore a Constitution, which cannot be changed yearly, ought not to contain obstacles for introducing Woman Suffrage when the time will be ripe to introduce it. A short time ago I read the book, *La femme au point de vue de droit public*, which was written in 1892. The author believed that the U.S.A. never could prosper if the example of some States was followed and more and more American women would have gained a vote. I am sure, if the author is still alive, he will now have changed his opinion, and who knows how soon we shall do the same in our country. With us the fruit is not yet ripe; we must wait patiently till that time arrives.

MR. VAN LEEUWEN (member of the Social Democratic Party, and a warm Suffragist): I see that the different political parties have no objection against Woman Suffrage from a point of view of principle; but some are afraid that enfranchised women will neglect their household duties, that Suffrage will have a bad influence upon family life and upon the women themselves. But, at the same time, everyone is sure that Woman Suffrage will come, that it is impossible to avoid it. From different authorities we are now in the possession of sayings that Woman Suffrage is not in contradiction with Christianity, and that the Bible cannot be used to oppose Woman Suffrage. This is a great advantage; in our country we can be sure that opposition from that direction never can be used again. But now the antagonism comes from the side of people who are afraid of the results. Have those members read the pamphlet sent to all of us, in which Dr. Aletta Jacobs has gathered the sayings of authorities in the U.S.A., Australia, Finland, and Norway about the results of Woman Suffrage in all those countries? And did they read what was said by a Dutch authority, the Director of the Medical Service in Amsterdam, about the beautiful results the Danish women have gained by their municipal vote in all kinds of social-hygienic measures? Why should we not profit by the good lessons other countries gave us. If we go to countries with Woman Suffrage, we will all be cured of our fear for the results, because we shall find there that Woman Suffrage has served to remove the bad results modern industry has upon the woman, her labour, and her family. We are not accustomed in our country to look at such big problems from a historical point of view; but we ought to do it. The woman movement is a struggle against the old barriers society has placed against their liberty, their independence. They will be free human beings, will choose their own place, their functions in society, themselves. The time that household duties took the whole woman and all the women has long been passed. The woman movement and progress in industry have gone hand in hand. In England, for instance, in 1790 only 60,000 women were working in manufactories, and in 1890 this number increased to 1½ millions. In Germany,

from 1882 to 1907, although only twenty-five years, the number of labour-women increased from 4¼ to 8¼ millions, and of those 2¼ millions were working in manufactories. In the same time the number of men labourers rose in Germany by 30 per cent., the number of women rose by 94 per cent.; although in Germany, where industry in the last few years has grown immensely, the increase of woman labour has grown just as strongly. It is a pity we have not reliable data for the Netherlands. That is because our Government never gave much attention to this social phenomenon. But we know that 28 per cent. of all women are working as wage-earners, and many of them are married. How many are in home industry we do not know. Of the eight million married German women, three millions are wage-earning outside the house. Is it, then, the vote that will prevent the women from doing their household duties? It is industry which has given the woman another place in society than in her home. The Anti-Suffragists ask us to respect marriage and household duties. But have they done anything to make it possible for the married women to remain in their home, to have a home for themselves and their children if they do not go outside their homes and work for it? In the Netherlands, of all women, 23 per cent. married women are wage-earning. And in all the countries the salaries of the women for the same work as the men do are lower than the men's. It is the same in France, in Germany, in England, in the Netherlands, and everywhere. They sometimes cannot even get half the price the men get. And it is the same with boys and girls, and for all branches of labour. Woman Suffrage will have for results that this exploitation of women will soon reach its end, that woman labour will be paid for at its value, and that it will be brought in accordance with the duties married women have also to fulfil as mothers and wives. In 1915 an enquête was made about the work done by women in different kinds of shops in the Netherlands. We learned then that young and old women were occupied 13, 16, and 18 hours daily, and that some of them never had a free Sunday. Now we ask a vote for the women; and who dares to say that women do not need a vote to protect themselves, and that Woman Suffrage will have bad results for society? We see the same in middle-class circles. In 1875 we had in our country 923 women teachers. In 1913 that number increased to 10,708; or, given in percentage to the number of male teachers in 1875, it was 7½ per cent.; in 1913 it was 32.9 per cent. Among the clerks in official offices there were in 1901 only 155 women; in 1916 there are 1,653. Among our students for different university degrees there were in 1904-5 9 per cent. women; in 1913-15 there were 19 per cent. women. In one year, from 1913 to 1914, the number of our women doctors, dentists, and chemists increased from 1,503 to 1,623. At our University for Engineers 6 per cent. of all the students are women. When all these women want a vote to protect themselves in life against exploitation, must we then say: We do not yet see that the fruit of Woman Suffrage is ripe; wait longer. Even pregnancy does not prevent the employers exploiting the women. The men are afraid to enfranchise the women, because they know that enfranchised women are not so easy to exploit as unenfranchised, unprotected women. My conclusion is: The modern system of industry has deprived the women of their useful, house-work, and uses now their labour forces. Who demands now that women should remain at home to do useful work there comes a century and a half too late. The industrialising of production has made that impossible. To renounce Woman Suffrage on that ground shows that such people do not see what is going on in the world. The Woman Suffrage movement and the Socialist movement are now going together. Whether they will remain together after the women have got a vote one does not know. But in different papers of the last few months feminists and Socialists speak the same language. In one of the Socialist weeklies last week was said by the editor: "If the M.P.'s are really Men (with a large M) they will now vote for an article in the new Constitution in which both men and women are given the vote; and if they do not do it, they show themselves insignificant men, full of selfishness, and of great narrow-mindedness. One of our professors, Professor Struycken, has said: "Woman Suffrage is for me of no great importance; but it is a part of the woman movement, and before we introduce Woman Suffrage we ought to be sure where the woman movement is going to." But if one studies the woman movement then it is clear in which direction it moves, and that we need not be afraid of the results. The women ask a vote to protect themselves against the bad results of modern industry, and to make themselves independent in the struggle for life. I am convinced that our women are ripe for the vote, and ripe for the task that awaits the enfranchised woman in

society. I hope that the M.P.'s, in whose power it now is to give the women the vote, will show themselves highly enough developed to grant the women a vote.

ALETTA JACOBS, M.D.,

President of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht (affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

(To be continued.)

In the *Maandblad* of November 15th, Dr. Aletta Jacobs gives a survey of the present position of Woman Suffrage in the Dutch Chamber. When she wrote, the general debates on the Constitutional Revision had just been wound up by a speech of the Premier, Mynh. Cort van der Linden.

"That in these debates," writes Dr. Jacobs, "the introduction of active Women's Suffrage was one of the main points, although it had not been mentioned in the Bill, can only be the result of the continuous action of our Union. In all parties . . . it is felt that *Women's Suffrage in our country, too, can no longer be avoided.* But with desperate energy every means to delay it is still being seized and utilised." Dr. Jacobs then says that it is argued sometimes against the introduction of Women's Suffrage that women would allow sentiment to have too much influence upon them, and that they would silence their intelligence when important questions were debated in Parliament. But it is impossible to silence the intelligence more than it has been done during the debates on Women's Suffrage. There has not been introduced one single objection of principle against it, not a single intellectual argument has been resorted to. Only sentiment spoke. All the arguments that were opposed to us can be reduced to this objection, that *the women with a vote would be the equal of men.* And against this man's vanity revolts.

The speeches all aimed at the same thing, though different words were used, and the Clericals spoke more openly than the parties of the Left. These—Liberals, Radicals, and Social Democrats—warmly pleaded in favour of Women's Suffrage; but . . . (and this but is so important!) *but not now.* It is true, this was not said in such simple words, but it was always the same tale: "We don't want to endanger the Constitutional Revision for the sake of Women's Suffrage."

The Clericals seemed divided on the subject, but in the ground there was a touching unanimity: "Objections from the Bible can serve no longer, therefore we shall be obliged to accept Women's Suffrage, but . . . not at present."

It is true one part of the Clericals was willing to give the vote to unmarried women, another only to the married; but always . . . not at present.

The speeches of two Clericals in particular are worthy of attention.

M. Idsinga had a project of a kind of privy council of women, chosen by all women over 25, which could be very fitly presided over by Her Majesty. This would be by far the better solution of the woman question.

M. Beumer has discovered that the Bible contains no express condemnation of Women's Suffrage, but the Suffrage movement is part of a movement which aims at the equalisation of man and woman. And this is in opposition to God's Word.

At last, on November 3rd, the much-longed-for Ministerial speech. But he who once called the introduction of Women's Suffrage a question of national importance, had to search now for an argument allowing him to evade solving this question to the good of the country. "Women's Suffrage," says the Premier, "cannot be introduced into the Constitution, because obviously this would mean Universal Suffrage. Now this has been acquired by men only gradually, while larger classes of voters were being educated. The same process must be followed for women."

And so spoke the men, who, when discussing Male Suffrage, had said: "It is the custom that voters first of all group themselves according to a very general creed or ideal, and then according to a general principle, a cry, the consequence and remote application of which can be seen only by the minority." This is for men. But for women a gradual education and knowledge of public affairs is first required.

And Dr. Jacobs concludes: "The higher developed a nation is, the higher is the place occupied by women in its midst. In our country the legal place assigned to woman is a very low one. It is difficult to say how long it will take before the Dutch men will have reached the degree of culture allowing them to grant woman the place she is entitled to. Perhaps our country will first have to know war or another big disaster before men will have reached the required standard."

RUSSIA.

WOMEN IN THE TELEPHONE SERVICE.

The Central Telephone Office at Petrograd employs about 1,000 women. Although the working day of each employee does not exceed six hours, yet the work is so strenuous that it results frequently in nervous breakdowns, and in almost every case the period of service is comparatively short owing to inability to continue the strain for more than a longer or shorter lapse of time. Every telephone employee has to attend to an average of six calls a minute. On Sundays and holidays, however, the number of calls rises enormously, sometimes up to 25 calls a minute. The pay until lately was only 35-45 rbls. (£3 10s.—£4 10s.) a month. Since the opening up of new avenues of employment, owing to the war, telephone employees began to leave the service, and the immediate result was the raising of the pay to 60 rbls. (£6) a month.

COURSES ON THE MANAGEMENT OF CO-OPERATIVE CONCERNS.

The Russian League of Women's Rights in Petrograd has inaugurated a one year's course of study concerning the various aspects of the co-operative movement. The course, which is open to both men and women, comprises a very wide range of subjects, which bear on the many aspects of co-operative activities in Russia and in other countries. The lectures cover the historical, economic, legal, and commercial points of view, and the organisation and the administration of both co-operative trade concerns and of co-operative labour organisations. A thorough study of the bank and credit system is included, as well as lectures on the science and practice of agriculture and farming.

The services of distinguished professors and lecturers at the Petrograd University have been secured, and the lectures are to take place at the lecture hall belonging to the Women's League.

WOMEN IN THE BANKS.

The Imperial Bank employs women by preference, and in the department dealing with the cutting of coupons women are employed exclusively, and the head of the department is also a woman. This circumstance seems to accentuate the high standard of honesty among women.

AMONG THE GOVERNMENT SERVICES.

Women are largely employed at the War Office, at the Ministries of the Interior, Agriculture, Education, Means of Communication, and at the Chancelleries of the Imperial Court and Crown Property. Their remuneration varies from £3 to £10 a month.

Notwithstanding the fact that women employees give general satisfaction in the departments where they serve, the law directs that women as a rule are not to be promoted to the higher and better paid positions in the Government Services.

—From the *Women's Messenger*, October.

SCANDINAVIA.

Conference of Northern Women's Rights Associations in Stockholm, November 10-11, 1916.

During the Northern Women's Congress in Copenhagen in the summer of 1914, new life was brought to an old idea of forming a closer working connection between the principal women's rights organisations in the countries of the North. It was generally felt that in questions of legislation touching women and children a great advantage could be won if the women of the different countries had an easy way of communicating and taking counsel with each other. Thus, at the Scandinavian women's meeting in Copenhagen during the month of January this year, held chiefly for the purpose of discussing such portions of the new marriage law as are still under revision, the Swedish delegates were charged with an invitation to the women's organisations in the other Scandinavian countries for a conference in Stockholm, preferably in the autumn of the present year. This invitation gained a hearty response from all concerned, and all through the preparatory work in the different countries it has been clearly shown how all and sundry have looked forward to the creating of this new bond of alliance between the women of the closely related Northern countries.

The Conference of Northern Women's Rights Associations took place in Stockholm on November 10-11. The invitation to send delegates had been issued by the National Swedish

Woman Suffrage Association, the Fredrika Bremer Association, and the Swedish National Council of Women, these organisations being represented at the Conference by Mrs. Anna Wicksell, Miss Axianne Thorstenson, and Mrs. Eva Upmark, respectively. Denmark was represented by Mrs. Astrid Stampe-Feddersen and Miss Henny Forchhammer; Finland, by Miss Aini Nevander, Mrs. Elin Holmberg, Miss Lucina Hagman, Miss Annie Furuholm, and Miss Olga Oinola; Iceland, by Mrs. Björg Blöndal and Mrs. Briet Asmundson, the latter having braved the dangers of the North Sea in November, and come all the way from Reykjavik to be present at the Conference; and, finally, Norway was represented by Miss Fredrikke Mörck, Mrs. Betzy Kjelsberg, and Dr. Dagny Bang. Besides these delegates, a number of other members of the various Associations had availed themselves of the invitation to join.

On Friday morning, November 10th, the meeting was opened by Mrs. Agda Montelius, who acted as president of the Conference. She expressed a warm and joyous welcome to the guests from the other Northern shores gathered here closer to join hands with the Swedish women in the common endeavour for the good of women and women's work.

The proceedings of the first morning exclusively concerned the discussion of the Statutes of the new organisation. Three different drafts of Statutes were submitted for consideration, but by mutual conciliatory advances an understanding was arrived at without difficulty. The name adopted for this, the first union of its kind, was *Nordiska Kvinnosaksföreningars Samorganisation* ("The Federation of Northern Women's Rights Associations"), and when the president declared this name to be adopted, and announced the birth of the new federation, this was greeted with applause.

The by-laws adopted were in essence as follows:—

The aim of the organisation shall be co-operation for attending to the interests of women in family, State, and community, as well as for questions of child legislation.

Women's Rights Associations (national associations) in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden shall be entitled to join the organisation, and in the organisation each country shall be represented by the boards or executive committees of the associations which have joined.

Meetings, on a smaller or larger scale, shall be held, at a date and place fixed by the organisation, when questions of importance to the Northern women arise and claim discussion. A meeting shall be held not less than once every third year.

In the voting, one vote shall be given by each country, if so demanded by any delegate present, otherwise *per capita*. A country that has joined the organisation shall have a right to refrain from participation in a common action decided upon by the other countries.

The programme and order of business at each meeting shall be fixed by the country that issues the invitation to the meeting. This country shall also elect the president and general secretary for the meeting; other functionaries shall be elected by the meeting.

To the smaller meetings each association shall send one delegate and one proxy. The number of delegates at the larger meetings shall be decided by the organisation on the motion of the country that issues the invitation.

Between the meetings, the work of the organisation shall be maintained by secretaries, elected, one for each country, by the boards or committees of affiliated associations.

In voting on questions arising during the time between meetings, each country shall have one vote.

When in the early afternoon, after an hour's adjournment for luncheon, the meeting had definitely adopted the by-laws, and thus the new organisation could be considered firmly established, to present satisfaction and for future good, telegraphic greetings were sent to Lady Aberdeen and to Mrs. Chapman Catt.

Raising the Status of Domestic Work.

A public meeting was held in the evening, when speakers from the five countries read papers on the subject of "Women and the Raising of Domestic Work." A crowded audience attended, as the question of domestic training has latterly been very much in the foreground of public interest. The papers read chiefly dealt with the improvements of the special domestic training in the different countries, and gave a very interested and many-sided picture of the energy and effort brought to bear on this important question by the women of our Northern countries. Sweden especially has in this respect been the pioneer country, and has done more than any other for the

efficiency of the domestic training given to its women. The speakers from the various countries were: Miss Eline Hansen, inspector of domestic training schools, for Denmark; Mrs. Ilmi Hallstén, for Finland; Mrs. Briet Asmundson, for Iceland; Miss Margreth Christensen, for Norway; and Miss Kirstin Hesselgren, factory inspector, for Sweden.

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

On Saturday morning, November 11th, the private meeting continued, open only to the delegates and the members of the boards of associations represented at the Conference. The business to be transacted was the appeal that had been sent previously to the various associations by Mme. Gabrielle Duchène, that there should be an international claim for the principle, "Equal pay for equal work." Miss Anna Kleman, who is an expert in these matters, gave an excellent rendering of Mme. Duchène's pamphlet, *A travail égal: salaire égal!* and stated in an impressive way how the question of wages, having become a more burning one with every year, has now reached a point where it is impossible to leave it without endeavouring with every available means to get at a solution—chiefly in the countries now at war, it is true; but it will be impossible for any country to stand aloof when this tremendous question has to be grappled with in earnest. In the words of the summons issued by the *Fédération universitaire de France et des colonies*: "It is necessary that women should understand that everywhere, where they replace men, it is their own interest as well as their duty to claim equal pay for equal work." As the number of women is so vast a majority, and the old theory that any woman should look to marriage alone as a means of living is entirely fallacious, there is now in the labour market an enormous army of women, mostly untrained and paid starvation wages; it is, therefore, a social question of the greatest importance to raise their conditions. Miss Kleman suggested that the new organisation might attempt this in three ways: in the first place, by bringing together and working out statistics on the wages of men and women workers; secondly, by an energetic action for the elementary justice of work being paid what it is worth, and not according to the sex of the worker; and, thirdly, by an appeal to the various Governments that this question should be included among the economic principles to be discussed at a coming peace conference.

In the following discussion the delegates related how Mme. Duchène's appeal had been received in the different countries. Mrs. Kjelsberg thus recorded the interest it had awakened in Norway, where the National Council of Women had at their annual meeting this autumn carried a resolution, which was to be presented to the Norwegian Government, claiming that an investigation on the scale of wages should be made, and also the necessary measures taken to support international action for the principle of equal wages. Also in Denmark an investigation on the subject of wages had been started; and in Finland, though no definite steps could there be taken, strong sympathy with the appeal had been felt among all the women's associations.

As there was among those present a unanimous opinion in favour of the principle which Mme. Duchène had worded in her pamphlet, the meeting decided that the Federation should include the question of equal wages among their work, that each country should approach it in the manner that was found to be most suitable in each case, and that the Federation should in due time consider and prepare the form of a common claim to be put forward.

Later in the day a largely attended meeting was held for the discussion of the "Valuation of Women's Work." Papers were read by Miss Anna Sörensen, Sweden; Mrs. Karen Grude-Koht, Norway; Mrs. Julie Arenholt, factory inspector, Denmark; Mrs. Björg Blöndal, Iceland; and Miss Annie Furuholm, Finland.

The discussion at this meeting was necessarily closely linked with the previous transactions of the morning, and brought forth interesting sidelights on the principle ventilated at the earlier hour. As each speaker stated the position of women in the trades and professions of her own country, it was clear that though details may vary according to different conditions, and in spite of new ground being broken, everywhere the long-wished-for aim—justice in the valuation of woman's work—still loomed in the distance, and would demand untiring effort to be reached.

This discussion brought the serious business of the Conference to a close.

All through the Conference, business and social gatherings

alike were borne up by a splendid spirit of fellowship and enthusiasm for the common work, which, even if it is going to be carried out differently as it concerns the welfare of women in different countries, yet will meet and blend in one endeavour for the achievement of the common good. A. L. B. Stockholm, November, 1916.

Scandinavian Women's Congress.

From "Hertha."

In her opening address Fru Montelius gave a short account of the circumstances which led to the formation of the Congress, and its aims and objects. After the conclusion of the great Women's Congress at Copenhagen in the summer of 1914, which was summoned for the purpose of discussing the proposed legislation on the marriage laws, which is a burning question in all the Scandinavian countries, a special meeting was called to consider the formation of a permanent union between the Scandinavian women's associations to enable them to confer together on any projected legislation affecting women and children. In spite of winter darkness and difficulties of travelling, delegates from Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland have responded to the call, and are greeted with a hearty greeting from the three Swedish women's associations which have sent out the invitations.

In these days when hatred reigns supreme in Europe, every effort for international friendly co-operation must be welcomed like a ray of sunshine, and Northern women at least should find it easy to work together, having common interests and a certain similarity of character. Fru Montelius concluded by expressing the hope that, though there might be divergences of opinion, there would be fundamentally a true union of hearts.

The presidential address was received with warmest sympathy, and the meeting proceeded to elect the officers and the Press Committee. The proposed rules of a permanent union of Scandinavian women were then discussed, and after an animated debate the union was formed with the object of promoting co-operation between Scandinavian women in all matters affecting the interests of women and children.

In the afternoon a public meeting was arranged to discuss the subject of "Women, and the Steps to be Taken in Order to Raise the Status of their Domestic Work." The hall was crowded to overflowing, showing the importance which is attached to the subject in the minds of both men and women. The chair was taken by Dr. Med. Carolina Widerström. An immediate solution of the problem cannot, of course, be expected, but the speakers gave interesting reports of what had already been done in that direction in their respective countries. The last speaker was the factory inspector, Fröken Kerstin Hesselgren, who gave an account of the pioneer work which had been done in Sweden for training women in domestic work by means of school kitchens, courses of domestic economy, etc., and though much remained to be done, the importance of the work was at last generally recognised.

The next morning was devoted to a discussion on women's wages and the possibility of this new Union taking steps in reference to the proposal of Mme. Gabrielle Duchène that international action should be taken by women to enforce the principle that the scale of wages should be independent of sex. Fröken Anna Kleman spoke about the reduction of women's wages during the war, more especially in France, but also in England and Germany. This reduction of wages had led Mme. Duchène to bring forward her scheme for a defensive alliance between the women of all nations. The discussion brought out the existing unsatisfactory conditions of women's wages even in the Scandinavian countries. The meeting decided to place this subject on the programme of the Union, and that assistance should be given to the promotion of united action by collecting statistics regarding the condition of women's wages in Scandinavian countries.

In the afternoon debate on the subject of "The Value of Women's Work in Public Estimation" a great variety of opinions were expressed by the representatives of the different countries, but all agreed on the main fact that the openings for women workers had increased in scope and number, but that there is still great difficulty in overcoming sex prejudice as to the value of women's work, even when it is incontestably equal to that of men. All the speakers agreed that in this matter women could expect no help either from State or Commune, from labour boards or wages boards, not even from their political friends. They must rely entirely on themselves.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Presidential Election.

The 1916 presidential election, just concluded, has demonstrated that once and for all the women of the United States are in politics to stay, and that in this great national election, which showed so many changes in the political complexion of the country, woman's vote and woman's bearing upon politics were of incalculable importance. In fact, some analysts credit women voters with the whole turn of the election, which hung for hours upon San Francisco, San Francisco in its turn depending in the last analysis upon the way the women voted. The result has been that newspapers such as the *New York Herald* are now clamouring for "federal election laws" to regulate the condition that allows women of some States to vote in an election in which women of other States may not participate. State after State, in sending election returns to newspapers and national party headquarters, is claiming that the women—whose vote was an uncertain quantity, and had been a source of great uneasiness to the party managers all along—have turned the tide in each case. So that for the first time in the history of politics in the United States women have been an all-important factor, and although only one-eighth of the women have the vote, this campaign has done more than any Suffrage campaign has ever done to convince politicians and the public alike that National Suffrage must be the next logical step.

One of the most spectacular efforts made by women in the campaign was that of the Woman's Party which the Congressional Union brought into being in order to mobilise the women voters of the West and defeat Woodrow Wilson, whom they considered "the foe of National Suffrage." It was the first time in our history that Suffragists have departed from non-partisanship. The representatives of the Woman's Party worked incessantly in the twelve Suffrage States, and their failure to carry ten of those States against Mr. Wilson, while a failure of the Woman's Party, was at the same time in a larger sense a triumph for women, for the Democratic women of the West as well as some of the non-partisan and independent women voters were waging an equally earnest and lively battle for Mr. Wilson. In other words, the Woman's Party represented only a minority of the women of the West, and their failure was only a failure for the Woman's Party. The thing for women to be proud of is that women were actively participating in the contest, and that the result hinged upon and was decided by their vote. It does not matter nearly so much that the Woman's Party failed as it does that the Western women had the balance of power in their hands, and used that power independently, courageously, without partisanship. Women have demonstrated that they vote according to their convictions, and such a demonstration commends the woman voter unqualifiedly to a democratic people.

It is not claimed, to be sure, that women did not ally themselves with existing political parties, for, having decided upon their candidates, women organised bureaux in connection with the campaign bureaux, and in every case did remarkably efficient and effective work. It was in this work that Suffrage campaigning had taught them many a valuable and unforgettable lesson about reaching the popular mind—the lesson of picturesque appeal versus the old, traditional, time-worn, political methods. As a result, the 1916 campaign for President was the most colourful campaign that the American people had ever seen, and the women supplied the colour. Transcontinental trains, ox-cart and automobile tours throughout the city districts, public debates, interesting advertising devices, all the spectacular effects, as well as some very monotonous but important work, were produced by the women. The campaign managers depended upon their women's bureaux not only for efficient canvassing, advertising, and all the old paraphernalia of political campaigns, but also for variety and interest, and they got from the women what they have been needing in politics for years.

One of the greatest glories to women at the polls in November was the election of Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Missoula, Montana, to the House of Representatives of Congress. Miss Rankin has been a leader among women ever since her college days. She won the fight for Suffrage for the women of Montana in 1914, she has done social service work, and served as field secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Her election by the women of her State is another proof of the independence of the woman voter, for she was

elected on the Republican ticket, though the State otherwise went strongly democratic. Miss Rankin is the first woman to sit in one of the most important Congresses in the world, and the women of the United States feel a great triumph for all women in her election.

It is with a sense of very near victory, then, that Suffragists survey the work of women in the past few months in the United States, for not only have women been accorded the unusual privilege of deciding who shall be the President of the United States for the term 1916-20, but by so doing they have put a premium on the woman vote for all time to come. From now on Woman Suffrage is to be a matter of weighty consideration, and before another presidential election faces the people, all women in the United States, instead of one-eighth of them, will be a part of the American presidential electorate.

—National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Affiliated to I.W.S.A.

New York, November 11th.

Jeannette Rankin Sent to National Congress.

Women of All Parties Worked for Her.

Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, has been elected to the National Congress. A great victory for women and for good government has been achieved.

For the first time in the nation's history women will be represented in Congress by one of their sex when Miss Jeannette Rankin takes her seat next March as a member of the House of Representatives.

After sweeping the State in the primaries last August, Miss Rankin was elected on the Republican ticket as one of the two Congressmen at large.

Her platform was National Woman Suffrage, child welfare, tariff revision, prohibition for State and nation, and greater publicity in Congressional records.

Says the *New York Times*: "Miss Rankin's triumph is all the more notable from the fact that Representative John M. Evans, Democrat, was also elected."

The *Boston Globe* says: "Her presence in the House of Representatives will change Congressional manners and customs for two years at least. Very likely no succeeding National Legislature will deliberate without at least one woman in its membership."

Miss Rankin—the Hon. Jeannette Rankin, of Missoula, Montana—is an ardent Suffragist. For a number of years she was one of the most valued organisers of the National Suffrage Association. She was chairman of the Montana State Suffrage Committee, which carried Equal Suffrage in Montana to victory in 1914.

Miss Rankin is a graduate of the University of Montana and the School of Philanthropy of New York City. She is of medium height, slight, with brown hair. She makes her own clothes and hats, and is an excellent cook.

Congressman-elect Rankin has great oratorical power and a striking personal appearance. She has tact, singleness of purpose, and an unusual combination of humour and earnestness.

She won the nomination for Congressman-at-large against seven men opponents by a 7,000 plurality. In her campaign speeches she said:

"Let the people know what's going on. That's the keynote of my platform. I'm going to win. I stand for National Equal Suffrage, and I'll bring it before Congress as soon as I arrive in the capital."

"This is not my campaign. The splendid vote I received in the primaries as well as the hearty reception I am getting throughout the State now, in my campaigning, is simply a demonstration of the determination of Montana women to have a woman to represent their interests in Congress."

"These women are fighting for a principle—a new idea in representation,—and they are standing behind me because they believe my candidacy means something bigger than sending Jeannette Rankin to Congress. I am surely grateful to the women for their loyal support, and I deeply appreciate the honour and the responsibility of their having chosen me as their candidate."

Although Miss Rankin ran on the Republican ticket, a great many women of other parties worked for her election.

—*The Woman's Journal*.

W. Virginia and S. Dakota have not been won for Woman Suffrage—they have not been *lost*, for they have never been held!—S. Dakota by a very small majority.

Women's Big Vote in Great National Election.

Women's Vote Independent and Intelligent.

Women voted for President in twelve States, and for delegate to Congress in Alaska. In only one of the States, Illinois, are the women's ballots counted separately from the men's, but the large number of women who went to the polls not only in Illinois, but in all the Suffrage States, are attested to on all sides.

Returns place the number of women voting in Illinois at from 650,000 to 800,000, or about 40 per cent. of the entire vote of the State. This is in spite of the fact that women could not vote for State officers, Congressmen, or many of the local candidates whose contests aroused much interest.

In Chicago alone, where more people voted than in any city in the country, 272,886 women cast their first vote for President, and in Cook County as a whole (including Chicago) the total number of women reached 305,964.

Fully 250,000 of the 600,000 votes cast in Kansas were by women, according to a despatch to the *Boston Globe*. In Utah snowstorms Sunday and Monday, and extremely cold weather Tuesday, it was at first thought would keep the women from the polls, especially in country districts. Both political party headquarters, however, say that the weather did not deter the women from casting their ballots in fully as large a proportion as the men. Between 35,000 and 40,000 women voted in Utah, it is estimated by the *New York World* correspondent. In the other Suffrage States the interest of the women, as shown by their voting, was universally recognised.

Press despatches from Oregon characterise the vote in that State as "tremendous," "estimated before the closing of the polls to be probably 85 per cent. of a total of 292,000 registered." In past Presidential Elections 77 per cent. of the registered vote was considered a high poll.

"The canvass shows that women cast the greater percentage of the vote," says one despatch.

A special despatch to the *New York Times* (Anti-Suffrage) from Chicago, November 8th, says:

"Election officials in Illinois pay a fine tribute to the women for the business-like way in which they handled the ballot. As a rule, they were much faster than the men. Some critics say this was because they voted straight tickets, but this was not borne out by the returns."

"In many districts schools of instruction had been maintained for several days. The woman who never voted before went to one of the schools, learned how to mark the ballot, and dashed to the polls, where there were long lines of voters waiting for a chance to get in the booths. The women refused to be advanced in line, and took their chances with the men waiting for their turn."

With regard to how the women voted, it is much more difficult to arrive at an accurate conclusion. The *New York World* (Dem.) claims that the women's vote was responsible for President Wilson's carrying Kansas and Washington, and that the women voted almost solidly for Wilson in California.

"Many Kansas Suffrage women resented the President's opposition to the Federal amendment for Suffrage," says the *World*; "but, having the ballot themselves, they conceived it to be their duty to vote on issues of great national moment, and they frankly met pleas for votes against Wilson with the retort, 'He kept us out of war.'"

"That the woman's vote for Wilson was not a partisan vote is shown by the fact that a complete list of Republican State officers were elected with pluralities running from 25,000 to 100,000."

Regarding the vote in Washington, the *World* says: "Woodrow Wilson can thank the women of Washington for the seven electoral votes which the State cast for him. For the first time in sixteen years Washington has gone Democratic, and the women did it."

"Just how much effect the Democratic slogan, 'He kept us out of war,' had on the women of this State is unknown, but it is certain that the 10,000 to 15,000 plurality which Washington rolled up for the President is due to the woman vote."

"Both Republican and Democratic campaign managers made a strong appeal for the women voters. They expected this vote would turn the tide, and it did."

The President's policy of peace, the child labour law, and other enactments that appeal to women, won their support in California, according to the *World*.

On the other hand, a despatch to the *Boston Globe* (Dem.) says that in Oregon "the women voted for Hughes"; and the *World* itself says that in Utah "there were no issues in which

women were directly concerned as distinct from issues in which men voters were interested."

In Montana, the *World* says that "the vote of the women was fairly divided between the parties, but women stood remarkably by women candidates and for prohibition."

In Illinois, where women's votes are counted separately, attempts to analyse a distinct "woman vote" proved unsatisfactory. The returns in that State, according to Press despatches, indicated that in Democratic wards the tendency was for Wilson to get a larger proportion of women's votes than of men's; and in Republican bailiwicks Hughes generally got a larger share of the women's votes than of men's.

One of the evident results of the campaign was the failure of the Congressional Union to swing the women's vote against President Wilson. Ten of the twelve Suffrage States went Democratic.

Of the independence of the women's vote, however, there can be no question. Kansas, nominally Republican, went Democratic by 27,000, but re-elected the Republican Governor Capper. California seems to have gone for Wilson, but Governor Johnson, Republican candidate for Senator, swept the State. In Washington, normally Republican, Wilson also won, but Senator Poindexter, Republican, was re-elected by 50,000 majority. Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho, which have usually been counted upon as Republican, went Democratic, but Wyoming and Idaho elected Republican Congressmen.

The vote of the city of Chicago complete for President shows the following:—Wilson, men, 211,639; women, 130,051; total, 341,690. Hughes, men, 229,886; women, 135,150; total, 365,036. Benson (Socialist), men, 21,747; women, 6,684; total, 28,431. Reimer (Socialist Labour), men, 593; women, 377; total, 970. Hanly (Prohibition), men, 659; women, 624; total, 1,283. —*The Woman's Journal*.

SWITZERLAND.

National Council of Women. XVIth General Assembly.

On October 14th and 15th the Great Hall of Geneva University threw open its doors to the 86 societies composing the Swiss National Council of Women. In her opening speech, the President (Mlle. Honegger) recalled the fact that the foundations of the Council were laid at Geneva twenty years ago, when the congress for women's interests was held in 1896. The president's report mentions that two brochures have been published during the year giving the results of two inquiries—one on sick nurses, the other on the conditions of women workers in small industries.

The Committee has taken public action by issuing an appeal for the unhappy Armenians, and by addressing various petitions to the federal authorities in the moral interests of our country. More than ever it is the duty of the Council to stimulate women to take part in the national life. Owing to the resignation of the board of officers, this task will fall to the new Committee.

Before the election took place, the assembly decided to increase the number of members of the Committee from 7 to 9, partly in order to enable different parts of the country to be represented, partly because of the increased size of the Council, which now numbers about 25,000 women.

According to the usual custom, a French-speaking Committee succeeds the late Zurich Committee. Mme. Chaponnière, of Geneva, is president; Mme. Dunant, vice-president; Mlle Jomini, secretary.

The various committees then reported.

Maternity Insurance.

The Committee on Maternity Insurance has worked indefatigably for thirteen years. When the new federal law on sick insurance was voted, it obtained valuable benefits for women, which it has made widely known to the persons affected, and of which many women avail themselves to-day. It was therefore able, on the suggestion of its devoted president, Mme. Pieczińska, to dissolve, with the feeling of having accomplished its duty.

Suffrage.

The Committee on Suffrage undertook an inquiry into the voting powers already granted to women in the various Swiss cantons. The result will be published in an article by Mlle. Dr. Graf, which will appear in the *Swiss Women's Year Book* for 1917. Mme. Pieczińska closed the sitting on the first day with an account of the development of the movement for national education, which was set on foot by her report to the

preceding assembly of the National Council. The women's societies of Geneva, Zurich, and Lausanne organised lectures, which have been very well attended. The Geneva lectures have been published in a very fine volume, a veritable encyclopædia, in which first-rate men and women experts treated vital questions of the past and present of our country, questions of history, politics, religion, political economy, art, and even military questions. On the other hand, Mme. Pieczynska has just published a small manual for the guidance of young mothers, called "The A B C of National Education." In the same spirit Mme. Blenlerwaser has published a manual in German, and an Italian edition is in preparation.

The success of these lectures and publications is strong evidence that the first care of Swiss women is to do their whole duty to their country in its hour of danger. Another proof is the subject chosen for discussion for the second day of the Geneva assembly. Mlle. Dutoil and Mlle. Zehnder presented, each one in her own language, two reports on "voluntary civic examinations for young girls." Each speaker had laid down a programme of examination, the German programme being more practical, the French programme more intellectual and abstract. They were both very complete, very difficult, incomparably more difficult than the examinations for recruits, and more appropriate for a preliminary professional examination than for a civic test, which ought to be within the powers of the great mass of the people. Now, the object of these examinations was to prepare women for their future duties as citizens, and to enable them to deserve new rights. At this declaration the meeting protested as one man. "What special preparation do young men receive in view of their political rights? Why should more be demanded of us?" From the practical point of view the plan was freely criticised.

But where the whole meeting agreed with Mlle. Dutoil and Mlle. Zehnder was in recognising the need for a better preparation of girls for their future duties, both by free lectures and by school reform. The problem was thus presented in a new light, and the assembly confined itself to sending it for consideration to a committee, with the request that it might be studied in common by members of other large societies of women. Moreover, the Committee was instructed to write all allied societies to demand of their respective school authorities the establishment of compulsory domestic economy teaching where it does not already exist.

Having thus completed its programme, the society was able to give itself up to the relaxations arranged by the Geneva societies. The delegates adjourned to the Parc des Eaux Vives, where round tables gaily decked with flowers they heard one speech after another. The dominant note was an appeal for unity, which all Swiss women ardently desire, but are not agreed on the means of realising it.

Concord was shown not only in words but in deeds. Geneva received its guests with the greatest cordiality, so that every visitor met friendly faces, and at the Saturday soirée and in the Palais Eynard, everyone, from however remote a district, felt at home. Folk songs in the Bernese and other dialects were given, and were at the same time a hymn to our common fatherland where contrasts join and opposites unite, and an appeal to other divided countries—a ray of hope for their future union.

EMMA PORRET,
President of the Feminist Union of Neuchâtel.

The Communal Vote.

In Berne, a Bill to confer the communal vote on women has been introduced by the Socialist Deputy, Munch. This is the first time that the subject has been discussed in a Swiss cantonal parliament.

In Berne and other districts women taxpayers formerly had the right to vote by proxy. They lost this right when the law was revised in 1852.

In 1912, and again in 1916, a motion was submitted demanding women's eligibility for Committees on Poor Relief and Education. It was successfully carried this year, but a motion for women's eligibility for Committees on Guardianship was defeated by a majority of three (68-65).

After the introduction of the Munch amendment a petition was drawn up in support of it, signed by 20 women's societies in the canton, and transmitted to the Grand Council.

A large committee was then formed to take action. It publishes a special paper, *Die Bürgerin* (*The Woman Citizen*), well edited and full of facts. It organises lectures throughout the canton. Village pastors, and women who have never spoken

in public, come forward to speak in support. The campaign was brilliantly opened on October 27th by a great public meeting. The hall of the Grand Council was crowded to suffocation, and Mlle. Graf, president of the Committee, made a magnificent speech, showing the close concern of women in the communal laws.

Mlle. Gourd struck an international note in describing the results where women vote in other lands. Numbers of those present signed the petition and took copies for signatures. The success of the meeting was great and most encouraging.

The whole campaign is splendid propaganda.

Married Women Teachers.

In the Canton Soleure, a popular assembly at Grenchen voted by a large majority against the prohibition of married women teachers.

—From *Le Mouvement Feministe*.

The Trade Union Woman.

American industry shares most of its difficulties with the workers of the rest of the world, but it has in addition the drawback of foreign immigration; hordes of low-paid labour flock in yearly, and drag down the standard. Trade union organisers have the task of welding together persons of the most diverse nationalities, and these nationalities, coming over to America as to a land of liberty and plenty, find themselves the victims of ruthless exploitation. The book before us gives various examples of this in connection with other problems. In the bag and hemp factories of St. Louis the work is done by girls of Slovak, Czech, and Polish nationality, and non-union. By cutting piece rates the masters have reduced wages and speeded up the workers to an intolerable pitch. Where the pay was 24 cents for 60 yards, it is now 15 cents for 100 yards. Where a girl used to turn out 460 yards a day, she now has to turn out 1,000 yards. The conditions are so injurious to health that girls last only three or four years at it.

Again, the girls in the Chicago meat-packing trade worked up a union under Irish leadership in the face of great difficulties. They shared in the men's stockyard strike and defeat in 1904, and the girls now employed are all immigrant girls from Eastern Europe.

Miss Henry gives a wonderful picture of the early struggles of American women to organise, from the first Tailoresses' Union in 1825, to the latest development of the National Women's Trade Union League.

In the early days unions were local and sporadic, generally formed as the result of unbearable conditions, sometimes able to resist successfully, often crushed, but even then preparing women's minds for joint action and independence. In Pennsylvania whole families worked in the cotton mills for 14½ hours a day; the resulting protests and strikes developed the trade union movement. The New York tailoresses, who organised in 1825, had as secretary Mrs. Lavinia Wright, who, besides claiming better wages, demanded the vote. In 1845 direct political work was undertaken. Thousands of women petitioned for a 10-hour law, and delegates appeared before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee, which was the first American Governmental investigation. The chairman of this committee, which was accused of unfairness to the workers, was opposed and defeated in the next election by the efforts of the Female Labour Reform Association. Women attended as delegates at the men's conventions, and held office in 1846 at the New England Working Men's Association.

Another special American difficulty is the competition between States, so that, unless adjoining States, or States with similar industries, can be induced to pass Factory Acts simultaneously, each is afraid of undercutting by its neighbours. Thus, although New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania passed 10-hour laws between 1847 and 1851, they remained a dead letter, no State being willing to risk the competition of other States. In Great Britain a 10-hour law was passed and enforced in 1847, but the American law was unenforced for fifty years longer.

Labour began to be organised nationally between 1860 and 1880. During the Civil War sub-letting by contractors at sweated rates led to shameful conditions of work, and in spite of half a century's experience, the same scandals are perpetrated to-day on helpless women during the European war. Thousands of "war widows" then, as now, eked out their scanty allowances by sweated labour, and overstocked the labour market with their untrained hands. The conditions in the sewing trades were so bad, the victims so crushed and helpless, that they were too low to organise. Similar con-

ditions in Great Britain led in the twentieth century to legislative interference, and the Trades Board Act levelled up the worst sweated industries.

Men trade unionists in America seem to have been as limited in their views of women's labour as they have shown themselves in Europe. While dreading women's undercutting, and therefore in many instances admitting them to unions, they failed to see that in order to be strong economically women must be free politically. Moreover, in order to strangle women's competition they insisted on limiting women's hours of work, and forbidding women to work six weeks before and after childbirth, while they made no provision for the mother's support during this period.

One important men's organisation which threw its doors open to women was the Knights of Labour, and it is estimated that in 1886 it included 50,000 women. A special woman's department was created, which claimed, amongst other things, equal pay for equal work and abolition of child labour. As the Knights of Labour declined in power and numbers, the American Federation of Trade Unions grew, and women's national organisations federated to it. In 1890 the Federation of Labour, at its convention, passed a resolution favouring the submission to Congress of a Woman Suffrage resolution.

It was not till 1903 that the American Women's Trade Union League was formed, following the example of the much older British League, and constituting a federation of women's unions, and giving invaluable aid to local branches. It organises public opinion, patrols the streets, secures fair play in law courts, and helps to raise funds.

The first inter-State conferences of women unionists were held in 1907-8. One excellent result of the growing recognition of the status of the National League has been that public men are gradually realising that it is to organised women they must turn for an authoritative expression of working-women's needs.

In 1913 the League Convention passed an impressive resolution asking for the vote for these reasons:—"Because the most costly production and the most valuable asset of any nation is its output of men and women; because the industrial conditions under which more than six million girls and women are forced to work is an individual and social menace; and because working women, as an unfranchised class, are continually used to lower the standards of men." The League in particular protested against the ill-judged activities of the Anti-Suffrage women, "a group of women of leisure, who by accident of birth have led sheltered and protected lives, and who never through experience have had to face the misery that low wages and long hours produce." We are told that this stirring appeal made a profound impression on the public mind. It is recorded that the Suffrage movement has always been in sympathy with labour organisations. One interesting point made by Miss Henry is the necessity of including in labour organisations the vast body of working women who labour at home and without wages, and in whose ranks the majority of working women are destined to spend a large part of their lives. And why, indeed, should there not be housewives' unions? At present they can only join individually as "allies."

A striking tribute is paid to the organising genius and pluck shown by Russian Jewesses, who are the life and soul of some of the unions; indeed, as the author remarks, each race of settlers has its own contribution to make. In America, as in Europe, one of the great difficulties in organising women's labour is that it is largely not women's, but girls', labour, beginning with children of fourteen and younger, of whom it cannot be expected that they should attend meetings after a hard day's factory work.

Problems of organisation, of married women's work, of the foreign immigrant, of education, and especially of the need of technical education, are fully and ably dealt with by the author.

Whereas the first half of the book deals with the history of women's industrial organisation in the United States, the latter part deals with the general problems of modern industrial and domestic life, with the questions of craft and industrial unions, with women in agriculture, with marriage, the Suffrage, and trade-union ideals and policies. All these questions are treated by one whose experience and observation enable her to deal with them from a thoroughly practical, as well as from an ideal, standpoint.

The book can be heartily recommended to the general reader, as well as to the social student, and should find a place in every feminist library.

M. S.
* "The Trade Union Woman," by Alice Henry. Publisher, Appleton, New York and London. (\$1.50.)

International List of Woman Suffrage Papers.

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The Woman Voter (W.), 2s., Whitehall, Melbourne, Victoria.
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- GREAT BRITAIN—The Common Cause (W.), 8s. 8d., 14, Great Smith Street, London, S.W.
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 *The Woman's Bulletin (M.), \$1.00, 704, Higgins Building, Los Angeles, Calif.
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Maryland Suffrage News (W.), \$1, 817, N. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.
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