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The International Woman Suffrage News.

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GREETING

TO THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.

The most titanic war in human history has come to an end. Looking backward over its sorrowful, tragic months, and comparing it with other wars, one great outstanding fact makes it different from all others, and that is the part which women have taken in it. Leading statesmen in all lands have been frank and generous in acknowledging the admitted truth that their armies could not have performed their heroic tasks at the front had they not been supported by a civilian army in the rear, and that this rearguard would not have been possible without the aid of women.

When in after years the final history of the world war is written, some of its most brilliant chapters will record the deeds of women—the women of many lands.

In all modern wars women have tilled the fields, cared for the small shops, scraped lint, melted bullets, and nursed the wounded in unskilled fashion. But all the methods and implements of war as well as the status of women in world economy had undergone enormous changes since the last preceding war. Education, organising experience, industrial evolution, professional training, and freedom of development in a hundred directions had elevated women to a wholly new place in the world. Yet the advance made was but feebly comprehended by men or women as a whole.

Then came the war; and in every land women proved themselves capable of such stupendous things that astonishment has even yet hardly given way to calm acceptance of the fact. They performed work which before the war men and women would have regarded as within the distinct province of men. Large numbers of them showed a physical strength and endurance no one knew they possessed. They demonstrated the possession of executive, administrative abilities in many big undertakings. As the result of a generation of freedom of development, women physicians and surgeons, trained nurses and ambulance drivers, gave to the task of reparation scientific services where once their attempts at salvage were unskilled and sentimental.

Now the war ends. Thousands of munition plants and factories wherein war equipment has been produced have been closed, and their workers must seek other employment. Whole

armies of men will be demobilised, and the appalling task confronts all the nations of transforming their industrial resources from an abnormal war basis back to a normal peace basis.

This readjustment will of necessity develop countless complications and innumerable hardships to individuals. After-war reconstruction have always been periods of great import. Mistakes made, opportunities unseized, careless thinking and doing at such times have ere now resulted in setting up serious obstacles to human progress. The present situation, because so complicated and all-embracing, presents more possibilities for errors in judgment and action than any which has preceded it. The times make an unmistakable call to women, not those of one country but of all countries. Whether women heed and answer the call, or are deaf to it, means the gain or loss of a generation in the evolution of human society.

The women of every land will want justice done to the soldiers who have risked their lives for their country's cause, but, while guaranteeing that justice, other things must not be forgotten.

The progress of civilisation and the well-being of the race depend equally upon the physical, mental, and spiritual development of men and women.

Women have the same inherent right to their daily bread as men.

Women have the same inherent right to work for that bread as men.

It is as degrading to women as to men to accept charity. Equal pay must be given for equal work.

If in the readjustment it shall be determined that certain employments are to be reserved for men and others for women, the distribution must not be made by men alone.

"Without the participation of women, suffrage is not universal."

With the enormously augmented influence the war has brought, the women who heed the world's new call to service should direct their activities to establish these fundamental principles as accomplished facts in their respective nations.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which will be called into Congress as soon as world conditions permit, may find that its main objective has been largely won since, in 1913, it last met in Budapest; but, if so, other aims closely related and an integral part of the woman's movement toward emancipation from artificial restraints present themselves. When we meet once more the women of our auxiliaries should be able to report that in the cataclysm of war they never forgot the demands of woman—the woman universal—to equality of rights and opportunity.

May the New Year of 1919 be a blessed year to you and yours; may it bring restored peace, prosperity, and liberty to all the suffering peoples of earth.

A PROPOSED WOMAN'S CHARTER.

To be presented to the Peace Congress sitting in Paris, January, 1919, and to be recommended to the consideration of the League of Nations if such a body be formed.

1. That courts be set up, especially in the East of Europe, to trace and rescue missing women—captured, stolen, or deported—and to establish the responsibility for these outrages, it being manifestly impossible for the relatives of injured women, many of whom are the humblest peasants, to bring cases and provide evidence themselves for the recovery of their women.
2. That in all the newly freed territories, and in all the lands whose integrity has to be guaranteed by the Great Powers, some sort of official machinery—to be determined within the territory itself—be set up to enable unenfranchised women to set forth their needs and to protect their interests in regard to social conditions and legislation.
3. That all customs, whether social, religious, or domestic, which entail the sale, barter, or disposal of women and girls—in marriage or otherwise—without their consent at a mature age, be decreed to be outside international law, and that any women or girl victims of such customs, or any friends on their behalf, may make appeal for protection to the laws and enactments under which the traffic in human slaves has been abolished.
4. That the nationality of women shall be placed in a position of independence as absolute as that of men, without regard to any such considerations as marriage, or the naturalisation or denaturalisation of husbands, and that nothing but a woman's own deliberate choice and declaration shall affect her nationality.

5. That the same recognition and protection accorded to claims put forward by nationalities or by Labour be accorded to these demands of civilised women for their sex.

THE VOTERS' COUNCIL OF GREAT BRITAIN.

WHAT WOMEN SHOULD DEMAND OF THE PEACE CONGRESS.

It has been a long-cherished project of many women belonging to various organisations to hold a conference at the same time and place as the Peace Congress, in order to lay women's claims to full emancipation before the great Congress at which representatives of so many nations would meet to lay down principles and regulations affecting the future life of the world. It was also strongly desired that women representatives should be included in the national peace delegations.

The case of Labour is somewhat analogous; like women, Labour has hitherto held a subordinate position; it has accomplished the major share of the world's work, but has only had a very inadequate representation in the world's councils. During the war society has been forced to recognise its dependence on Labour and on women. Both demand to be represented in reconstruction.

International Labour has organised a conference to meet immediately in Switzerland. A Charter for Labour is being discussed at the Peace Congress at Paris, to ensure the safeguarding internationally of the claims of Labour.

Who is going to safeguard the claims of women? This very Labour Charter contains proposals which may threaten women's liberty. It is proposed to have legislation enacted which will enforce the international prohibition of night-work for women, and the prohibition of work that may be injurious to women. No such legislation should be passed except with the fullest and clearest concurrence of women expressed through their accredited representatives. Women have had enough experience in the past of limitations imposed on their choice of careers nominally from benevolent motives, but actually in order to eliminate their competition from well-paid trades. The women's trade unions must have an equal voice with the men's in any limitations, or so-called safeguards, and if certain branches of occupations are closed to women, certain other branches must be reserved for them, and those must not be the worst paid. This is only one instance, but a glaring one of plans to impose fresh restrictions on women. But besides opposing fresh restrictions women should seize this opportunity to abolish old restrictions and to win full legal and industrial freedom. An international charter for women should demand the abolition in every country of State regulation of prostitution, and should insist on the recognition of the equal moral standard for men and women in all legislation and administration dealing with sexual offences. The age of consent might be universally raised, traffic in women abolished, and the laws against solicitation equalised as between the two sexes.

The causes and effects of Josephine Butler's great campaign against State regulation of prostitution are by many forgotten or ignored. The fear of venereal disease is leading army authorities and governments to reinstate the old injustices and indecencies under new names.

In Great Britain the organised women voters have succeeded in getting rid of the use by the British troops of tolerated houses in France, and also of Regulation 40 D of the Defence of the Realm Act, which punished infected women for soliciting soldiers.

But, although the wrongs have been righted, fresh legislation is threatened. Careful study of the whole subject is needed, and international solidarity of women in rejecting all legislation and administration that punishes the woman for what it condones in the man. In the United States, war measures have given immense and dangerous powers to police and health officers; the streets in certain towns may have been cleared of solicitation, but by methods which can not be reconciled with justice or the equal standard for men and women. Army authorities tend to be led by their anxiety for their men's health to demand repressive legislation against a certain class of women. Their demands overlook the joint responsibility of men and women. Organised women may well demand that any legislation on these questions shall be the result of the joint deliberations of men and women.

In the professional and wage-earning spheres all artificial barriers to the entry of women into any trade or profession should be removed, and women granted equal access with men to any occupation and to the necessary education or training. This would involve the opening of all universities and technical

schools to women, their admission to all examinations, degrees, and apprenticeships, and eligibility for appointments. The position of women in the laws of the nations calls for the removal of many inequalities. Women are unanimous in demanding an equal share for the mother with the father in parental rights. The nationality of married women has become a burning question since the war. Everything in the status of a married woman which puts her under marital authority has to go.

A married woman must have the right to personal freedom and to the disposal of her property; she must be liable for her own misdeeds, and have full responsibility. Her income must be her own and be separately taxed. She must be joint guardian of her children. The laws of inheritance must be equal between the sexes. She must have the same power that a man has to choose her nationality. International agreement on these subjects would, in all countries, raise the status of women to that of equality with men. In the more backward countries it would be a big rise.

What body of women will champion these reforms?

We recommend them as a suggestion to the woman's suffrage conference meeting in Paris on February 10, which will be attended by delegates from other countries. It had been hoped by many that the International Woman Suffrage Alliance would have held a Congress to press for universal woman suffrage, but up to the present this has not been found possible. The International Council of Women has, so far, not announced any plans for a meeting. Yet, in spite of the strides made by the women's movement during the war, there are many fresh attacks on women's freedom and many threats for the future. The organised women's movement in every country needs to be vigilant, active, and united.

MARY SHEEPSHANKS.

APPEAL TO THE WOMEN OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

By EMIL ABDERHALDEN, SWISS PROFESSOR OF PHYSIOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE A.S.

A mighty change has taken place. A huge empire has given all its nationals the right of self-determination. Austria-Hungary is no longer. In Germany the people have obtained self-government without any disturbance. Democracy is making progress. It is developing with a clear aim in view. A system that threatened the world with war is no longer. Every door is wide open to a just and, therefore, lasting peace.

At the same time a movement is gaining ground in the interior of countries that have so far been united which will, if once set going, rage over the whole of Europe and destroy everything that we call culture. It is not too late yet! You women have made infinite sacrifices during these years of war. You have gone short with your children, you have done heavy work, and cares have almost crushed you.

Thousands of you have lost their highest on earth—your husbands and sons. One common will unites you! Such a world catastrophe must not occur again. A just peace, free from all violence, must come as quickly as possible. No people in the world may be hindered or robbed of its possibilities of development. In every country of the world, the liberty of the individual shall be the highest principle, and only such people as are free shall join the League of Nations.

You women of the whole world, combine! Common grief and common sorrows unite you. You can do much if you are united. Wilson has proclaimed the Gospel of self-determination of every unit of people. Support him in his endeavours, and lend expression in all lands to your inflexible will to obtain a just peace free from all violation. Every violation calls for a fresh war. The world is bleeding from a thousand wounds, and years of rest will be needed ere they are closed and each one of us can again strive joyfully and freely after the highest aims of humanity and culture. Let us now lay the foundations for the happiness of our descendants. It is not too late yet to keep the world safe from inconceivable misery. Consider that the destruction of a great people is never confined to itself. Every violated people carries in itself the germ for a new catastrophe.

Women of the whole world! You have liberty of speech. Your eyes see clearly. They are not blinded by hate and anger. You also know of reconciliation and forgiveness. You wish to make the future secure for your children. Stand united and form committees, and sue for a just peace and a League of Nations that is to be the foundation for a free development of all peoples.

THE NATIONALITY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

By CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN.

Among the questions of special interest to women which will ultimately have to be dealt with by the League of Nations is that of nationality. There is a possibility that it may be touched upon either in the Peace Conference itself, or in some of the Commissions to be set up to deal with special international problems. It is, therefore, of importance that the women in every nation should call the attention of their representatives to that Conference and those Commissions to the need for altering the law so that a married woman shall in her own person have the same right to retain her nationality of origin and the same right to adopt a new nationality as a married man.

In most States there is uniformity of this law—namely, a uniform denial to the married woman, with one or two small exceptions, to any nationality other than that of her husband, and a uniform denial of the right to independent naturalisation. The important exception is Australia, where a woman is allowed to naturalise as an Australian independently of her husband. Australian nationality, however, can only give rights inside Australia. Outside Australia the Australian wife of an alien comes under British law. In the United Kingdom or in foreign countries the same woman is considered an alien, even though in her own country she is an Australian.

There is one point, however, in which this international uniformity of the denial of justice to women differs from other limitations on the rights of married women. The law is not everywhere based on old custom, but is of recent introduction, in the Anglo-Saxon countries at least. In the United Kingdom, before 1870, a British woman remained British even if she married a foreigner. In the United States, although apparently the law on this matter was rather less definite, it was not till the beginning of the twentieth century that it was definitely laid down in a statute that a woman was to take the nationality of her husband. In these countries women have an easier task than elsewhere. They have to seek to restore to women their former rights. If uniformity is desirable, they can point out that it should be a uniform recognition of the right of the woman to be a national in her own person.

One of the arguments raised against this proposal is that during a war a wife might be influenced by her foreign enemy husband, and it is therefore more convenient to have her subject to the same restrictions as he may be. It does not appear to have been realised that the same argument applies to the husband of a foreign enemy wife. It may be pointed out that, if restrictions are necessary, it is perfectly easy to place the same restrictions on the husbands as on the wives of enemies. The absurdity of refusing to recognise the personality of the married woman is well illustrated by a question which at one time was the only one asked of married women entering this country with respect to their nationality—namely: "Where was your husband born?"

It is not necessary to point out the terrible sufferings of women married to men of enemy nationality who have been treated as enemies in their own countries. In the United States, where so many women marry immigrants, the injustice of it is constantly arising. The woman lawyer there who marries a Canadian, for instance, ceases to have the right to practise her profession. There is in this country some question whether the Countess Markevitz, who has just been elected as the first woman to the British Imperial Parliament, would be allowed to take her seat if she wished to do so, because her husband is a Pole, she being Irish of the Irish. And so on. The absurdities of the present law arise at every turn.

There is no other woman's reform on which it is so necessary that women should internationally pull together. It would be better if all States could adopt it at the same time, because different difficulties will arise during the transition stage, when some countries have adopted it and some have not. It may be that a woman or a man on marriage should be given special facilities for entering the nationality of the foreign wife or husband. France gives such special facilities to men marrying Frenchwomen. The important point to be insisted on is that a woman should have the same right to retain the nationality of her birth as a man. She should lose it only on the same conditions as a man. The same oaths of allegiance, or oaths renouncing nationality, should be required of her as of a man.

In France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Germany, the United States of America, and in every part of the British Dominions, the organised women are urging this reform. The British Government is shortly setting up a

Committee of the Empire to consider the point. Let women make a special effort now to bring the question to the attention of their delegates to the Peace Conference and its Commissions.

[Previous articles on the Nationality of Married Women were published in this paper in July, 1914; July, September, October, 1916; July, 1917, and June and July, 1918.]

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES.

In every country affected by the great European war changes have taken place in the position of women. The withdrawal of large numbers of men to fight has made it necessary for women to carry on their work, and in England the result has been that something over 2,000,000 additional women have taken up paid work. These women, as well as a large proportion of the 4,000,000 who were already wage-earners, have been doing what was previously thought to be men's work. They have been working on transport, on the land, and in factories and shipyards, and in a thousand unexpected and previously undreamt-of places. They are no longer limited to sweated and unskilled trades, but are entering the skilled branches, and getting considerably increased rates of pay. They have done well, and prejudices have melted away before them, so that their outlook is very different now from what it was in 1914. If it is brighter in some ways, as it undoubtedly is, it is nevertheless fraught with perils and it is important that these should be clearly understood.

In the pre-war days women workers were largely unorganised: so they are to-day. They were blacklegs then, undercutting each other, and unable to stand out for a decent wage, and it was only the fact that they were confined so largely to certain special trades and processes that prevented these ill-organised, sweated conditions from being a danger to the whole population. They are blacklegs still, less miserable and less helpless ones, it is true, but spread out now over the whole field of labour, and a danger to the standard rates of every trade.

It is the custom in all countries to pay women less than men, even when they do absolutely interchangeable work. There is a general idea that a woman must be less capable than a man, and another that she can get along with less cash. Both customs are founded on nothing, and are false; but they are very deeply rooted, and the result of them is that the women who have taken the places of men during the war and carried on for them have done so at undercutting rates of pay. In vain did the Government announce the establishment of equal pay for equal work; custom was too strong, and a rate was no sooner made equal than a war advance granted to men and not to women would put it back again to the familiar unequal level. In vain did the trade unions demand the fulfilment of the pledge. They would not take the only step that could enforce it—namely, to admit women to their own ranks,—and so the scramble went on.

And now the position is serious. Women have found their way into all sorts of works; they have proved that they can do them, and do them well; they have grown to like it, and the public has accepted even the wearing of trousers and uniforms. Everyone agrees that to hound them again from good productive work to crowd back to, let us say, artificial-flower making, would be a national waste. And therefore they will stay. There is no question of that.

But the danger of the situation arises from the question of wages. On the one hand, the old-fashioned trade unionists are still trying to turn the women out of the better-paid trades; on the other, the employers are trying to secure their labour at much cheaper rates than they pay to men; and between the two are the women, new to the traditions of trade unions, unaccustomed to working together, and uncertain and afraid for their new position, and pressed hard by the need to earn. Unless steps are quickly taken, these women will smash up all unwillingly the standard of living that has been so laboriously built up in the last fifty years.

There is a remedy to this state of affairs: there are, indeed, two remedies, and both should be tried. What we must aim at is such an adjustment of rates of pay that men and women shall be equal competitors, and that it shall not be to an employer's advantage to play one off against the other. In some trades it may be that exact monetary equality will not achieve this, for if a woman really does less work than a man she clearly deserves less pay. If we allow for this, however, and adjust rates accordingly, a balance can be struck. If this is done—and it needs careful doing, not by wholesale percentages, but trade by trade, and process by process,—then we can establish

by law the payment of such comparative rates. In crane driving, let us say, no woman shall be paid more than 5 per cent. less than the standard rate for men; in Government offices no woman shall be paid differently from men; in municipal infant-welfare work no man shall be paid more than 10 per cent. than a woman; and so on. An elaborate scheme indeed, but a definite one, quite within the compass of the new state that awaits us.

The other possible method is a slower if a more familiar one. Its name is co-operation. Let us open the doors of labour to women, not grudgingly, but freely. Let us admit them to the big skilled unions, and admit them not only to nominal membership, but to a real share in the affairs of the trade. The women would be able to make common cause with their brothers, and together they would settle comparative rates, and enforce them. Steps like these would in the end meet the danger and overcome it, though the process would inevitably be slow, and much damage would be done meanwhile.

These are two courses we can take. We can take them simultaneously, and we should take them quickly, for unless we do, there seems nothing with which to stave off the industrial sex war that threatens us to-day.

RAY STRACHEY.

THE ANCIENT EVIL. Recent American Experience.

America's entry into the war has had a remarkable effect throughout the whole of the United States on the problem of the social evil. But even before the war the manner in which certain States had grappled with the evil had startling results. New York City in 1912 had no less than 1,831 vice resorts of one kind or another (*i.e.*, tenement apartments, massage parlours, parlour houses, hotels, furnished room houses). By the activities of the authorities, backed by public sentiment, these vice resorts had by 1917 been reduced to 303. No less than 1,528 places of infamy had been abolished.

It is of course necessary to go behind such statistics as these, but the fact that they are issued by the Bureau of Social Hygiene is sufficient guarantee for their correctness. When a vice resort is suppressed it invariably tries to establish itself elsewhere. Indeed they are constantly shifting to evade detection, but with each change the vice resort is weakened and eventually very often disappears entirely, as the business becomes no longer profitable. I cannot associate myself with those who oppose all legislation dealing with the evil of commercialised vice. The parrot cry "You cannot make people moral by law" is simply not true. There are a certain percentage of people who will be grossly immoral no matter what their surroundings are, others will ever remain pure in the most evil atmosphere; but a large percentage with no strong will-power are largely what their surroundings make them. I do not see how those who have studied the drink question and the diminution of public-houses can question this. There remains therefore the problem of putting into force laws that will be really effective. Many are only apparently so, and in the end do more harm than good.

The necessity of having the manhood of the nation "fit to fight" gave America her opportunity to tackle with renewed force and inspiration the problem of this ancient evil. The Secretary of State for War received from Congress power to do what he "deemed necessary to protect the troops from the evils of prostitution." This gave him unlimited powers—powers that were not defined, as was 40 D of the Defence of the Realm Act.

A Commission was set up which was departmentalised into no less than twelve divisions.

The committees set to work with extraordinary vitality and zeal, being divided into two main divisions, one for educational work and the other for law enforcement. They were determined that the troops should not remain ignorant of the ravages of venereal disease. No efforts were spared in acquainting the civil as well as the military population with the perils of promiscuous sex life. Striking and skilful pamphlets, diagrams, and other literature on the subject were widely distributed; the cinema was extensively used in the educative campaign—and the conspiracy of silence was finally broken down.

The Law Enforcement Division was instrumental in abolishing ninety-one red light districts and reducing to a vast extent houses of ill-fame. A remarkable and inspiring achievement.

The part of the Commission that it is possible to deal with here is the section on women and girls of the Law Enforcement

AUSTRIA.

Twelve women have now got seats on the Vienna municipal council—two middle class, five Catholics, and five Socialists, including the well-known Adelheid Popp. Marie Schwarz, the school director, is also a member.

Women as Jurors in German Austria.

In the report issued by the Government Commission which was appointed to inquire into the question of the formation of juries, Dr. Neumann-Walter stated that now that women enjoyed the active and passive franchise for the legislative Constituent Assembly and for other representative bodies, and had showed their equal capabilities in numerous branches of work during the war in the absence of a large proportion of the male population, the Government Commission accepted the proposition that women should be appointed as jurors.

It had been pointed out that as the post of juror was not only a right but also a, sometimes unwelcome, duty the decision ought to be left to the new Constituent Assembly in which women were also represented. The Commission was, however, of opinion that this reform could no longer be delayed, especially as the various women's Associations had expressed themselves distinctly in favour of the proposition.

The recommendation of the Committee is to the effect that for the coming year women shall have freedom of choice and not be compelled to serve on juries against their will, pending the final decision of the Constituent Assembly.

—*Neue Freie Presse.*

BELGIUM.

The Union Patriotique des Femmes Belges has done a great relief work among Belgian women during the war, chiefly by giving employment. Material was given out to the women to make up into clothing, for which up to December, 1917, 900,000 francs was paid in wages. The lace-making industry was also helped to keep going, and in the same period nearly 500,000 francs was paid in wages. A toy industry was established, and though difficulties were put in its way, 125 permanent workers were employed. Mme. Jane Brigode, the suffrage president, took the lead in organising this employment scheme.

According to *Het Laatste Nieuws*, of Brussels, the Cabinet will oppose women suffrage, and make their opposition a question of confidence.

The Belgian Federation for woman suffrage has lost no time in pressing its claims on the Government and on the country. In an Open Letter to the Government it protests against the Government proposal which is "to remove by a patriotic agreement the ancient barriers and to carry out national consultation on the basis of equal suffrage for all adult men." Suffragists urge the claims of women who have suffered by the war, of all those who have the whole burden of family responsibility; they protest against the exclusion of half the nation, and the subordination of all women to an electorate that will now include all men, even the less worthy elements. Signatures are being collected for a great petition, and an active propaganda is being carried on.

DENMARK.

A bill has been introduced into the Danish Parliament to admit women to all State offices.

Church officials are protesting against the introduction of women clergy.

WOMEN'S POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF THE CONVERSION OF FIEFS AND ENTAILED ESTATES INTO UNENCUMBERED PROPERTY.

The woman's movement has paid too little attention to the burning question of women's right to inherit Danish land. When, in 1909, D.K. secured the admittance of women to state-subsidised small holdings, the right was only given to unmarried women, and it ought not to have neglected getting women on the commission appointed to form rules as to the conversion of fiefs, family estates, and entails into free property. The practice hitherto prevailing as to the inher-

division. Under this committee eight supervisors were appointed, and under their direction fixed workers posted near the camps and in cities where troops were stationed. In every large city was located a representative of the section on vice and liquor control. It was the business of the worker appointed by the section on women and girls to aid him in enforcing the laws against street walking and prostitution, prostitution itself being a criminal offence.

Where there is a venereal clinic or any provision for an examination every girl who is arrested for a sex offence must be examined for venereal disease. Complete reports have not been made, but partial reports show that out of 5,280 cases of women and girls 1,118 had venereal disease. Women and girls are arrested under various charges, such as vagrancy, solicitation, disorderly conduct, but it is a little difficult to discover exactly all the charges under which they are arrested. I imagine that under the special war conditions the police have power to arrest those women and girls whom they have reason to believe are a menace to the health of the troops. But, frankly, that point I found a somewhat elusive one, and it may not be the case. It must be remembered that the girls when arrested are not sent to prisons but to a detention home or a reformatory, and do not therefore consort with hardened prostitutes, as so often happens when a prison is the only place to which they can be sent.

As in England, the laws affecting men and women are unequal, but I am bound to admit that in America more determined efforts seem to be made to bring the man to justice whenever possible than in England, and there is an increasing desire to have the laws altered.

A Social Hygiene Conference was held in New York last October, at which some 200 people were present from all parts of the United States. Canada sent representatives also. I had the privilege of being present, and Madame Avril de St. Croix also was there. The facts that I have mentioned in this brief account were discussed. Those who wish to study the subject should get the book on "War Relief Work," published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science. It was a two days' Conference, at which several Government representatives were also present. A Findings Committee was appointed. Amongst those appointed to sit upon it were Dr. Abram Flexner, Captain Bates (Canada), Dr. Exner, Colonel Snow, Madame D'Avril de St. Croix, Miss Una Saunders, Dr. Katherine Davies, and myself. The following resolutions were drawn up by this Committee, and passed unanimously by the Conference:

Principles Voted at the Social Hygiene Conference held in New York City on October 18 and 19, 1918.

- (1) That the single standard of morals should prevail for men and women.
- (2) That continence is compatible with health and intellectual vigour for both sexes.
- (3) That men and women should serve together whenever possible on bodies whose functions concern the development and enforcement of moral standards.
- (4) That prostitutes be not treated as a class apart from other women, and that prostitution be not recognised as a trade.
- (5) That all measures, either preventative or repressive, concerned with social morality apply impartially to men and women.
- (6) That a simultaneous, vigorous attack on venereal disease should be made, and that the issues of public health and morals be thoroughly correlated.
- (7) That sound sex education be incorporated in one entire educational system in homes, school, college, and the church and press.
- (8) That social and economic adjustments granting to the individual decent living conditions and adequate recreation are essential to progress in social morality. These adjustments concern especially:—
 - (a) Housing conditions.
 - (b) Industrial conditions, including conditions of work and wages.
 - (c) Proper and sufficient recreational opportunities.

It now remains for all those who are in agreement with the principles laid down by the Conference to adjust their work on moral problems so that it may harmonise with them. If this is achieved, there are bright hopes for the near future, and we may find that the ancient problem is, after all, not an insoluble one.

E. PICTON-TURBEVILLE, O.B.E.

ance of entailed land in Denmark has been deeply unjust to women, and ought not to be embodied in the new laws which are expected in the near future. There is ground for anxiety in the fact that two of the four groups of opinion on the commission were in favour of subjecting the capital given in payment at the transference of property to the rules of inheritance for entailed estates.

At the suggestion of Astrid Stampe Feddersen, D.K. has appointed a committee to investigate whether D.K. can take any step in the interests of women when, as is likely to happen, there is a law proposed in the near future for the conversion of fiefs and entailed estates into unencumbered property. In the summer, moreover, A. S. Feddersen wrote an interesting article in *Gad's Danish Magazine* on women's attitude to this question, an article which is well worth reading. She shows that in the Middle Ages, and at the time of the Reformation, the position of women on this question did not differ from that of men, and that as owners of fiefs women had equal rights. She gives examples by name of many women of the old noble families who managed their inherited property excellently. But with the introduction of absolute power a tendency arose to let the wife disappear behind the man in relation to legal questions, and King Christian V.'s Danish law set the coping-stone on the work by introducing joint ownership for married couples in such a way that the man had the sole disposal of the joint dwelling. When Christian V.'s new higher nobility was established, rights of entail were granted to counts and freihers, according to which the landed property goes undivided to one person—the man before the woman, and the male line before the female line. It was to remedy this injustice that nunneries were established for noble spinsters, "as a refuge for the daughters of the upper classes."—G. L.

—*Kvinden og Samfundet* (December 15).

FRANCE.

WORKING WOMEN'S DEPUTATION TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

Mr. Wilson received on January 26th a delegation of French working women, who wished to enlist his support and sympathy in a solution of their problems.

Mr. Wilson said that the right of women to take a full share in the political life of their nations was a domestic question which each nation must settle for itself. It would be outside the province of the Conference to dictate to States what their internal policy should be. With regard to the conditions of labour, however, it seemed likely that the Conference would take some action by expressing sentiments at least in regard to the international aspects of labour. In that case he hoped some occasion might be offered for the case, not only of French women, but of women all over the world, to be presented to the consideration of the Conference. The President expressed admiration for the women of France, and for the women of all the nations engaged in the war, declaring that sometimes it seemed that the greatest strain was borne, not by those in the line, but by those behind the lines. The war had been a people's war, and the peace must be a people's peace. The Conference must see to it that peace was not merely an adjustment between Governments, but an arrangement for the peace and security of men and women everywhere.

GERMANY.

WOMEN VOTE FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

All reports agree that women voted in very large numbers at the recent elections. Special polling stations were set apart for them, and the eagerness to vote was so great that queues of women waited for admittance. It would be difficult to imagine a more momentous occasion for women's first exercise of their full rights as citizens. The election decides on what principles and ideals the new German State shall be founded. The old order, under which Germany rose to great power and prosperity, has gone; a new order has to be established. The country is faced with problems of the greatest difficulty. Its economic, financial, and political position are extremely critical; it is surrounded by enemies. All the strength and genius it can command are needed to save the State. And in this national emergency it has not feared to call upon its women, hitherto voiceless and inexperienced in politics, to share in taking decisions that will settle the country's fate. At one stroke full political equality has been granted to women, and they have shown their appreciation by voting in full strength.

WOMEN M.P.'s.

Full reports are not yet available, but one woman has been elected for Cologne to the National Assembly, and 12 women from other districts.

It is also reported that nine women have been elected to the Baden Diet.

BAVARIA.

At the elections for the Bavarian Diet, 80 per cent. of the voters had up to mid-day recorded their votes. It was a new feature that women members of religious Orders were led to the ballot-boxes in ordered files.

—*Frankfurter Zeitung*, January 5, 1919.

WOMEN'S HOPES FOR THE NEW ORDER.

Dr. Alice Salomon, in a letter to a friend in Switzerland, writes as follows:—

"We are now devoting ourselves wholeheartedly to the gigantic task of establishing a new order after the old one has been destroyed for ever. We have lived in darkness and isolation so long that we hardly remember the time before the war, when life was kind to us and we were members of the human family. We are too worn out and too apathetic from physical and mental suffering to see the light shining through the darkness and to believe in it. As a nation, except for a very few of our richest men, we have been hungry for about three years now, and have lived in the cold and in the dark. We are terribly poor. I want to make clear why it is so difficult for the Government to build up a new order, with a people worn out and desperate. The death-rate of children has not only doubled; it has trebled for children between the ages of 8 and 12. The weight and height of children are considerably under the old average, and mothers are in a still worse condition. We women who had no influence whatever, and who had to suffer in silence, are now enfranchised, and we are in the middle of an election campaign. Never has a campaign been carried on in this country with so much vigour and with so many ideals. The women of Germany are not entering political life to accept it as they find it, but are determined to create a new atmosphere. May God help us to success."

GREAT BRITAIN.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

POLITICAL.

The result of the general election proved a great disappointment as far as women are concerned. Of the 16 women candidates who stood for Parliament, not one was returned for an English, Scotch, or Welsh constituency, and only one for an Irish constituency. No sooner were the election results announced than the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was inundated with inquiries: "How do you account for the defeat of women?" "Did the women voters vote against women candidates?" and so forth. It is, of course, difficult to measure with any accuracy the causes which contributed to the defeat of women at the poll, but most of us remain convinced that women were defeated, not as women, but as candidates. As women, they met with little prejudice, and were accorded a very friendly reception by their constituencies. Their defeat was probably due to the same causes as the defeat of the 700 or so unsuccessful men candidates—that is to say, the defeated women were not (with one exception) recognised Coalition candidates, the one exception being the woman who came nearest victory. Nothing but hall-marked Coalition had a chance at this election, and the Coalition Party—like all others—was not confident enough of the success of the experiment to adopt women candidates as readily as men candidates. We do not believe, either, that women voted against women as women. The woman voter voted according to her party, as we had always anticipated and hoped, and naturally could not support a woman not of her party. But there is no reason to suppose that where a woman of her party was standing she withheld her vote. We are, of course, all disappointed by the result of the election, but we do not in any way feel that it is a setback to the woman's movement. We know that women will again stand—and successfully this time—as Parliamentary candidates.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN PARIS.

The greatest interest is felt here in the conference of representatives of Women's Suffrage Societies of Allied countries which is being called together in Paris early in February. The lead in calling the conference is being taken by the French

Women's Suffrage Society, and the object of the conference is to discuss, with special reference to the Peace Congress and Reconstruction, such international affairs affecting women as come within the scope of the societies represented. Among these will probably be included the further enfranchisement of women, the establishment of an equal moral standard for men and women, the reform of the nationality laws for women, and the position of women in industry. The decisions arrived at by such a conference should not only prove of extreme interest, but of the greatest possible value. The N.U.W.S.S. of Great Britain will be represented at the conference by the three following officers of the Union: Mrs. Henry Fawcett, President; Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Parliamentary Secretary; and Miss Rosamond Smith, Hon. Treasurer.

MRS. FAWCETT'S RESIGNATION.

It is with great regret that we must this month announce Mrs. Fawcett's decision not to stand for re-election to the presidency of the Union. Mrs. Fawcett's resignation is due to her feeling that she is no longer able to devote that time and energy to the Union which the office of president demands, and that the moment has therefore come for a younger woman to relieve her of her duties. She has remained in office long enough to see the suffrage granted to women, and the doors of Parliament opened before them: she leaves it to the Union, under another leader, to put the privileges won to their best possible use, and to secure for women their full enfranchisement. Much as we regret Mrs. Fawcett's retirement, we are bound to feel that she, if anyone, has earned the right to leisure, and that fifty years of such devoted service as hers are as much as the suffrage cause can ask of her. Though we may no longer look to Mrs. Fawcett as president, we are proud to feel that we may still regard her as one of the Union's closest friends, and—if not specifically its leader—a leader and pioneer of womankind.

THE ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING OF THE N.U.W.S.S.

The annual Council meeting is this year fixed for March 5th, 6th, and 7th. The constitution and future work of the Union will again be under consideration. A year's trial of the "Equality Programme"—that is to say, the constitution passed by last year's Council, under which the Union works for all aspects of the economic, social, and political equality of women with men—has shown us all the advantages and disadvantages of such a programme, as well as the enormous amount of work which remains to be done by a Union with such objects as our own. The great advantage of so wide a programme is that it has a wide appeal; the great disadvantage is that the work of the Union is apt to lack concentration, and so prove ineffective. The coming Council has, therefore, as its primary task, to thrash out some method of retaining the advantages and eliminating the disadvantages of the Equality Programme. Besides schemes for the future of the Union, there are also on the agenda for the Council meeting resolutions on the subjects of widows' pensions, women in industry, equal moral standard, and many others.

DANGERS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

We have always known that the dangers to women of industrial reconstruction are great, and that their interests now need the most judicious safeguarding. During the war women have made an immense advance towards industrial equality with men, but they are not sufficiently organised to be sure of holding the ground they have won. This month we have seen a startling illustration of the readiness that exists to take advantage of their lack of organisation. An agreement was reached between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades for the working of a 47-hour week in those trades. The basis of the agreement was that the pay was not to be altered by the alteration in hours, and this has been carried into effect, with general approval. The women employed in these trades, however, who are every one of them women war workers, are left out of this agreement. Their hours have been compulsorily reduced by it, and their pay has been reduced in proportion, because the employers declare that women were not parties to the agreement. They were not parties to it only because the engineering unions have steadily refused to admit women to membership, and it seems that the intention of the men that the women should participate in its advantages, as well as the obvious justice of this course, is not sufficient to enforce it. The Ministry of Labour refuses to help them, "the matter being outside its powers," and so injustice is done in the name of a reform of the conditions of labour. Women do not want to be blacklegs. They want to stand by their fellow-workers. Yet

they are forced to undercut them, time and time again, until it is no wonder that they are not welcome in the skilled trades. This is not the sort of treatment our munition girls deserve, and it is not the way to ease the troubles of the labour market.

WOMEN AND THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT.

A most interesting report has been recently issued by the Machinery of Government Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. The Committee has been at work since July, 1917. One of the members was Mrs. Sydney Webb, well known to all interested in the British woman's industrial emancipation.

The terms of reference were: "To inquire into the responsibilities of the various Departments of the Central Executive Government, and to advise in what manner the exercise and distribution by the Government of its functions should be improved," and under the heading "Organisation of Departments" we find the portion of the report which is of most interest to women:—

Employment of Women in the Civil Service.—Our terms of reference entrust us with the duty of advising 'in what manner the exercise and distribution by the Government of its functions should be improved,' and we are strongly of opinion that among the changes that should be made as conducive to this end must certainly be included an extension of the range and variety of the duties entrusted to women in the Civil Service and in practically all Departments.

The present position in this matter is that in many Departments, and particularly in the Departments established during the war, women form a majority of the total staff. The appointments which they hold are for the most part temporary, and it would clearly be inadvisable to accept the forms of emergency organisation under which women have been thus employed as suitable for incorporation in the permanent structure of Departments. Any such policy might be seriously prejudicial to the possibility of forming a reasoned estimate of the degree of efficiency attainable by women Civil Servants, properly recruited, and regularly trained and organised for Departmental work, under less abnormal conditions. But whatever may be the future of the temporary Departments and the arrangements for recruiting the Civil Service in future, it seems clear that a further extension of the employment of women in the Civil Service will be necessary.

A recommendation to this effect was made by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service which reported in April, 1914, a few months before the outbreak of war. The Royal Commission recommended that the Treasury, acting in communication with the various heads of Departments, and after consultation with competent women advisers, should institute an inquiry into the situations in each Department which might with advantage to the public service be filled by qualified women. There has been no opportunity under war conditions of carrying out such an inquiry into principles, and the employment of women in the Civil Service has been extended in order to meet urgent practical needs (many of them doubtless of a temporary character), and without that further investigation and deliberate settlement of principles which the Royal Commission proposed. It has inevitably resulted that the changes since 1914 in the scope and character of the employment of women have been made frequently on haphazard lines, without any adequate comparison of the various Departmental methods adopted, whether as to recruitment, as to the proportion of women included in the total staff of Departments, as to supervision, or as to allocation of duties between the women and the men, and without the possibility of applying proper methods of training the large numbers of women continuously entering the Civil Service for the kind of work normally required by Departments. The effects of this may well be unfortunate unless this most important matter be carefully investigated and authoritatively reported upon without delay, and before any substantial modifications of the position as it was left on the cessation of hostilities are decided upon.

The Royal Commission was not unanimous on the question whether women should be admitted to the Class F examinations, either immediately or at some future time. The Majority Report recommends that specially qualified women should be eligible for appointment to administrative situations in Departments specially concerned with such services as education, health, and employment, but that such women should be selected by the method used for recruitment of professional officers, and should not be admitted to the Class I examination. Six members of the Commission suggested as an alternative that a limited number of places should be assigned to women as part of the Class I examination scheme.

The practical question whether women can be found suitable to perform duties comparable with those assigned to men in Class I, has to a large extent found an answer in the experience of the last four years, which has gone far to resolve any doubts upon the point. We understand that in certain Departments women have undertaken duties of the Class I standard during the greater part of the war period, and have been found to perform these duties to the satisfaction of the Heads of the Departments in which they are employed.

We therefore think that it is no longer expedient in the public interest to exclude women on the ground of sex from situations usually entered by the Class I examination, or from other situations usually entered by competition.

In our opinion there are, apart from those administrative posts for which either a man or a woman of sufficient education and experience may be equally suitable, certain posts, both in the Higher Division and in other grades, for which women, if properly qualified, are, *prima facie*, more suitable than men. These posts should, we think, in future be assigned to women, and, as regards other posts, we think that the test of eligibility should have no relation

to the question of sex, but should be whether a particular candidate, male or female, is in all respects the one who appears best qualified and most likely to perform efficiently the duties attaching to a particular post.

With regard to the majority of permanent appointments to the clerical establishment, which are made after selection by competitive examination conducted by the Civil Service Commissioners, we do not consider that, whether for Class I., the various intermediate classes, or the Second Division, there is any reason for excluding persons of the female sex from entering for any examination whatever the form of the educational tests which may in future be prescribed. We think that it should be open to any Department having posts to be filled, to specify, with regard to each vacancy, whether the circumstances of the post and the duties to be performed are such as to make it undesirable for a woman or a man to be appointed, and we are also of opinion that within each Department, promotion to higher posts should be dealt with on the same principles.

The question of the remuneration of women employed in the Civil Service is, we are aware, one of the difficulties that have delayed the adoption of a considered and homogeneous scheme for their employment in the several Departments. On this, as on other points, whilst we are of opinion that no discrimination can properly be enforced merely on the ground of sex, we refrain from offering observations or recommendations, since, to be of any value, these would require the consideration of various highly technical and somewhat controversial questions not only in the economic sphere, but in many other directions on many of which there is at present an insufficiency of trustworthy records of experience. Further, we understand that at the present time the Government are conducting inquiries into a number of these questions which have from certain points of view come to need very early consideration and decision.

We restrict ourselves here, therefore, to the general statement of our conviction (1) that the absence of any substantial recourse to the services of women in the administrative staffs of Departments, and still more in their Intelligence branches (which we are unanimous in hoping to see set up by an increased number of Departments), has in the past deprived the public service of a vast store of knowledge, experience, and fresh ideas, some of which would, for particular purposes, have been far more valuable and relevant than those of even the ablest of the men in the Civil Service; and (2) that for the effective arrangement and performance of the largely extended duties which we think that women should undertake in the Civil Service, it will be essential that one or more women of special qualifications and experience should regularly be included in responsible posts as part of the staff of that separate branch of the Treasury which we have unanimously suggested should be set up to specialise in 'establishment' work, and to study all questions of staff recruitment, classification, etc., in application to the several Departments of State.

N.U.W.S.S. AND GERMAN W.S.S.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has only now seen the message sent by the German Suffrage Society to the British Suffrage Society which appeared in the *Staatsbürgerin* for December. This message asks the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to do what it can in helping to lighten the terms of the blockade, and relieve the sufferings of the women and children of Germany.

The Executive Committee of the N.U.W.S.S. is sending the following message in reply:—

"The Executive Committee of the N.U.W.S.S. has now seen the message of the German Suffrage Society in the *Staatsbürgerin* for December, which has just reached this country. The Executive Committee expresses its deep sympathy with the sufferings of the women and children of Germany, and of the other nations affected by the war, and its satisfaction in believing that the Allied Food Council is taking energetic steps to relieve the sufferings."

RAY STRACHEY, Hon. Parliamentary Secretary.

STATE REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

For many years nurses have aimed at securing registration, and thus establishing a recognised status for the trained nurse. The National Union of Trained Nurses, which is affiliated to the International Council of Nurses, and is the only self-governing national society of nurses, is supporting a Bill in the coming Parliament providing for State registration. The Bill is a democratic Bill in which the government of the nursing profession is assured to the workers. Three years' training should be guaranteed. A similar Bill was introduced in 1914, but dropped on account of the war.

Attempts are being made to shelve this Bill, and to promote another by the College of Nursing, which represents the employers—viz., officials and hospital matrons and governors.

CANADA.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

WOMEN'S NON-PARTY ORGANISATION.

A Women's Independent Political Association has been formed in Victoria, B.C., and is being warmly supported. Mrs. J. D. Gordon, in her opening address, emphasised

women's determination not to be drawn to support policies they did not approve. Women's great object was the welfare of the race—improved education, better social conditions. The new society will consist of women voters. The men's party organisations exclude women, and these women have decided that their organisation shall be non-party.

INDIA.

Women's Franchise.

It will be a matter of no light interest to European suffragists that at the last meeting of the Legislative Council of Bombay an Hon. Member presented a resolution to remove the disqualifications for women's election to the Municipal Corporation. The mover referred to the advance of Bombay women in education and the passing of the second reading of the Franchise Bill in the House of Commons. The motion was opposed by another Member on the ground that there was no franchise even in the progressive Municipality of Calcutta. The mover was asked to keep his soul in patience until the fate of a like motion in Corporation Council itself was settled. The Hon. Mr. Paranjapye, Vice-Chancellor of the Women's University, supported the motion, emphasising that Bombay should lead Calcutta in such matters. One member—from the corporation itself—did not see any desire on the part of the women themselves to have seats in the corporation. Another, Sir Dinshaw Petit, suggested that Mr. Desai proposed an innovation for Bombay, and wanted to watch it from distant Bijapur. The Hon. Mr. Belvi accorded strong support to the resolution.

The Council rose for the day, and took it up the next day; and the motion passed, against the mild and passive opposition of the Government, by a majority of 50 per cent. One member suggested an inquiry as to whether women were willing to enter the corporation. The Hon. Mr. Keatinge, Director of Agriculture, accorded his hearty support, and urged that Bombay should certainly lead the mufussil in the matter.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimatulla, Member of the Governor's Executive Council, speaking on behalf of the Government, sympathised with the motion, but objected to its insisting to put it to trial in the City of Bombay. He pointed out that in not even one district of the Presidency the Municipality had availed itself of the express provision that women would be co-opted as members of corporation committees, and asked why, if they wished to try in the City of Bombay, they might not try it in the Legislative Council itself. His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the President, though sympathising with the principle, agreed with the remarks of his councillor.

The motion was put to vote, and declared lost. But the mover demanded a poll, and, on division, 18 members voted for and 12 against. The motion was thus carried.

G. R. JOSYEB, M.A. (Hons.).

Bangalore, India, November 15th, 1918.

PUNJAB LADIES' RELIEF WORK IN INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC.

A number of ladies, Indian and English, organised extensive visiting in Lahore during the influenza epidemic. They worked in pairs, visiting from house to house, and distributing medicine, milk, and clothing. They were warmly welcomed by the people. In the course of their visits they were struck by the urgency of many sanitary reforms, and drew up a list of complaints. They then formed a permanent band of voluntary health visitors.

SUPPORT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE CENTRAL ISLAMIC SOCIETY SUPPORTS WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Ladies' Association of Allahabad, at a large and representative meeting, passed the following resolution:—

"This Samiti is strongly of opinion that the women of India are fit for the exercise of political rights, and that the introduction of any sex bar in the coming reforms would be a serious obstacle in the way of national evolution. It urges that in matters of franchise and membership of the reformed councils, women should be treated on a footing of absolute equality with men."

CIVIC LECTURES TO WOMEN IN BOMBAY.

Lectures have been arranged with a view to stimulating women's interest in public questions, and enlisting their co-operation. The subject of the first lecture was "The Bombay Municipality: Its Constitution and Duties." Lady Willingdon, wife of the Governor, was in the chair.

Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa.

To the Editor of *Jus Suffragii*.

Dear Madam,—You may care to know that we have sent the following letter to the Chairman of the Committee appointed to make reforms in the franchise laws of India. Mr. Feetham is known to us in South Africa as a determined anti-suffragist.—I am, yours sincerely,
LAURA RUXTON.
November 20, 1918.

W.E.A.U.

Dear Mr. Feetham,—Your appointment as Chairman of the Committee that is to deal with reform of the franchise laws of India has been noted by this Association, and I am asked, on behalf of several thousands of South African women, to urge upon you in your capacity as Chairman, to realise the depth and intensity of the Indian women's claim to the same rights that have already been granted to men in the new scheme of reform, or may be granted to them as a result of the discussion over which you will preside. This Association is strongly in favour of the abolition of all distinction made in the eyes of the law on grounds of sex alone, and sees no reason why the principle of equal suffrage which is being accepted throughout the empire should not be applicable to the women citizens of India, for whose claims the women of South Africa have deepest sympathy, in view of the uphill struggle towards freedom which has produced so many striking examples of ability and sacrifice. With best greetings.—I remain, dear Mr. Feetham, sincerely yours,
November 20, 1918.

LAURA RUXTON.

ICELAND.

FRU TORFHILDUR HOLM.

In Rlykjavik many hundred people have died of the influenza, amongst them a very noted woman, a pioneer, Iceland's first lady novelist, Mrs. Torfhildur Holm. Her speciality was historical novels and biographical studies, and she was a learned student of the customs and manners of life in the Middle Ages, and depicted those well. She edited a woman's paper, mostly containing household hints, and wrote many stories for children. She was a very beautiful woman and a striking personality, proud and dignified, as well as graceful. She was nearly 74 years of age. She spent some years in Canada, where she first began to write. She was the first woman in Iceland to write novels, and they were very popular. The Government awarded her a yearly pension.

19 Juni, December 20, 1918.

NORWAY.

EXTRA RATIONS FOR PREGNANT WOMEN.

The Norwegian National Council of Women sent in a request to the Directorate of Rationing for an extra bread ration for pregnant women. A favourable answer has been received, and the extra ration will be allowed during the second half of pregnancy on the certificate of the doctor or midwife.

TRAINING OF NURSES.

The N.C.W. has also sent in a memorial to the Government in support of the demand of the Norwegian Nurses' Alliance for an authorisation of a three-years training for nurses.

SPAIN.

Spanish League for the Progress of Women.

To Our Followers.

We feel great satisfaction at the enthusiasm that all the amalgamated groups manifest, especially that of Madrid, which has a great number of associates putting forth most splendid work for female emancipation.

In the critical hour through which our country is passing it is of great importance that our propaganda should increase, that where there exist three women of progressive ideas they should lend themselves to co-operate in this endeavour of ours to have a great organised force of action which in an opportune moment might realise a great act of immense transcendence, not only for the Spanish woman, but for the greater life of our country, marking it with new pathways, by surroundings more healthy than those in which, unfortunately, we live to-day.

The permanent Commission, animated by a complete confidence in the near future, loses no opportunity in taking

advantage of the time, entreating for liberty to work with greater security day by day.

Recently a petition, signed by the Directors of our League, was presented to the House, soliciting the reform of the following articles of the Civil Code:—

Suppression of Article 57, or, at least, its rectification in a manner that the duties and obligations of both man and wife be equal.

Rectification of Article 58, in the sense that the married woman be free, in every case, to follow her husband or not when he decides to change his residence.

Rectification of Article 59, conceding to adult married women the right to administer their own property.

Rectification of Article 60, making it legal that the wife does not need her husband to represent her in any case, much less marital authorisation of any description.

Suppression, as a consequence of the before-mentioned, of Articles 61 and 62.

Rectification of Article 154, disposing that the jurisdiction of the country be enjoyed by both man and wife, and, in case of disagreement, by the one that proves to have most morality and sound judgment.

Rectification of Article 155, inserting the words "father," or, in default, "the mother," for those of "the parents."

Rectification in the same sense of Articles 156, 158, 159, 164, 169, 211, 220, 227, 237, 294, 314, and whichever others that place the woman on an inferior level to the man.

We know that on the 26th November they took note of it in the Senate, being warmly defended by Senator Royo Villanova, and it passed afterwards to the Ministry of Grace and Justice for a definite resolution.

The Commission has sent letters of congratulation to its sisters in belligerent countries on the coming of peace.

Redencion, December, 1918.

SWEDEN.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

On January 8th and 9th the Central Board of the National Society for Woman Suffrage held its annual meeting in Stockholm. More than 80 members from different parts of the country had assembled to discuss suffrage questions. The tone of the meeting was one of hope and glad expectancy, owing to the great democratic reform that had been adopted by the extra session of our Riksdag last December. In a resolution that was passed unanimously, the meeting expressed its satisfaction that this reform had given the same municipal rights unreservedly to women as to men, and its hope that the sitting Riksdag will do the same as regards our political rights. We have every reason to expect that our suffrage question will be solved now, the Conservative party having officially abandoned its former position against us.

In connection with these franchise reforms, another important reform as to the position of the women is being prepared. The education of the girls has hitherto been a private affair in Sweden. It is evident that the State, as soon as it recognises woman as a citizen, must also take the responsibility and charge of her education. On January 13th a Government committee was appointed to work out the plan for taking over the private girls' schools by the State.

JENNY WALLERSTEDT.

Linköping, January 18th, 1918.

SWEDISH WOMEN'S RECONCILIATION WORK.

The following Swedish Women's Associations have joined in the appeal for a Peace of Reconciliation which has been issued by the Swedish Committee of the World Alliance for the promotion of International Brotherhood through the various churches:—

White Ribbon, the Conservative Women's Association, Swedish Young Women's Christian Association, the National Union of Swedish Women, the Conservative Women's Suffrage Society, the Frederika Bremer Society, the Women's Committee of the General Swedish Missionary Conference.

The Swedish Section of the International Women's Committee for Permanent Peace has issued an appeal for support for President Wilson's peace programme, which has been signed by

The Committee of Liberal Women, the National Society for Women's Suffrage, the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Women, the Committee of the United Organisations of

Social-Democratic Women, the Committee of the Peace Section of the Union of Women Teachers, the Central Committee of the White Ribbon.

Ellen Key's message, supported by Selma Lagerlov, to the women of the victorious countries, calling upon them to make every effort to obtain food for the starving women and children of Germany, has had 18,935 signatures. The following women's societies have joined in this appeal through their Executive Committees:—

The National Society for Women's Suffrage, the Fredrika Bremer Society, the National Society of Swedish Women, the Conservative Women's Suffrage Society, the Liberal Women's Association, the Conservative Women's Association, the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Women, the Swedish Section of the International Women's Committee for Permanent Peace, the Society of Women Civil Servants.

The following local organisations have given their signature: The Women's Club in Stockholm, the Persberg Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, the Patriotic Women's Association of Ulricehamn.

This appeal has also been signed by the following eminent Danish women:—

Fru Mathilde Bajer, Julie Arenholt, Andrea Brockman, Tora Knudsen, Henni Forchhammer (President of the National Council of Danish Women), Doctor Estrid Hein, Doctor Valfrid Munch-Petersen, and the following members of the Danish Section of the I.C.W.P.P.: Eline Hansen, Clara Tybjerg, Eva Moltesen, Thora Daugaard, Louise Wright; also Mag. Phil. Helene Berg, Henriette Crona, Thyra Marnicus Hansen, and the following writers: Emma Gad, Ingeborg Maria Sick, Thit Jensen-Fenger, Frede Thomsen, the editor Gyrditje Lemche, and Anna Paulsen. HERTHA.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WOMEN.

The Social Democratic Women's Conference was held in Stockholm on November 10th. The meeting was attended by 40 delegates from Social Democratic clubs and about 60 members of trade unions.

The opening speech was made by Fru Anna Sterky, and the first address was given by Kandidat Hirsch on the new Law for the Relief of Destitution.

Anna Lindhagen then gave an address on Legislation for Child Welfare in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. After a confidential conference in regard to the policy and propaganda of the party, an address was given by Hr. B. Jason Bergquist, Director General of the County Council Education Board, on Continuation and Trade Schools. At the conclusion of the meeting Professor Knut Kjellberg spoke on "Education and Individuality." MORGONBRIS.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

On the morning of the day when this letter is written the country has been startled by the news of the sudden death of former President Theodore Roosevelt.

His death came to me with an especial shock, as I had received a cordial letter from him on Saturday, and it will be a pleasant memory for Suffragists that almost the last thought of Colonel Roosevelt was of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. He enclosed in his letter a copy of one which he had just sent to a prominent Senator urging him to cast his vote for this amendment, and in it he expressed his personal fondness for some of the Senators who had worked and voted against it and his deep regret at their opposition. This he called "a misfortune from the standpoint of the war and from the standpoint of party expediency"; and he said: "It is coming, and it ought to come. When States like New York and Illinois adopt it, it cannot be called a 'wild-cat experiment.' I very earnestly hope you can see your way clear to support this amendment."

It will always be remembered by women that in the midst of pain and illness and the many duties that pressed upon him Colonel Roosevelt could have time and thought for their enfranchisement. Before the vote was taken on this amendment on October 1, he appealed to his personal friends in the Senate with all the vigour for which he was noted to give it their support, and for many years he lost no opportunity to use his influence in its favour. While Colonel Roosevelt always believed in the principle of woman suffrage, he gave no assistance to the cause during his eight years as President, although importuned to do so by its leaders. I remember going with Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, treasurer of the National Suffrage Association, to call upon

him by appointment on November 15, 1905. He was at that time nearing the close of his second term as President, and his influence was greater than that of any other man in the United States. He received us with the utmost cordiality in the room where the meetings of the Cabinet were held, and granted an interview of half an hour, while distinguished callers waited impatiently outside. Miss Anthony said in the course of her appeal: "Mr. President, your influence is so great that just one word from you in favour of woman suffrage would give our cause a tremendous impetus." In the intensity of her feelings she leaned forward, and, laying her hand on his arm, exclaimed: "Mr. Roosevelt, this is my principal request—it is almost the last request I shall ever make of anybody: before you leave the Presidential Chair recommend to Congress to submit to the Legislature a Constitutional Amendment which will enfranchise women, and thus take your place in history with Lincoln, the great emancipator. I beg of you not to close your term of office without doing this."

Four months from this day Miss Anthony was at rest in beautiful Mount Hope Cemetery at her home city, Rochester, N.Y., and a year later Mr. Roosevelt had left his high office without a mention of woman suffrage.

In 1912, when he helped to found the Progressive Party, as a protest against the old reactionary Republican Party, which had just refused to put a woman suffrage plank in its platform, he made this question one of the leading issues of his campaign. His platform contained a demand that the women of the United States should be enfranchised. It thus, for the first time, became a national question, and received an impetus which has carried it forward to its present position. Although four years later the Progressive Party merged into the Republican, its influence was sufficient to compel that party to put into its platform a declaration for woman suffrage—an example which the Democratic Party was forced to follow.

Thenceforth Colonel Roosevelt never wavered in his advocacy of this measure, and he never did anything half-way. He spoke on the suffrage platform at mass meetings again and again; he advocated it in the press, and he used his powerful influence on members of Congress in favour of a Federal Amendment.

The example of Colonel Roosevelt inspired many other prominent Republicans to support this amendment, just as its advocacy by President Wilson has encouraged eminent Democrats to give it their support. When Mr. Wilson was elected President he was a pronounced opponent, but with the open mind, which is one of his leading characteristics, he was willing to hear its advocates, and the first delegation he received was one of Suffragists, of which I happened to be a member. I shall never forget his look of amused interest as each of us in a few words gave the arguments in its favour. I remember that my own consisted chiefly in extracts from his book, "A New Freedom," which, I said, if applied to women must necessarily give them a vote. The President received other Suffrage deputations after that, and there is reason to believe made a careful study of the question. The result was that two years later he had become so far converted to its merits that at the autumn election in his own State of New Jersey he voted in favour of amending its Constitution so as to enfranchise women. Stimulated by his example, most of the members of his Cabinet also declared themselves in favour.

President Wilson, however, still held to the Democratic principle of the State's right to determine who should exercise the suffrage within its boundaries, and that there must be no interference by the Federal Government. It was not until he saw amendments defeated in State after State, and realised the powerful forces that could act upon the individual voters, that he became convinced that suffrage for women in all of the States could only be obtained through an amendment to the National Constitution. Therefore, when a vote on this amendment was about to be taken in the Lower House of Congress last January, he made his first declaration in favour of it, and it is generally thought that this was responsible for its adoption, as it had the narrow margin of one vote.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT.

The utmost efforts of the President, however, were not sufficient to obtain the two votes lacking in the Upper House when the vote was taken October 1. The readers of the "International Suffrage News" could have no stronger proof of the tremendous opposition to this Federal Amendment than the fact that the magnificent address of President Wilson did not change a single vote. It is doubtful if he expected it to do so, but he is a sufficiently astute politician to know that, as

the case stands now, the Democratic Party is discredited on the question of Woman Suffrage, as three-fourths of the Republican Senators are recorded in favour of this amendment and less than one-half of the Democratic Senators. This party cannot afford to go before the millions of women voters in the United States at the next election bearing the responsibility of having defeated this Federal Amendment, and President Wilson made the address for the purpose of counteracting this situation.

The Senate is now apparently on the eve of taking another vote on this amendment. It was not possible to have this before Christmas, as the Revenue Bill was still under consideration, but it has now been sent back to the Lower House, and there is time for the suffrage amendment before other great measures come up. The two much-needed votes have been obtained through the last election, and the question now is to secure a date for it. The only chance for the opposition is to keep the question from coming up, and if they cannot prevent this, then they will try the favourite method of a "filibuster"—that is, they will consume, with long speeches, the time allotted. It is the general belief that this will not be tolerated by the public sentiment of the country, which now demands that an end shall be made of the long delay, and that the Congress shall do what it can to give the United States its rightful place among nations in respect to the enfranchisement of women. Even should the amendment be approved by the Senate, it still must run the gauntlet of forty-eight State Legislatures, so that this will necessarily be one of the last great nations to give the vote to women.

The National Suffrage Association has been quietly at work for the past year to assist the women of various States in organising a pressure on their Legislatures to ratify the amendment as soon as it is submitted to them. Those of about Twenty-five States are counted upon to do this at once, but this leaves eleven of the necessary three-fourths yet to be obtained, and these, of course, must be secured where there will be considerable opposition. The road to be travelled before success is obtained is not an easy one. The first great requisite is to get the amendment through the Senate and safely on its way. At the present moment there is a strong hope that by the middle of January a cable will be sent to the "International News" bearing the message: "The Federal Amendment Has Passed the Senate"! We are, of course, prepared for disappointment, but the situation never was so favourable as now.

PROHIBITION.

Fortunately for the Suffragists, the Prohibitionists are fighting the battle which would have been ours had our amendment been submitted by Congress before theirs. The enemies of Prohibition, having been defeated in their Herculean efforts to prevent the submission of a Federal Amendment, are now employing the best legal service and using every possible means to prevent the Legislatures from ratifying that amendment. First they are insisting that, as it received only a two-thirds' vote of the members of the two Houses who were present, it is illegal, as it should have had two-thirds of the entire membership. They will not succeed in this, as every amendment ever made to the National Constitution has received only a two-thirds' vote of those present, and this is accepted as the law. Their second effort is to prevent the Legislatures from acting on the amendment until it has first been subjected to a referendum of the voters, and if they give a majority against it, the Legislature shall not ratify it. This cannot succeed because the Federal Constitution itself provides that an amendment shall be submitted to the Legislatures for ratification, and, when it shall be approved by three-fourths of them, it shall be declared by Congress a part of the Constitution. The Prohibitionists may be obliged to take both of these cases to the Supreme Court of the United States for decision, which may delay the ratification of their amendment and also that of the Suffrage Amendment, but we will not cross that bridge until we come to it. Our sole object now is to get our measure through Congress.

The first act of the Michigan Legislature when it assembled last week was to ratify the Federal Prohibition Amendment, making the sixteenth State to do so. Very few of these represent States that are already "dry" by statute law, and are therefore sure to be in favour of a Constitutional Amendment. The Prohibitionists announce that they are confident of having the ratification of the necessary thirty-six Legislatures by February. The amendment will go into effect one year after the thirty-sixth Legislatures has ratified it, and it seems almost

certain that by the spring of 1920 there will be total Prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors in the United States.

IDA HUSTED HARPER,
Editorial Chairman Leslie Suffrage Bureau.
January 6, 1919.

REVIEWS.

WOMAN: A CITIZEN. By A. E. Metcalfe, B.Sc. With a preface by Mrs. Sidney Webb. (Publishers, Allen and Unwin). 2s. 6d.

This book is specially intended for the new voters. It does not concern itself with women in particular, but supplies information on the machinery of government of a kind useful to any citizen. Parliament, the Constitution, the Cabinet, electoral qualifications, the government departments, the administration of justice, are fully and clearly explained. One omission in these days of women Parliamentary candidates is noticeable: information is not given as to the methods and procedure to be adopted by would-be candidates.

The personal opinions of the author are not always incontrovertible. In describing the House of Lords as a "reservoir of Ministers," she says: "For certain offices, such as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a man of wealth, culture, and position, who is not preoccupied with the daily routine in the Lower House, is very desirable." In view of the war, which has been the work of foreign Ministers of "wealth, culture, and position," it begins to look as if one of the most essential elements in sound foreign policy would be democratic and not aristocratic influence. The second part of the book gives a useful account of local government.

The book is very attractively printed, and is a most desirable possession for every woman voter, or, for that matter, man voter. It is indexed.

FRANCE.

No report has reached the *International Woman Suffrage News* of the important step taken by the U.F.S.F. to gain President Wilson's support of Woman Suffrage at the Peace Conference.

The following account is taken from Constance Drexel's article in the *Chicago Tribune*, Paris edition:—

On January 20 the U.F.S.F. sent the following letter to President Wilson:

"Mr. President,—I have the honour of soliciting from you an audience for a few members and officers of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes, which has called for February 10 an inter-allied conference of women in Paris. This Federation counted before the war one hundred groups of suffragists, and had 12,000 or 13,000 members. It is affiliated to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, whose president is Mrs. Chapman Catt, of New York.

"We wish, Mr. President, to thank you personally for answering favourably on June 7, through Mrs. Catt and the Rev. Anna Shaw, the memorandum as to your opinion of woman suffrage, which the Union Française communicated to you in February, and to tell you about the preliminary understandings which we hope to arrive at with the peace envoys before the sitting of our Conference.

"We desire also to express the deep admiration of French women for the policies which you inaugurated so nobly, and with so lofty a view, and wish to ask how we may help to vindicate those policies during the Peace Conference as concerning the Society of Nations. We would beg you to use your immense influence for introducing woman suffrage, together with other world questions which it is necessary to discuss at the Peace Conference, and we affirm the importance you attach to giving vocal expression to more than half of humanity, represented by women, who in many countries have been condemned to unjust and cruel silence by the denial of the vote.

"Therefore, we beg of you, Mr. President, to be so good as to assign to us a meeting as soon as possible before your departure for America, and we express beforehand our deep thankfulness."

President Wilson received the delegation of French Suffragists who had asked for an audience. The deputation consisted of about twenty ladies, headed by Mme. de Witt Schlumberger, who introduced the delegation and said:—

"We do not ask you to interfere in our own Suffrage cause here in France, because that must be our own concern with our Government. We are asking for the women of all countries, who think that their rights should not be forgotten in the peace-making. There is already an International Commission of

Labour attached to the Peace Conference. When some of us spoke to you last Saturday you were kind enough to say a similar committee might be established to study women's problems, including suffrage.

"We women intend to make a request for such a commission in the regular way to the secretariat of the Peace Congress, but we fear our request will be overlooked unless we have a powerful friend. Will you be that friend?" she asked, and everyone smiled approval.

The President smiled, too, as he replied: "I can't promise to be that powerful friend, but I can promise to be your friend, and I will certainly do what I can to see that women's voices are heard at the Peace Conference."

He then spoke quite informally as to ways and means, suggesting that a committee representing women's organisations be appointed to get a hearing at the Conference. The procedure would be similar to that followed by Labour, and it might be possible that an International Commission to study women's questions and make recommendations might be formed.

There was no further speaking, the President simply shaking hands with each one of the women as they passed out of the room.

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