

JUS SUFFRAGII.

# The International Woman Suffrage News

The Monthly Organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

**FRENCH EDITION.**

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"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.

**Features of the Month.**

A great victory for Woman Suffrage is the winning of the Federal vote by the women of Canada. The way was paved by the victories in five provinces in 1916 and 1917, and the Federal vote was recently granted to a limited selection of women by the War Times Election Act. Now, however, all adult Canadian women will be enfranchised. All the self-governing British Dominions now have Woman Suffrage with the exception of South Africa and Newfoundland.

Another success this month is the election of nine women to the Danish Parliament, five to the Upper House, four to the Lower House. Mrs. Elna Munch, one of the newly elected members, is well known to Suffragists as a leader in the Suffrage movement. She has been a member of Copenhagen Town Council, and evidently her public work has been appreciated, as she is now called to perform national service. In Sweden, unfortunately, the strong women's movement continues to meet with uncompromising opposition from the Conservative Upper House, which has rejected the Government's Suffrage Bill. The women will now have the slow task of changing the composition of the Upper House by their pressure as municipal voters, as the Upper House is elected by municipal councils. Hungary, too, has had its hopes disappointed for the present, the Suffrage Bill having been defeated.

The United States Federal Amendment is still, as we write, in suspense in the Senate. In all these cases we know that victory is only delayed, but the delay is serious to women. It means strain and anxiety and the deflection of their energies from the positive constructive work, which needs their energies. The Netherlands are preparing for their elections on July 3, and twenty women candidates are standing for Parliament, including Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the pioneer Suffrage leader and eminent physician. Dr. Jacobs accompanied Mrs. Catt on her Suffrage trip round the world, sowing Suffrage seed in many lands and encouraging the young movements in India and China. The heartiest good wishes of the International Alliance will go with her. Dutch women and Dutch men could not have a better representative in the States General. The British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union held its biennial conference in London at the beginning of June. A report of it will appear in our next issue.

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## EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

## Great Britain.

## III.—THE ATTITUDE OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

The last article in the May number attempted to put clearly the improved rate of pay, under war conditions, of women employed in work which prior to the war was not recognised as women's work, and the influence this is beginning to have on the rates of pay of women in women's occupations. The part played by the trade unions in achieving this result is an important one.

All trade unions—with the exception of the National Union of Teachers and the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants—believe in equal pay for equal work. The principle is also upheld by the Trade Union Congress.

The engineers have, perhaps, done the most striking work towards making the principle effective, since in their trade they have, by dint of persistent recommendations to the Government, at length obtained recognition of it in statutory orders dealing with the employment and remuneration of women on munition work. The subject to them is not only that of women labour, but the much larger one of the protection of skilled trades, and the prevention of the possibility of a cutting of the rates. It is important to realise clearly that in this trade it is not as members of the other sex, but as temporary co-workers and dilutees who in time may become fully skilled workers, that women enjoy the results of the legislation dealing with their wages.

The history of the efforts of the engineers in this connection is interesting. Their points have been fought for through the war step by step, and most, but not all, of their recommendations, rejected at first, have been finally accepted by the Government.

"Female labour undertaking the work of semi-skilled or unskilled men must receive the rates paid to the men they displace." This reply was sent by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in February, 1915, to the Employers' Federation upon receipt of a communication from the employers stating that "female labour undertaking the work of semi-skilled and unskilled men shall be paid the recognised rates of the district for female labour on the operations in question."

The subject was first taken in hand by the Government in the famous Treasury agreement which afterwards formed the basis of the Munitions of War Act. In this agreement the following clause deals with the admission of semi-skilled or female labour, and because of its lack of clearness of meaning gave rise to misunderstanding, disappointment, delay, and a natural disinclination on the part of the trade unions to make more concessions:—

"The relaxation of existing demarcation restrictions and admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job."

Great satisfaction was at first felt with this clause, until, on being pressed for a clear interpretation of the words, Mr. Lloyd George explained that it ensured an equal piece-rate only. Since the time-rates remained unequal, then, the engineers were still without protection against a cutting of their rates made possible by the admission of female labour. It was not unnatural that while things remained in this unsatisfactory state, a circular from the Government urging employers to introduce women on a variety of operations in tool-making, including non-repetition lathe work, was so unpopular with the trade unions that it had to be withdrawn.

In the meantime a large representative Conference of Women was summoned, consisting of women's trade-union, socialist, co-operative, Suffrage, and kindred bodies. Amongst the resolutions passed were the following: "No emergency act shall be allowed unnecessarily to depress the standard of living of the workers or the standard of working conditions." "Women should join their appropriate trade unions and stand out for the principle of equal pay for equal work." "An adequate living wage and protection against 'sweating' for all women engaged on war service, whether employed on men's or women's work; proper training facilities, including a maintenance grant of £1 a week; security for women war-workers against unemployment after the war; and the representation of working women on the recently appointed Labour Advisory Committee and on Courts of Arbitration were also claimed by the Conference.

Other local women's societies and trade unions started a campaign with a similar purpose, and eventually acquired a new assurance from Mr. Lloyd George. "The Government

will see that there is no sweated labour. . . . We cannot offer the same time-rates, but the piece-rates we can fix, as well as a fixed minimum wage which will guarantee that we shall not utilise the services of women merely to get cheap labour." The pledge, however, showed no immediate signs of being carried into effect, nor were any practical details forthcoming as an earnest of this being done at an early opportunity.

In June, 1915, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the National Federation of Women Workers entered into an informal alliance, the engineers undertaking to assist and support the women's union in enforcing the demands they were jointly agreed upon; and in August a deputation organised by them and including representatives of the principal engineering unions and the Manchester Women's Interests Committee waited upon the Minister of Munitions with the following proposal:—

"Women over 18 when employed on any operation in connection with shells and fuses and all work in engineering establishments on munitions of war which necessitates machine operations for which tools and the setting up of machines is performed by skilled or semi-skilled labour shall receive not less than £1 per week for a normal working week as recognised prior to the war, except where such work prior to the war has been recognised as women's work by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and Allied Trades in the district or districts concerned." This proposal was received with sympathy. No promise that the suggestions should be carried into effect was, however, forthcoming, and it was not until the discontent of the workers and the growing demand for munitions became still more insistent that a new Labour Supply Committee was appointed, consisting of representatives directly chosen by the workers, together with employers and officials. The Committee drew up a comprehensive scheme for the dilution of skilled labour, which included an important memorandum known as L.2, fixing the rates of wages for the period of the war to be paid to women employed on work "customarily done by men." A standard time-rate of £1 a week of normal hours for women on work not recognised as women's work before the war, and the rate "customarily paid for the job" for women employed in the place of fully skilled tradesmen, are assured in it.

Not much benefit accrued to the workers from it, however, since the provisions were optional, not compulsory, on the employer. The engineers' next step, therefore, was to demand the making compulsory not only of order L.2 dealing with women's wages, but its accompanying order L.3 dealing with the wages of semi-skilled and unskilled male labour. Finally, in January, 1916, the two orders became legal and mandatory. By 1916, then, many thousands of women began to benefit by the provisions of an Act the clauses of which were in part embodied by the Government from the recommendations of the engineers, and though it remained to work out in detail, to amend and to enforce, the main principle of equal payment for an equal amount of work had been acquired as a foundation.

It must not be imagined that the Act as it then stood affected largely the majority of women munition workers. Few women doing men's work were doing the whole job of a fully skilled tradesman which entitled them to equal piece-rates. "A week of normal hours" varied in actual number of hours with different employers, and for the majority of women on semi-skilled labour there was no intermediate rate between unskilled and fully skilled rates. They remained on the lower pay.

A Dilution Commission appointed by the Government on the Clyde early in 1916 recommended that where women were put on to part of the job of fully skilled tradesmen, they should be paid a weekly wage of £1 a week for four weeks, rising till the end of the thirteenth week to the rate of the tradesman by whom the job is customarily performed. The probationary rate for adult workers is disliked by trade unions, but in this case the Amalgamated Society of Engineers waived their objection, and the terms were approved by them and by the Minister of Munitions. The agreement was, however, rejected by the employers.

The engineers and the National Federation of Women Workers worked unceasingly for a general amendment of L.2 which should embody the recommendations of the Clyde Commission, define the working week as a week of 48 hours, and secure an intermediate rate for intermediary work; and in 1917, a year after the making compulsory of L.2, the Minister of Munitions issued Order 49 securing for them most of what they demanded. In this, the latest order dealing

with the wages of women for the period of the war employed on work hitherto done by men, the following principles are definitely stated: "Women employed on the work customarily done by fully skilled tradesmen shall in all cases be paid as from commencement the time-rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertake." "The same overtime, night-shift, Sunday, and holiday allowances shall be paid to women employed on the work customarily done by fully skilled tradesmen or part or portion thereof as are customarily paid to the tradesmen. The basis for overtime for such women shall be on the working week for the tradesmen in the establishment in question. For this purpose the working week for such women shall be the same as that of the tradesmen." It also embodies in almost identical words the recommendations as to intermediary rates for women on semi-skilled work rising through a probationary period to fully skilled work.

There is therefore in the engineering trades, by reason of the Acts worked for by the engineers (who have both helped and been helped by the women's trade unions), a state of equal pay for the most highly skilled, an intermediate rate for some of the semi-skilled (notably, women welders), and a minimum time-rate of £1 a week of 48 hours for the unskilled. After reading the history of the efforts of the engineers towards attaining these conditions, the importance of their action can be realised. A word may be said in conclusion on the attitude of the men towards admitting women into their unions.

Some of the unions have been hostile to the admittance of women members, but have admitted them in view of prevailing war conditions and exigencies. Others, such as the Cotton Weavers' Union, admit them and have always admitted them. This is because women entered the trade at the same time as, or before, the men, are paid the same rate, and hold their own in the trade. The London Society of Compositors admits men and women on equal terms—that is to say, women must earn the same rates as men. Before the war there were on this account no women members, but to-day women are earning equal rates in this trade, and are therefore qualified for admission. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers decided not to admit women, on the ground that it would be impossible after the war to exclude from their trades members of their own union. The temporary nature of the women's employment in work hitherto done by men is the chief reason for their non-admission to the unions, and has forced them either to form unions of their own or remain unorganised. On equal terms—i.e., equal pay and permanent employment—there would probably be no objection to their admittance. In cases where, as in the engineering trades, the women have formed their own union and have been given every assistance by the men's union, the best results seem to have been achieved by an alliance of the two separate bodies working for the same ends.

CHRISTABEL MARILLIER,  
Women's Industrial Council.

## U.S.A.

## EXAMPLES OF EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

(1) In Chicago, in shops where union conditions are in force, equal pay for equal work is the practice. This is true in the following groups (all well unionised):—

- Printing Trades: Bookbinders, press feeders, linotype operators, proof readers.
- Ticket sellers, Elevated Roads (local only).
- Commercial telegraphers.
- Laundry workers.
- Waiters and waitresses.
- Nurses and attendants (local only).
- Post Office clerks.
- Musicians.
- Teachers (result of fight of Teachers' Federation—local only).
- Boot and shoe trade.
- Glove trade.

Hat makers—straw and felt hats and caps (the cloth hat and cap makers' unions and the hatters' unions).

Those trades marked "local only," while well organised in Chicago, are not strong nationally, therefore their principles are not uniformly enforced over the country. Labour unions everywhere are supposed to follow the stand of the American Federation of Labour. However, this idea of equal pay is new, and is not accepted as it should be. The trouble lies in the enforcement of the principle. It has been the practice where women are put into men's work to vary the work somewhat so that women do not undertake the job exactly as it was

before, but sufficiently varied to seem to justify the lower pay which is given them. Many employers have done this intentionally, wishing to cover their effort to lower the pay. Many others have followed the generally accepted idea that women cannot do the same work as a man, and have made an effort to lighten the work.

## (2) Legal decisions and Government orders.

A very important hearing was recently held in Chicago (closed March 30), when Judge Samuel Aischuler, acting as Government Mediator, adjusted disputes between the five great packers in the stock-yards industries of this country and the one hundred thousand workers in the plants of those companies. The Judge found in favour of the demand for equal pay. (Report on this case enclosed.) The Government, particularly purchasing boards of the War Department, have within the last year made general declarations favouring equal pay. We do not, however, find that any definite change is brought about thereby. The difficulty lies in the fact already mentioned, that wherever women are working at what was once men's work, some slight variation has been made, and that is considered as entirely changing the job and reducing its value and importance. We hope that with the carrying out of the Stock Yards Contracts adjustments may be made which will define the meaning of equal pay for equal work, so that it will be generally accepted as meaning equivalent work and not exactly the same work.

(3) The trade unions are officially backing the principle of equal pay, but a period of education must intervene before trade-union men in the mass understand and accept the principle.

Women are not excluded from any of the trade unions because of definite rules against them. In some of the unions, however, the rules were made many years ago before women appeared in the trades. Here men are definitely named as eligible for membership in the union. And in some of these unions there are men opposed to the admittance of women, and they are excluded on this technical ground. Working women generally are not as yet awake to the need for unionising, and they have made no strong fight for admittance into these unions. In this respect the situation is rapidly changing. The machinists opened their doors to women last year, and the electrical workers will come to a decision on the question at their next National Convention, which will take place in June. Some of the electrical workers want the women taken in as auxiliary and not as regular members. The women of the trade are fighting this. Among the unions now closed to women are the carpenters' and barbers' unions.

Women are admitted into many trade unions on the same terms as men. In many other unions the only difference between the men and women is that the initiation fee is lowered for women because they are paid lower wages than the men. This is a frank acknowledgment of the fact that equal pay is not enforced; but if the men were asked about this they would say either that the women did not do as much work as the men or that their work was different, referring again to the slight variations that have been made in the man's job when it was turned over to the woman. In all of the trades named in Answer 1, women and men enter the unions on equal terms. The glove trade is the only one in this country which was organised by the women workers; they took the men into their union, and the advantages which the men in the trade now enjoy were gained for them by the women. The International Glove Workers' Union is manned by women. Although the national president is now a man, the vice-president is Agnes Nestor, and the secretary-treasurer is Elizabeth Chrisman. She runs the office, which is in Chicago, and attends to all the business, the making of contracts, adjusting between employer and employed, and so forth.

Women who recently have been put into jobs to replace men are very generally being paid the wages paid men two years ago. The average wage of a day labourer at that time was 20 cents an hour; they are now paid from 25 to 40 cents an hour. The women who are being taken on at a flat rate are given 20 cents an hour in the majority of cases. Sometimes, as in the case of Rock Island Railroad, the rate is less; sometimes it is more. Railroads and large businesses—the stock yards, for instance—seem to pay 20 cents. Piece rates, which prevail in most of the trades, are always the same, as they are based on the job and not on the workers. The Burlington Railroad pays 20 cents an hour, and so does the New York Central and, I believe, the Pennsylvania—at least that is what they paid last fall. They all claim to be paying men's wages.

The Women's Trade Union League has equal pay as one of the five planks of its platform, and never fails to work for the principles of equality and justice therein involved. Resolutions concerning standards of work for women industrial war workers were passed at the National Convention of the League which was held in Kansas City last June. One of the standards set forth was that relating to equal pay for equal work.

The Women in Industry Committee of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defence, Illinois Division, adopted a set of standards for women industrial war workers in September, 1917. These standards were brought to the attention of Secretary of War Baker and Secretary of Labour Wilson, and were favourably considered by them and by other officials of the Government in Washington. The standards for women's work which were afterwards sent out by the War Department were very similar. In all of these standards the principle of equal pay was set forth.

—From National Woman's Trade Union League, May, 1918.

#### WOMAN'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF WASHINGTON.

Mrs. Ellen Day, editor of the *Legislative Councillor*, writes: "In the State of Washington, where we have the ballot, we feel that we are just entering upon our work. We have recently formed a State organisation, the Woman's Legislative Council, and have our own organ of publicity, which is published monthly except during the session of the Legislature, when it is published weekly. A Digest Committee is in continuous action, making digests or abstracts of the laws the women of the State are centred upon, and these digests are printed in our paper for study by all the clubs.

"This State body has been formed only a few months, but already has between sixty and seventy clubs affiliated, showing the women are in earnest."

#### AUSTRIA.

##### Women's Municipal Vote.

The recent declaration of the Government that it would not oppose women's municipal vote has encouraged Suffragists. A joint demonstration by Social-Democratic and middle-class women was very impressive. The well-known leaders, Frau Popp and Fräulein Freundlich, spoke, as well as representatives of the housewives, teachers, postal officials. The Vienna municipality sent three representatives, who all supported Woman Suffrage.

##### Woman School Inspector.

Frau Benndorf is the first woman school inspector, and is to inspect the physical training.

#### DENMARK.

##### Women M.P.'s.

The following five women have been elected to the Upper House:—MARIE HJELMER, Radical; OLGA KNUDSEN, Liberal; NINNA BANG, Social Democrat; MARIE CHRISTENSEN, Liberal; INGER SCHMIDT, Liberal.

Women have taken a very active part in the elections for the Danish Folketing (Lower House).

For the whole country 75 per cent. of women electors voted. The following women have been elected:—

Mrs. ELNA MUNCH, Radical, member of the Copenhagen Town Council, president of the Woman Suffrage Society, wife of the Minister of War.

Mrs. LARSEN, Social-Democrat, member of the Copenhagen Town Council.

Mrs. MATHILDE HASCHUTZ, Conservative, barrister.

Miss KAREN ANKERSTED, Conservative, member of the Town Council of Frederiksberg.

##### Women Clergy.

*Kvinden og Samfundet* is publishing a series of articles on proposed changes in the law in the interests of women. The instalment for April 15 treats of a regulation as to the right of women to acquire an academic civic right in the University of Copenhagen. It is desired to cross out the word *not* in the following clause, passed June 25, 1875: "Women theological students shall not have permission to enter pulpits as is permitted by law to male theological students."

In this paper the question of women priests was once discussed, and the writer showed that the main fact was that

many women attending services desired women priests—a mission from the hearts of women and born of their brains,—and that therefore they would one day have them. Women form three-fifths of our Sunday congregations, and therefore if they really want women priests their opinions should prevail. The demand to hear the voice of women on parish and town councils and in Parliament has been granted, and if women really want a spiritual message from women in pulpits and at the altar, they will get what they want.

Some object that women cannot dispense Sacraments (yet in case of need even monthly nurses may baptise), and others that only men can cure the sick in soul (yet deaconesses and nurses have fulfilled this task for years), and again it is said that pulpits would be desecrated by women's entry. But these objections will be crushed like withered leaves if women really want to deliver and hear a message. We believe such a desire exists, and once the right woman preacher arises, crowds of women will come out to welcome her, and realise the joy of words prompted not alone by the minds and faith and feelings of men.

To reach this goal the word *not* must be erased from the law in question.

—*Kvinden og Samfundet* (April 15).

##### Women Police.

Twenty-nine applicants put in for posts as policemen at Fredicia, for which the pay was different for men and women. Thirteen were women, who stamped themselves thus as second-grade workmen.

MATHILDE BOSERUP was appointed a member of the moral police of Copenhagen. *She is being paid at just the same rates as a male policeman.* Hitherto there has been a certain tendency to appoint women trained as clerks to be policemen, but this time, in the person of Mathilde Boserup, a nurse has been chosen who has served for a succession of years as a nurse in the Copenhagen Municipal Hospital.

Dr. KAREN M. ANDERSEN has been appointed divisional physician and head surgeon to St. Joseph's Hospital. She was a candidate in 1906, and has since worked at the Oeresund Hospital and at the County Infirmary. In 1912 she was second deputy surgeon, and then, April 1, 1918, succeeded Professor Schon in the responsible post of chief.

—*Kvinden og Samfundet* (April 15).

#### FRANCE.

##### Parliamentary Group for Women's Rights.

We have already said that a group for women's rights had been founded in the Chamber of Deputies under the presidency of M. Jules Siegfried, and that it included from the beginning about fifty members.

To hasten the development of this group the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes sent the following letter after the Easter holidays to all the deputies. Some members of the committee added individual letters to the official letter to add to the impression. The result has been excellent, for in a short time new members have joined and are continuing to join. There are now 122 members of the group for women's rights who are thus pledged to support the programme of the group.

MARGUERITE DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER,  
President of the U.F.S.F.

##### Letters to Deputies.

Monsieur le Député,—A group for women's rights has been constituted in the Chamber under the presidency of M. Jules Siegfried. The following is the programme that he has decided to propose:—

- (1) The municipal vote for women.
- (2) Admission of women to university titles and office.
- (3) Equal pay for equal work.
- (4) Substitution of the system of separation of property for that of community in the absence of a marriage contract.

You will find appended the list of membership that the group has already received. We shall be very glad if you will join this group and send in your membership. The question of Woman Suffrage, especially of Municipal Suffrage, will, as we have reason to hope, soon be discussed in the Chamber. It will be necessary that at that moment the group should be powerful enough to defend our cause successfully, as we cannot do so ourselves.

#### GERMANY.

##### Helene Lange's Seventieth Birthday.

Our English and American Suffrage friends have found in Parliament warm defenders, who have won their rights as citizens.

We, too, count in Parliament many friends, and we are persuaded that they would wish from now onwards, and without distinction of party, to manifest their sympathy for a cause which every day makes fresh progress in the world. Already twenty-one million women possess a more or less extended Suffrage without any misfortune or political upheaval resulting, but, on the contrary, social improvements.

In order that France may not remain behind, our members of Parliament will, we hope, have at heart the obtaining for us Frenchwomen the rights already enjoyed by the women of England, the United States, Canada, Australia, and the Scandinavian countries. In May, 1914, about 300 deputies signed a petition for action to be taken on M. Buisson's report on Municipal Suffrage for women, and that was before the war. Since then Frenchwomen have valiantly proved that they are worthy of the rights we claim for them, and *which are indispensable to them in fulfilling their duty to their country.*

We hope that you will accede to our request, and we express our gratitude to you in advance.

Signed for the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes by the Executive Committee—

President: MARGUERITE DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER.

Vice-President: JANE MISMÉ.

MARIE LOUISE LE VERRIER.

General Secretary: CECILE BRUNSCHVICG.

Assistant Secretary: PAULINE REBOUR.

Secretary: MARGUERITE PICHON LANDRY.

SUZANNE GRINBERG.

Treasurer: MARGUERITE DÉSIRS.

The Commission of the Senate on depopulation has introduced a Bill for the suppression of abortion and anti-conceptives. The National Council of Women has been invited to study the question and give its opinion.

M. Berthelemy, professor of law, has issued a number of reports and articles on the subject.

The National Council of Women has reported as follows:

Among the women criminals whom the new law penalises, a great number have been led to abortion either by fear of destitution which their physical condition makes them feel hopeless, or by the fear of disgrace which society burdens them with; these criminals are at the same time victims; it would therefore be right, before putting in motion a law which would strike them, to give them facilities to avoid crime. The general interest, as well as that of individuals, would benefit. Therefore, however urgently a law may be needed to suppress criminal abortions, another should precede it—viz., a law to give pregnant women liberal assistance to ensure their maintenance during the last few months of pregnancy and a gratuity on confinement.

The possibility of secrecy should be assured to those who fear disgrace. The urgent and practical measures demanded by the French National Council of Women are the following:

(1) In support of the amendment presented by Dr. Bar, of the Paris Academy of Medicine, on October 23rd, 1917, the Council asks that in every department there should be established at least one home to receive women during the last months of pregnancy, where every woman, whatever her social position, may be received, if she wishes, either on payment or gratuitously, in conditions that ensure secrecy.

(2) That in every department one or more maternity homes should be attached to the hospital, and that any woman who wishes should be admitted for her confinement without inquiry.

(3) That the Strauss law should be extended, and that moral and pecuniary help should be given to pregnant women from the beginning and in sufficient measure to free them altogether or in part from heavy work which injures their health and that of the child.

(4) That existing institutions for the help of pregnant women should be developed, encouraged, and supported by Government.

In general the Council supports Professor Pinard's words: "When the necessary steps have been taken that the child shall not be a disgrace or a burden to its mother there will be much fewer criminal abortions." And then we can demand with a quiet conscience the severe repression of what would certainly be a crime.

Senator Cazeneuve's proposals as embodied in the Bill are:

- (1) To prevent criminal abortion, by (a) suppression of anti-conceptives and abortives; (b) regulation of lying-in homes.
- (Under (a) all information as to preventive measures is forbidden.)

The Council would prefer that (a) should be included in a general law for suppressing all immoral propaganda; it thinks the proposed regulation of lying-in homes neither efficacious nor opportune, and urges the provision of sufficient homes and the regulation of midwives.

The National Council of Women concludes by again objecting to the severe punishment of women for abortion so long as the condition of the expectant mother in society has not been improved. They point out also the need to bring home the responsibility to the father of the expected child.

##### Helene Lange's Seventieth Birthday.

Helene Lange is one of the foremost pioneers of women's education, and all Suffragists will unite in good wishes on the completion of her seventy years, and the hope that she may live many more years to witness and help in women's further emancipation and progress. She was the leader in the movement for opening higher education to girls and women. In 1887 the first petition to the Prussian Diet was presented, asking for women's admission to universities and for greater scope for them in teaching in girls' schools (which in Germany is still largely in men's hands). Helen Lange drafted the memorial. A few years later she founded the German Women Teachers' Union. In 1889 she organised advanced lecture courses for women in Berlin, and this example was so widely followed that it led to the opening of the universities to women. Prussian girls' schools were reformed in 1894, the examination of headmistresses introduced, and further extensive school reforms carried out in 1908.

Helene Lange has been on the Executive of the National Council of Women, and has founded and edited the well-known women's paper, *Die Frau*. Her writings have been of the greatest service to the women's movement. Although she has not taken an active part in the Suffrage movement, she is a firm supporter of Woman Suffrage.

##### Women at Universities.

Women students at Prussian universities have again increased this session. The entries for 1917-18 were 3,290 at the 11 universities, compared with 2,303 in 1913-14. 1,912 are studying philosophy, philology, or history, 849 medicine, 843 mathematics or science, 205 political science, 74 law, 48 dentistry, 34 pharmacy, 15 theology, and 13 agriculture.

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

##### National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

##### THE REGISTRATION OF WOMEN VOTERS.

Every Town Clerk in Britain is hard at work now on the preparation of the new register. There is not much opportunity for slackness, since all parties are anxious to have a complete register on hand in case of a sudden General Election. But the work progresses slowly, and the harassed official, hard-pressed for an excuse, is apt to attribute this tardiness to the six million women voters who are totally inexperienced in electoral procedure. The six million women voters might well reply: "Is that our fault?" However, they are schooled in meekness, and continue unmoved to crinkle their brows over the puzzle-problem of the Representation of the People Act. The obscure wording of the Act is really the cause of delay, and the curious errors in the Press interpretations of women's qualifications would be laughable were they not sometimes seriously misleading. "Parliamentary correspondents" show a distressing unfamiliarity with Parliamentary phraseology, and registration officers make "discoveries" about the woman's vote which no self-respecting woman Suffragist failed to make even before the Reform Bill became law. The National Union is still kept busy by the need for correction and explanation.

##### WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR PARLIAMENT.

The fate of a woman who stands for Parliament is still uncertain, but several women are doing their test to solve this mystery. The way was led by Miss Nina Boyle, who prepared to contest a by-election at Keighley. Unfortunately, her nomination papers were incorrect, and so were refused by the registration officer, who, however, stated that had they been in order he would not have refused Miss Boyle's papers on the score of her sex.

So far so good. We now know that it is possible for a woman to stand for election to Parliament, though whether, when elected, it will be considered legal for her to sit in the House of Commons remains a mystery, nor can the mystery be solved until a woman has actually been returned as a member.

Meanwhile, three women have been officially adopted as candidates—women who are well qualified to represent a Parliamentary constituency, and whose experience should be of the greatest possible value to the nation. One is Miss Mary Macarthur, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union

League and of the National Federation of Women Workers, nominated by the Labour Party; the second is Miss Margaret Bondfield, the first woman member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress; the third, Mrs. Philip Snowden, well known as a leading Suffrage speaker, the two latter nominated by the Independent Labour Party.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

The chief activities of the Union, however, are not at this moment centred on political work. The wide expansion of its objects necessitates the Union's re-establishing itself, so to speak, on a new basis throughout the country, and organisers are being sent forth "east and west and south and north" to recruit new members, to establish new branches, and to explain new aims.

It is impossible to prevent the Union's position from being for a time somewhat critical. There must inevitably be a tendency to feel that its work is done, and so to relax allegiance. Nor is "Equality" so good a recruiting cry as "Women's Suffrage." Its appeal is wider, but not so keenly felt. The other name of "Inequality" is legion, and each particular inequality affects only a limited number of people, and only within those limits rouses keen feeling. Before an "Equality" programme wins the support that Women's Suffrage won there must be a great advance in the political education of women.

The political education of women is therefore another duty which the National Union is taking upon itself. Wherever it can it is organising Women Citizens' Associations. These are formed by co-operation amongst all women's organisations and on strictly non-party lines. Their chief aims are to foster the sense of citizenship in women, and to educate women on all topics of feminine and of political interest.

#### WOMEN AND THE LAW.

The Bill which proposes to open the legal profession to women, though safely through the House of Lords, has not yet come before the House of Commons, since war legislation must still take precedence of anything else. Mr. Bonar Law has, however, practically promised that, if the measure does not prove too controversial, it will be taken up by the Government, and it will then, of course, have the best possible chance of success. It is, however, essential that the Bill, when introduced, shall have a strong backing in the House of Commons. Branches of the National Union are therefore impressing upon their local Members of Parliament the importance of this Bill to women, and are endeavouring to secure from them the promise of their support and their votes when it comes up for discussion.

#### VENEREAL DISEASE AND THE ARMY.

The new rule under the Defence of the Realm Act which makes the solicitation of a soldier by a woman with venereal disease an offence punishable by six months' hard labour is already being put into practice. Several arrests have been made, and women's organisations view the situation as very grave. There are three most serious grounds for objection to the new rule: it punishes the woman only for immorality, it permits arrest for solicitation alone, and its practical effect is to make medical examination compulsory.

MAY STRACHEY.

#### Opposition to Women's Membership of Cambridge University.

The manifesto in favour of admitting women to full membership has been answered by another, which opposes women's claims, and is signed by a number of professors and masters of colleges.

#### The Elsie Inglis Unit in Macedonia.

The Elsie Inglis Unit of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, which left London at the end of February, is now in the thick of things on the Macedonian front.

The first weeks of April were spent in getting the camp into order. The question of water supply and sanitation received particular attention, and a vegetable garden was laid out with a view to future food supply.

On April 29th the hospital was opened, and patients came in at once. There were some medical cases, but most of the men were wounded, brought straight from the firing line.

The transport was at work a fortnight before this. The officers were kept busy serving the various hospitals in the

district, and the lorries made daily journeys to the nearest town for food and letters.

The Elsie Inglis chauffeurs have gained a reputation for good driving and for punctuality—both of supreme importance where the comfort of the wounded is concerned.

One doctor voiced the opinion of many when he said of our drivers: "To the English ladies I give my patients willingly. I know with them they are safe."

#### Women's Freedom League.

The Women's Freedom League at its conference held recently in London decided to work for the following programme: Equal political rights for women and men, including equal voting rights, equal rights to enter Parliament, and all the high offices of State; equal opportunities for women and men, and equal pay in all professions and trades, and sections of trades, and in all Government offices and Government-controlled workshops, together with the removal of all restrictive legislation specially imposed on women in professions or in the labour market; the appointment of women magistrates throughout the country and the inclusion of women on all juries; the insistence of the recognition of an equal moral standard for men and women, and an even-handed justice in the administration of the law for women and men in sex offences: where necessary, an alteration of the law to make it equal in its operation for men and women; the formation of or co-operation in the formation of Women Voters' Associations or Women's Councils; a Watch the Courts Campaign, and reports to authorities and publication in the Press of all cases in which the maladministration of justice to women is apparent; the carrying out of a Watch Dog Policy in regard to all locally elected persons: headquarters to act as an information bureau in this matter, receiving information from branches and supplying information to branches in regard to elected persons; the insistence of a majority of women on all Reconstruction Committees: the formation of our own programme of reconstruction; campaigns for better housing, better health for the community, and better education for children and young people.

The Women's Freedom League also urges that women should be included in any Council which considered the terms of European Peace. Further, that the Government restores to British-born women the full control of their own nationality.

In March the Women's Freedom League rendered all the assistance it could to the National Federation of Women Teachers in their struggle for equal pay for equal work, and at Easter time it ran a special campaign with this object in view during the annual conference of the National Union of Teachers, which was held this year in Cambridge.

The Women's Freedom League has vigorously opposed Regulation 40 D (under the Defence of the Realm Act) on the ground that it reintroduces the discredited Contagious Diseases Acts, and a great number of protest meetings have been held in London and the provinces against this Regulation and demanding its immediate withdrawal. The Women's Freedom League is urging the War Office and the Home Office to receive deputations to discuss this kind of legislation with the Heads of these Departments of State.

The Women's Freedom League urged that the concession in postal rates granted for letters to men on active service should also apply to women serving their country overseas, and this was conceded by the Postmaster-General. The Women's Freedom League has also written to the Home Secretary urging that in the new Bill dealing with naturalised aliens the rights of the British-born wives of aliens shall be safeguarded, and that British-born married women and British-born widows shall at least have the option of retaining their own nationality or of adopting that of the husbands; and to the Lord Chancellor urging, in the new Bill by which the jury age is to be raised from 60 to 65, and by which it is provided that trial should be without jury of simple law cases and some coroner's inquests, the advisability of summoning women to serve on juries, on the ground that the average woman is as capable as the average man of forming a judgment on the evidence submitted as to the guilt or otherwise of persons charged in our Courts, that women are as interested as men in the impartial administration of the law, and that no time could be more opportune than the present to make this innovation in our Law Courts and to call upon women to render this service to the nation.

F. A. U.

#### CANADA.

#### The House of Commons of Canada. Bill 3.

AN ACT TO CONFER THE ELECTORAL FRANCHISE UPON WOMEN. His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:—

1. (1) Every female person shall be entitled to vote at a Dominion election who—

- (a) is a British subject;
- (b) is of the full age of twenty-one years and upwards;
- (c) possesses the qualifications which would entitle a male person to vote at a Dominion Election in the province in which said female person seeks to vote: Provided that a married woman or an unmarried daughter living with her father or mother shall be deemed to have any necessary qualification as to property or income if the husband or either of the parents is so qualified.

(2) For the purposes of this Act a female person shall be deemed to be a British subject,—

- (a) if she was born a British subject and is unmarried or is married to a British subject, and has not become a subject of any foreign power; or,
- (b) if she has herself been personally naturalised as a British subject and has not since become the subject of a foreign power; or,
- (c) if she has become a British subject by marriage, or by the naturalisation as a British subject of her parent while she was a minor, and in either case has done nothing (other than in the second case by marriage) to forfeit or lose her status as a British subject, and obtains and presents to the official or officials in charge of the preparation or revision of the voters' lists of the constituency while he is so engaged in such preparation or revision a certificate under the signature of a judge of any court of record or of any superior court, under the seal of the said court, certifying that such female person is of the full age of twenty-one years, has resided in Canada a sufficient length of time, and is possessed of all requirements necessary to entitle her, if unmarried, to become naturalised as a British subject, and that she has taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty; or,
- (d) if, notwithstanding she is married to an alien, she was at the time of such marriage a British subject by birth and has not herself sworn allegiance to any foreign power: Provided, however, that this paragraph shall not apply to the wife of an alien enemy.

2. This Act shall be construed as one with the Dominion Elections Act, chapter six of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906, and the War-time Elections Act, chapter thirty-nine of the statutes of 1917, and in each of the said Acts the expression "person" or "male person," or any similar expression, shall include a female person, unless a different meaning is required by the context or by the terms of this Act.

3. Notwithstanding anything in this Act contained, it shall not be necessary by reason of any of the provisions thereof, to prepare new voters' lists for the purpose of any by-election to be held before the first day of January, 1919, and in the case of any such by-election any lawful lists available therefor may be used for the purposes of such by-election to the same extent and with the same validity as if this Act had not been passed.

#### A Woman Member of Parliament.

FROM ORPINGTON HOSPITAL TO THE LEGISLATURE OF ALBERTA.

It is interesting indeed to chat with Miss MacAdams over the fine legislation introduced in the Alberta Legislature at this session which has just closed. While Miss MacAdams was new to legislative routine, she was not new to the problems of those she represented, for her connection with the Canadian Hospital at Orpington had given her a first-hand acquaintance with the soldier and his needs that could not be surpassed. It was owing to this that the soldiers of Alberta elected her their representative, just as they did Captain Pearson. In the debate on the problem of the returned soldier, the eight soldier Members came out strong, Captain Pearson

moving the resolution and Miss MacAdams seconding it. It is no doubt owing to their thorough understanding of the subject, and their fair presentation, that the Legislature decided to open a new branch of the Government, called the Soldiers' Department. This will be under the personal supervision of the Premier, and will guard the interests of the soldier and his dependents with a minimum of machinery and a maximum of justice.

Very fine legislation was enacted in the Municipal Hospitals Act, the Factories Act, and the special care of feeble-minded children.

Great progress, too, has been made along the lines of municipal legislation.

#### WESTERN CHIVALRY.

The true chivalry of the West is shown in the attitude of men toward women in public life. They realise that public affairs are domestic affairs, and that women have the same responsibility as men. Consequently, they are only doing their duty by sharing in legislation.

The elections of Miss MacAdams and Mrs. McKinney, Alberta's other woman Member, are fine demonstrations of true democracy, for they were both elected more especially by men than by women. The question of sex did not enter into the elections, for they were chosen on the basis of their being human beings capable of serving the constituency. Hence, to their great satisfaction, they were received by the House with no greater ceremony than that accorded other new Members.

#### THEIR SPECIALITIES.

Mrs. McKinney is especially interested in moral reform, Miss MacAdams in the soldier, and both in education, and they were of great assistance in these departments, Mrs. McKinney making a very fine speech on the care of the feeble-minded, and Miss MacAdams a no less able one on how the province is to solve the problem of the returned soldier and his dependents. She drew attention to the fact that while enduring great hardship at the Front, the soldier is also burdened with anxiety for those dependent upon him, an anxiety that the Government must remove. Speaking of placing returned men upon new land, Miss MacAdams said:

"The isolation of homesteading is likely to be the converse of what the returned soldier needs. The mental strain of war tends to unfit him for the further strain of homesteading. Then, too, our frontier agriculture is of a primitive type. It is the farming of rough operations and arduous labour, often offering little of creature comfort, and the sustained discomfort of warfare makes him hungry for physical comfort. But the therapeutic advantages of outdoor life are undeniable. Given a fair chance, Nature can do much toward the re-conversion of the soldier into the normal successful citizen. If the Province can offer this outdoor life with a reasonable incorporation into some established social group, and can offer land within the local improvement belt within some settled area, with school, church, and transportation services, we should be able to take care of a great many returned soldiers."

The necessity for doing this, and turning the army of warfare into a great constructive army of peace, was emphasised as the duty of the Province toward those who had fought for their country and had given Canada a place upon the roll of nations.

ELIZABETH BECKER,

Toronto, Canada.

#### Amendment to the Criminal Code.

A thing that is worrying us all just now is certain proposed amendments to the Criminal Code. For some time we have been agitating for an increase in the sentences for offences against morality, which are woefully small compared to those for offences against property. Hitherto the age of consent has been fourteen years. Legal redress for seduction was possible for a girl between fourteen and sixteen years (maximum sentence two years), and above sixteen years there was no redress unless seduction was aggravated by promise of marriage, a guardian seducing his ward, or an employer his employee, when redress could be claimed up to twenty-one years, with a maximum penalty of two years. For stealing a cow, the maximum is fourteen years; for stealing oysters, seven years; for stealing drift lumber, three years, and so on.

Besides the alteration of these flagrant inequalities, we want the age of consent raised, the discrimination against the

unenfranchised Indian woman removed, the owner and tenant of a house of ill-fame equally responsible, and a law similar to the U.S.A. red light injunction and abatement Acts passed, adultery to be made a crime, and seduction to be made a crime independent of the previous character of the girl (at present, previous unchastity is a defence).

Well, the long-promised Bill was brought in. All it contained was a raising of the legal age of redress from sixteen to eighteen years (and to this men under twenty-one years of age are not to be convicted), and it did not touch the age of consent. It does make it a crime to register at a hotel as man and wife if such is not the case, and it makes it a crime to keep a child in circumstances detrimental to its morals, even if such child is apparently too young to be demoralised. These are badly needed reforms, but we are furious at the neglect of our previous demands, and are sending delegations to Ottawa to protest.

EDITH LANG,  
National Equal Franchise Union.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

The short sessions of this year, owing to the absence of the Premier and Minister of Finance at the Dominions Conference in London, point to little gain, politically speaking. But there is a power of alert thinking going on among the women of New Zealand, who see for one thing that not much progress will be made till women sit in Parliament.

Other signs of activity are not wanting, however. We have not a woman pastor appointed to a city pulpit yet, but in Dunedin the national president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Mrs. Rachel Don, recently preached in a Presbyterian church, while on the same day Mrs. Peryman, editor of the W.C.T.U. organ, *The White Ribbon*, preached at the Central Mission, Dunedin, to the largest Methodist congregation in Dunedin. Mrs. Peryman is the wife of a Methodist minister.

A characteristic sign of the W.C.T.U.'s practical activity is the opening of Willard House, a home for soldiers' relatives, at Palmerston North, an inland town, near which is a military camp. This hostel is a great boon to wives and children of men shortly to leave our shores, who can spend a night with their families from time to time at moderate charges.

A number of thinkers have been deeply dissatisfied with that clause of our Military Service Act which exempts no conscientious objectors but those whose Church forbids taking up arms. This dissatisfaction has come to a head after the deportation of fourteen men to England late last year. It is alleged that they suffered bodily ill-treatment both on the transport and at home, and that they were liable to be shot at the French front. Protests and demands for full inquiry are being made by Church Assemblies and other bodies. In Christchurch the lead was taken by the authoress, Miss B. E. Baughan, herself in no sympathy with the doctrine of non-resistance, and the sister of a devoted war worker, one of the Scottish University women in Serbia.

The victory for total prohibition in Canada has encouraged our temperance organisations here to fresh efforts and hopes, the order and improvement visible since the Six o'clock Closing Act being a valuable object-lesson to the country.

March 11, 1918. JESSIE MACKAY.

#### INDIA.

ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S DEPUTATION TO THE VICEROY AND SECRETARY OF STATE.

The address presented by the women of India to the Viceroy and to Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, is a highly interesting document, from which we extract the following:

"The women of India have awakened to their responsibilities in public life, and have their own independent opinions about the reforms that are necessary for the progress of India." (Then follows a list of the women's organisations represented.) "We are in touch with the new outlook of Indian women, and we make bold at this historic time to lay before you women's views concerning the necessary post-war reforms, as we believe them to be the necessary complement to the views of our men." (Then follows women's endorsement of the national claim to self-government.)

"Our interests, as one half of the people, are directly affected by the demand that the franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people. We pray that when such a franchise is being drawn up, women may be recognised as people, . . . and that our women may be allowed the same opportunities of representation as our men."

A similar claim is made for a share in local self-government, and it is pointed out that women have been delegates and speakers at the Indian National Congress, of which now a woman (Mrs. Besant) is President.

A strong appeal is made for the provision of free compulsory education for girls and boys. At present only one girl out of every hundred is educated. More teachers are needed, and the memorialists ask for training colleges for Indian women teachers, widows' homes, scholarships to widows, more medical colleges for women, and improved care of mothers and infants.

#### ITALY.

The *Comitato Lombardo pro Suffragio Femminile* commemorated the grant of the vote to women in England by a meeting attended by an enthusiastic audience.

Dr. Margherita Ancona, the president of the Society, gave a full account of the whole movement in favour of the vote for women, tracing its history back to its very beginning. She pointed out every new step in advance made in the cause of women in England, illustrating the same with the portraits of the most eminent leaders.

After Dr. Ancona's lecture, which was followed with great interest and much cheering, Professor Campani Bagnoli described the enormous field of labour which the English women are now occupying in order to give assistance to their nation in this time of war.

The many lantern slides which passed in procession before the audience were highly appreciated and enthusiastically applauded.

L. TORRETTA.

20th May, 1918.

#### NETHERLANDS.

The veteran statesman, Mr. S. Van Houten, has recently republished in one volume a series of articles which first appeared some forty years ago. The articles treat of various aspects of the position of woman in society, and the collection is entitled "Maatschappelijke en wettelijke stelling der vrouw." The matter has remained remarkably fresh and actual. As the author says in his preface: "For many assertions new proofs might be adduced, for much advice new grounds, but not a single one of those given need be withdrawn."

In the first article, Mr. Van Houten examines the doctrine of Neo-Malthusianism, and his conclusions are entirely in favour of it. Society, a continually developing organism, requires new forms of life. This principle is now generally admitted. But its application has not yet been extended to the domain of sex. And it would require but a moment's thought to make people realise that here, as in all other matters, no hard-and-fast rule can apply. To take two extreme cases: there is nobody but will see at first glance that the rules of life that once applied in the land of Canaan must be different from those to which Paris now has to conform. The former was fertile and thinly peopled. Children, there, must have been real wealth. They were of some use as soon as they were able to look after themselves. The healthy conditions of life and abundance of all things necessary made death of young children most infrequent, while childbearing, even to the extent the mother of patriarchal times performed it, can have had no damaging effect on her health, considering the conditions of life. Multiplication seemed even so desirable that polygamy was not precluded. Now, in modern Paris, it would simply be impossible to put literally into practice the "be-fruitful-and-multiply" maxim of Genesis. No small middle-class man could possibly rear a dozen children. The conclusion of any such comparison is that the town-dweller of our days cannot live according to patriarchal morals.

Now, the question is: If the laws of sexual relations be not universal, what will be the law that our present society must observe? And we shall see at once that the reply of practice varies from that of theory. Roman Catholic tradition takes us back to patriarchal morality, but not without modifications—*e.g.*, the rigorous establishment of monogamy. Then there is an ascetic current which considers celibacy higher than the married state. Protestantism came, and marriage was once more in honour. And so the ascetic current, born from Roman Catholicism, gives us a ready answer to the problem of undue increase of population: continence. This is also the doctrine of the economists who follow Malthus.

Practice is much more directly influenced by the natural instinct. You first have the early marriage, which leaves to hazard the number of children. Then there is the "Catholic-

Malthusian" doctrine, which is accepted by the men, with the curious proviso that they only apply it to the women they intend to marry later. Meanwhile they form temporary attachments, or they resort to prostitution. It is women who suffer from this arrangement of life. So many of them are condemned to celibacy and sterility, with their damaging effects on health; many are thrown into prostitution. If the adept of "Catholic-Malthusianism" dislikes these methods—and he often does, even though practising them, which is more degrading, as it introduces a lie into social life—he may resort to a "mariage de raison," from which love is absent. And what can be the issue of such unions?

The author considers that Neo-Malthusianism is the way out of this chaos of contradiction and squalor and sex inequality now rampant in our lives. He examines it from several points of view. Let us merely quote what he has to say about its importance to woman herself:

"For truly, in all social classes women are sick and tired, as a Parisian *commune* once put it, of being fruit trees, incessantly bringing forth children and thus gradually exhausting their physical and moral strength. And not least in the lower classes, where women, on top of all that, have to work for their living, where the income is insufficient to pay for domestic help, even where this is urgently required, and where the income has no elasticity, but the bread of the newcomer has to be saved from the mouths of other children or parents. Is it thought that they do not hanker after a better fate, these women whom one scarcely ever sees except with a child in one arm and a child on one hand, and whose pale and early wrinkled faces bear the stamp of incessant labour and care? As though their children were indebted of their life to the excitement of passion, and not, as Shakespeare puts it, to the accomplishment of a supposed duty, 'within a dull, stale, tired bed . . . 'tween asleep and wake'?"

Mr. Van Houten does not recommend extra matrimonial relations. He is a supporter of marriage (though he wants divorce to be made easier). He thinks that the adoption of Neo-Malthusian methods will tend to increase the number of marriages.

Of two other articles, one is a plea in favour of a reform of the divorce laws in Holland in a more liberal sense, and in the other the author examines as a jurist the personal and proprietary rights of married women, and suggests certain reforms. That these two articles should, after so many years, still be of practical interest, is an interesting proof of how much still remains to be done by the feminine movement in Holland.

#### NORWAY.

##### The New Marriage Law.

The Committee of Justice has sent in its proposals for the new law on the contracting and dissolution of marriages. In part it agrees with the Government's proposals of last year, and in part it makes fresh suggestions.

The Government proposed an age-limit of 21 for men and 18 for women. The Committee proposes 20 for men and 18 for women. The Government proposes that people infected with venereal disease and not cured at the time they wish to marry should be forbidden to do so. In the interests of the community the Committee adds a clause to say that in such a case the physician is not bound to keep secrecy, but rather to give information.

Specialists do not consider it necessary to forbid the marriages of uncles and nieces or of aunts and nephews. The Committee proposes more satisfactory rules as to inquiries into whether madness is in either family, and thinks that civil marriage should be performed gratis. If it cannot be done before a public notary it should be managed by some kind of clergyman appointed by the district board. The main point at issue is the form of the said marriage. The usual form now is marriage in church. In 1909 the Church Commission voted unanimously for so-called compulsory civil marriage—namely, universal civil marriage, with access later to ecclesiastical marriage. On a written inquiry of 1,034 parish councils, 275 voted for the continuance of things as they are, 31 for compulsory civil marriage, and 728 for option as to the form of marriage. Of 640 municipal boards, 68 voted for the present system, 119 for compulsory civil, and 453 for free choice of form of marriage. The Government have consequently decided to introduce the optional form of marriage.

The majority of the Judicial Committee are dissatisfied with the basis of the Government's proposal, and want compulsory

civil marriage. The majority party has made investigations which it regards as weakening to a considerable extent the value of the views submitted by the district boards and parish councils. The minority votes for the proposition.

—Nylsænde, from *Norske Intelligens Sedler* (April 15).

#### SWEDEN.

##### The Government Bill in the "Riksdag."

The fate of the Government's Woman Suffrage Bill was waited for with great excitement. It was evident that it would be passed in the Second Chamber, where the Liberal and Socialist Parties are in a majority, but in the First Chamber all depended on the attitude of the Conservative majority.

Last year this Party had declared that a good many of them at least were not antagonists on principle to Woman Suffrage, but they wished to have a little more time to consider the special conditions in which women were to be allowed the ballot. The general opinion was, then, that this time the First Chamber would fulfil their promises. We hoped for a Conservative Bill that could give some evidence of the Conservative views, but nothing was heard of it.

The Constitutional Committee supported the Government Bill, but all Conservative members were dissentient, and no positive proposal for the settlement of the question was to be found in their reservation. There were only the excuses of the unwilling from beginning to end. After this there was no hope that the Bill would be passed. For in the Swedish Constitution the two Houses have equal power and authority in all legislative cases, and so the First Chamber can stop a reform though the people have supported it during the elections and though it is introduced as a Government Bill.

On April 27th the Bill was voted on in both Chambers. The Minister of Justice opened the debate with a splendid speech, in which he pointed out the shallowness of the Conservative arguments, and accentuated the social justice of enfranchising the women. But the Conservatives were worse than ever. All the well-known stupid arguments of the Antis were repeated. It was a pity to hear it. In vain the Prime Minister, at the end of the debate in the First Chamber, appealed to the sense of justice of the Chamber, pleading that it was an act of political foresight and national solidarity now to adopt Woman Suffrage. The Bill was defeated by 62 votes against 36. In the Second Chamber it was passed by 120 against 49.

The women are extremely indignant. The following day an open-air protest meeting was arranged at "Ladugårds-gården" in Stockholm, where Mrs. Ruth Gustafsson and Doctor Gulli Petrini addressed a large audience, and indignation is growing all over the country.

We have endeavoured to the best of our ability not to consider Women Suffrage a party question, and at the beginning of the movement there were Conservative members of Parliament who had the courage both to speak and to vote for Women Suffrage, though the majority of the Party always have been against it. But, nowadays, party predominates, and no Conservative has voted for it in the last few years. The Conservative women who are suffragists have also done their best to further a proposal with a higher age of enfranchisement for women than for men, but this attempt has been equally useless. The obduracy of the Conservative Party is absolute. The only way is trying to bring the Party into a minority, but it is a slow procedure. The First Chamber is elected by the "Landsting" (provincial corporations), and in the greater cities by the Town Councils. In both these corporations women can vote, and they are eligible to Town Councils. The women, then, have indirect or direct franchise with regard to the First Chamber. Unfortunately, their influence is not very great, the vote being graduated according to the income, so that one person can have up to forty (40) votes. This plutocratic scale has given the First Chamber its character. But its obstinacy against all democratic reforms has made the reformation of the First Chamber itself one of the most urgent questions in Swedish politics, and the women hope that this opinion will be irresistible.

GULLI PETRINI.

**Defeat of Suffrage Bill.**

The Government Bill conferring the active and passive Parliamentary franchise on women on the same terms as men was passed by the Second Chamber of the Riksdag by 120 votes against 49. On April 27 the Bill was thrown out by the First Chamber by 62 votes against 36. Last year, remarks *Rösträtt för Kvinnor*, the debate was marked by considerable slackness and indifference along the whole line. This year much more interest was displayed on all sides, and the Liberal arguments were driven home much more forcibly. Last year there was reason to believe that Conservative opposition on the point of principle had weakened, but this year it raised its head with renewed force. The reactionary currents of the times strengthened the Conservatives in their struggle against development and progress. They were absolutely deaf to all the arguments of the Liberals.

—*Rösträtt för Kvinnor.*

**A PROTEST FROM THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, WHICH WAS ISSUED AS SOON AS THE ADVERSE VOTE IN THE FIRST CHAMBER BECAME KNOWN.**

The women of Sweden who desire enfranchisement raise a strong protest against the postponement of the solution of the question of Women's Suffrage which has been caused by the Conservative Party. The rejection of the Government Bill, and the superficial and illogical arguments brought forward during the debate, give evidence of scant respect for women, and a lack of any sense of national solidarity in these days of grave trial for our Fatherland. The serious nature of this demand of Swedish women is sufficiently proved by the great petition sent up to His Majesty's Government in 1914, and by the fact that for more than sixteen years it has been possible to unite such a large body of women of all parties and all classes of society for the pursuit of a single end, and to form such an extended and highly developed organisation. The connection between Women's Suffrage and the constitution of the First Chamber which the Conservative Party pretends to discover rests on an entirely gratuitous assumption, which is shown by the official investigation of 1912, and by all subsequent experience, to be absolutely without foundation. If the Parliamentary franchise is extended to women there is no reason to believe that any political party would be benefited thereby, therefore the principle of Women's Suffrage must not be regarded as a pretext for bargains between the respective parties.

This delay will cause much bitterness and displeasure, depression, and distrust of the goodwill of the Conservative Party to look on the question from an impartial point of view and in its relation to the welfare and happiness of the country. The work of political enlightenment which the Suffrage organisations wish to start as soon as possible over the whole of Sweden will be much hampered, and will absorb a great number of trained workers who might under other circumstances be directly available for the common weal.

(Signed) THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

—*Rösträtt för Kvinnor.*

A large open-air meeting was held at Stockholm on Sunday, April 28, to protest against the rejection of the Suffrage Bill by the First Chamber. The speakers were Fru Ruth Gustafsson and Dr. Gulli Petrini. The following resolution was passed:

"We, men and women assembled in a public meeting at Stockholm, utter a very strong protest against the action of the Conservative Party in the First Chamber in rejecting without any cogent reason the Bill for extending the Parliamentary franchise to women."

—*Rösträtt för Kvinnor.*

**THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

This letter is written at the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington, where women had come from many States to witness on May 10th what they supposed would be the end of our long struggle with Congress. Although the Senate Committee in charge of our measure felt somewhat doubtful as to having the requisite number of votes—that is, two-thirds of the members—it decided, after consultation with Mrs. Catt, our President, and our Suffrage Committee, to take the chances. A number of Senators who had gone to their various States on business were hastily summoned by telegraph, and made

long journeys back to cast their votes, but at the last moment one man on whom we had depended became offended at something which was published in the newspapers and refused to give his promised vote in favour. One or two others, who were doubtful, but whom we expected to come to our side, still held aloof, and at the eleventh hour it was decided not to risk defeat. There was a lot of disgusted men and disappointed women, but all who understood the situation knew that everything had been done which was humanly possible, and that none of those who had the matter in charge had failed to do his or her full duty.

It is too early yet to know definitely what will be done next. There is a division of opinion, as some think it would be better to go ahead and have the vote, even though it should result in defeat, in order to put the Senators on record; but others feel they are already on record, as it is well known just how the most of them intended to vote. The country is about to begin a Congressional campaign in every State. The entire Lower House of Congress is elected every two years. The term of Senators is six years, and one-third of them are elected every two years. Unfortunately for us, the entire thirty-two who must stand for re-election this year are, with half-a-dozen exceptions, strong supporters of our cause. This is a part of the fatality which has seemed to be constantly with us. Since my last letter was written, another Senator has died, making six since the present session began, and five of these were our friends. The one exception has been replaced by another from whom we have hopes of a favourable vote, and the places of the other five have all been filled by Suffragists. Meanwhile, other casualties may occur, so that we are in a state of the greatest anxiety, and are nearly worn out with the long and strenuous effort and the strain of waiting in suspense from day to day.

We have an excellent Suffrage Committee in the Senate that is just as desirous as we are of having a favourable vote. The Lower House is very anxious to have the Senate vote in favour, as it does not want the question to come back again to that House with the big fight to be made over. The present Congress does not end until March 4th, 1919, and the measure can be brought up in the Senate at any time before that date. If, however, it should be defeated, it could not come up again until a new Congress took its seat, and then it would have to be put through the Lower House once more, and a new set of men would have to be dealt with. It will be seen, therefore, how necessary it is to avoid defeat.

It would be difficult to describe the work that has been done. From every State have come hundreds, if not thousands, of letters and telegrams to Senators. Every possible string has been pulled, every wire has been used. The Committee of the National Suffrage Association and the Senate Committee have not left a stone unturned. Such men as former President Theodore Roosevelt and the Governors of fifteen or twenty States, presidents of universities, clergymen, and political leaders of all parties have endeavoured to obtain this majority vote in the Senate. The President of the United States has used his powerful influence, and yet on May 10th two votes were lacking in the Senate to adopt this resolution. When it is considered that if adopted it does not settle the question, but simply sends it to forty-eight State Legislatures to be accepted or rejected, the delay will seem incomprehensible to people outside of the United States.

The National Association has expended tens of thousands of dollars in keeping up our headquarters in Washington, maintaining its Committee there and paying a part of the expenses in many of the States. The disappointment of Mrs. Catt over the failure to vote at this supreme moment is intense. It really is almost more than she can bear, and this is equally true of Dr. Shaw, of the Suffrage Committee, and of the women throughout the country. The vote may come up in the Senate at any time should enough of the opponents be absent to make it safe, or it may be delayed until after the Congressional elections, and even until after the Christmas holidays. Should the last be the case, it will cost the National Association thousands of dollars, as its headquarters here in Washington must still be maintained, and its Committee kept here to continue the work. There will be no cessation of effort. The first step will be to have mass meetings held in the cities and towns throughout the entire country, addressed by prominent speakers, and a resolution adopted calling on the Senate to submit the amendment. Arrangements for these meetings are already under way, and they will be held possibly

within a week, as soon as there can be concerted action. If the vote is not taken this spring, thousands of women will go into the Congressional campaign speaking and working against the election or the re-election of opponents and in favour of the friends.

Not in any other country do the Suffragists face the situation which exists in the United States. In all others the Parliament can give it directly for the entire nation, but here it can only submit the question to the State Legislatures, through which all matters pertaining to the State may be decided, so that there are really forty-eight Governments to be dealt with. When we point to the action of the Parliaments of other countries which have enfranchised women, the opponents here say the condition is very different: each of them is a compact nation, but ours is a union of individual States, and every one must decide this question for itself. It will not allow the Congress to interfere with its rights. Most of the Southern Senators and some from the North take this position, which is called the "State's Rights" attitude.

Not in any other country do the Liquor Interests play the part in politics that they do in the United States. In many of these States they have in the past completely dominated the Legislatures, and the reason so many of these States have declared for prohibition of the liquor traffic is to get rid of this domination, which the better class of citizens would not any longer endure. The members of Congress who come from such States are very often equally under the power of these Liquor Interests, and cannot cast an independent vote. Last week, when it was known that our measure would be voted on May 10th, the "liquor lobbies" from half-a-dozen States were in Washington to see that their Senators did not vote in favour of it. These Liquor Interests begin with the manufacturers, the owners of the great distilleries and breweries, which every year make millions of gallons of intoxicating liquors. They include the stockholders, the farmers who furnish the grain, the men who make the barrels and bottles, the men who sell the liquor at retail, the proprietors of wine rooms, gambling places, and houses of ill-repute, and the army of men who earn their living in various ways through the liquor traffic; and then, of course, there is that other army who consume the liquor.

An immense wave of Prohibition is sweeping over the country. More than half of the States have entirely prohibited the sale of liquor within their borders. A Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress last year, and although only a few State Legislatures were in session during the present year, eleven of them ratified this amendment, and many of these were not in the States which already had prohibition. Its advocates believe that they can complete the endorsement of the required thirty-six Legislatures next winter, when forty will be in session. The Liquor Interests are fighting against heavy odds, but they still believe that they can control thirteen State Legislatures, and defer the adoption of the Federal Prohibition Amendment until the seven years' limit has expired. This seems to be a faint hope, but they are grasping at a straw. They feel sure that if national Woman Suffrage should be granted within that time, it would be absolutely impossible to compel thirteen State Legislatures to hold out against ratifying the Prohibition Amendment, and for this reason they are determined that Congress shall not submit it. They could not prevent its acceptance by the Lower House, where it went through by the skin of the teeth. They have now concentrated their forces on the Senate. This does not mean that all of those Senators who are standing out against the amendment are controlled by the Liquor Interests, but it is unquestionably true that enough of them are so controlled as to make it impossible thus far to get the two-thirds majority vote in favour of it.

How long this situation will continue remains to be seen, but it will partly explain the tremendous and not yet successful struggle for the Federal Amendment.

The campaigns in the three States—South Dakota, Oklahoma, and Michigan—are under full headway. Mrs. Shuler, the National Corresponding Secretary, has been in Oklahoma for several months, and the National Association is assisting all of these States with organisers, literature, etc. The work will have to be carried on continuously throughout all the long summer months and until the vote is taken in November. A majority of the individual men will have to be persuaded to vote in favour. It is a colossal task, and will require a vast amount of money and energy. South Dakota has defeated

a State Amendment a number of times, but it is now so surrounded by Suffrage States that it seems almost sure to carry this time. The question came before the voters of Oklahoma in 1910 and was defeated, but the State is now a black spot on the map entirely surrounded by white, and both political parties declare that they are ready to enfranchise women. We shall be greatly disappointed if these States are lost. Michigan will be much harder to carry, as it also has defeated a State Suffrage Amendment more than once. The difficulties there may be appreciated when one considers that the northern part of the State has a large population of workers in the copper mines from many countries and also of uneducated Indians, all of whom will have a vote as to whether Michigan women shall be allowed a voice in their government. We can only work and hope, as we have been doing for three-score years. The women of these States are full of courage, and will leave nothing undone.

The women in New York are entering into the possession of the ballot with a fervour and determination that are most gratifying. Never in any State were newly enfranchised women received by the old parties with the cordiality that has been manifest here. In other States a few have been placed on the political committees, but in New York the same number of women as men have been put on these committees with the same part and influence in the campaign as men have. In every possible way they are made to feel welcome, and they are responding in numbers and enthusiasm that are a revelation to the men who thought the women did not want to vote. The State and New York City Associations are doing such an educational work as never before was done in any other State, and are informing and instructing the voters as never before has been done with any newly enfranchised class. Never was any body of citizens in this State endowed with the franchise so well qualified to begin with as are the women of New York, and it is believed that there will be an immense registration and a very large vote cast. The women are having a great deal of quiet amusement at the flattering letters they are receiving from the candidates and the political leaders asking for their support.

The anti-Suffragists, after spending months to revive their State organisation, and trying all last winter to have a Bill introduced in the Legislature to repeal the Suffrage amendment, have now announced that they will make no further attempt, but will concentrate all their efforts on the defeat of the Federal Amendment, in order that other States may not suffer the sad fate of New York. The new paper just started in Washington by the National Anti-Suffrage Association, that has absorbed the three small publications which is all they have ever had in this country, has now issued its third number. It has taken the title, *The Woman Patriot*, and half of its space is devoted to articles on the war and appeals to the women for war work, which are entirely unnecessary. The newspapers of the country have contained scathing editorials in regard to it, but it gives a touch of gaiety to a nation which is far from gay at the present time.

I wish it were possible to put into words the intense feeling which the women of the United States have for the Suffragists of all countries. We have rejoiced as much over the British victory as have the women of that nation themselves, and we glory in the programme which their recent Council has mapped out for the new voters. We read with much interest in the *International News* and in the *Common Cause* the messages which they received from all parts of the globe, but none touched us so deeply as that of the German women sent through Frau Marie Stritt. We read it through tears and our hearts went out in love and sympathy. We long for the day when once more the Suffragists of the world may come together again in fraternal comradeship through their united work for the same great purpose.

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

Washington, May 11th, 1918.

**Correction: New York Vote.**

We did not receive the "official" report of the vote of the New York soldiers and sailors for over two months after the election, and it reduced the majority in the State outside of New York City from 3,500, as said in my letter, to 1,500. The final returns are 102,353.

I. H. H.

## QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE LAWS OF NATIONALITY.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR EFFECT ON MARRIED WOMEN.

## I.—Law as Affecting Males and Unmarried Females.

1.—What determines the nationality of a child?  
(a) Does it take the nationality of its father? If illegitimate, does it take its father's or mother's nationality?

(b) Does a child born in your country take the nationality of the country?

2.—What conditions are necessary to acquire nationality?

(a) Is a certain term of residence necessary?

(b) Is employment by the Government reckoned as residence?

3.—What are the chief causes of loss of nationality? Is nationality lost by—

(a) Residence in a foreign country?

(b) Employment by a foreign Government?

(c) Acquiring a foreign nationality?

(d) By declaration of alienage?

Is it possible by the laws of your State to revoke a certificate of naturalisation? Under what conditions?

4.—Does the naturalisation of the father carry with it the naturalisation of his minor children?

Does the loss of nationality by the father carry with it the loss of nationality of the minor children?

5.—Does the nationality of a minor child follow that of its widowed mother when she changes her nationality—

(i) By becoming naturalised in your country?

(ii) By marrying a national of your country?

(iii) By naturalising in a foreign country?

(iv) By marrying a foreigner?

6.—Does the nationality of an illegitimate minor child follow that of its mother when she changes her nationality in the above four cases—(i), (ii), (iii), (iv)?

7.—What are the special disabilities of aliens? Have they the right to—

(a) Vote for and be elected to the Legislature or local councils?

(b) Enter Government service?

(c) Own ships?

(d) Own land?

(e) Equal treatment with nationals in the courts?

## II.—Law as Affecting Married Women.

8.—Does an alien (a woman) acquire the nationality of your country by marrying one of its nationals?

Does the naturalisation of the husband carry with it the naturalisation of the wife?

9.—Does a woman lose her nationality by marrying an alien?

(a) Are there any exceptions to this rule—*e.g.*, does she retain her original nationality if by the laws of her husband's country she does not acquire his?

If a man national changes his nationality, has his wife the right by declaration to retain hers?

(b) Are any privileges as to naturalisation, or other privileges, granted to an alien man who marries a national of your country?

10.—Under what circumstances (divorce, death of husband) can a married woman regain her former nationality?

Is such a woman who has lost her nationality by marriage with an alien given any special facilities for regaining her former nationality, or has she to conform to the same conditions as an ordinary alien applying for naturalisation?

11.—Can a woman apply on her own account for naturalisation during the lifetime of her husband?

12.—Are any exceptions made as to their treatment as aliens of women who have lost their nationality through marriage—*e.g.*, as to old-age pensions, insurance, poor relief, rights of voting, Government employment, land, property, inheritance, etc.?

## Proposed Amendments to the Law.

13.—Does the present law of nationality bear hardly on women? If so, give examples.

What alterations in the law are recommended by the organised women in your country?

Quote any resolutions passed on the question.

14.—Do you consider that a married woman should have the same right as her husband to choose her nationality?

You will make a series of proposals as to the laws of the nationality of married women as a suggestion for a common programme for the organised women of all countries?

Country.....

Name of person supplying the information.....

Description.....

Address.....

Kindly fill in and return to the Secretary:—

MISS CHRYSAL MACMILLAN,  
International Woman Suffrage Alliance,  
11, Adam Street, Adelphi,  
London, W.C. 2.

## SWITZERLAND.

1.—The nationality of the child is determined by that of its parents (*jus sanguinis*). One exception only to this principle is authorised by Article 5 of the Federal Law of June 25, 1903, on the naturalisation of foreigners, which stipulates that "the cantons have the right to enact by legislative action that children born on their territory of domiciled foreigners are by law citizens of the canton and thereby Swiss citizens, without the authorisation of the Federal Council being necessary—

(a) If the mother is Swiss by birth.

(b) If at the time of the child's birth its parents had been domiciled in the canton for at least five years without interruption.

Geneva, Bale, and Ticino are the only cantons which have made use of this faculty, and even then incompletely, by introducing, not naturalisation *ipso jure*, but only the possibility for the foreigner to claim, if he wishes, Swiss nationality *jure soli* conferred by this article. The demand for the benefit of this faculty passes to the Federal Council, which examines it as a demand for naturalisation.

(a) The legitimate child takes the nationality of his father. The illegitimate child which remains with its mother acquires its mother's nationality (C.C.S. 324). The illegitimate child whose paternal filiation is recognised (either by voluntary recognition or by judgment as a result of the research for paternity) acquires its father's nationality (Code Art. 325).

(b) No; a child born in this country does not have Swiss nationality if its parents have foreign nationality. (But see above exception of Art. 5 of the Federal Law on naturalisation.)

The child found homeless (*heimatlos*) becomes Swiss by right by claiming its rights under the Federal Law of 1850 on homelessness.

2.—Swiss legislation provides minimum conditions to acquire Swiss nationality, but the sovereign cantons have the right to stipulate for more rigorous conditions. It is not possible to emunerate the different conditions of 25 cantonal legislations.

Federal conditions:—

(1) Ordinary domicile in Switzerland for two years.

(2) That the naturalisation of the claimant involves no prejudice to the confederation. After obtaining the authorisation of the Federal Council, the foreigner claims the right of citizenship in the canton and the commune. The commune and the canton are sovereign in their right to accept or refuse the candidate, and without appeal. Cantons and communes can put all kinds of obstacles in the way of naturalisation (*e.g.*, high taxes).

(a) Two years' residence is necessary.

(b) Government employ is not reckoned as residence.

3.—In principle Swiss nationality is not lost by the acquisition of a foreign nationality by naturalisation. It continues in spite of all circumstances, and only voluntary renunciation, and marriage in the case of a woman, the recognition of a natural Swiss child by a foreign father, the legitimisation of natural Swiss children by a foreign father, destroy it.

(a) Residence in a foreign country does not involve the loss of Swiss nationality.

(b) Employment by a foreign Government does not cause loss of nationality.

(c) Acquiring a foreign nationality voluntarily does not cause loss of Swiss nationality. But a Swiss woman loses her nationality by marriage with a foreigner. This last rule is not put forth by Federal Law. It is common law, and rests on a decision of the Diet of 1808.

(d) Declaration of alienage does not involve loss of Swiss nationality. But, on the other hand, a Swiss citizen may renounce his nationality; for this he should—

(a) No longer be domiciled in Switzerland.

(b) Be in enjoyment of civil rights of the country in which he resides.

(c) Have a foreign nationality acquired or assured to him, for his wife and for his children.

A certificate of naturalisation can be revoked by a declaration of nullity in exceptional cases by the Federal Council (Art. 12, Federal Law on Naturalisation, of June 25, 1903).

"The Federal Council could, within five years of cantonal naturalisation, revoke the permission given to a foreigner to acquire communal and cantonal naturalisation, if it is established that the conditions required by the law for the granting of this authorisation have not been fulfilled.

"This revocation also annuls communal and cantonal naturalisation accorded on the basis of federal authorisation now revoked."

Revocation is extremely rare. (But see the affair of Dr. Tatton. There are on an average six to ten revocations a year.)

4.—The naturalisation of the father carries with it the naturalisation of his minor children, if the children are subject to their father's paternal authority, and if the Federal Council makes no formal exception in this respect in view of exceptional circumstances. In Swiss law the children of a previous marriage of the wife are only naturalised with their stepfather if he has guardian's powers over them.

The father's loss of nationality carries with it the loss of nationality of the minor children, unless the cantonal authorities make a formal exception in exceptional circumstances.

5.—The nationality of a minor child follows that of its widowed mother when she changes her nationality by becoming naturalised in this country—

(i) If the mother in virtue of her national law is guardian or has paternal authority (*e.g.*, Austrian women do not have paternal authority).

(ii) No; not if she changes her nationality by marrying a Swiss citizen.

(iii) Not if she changes her nationality by naturalising. Swiss nationality is only lost by renunciation and by the woman's marriage.

(iv) No; the children remain Swiss if the mother changes her nationality by marrying a foreigner. They only acquire a new nationality if foreign law imposes it on them. (See French Law, Decision of the Court of Nancy, March 25, 1890.)

6.—(i) Yes, if the illegitimate child remains with its mother and she reports its existence when she is naturalised and if she is guardian or has paternal authority. If the child has acquired its father's nationality, the change of the mother's nationality has no influence on it.

(ii) No. The mother's marriage has no influence on the nationality of her illegitimate child, unless the child is legitimised by marriage. If that is the case, the child acquires the nationality of the father who legitimises him.

(iii) No. (iv) No.

7.—(a) No (except in the canton of Neuchatel, where the law of 1916 gives the communal vote to strangers domiciled for five years in the canton and for one year in the commune).

(b) Yes. (c) Yes. (d) Yes.

(e) Yes, in general. For some distant countries the Tribunal may still claim *la cautio judicatum solvi*, but it is very rare.

## II.—Law as Affecting Married Women.

8.—Yes. An alien woman acquires Swiss nationality by marrying a Swiss national. The naturalisation of the husband carries with it that of the wife, if he has marital authority over her\* (Art. 3 of Federal Law on Naturalisation.)

\*N.B.—The actual practice of the Federal Council demands the wife's consent to her husband's request. So there is no naturalisation of the wife against her will.

A Neuchatel law, now abrogated, stipulated that the wife must sign with her husband the request to the Council of State. This law was considered compatible with the Federal Code. (Trib. Féd., June 8, 1888.)

9.—A woman loses her nationality by marrying a foreigner.

(a) The woman remains Swiss. She also remains Swiss if the marriage is not recognised by Swiss law (*e.g.*, a Turkish

marriage). If a man changes his nationality the wife has not the right by declaration to retain hers.

(b) No; not in general. But Canton Ticino gives facilities to a foreigner who has married a Swiss.

10.—A widow, or divorced woman, or separated (in property) who has lost her Swiss nationality by her husband's act, can demand readmission to her original Swiss nationality within ten years of the dissolution of the marriage.

If such a woman has lost her nationality by marriage with an alien, she can regain her former nationality without going through the formalities of naturalisation, by a simple demand to the Federal Council. The Federal Council grants the request after consulting the canton of her origin.

11.—No. A woman can not in general apply on her own account for naturalisation during the lifetime of her husband. The Federal Council only grants this permission to women actually separated from their husbands without being able to have their marriage judicially dissolved (*e.g.*, Austrians), to women who are judicially separated (in body) or whose husbands cannot be naturalised in Switzerland for good reason (*e.g.*, wives of interned civilians).

The married woman must then possess either full civil capacity or furnish marital or judicial authority.

12.—No.

## FRANCE.

1. The law on nationality makes no difference between men and unmarried women.

What determines the nationality of the child?

(a) The legitimate child has, in general, the nationality of its father. The natural child whose filiation is established during its minority follows the nationality of that parent in respect of whom the proof has been made. If the same act or judgment proves it for the father and mother, the child follows the nationality of the father. (Art. 81.)

(b) Yes, if he is born of a Frenchman or of unknown parents, or whose nationality is unknown. (Art. 81.)

2. What are the conditions necessary to acquire nationality?  
(a) To obtain permission to be domiciled in France and to prove three years' domicile.

(b) To have resided uninterruptedly during ten years.

(c) To have married a Frenchwoman after a year of authorised domicile.

(d) After a year of domicile and after having either rendered important services to France or to have brought there distinguished talents, or an industry, or useful inventions, or having been attached in some way to the military service in the colonies or protectorates.

(e) Residence abroad in French Government service is counted as residence in France.

(f) It is established by statutory decree on the demand for naturalisation after an inquiry into morality.

3. What are the causes of loss of nationality? (Art. 17.)

(a) No.

(b) A Frenchman who, having accepted public functions conferred by a foreign Government, continues them in spite of the injunction of the French Government. A Frenchman who takes military service abroad without Government permission.

(c) The demanding and acquiring of foreign nationality by a Frenchman. (A recent law allows naturalisation to be withdrawn when public safety demands it.)

4. Does the naturalisation of the father bring with it that of his minor children? (Art. 12.)

The minor children of a man who acquires French nationality become French unless they reject it within a year of coming of age.

5. Does the nationality of a minor child follow that of its widowed mother when she changes her nationality?

(b) The minor children of a woman who becomes French by marriage with a Frenchman become French unless they reject it within a year of coming of age. (Art. 12.)

(c) and (d) Minor children having their father's nationality (unless they have not been recognised by him) retain their nationality if their mother is naturalised in a foreign country or marries an alien.

7. What are the special disabilities of aliens?

- (a) No.  
 (b) Yes, on certain conditions.  
 (c) Yes.  
 (d) Yes.  
 (e) Yes.

Art. 2 says: "An alien shall enjoy in France the same civil rights as those which are or may be granted to Frenchmen by treaties with the nation to which the alien belongs." Aliens are obliged to declare residence (laws of July 16th, 1912, and of August 8th, 1913).

8. Laws concerning married women.

Does an alien woman acquire the nationality of your country by marrying one of its nationals?

Yes (Art. 12).

Does the naturalisation of the husband carry with it the naturalisation of the wife?

Yes, if she demands it, and without condition of residence.

9. Does a woman lose her nationality by marrying an alien?

Yes, unless her marriage does not confer the nationality of her husband. (Art. 19.)

A Frenchwoman can, after her marriage with an alien, and with the authority of her husband, demand readmission to French nationality by decree.

(b) The alien who marries a Frenchwoman can obtain naturalisation after only one year of domicile instead of the obligatory three years. (Art. 17.)

10. Under what circumstances (divorce, death of husband) can a married woman regain her former nationality?

The woman who has lost her nationality has special facilities for regaining it.

(a) When the marriage is dissolved by death or divorce she recovers her nationality with the authorisation of the Government, provided she resides in France or returns there with the declaration that she wishes to remain there.

In the case of the death of the husband the minor children can be declared French by the same decree of readmission if the mother demands it, or by a later decree if the demand is made by the guardian with the approval of the family council. (Art. 19.)

11. Can a woman apply on her own account for naturalisation during the lifetime of her husband?

No; except for the readmission to nationality that a woman can demand after her marriage with an alien but which is not granted her as a right.

12. Are any exceptions made as to their treatment as aliens of women who have lost their nationality through marriage?

No exception is made as to government functions or electoral rights; facilities are given to these women in respect of poor relief and old age assistance.

#### PROPOSED MODIFICATIONS.

The present law is unjust, since it does not respect the woman's nationality, and present conditions have demonstrated in all countries that this injustice was the source of grave and useless suffering.

All women's societies are unanimous in demanding that women should preserve their nationality in spite of marriage with an alien. The Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes and the National Council of Women have seized every occasion to affirm the right of the woman to retain her nationality; but in order to safeguard interests of State, which might be threatened by certain marriages, the Union Française admits that a woman should lose her nationality when the Government, after careful inquiry, has established that the alien whom she is marrying does not offer sufficient guarantee from the national point of view.

M. PICHON LANDRY,  
 Secretary of the U.F.S.F., Paris.

#### THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Any person defined as a *natural-born* British subject in the laws of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is recognised as a British subject throughout the Empire. The Imperial Parliament has also laid down conditions of naturalisation which set forth that certificates of naturalisation granted in the United Kingdom confer British citizenship throughout the Empire, except in

a self-governing Dominion which has not adopted the same conditions of naturalisation. This is possible because the self-governing Dominions of Australia, Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and South Africa have this right to make laws conferring local nationality within their respective territories. For example, a man may be a naturalised Australian by the laws of Australia, although he may not be a British subject elsewhere.

In 1914 the United Kingdom laws were revised and consolidated in the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914. In the form in which it was introduced as a Bill into the House of Commons, it had been recommended by the Colonial Conference with a view to the adoption of uniform legislation throughout the Empire. The Act contains a provision that those Dominions which adopted Part II. dealing with naturalisation should have the same power as the Imperial Government of granting Imperial naturalisation valid throughout the Empire.

The energetic agitation of the women led to the adoption of two important amendments to improve the position of married women, and in its amended form it was passed by the British Parliament and adopted by the Legislatures of Canada and of Newfoundland, but it has not been adopted by Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa.

A Government Amending Bill has just (May, 1918) been introduced into the House of Commons. Every effort is being made to have this Bill amended so as to give married women equal nationality rights with men, and representations on the subject are being made by women's organisations to the Imperial Conference which is to meet in London this year.

#### THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The law of nationality is to be found in the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, and the figures in square brackets below refer to the sections of that Act.

##### I. LAW AS AFFECTING MALES AND UNMARRIED FEMALES.

1. The British nationality of a child is taken from the place of its birth (*jus soli*), and in some cases from the nationality of its father (*jus sanguinis*).

(a) Yes. It is a natural-born British subject if its father at its birth is either a natural-born or naturalised British subject. [1 (1) (b).]

It is doubtful whether the nationality of an illegitimate child of a British father or mother born outside the British Empire is British.

(b) Yes. It is a natural-born British subject if it is born in the British Empire or on a British ship even when in a foreign port, whatever the nationality of its father or mother. [1 (1) (a) and (c).]

2. The Secretary of State has power, at his discretion, to grant certificates of naturalisation to applicants who satisfy the following conditions. [2.]

(i) or (a) Residence for five of the eight years immediately preceding the application in the British Empire and for the year immediately preceding in the United Kingdom. (b) Yes Employment by the Government is reckoned as residence.

(ii) Good character and an adequate knowledge of the English language.

(iii) The having taken the oath of allegiance.

Note.—These naturalisations grant the full right of British citizenship in the United Kingdom, India, the Crown Colonies, Canada, and Newfoundland, but may not in Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa.

3. The chief cause of the loss of British nationality is the becoming naturalised in another State by a voluntary and formal act. [13.]

(a) No.

(b) No.

(c) Yes, if by a voluntary and formal act. [13.]

(d) Yes, in the following cases:

(i) Any British subject natural born by reason of having been born on British soil or on a British ship, who is also by the laws of a foreign State deemed to be a subject of that State, may cease to be British by making a declaration of alienage when of full age—i.e., over 21. [14 (1).]

(ii) Any natural-born British subject who was not born on British soil may make a declaration of alienage when of full age—i.e., over 21. [14 (2).]

(iii) Any British subject naturalised while a minor on the application of his parent at the time of the naturalisation of such parent may when of full age make a declaration of alienage (see 4 below). [5 (1).]

The Secretary of State may revoke a certificate of naturalisation granted by him if it has been obtained by false pretences or fraud (see also 4 below). [7 (1).]

4. The naturalisation of the father does not in itself carry with it the naturalisation of his minor children, but the Secretary of State may, if he thinks fit, on the application of the father, include in his naturalisation certificate the name of any minor child of such alien born before the naturalisation of the father (see also 3 (d) (iii) above). [5 (1).]

The Secretary of State has power to grant to any minor a certificate of naturalisation. [5 (2).]

The "note" appended to 2 above applies also to their naturalisation.

The loss of British nationality by the father carries with it the loss of such nationality by every minor child unless such child does not become thereby naturalised in another country by the laws of that country. [12 (1).]

5. The nationality of a minor child follows that of its widowed mother in certain cases.

(i) Yes, if she applies to have the name of such child entered on her certificate of British naturalisation and the Secretary of State agrees. [5 (1).]

(ii) No.

(iii) Yes, unless the child does not thereby become naturalised in any other country. [12 (1).]

(iv) No. [12 (1).]

6. The relation of the nationality of an illegitimate minor child to that of its mother is in some cases doubtful.

(i) Probably, if she applies to have the name of her child entered on her certificate of British naturalisation and the Secretary of State agrees. [5 (1).]

(ii) Probably not.

(iii) and (iv) Probably, unless the child does not thereby become naturalised in any other country. [12 (1).]

7. Aliens are subject to several disabilities. [17.]

(a) No.

(b) Yes.

(c) Not British ships.

(d) Yes, but the Act confers no right to hold real property outside the United Kingdom.

(e) Yes. [18.]

##### II. LAW AS AFFECTING MARRIED WOMEN.

8. Yes.

Yes. A married woman is deemed to be of the nationality of her husband, whether he is British or an alien. [10.] For exception see 9 (a) below.

9. Yes.

(a) No. No.

If a British husband changes his nationality, his wife has the right by declaration to retain her British nationality. [10.] But if an alien man naturalises as British, his wife is considered British by British law.

(b) No.

10. A widow or a divorced woman who was British before her marriage with an alien may, on her husband's death, at the discretion of the Secretary of State, be naturalised as a British subject on the same conditions as a man, except that for her the condition of four years' residence or five years' service is not required. [2 (5).] Note to "2" also applies.

11. No, unless she is divorced. [2 (5).]

12. Yes. British women who have become aliens through marriage are not deprived of old-age pensions, and are allowed certain privileges under the Sickness Insurance Acts, etc.

##### PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW.

13. Yes. British women married to foreigners are not allowed to vote. They are subject to many of the disabilities imposed on aliens because of the war. The British wives of enemy aliens are subject to the same disabilities as natural-born enemy aliens.

The following societies, which include practically all the large women's national organisations, have signed the appended memorial.

Memorial on the Nationality of Married Women in the British Empire, addressed to the British Imperial Conference from Women's Societies throughout the Empire.

We, the undersigned, representing Women's Societies throughout the British Empire, having noted that the Imperial War Conference held in London in March and April, 1917, expressed the desirability and importance of securing uniformity of policy and action throughout the Empire with regard to the laws of naturalisation and commended to the consideration of the respective Governments summoned to the Conference a Memorandum and Draft Bill proposing amendments to the nationality laws of the Empire, have the honour to submit to you our claim that any amendment of these laws should include the grant to women, in those parts of the British Empire where such amendment is necessary, of the right to retain their British Nationality on marriage with an alien, a right enjoyed by them under the laws of the United Kingdom until 1870.

We further urge that uniformly throughout the Empire the laws should provide that a woman shall not on marriage with an alien be deprived of her British nationality against her will, but that she shall be given the same choice of nationality as a man.

National Union of Women Workers (i.e., National Council of Women).

Alexandra College Guild, Dublin.

Association of Head Mistresses.

Association of Assistant Mistresses in Public Secondary Schools.

British Dominions Women's Suffrage Union.

British Women's Emigration Association.

Catholic Women's League.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

Criminal Law Amendment Committee.

Fabian Women's Group.

Federation of Working Girls' Clubs.

Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, Dublin.

Mothers' Union.

National British Women's Temperance Association.

National Council of Evangelical Free Churches (Women's Council)

National Organisation of Girls' Clubs.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

National Union of Teachers.

Salvation Army.

Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union.

United Suffragists.

Women's Co-operative Guild.

Women's International League.

Women's Labour League.

Women's Local Government Society.

Women's Liberal Federation.

Women Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors Association.

Young Women's Christian Association of Great Britain.

Young Women's Christian Association of Ireland.

14. For the united demand of the women of the country, see memorial in 13 above.

The following proposals for an international policy in line with that demand, I put forward as an individual.

(1) Marriage should not alter the nationality of a woman nor limit her right to naturalisation, but she should be treated as a separate personality in respect to nationality, as she now is in most progressive countries with respect to her right to own property. Since, however, for complete success this policy will have to be adopted by all nations, it will be necessary to provide for the transition stage. If one country only adopted this policy, the foreign wives of its nationals might be without nationality till they had lived in the country the required number of years. In the case of a British subject this would mean among other things loss of certain rights and privileges abroad, as, for example, the right of protection, the right to become a party to proceedings in a British Consular Court, etc. The laws of any country introducing this reform should provide that the foreign wife of one of its nationals, but only if by her marriage she lost the nationality of her own country under its laws, should for certain purposes be deemed to be one of its nationals. For example, if necessary, for the purpose of owning property, of old-age pensions, of sickness insurance, of passports and of protection abroad. Probably in the first instance she should, if deprived of her nationality of origin, be given all rights and privileges and be subject to all the responsibilities of her husband's nationality, except that she should not be qualified for any franchise rights until she had satisfied the conditions required of a man.

(ii) Improved nationality laws should also give the mother an equal share with the father in determining the nationality of a child. The most important nationality rights are political, and as these in most countries are not effective till a child comes of age, the nationality of a child is not so important as that of an adult. Many children to-day are of two nationalities under the laws of two countries. I should suggest therefore that in any country where the nationality of a child followed that of its parent the child should be deemed to be of the nationality both of its father and its mother, and that it should have the right when it reached majority, or when it reached



the conscription age (if any), to make a declaration as to which nationality it wished to adopt permanently.

(iii) Since the nationality laws can only be settled satisfactorily by international agreement, and since it is desirable to place women on an equality with men with respect to nationality, the women of every nation should urge their Governments to instruct their representatives to the International Conference after the war to advocate the introduction in all countries of the right of a woman to retain her own nationality if she marry an alien, and of the right to naturalisation independently of her husband's. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has already urged the British Government to take this action.

*Country*; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.  
*Name of person supplying information*; Chrystal Macmillan, M.A., B.Sc.

*Description*; Member of the Board of Officers of I.W.S.A.; Member of Executive of National Union of Woman's Suffrage Societies.

*Address*; 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, England

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