

JUS SUFFRAGII.

The International Woman Suffrage News

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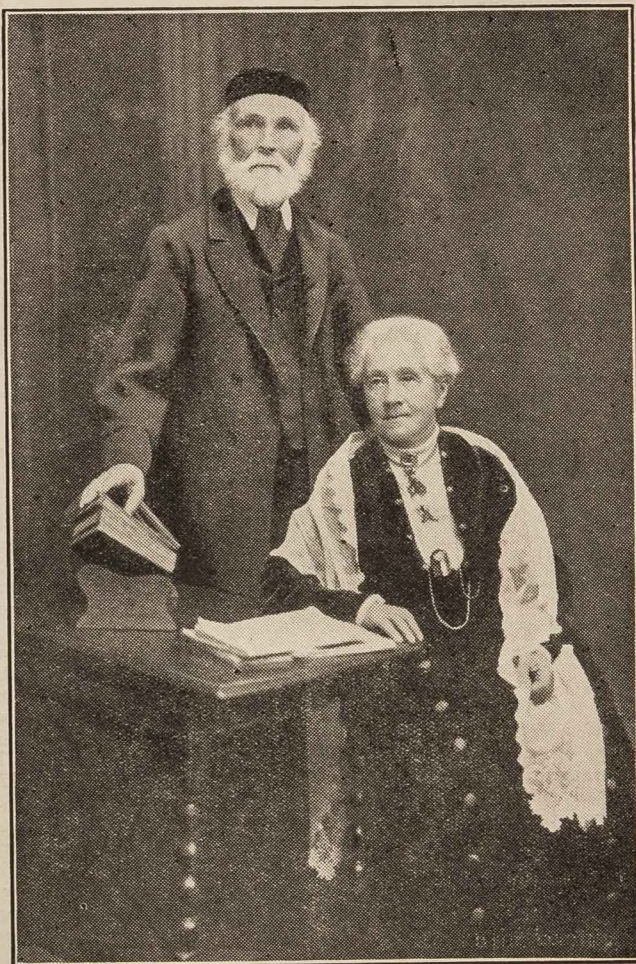
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Mr. and Mrs. Haslam.

Mr. and Mrs. Haslam, veteran Suffrage workers in Ireland, worked for the Woman Suffrage petition in 1866. Mrs. Haslam became hon. secretary of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association in 1872, and retains the post to this day. Mr. Haslam was associated with his wife's work until his death last year.

Features of the Month will be found on page 115.



MR. AND MRS. HASLAM.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK. I.—Some Relevant Facts.

Since, from a variety of causes, interest in the subject of equal pay for equal work has quickened to a considerable degree lately, it has been proposed to publish information bearing on the subject gathered from Great Britain and from as many other countries as is possible.

The following results of inquiries in Great Britain as to the rates of pay of men and women in Government service, municipal and local government service, industrial work, and the liberal professions, are therefore given at some length and in detail, for the purpose of bringing out clearly the general inequality of rates of pay for work by men and women. The material in this article relates to pre-war conditions, and deals with woman labour as woman labour, not as men-substitute labour. A second article will deal with men substitution and its effect on women's pay, and a third on the attitude of the trade unions and its bearing on the subject.

It is necessary to point out in the first place that comparison of the rates of payment to men and women must necessarily be limited to those occupations where the work is either the same or comparable. This reduces the field of survey to very strict limits, as the number of occupations in which men and women are employed in the same or comparable work is comparatively small. The logical demand for equal pay for equal work being difficult to combat, and the reluctance of employers as a whole, including the State, and local governing bodies as well as industrial employers, to accede to such demand, have led to slight alterations and modifications which have enabled them to point out that the women were not actually doing the same work as the men. In many cases the difference of skill or physical endurance involved is so small that the argument is not thereby vitally affected, but for the purposes of this inquiry we have adhered as closely as possible to the academic definition of equal work, except where the differences have been noted.

Starting, then, with Government service, and including municipal and local government service, the following replies have been received from the official representatives of the various associations approached:—

The Post Office (pre-war conditions only).—Women employed in the telegraph-counter work and provincial (*i.e.*, everywhere outside London) sorting work, were, roughly speaking, in receipt of two-thirds of the wages paid to men on similar work. Prior to 1914 a small number of women were employed on postmen's work and were paid at the same rate as men. In practice, what happened was that women were employed on postmen's work in places where men could not readily be obtained to accept the rates offered by the Post Office. As regards clerical work, women clerks were instituted as a special class, the authorities holding that their work was comparable to that of boy clerks and not good enough for the salaries paid to the men. There are also in the Post Office a number of women employed as charwomen or cleaners, and there are some men employed as cleaners. The women receive approximately two-thirds of the men's pay.

The Clerical Staff of the Civil Service.—The Secretary of the Federation of Women Civil Servants states that he knows of no grade in the service where men and women receive the same pay. The work done by women and men in the service in normal times is very similar. In most departments since the war they are doing exactly the same kind of work.

National Health Insurance Commission.—This Commission employs the same grades as the Post Office, women clerks and women sorters. Of the outdoor staff, Health Insurance officers and medical officers receive equal pay, assistant inspectors and inspectors £50 a year less if they are women. On the other hand the Commissioners (salary £1,000), of whom four are women, all receive the same salary.

There is one State service in which the salaries of men and women are equal—*viz.*, the Employment Exchanges. In this service the salaries for each grade are fixed irrespective of the sex of the officers concerned. There is, however, a difference in preferment. The men pass automatically from lower-grade officers on attaining the maximum lower-grade salaries into the higher grade, and their salaries continue to advance automatically. With the women, however, special promotion is required to enable a lower-grade officer to advance to the higher grade.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

Teachers.—In Great Britain the appointment of the teaching staff in public elementary and secondary schools is in the hands of the Local Government authorities.

The whole question of salary in the case of public elementary school teachers is now under revision, but there are few cases in which differences of men's and women's pay do not exist. Roughly speaking, women's pay in this profession used to be 73 per cent. of men's. The recently proposed increases of salary enhance the differentiation. In the public secondary schools differences between rates of pay vary from £30 to £100. University lecturers receive equal pay, but are seldom appointed to the higher posts.

Sanitary Inspectors.—There is a difference of £50 on salaries of £130 to £200 for women, though lower-paid inspectors often receive the same as men. High-paid posts are about three-quarters that of men. Work in this profession is often of different character but equal value, and very often not interchangeable; for it is obvious that where the work can be divided it is more suitable for a man to inspect slaughter-houses than a woman, and more fitting for a woman to investigate home conditions than a man. Both are of equal importance best done by members of each sex.

Medical Inspectors engaged on inspection of school children receive equal pay for men and women.

As regards the *Police Service*, policewomen are employed as supplementary to men, not as substitutes owing to war conditions, and their institution was advocated before the war, though more were actually appointed before 1914. They may therefore be mentioned here, as their work is not men substitution, and they are intended to be a permanency. They receive £2 a week and their uniform, but get no pension. It is not possible, strictly speaking, to compare their rate of pay with the men's, since their work is different; but roughly it may be said to be fairly equal.

Leaving Government service we now come to statistics as to rates of pay in those industries where men and women are doing the same or comparable work.

Tailoring.—Some women receive equal pay with men, but the majority receive 25 per cent. less.

Boot and Shoe Trades.—Women employed on the same work as men are usually paid youths' wages. Low-class firms tend to depress the standard of women's wages.

Cabinet Making (including Upholstering, Cutting, and Polishing).—A man cutter can earn 1s. an hour. A forewoman who is also able to cut will be paid £1 to £1 5s. a week. Thus it is only natural that the men are anxious to keep women out of this branch of work. They say they would have no objection if the women would stand out for the same rates of pay as men. Women polishers were paid less (but their pay has gone up since the war), and the employers state that it takes nine women polishers to do the work of five men. Even so they cannot do the very heavy work nor can they work so quickly. It is also stated that women are, in spite of this, preferred by employers to men, since they work better and more conscientiously.

Cotton Trade.—In the weaving and spinning sections of this trade there is no difference in the piece rates paid to the men and women for equal work.

In Wool and Worsted Weaving also the piece rates are the same for men and women.

Printing.—In the printing trade there are a few women who have been trained as compositors, and are therefore qualified to do the same work as men. They did not, however, before the war receive the same rate of pay, as the unions would not accept them as members, and they were therefore employed only in non-union houses, where they made individual contracts with their employers, usually receiving from two-thirds to three-quarters the rate paid to the men.

Shop Assistants.—The rates of payment to shop assistants vary so much as between one firm and another that a comprehensive comparison is not possible. One firm will pay a higher rate to the women than another firm to the men. In practically every case, however, the women receive a lower rate, by about two-thirds, than the men in the same establishment. The Shop Assistants' Union is now trying to establish a standard minimum rate, but there is no indication that it will be the same rate for women as for men.

Turning now to the *Liberal Professions*, we find that the differentiation is not so clearly marked. According to information given by the Secretary of the London School of Medicine, women lecturers receive equal pay with men lecturers. The fees of general practitioners and specialists of either sex are much the same, and from information given by the Association of Women Pharmacists we are told that on passing the examinations women receive the same pay as men (though not as a rule securing the higher posts in pharmacy).

As regards journalism, the position is not so easily defined. Where women have been definitely appointed as sub-editors or reporters, they have been raised to the minimum in some offices. In others a distinction is still maintained. Speaking broadly, in London there has been a difference of about £2 a week between the salaries of women reporters and those of the best-paid men reporters; in the provinces the difference has been about £1 a week. On the other hand, men in some offices received less than women did in others. But the conditions in journalism vary so much that no definite standard or comparison is possible even between the salaries of men. Regarding free-lance work, the Secretary of the National Union of Journalists believes that the proportion of women contributors who obtain only moderate rates is higher than that of men. There is no difference whatever in the rate of pay for original work, and the same may be said of conditions in the sister arts of painting, sculpture, the stage, and music. Payment here depends on the individual and the demand for her or his work.

Summing up, then, and always remembering that the conditions referred to are pre-war conditions, equality of pay is unknown in the Post Office, in the clerical staff of the Civil Service, and—with the exception of university lecturers—amongst teachers. National Health Insurance officers are equal in the highest and lowest posts. Sanitary inspectors are paid the same in low posts. London County Council medical inspectors receive equal pay.

Members of the liberal professions fare better. Here, compared with work in Government service or industrial trades, pay is more often equal. In the medical profession it is the facilities for training, and in some cases for practising, which are useful, only a limited number of hospitals, for instance, being open to women medical students.

Of the examples of industrial trades taken in this article, with the exception of cotton weavers and a small proportion of women in the tailoring trade, the maximum wage for a woman is—or was—often less than the minimum paid to a man. In some cases the wage is slightly over half. Even allowing for a difference of output per hour, pleaded (but not in every case proved) by the employer, it is obvious that the differentiation of pay is disproportional and cannot be justified on this ground.

The succeeding article on war conditions will show how far these have tended to improve the position.

In the industrial occupations it will be noted that the only examples of equal pay come from the highly organised cotton and woollen trades. Before the war the majority of the women in trade unions were in these two great industries, which, together, embraced more women members than all the other unions combined. In these unions the men and women united to demand a similar rate of pay, and were strong enough to enforce it.

Trades Boards were established for the purpose of fixing minimum wages in the sweated or badly paid industries. The first industries to be scheduled under the Acts were wholesale tailoring, holloware, lace and chain making. The working of the Act proved so successful that each year more industries are coming under its operations, which now include shirt-making, confectionery, and tin and paper box making, while other trades are to be included in the near future.

In no case, however, have the Boards fixed an equal rate for men and women, even in those processes where the work is the same, or where that of the women is—as it undoubtedly is in some trades—as skilled as or even more skilled than that of the men. This inequality extends even to the wages paid to the boys and girls of fourteen on entering the industry; the difference is usually from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per week.

The comparative rates of pay for men and women are 3½d. to 4½d. per hour for women, and 5½d. to 8d. per hour for men. The actual sum is subject to constant revision, but the difference is maintained of about 2d. per hour.

The only other case in which wages are fixed by law is under the Munitions Acts, which will be dealt with under the "War Conditions" part of the inquiry.

Denmark.

A private committee was established some years ago by Dansk Kvindesamfund to examine the possibilities for women's employment in public services. At the Scandinavian meeting in Stockholm, November, 1916, where a common organisation of the women's associations of the North was formed, the first object for the new organisation was Mme. Gabriëlle Duchesne's proposal as to equal pay.

In Stockholm a meeting was arranged, where speakers from five nations, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, gave a general view about the valuation of women's work in the different countries. The proposal of Mme. Duchesne was in Denmark handed over to the above-mentioned committee, which has addressed the Government and obtained a subvention of 600 kronor to examine the different measures concerning the problem. When this work has been finished, the results will be published. As a rule women are paid at a lower rate even if they have the same training and do the same work.

(a) Women teachers do not get the same wages as men teachers. Only a few of them have up till now become Government school inspectors, when they get the same salary as men inspectors. Women in post, telephone, telegraph, railway, and custom service are even paid at a lower rate. In a few of these services we find equal pay on paper, but only the lower-paid work is given to women or certain branches are open to them; they are not promoted.

(b) The public schools of Copenhagen are a municipal institution, and have seven women school inspectors against forty-one men inspectors. If occasionally an appointment formerly held by a man is given to a woman, she gets the same salary.

We have a woman factory inspector, and an inspector for work vacancy.

(c) The tariff for industrial workers is as a rule the same for men and women, but women often get the unskilled and lowest-paid work.

(d) In the liberal professions, as physicians, dentists, lawyers, women keep to the tariff; if not, they would be looked upon as blacklegs and would be excluded from the professional organisation.

United States.

Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Research Department, writes as follows:—

Even from those States where equal-pay statutes exist there is sometimes complaint that there is discrimination against women in the allotment of the best-paid positions. For instance, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Nevada wrote (February 29, 1916): "Our school law provides that the salaries of teachers shall be determined by the character of the service required, and in no district shall there be any discrimination in the matter of salaries as against female teachers. The law, however, is not observed." The basis of the trouble here seems to be a lack of salary schedules, the right to settle the pay in a given case being left with local boards.

The great equal-pay fight in the schools is that of the Interborough Teachers' Association (Women) of New York City. This began in 1914, when the Silverstein Law raised the pay of men teachers in the seventh and eighth grades of the New York Public Schools from \$1,820 to \$2,400 a year, the women's pay in these same grades being left unchanged at \$1,820. The women's fight is not yet won, but now that they are voters there is better hope for them. A struggle almost exactly like that in New York has been begun by women teachers in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, recently.

The only instance of a policy of equal pay in industrial work which I know of before the war is the Ford Motor Company. When—early in 1916, I believe it was—Mr. Ford instituted his minimum rate of \$5.00 a day, he made it apply to both men and women employes. This is said to have affected 1,500 women. I know nothing of equality between the sexes in the higher rates of pay in his factory. The only other pre-war item of importance on equal pay is the endorsement of the principle by the Federal Council of Churches in America in December, 1916.

Since we declared war in April, 1917, equal pay has become a live issue. My information on the subject is fragmentary, and it is gained in part from the newspapers, but it serves to show how much the subject is being discussed in all parts of the country. Besides the organisations listed in my enclosures, the New York State Federation of Labour at its annual meeting in January, 1918, endorsed equal pay for women side by side with the eight-hour day. Though I do not find that the Connecticut Federation of Labour has actually endorsed the principle, labour organisers of that State are reported, in connection with a strike involving women workers at the Remington Arms Factory at Bridgeport, as having made the statement that labour unions would be forced hereafter to give up their antagonism to women workers, and to conduct a nation-wide campaign for equal

pay. The Typographical Union has for a long time stood for equal pay, and has women in its membership.

Of women's organisations which have endorsed equal pay I have listed the Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Committee of the New York State Republican Party, and the Mayor's Committee of Women (New York City), as well as many women's trade unions. Recently another church body not in the Federal Council endorsed equal pay. This was the Episcopal Synod of New York and New Jersey (January, 1918).

Among public bodies endorsing are the Massachusetts Public Safety Committee, whose arbitrator, in settling a strike of the Western Electric Company, ruled that "women occupying men's places and turning out as much and as good work shall have equal pay." The Pennsylvania Industrial Board ruled that women doing munition work should have the same pay as men. The Federal Women's Labour Bureau stands for equal pay and an eight-hour day.

It was the Federal Employés' Union which introduced the equal-pay resolution passed by the American Federation of Labour last year. This was also the union primarily interested in the Keating Bill. Not long before war was declared (February, 1917) this union complained to the Secretary of War that in Philadelphia and Picatinny arsenals women were paid \$1.36 to \$2.24, while men were paid \$2.24 to \$2.64 for the same work. In November, 1917, the War Department ruled for its arsenals that "women doing men's work in the Government Ordnance and Quartermaster work should have a man's pay."

This looks like the direct outcome of the work of the Federal Employés' Union and Miss Smith's Committee of the N.A.W.S.A.

Among large organisations of employés adopting the principle of equal pay since the war began are, besides those listed in my enclosures, the Merchants' Association of New York City and the Southern Pine Association of Tennessee. The newspapers report that the New York Central and the United Cigar Stores Corporation, which has many thousands of stores throughout the country, are paying men and women the same.

This brings us to the crux of the matter—namely, are these equal-pay professions of the employers in good faith? The Assistant Secretary of the Federal Department of Labour and officials in the States of New York, Washington, and California, have claimed recently that there is no shortage of male labour, but that women are being taken on in order to displace men, and ultimately, if not immediately, to lower the rate of pay. The Industrial Commissioner of New York said:—

"We shall be very shortsighted if we permit our women to be exploited by factory-owners who, under the camouflage of an alleged labour shortage, seek to replace well-paid men with underpaid women. There is no patriotism in that kind of shop management, and it contains the seeds of industrial unrest and disturbance."

There has been evidence that some employers have, under the guise of equal pay, attracted women with a view to undermining their male employés. For instance, the Brooklyn Rapid Transit has an evil reputation with its employés for long hours and poor pay, and with the public for bad service. Some time ago it took on women. Complaint was made by the men to the Public Service Commission. The Commission could do nothing, but in this and a subsequent investigation of a shortage of cars on this line, it was brought out that while 500 men a day applied to the Commission for work, few could be persuaded to work under the conditions offered by the company; those now employed were restless, and this was the reason women were taken on. Said one of the Commissioners: "There has been great dissatisfaction among employés and threats to strike. The company probably knows that it will have to face a strike: women will be used to beat the men."

The American Federation of Labour *Newsletter* tells another story showing lack of good faith. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad engaged women to wipe engines in its Pittsburgh shops, offering them men's pay (26c. an hour). Their first pay envelope showed that they were actually receiving 22c. an hour. When they objected, a rate of 50c. for cleaning an entire engine was established, and for scrubbing of all of the engine below the running board they were paid 30c.

For several days they worked like Trojans, and one day actually succeeded in earning more than the company had agreed to pay. One day four women cleaned 17 engines, and on the following day five women were placed at work on 16 engines. Naturally their earnings dwindled. The women

were then told to paint the smoke boxes at the rate of 10c. each, and refused. Then they organised, and one of them was discharged. The others quit.

MARY SUMNER BOYD.

AUSTRIA.

Frauenbestrebungen (Swiss) for March reports that in the recent peace strikes the workers made the granting of municipal Suffrage to women a condition of return to work.

The Austrian Section of the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace recently gained hundreds of new members by its meetings in support of the Bolshevik peace conditions. It has now constituted itself a Peace Party. Badges are sold and extensively worn, inscribed "For Peace by Conciliation" ("Für den Verständigungsfrieden").

Social Democrats Demand Woman Suffrage.

In Austria Social Democrats have lost no time in following up the assurances on Woman Suffrage given to the representatives of the strikers. Besides the promised communal Suffrage, they are demanding the Parliamentary vote. The Socialist Deputy Hillebrand, at the beginning of February, on behalf of his party, introduced a motion which will oblige the Government to show whether it will fulfil its promises to democracy. The preamble, after reminding the Government of its declaration to the strikers, which concedes the principle of women's municipal vote, goes on: "For the same reasons that make it impossible to continue to deny women the local vote, they can no longer be deprived of the Reichsrat vote. The interests which women represent are greater and more important, and entitle them to the Parliamentary vote." It goes on to emphasise the all-important part taken by women in industry, especially since the war. "Increased duties should bring increased rights; but women remain without any political rights. They remain, like minors and convicts, excluded from all share in representation.

"Great political changes must follow the war. The right of peoples to decide their own fate, the right to democracy, cannot possibly be longer denied. Secret diplomacy, with its intrigues and deceptions, must go. The peoples will decide their relations to each other in open negotiations; in future, treaties will be concluded between one nation and another. This will increase the importance of Parliaments far beyond what it now is, and with it will increase the interest of all sections of the nation, including that of women, in sharing in representation and influencing decisions. As productive members of society, as citizens, as mothers, as educators of the future generation, they have a claim to political weight. The Suffrage must no longer be withheld from women."

DENMARK.

Parliamentary Notes.

Widows' Children.

On February 20, 1917, the "Danish Women's Society" sent in a proposal that the yearly grant to widows should be raised, as had been the sum given to children born out of wedlock.

A proposal is now before the House which meets our ideas half way.

The Minister for the Interior proposed as follows:—
150kr. per annum until the child is four, 120kr. per annum until it is twelve, 90kr. per annum until it is fourteen.

It is also proposed that in the case of the death of a widow receiving this assistance the money for the maintenance of the child should be paid to the guardian, who may be appointed by the local authority. The Danish Women's Society criticises the limit at present set to the income of widows receiving these pensions; owing to the rise in prices, the income limit should be raised.

Letters received show that widows whose incomes exceed the limit have been in want because of high prices, and have had to go to the poorhouse.

It is proposed that during the present period of high prices the amounts paid for each child should be increased 50 per cent.

Proposed Alteration in the Law as to Income and Property Taxes.

The law of 1912 ordained that the married man should be taxed on the whole of his income, and that of the wife who lives with him, even if she has separate property.

The alteration proposed is that when married people own property in common the wife should be taxed on the income which is earned by her in independent work, and the man on the married couple's remaining income.

If any of the income is the separate property of either party, that party shall alone pay the tax.

This is an important change, because as the law now stands a man can refrain from paying his income-tax so as to prevent his wife from exercising her municipal vote, and this took place after women got the municipal vote in April, 1908, when some men wished to prevent their wives from being members of parish or town councils. Another abuse is that now the wife's property can be distrained because the man refuses to pay the tax.

Again, it may arise that a man makes large profits and speculates them away, and the wife's private income or earnings are then taken for income-tax.

Neither is it fair that the man should be authorised to exact a precise account of his wife's property and income for purposes of taxation while the husband, who perhaps earns less than his wife, need render no account to her.

At present the man is answerable for the correctness of his wife's statement, though it is probably she, and not he, who is in the better position to give an exact account.

Married people suffer in another way, for if the man has to pay tax on the joint income one or other partner may lose the abatement.

The answer to this argument that married people have advantages which balance the taxation is inclusive, since other joint households have such advantages without the vexation of joint taxation.

As soon as the present law is so altered that even the wife with no private property has some right to a share of the money jointly owned and earned, we shall advocate all wives being responsible for their own income-tax. But wives who have no income, and wear themselves out in the home or the shop with nothing to show for it, cannot claim a right to pay tax until the law allows them some right to dispose of income.

Women, then, should give their votes to members who advocate independent payment of income-tax by wives.

—*Kvinden og Samfundet* (Feb. 15).

FRANCE.

The Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes sends its warmest congratulations to the new English women electors, and the expression of its joy in their magnificent success. It joins thereto its homage to the courage and tenacity which has enabled them to gain the victory. Our English sisters have thus rendered a signal service to the cause of women of the whole world, for their success will bring nearer the dawn of victory for all.

For the Central Committee of the U.F.S.F.,

DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER, President.

Lectures to Prepare for the Municipal Vote.

Jus Suffragii has been kept informed of the Parliamentary position of the question of the municipal Suffrage in France. Its readers know that the Commission on Universal Suffrage have promised women that they should vote at the next municipal elections; they have heard the echo of the applause which welcomed the firm declaration of the doyen of the Chamber, M. Jules Siegfried, asking that by an act of justice and gratitude the vote should be given to women. We should like to enable the readers of *Jus Suffragii* to appreciate how far these promises and appreciations respond to public sentiment by explaining the undertaking of the Union Fraternelle des Femmes and the great success that has followed it.

The Fraternal Union of Women, combining at the same time propaganda and civic instruction, has organised a series of 14 lectures preparatory for the municipal vote. The wide and well-balanced programme describes the general functioning of the commune. We regret that we cannot publish it in full, for it testifies to the breadth and method with which the subject has been grasped; but we give a brief resumé. The questions treated are:

Food Supply: Co-operative societies, markets, dépôts.

Sanitation: Hygiene committees, insanitary housing, disinfection, cemeteries.

Public Works: Town planning, town extension, reconstruction of destroyed cities, walks, open spaces, playgrounds.

Police: Street order, the morals police, policemen, prisons, dispensaries, drinking places, laws on drunkenness.

Education: Infant schools, elementary schools, higher schools, apprenticeship, technical schools, libraries, museums.

Public Assistance: Hospitals, hostels, night refuges, milk depôts, crèches, day nurseries.

Insurance: Preventive measures against tuberculosis, sick insurance.

Municipal Budget: Balancing finance.

It is not without hesitation that the President and General Secretary of the Women's Fraternal Union, Mmes. Hammer and J. F. Raspail, have assumed such a heavy task when each one is in demand for so many immediate needs. They had reason to wonder whether the results would be in proportion to the effort: their courage was rewarded, for the success was immediate and great.

Some of the ablest and most respected members of Parliament, professors, municipal councillors, experienced women, and literary men, collaborated in these lectures, which were presided over by MM. Siegfried and Buisson. The public, so numerous that the hall was insufficiently large, rewarded them for their co-operation by its attention and regular attendance. It was a test of the interest taken in Suffrage, this series of 14 lectures, taking up Sunday afternoons from February 10 to May 26. This test has been triumphantly stood, as the audience has remained so large and attention been maintained.

We must also point out that the audience is composed of new elements; many young girls and young women who do not usually attend feminist meetings have come to learn their future duties, and fulfilled the intention of the organisers by considering these lectures as a real course in civic instruction. By coming in such numbers to acquire the precise knowledge that would be necessary to all electors, women have given the most convincing proof of the progress won by the Suffrage cause and the opportuneness of the campaign so courageously carried out by Mme. Hammer and Mme. Raspail.

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

Professional Education for Girls.

Girls are forbidden, by a decree of November, 1917, to attend the higher classes in boys' lycées. It is pointed out that this is very illogical, coming at the same time as the opening of Ecole Centrale (engineering) and the School of Physics and Chemistry to women. To enter these schools a course of higher mathematics is necessary, which can only be obtained in boys' lycées. Mme. Cruppi has protested against this method of taking away with one hand what is given with the other. Women's societies are preparing a demonstration in favour of the modifying of girls' education to prepare for all professions.—*La Française*.

Suffrage Forward Movement.

The Comité d'Action Suffragiste, whose secretary is Mlle. Jeanne Mélin, is carrying on a strenuous campaign for full Parliamentary Suffrage for women, "demanding that Parliament should immediately discuss the question of complete Woman Suffrage, and give them without delay the exercise of all their rights."

Mme. Jane Misme, in *La Française* for March 16, while rendering homage to the activity and devotion of the forward movement, says that the National Council of Women and the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes, which have been doing Suffrage propaganda for many years, think it wiser to confine their demand for the present to the municipal vote, and when that is won extend their demand.

Mme. Misme recognises the eloquence of the new combatants, and the impression they make on popular audiences, but thinks their movement ill-timed from the patriotic and from the feminist point of view.

Women in French Industry.

The women of France have done wonderfully good work right from the beginning of the war. They have, if possible, entered even more largely into the industrial life of the country than have the women of England. No doubt is entertained that they will in future occupy permanently an important position in the industrial world, and steps have already been taken to give effect to this idea of permanency by the establishment at Lyons of a professional training college for the higher technical education of women. The college was opened on October 1st, 1917, and the curriculum includes a commercial course and a technical course of two years each. A preliminary examination must be passed before admission, and the minimum entrance age is sixteen. The commercial course is very full and complete. The technical course includes machine design, mathematics, machine shop work, electricity,

and foreign languages. The fees are 150f. per quarter for the first year, and 200f. per quarter for the second year. At the beginning of the war several large firms at Lyons and elsewhere undertook the training of women with complete success, and the women were able in a short time to handle complicated machinery quite satisfactorily. In the munitions plant at Lyons 3 per cent. of the 572 workers employed in June, 1915, were women. In 1916, 31 per cent. of the total of 6,081 workers were women, and this number rapidly increased until on May 19th, 1917, out of a total of 12,045 workers, 6,066, or more than 50 per cent., were women. Of the total number of workwomen 855 were less than eighteen years of age. The daily wages range from 4f. to 14f. Scientific experiments made at one of the large munition plants in Lyons showed that, in the production of shells, a woman operates on 900 to 1,000 shells a day, handling each piece twice—in putting it in and taking it out of the lathe,—making from 1,800 to 2,000 movements with a shell weighing 13lb. She thus moves, in her day's work, a total weight of 10 to 12 tons. This work requires great precision, yet women operatives have given general satisfaction. The manufacture and repair of tools and their mountings have proved to be quite a speciality with women workers, bringing out good professional ability and keen intelligence. Before the war this work was done only by men.

Everything possible has, of course, been done in the direction of welfare work, rest rooms and the like being provided. The questions of length of working day, meal hours, cheap and nourishing food, etc., have been dealt with thoroughly and scientifically. Extra holidays also are liberally granted, and provision is made to look after the children whose mothers are engaged in munition work. The division of the work into two shifts—6.15 a.m. to 2.15 p.m., and 2.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m., with forty-five minutes' interval—is found to give very good results. Night shifts with all their attendant disadvantages are thus avoided, and maximum efficiency appears to be attained.

—From *Engineering*.

GERMANY.

Woman Suffrage in the Prussian Diet.

On January 15th the Prussian Lower House again debated Woman Suffrage.

The Local Government Committee (Gemeindecommission) had under consideration a motion of the Progressive Party, dating from January, 1917, to admit women to all municipal committees, and give them a vote on those committees. The Committee refused this motion, and passed one asking the Government to alter the local government law so as to permit women to be on municipal committees for charity and social welfare only. At the debate in the House the Centre added as an amendment to include women on school committees.

The Local Government Committee considered also a petition from the Frankfurt branch of the Frauenstimmrechtsbund for Woman Suffrage in State and Municipality; also two petitions against women's municipal vote from the Anti-Suffrage League, and against women officials ever having men under them (!), and for the protection of men after the war against female competition. All these petitions were referred for consideration.

When the House had to discuss them the want of interest in Woman Suffrage was evidenced by a completely empty House; whereas the galleries were filled with women.

The debate was opened by the Conservative Deputy Graef, who opposed Woman Suffrage as only likely to injure women's nature. Moreover, it would disturb family life. Women's duty was to maintain the race, and as the weaker sex they could never be important in the life of the State, where the strongest must rule!

Dr. Kaufmann, representing the Centre, supported women's claim to be on school committees, but on behalf of his party opposed women having any vote for local bodies or any others. He deplored the fall in the birth-rate, and hoped women would return to their duty of educating citizens for heaven!

The Government representative said that a change in local government law would soon be needed, and then women might have a vote on town committees.

Dr. Lewin, for the Progressives, and Hirsch, for the Majority Socialists, though academically in favour of the principle, held that now was not the time. Women's claims would overload the present reform. Dr. Lewin supported women's claim to the local vote, and mentioned that in Saxe-

Weimar, in Saxe-Meiningen, in Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, and Reuss, women have the right to vote by proxy for town and rural councils; this, of course, on a property basis. They have a similar right in Hanover. As a proof of women's usefulness in municipal service he quoted the mayors of Mannheim and Schöneberg. In 1915 there were 45 large towns employing women—10,500 unpaid, 900 to 1,000 paid.

Ströbel, for the Independent Socialists, sounded a militant Suffragist note, and urged women to fight with all their energy for full political rights. He spoke of the millions of working women, of their privations, their overwork, their lost breadwinners. Women have maintained the economic life of the nation, and yet remain helots, because men wish to keep them enslaved. It was scandalous reaction to deny women the full political vote. Other countries advance; only Germany lags behind. Women must insist on equal rights, if they have to fight for them with teeth and nails.

Chambers of Commerce and Women Voters.

The Prussian Ministry of Commerce has drafted a Bill for the reform of the Chambers of Commerce (Handelskammer), which is being presented to existing Chambers for their approval. The draft extends the vote to women. The Berlin Women's Society (Verein Frauenwohl), a branch of the Frauenstimmrechtsbund, has petitioned that women may also be eligible as candidates.

Baden Municipal Vote.

The National Liberal Party in the Second Chamber of the Baden Diet demands in its programme for municipal reform the vote for independent women.

The question was first raised in the Diet in 1908 by a petition of the Baden Woman Suffrage Society, which was received in approved Parliamentary style with comic speeches. Two years later a second attempt met with serious and sympathetic treatment. Up to that date women might be appointed on municipal committees; since 1910 they must be appointed. Last November the Baden Suffragists again petitioned for the municipal vote, and are now hoping that Baden may lead the way in enfranchising women.

Women's Committee for Permanent Peace.

The German Women's Committee for Permanent Peace has addressed a pressing demand to the Imperial Chancellor on the occasion of the peace negotiations with Russia. It continues:

"It is superfluous to dilate on the reasons for these demands to the Imperial Chancellor, which are all directed to prepare the way for permanent peace among nations. But we as women take the opportunity to point to another demand which is one of the best means to bring about permanent peace between civilised States—viz., the granting of Woman Suffrage. The Committee therefore requests that the German Government will prepare a Bill to give the universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot to women at once."

The Committee has also addressed an open letter to the newly formed League for Freedom and Fatherland, asking whether the League, which is formed to promote the freedom, happiness, and prestige of the Fatherland, will work for the political freedom of women and their equal citizenship with men. The letter calls attention to the growing recognition of women's equal status in other countries, and adds that if Germany holds back, it will be outstripped in democratic development. It continues:—

"The political emancipation of women is more than a formal measure. It is a change of nature in the life of the State, and those Great Powers which introduce it will see arise from it far-reaching reforms, a new youth for their culture, and substantial progress, as is shown by the results in Woman Suffrage countries."

The German Women's Committee for Permanent Peace has also issued a manifesto, in which it says:—

"We trust that the League that we formed at The Hague in 1915 has maintained its old strength; that we women, in spite of the hatred and enmity of our countries, are faithful to each other, and will build the bridges between the nations when at last the peace comes which is dawning in the East."

It is reported from Frankfurt that at immense mass meetings at the end of January, speakers asserted that the strikers demanded immediate, equal, secret, and direct Suffrage for men and women in Prussia.

Clara Zetkin, the well-known Minority Socialist, writes in the *Frauen-Beilage* (February 22nd):—

"The world-war, with its consequences, has thrown a strong light on the necessity of granting our demand for full

economic, political, and social equality for women. At the same time, it shows with overwhelming weight that the struggle for the fulfilment of these demands must be international. . . . In view of the unspeakable misery and unlimited barbarity of the war, our women's day must be a symbol of higher humanity for all, without distinction of race, nationality, or sex; of that higher humanity which is the soul and object of Socialism."

GREAT BRITAIN.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Internal Politics.

The interests and energies of the National Union have been focussed during the last week upon the Annual Council. Always an important occasion, it acquired this year a new and twofold importance—for the first time it was a Council of electors and in its hands lay the destiny of the Union.

The first business of the Council was the passing of resolutions of congratulations and thanks to the more prominent of all the true friends of Women's Suffrage who have remained staunch in its support through the vicissitudes of the feminist movement. Mrs. Fawcett, needless to say, came first upon the list, and on rising to give her presidential address, received an enthusiastic ovation from the Council. Resolutions of grateful thanks were passed to her, to the Labour Party, and to the many true Suffragists in the Government and in both Houses of Parliament through whose help the Parliamentary victory has been won.

The Council then proceeded to more arduous work. In determining the future of the Union it had to choose between two conceptions—that women as women have a set of special interests, distinct from those of men, which the Union should work to further; or that women's interests and men's interests coincide when once men and women are on an equal footing in all spheres of life, and that consequently a feminist body such as the N.U.W.S.S. must logically confine its work to the securing of equality of opportunity for women with men. The Council finally decided in favour of the latter view, and in the following resolution defined the future objects of the Union:—

"The objects of the Union shall be to obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men, and all other such reforms, economic, legislative, and social, as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women."

The objects of the Union being thus generally defined, the Council next drew up a list of reforms to be placed upon its programme for the coming year. Among the questions with which the Union will concern itself are the rights of married women, guardianship of children, income tax of married women, endowment of maternity and childhood, women magistrates, women police, women solicitors, women's nationality, solicitation and the equal moral standard, and the position of women in industry. All these subjects come under the heading of equality, and particularly demand immediate consideration. To carry out general educative work and to help women's societies to co-operate locally, the National Union further intends to establish, and to co-operate with other societies in establishing, autonomous Women Citizens' Associations wherever possible throughout the country. In addition to this the Union has decided to set up information bureaux to give advice and help to women and keep the new voters informed of all that most nearly concerns them.

The Celebration of Victory.

On March 13th a great gathering of Suffragists in the Queen's Hall celebrated the enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain. It was held under the united auspices of eighteen Suffrage Societies, and was the expression of their united thanksgiving.

The platform was a familiar one, a friendly one, and a happy one, composed of as ardent celebrators as were any members of the audience. The speakers were Miss Maude Royden—than whom Women's Suffrage has had no more eloquent advocate; Lord Lytton, typifying Conservative support; and the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., standing for Labour. Sir John Simon, who was expected to speak, and would have represented the Liberal supporters of Women's Suffrage, had been recalled to duty in France, but sent in his place a charming letter of support and congratulation. Mrs. Henry Fawcett was in the chair.

Song is the proper medium of rejoicing, and was not wanting at the celebration. The Bach Choir, conducted by Sir Hubert

Parry, attended in its strength, and was responsible for a delightful musical programme. Nothing contributed more to the impressiveness of the celebration than the appearance of the hall itself, decorated by the Artists' Suffrage League with the banners of the National Union and the seventeen societies co-operating in the celebration. They were a wonderful sight, those heavy silken embroideries hanging in a great double circle of harmonious colour; they had seen as much of the Suffrage cause as anyone seated below them, and bore witness to the triumphant issue of a struggle that, though under the shadow of a greater struggle, has reached its final victory.

Teachers' Salaries.

It is not long since consternation was awakened in the hearts of all interested in the betterment of women's pay by the report of the Departmental Committee of the Board of Education which has been investigating the question of a revised scale of teachers' salaries in elementary schools. In its recommendations to local authorities this Committee gave—for the first time—legal recognition to differentiation of salary based on sex. Shortly after the report appeared, the London County Council met to decide whether or not to adopt the recommendations of the Board of Education. The women teachers had only a few days in which to take action. They used their time well. They inundated the London County Council with protests and memorials, and on the day on which the Council met appeared in their thousands outside the meeting-place and demonstrated in person. As a result, the proposals of an unequal scale of salaries was rejected by the L.C.C. by a large majority, and the matter was referred back for reconsideration. The teachers are now holding a mass meeting in the Albert Hall, and the demand for equal pay for equal work is spreading far and wide in all the branches of women's work. R. STRACHEY.

N.U.W.S.S. Council.

The following account is taken from the *Common Cause*:— Messages of congratulation were received by Mrs. Fawcett and the Council from the Women of Spain and the Women of Japan, from the Swedish National Women's Suffrage Association, and from distinguished Suffragists all over the world.

On rising to make her presidential address, Mrs. Fawcett received a great ovation from the Council. In speaking, Mrs. Fawcett laid stress upon the change in atmosphere already created by the passing of the Representation of the People Bill. The last two years, she said, had been wonderful years. At the 1916 Council meeting some of her friends thought her too sanguine in her estimate of the effects of the industrial emancipation of women; but war had brought freedom to women. She quoted numerous expressions of change of view by well-known anti-Suffragists. One had said that the women were wonderful in their adaptability, unselfishness, freshness of mind, organising skill. It had been said that the granting of the Suffrage to women would make no difference. Already we have begun to reap the benefit. It was enormously encouraging and exhilarating to us to feel the power of the vote behind us. She did not want anyone to pity her. Her fifty years of work had been joyful years. One heard much about the ignorance of the woman voter. She did not believe in that ignorance. Many of the women enfranchised were mothers of families and housewives, and the special knowledge gained by them would be brought to bear as voters.

Mrs. Fawcett then moved the following resolution, which was carried with acclamation:—

"That this Council records its profound satisfaction on the passage into law of the Representation of the People Bill, and its confident belief that the enfranchisement of women will contribute to the true and permanent welfare of the country."

The most important of the other resolutions passed were the following:—

GENERAL.

"That this Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies offer their affectionate congratulations to Mrs. Fawcett on the success which has crowned her fifty years of work for the women's cause. They record their profound gratitude for the statesmanship which has led the Union to victory with a reputation of wisdom, of constancy, and of high honour, which reflects the character of their leader. They look to her with confidence for guidance in the future."

"That this Council records its gratitude to the Honorary Parliamentary Secretary, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, for the ability and untiring vigilance with which she has watched over the Reform Bill in all its stages, and helped to pilot it safely into harbour."

"That, on the occasion of the passing of the Representation of the People Bill into law, this Council of the N.U.W.S.S. desires to send a message of hearty thanks to the Labour Party for their steady and consistent support of the Cause of Women's Suffrage in times past,

and assures them of the firm intention of the N.U.W.S.S. to continue to work for the further enfranchisement of women on the same terms as is or may be granted to men."

"That this Council desires to record its thanks to the many true Suffragists in the Government and in both Houses of Parliament, through whose help the Parliamentary victory has been won."
"That this Council, in celebrating the enfranchisement of some six million women, recalls the historic aim of the Union to secure the franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. It pledges itself in its work for the equality of women with men to keep specially in mind the unenfranchised women wage-earners, whose economic interests will be so vitally affected by the reconstruction in which they will not have the same political share as the employers and the male wage-earners; and it resolves not to relax its efforts till a full and final victory is attained."

OBJECTS OF THE UNION.

"That the objects of the Union be to secure the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men, and all such other reforms, economic, legislative, and social, as are necessary to secure a real equality of liberties, status, and opportunities between men and women; and to assist women to realise their responsibility as voters."

WOMEN CITIZENS' ASSOCIATIONS.

"That the N.U.W.S.S. adopt as part of its work the following scheme for initiating Women Citizens' Associations:—
"That it shall be part of the future work of the N.U.W.S.S. to assist women to make effective use of their voting rights."
"That as one method of carrying out the object of the N.U.W.S.S., Societies be urged to work for the formation of Women Citizens' Associations on a broad and democratic basis, and on non-party lines, and that, wherever possible, they should co-operate for this purpose with other women's organisations in the same area."

"That the object of the Women Citizens' Association shall be:—
(1) To foster the sense of citizenship in women.
(2) To encourage self-education in political, civic, and economic questions."
(3) To secure an adequate representation of the interests and experience of women in the affairs of the community, including the promotion of the election of women on to local governing bodies, hospital boards, and all other bodies where their assistance would be beneficial."

"That the Associations, when formed on these lines, shall be autonomous, and free to take such action as they may decide, but shall be asked to allow adequate representation on the Committees to the Society of the N.U.W.S.S., as well as to other societies which have taken part in their formation."
"That the Executive Committee shall be free to decide the method by which the scheme can be most efficiently carried out, provided that an Honorary Secretary be appointed who shall be responsible for circulating information on specific legislation affecting women's interests."

"That where a locality desires to form Citizens' Associations including both sexes, the N.U.W.S.S. may assist in the formation of such Associations, provided that they are able to secure that the objects of the Women Citizens' Association as set out in the preceding scheme shall be in substance included in the scope of the mixed bodies; possibly by arranging for the formation of a women's group or sub-committee within the mixed body."

"That if it is proposed in any locality to set up Women or Citizens' Associations on lines varying substantially from those herein set out, the question as to whether the N.U.W.S.S. shall take part in the formation thereof shall be referred to the N.U.W.S.S. Executive."

"That Societies of the N.U.W.S.S. be free to choose whether they will work under this scheme or under the scheme promoted by the Joint Committee on Citizenship elected by Women's Organisations doing this work."

ADMINISTRATIVE WORK.

"This Council recommends that societies of the Union should set up women's bureaux where possible throughout the country, by means of which the societies, acting in co-operation with existing women's societies and Women Citizens' Associations, should collect and distribute information on subjects of interest to women voters; should watch in every locality the economic conditions as they affect women, the practical working of the laws, and the administration of justice; and by help and advice should assist individual women to secure the full enjoyment of their rights, opportunities, and liberties."

TITLE OF THE UNION.

"That the title be the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies."

PROGRAMME OF THE N.U.W.S.S.

INDUSTRIAL POSITION OF WOMEN.

"That a Special Council Meeting be held at a time to be decided by the Executive Committee to consider the position of women in industry with a view to deciding what reforms, if any, affecting that position shall be placed on the programme.
"Further, that the Executive Committee be instructed to arrange a Conference with other Societies interested in the industrial welfare of women, to precede the Council Meeting."
"That such a Conference be held in an industrial centre."
"That it be a recommendation that such a Council be held in an industrial centre."

EQUAL GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN.

"That this Council condemn the existing law which recognises the father as the sole parent of children born in wedlock, and urges the promotion of a Bill to provide that parents shall be equal joint guardians of their children, each with a power to name a guardian to act jointly with the survivor. It declares that such a Bill should safeguard the guardianship rights of both parents, independent of their relative economic position."
"That this Council condemn the existing law which recognises the mother as the sole guardian of children born out of wedlock. It

recommends Societies to consider the matter immediately with a view to bringing forward schemes at the next Council Meeting as to the best means of putting the position of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children on a more satisfactory footing. It further directs the Executive Committee to consider schemes put forward by other societies and to bring up recommendations to the next Council Meeting."

RIGHTS OF MARRIED WOMEN.

"That the machinery for obtaining and enforcing maintenance orders from neglectful, cruel or dissolute husbands be simplified and made more effective, and that it be made possible to make such orders a charge upon wages when the man neglects to pay. That the Executive Committee be empowered to promote legislation for this purpose."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS GUARDIANS UNDER MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

"That this Council urges that any scheme for Mothers' Pensions should make provision that a mother in receipt of such pension should not have her rights as the guardian of her child limited, but should in her relations with her child be given the same responsibilities and be subject to the same laws and the same inspection as other parents."

INCOME TAX AND MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY.

"That the N.U.W.S.S. shall seek to ensure the inclusion in the Income Tax Consolidation Bill or the Finance Bill of a provision giving effect to the Married Women's Property Acts by reckoning the income of a married woman as separate from that of her husband, and so abolishing the existing practice of penalising or supertaxing married persons by assessing their incomes together."

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACTS (SCOTLAND).

"That the N.U.W.S.S. shall promote a Bill to bring the Married Women's Property Acts (Scotland) into line with the law of England by abolishing the present right of the husband to veto the freedom of action of his wife in dealing with her own capital."

NATIONALITY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

"That the Council of the N.U.W.S.S. in Annual Meeting assembled, having noted that the Imperial War Conference held in London in 1917 commended to the consideration of the respective Governments summoned to the Conference a draft Bill proposing amendments to the nationality laws of the Empire, urges that any amendment to 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."

"It calls upon the Imperial Government to introduce a measure to provide that a woman on marriage with an alien shall not be deprived of her nationality against her will, but that she shall be given the same choice of nationality as a man, including the right to naturalise independently of her husband; and, further, it urges the Government to instruct its delegates to the next Imperial Conference to vote in favour of recommending the adoption of similar laws throughout the Empire. Inasmuch as this is a question which must be dealt with internationally, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies urges the British Government to instruct its representatives at the Conference of the Powers after the war to advocate that the nationality laws in all countries shall be made uniform on the lines of this resolution."

ENDOWMENT OF MATERNITY AND CHILDHOOD.

"That this Council is of opinion that the endowment of maternity and childhood is a reform needing immediate consideration. Societies are asked to consider this reform and to report to the Executive Committee within the next six months so that schemes may be considered before the Council."

RIGHTS OF WIDOWS.

"That widows with dependent children or those incapacitated by age or infirmity from earning their own living, shall be entitled to State maintenance allowance for themselves and the children. That the administration of these allowances shall not be in the hands of Boards of Guardians or Parish Councils. The Executive Committee is empowered to promote legislation for this purpose."

WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

"That this Council of the N.U.W.S.S. desires to see women as Members of Parliament, and resolves to work towards that end."

LEGAL PROFESSION.

"That the N.U.W.S.S. shall promote Bills to enable women to qualify as solicitors and barristers, or take such other action as may be necessary to enable women to become barristers."

WOMEN MAGISTRATES AND WOMEN ON JURIES.

"That in order that the country may benefit by the knowledge and experience of women in the administration of the law in the Courts, this Council urges the immediate appointment of a sufficient number of women Justices of the Peace throughout the country to make it possible for at least one woman to be on the Bench whenever Courts of such Justices are sitting."

"It further urges the abolition of the practice of exempting women from jury service except in the special cases on which a jury of matrons adjudicates, recommending that qualified women should be put upon the lists of jurors, and summoned to serve on juries in the ordinary course."

WOMEN POLICE.

"That women should be enabled to be sworn in as police with full powers of arrest, and that Watch Committees and other Police authorities be required to employ them.
"The Executive Committee is empowered to promote legislation for this purpose."

WOMEN TEACHERS.

"That this Council dissents strongly from paragraph 11 of the Report of the Departmental Committee for inquiry into the principles which should determine the Construction of Scales of Salary for Teachers in Elementary Schools, which recommends that the salaries of women teachers should be on a lower scale than those of men for the sole reason that women's work can at present be actually obtained at a cheaper rate than men's. It holds it specially deplorable that this, the first Reconstruction Committee to deal specifically with women's wages, should have proved so blind to the recent advance in public opinion,

and heartily congratulates the women teachers of London on the defeat in the London County Council of the first attempt to carry into effect these reactionary recommendations."

SOLICITATION LAWS AND THE EQUAL MORAL STANDARD.

"Since it is desirable that the laws dealing with moral offences should be based on the equal moral standard, not only verbally, but in their working out, this Council resolves to work for the abolition of the whole law dealing with solicitation and 'common prostitutes,' including the custom of instituting prosecutions under sections which do not explicitly mention solicitation, but which are interpreted by the Courts as if they had special reference to solicitation (*e.g.*, the 'insulting words and behaviour' section)."

"Inasmuch as these laws are often justified on the assumption that they are conducive to the maintenance of order in the streets, this Council declares that for the purpose of preserving order in the streets it is sufficient that obstruction by any person, or molestation of any person or persons by any person, should be an offence; and that to prove a charge of molestation, police evidence alone should not be enough, but the evidence of the person molested should also be required."
"That this Council learns with indignation that the British Military Authorities have allowed the opening of tolerated brothels for the use of British troops in a number of French towns. It especially directs attention to the state of affairs at Cayeux-sur-Mer, Somme, which has led to protests from townspeople there, and calls upon the Government and the Military Authorities to put all tolerated houses of debauchery out of bounds for British troops."

"That this Council protests against the attitude of the Bench and Prosecuting Counsel in recent cases in which soldiers charged with killing or brutally assaulting their wives have been discharged or condemned to merely nominal punishment on the grounds of allegations of immoral conduct against their victims. It denounces the assumption involved, that a married woman is a chattel without rights to the full protection of the law, and that violence and brutality of a husband towards his wife may be condoned on such grounds."

"This Council therefore welcomes the statement of Mr. Justice Darling that a meeting of the Judges of the King's Bench Division which discussed this subject had recognised the evil done and had declared the practice which had arisen a most malevolent one, and had agreed that each case must be judged on its merits."

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE AFTER THE WAR.

"That this Council of the N.U.W.S.S., representing between 400 and 500 Societies spread all over Great Britain, respectfully urges the Government that when the time arrives for the Congress of the Powers after the war, the envoys from this country should be instructed to press for the recognition by the Congress of free representative institutions founded on liberty and equality, and with Governments responsible to the people in all countries not already possessing them, as giving the best prospects of establishing a lasting peace. This was done at the Congress of Vienna, on the initiative of the chief British representative, was accepted by the Congress and embodied in the final Act; but was imperfect, in part at least, because it recognised at that time the desirability of free institutions for one sex only. The N.U.W.S.S. therefore now urges the Government not to allow this omission to recur at the Congress which must meet after this war, but to uphold the principle, universally accepted by the leaders of the Allied Nations, that Governments should be based on self-determination, or the consent of the governed; and therefore to urge that a lasting peace must rest on the freedom not only of men but of women."

"Further, to promote this universally desired object and to prevent the Congress from forgetting the existence of women and all that they stand to suffer and lose by war, both in their own persons and through their children, this Council respectfully urges the Government in choosing their envoys to the Congress to include some women."

The following is a list of the N.U.W.S.S. officers and Executive Committee as elected by the Council:—

President—Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

Hon. Secretary—Miss Margaret Jones.

Hon. Parliamentary Secretary—Mrs. Oliver Strachey.

Hon. Treasurer—Mrs. Alys Russell.

Miss Eleanor Rathbone.	Mrs. Stocks.
Miss Chrystal Macmillan.	Miss Clough.
Mrs. Auerbach.	Miss Eustace.
Mr. Armstrong.	Miss Helen Fraser.
Lady Frances Balfour.	Miss Merrifield.
Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher.	Mrs. Robie Uniacke.
Mrs. Corbett Ashby.	Mrs. Ring.
Mr. Oliver Strachey.	Miss Rosamond Smith.
Miss Evelyn Atkinson.	Miss Deneke.
Miss I. B. O'Malley.	Mrs. Bethune Baker.
Miss K. D. Courtney.	

Women's International League.

The W.I.L. (British Section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace) has addressed, through its Chairman, Mrs. Swanwick, a letter to Frau Marie Stritt thanking her for her message of congratulation to British women on their Suffrage victory.

Mrs. Swanwick writes: "Internationalism offers no obstacles to the purest and most passionate nationalism. We hope, like you, that enfranchised women may band themselves together the world over to make this the last of fratricidal wars. We join with you in believing that the freedom of women in one country helps the freedom of women in others, and nothing would give us greater happiness than to find that our enfranchisement had hastened the enfranchisement of German women."

Vital Statistics as Affected by the War.

Statistics show a very great rise in the marriage-rate in 1915-16. Between August, 1914, and June, 1917, 200,000 people were married who in the ordinary course would not have been married, in England and Wales. The rate increased from a pre-war rate of 15 to 19 per thousand. In 1917 it dropped. This increase is attributable partly to the separation allowances and to the fact that up to 1916 unmarried men were enlisted before married men.

Births show a steady decrease. In England and Wales the decrease per cent. from 1913 was: In 1915, 7.6; 1916, 10.9; 1917 (for the first three quarters), 23.2. So that the United Kingdom has lost by the fall in births over 500,000 potential lives—approximately 10,000 per million of the population.

There has been no increase in illegitimate births. The rate for 1915 is the lowest on record—viz., 4.4 per cent. of total births. This is satisfactory, as, besides moral considerations, the mortality of illegitimate infants is about twice as great as that of the legitimate.

Infant mortality shows a marked decrease, and for 1916 is the lowest on record, being 91 per thousand, or 22 per thousand births, which is 19 per cent. below the average of the preceding ten years. A fall in the infant mortality usually accompanies a decided fall in the birth-rate. Between 1906 and 1913 the birth-rate declined by 11 per cent., the infant mortality by 18 per cent.

One good feature of the statistics is the marked decrease in deaths from alcoholism and of infant deaths from suffocation (which are commonly due to parents' intoxication).

The total results, in spite of the war, show a net increase in population.

Women's Eligibility for Parliament.

The Bill enfranchising women did not confer eligibility, and it is uncertain whether women can or cannot be elected.

It has been decided to test the matter, and it is announced that Miss Nina Boyle, for many years one of the leaders of the Women's Freedom League, will contest a by-election at Keighley in Yorkshire. Other possible candidatures are announced.

Women Voters' Successful Protest.

The first result of women's enfranchisement in Great Britain is that they have succeeded in putting a stop to a grave scandal and checking the first steps towards reintroduction of regulated vice. The system of regulation still prevails in France, and some of the British troops there frequent the maisons tolérées. Protests were made outside and inside Parliament, but the War Office was obdurate, and the Under-Secretary to the War Office in the House of Commons said that the establishment of these brothels near British camps was the concern of the French authorities, and he was not sure that it was not an advantage to have clean women!

This reply called forth indignant protests, and large meetings were held to demand that British soldiers should be forbidden these places. Among the many women's societies that passed resolutions of protest were: The National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, the Women's Liberal Federation, the British Women's Temperance Association, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, the Catholic Women's League, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Union of Jewish Women, the Irish Women's Suffrage Societies, and many more. The result of these protests has been quick. The War Office has withdrawn from its position, and Mr. Macpherson had to announce to the House of Commons that licensed immoral houses were now forbidden to British soldiers. Josephine Butler had to work seventeen years for the abolition of regulation in garrison and seaport towns. Now that women have votes things move more quickly.

Women as Solicitors.

The Bill admitting women to qualify as solicitors has passed its Third Reading in the House of Lords by forty-seven votes to nineteen, a majority of twenty-eight. The Third Reading was moved by Lord Buckmaster. The Earl of Halsbury made a vigorous attack on the Bill on the ground that women could not recognise two sides to a question. He was supported by the present Lord Chancellor, and Lord Stuart of Wortley tried to secure that the measure should come into operation twelve months after the end of the war. This amendment was rejected and the Bill passed. It will now have to be introduced into the House of Commons, and we hope that the Government will find time for its proper discussion, and that it will be passed into law.

Obituary.

Sir William Wedderburn, who died at the end of January, was a good friend to the women's cause and a good friend to India. He voted for Mr. Faithful Begg's Woman Suffrage Bill in 1897, and signed the memorial for the extension of Women's Local Government Franchise in November, 1917. He took a very active part in promoting the education of Indian women, and organised the deputation on this subject, headed by Mrs. Fawcett, in October, 1915. The deputation urged that better provision for Indian girls' education was urgent, and that some of the native States are in advance of British India.

War Office Action on Venereal Disease.

In spite of, or as a consequence of, the protest against the War Office recognition of licensed brothels in France, the War Office has now taken a step which it may safely be predicted will rouse even more impassioned opposition from women. An Order has been published under the Defence of the Realm Regulations making it a summary offence for any woman suffering from venereal disease to have or solicit sexual intercourse with any soldier or sailor.

Nothing is said as to infected men who communicate the disease to women. The old idea of penalising the woman and exculpating the man is manifested in its most heinous form. Blackmail and persecution must inevitably follow. Individual freedom will be at the mercy of the police, any one of whom may charge a woman on suspicion and subject her to a humiliating charge and the indignity of enforced examination.

Persons who indulge in promiscuous sexual intercourse are usually unable to trace the source of their infection. In this case no remedy is suggested for the woman who has been infected by a man. Again we have the short cut at the expense of justice. The abundant provision of free treatment for disease has yet to be tried. It remains to be seen what action the new women voters will take.

IRELAND.**Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association.**

Under the auspices of this Association a Conference of all Irish Suffrage Societies was held in Dublin on February 21st. The following Societies were represented: Belfast Suffrage Society, Catholic League for Woman Suffrage, Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, Church League for Woman Suffrage, Irishwomen's Franchise League, Irishwomen's Reform League, Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, and the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association. The chair was taken by Mrs. Haslam, President of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association. After discussion, a sub-committee was appointed to meet and consider a scheme for future co-operation.

Women's Political League (Headquarters, Belfast).

When the Representation of the People Bill received the Royal Assent 200,000 Irishwomen were recognised as "people." The inclusion of Ireland in the Bill had been certain from October 18th, when the clause defining the application of the Bill to this country was passed in Committee of the House of Commons; but the difficulties arising from the redistribution controversies might have caused serious delay. It was only when the Bill actually became law that Irish Suffragists felt the position was assured.

An organisation such as the Belfast Suffrage Society had to consider the question of name as well as definition of objects and aims, since its members are no longer Suffragists, but citizens. Accordingly, at the annual meeting on February 25th a new title was adopted, and the Society will henceforward be known as the Women's Political League. The sense in which that much-abused word "political" is used can be seen from a summary of the programme. This puts in the forefront the extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men, and then outlines a comprehensive scheme of social and moral reform, based on the principle expressed in the motto of the League—"Equal Service, Equal Freedom, Equal Opportunity." The W.P.L. emphasises the importance of municipal work, and a special effort will be made to secure the return of women to the City Council—a necessary step if the "effective share in the control of administration" demanded by the League is to be assured. The child and maternity welfare schemes, so familiar in every feminist programme are of especial importance in a country where infant mortality is high. The

present figures for Belfast, 152 per thousand, are not creditable to a new city where the housing conditions so largely responsible for the high Dublin pre-war figures of 147 per thousand do not yet exist. The League has begun an active educational propaganda in connection with these questions of public health, which will form so large a part in the municipal work of the future.

The work of the Belfast Suffrage Society was entirely non-party and non-sectarian. The W.P.L. will continue on the same lines, and will strive after co-operation among Women's Societies of all parties. It has already initiated work on these lines, and the present Mothers' Pensions Committee in Belfast is the outcome of such co-operation among Societies.

The speakers at the annual meeting of the Belfast Suffrage Society (now the Women's Political League) emphasised the two essentials of effective work—organisation and co-operation. Given these two conditions, the possibilities of constructive work for the six million new voters in Great Britain and Ireland are immense. Perhaps the realisation of this accounted for the absence of elation or excitement. There was deep satisfaction that the old disabilities were now at last removed, but with this joy there was a deep sense of responsibility. To quote one of the speakers: "Men have not always worked with a single eye to the nation's good. They have sometimes played the game of politics as if human beings were merely pawns. The great gift of the vote has come to us consecrated by blood and tears. It must be used as something sacred, giving us enormous responsibility and a consecration."

DORA MELLON, Hon. Press Sec., W.P.L.,
35, Wellington Place, Belfast.

CANADA.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are now going to enfranchise women. This will leave Quebec and Prince Edward Island the only two provinces where women are voteless.

INDIA.**Women's Indian Association.**

The movement for the advancement of womanhood grows apace, and from India comes the news of a formation of a "Women's Indian Association" with the declared objects of (a) presenting to women their responsibilities as daughters of India; (b) to band women into groups for the purpose of self-government and education, and for the definite service of others.

The Association, which was started five months ago in Madras, now has twenty-nine vigorous branches. The work carried on is very varied in its nature. Some branches have established classes in First Aid and Nursing; in Elementary Science, Hygiene, and Domestic Economy. Others are organising measures for reviving village industries.

In doing this work they are endeavouring to carry into practical effect the suggestions made by H.E. the Viceroy on the occasion of the deputation of Indian women regarding the evils of the Indentured Labour System. His Excellency said: "There are many matters in which the Government of India would be greatly helped if they could get the advice and help of women," particularly in regard to the education of women, hygiene, sanitation, and the scourge of consumption. "On all these," he concluded, "it would be of inestimable value if women of position and education would institute a campaign of instruction among their fellow-countrywomen."

The Association publishes a monthly paper, *Stri-Dharma*, in English, Sanskrit, Tamil, and Telegu.

Women's Deputation to Viceroy.

On the 18th December Indian women sent a deputation to the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy, in Madras, welcoming the Secretary of State, and presenting the following claims on behalf of the women of India. The more important part of the address may be quoted. "We are in touch with the new outlook of Indian women, and we make bold to place 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. The women of India understand and support the broad claims of their people for self-government within the Empire. They have in large numbers signed the memorandum by Mr. Gandhi in favour of the scheme of reform drawn up by the National Congress and the Moslem League. They have also held large ladies' meetings, taken part in processions and

public meetings, and in many ways worked towards obtaining self-government, etc. . . . We pray that when the reformed franchise is drawn up, women may be recognised as 'people,' and it may be worded in such terms as will not disqualify our sex. We request that the scheme of local self-government, when sanctioned, shall include the representation of our women—a policy that has been admittedly successful for the past 20 years in local self-governments elsewhere in the British Empire. The history of the Indian National Congress, and its election this year of a woman as president (Mrs. Annie Besant), show that the voice of India approves of its women being considered responsible and acknowledged citizens, and we urge that in the drawing up of all provisions regarding representation our sex shall not be made a disqualification for the exercise of the franchise or for service in public life. In order to fit us and our children for such a future it is absolutely essential that our educational policy should be changed. We therefore ask (1) That Government immediately make compulsory free elementary education for boys and girls, (2) that Government provide equal number of educational institutions for girls as there are now for boys; (3) that a large number of training colleges and widows' homes be established; (4) that State aids be granted to associations working in the cause of education; (5) that maternity classes be started to teach the methods of coping with the high death-rate in the country. We beseech you to recommend the Imperial Government to initiate legislation so as to bring our countrywomen politically, educationally, and physically up to the level of other parts of the Empire to which we are loyally devoted, and which we will serve the more efficiently as we get better educated and wider opportunities in the public life of the Motherland that we love so well."

This is the first thing of the kind to take place in India.
Mysore, India, December 29, 1917. G. R. JOSYER.

Women Demand the Franchise.

The deputation from Indian women to the British Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, at Madras claimed that women should be allowed the same opportunity of representation as men, and asked for equal educational facilities for girls and boys. The *Tribune* of Lahore, in commenting on this, says: "Women in India will not even wait until men have been enfranchised. They want the franchise along with, and at the same time as, men."

Maternity Benefit in Karachi.

An Indian gentleman, Seth Isardas, has given one lakh of rupees for maternity benefit in Karachi, Punjab, where the death-rate in childbirth is very high among the poorer classes. The money is to be used for health lectures, health visiting, training of midwives, and attendance at confinements.

HUNGARY.

The *Times* of March 20 reports that the Franchise Committee of the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies has passed the Franchise Bill, with one dissentient.

NORWAY.

Extracts from the annual reports of the Norwegian Association for Women's Causes, 1916-17.

The following subjects have been considered:—

1. Fru Katti Anker Möller's proposal for the extension of care for children. After discussion, the following resolution was adopted: "The Norwegian Association for Women's Causes agrees entirely to the proposal for increased care of children. It is, however, impossible at present to say by what agents and in what way the work can be carried out. The matter needs a speedy investigation by experts."

2. Ought the Norwegian Women's National Council to found a committee for temperance? After some discussion this was unanimously recommended.

3. The proposal as to the merging of various Norwegian Women's Societies in each other was rejected as likely to lead to confusion.

In connection with the drawing up of the law as to age-limitations for public servants, the Norwegian Association for Women's Causes sent in the following memorial to the Storting:—

"To the Storting.—The managers of the Norsk Kvinde-saksforening represent respectfully to the honourable Parliament in connection with the proposal No. 4, 1917, regarding

the draft of a law as to age-limitations for public servants: In the proposal mentioned different age-limitations are throughout laid down for men and women in the same situations. The managers of the N.K.F. think that there ought to be the same age-limitations for men and women, as it is their opinion that women retain their capacity for work as long as men, and should therefore be able to remain as long a time in their situations. The Special Committee did not in 1916 set up different age-limitations, since it used the expression 'functionaries' instead of differentiating between men and women. One may therefore take it for granted that the Committee did not think of any such distinction. The managers of the N.K.F. therefore respectfully request that different age-limitations for men and women may not be introduced into the law on age-limitations for public servants."

A copy of this memorial was sent to the rest of the women's associations in the country.

—Nylænde (March 1).

Training Homes for the Young.

It is now generally recognised that "prevention is better than cure," and that most of our criminals have become customary ones for want of thorough training in something useful. As this training is expensive, large numbers of the very poor drift into "odd jobs."

These thoughts have suggested the founding of a technical home-school for young men which will give instruction in agriculture and crafts.

The home aims at collecting 120 to 150 lads from 16 to 21 years old. The institution is to be in the country, within reach of a considerable town, and is to be combined with a farm. The country needs farm labour, and thus the institution will have a double value.

Experts in both agriculture and crafts will teach the boys. According to the plan of the secretary, Otto Morgenstierne, the school will consist of three different sections—an intermediary introductory section; an "honorary section," which boys can move into after a time of probation; and a more severe or "punitive section," where the worst elements will be moved down for a shorter or a longer period.

Alongside of the practical work there will be lectures, debates, associations, a library, music, and other kinds of good and wholesome amusement, such as games and gymnastics.

The food will consist chiefly of the farm produce, and be plain but good and plentiful.

The great aim of the institution is to arouse a sense of responsibility in the boys. Thomas Mott Osborne's prisons at Auburn and Sing Sing, as described in his book, "Society and Prisons," have served as models. Secretary Morgenstierne has also visited the Bona institution at Oestergötland, in Sweden. Seventy-five per cent. of the boys there have turned out well.

850,000kr. have already been collected for Mr. Morgenstierne's scheme, but it is desired to collect 1,000,000kr. It is also hoped later to establish a Home of Instruction for girls.

Meetings are to be held all over Norway on this subject, and the first took place in December in Kristiania and Bergen. It is hoped that by training-homes more can be done for the girls than by reformatories.

Stress is to be laid on providing evening amusements of a good kind for the girls and boys when they get work.

For Kristiania, an Instructive and Protective Home has been started at Grünerløkken, Korsgaten 31, with which there will soon be connected an Evening Home under Frk. Effi Mellus. There is great need for this constructive work, so as to enable the young whose circumstances are against them to become self-helpful and useful members of society.—RAGNA ISAACHSEN. —Nylænde (Feb. 15).

SWEDEN.**From the Swedish Suffrage Horizon.**

The most prominent feature of the Swedish Women's Suffrage movement of the present time is the great rejoicing at the victory of our English sisters. With the greatest interest we have always followed their glorious battle for citizenship, and now when they have obtained their goal we are sure that they are going to make use of it for the welfare of their people and country. So many social questions are waiting for the women, so many laws concerning the rights of wives and children, and now the women of England are able to make use of the sense of justice they have felt but not always been allowed to put into practice. The National Union of Women's Suffrage in Sweden is also certain that the victory won by the

women of England will help them in their struggles. On large advertisements, decorated with the Suffrage colour, the words have been printed: "The women of England have obtained their Suffrage. The women of Sweden demand that they also will gain their rights as citizens." These advertisements have been sent all over the country, where meetings have been held, and they have also been sent to every member of our Riksdag.

In these days we are expecting the Government's Bill on Women's Suffrage, and it is a great help to have the support of the Government; but still there is not much hope that the question is going to be settled during this session. We have still the resistance of the Conservative party, and they are not appealed to by any logic. But, as you yourselves know, everything comes to a point when resistance is not possible; but I am afraid we have not yet reached that point.

The new laws for children have been followed with great interest by Swedish women, and because of their opinion several points in the laws have been altered in a direction favourable to women and children. In Stockholm we have of late got our first children's guardian. A woman has been appointed, and she has to see to the interest of the unmarried woman and her child, and help them in their difficulties. We have also obtained that the post as gymnastic inspector of the public schools is open for women, and the first woman inspector was lately appointed to the post.

Several new unions for Women's Suffrage have been started in the country, and by lecturing and agitation we try to awaken interest in women for human rights and their natural consequence—citizenship.

G. H. E.

The Government Bill.

The Government Bill conferring on women the Parliamentary franchise on the same terms as men now lies on the table of the Riksdag.

It is virtually the same as the Government Bill of 1912 and the motions of the Liberal Party introduced in 1914 and 1917. We find three disqualifications similar to those in the former Bill—bankruptcy, neglect of payment of taxes, or the receipt of poor relief; but it seems hard on married women that if their husbands come under one of these heads they are also disqualified. In the case of the disqualification of a married woman on account of the family being in receipt of poor relief, though not distinctly stated, it is implied as it follows in the natural course of events. The bankruptcy disqualification is not as bad as it looks, because, on the one hand, the husband, if he is not too incorrigible, can eventually come to an agreement with his creditors; but should this not be possible, the wife may be able to obtain a settlement of property if the family is dependent on her labour, and in this manner resume her political rights. The provision regarding non-payment of taxes is more difficult to swallow, for in the case when the wife is liable to taxation and pays her taxes regularly and her husband neglects the payment of his taxes, the wife will lose her vote. It may be hoped that new legislation will be introduced giving more control to the wife over the family income, which would give to the wife the possibility of influencing her husband in the right direction.

The clause which in the case of married couples empowers one of the parties to vote in place of the other has been omitted because the Minister of Justice hopes during the present electoral period to introduce a Bill dealing with this question in its application to both sexes.

The preamble of the Bill is just what it ought to be. No flowery or rhetorical language. No exaggerated expectations from the woman voters; no promises made on their behalf; but a simple statement of the fact that the women of Sweden are just as ripe for political enfranchisement as the women of other countries.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor.

Fru Frederika Collin has been re-elected as Town Councillor of Hedemora.

The Parliamentary Public Prosecutor (J.O.) has sent in a memorial to the Government setting forth that it is desirable that an alteration shall be made in the law which forbids a married woman to serve on a jury without the consent of her husband.

The first woman inspector of gymnastics in the county council schools in Stockholm has been appointed in the person of the Director of Gymnastics, Elin Falk.

—Rösträtt för Kvinnor.

Franchise and Representation in Parliament.

A year ago it would have seemed like a practical joke if someone had told us that Professor Rudolf Kjellén had delivered an address at a meeting of the Moderate Women's Suffrage Society in Stockholm on "The Franchise and Representation." Thus do times change! Professor Kjellén holds the view that a remedy for the existing decadence of Parliamentary party organisations must be sought in the representations of groups of different interests. For instance, Labour would be represented by the trade unions, Agriculture by peasants' organisations, the Intelligensia by the university and teaching profession, and so forth. With this method of representation it would be possible and reasonable to admit women to a seat in Parliament, for it would be a matter of indifference whether an organised class were represented by a man or a woman. Professor Kjellén suggests that the experiment might be tried in the First Chamber.

This interesting address was delivered before a numerous audience comprising several members of Parliament.

HERTHA.

SWITZERLAND.

Recently M. Paul Vallotton, the well-known pastor of Lausanne, preached two sermons at Lausanne Cathedral in favour of Woman Suffrage. These sermons, which made a deep impression on the large audiences which heard them, are now published by the Librairie Rouge Lausanne, under the title "La Femme et les Temps Nouveaux."

The Suffragists of Geneva have been so pleased with the results of these sermons that they have invited other pastors to preach on the subject. M. Ernest Christen has done so, and it is hoped more will follow. M. Paul Vallotton lectured to a large audience at Chaux de Fonds, and the *Mouvement Feministe* writes that he demonstrated women's rights with such good sense, justice, and historic and psychological truth, that those who heard him were ashamed that Switzerland had not yet carried out a reform so simple, urgent, and democratic.

Celebration of Englishwomen's Victory.

It is with the greatest joy that the news of the Englishwomen's victory has been received in our country, for we know well that England's example will carry great weight with us, and that many of those who are still opposed and hesitating on the subject of Woman Suffrage have been strongly impressed by the votes in the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

So the Geneva branch of our Swiss Association for Suffrage did not wish to let the capital event pass without organising a demonstration whose propaganda effect might be very great with us. A meeting was called for March 12 under the title, "The English Victory," and, placarded on the walls, compelled attention. The large audience which crowded to the Central Hall heard successive speeches from M. Malche, director of elementary education, who traced the history of Woman Suffrage in England; then Mlle. Gourd, president of the Swiss Woman Suffrage Association, who sketched the portraits of some celebrated English Suffragists—of Josephine Butler, of Florence Nightingale, to Mrs. Fawcett, Dr. Garrett Anderson, and Dr. Inglis. Mme. Schreiber-Favre, barrister, then explained the excellent results in municipal affairs obtained by English women since they obtained the vote; M. Milhaud, professor at the University, spoke of the immense war work carried on by English women; and Pastor Fulliquet closed the meeting by a vigorous speech in favour of Woman Suffrage in all countries. Finally the following resolution, proposed by M. Edmond Privat, was carried unanimously, communicated to the Press, and sent to Mrs. Fawcett, president of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies:—

"The public meeting at the Central Hall, March 12, under the auspices of the Geneva Association for Woman Suffrage sends its fraternal greetings to the women citizens of democratic England, and congratulates them on having obtained legal recognition of women's sacred right to work for the public good.

"It appeals to the people of Geneva and to its representatives on the Grand Council to press them also to do justice to the women of the old independent republic, to-day the international centre of the Red Cross."

EMILIE GOURD,

President of the Swiss Woman Suffrage Association.
(Affiliated to the I.W.S.A.).

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Another month has passed and we cannot yet write that the Senate has endorsed the action of the House of Representatives on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The resolution is on the calendar, the entire Committee in the Senate having it in charge is strongly in favour of it, and it can be called up on a day's notice. Mrs. Catt and our own able committee of women have been constantly in Washington, bringing influence to bear from all the States, and yet there has been no day when it has been considered advisable to have the vote taken. It will be so close that the absence of one of our friends might cause defeat. We must not go to a vote with less than 64 of them present—two-thirds of the Senate. One of them is now in the hospital after an operation for appendicitis. Another has gone to a Western State taking his wife to her last resting-place. Strange to relate, there has not been one fatality among the opponents. The places of two of the Senators who have died, from the equal-suffrage States of Nevada and Idaho, have been filled with good Suffragists. In Wisconsin an election must be held to replace a third, which cannot occur until some time in April, too late to be of help to us. In New Jersey the vacancy left by the fourth of our strong supporters has been filled by the Governor with a pronounced anti-Suffragist, appointed for political reasons.

Not only the women of New Jersey, but the members of the Governor's party, which happens to be the Republican, are making a loud protest, and it is possible that the new Senator may be "converted" overnight! Our private advices from Washington are that the vote may be taken by the middle of March, and we hope that with this letter the *International Suffrage News* may publish a cable message announcing our victory. We cannot risk a defeat, as that would defer the whole matter until another Congress. Our women were deeply indignant at having our Congress lag behind the British Parliament, and now comes the news that the Canadian Parliament is about to meet, and that the Government will introduce a Bill for giving the Dominion Suffrage to all women! Truly, a Republic seems to have the least idea of political justice, as witness France and Switzerland, with practically no Suffrage for women! The opposition in the United States is making its last stand in the Senate. When that yields, the end of the long struggle is in sight. Some of these opposing Senators are representing their own convictions, but others are representing vested interests of various kinds—the great corporations, the liquor traffic, etc., which are hostile to the enfranchisement of women.

But while the situation is so tense in the national capital, the Suffrage pot is bubbling and boiling in all the rest of the country. In my last letter I spoke of the approaching meeting in St. Louis of the National Republican Committee, composed of one prominent man from each State. Between the Presidential elections, which take place every four years, this Committee decides all matters connected with the party. As its National Convention in 1916 had declared for Woman Suffrage by action of the States, we were very anxious to have this replaced by an endorsement of the Federal Amendment. Our National Association sent its representatives to ask for this, and, of course, the "antis" sent theirs to try to prevent it. The Committee agreed to receive them the next morning.

Meanwhile, the Democratic National Committee learned what was going on. Their National Convention in 1916 also had declared for the right of each State to decide the Suffrage question for itself, which is a cardinal principle of the Democratic party. But the President had abandoned it, and they were determined that the Republican Committee should not get in ahead of them, so the chairman telegraphed to every one of his members for permission, and the evening before the Republican Committee convened, all the newspapers announced that the Democratic National Committee had officially endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment! The Republicans were very angry, and that same night they got together and took action, and all the newspapers the next morning announced that the Republican National Committee had officially endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment!

When the Suffrage and the anti-Suffrage women went before the Committee the next morning to talk for and against the resolution, they were informed that it would be pleased to hear anything they had to say, but the resolution had already been adopted! The leader of the "antis" exclaimed: "I see before me thirty gentlemen who promised me yesterday to vote against this resolution. What has caused this change?" Thirty was a large majority of the Committee, and no doubt

they had made this promise, but the party did not dare to defeat it. This illustrates how thoroughly Woman Suffrage has become a political question.

Immediately following this occurrence came another equally significant. There is an influential organisation called the National League of Republican Clubs, made up of clubs in all States, and representing hundreds of thousands of members. Its president is the multi-millionaire, John Hays Hammond, known on two continents. He sent a letter to Senator Gallinger, the Republican leader of the Senate, urging in the name of this National League that the Senate take favourable action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment, declaring that the question is above State and above party, and pointing out the immense help women would be in winning the war by their influence at the polls. Senator Gallinger presented it with a strong endorsement, and asked to have it printed in the Congressional Record. Instantly the Democrats were on their feet to show how their party also was for Woman Suffrage. Notwithstanding all these protestations, two or three Senators in each party are preventing the Amendment from coming to a vote.

Women Voters in New York.

The situation in New York is exceedingly interesting. The women have won their fight for the vote, but they have not finished fighting. They have to be constantly on the alert to block the schemes of the politicians to secure their influence and ballots. The Republicans, who happen to be in control of the State Government just now, fixed up a nice little scheme to put through the Legislature a Bill providing that outside of the three large cities of New York, Buffalo, and Rochester, the women should not go personally to register for voting, but agents would be sent to their homes to enrol them. This would open the door to fraud, coercion, and many evils, and the women of the State rose up against it. Under the auspices of the State Suffrage organisation a hundred well-informed and resolute women, representing all the counties, appeared before the Judiciary Committees of the two Houses, and fairly made their hair stand on end by the vigour and independence of the protests against this Bill. Always before they had gone as helpless suppliants; but now they were powerful constituents, and the Committees soon saw the difference.

"Men," said Mrs. Raymond Brown, a director of the State organisation, "do not understand women very well, and politicians understand them less. We will resent the action of any party that attempts to exploit or mollycoddle us. Does the Republican party propose to send out men of the type of the salesman who puts his foot in the door to hold it open while he tries to sell a party registration to the women?" The result of the visit of the women was that the Bill never went to a vote in the Legislature. Then an old State Senator by the name of Elon R. Brown, who had fought Woman Suffrage for twenty-five years, attempted to curry favour by introducing a Bill to provide that women need not tell their ages in order to vote, and while the women were before the Committees they also settled his case. "The Bill is simply another piece of political horseplay," said Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, acting chairman, "and is highly ridiculous. If we could give our age when the Military Census was taken I think we can give it when we enrol for voting." And so that Bill went to the scrap-heap.

The women have won in every contest, and the political leaders are beginning to understand that they must be treated in the same sensible, straightforward fashion as men voters are treated. They are being placed on the State and local committees of all political parties, invited to make use of the club rooms, and receiving every possible courtesy and consideration.

The most interesting event in New York since the women were enfranchised has been their participation on March 5 in the election of four members of Congress from New York City. The regular Congressional elections will not take place until next November, but these were special elections called to fill vacancies. Of course, not all the women in the city could vote—only those in the four districts; but it was the first test and closely watched. There was doubt whether women could be registered now or would have to wait until the general registration in September, and the Legislature had to enact a special law. This was not done until Tuesday, and the Suffrage organisations had only two days to learn where the 410 places of registration would be located, and to notify the 131,000 women who probably were eligible to vote, which it was manifestly impossible to do. Friday afternoon and evening and Saturday was all the time allowed. There was a heavy snow-storm Friday, and it was a national holiday. Saturday was the

Jewish Sabbath, so all the circumstances were unpropitious, and only 35,200 registered. This disappointed the advocates of Woman Suffrage and rejoiced the opponents.

Ten days later the elections took place, and to the amazement of friends and foes alike, nearly 91 per cent. of the registered women voted. About 33 1/2 per cent. of the registered men cast their ballots. It was a great triumph for the women, and called forth a flood of favourable editorial comment not only in New York State, but over the country. The election disproved all the objections ever made to Woman Suffrage. There were women watchers at all the polling places; not a single disturbance occurred; not an act of discourtesy was reported. These elections took place in thickly populated parts of the city, and the papers said: "The polls could always be located by the group of baby carriages in front, part of the mothers watching them while the others were voting." There were no special issues at stake; the vacated seats had been filled by Democrats, and Democrats were returned to all of them, which indicates that the majority of the women shared the political views of the majority of the men. There was a woman candidate on the Prohibition ticket, but she received only 382 votes. No Socialist candidate was elected, the party showing only its normal strength.

On March 5 the women of Vermont used their municipal suffrage for the first time. Throughout the State from 80 to 90 per cent. of the women who were eligible voted. They are credited with cutting down extensively the number of cities licensed to sell liquor, among them two of the largest—St. Albans and Burlington.

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

New York, March 8, 1918.



MISS ANNE MARTIN.

Anne Martin, of Nevada, vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party, is the first woman to announce her candidacy for the seat left vacant through the death of her life-long friend, the late Senator Newlands. As she is not running on the ticket of any party, Miss Martin will not take part in the primary elections in September, but will be an independent candidate in the November elections.

"I am announcing my candidacy for the United States Senate," Miss Martin states, "because I believe that the time has come when the nation should attest its faith in democracy and the power of self-government of all its people by the

election of a woman to its highest legislative body. I believe that the crucial problems which this nation now faces are problems which women can help to solve, and which justice demands that they should have a voice in solving."

There are four concrete problems in her State which Miss Martin has studied, and which she will make campaign issues: "The development of the land in the interests of the people, the conservation of water, the elimination of the long-established railway discrimination against Nevada in freight rates, and protection by federal agencies of seasonal farm labour and its transfer from region to region in the interest of both the farmer and the labourer."

"In spite of these reasons I should not have undertaken this campaign if I were not convinced that the passage of the Federal Suffrage amendment, for which I have long laboured, is assured. . . . The next step forward is to win for women a place in our highest legislative body. If I win that place I will do all I can to guard and further the interests of women. I will try to make good my claim that women in government will benefit all groups of citizens, and I shall endeavour to voice and effectively realise the deep desire of women to give their best service toward the successful ending of the war, and the establishment of a final, just, and liberal peace."

By temperament and training Miss Martin is peculiarly fitted for the office she seeks. She is of Irish descent, and her father, William O'Hara Martin, was for many years a member of the Nevada State Senate. Miss Martin graduated from the University of Nevada, and from Leland Stanford University. She was professor of history in the University of Nevada, where she taught constitutional government. She attended Cambridge University, and made a study of governmental problems in a tour of European countries. She returned to the United States in 1914 to lead the Suffrage forces in Nevada, the year the women of her State were enfranchised, against the bitter opposition of both political parties. The last three years she has devoted her splendid energy to the campaign on Congress for the passage of the Federal Suffrage amendment, and as legislative chairman of the Woman's Party she has had direct charge of the effective lobby in Congress.

Miss Martin's whole life shows the grit and determination, the quiet force and steady courage of her character.

During the State campaign in Nevada she travelled hundreds of miles on horseback, visiting the remote parts of the State that no railroad reaches. Over trails that no horse could travel she climbed on foot to campaign in mining camps and mountain settlements. For three years she was the tennis champion of her State, and was defeated for the Pacific Coast championship only by the national woman champion. There is a mountain pass through the Sierras which is named for her, because she climbed the peak at its head in the middle of winter.

Scores of telegrams of congratulation and support poured into Miss Martin's office at the Woman's Party headquarters in Washington as soon as her candidacy was announced. She will go to Nevada on April 1, and manage her own campaign.

Dr. Anna Shaw.

The Rev. Anna Shaw, in a letter to Miss Macmillan, writes: "Yes, the New York vote was a great victory even from the first, and the soldier vote increased it; we were so glad that the soldiers of New York gave such a splendid majority. They certainly ought to, for the women of New York are doing such magnificent work for the war. The victory in New York was a great factor in carrying the Federal Amendment through the House of Representatives in Congress, and will practically force the Senators to pass it later when they find they have got to give up. If they do so this spring we can, I feel sure, get it ratified within two years; then we can celebrate Miss Anthony's one hundredth birthday with the enfranchisement of women in both your and her country, and perhaps in many other warring nations by that time. What a celebration that will be. How splendid it is to have had a part in such a glorious and far-reaching reform, and how glad we shall all be that we were permitted to have a part in it. I cannot help pitying the women who were never utterly tried physically and mentally in the service of a great reform of some sort. Life seems so poor to them, and really is not worth the effort to live. Some of us, like myself—for now I am one of the oldest of the workers in this country,—will not have the harder and more perplexing task of leading women into the useful paths of citizenship. That task will be yours, and the younger women of both your and this country. It will be interesting but very difficult, and will try the bodies and souls of those who undertake it. But it must be done. The vote is meaningless unless it works for

better civil and industrial life, and the progress will be so slow that many, as in the struggle to obtain the vote, will grow heart-sick and give it up, but it will be worth while in the end. I cannot help wishing I were twenty years younger, so that I could still go on with the work. Yet I need not long for work, for when the Council for National Defence appointed me chairman of the Women's Committee they gave me the hardest task I have ever undertaken."

Women's Jury for Murder Charge.

The first all-woman jury to sit in a superior court case in California will hear the case of Mrs. Rena Mooney when she is again tried on the charge of murder now pending against her. An Act of the Legislature which became effective on January 1 legalised the presence of women on the jury of superior courts in California.

—From the Suffragist.

I.W.S.A. Treasurer's Receipts.

Table with columns for Country, Amount, and Affiliation Fees. Includes entries for Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, and Switzerland.

HONORARY ASSOCIATES' SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Table with columns for Name, Country, and Amount. Lists names like Illingworth, Macmillan, and others with their respective contributions.

March 23rd, 1918. ADELA COIT, Hon. Treasurer.

REVIEWS.

Modern Women's Rights and Duties.

"LA FEMME ET LES TEMPS NOUVEAUX: DROITS ET DEVOIRS." Two sermons in Lausanne Cathedral, by Paul Vallotton. Lausanne: Librairie Rouge et Cie, 6, Rue Haldimand. These sermons, preached on October 28 and November 11, 1917, are now published and dedicated to the women of all countries who claim their rights, and we congratulate both the reverend and learned author on his admirable addresses, and Swiss women on this able advocate of their cause.

The texts chosen by the preacher are from Judges, the account of Deborah; from Joel, "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy"; from St. John, the passage on the holy women at the Crucifixion; from St. Mark, the appearance of Christ after the Resurrection to Mary Magdalen; from the Acts, the apostles and holy women praying; from Galatians, "There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Jesus Christ."

The venerable preacher begins his sermon by stating plainly that, as a disciple of Him of whom it was prophesied, "He shall do justice to the humble of the earth," he supports equality of men and women within the limits fixed by nature, equality of civil and political rights, including the right to the vote.

This claim to equality is justified by women's personality; they are not secondary beings, accessory to men, but responsible and with equal duties and rights with men. History shows heroines of all kinds, from the Saints Martha and Mary to Edith Cavell. Modern women do useful and highly skilled work, and it is absurd that, e.g., women doctors, lawyers, or engineers, should be classed below any vicious and illiterate male.

The interests of the family demand that women should be enfranchised. Love for the community, the passion for social progress, would elevate family life, which too often is kept at the level of narrow domesticity and empty amusements. The

wife is at present cut off by her unenfranchisement from the interests which her husband has as a full citizen. Christ, who is the supreme authority for Christians, never said a single word tending to make women simple subordinates of their husbands, and eternal minors. The experience of countries where Woman Suffrage has been introduced has gained the unqualified approval of responsible men.

The preacher then deals clearly and firmly with the current objections to Woman Suffrage, which are, as he says, so feeble as to support the cause they are directed against. Looking at Europe to-day, bleeding to death, it seems that this horror, for which men alone are responsible, might have been avoided had women's help been enlisted earlier. Women have now, at least, gained the right to active citizenship. The free co-operation of both sexes is now needed in the work of reconstruction. In place of the present morality of the wolf and fox, we need the humane and Christian morality of justice, and for that the whole of humanity must be enlisted.

In his second sermon on women's duties, M. Vallotton rightly points out the undue emphasis too often placed on the material side of women's duties to the neglect of the spiritual: women especially should be educators, and for that they need civic instruction and political rights; how else shall they train good citizens? There follows an eloquent, whole-hearted, and generous plea for equal rights for women. It is indeed rare and remarkable to find a man able to put himself so entirely in women's place and to regard the injustice of their helotism with a woman's resentment. He is able at the same time to look at affairs from the broad standpoint of humanity, and to mark how equilibrium is prevented by the present one-sided scheme of government. For women who have heretofore been indifferent to politics he has rousing words, spurring them on to realise their responsibility for creating a better social order.

Sermons such as these, by an eminent divine, are of the very greatest service to the cause of equality. The elevation of thought and language which distinguishes them must appeal to many serious people who are not attracted by political meetings or other forms of propaganda, and women in particular will see that failure to claim their share in public life is a dereliction of duty. The Church in other countries is showing itself favourable to Woman Suffrage. In Great Britain the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London led all the other bishops in a favourable vote in the House of Lords, and the Catholic League, Church League, and Free Church League do great work for the cause. Christians of all denominations will find great help and encouragement in these sermons of a Swiss divine.

Features of the Month.

The vote on the Federal Amendment has not yet been taken in the United States Senate. News is anxiously awaited as to its result. Our American correspondent gives an interesting account of the change in the attitude of politicians to the women's question, and it is to be hoped this change will be speedily reflected in the Senate vote. The great Western republic has already let the ancient monarchy, and notably the House of Lords, of Great Britain steal a march on it, and American women are impatient to catch up.

In Great Britain one of the first problems facing the new women voters is the question which occupied Josephine Butler. The problem of vice and its physical effects on efficiency has become acute owing to the war and the threat to military effectiveness. The military authorities, whose only concern is efficiency, and who seem unable to take a large view of this very difficult and complex problem, direct their energies to making prostitution safe for men by either encouraging them to frequent licensed houses of vice in France, where an entirely illusory safety is offered by the provision of women who are periodically examined, but who are nevertheless spreaders of disease, or on the other hand by penalising the woman who may be charged with infecting men. From the sanitary point of view all these measures are futile, and from the point of view of justice and morality they are deplorable.

The National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies has held its first general council meeting since women were enfranchised, and has mapped out the work which women, regardless of party differences, may join in doing.

Dr. Anna Shaw, writing as one of the newly enfranchised women of New York, emphasises the importance and difficulty of organising the new woman electorate for social reconstruction.

One of the most urgent problems for women in all countries is that of their new position in the industrial world; this is seen by the growing importance of the demand for equal pay for equal work. One of the struggles of the immediate future will be waged on this field, and we are glad to be able to publish information from different countries on the subject. It is significant that there is now in many cases an attempt to give the appearance of equal terms to men and women, but in reality the man is given the privileged position, sometimes by reserving all the higher appointments for him.

In Great Britain the House of Lords has passed a Bill to enable women to practise as solicitors, and if the Commons follow their example another barrier will be down which fenced off a useful sphere of activity from women.

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