

THE
Catholic Citizen

Organ of St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance (formerly Catholic Women's Suffrage Society), 55 Berners Street, London, W. 1.

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SEPTEMBER 15th, 1924.

Price Twopence.

Daughter of the ancient Eve,
We know the gifts ye gave and give ;
Who knows the gifts which *you* shall give,
Daughter of the Newer Eve ?

—Francis Thompson.

A Shameful Traffic.

BY A. M. F. COLE.

The export of horses for butchery began when dealers discovered that old and worn-out horses, almost worthless in England, would fetch a good price in those countries where their flesh is eaten, and that no horse is too thin or old for the sausage factory. Then began that exodus of worn-out British horses to foreign butcheries. Any old horse that could hobble on to a boat on this side and be got off alive on the other, was profitable. There was no inspection at British ports, no food on the other side. How many of these unhappy horses died on the boats, or of starvation on their way to butchery, we shall never know. Dealers who bought for this traffic gave more for worn-out horses than the knacker. Railway and shipping companies gained enormously by their transport. The foreigner got his meat cheaper. Dealers and butchers made fortunes. Mine owners, transport companies, breeding societies, farmers, poured out decrepit horses and misfits to this traffic. They did not ask to what they sold them. Railway and shipping companies did not ask to what they transported them. They made money, and that was enough. Such sequence of unholy profit was, and is now, the history of the export of horses for butchery.

From time to time someone saw and reported some incidents of this traffic. Then there was public indignation and protest till some measure of reform was taken, the public satisfied, and the traffic forgotten.

Some years before the war I saw these horses (week after week) at Antwerp. A procession of from 500 to 600, roped together three abreast, some lame, some blind, many incredibly thin, toiling from

the docks to the quarantine stables. The procession was brought up by two or three floats conveying horses too exhausted or injured to walk. These floats were backed against the slaughter sheds, and if a fallen horse could not get up, the chains used to hoist carcases were attached to it, it was dragged out on to the floor of the shed and there killed with the pole-axe.

Towards evening horses left the quarantine stables, which were also a market, in groups, for their places of slaughter. A gang of about 40, all roped together, tramped to Brussels, about 28 miles distant. I have met them half-way in the night, and at Brussels in the morning. Some limped on three legs; some, once they stood still, could not move another inch. I have followed them to Ghent, and stood in the slaughter house stables surrounded by old horses shivering with hunger and cold. Monsieur Ruhl, the great Belgian humanitarian, helped me, and together we followed these horses day and night, and I sent reports to England. English people and the Press helped, and after years of fighting, the Act was, quite inadequately, amended. That was in June, 1914. Then the War stopped the traffic.

After the War the Ministry of Agriculture assured the public that the butchery traffic no longer existed, and wrote to me that they had confidence in their Inspectors and were sure that only horses fit for work were exported. At that time 500 British horses a week landed at Antwerp alone, were sold for butchery; and one in every three of those horses was totally unfit for anything but butchery. At that time 110 horses

reached Antwerp, on one boat, in a heap of dead and fatally injured; and some horses landed at Antwerp on Monday morning and put on the railway on Monday evening, were found all dead in the box at Mons on Wednesday morning. Then, as before, the most miserable of these horses were sold to the Veterinary College at Brussels for vivisection for the instruction of students. No anæsthetic was given. All this, and much more, we reported in England, till at last a Government Inspector was sent out to investigate, and his report "shocked" the Minister; and the public! There was a mass meeting at the Albert Hall, M.P.'s were snowed under with letters of protest, and the one cry was for legislation to stop the traffic.

The only way to stop this traffic is to make it unprofitable to the dealers; and the only way to do that is to put a heavy tax or examination fee, on all horses exported below a certain value. Then slaughter on this side, and export of the carcasses would be more profitable to the dealers than the live export; and then the export of horses for butchery would end.

But the Ministry that consistently opposes every effort to stop, or even to restrict, this traffic, opposed legislation, and once more "tightened up" inspection. In face of public indignation that "tightening up" was drastic. The Act only permits rejection of horses "incapable of being worked without suffering," and inspectors can order humane destruction of rejected horses. But thousands of horses a year have been rejected, and with about two exceptions each year, given back into the hands of the dealers to be sold again for work, or offered at another port, at their discretion. Obviously this inspection is based on special instructions from the Ministry, going beyond the Act under which it is made, and how long will those instructions survive the agitation that produced them?

Rate of exchange with France and Belgium helped enormously to decrease the live export to these countries. It stopped entirely to France, and almost stopped to Belgium; and these countries were forced to unwilling acceptance of the cheaper carcass. But during these three years of strict inspection, and falling value of the franc, about 200 horses a week, more or less worn out, have been exported for butchery. The

condition of these horses is improved, but the conditions to which they are exported are as cruel as they always were and always must be. This year the traffic is increasing with Holland, has begun again with France and is creeping on in other countries.

There are three causes of suffering inseparable from the export of horses for butchery.

(1) *The Sea Passage.* These horses are not valuable. They are shipped in bad weather and have no special attendants. In rough weather some are killed and some fatally injured. Last year, on one boat, and within six weeks, four horses were killed or fatally injured. On another (on one voyage) one was battered to death on the deck, another dead in the alley-way, another fatally injured. On another boat a horse arrived with chains of blood hanging from head to nose. These are samples of what happens to these horses on the sea. Every care is taken to hide such happenings.

(2) *Hunger and Thirst.* There is hay on the boats, but in bad weather horses cannot eat. At Antwerp they are taken from the dock to a road, where they stand all day in the open without food or water. Towards evening they start, on foot, for their places of slaughter, which may be at any distance. None will be killed before the next day, and food and water are not wasted on animals that are "for death." In Holland most of the horses go to the quarantine stables, where they are fed. But the next morning they go to the market, and from there may go anywhere and be killed anyhow. From Paris three different people have written complaining of the hunger of our horses sent there for butchery.

(3) *Cruel Killing.* At Antwerp and Rotterdam horses are killed with the pole-axe. I have heard a horse scream at the first blow. At Ghent and Paris they are killed with the hammer, not always with one blow. It is probable that in some country butcheries they are still killed with the knife.

Last April at Rotterdam and Antwerp I saw lines of English horses in Fat Cattle Shows, under a placard "Slaughter Horses from Abroad." One was an old pet who put out his head for petting and sugar.

Last June I met nine of our horses at a Paris station. They were in a box without straw or hay. Next to them were some

(Continued on p. 69.)

Notes and Comments.

We greatly regret that the Government did not see fit to send a woman as one of the three British delegates to the Fifth Assembly of the League. British women have not been given their proper place in the League. No British woman has been appointed to any of the League Commissions, and we have no doubt that this is the fault of the British Government. True the members of the League Commissions are appointed by the Council of the League, but Great Britain is one of the permanent members of the Council, and Great Britain was outstripped by other nations in appointing even women alternate delegates to the Assembly of the League. It was not until the third assembly that, as a result of constant pressure from the Council for the representation of women in the League of Nations and other bodies, that the Government appointed a woman, Mrs. Coombe Tennant, as alternate delegate. Dame Edith Lyttelton went in the same capacity to the Fourth Assembly, and this year the well-known feminist and internationalist, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, was sent, also as alternate delegate. But why was she not appointed as one of the three delegates? We are frankly disappointed.

Soon after Mrs. Swanwick's appointment the Women's International League called an informal conference to enable representatives from women's organisations to place their views before her upon various matters which were to be discussed at the assembly of the League. St. Joan's S.P.A. was represented by Miss L. de Alberti.

Six women attended the Fifth Assembly of the League as alternate delegates. Mrs. G. F. Allen, editor of the *Melbourne Argus*, representing Australia; Professor Kristine Bonnevie, Norway; Mdle. Forchhammer, Denmark; Mrs. Swanwick, Great Britain; Mdle. Vacaresco, Roumania; Mme. Wicksell, Sweden.

We greatly regret the controversy that has arisen over the picture of the introduction of

the first woman M.P. into the Mother of Parliaments. The picture is obviously not intended to glorify any one person. It is intended to celebrate a great event, a victory for British women, which crowned a campaign extending in this country over half a century. We suspect the motives of the outcry are not what they have been represented to be. It is reported that Lady Astor said that she believed the women would wish the picture to remain. We are sure they would.

In an article in the *Daily News* of August 12th, entitled "The New Woman in Turkey," Mrs. Maud Rowntree gave a fascinating account of the progress of feminism and freedom among Turkish women. We knew that there was a flourishing Suffrage Society and learnt something of this new Turkey from the Turkish delegate to the International Woman Suffrage Congress in Geneva in 1920, but it comes as a surprise to learn that there is scarcely a business house which does not employ its women clerks and that the telephone girls are all Turkish. Feminists in Constantinople are working to prevent any whittling down of the Bill to establish monogamy.

The Committee appointed by the Home Secretary four months ago to report on the employment of women police, have come to the definite conclusion that "the efficiency of the police service has been improved by the employment of women." We shall deal fully with the report in our next issue.

Mrs. Clayton represented our Alliance at the memorial meeting held at the Guildhouse to commemorate the passing of Miss Isabella O. Ford, whose recent death is a great loss to feminism.

We know our readers will do anything in their power to help Miss Cole in her campaign against the horrible traffic she describes in her article. St. Joan's S.P.A. stands wholeheartedly for legislation to stop this abomination.

ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE,

AND

Editorial Office of "Catholic Citizen":

55 BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.1. Tel. Museum 4181.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Society.

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The Progress of Our Bills.

Let us admit quite frankly at the outset that we are disappointed that "Our Bills" have not met with better success than that which we have to record. To take the Equal Franchise Bill first, it being still our chief aim, the Premier gave Mrs. Wintringham, on July 16th, a definite statement that it was the intention of the Government to adopt and proceed with the Representation of the People Act (1918) Amendment this Session. Later Mr. Foot was informed that the Bill was not sufficiently urgent to be taken before the Recess. We do believe, however, that the Labour Government does intend to see equal franchise safely established. We do not believe that they would care to go to the country without redeeming this pledge to women.

To turn to Equal Guardianship, Mrs. Wintringham's Bill, as our readers will remember, was withdrawn in favour of a Government Bill which was nothing like so good. It was not, indeed, an equal guardianship bill, but for the sake of valuable reforms which it contained, and *faute de mieux*, a great number of the women's societies were prepared to accept it. This Government Bill passed its stages in the House of Lords but has not yet been considered in the Commons.

The Legitimacy Bill has passed through all its stages in both Houses, but besides the famous proviso, with which our readers are conversant, the Lords have inserted a mischievous clause excluding illegitimate children whose parents do not avow their paternity in a formal manner at the time they marry. It is difficult to understand why such a

clause has been inserted. It should not depend on the good will of the parents whether or no children should benefit under the new Bill when it becomes law. It is to be hoped that this clause will be rejected in the Commons. The Prime Minister has definitely stated, however, that in his opinion the Bill is very controversial, and that he cannot give special facilities for it as it would take too much time. Should opponents and promoters of the Bill come to an agreement and assure the Premier that it is the right one, and satisfy him that it is so, he will reconsider his decision.

The Summary Jurisdiction (Separation and Maintenance) Bill has passed its third reading in both Houses, and will probably become law in the autumn, but it has been whittled down.

Widows' Pensions have not materialised.

It will be seen from these few remarks that the Promised Land is still far off. Of course, we are dealing only with measures supported by women of all parties. Women are deeply interested in foreign policy and many other matters with which a non-party paper is not free to deal.

L. DE ALBERTI.

Miss Sylvia Grieson will represent St. Joan's S.P.A. as a fraternal delegate at the 44th Congress of the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, to be held at Graz, Austria, in September; and also at the Sixth International Congress for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children.

The Vote Familial.

We note with regret that the *Correspondance Internationale* (July), published in Paris by the Action Populaire, takes exception to a protest we made in a recent number of THE CATHOLIC CITIZEN against the *Vote Familial*, for which certain Catholics in France are displaying, in our opinion, so regrettable a partiality. It is agreed that the *Vote Familial* does not necessarily include any vote to the mother, though it does not exclude it, also that it attributes to the father alone all the votes bestowed in accordance with the number of children born to the mother. Under these circumstances even the fact that the widowed mother may be allowed to exercise the votes previously enjoyed by her husband, does not at all reconcile us to a system of voting which seems to us to emphasise in a new way the inferiority of the mother within the family circle. Surely this is not the way to strengthen that family life which we, equally with the Action Populaire, are keen to uphold. We cannot accept the explanation offered in the note that it is our "individualistic" feminism that makes us indifferent to the supreme value of the family as the social unit.

Fourth Annual International Congress for Peace

at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, 17th, Thursday, 18th, Friday, 19th, September, 1924.

This organisation was founded in France in 1921, when the first Conference was held in Paris. Its Founder and President is MARC SANGNIER, ex-Deputy, well-known for his work for international understanding and reconciliation, who will be present at the Conference.

The Conference itself will discuss "Peace by International Collaboration," and there will be a public meeting on Thursday evening at which MARC SANGNIER will speak. It is especially desired that hospitality shall be offered to the delegates so that they may come into personal contact with English people, and that many informal opportunities for meeting may be arranged.

Such an occasion is worthy of every effort, and coming as it does at a moment of such hopeful augury for the future in the better understanding between the nations which

has recently taken place, the Committee earnestly asks for the interest and support of all well-wishers of international peace and reconciliation.

A Shameful Traffic.

(Continued from p. 66.)

valuable horses, knee deep in straw and with plenty of hay. Four hours later I followed the nine horses into a dealer's yard and saw them tied up without food or water. A little later I saw five of them in the slaughter house stable at Vaugirard, standing before empty mangers.

"Vaugirard" is the one horse abattoir for Paris. During five days I watched it, and after each special cruelty I saw and commented on, they tried to turn me out. There horses are whipped into slaughter sheds where blood makes a red mud underfoot, and where they knock against hanging carcasses. They are knocked on the head with a hammer; I saw one try to get up again but his head was held down and the slaughterer walked round and dealt him another blow. I saw a man lashing the hind legs of some horses. Two injured horses were brought in. One stood on three legs. He was dragged out backwards, down a step, and fell twice. Another was lying on a broken leg on hard wood and was groaning loudly. He was jolted about, dragged out on the sliding bottom of the van into the middle of the shed, and the door was shut. I opened it, hoping to prevent what I feared, but it was shut again. Such are the conditions at Vaugirard, where our horses are sent every week.

A policeman took me by the arm and made me leave the abattoir. A few weeks later I went in again. The last I saw was a dear old horse I had been petting, putting his head round the door to watch me go away.

This is an outline of the sordid and cruel traffic that only legislation can stop. The Bill drawn up for that end may be seen at the "R.S.P.C.A.," 105, Jermyn Street.

I know that you who belong to "St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance" know how to fight! May I hope that some of you will help me in this long fight against a traffic that is truly called "The Shame of England"?

30, Kestrel Avenue,
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International Notes.

Belgian political circles continue to be exercised over the question of the Provincial vote for women which has not yet been adopted either by the Chamber or the Senate. The question cuts right across party politics, but more and more it is the Catholic party, with one or two lamentable exceptions, that is supporting the proposal, while the Liberals stand aloof and the Socialists, in great majority, are opposing it from fear of clericalism. We are glad to learn from *Le Féminisme Chrétien de Belgique*, which is valiantly supporting the proposal, that at the annual gathering of the Catholic Associations of the country last June a strong resolution in favour of the Provincial vote being conferred on women was adopted. On this occasion Melle Van den Plas delivered an admirable address putting clearly and forcibly the case for Woman Suffrage. Unhappily it is still uncertain when the matter will come before the Chambers.

The *Féminisme Chrétien* also reproduces the greater part of Miss A. Christitch's article in the *Catholic Citizen* (July, 1919), containing the encouraging words of Pope Benedict XV. to women voters, words which have recently attracted considerable attention in Belgium.

* * * *

The full accounts of the great "Women for Congress" Conference organised by the National Women's Party at Lake Champlain for August 15-17, have not reached us before we go to press, but the recent numbers of *Equal Rights* have given many details of the elaborate staging of this great gathering of women at which the women candidates for Congress are to be finally selected. At its close women organisers and speakers will spread themselves out over the States preparing the electoral campaign with all the arts of propaganda in which our American sisters are so expert.

We read that the women of Florida are starting on a vigorous campaign to have the marriage laws of the State amended. It seems that recently a girl of eleven was married to a man of 34, it being legal in Florida for girls to marry at any age with the consent of their parents or guardians. In the case of this orphan child the consent was obtained from an aged grandmother.

Our Swiss Suffrage friends are working valiantly for the cause, undeterred by past defeats. They have the advantage of an admirably edited organ in the *Mouvement Féministe* (Geneva). At the thirteenth annual meeting of the Swiss Women Suffrage Society, held recently at Davos, at which women delegates from thirteen Cantons were present, much good work was reported and a hopeful spirit prevailed.

* * * *

Marie Stritt, in the *International Woman Suffrage News*, gives some interesting details concerning the 28 women members of the new German Reichstag. Several of these, she says, have been prominent pioneers in the woman's cause and leaders of large organisations. Among the four women, presumably all Catholics, who sit with the Centre party, the name we are most glad to see is that of Frau Hedwig Dransfeld, the founder of the great Katholischer Frauenbund, and the editor of *Die Christliche Frau*, a very high-class periodical which we always receive with pleasure. Although formerly opposed to the Suffrage, Frau Dransfeld's presence in the Reichstag cannot fail to be beneficial when religious and moral questions are to the fore.

* * * *

A note in the *Correspondance Internationale*, published by the Action Populaire, tells us that as a result of the royal decree in Spain allowing certain categories of women to sit on municipal bodies, some women councillors have already been elected or nominated, we are not sure which. Moreover the Spanish *Action Catholique de la Femme* has taken up the matter and is apparently prepared to run women candidates.

* * * *

We learn from *The Bulletin* of the International Council of Women that at the recent Executive meeting held this year at Copenhagen, it was reluctantly decided that owing to international exchange conditions it was impossible to accept the kind invitation of the U.S.A. National Council to Washington for next year. The next Quinquennial International Council will consequently be held in Austria.

It will be remembered that the sudden Parliamentary election in South Africa this summer upset all feminist hopes of speedy enfranchisement. We learn from papers now to hand that Suffrage women, with our friend Miss Dorman well to the fore, were very active during the election, their policy being to canvass only for such candidates who definitely pledged themselves to work for the enfranchisement of women.

* * * *

The Bulletin of the Action Sociale de la Femme gives in recent numbers the full text of the very interesting series of papers read at the Annual Conference in May, which had for its subject this year "Woman's Life in the Provinces."

V. M. C.

St. Joan.

A Chronicle Play in Six Scenes and an Epilogue. By BERNARD SHAW. Constantine. 1924. 6s. net.

St. Joan was so ably reviewed in our columns by Christopher St. John when the play was first put upon the stage, that it is needless to write of it further in book form. But the preface, like all Mr. Shaw's prefaces, is extraordinarily interesting and raises many controversial points. His vivid, candid analysis of Joan's character as it must have appeared to her contemporaries will appeal to all feminists. There were, as he says, only two possible views of her; one was that she was miraculous, the other that she was unbearable. If he fails partly to appreciate her sanctity—we cannot accept her as a "first Protestant martyr"—he at least brings out the full force of her genius which Catholic writers are apt to minimise. It is useful too to be reminded that St. Joan was one of those "unwomanly women" who insist on doing men's work. That lay at the root of much of the anger and jealousy she excited. Another novel point in the preface is the re-habilitation of Cauchon, whom, until now, it has been customary to regard as the villain of the piece, whereas, writes Mr. Shaw, "the truth is that Cauchon was threatened and insulted by the English for being too considerate to Joan." But indeed all lovers of G.B.S. must read this brilliant preface for themselves.

V. M. C.

The Ritual of Business.

By MAJOR A. E. POWELL. 2s. 6d.

This Manual, published by the Theosophical Order of Service, is intended, the preface tells us, "to be a guide to the large and ever-growing number of people who work, principally as amateurs, in organisations, on committees and other bodies, and who wish to make themselves and their organisations as efficient as possible at getting things done quickly, easily, justly, and above all, courteously." Chairmen will learn, in this book, how to conduct meetings; secretaries how to keep papers, draw up agendas, and other duties of a secretary. There is, in fact, quite a lot of useful information in this short book.

L. DE A.

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TREASURER'S NOTE.

A fortnight after this paper appears quarter day will be upon us, with the rent bill to pay. I sincerely hope our members have come back from their holidays refreshed in mind and body, and with the good resolution to help St. Joan's S.P.A. to the utmost of their power financially and otherwise. This autumn should be a momentous one in the history of our movement, for there is fair hope of equal suffrage at last reaching the statute book. It will not however get there without great effort on the part of women, and I trust that members will give the Alliance their generous support in the first necessity of the campaign—that of paying the office rent.

I much regret that my note for last month's paper accompanying the Subscribers' list went astray. I wished particularly to thank our "Under Thirties" and their friends who took part in "The Screen" for the very enjoyable entertainment they gave us on two evenings, producing the creditable sum of £3, which they so generously handed over to the funds.

G. JEFFERY.

THE CATHOLIC CITIZEN.

**ST. JOAN'S SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL ALLIANCE.**

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