

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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JUNE 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.

Family Endowment.

By MRS. V. M. CRAWFORD.

The publication of Miss Rathbone's weighty volume, "The Disinherited Family" (Arnold), together with the amount of comment it has excited in the press, has given a notable impulse to the reform known among us as Family Endowment. And we are specially glad that this should be due to a woman's energy and a woman's pen. For whether in the end Family Endowment commends itself or not to the bulk of public opinion in this country, there can be no question that it represents a constructive and statesmanlike effort to cure a long-standing evil in our midst: the poverty and chronic under-nourishment of the majority of working-class families in which there are more than two or three children. There is no question of the moment that should appeal more insistently to the brains and the consciences of our women politicians. Thanks to Miss Rathbone, evidence in favour of this solution is now available from all the countries—both in Europe and Australia—where it is in actual operation, and the whole problem has been brought within a compass that allows each one of us to study it for herself.

Miss Rathbone's book is quite frankly a plea for Family Endowment; she believes in the financial possibilities of the scheme, she is whole-heartedly convinced of its beneficial effect on the health and hygiene of the family and on the status of the mother, but she has the good judgment to state her case with admirable moderation, and far from denying the existence of drawbacks and difficulties, she discusses them in detail in her

closing chapters. The result on impartial readers will surely be to make us feel that we must at least keep our minds open to the tremendous social and economic possibilities that this new method of computing wages may involve.

That a family, whatever its size, should be maintained on the wages of the husband and father, however unskilled, has become so widely accepted as a fundamental law of our economic existence that it is difficult for the public mind even to question its inevitability. Yet the excellent domestic results achieved by separation allowances during the war, paid out on a scale carefully adjusted to the number in each family, opened the eyes of not a few social workers to the possibility of somehow adjusting wages to the needs of an actual family and not to the supposed needs of an imaginary "normal" family. This in brief—for those who have not yet studied the subject—is what Family Endowment proposes to do. By slightly decreasing the basic wage of the unmarried worker and by slightly increasing the wages bill—probably by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—of the employer, it is proposed to create a fund out of which weekly allowances can be paid to the married workers in strict accordance with the number of their dependant children. In this way we should secure some equality of condition in regard to food, clothing, etc., as between the children of the large and the small family; we should lift a terrible burden of anxiety and hardship from the shoulders of the over-worked mother at her wits end to stretch her small means to the ever-

increasing needs of a growing family, and we should compensate parents in some measure for the loss to the family exchequer of children's earnings which are more and more restricted and postponed by our successive Education and Child Welfare enactments.

A great part of the book deals with the inequity and inadequacy of our present system of wage-distribution, for it is clearly of little use discussing ways and means of any new method until the inefficiency of the present one is established. In order to do this, Miss Rathbone takes a wide survey of working-class life and discusses far more points—economic and social—than can be touched on here. She writes from a warm heart and with a practical insight into the troubles and worries of the ordinary working-class wife and mother, of whom she says caustically: "Popular sentiment places her a little lower than the angels; the law a little higher than the serf." Indeed, it is her understanding of the normal lot of the working-woman—her cramped life, her financial uncertainty, the ceaseless drain on her courage and devotion—that in the main has impelled Miss Rathbone to seek for a solution that will make family life happier and healthier, and the woman's status higher and more respected. It is true she ignores the work of Catholic sociologists when she declares that "there has been next to no consideration at all" of the family as an economic unit; but she is at one with them in her conclusion that "the family is, after all, the institution that matters most." She rightly condemns the view of the statistician that the wife and children are merely "the dependants" of the wage-earner; they are far more than that. And it is just "the dependants" who suffer from the fact that our five-member family basis, on which the so-called living wage is calculated, fits the actual needs—so statistics inform us—of about one family in eleven! It is indeed little consolation to a mother, painfully conscious of the under-nourishment from which her six little ones are suffering, to be assured that "average" earnings are amply sufficient for the needs of the "normal" family. What surely we have to do is to devise a method, neither wasteful on the one hand nor harmfully niggardly on the other, by which the human needs of real existing

households can be individually met. And it is just here that Family Endowment promises to be so effective. The fact that some form of endowment is being developed simultaneously, not only in European countries such as France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland, but, as we well know, in the Australian Commonwealth as well, and is now exciting attention in New Zealand and Japan, shows how widespread is the dissatisfaction with our present methods of wage-distribution.

A particularly interesting section of the book describes with much detail and accuracy the remarkable development of the "Caisses d'allocation familiales" throughout France during the last five years, so that, according to the latest statistics, over 2½ million wage-earners now benefit by them. Miss Rathbone, however, seems hardly to realise how much of this rapid growth is due to the intense desire of Catholic sociologists to further a scheme which has seemed so pre-eminently fitted to strengthen the family life on which they set such store. It is all to the good that, as she shows, the "Caisses" in existence display so great a variety of type both as to the amount of benefit conferred and the method of distribution. That some of the latter are open to abuse, and if persisted in might even bring the whole scheme into disrepute, cannot be denied. They have, in point of fact, in many districts been closely bound up with maternity centres and child welfare work with the advantages of which the French working-class mother is far less familiar than are our own. The present writer was privileged to hear a discussion of the whole problem at the Semaine Sociale at Grenoble (August, 1923), when a Catholic working-man made a strong and reasoned protest against the undue interference with the workers' domestic life that the system was apt to promote. If employers, as seems to be established, are eager to keep the "caisses" from being taken over by the State and rendered obligatory on all, they had best forthwith invite the full co-operation of the worker in the management of a method of wage-payment in which he and his family are so vitally concerned that it cannot possibly be left indefinitely to the caprice of individual employers.

(Continued on p. 49.)

Notes and Comments.

The National Union of Women Teachers continue their spirited fight for Equal Pay. On Saturday, May 10, a mass meeting was held in Trafalgar Square to protest against the Burnham Scales of pay. The N.U.W.T. was supported by a large number of women's organisations, including St. Joan's S.P.A. The following resolution was passed unanimously, and with an enthusiasm which defied sullen skies and rain: "This meeting protests against the differentiation between the salaries of men and women teachers, and in view of their equal professional training and duties, calls upon the Government to instruct the Burnham Committee to establish the principle of Equal Pay for men and women teachers of the same professional status, by raising the women's scale to that of the men."

It is to be hoped that the Government will see the sense of complying with this very just demand.

* * * *

We were very glad to read in a recent issue of the *Tablet*, Fr. Kent's sympathetic review of the new feminist book, *Ancilla's Share*, with which we deal in our editorial. Fr. Kent is a suffragist of long standing, on whose support we can always count. He sees that much remains to be done "if the old inequalities are to be redressed, and the influence of woman is to make itself felt in social legislation and in the shaping of national policy." He believes that a good deal of the opposition to women's claims is due to what may be called the fallacy of pseudo-conservatism.

* * * *

The London Society for Women's Service is now established in its new home, Women's Service House, 35 Marsham Street, S.W. 1. The House was formally opened on Tuesday, May 13, by Mrs. Henry Fawcett. Its aims and objects are varied, but its main object is to be of service to women, and to utilise their services. We wish it every success.

* * * *

The Third Annual Session of the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations, on the Traffic in Women and Children, took place

last April. The principal discussion was on the relation between the system of licensed houses and the traffic in women. Replies had been received to a questionnaire, in which States which had recently abandoned the system of licensed houses were asked to give their reasons for so doing, and the States where the system still existed, were asked to inform the Council whether, in their opinion, such a system hindered or facilitated the traffic. Of these replies seven were of special interest: the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, and Poland, have it as their opinion that the system of licensed houses was a direct cause of the traffic in women. Panama defended State regulation on hygienic grounds alone. Latvia and Denmark stated that they had abandoned licensed houses for reasons other than those connected with the traffic; and the Government of Hungary considered that the severe measures taken to punish procuration in that country prevented the possibility of licensed houses becoming a source of traffic in women. The Governments' answers are to be incorporated in the report of the session, and in this way circulated to all members of the League.

* * * *

We have received a charming booklet issued by the Australian Federation of Women's Societies, which is affiliated to the International Women Suffrage Alliance. The Federation was formed in 1921, to link up women's organisations within the Commonwealth of Australia, which makes equal citizenship a strong point in their programme. The booklet is priced at 6d., and can be bought at the Suffrage Pavilion, Wembley, and is sold in aid of the Pavilion Fund.

* * * *

We offer our deep sympathy to our member, Miss Merrifield, on the death of her father, Mr. Merrifield, the distinguished barrister, educationist and naturalist. Mr. Merrifield was one of the pioneers of women suffrage, and took the chair at a suffrage meeting at Brighton as far back as 1866. He took a deep interest in the higher education of women.—R.I.P.

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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Ancilla's Share.

Seeing the vast output of literature on the feminist movement in its varied aspects, one might legitimately suppose that any new book indicting man for his treatment of woman could only go over well explored ground. Yet in spite of all that has been written on the subject, the author of *Ancilla's Share** has succeeded in presenting the matter in a fresh light, and with a force which is the more deadly from the very moderation with which the writer puts her case. Added value is given to the book from the fact that it is not written with a view to bemoan the injury done to woman by denying her a share in the development of civilisation, but rather to lament the injury which has been done thereby to the human race.

"These pages are not addressed to the masculine mind, the writer tells us. "The avowal should not be taken as indicating indifference to, still less contempt for, the masculine verdict. The position is taken, and taken firmly, on the ground of economy."

That man, broadly speaking, has regarded woman merely in her relation to himself, and so far as she is pleasing to him, is a commonplace. It is a truth stamped on the literature of the world, both spiritual and secular. That sex bias has coloured much of the writings of great men, few honest persons could be found to deny. It is this bias which led St. Thomas Aquinas, himself puzzled and perplexed, to consider it necessary to explain why the sublime truth of

* *Ancilla's Share*. An Indictment of Sex Antagonism. —Anonymus. Hutchinson, 18/- nett.

the Incarnation should have been communicated to a woman direct, and not indirectly through some man. For the same reason he considers it necessary to repeat the error that the male sex is the more noble. It is this same bias which caused some of the Fathers of the Church to soil their pages with abuse of woman. True, their remarks were, presumably, addressed to men bound by vows of chastity, to whom familiarity with women might prove a danger; none the less, can one imagine a Mother Superior speaking to her nuns, also bound by vows of chastity, in terms of abuse of man? I think not, nor is it likely that this childish policy of decrying forbidden fruit would commend itself to a woman's more practical intelligence.

It is this bias, with all its accompanying evils, which the author of *Ancilla's Share* has placed before us so efficiently. She passes from the unconscious insult of the writers of yesterday to the conscious insults of the writers of to-day. "With conscious insult we are on firmer ground. Unconscious insult is passive. Conscious insult is active. The impulse towards active insult arises from a sense of need to protect something which has been assailed or is believed to be threatened. You do not protect yourself from the helpless. You may deliberately insult your peer and get what is called satisfaction by giving him the privilege of shooting at you. You do not insult a slave. . . . When a slave comes to a place where it is possible deliberately to insult him, he is no longer the help-

less thing he was. Woman, having ceased in some measure to be helpless, has become, in the police phrase of Mr. Henry James, 'impeachable.' Stated bluntly, men despised her at their ease for her helplessness. From no manifestation of hers do the majority of the opposite sex recoil so sharply as from signs of her ceasing to be helpless." (p. 86.)

But the aim of this important book is not to stir up sex strife; on the contrary, the author tells us from the outset that no woman will be in a position to understand the intent of the book unless she keeps in the forefront of her thought the main article of the writer's faith, and that faith is "that the ultimate ideal, the goal of human endeavour, is a combination of the educated efforts of women with the educated efforts of men for the creation of a civilised society."

But as a preliminary, some plain speaking was necessary, and for this reason "*Ancilla's Share*" has been given us, not merely to make man's sex antagonism as clear to the many women as it is to the few, but to bring home to woman that her work is to decide how this antagonism may be overcome, and the reign of co-operation be born.

The secret has now leaked out that the author of the book is Miss Elizabeth Robins.

L. de Alberti.

Family Endowment. (Continued.)

There yet remains to consider what to many is the most crucial question of all in connection with any form of Family Endowment, *i.e.*, what effect will it have on the birth-rate of the nation? Here, very wisely, Miss Rathbone is cautious in expressing any assured opinion. It is perfectly true that the hope of securing a substantially higher birth-rate has been the main inducement for many patriotic employers in France to put the scheme into operation, and though it is obviously too soon for its effects to be decisively felt, it must be conceded that the figures quoted by Miss Rathbone do not so far bear out the hopes entertained. On the other hand we, in England, with our present burden of unemployment and our appalling shortage of houses, are suffering, popularly speaking, less from a fear of the results of birth-control than from an economic

dread of over-population, so that, as our authoress foresees, a strong opposition to endowment is certain to come from those who profess to see in it "a proposal endowed with every conceivable disgenic, uneconomic and demoralising attribute." In France most of the schemes in operation give an increased allowance for the later children; in England many would be inclined to restrict it to the earlier ones. Much, of course, would depend on the particular form in which the provision was made. That it would send up the standard of living, and consequently reduce infant mortality in the families where at present the standard is lowest, seems undeniable, but, as the French nation is beginning to realise, the whole problem of the birth-rate is so complicated and dependent on such varied economic, physiological and psychological considerations, that it would be rash in the extreme to advocate the proposals made in this book solely, or even mainly, in the hope that they would produce any marked effect on the falling birth-rate, whether of this country or of France. Miss Rathbone herself anticipates that "direct provision for children, by raising the standard of life of the poorer wage-earning classes, will substantially lower their birth-rate as a whole"; but that "it will probably raise, but not to a large extent, the birth-rate of the artisan, lower-middle and struggling professional classes." Beyond this very moderate estimate we concur that it would be unwise to venture at present.

Washington Congress.

Over one hundred delegates from thirty-two countries attended the Congress at Washington convened by the Women's International League. Miss Jane Adams was re-elected President.

The Screen.

The Under-Thirty Section of the Alliance gave two very successful performances of "The Screen" on May 29th and 30th. The proceeds go to the funds of St. Joan's S.P.A.

Memorial to Mr. and Mrs. Haslam.

It is proposed to erect a drinking fountain for children in St. Stephen's Green Dublin, to the memory of Mr. and Mrs. Haslam. The Chairman and Treasurer is Professor Mary Hayden.

International Notes.

Several of our Suffragist contemporaries abroad give interesting details concerning Mme. Nina Bang, now Minister of Education in the new Socialist Ministry in Denmark. Mme. Bang, from all accounts, is singularly well fitted for her post. Born in 1866, and the widow of a professor of philosophy, she was from 1913 to 1917 a municipal councillor for Copenhagen; elected to the Chamber in 1918, she has specialised in educational and statistical subjects, besides showing herself a keen supporter of women's interests. She is the author of various pamphlets, and of a volume on Karl Marx.

Equal Rights is at pains to make it quite clear that their Equal Rights amendment to the American Constitution, if carried, will not in any way affect the position of Women's Pensions. For these are, in effect, not payments to mothers as such, but allowances for children deprived of their bread-winner, and therefore, like all legislation affecting children, quite outside the scope of the proposed alteration.

In pursuance of an enquiry into woman's capacity for work, *Equal Rights* publishes an instructive article by Dr. Spaeth, an authority on occupational diseases, in which he sums up the matter as follows:

"The physical, physiological, and psychological differences between men and unmarried women, do not demand special health standards for women. But you who are interested in Equal Rights should carefully study the industrial inequality as regards power, efficiency and value of married women v. unmarried women. Potential or actual motherhood wholly prevents absolutely equal competition in industry of married with unmarried women as well as with men. And an intelligent solution of this problem is neither simple nor obvious."

The Bill to confer the Provincial vote on Belgian women seems to have excited—as women's questions always do—a surprising amount of discussion both in press and parliament. In her able summary of this, Melle Van den Plas shows herself quite hopeful as to the final vote in the Chamber, but a

little dubious as to the action of the Senate where the support of every Catholic senator will be necessary.

The problem of the nationality of married women is not yet settled in France, so we learn from *La Française*. The measure passed the Senate, but was modified in the Chamber, and will therefore have to return to the Senate. One of the points in dispute concerns the right of foreign women who marry Frenchmen to retain their nationality should they so desire. Clearly the ideal law would be fully reciprocal.

Recording with satisfaction the friendly welcome that suffragists distributing literature and asking questions at meetings during the French General Election met with almost everywhere, *La Française* notes that an exception must be made for the royalist meetings organised by the Action Française, at which the suffragists were turned out!

Jus Suffragii (May) gives some encouraging details from its Vienna correspondent concerning the growing demand for women in the police force there. Although women constables are not yet seen on the Vienna streets, women are employed most effectively in that part of the service that has charge of all neglected and criminal children and juveniles, as well as in connection with women on the streets. The Vienna police president, Herr Schober, is also in favour of women police doctors being employed.

The women workers of Poland have been celebrating a "day" which appears to have been an impressive success. Vast crowds of women thronged the various halls, and a huge procession with flags paraded the streets.

One is struck with the extreme seriousness of *Die Christliche Frau*. Besides admirable articles of a more specifically religious character, it is bringing out a series of carefully documented articles on working women, their homes, their labour in the factory, and so forth. Full political rights have evidently excited among Catholic women a desire for fuller knowledge and understanding concerning industrial and social conditions.

V. M. C.

Birth Control.

By JOHN M. COOPER, Ph. D.
(National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington.)

It would be difficult to praise too highly this admirable pamphlet, which sets forth lucidly and in temperate language the Catholic doctrine on Birth Control. Dr. Cooper makes it clear from the outset that the Catholic Church does not hold "that married couples are under obligation to bring into the world the maximum number of children, to exercise no foresight or prudence, to bear offspring up to the limit of physiological fertility, to labour for the maximum increase of the population, to bring on an 'avalanche of babies'—all regardless alike of circumstances and consequences. It holds no brief for imprudence or intemperance. It does emphatically stand for marital chastity against artificial prevention of conception."

Dr. Cooper deals fully with the arguments put forward by advocates of birth-control. He shows clearly the evils which result from artificial birth-control; and expounds the fundamental reasons for the Church's condemnation of it.

We congratulate the N.C.W.C. on this pamphlet, written by one who speaks with authority; it should be of inestimable value to those Catholics and others who are called upon to uphold the Christian standard in this discussion.

L. de A.

Equal Franchise.

The Equal Franchise Bill is meeting with success in Committee and Mr. Arthur Henderson has stated that the Government are prepared to "star" the Bill, and do what they can to put it upon the Statute Book. It will enhance their credit if they do so, and win them the support of many. The Suffrage Societies gave a definite pledge to the Labour women that they would not stop their campaign, till Equal Franchise was the law of the land. We feel sure that the Labour women will now do their part to secure the victory during the present Session.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

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Bevan, Miss	7	6	
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Catton, Mrs. Leyden	17	6	
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Total	£19	9	9

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Members and friends of St. Joan's S.P.A. will have a new opportunity of helping the funds this month. On July 1st, the I.W.S.A. are holding a Garden Party and Sale at Pembroke Lodge, Pembroke Gardens, W.8., from 3 to 7 p.m., at which St. Joan's S.P.A. will have its own stall. I am hoping that every member will send us at least one gift. As time is short, kindly send them at once to 55 Berners Street, W.1. The list of donations for last month amounts to nearly £20, and I offer my warm thanks to all who responded to my appeal. I hope it will not seem unmindful of the generosity of many, if I have to say that this is the minimum sum required every month to keep the Alliance out of debt.

G. JEFFERY.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT BRANCH.

Hon. Sec., Miss N. S. Parnell, B.A. 91 Bedford St, Liverpool.

The Branch held the fourth of its drawing-room meetings on May 26th at 78 Bedford Street, by kind invitation of Mrs. Gordon, when Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. Wilkinson of the Liverpool Humane Slaughter Campaign Committee spoke on "Humane Slaughter." A resolution was passed urging the Liverpool City Council to introduce this reform and sent to the Chairman of the Markets Committee.

The Branch has sustained a sad loss in the death of Miss O'Connor, B.A. who died after a long and painful illness.—R.I.P.

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

NON-PARTY.

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OBJECT.

To band together Catholics of both sexes, in order to secure the political, social and economic equality between men and women, and to further the work and usefulness of Catholic women as citizens.

MEMBERSHIP.

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The British Overseas Committee
of the

International Woman Suffrage Alliance

will hold an AT HOME on Thursday, June 26, 8-30 p.m., at the LYCEUM CLUB, 138 Piccadilly W. 1. to give visitors from overseas an opportunity of meeting the Women Members of Parliament, and other women prominent in public life.

Tickets (including refreshments) 2/6 each may be obtained from Miss D. D. Solomon, 7 Helenslea Avenue, N.W. 11.

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By D. M. HUGHES, B.A.

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International Women Suffrage Alliance

— A —

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and SALE**

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(by kind permission of Mrs. Adrian Corbett)

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The Monthly Organ of

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