

The Common Cause,

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Women's Suffrage

Societies.

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ONE PENNY.

Notes and Comments.

"The Westminster Gazette" and the Government.

On December 29th the *Westminster Gazette* explained in a leader that they had more than once in past times admitted and alleged that "the Referendum might be a very useful expedient for a limited class of subjects outside ordinary party lines, of which class of subjects we have actually given Woman Suffrage as an example." The leader writer finds something humorous in the situation that "we, who have steadily supported the removal of women's disabilities, have been attacked alike by Suffragist and Suffragette, whilst our solitary defender has been a lady who is a keen and determined opponent of the Suffrage movement." When his amusement has subsided, perhaps the writer will search for the reasons of this. We pass over the very palpable exaggeration contained in the statement that the *Westminster* has "steadily supported" us; we remember instances not a few in which they have been far more eager to clutch at an excuse for postponing any practical measure than to press for its accomplishment. We remember how little they did to press for time for the Conciliation Bill last session and the session before, and we could not help smiling when they discovered at the very end of 1911 that they always had liked the Conciliation Bill, and thought the country was ripe for it—now that some of the most insistent of those in power are pressing for something bigger.

Briefly, the *Westminster* has thrown over Mr. Asquith (very tentatively be it said) and his offer that the matter shall be settled by a free vote of the House. They have also incidentally thrown over Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Haldane, and all the other suffragist members of the Cabinet, who consider this a fair offer and who have advised suffrage societies and women's Liberal associations to work on the basis of this offer. If we were to be guided by the *Westminster* we should have to say that the Government's offer was worthless, and they hadn't meant anything by it. We do not say or think so, but we do think that the Government has cause to say "Save us from our friends!"

The "Monstrous Regiment."

Suggestions for some way of circumventing the dire results of the preponderance of women keep cropping up. Mr. Holcombe Ingleby has an ingenious suggestion for deducting

from the total female vote in any constituency such a proportion as would equalise it with the men's vote. Others have suggested that each woman's vote should count as a fraction of a man's. One proposes that men shall vote at 21 or 25 and women at 25 or 30, and yet another that it would be much better to refuse the vote to women between the ages of 60 and 100. There is a good deal more to be said for only giving the vote to those who apply to be put on the register than we have ever heard said, and we wish someone would arise to defend this, which has the advantage of cutting out no class or category except those who do not want to vote.



MISS A. MAUDE ROYDEN,

(Member of the Executive Committees of the N.U.W.S.S. and London W.S.S.).

Honours and Modesty.

The publication of New Year "honours" for men has led to some correspondence on the subject of the traditional omission of women. The *Standard* of December 29th had a very sympathetic article. Without singling out any of the gentlemen by name, we are sure our readers would have no difficulty in finding more than one whose work has been less beneficent and less distinguished than that of Miss Emily Davies, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mrs. Tennant, Lady Strachey, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, and Miss Horniman. We say nothing of the many able women who, in one branch or another of the Civil Service, only owe the lack of recognition to the fact of their sex. Women are still excluded by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from the titular degrees for which they have

qualified; but this is done, ostensibly, because these two Universities dread giving women a voice in the government of the Universities. Women are still prevented by men from becoming barristers, chartered accountants, and clergymen of the Established Church, but this is for comprehensible if not entirely cogent reasons. It is more difficult to defend the exclusion of women from a list of "honours" on any ground of reason, and it is probably merely the survival of the old idea of "modesty" which led early Victorians to see something immodest in the publication of a girl's name as a successful candidate in an examination (although no one objected to the publication of the same girl's name in a list of marriages); in a fully-clothed woman standing up on a platform to speak upon some great subject (although women appeared nightly with very inadequate clothing behind the footlights); in the study of medicine by women (although nothing was thought of male doctors attending upon women). All these ill-assorted notions will not sort themselves without a good deal more hard thinking

than average English men and women really like. "More brain, oh Lord, more brain!" cried George Meredith, and we echo the cry.

Women in Church Matters.

The position in regard to the women's vote at the Representative Church Council is this. When the Council was first established it was decided, after a considerable contest, to give votes to men who had been confirmed and to women who had been confirmed and enjoyed the old vestry qualification. The reasons why women obtained only this partial qualification was twofold. In the first place there was a strong opposition to giving women votes at all, an opposition led by Lord Hugh Cecil, who in regard to the Parliamentary vote is a suffragist, and probably nothing more could be done at the time. In the second place, there existed an idea that as only women occupiers voted at the old vestries, this was the proper ecclesiastical franchise for women. It must, of course, be remembered that the Representative Church Council is a highly Tory body, its lay element being largely drawn from the class of deputy lieutenants. Under these circumstances, it is satisfactory that this Council has submitted to a committee the question of the further extension of the female franchise. Perhaps if the powers of the Council had been greater than they are women would have shown greater interest in the question. So long, however, as the English Church is connected with the State, it is only the Parliamentary vote that can seriously affect Church matters.

Lady Jersey's Appeal.

A pearl of wit and wisdom which fell from the lips of Lady Jersey on the memorable occasion of the Anti-Suffrage deputation to Mr. Asquith is stored up in their *Review*. We have not seen it reported elsewhere, so we give it to our readers lest they should miss it:—"There is one word I may be permitted to say, and that is that I hope you will not be afraid of the women. What they really like is to be rude; but do not be afraid of them."

The Antediluvians.

At Lady Haversham's there was a meeting at which Lord Weardale moved the following resolution:—

"This meeting desires to enter an emphatic protest against the novel proposal of including women as Parliamentary voters in the electoral lists for the Imperial Parliament, and pledges itself to use every legitimate means of opposing such a measure, which has never been submitted either to those principally concerned or to the country."

"Novel!" Shade of John Stuart Mill! What would these people call old?

What's in a Name?

The *Anti-Suffrage Review* for January announces that a Campaign Committee has been formed—a "compact" and energetic committee and that it is arranging meetings to be addressed by "the most notable opponents of women's suffrage." This is as it should be. We hope these notable opponents will really attempt to give some reasons and not confine themselves to prophecy and imagination varied by all sorts of question-begging phrases. For instance, in a paragraph in the "Notes and News" of this issue the writer alludes to the support which Suffragists have secured in the constituencies as being due to "hen pecking"; it is not a pretty phrase and does not reveal a very civilised state of mind, but, if the support had been secured by anti-suffragists, should we not have found the motive power described as holy feminine "influence"?

London Police.

We are glad to see that the Executive Committee of the London Reform Union is taking up the matter of the control of the London police. It is reported that the committee are of opinion that the present system by which the ratepayers of London are rated heavily for the maintenance of the police force, over which they have no direct control, is undemocratic and unsatisfactory. They express their belief that the time has come when some steps ought to be taken to grant the people of London, through their directly elected Councils, a voice in the management of the police, such as is enjoyed by the ratepayers elsewhere outside the Metropolitan police district.

A resolution was unanimously carried at a meeting on December 21st urging the Government to introduce into the coming London Government Reform Bill provisions for giving

the ratepayers a direct share in the management and control of the police force.

Housing and the Birth-rate.

Mr. Ellis Griffith last week, in advocating a Chair of Housing and Town Planning in the University of Wales, gave some significant figures. "There has been," Mr. Griffith said, "an average increase per year during the last ten years of 50,000, and this has not been accompanied by any equivalent increase of accommodation. The general death-rate is higher than that of England. There is also the startling fact that in rural Wales the death-rate from certain diseases is higher than in urban Wales and much higher than in rural England. This is especially so in relation to women and children, and is largely due to bad housing and lack of means and knowledge for its improvement."

Frankly this means that while women have been doing their "duty" in replenishing the race, men have not been doing their "duty" in providing decent homes for the mothers and babes. Let them turn their minds to that and leave scolding the women.

The Experiences of San Francisco.

We recommend those who are inclined to advocate the notification of venereal disease to read *The Shield* of January which gives a brief account of how a harmless-seeming ordinance works in San Francisco. There is nothing in the text of the law to discriminate between men and women, but, says *The Shield*, "administrators are apt to follow the line of least resistance, and if they do so in this instance they may deal only with friendless women of doubtful character and that means Regulation. This is precisely what has happened in San Francisco." How could anyone suppose it would be otherwise? Are not many of the men concerned rich and powerful? Are not all the women poor and friendless and outcast? Are not police, doctors and officials nearly all men? How can anyone with any knowledge of human nature be so deluded as to suppose an "equal law" would work out "equally" under such conditions?

Canadian Women Farmers.

The women of London (Ontario) have been protesting against the law which prevents women from taking up homesteads wherever homesteading tracts are opened up by the Government.

An instance recently occurred in one of the northwest provinces illustrating the justice of the change in the law asked for in the resolution. A family of eight children, four sons and four daughters, were in very moderate circumstances. The four sons on attaining the necessary age took up homesteads in a new tract of country, which made rapid progress, with the result that these four sons are now very wealthy.

The four daughters, because of their sex, were not allowed to take up homesteads, and still unmarried, they are in very straitened circumstances.

The members of the Local Council of Women do not think that their sister women who may be inclined to agricultural pursuits, should be denied free homestead privileges merely because they are women. In recent years more and more women have been turning their attention to the various branches of farming. A former London lady, Miss Jean Laidlaw, is now conducting an extensive farm in the Northwest.

Miss I. O. Ford and the National Union.

We hear that Miss I. O. Ford has consented to stand again for election to the Executive of the National Union. It will be remembered that after her long illness Miss Ford did not stand last year, because with limited strength she felt her work in the West Riding had first claim upon her. We have all been glad to welcome her back to health and beneficent work.

Our Portrait.

We could ill spare Miss Royden this autumn, and some of us have felt quite unkindly towards America for borrowing one of our most eloquent and witty speakers and writers and one of the most rapid workers it has ever been our privilege to marvel at. Miss Royden is now again in England and she brings with her a message from Philadelphia. At a recent meeting there of the Equal Suffrage League a man rose after a speech by her, in which she had explained the objects and methods of the National Union, to say he believed the audience would like to send a message to those in England who were going to win the women's cause by their splendid fight. The whole audience rose to pass this resolution.

The A.B.C. of Women's Suffrage.

This Year in Parliament.

A good many people seem to be still a little vague about the way in which the question of women's suffrage will come before Parliament this year, and we will therefore explain how the proposals made by the Government can be worked out. There are now two ways in which the question can be brought forward. There is, first, the

CONCILIATION BILL

in the form in which it was introduced in 1911, when it passed its second reading by a majority of 167. It was not allowed at that time to go any further, but Mr. Asquith promised Lord Lytton that in 1912 it should be given a second reading, even if there were no luck in the ballot, and should then be given a week or as much more as was necessary to pass its remaining stages in the House of Commons. This

PLEDGE REMAINS,

and we have not abandoned it. What exactly does it mean? A private member's bill is one that is not introduced by the Government, and the Conciliation Bill is such a measure. In the ordinary course of events, such a bill can only be introduced by the member in charge of it winning a favourable place in the ballot which takes place at the beginning of each session; we have secured the promises of over forty members that they will ballot for the Conciliation Bill, but even so we might have bad luck and get no place, or one so low down as to be useless. In view of the fact that women's suffrage bills have seven times passed second reading, Mr. Asquith has admitted that we are entitled to something better than luck, and has promised we shall have a place in the programme of the session whatever happens. The Conciliation Bill will certainly be introduced and pass its

FIRST READING,

which is a formal stage upon which no debate is anticipated. The next stage, of which we are also assured, is

SECOND READING,

and it seems likely that one day will be enough for this, since in 1910 two days were given to such a debate, and all the leading men spoke on both sides. Now follows what is known as

COMMITTEE STAGE,

when the bill is discussed in detail, and is open to amendments. No women's suffrage bill has ever passed the committee stage for the simple reason that governments have always refused time for this stage, therefore it is not easy to say how long it should take. But with determined and unscrupulous opponents in the House, it is always possible to invent ways of wasting time, and unless there were some security, either in extension of time or in the use of some form of closure, that such waste would not be allowed, the "elastic week" as it has been called, would soon be gone and the bill would still not have emerged from committee. But Sir

Edward Grey, in a speech at the National Liberal Club, made it clear that he would not tolerate such wanton waste of time, and the "elastic week" should result in the bill passing committee. The next process is what is known as the

REPORT STAGE,

when the bill as amended in committee is considered and the amendments confirmed or rejected. Finally comes the

THIRD READING,

when the bill as amended is either passed or rejected. It is clear that if those who desire to defeat the bill succeed in "amending" it during committee or report in a sense contrary to the will of the majority of the House, the bill would be lost on third reading. Much of our work last session was directed to explaining that anti-suffragists like Mr. F. E. Smith might vote for a widening amendment such as was really desired by Mr. Henderson, so that this amendment might actually pass although many suffragists did not like it, but when it came to the third reading, all the anti-suffragists would vote against the bill as well as the suffragists who did not like the amendment, and so the bill might be wrecked. This is what we meant by "wrecking amendments."

With the third reading a bill is finished in the House of Commons, and goes up to the

HOUSE OF LORDS,

which may amend or reject it. If it is amended, it comes down again to the Commons to have the amendments considered, and if they are accepted the Bill receives the

ROYAL ASSENT

and becomes an Act. It is quite possible to insert a clause in a bill stating that it shall not become operative until a certain time, and it had been suggested that a clause should be added to the Conciliation Bill saying it should not become operative until the next General Election.

But now we know that the Conciliation Bill is not our only opportunity. The Government has pledged itself to bring in a

REFORM BILL

in 1912. This bill, as at present projected, merely alters the qualification for men voters. It would, like other Government bills, pass first and second readings and not till the committee stage is reached could any amendments be moved. No one can foretell the exact order of events, but it seems probable that the Reform Bill will not come on till the session is well advanced, and it may well happen that the second reading of the Conciliation Bill may take place before the Reform Bill gets into committee. It should be the object of suffragists to secure as big a

MAJORITY FOR THE SECOND READING of the Conciliation Bill as possible, as a demonstration of principle. Then, probably, will come committee stage of the Reform Bill and at this stage the women's suffrage amendments can be moved. Next week we will deal with procedure on the Reform Bill.

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CORRESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO NOTE that this paper goes to press on Tuesday. The latest news, notices, and reports should, therefore, reach the Editor by first post on Monday. The Editor reminds correspondents, however, that the work is made much easier if news is sent in as long beforehand as possible. Monday is only mentioned as the last day possible, not as the one upon which all news should arrive.

NOTICE.—This paper should be obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Thursday. If people have any difficulty in getting it locally they should write to the Manager, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., giving the name and address of the newsagent or bookstall from which they wish to be supplied.

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Domestic Service.

For months past our correspondence columns have shown how widespread is the interest in this subject. Innumerable jokes, good, bad, and indifferent, have been made—not in these columns—about the fact that women (whether employers or employed) are much addicted to discussing "the servant problem." It is probably good for us all to be laughed at now and again; it prevents us from losing all sense of proportion. But is there anything essentially ludicrous in the fact that servants are intensely interested in the conditions of service? They condition their lives. Or that employers are very much concerned with the terms of employment? There is a great responsibility. The trouble, as we see it, is that generally the subject is not frankly and dispassionately discussed between employers and employed. No one denies that there is a "servant problem" of much complexity, nor even that it is a fairly old one; but there is an unfortunate tendency for each side to the bargain to see the conditions on her own side with such dazzling clearness that she fails to see those on the other side.

The problems of domestic service are to a large extent the problems of all unorganised labour—but with this enormous advantage over so much other unorganised labour, that the demand for it is in excess of the supply. To this difficulty of the disorganisation of domestic labour is added another great complication, that of the movement for the enfranchisement of women, and it is curious to notice how many women who see the need for political enfranchisement do not extend their sympathy to this deeper and more elementary need for social and domestic enfranchisement. As long as it was the understood and accepted thing that all women lived in subjection and protected (at least in theory) by the home, the ferment of revolt worked indeed among women in all classes, but it was most articulate in the more fortunate. But if you come to examine it, the revolt is in essence the same in all classes. Women whose suffragism is a much bigger thing than the demand for a political weapon merely ought to be able to see that there is something respectable, something even noble and radical in the aspiration for freedom in service; it is this aspiration which appears to us to be least understood and most misrepresented, and it is the "living-in" system which makes reform most difficult.

On the one hand, we see that the material conditions of domestic service are generally better than the conditions under which other women work for wage; wages are higher and board and lodgings are better; employment is regular, and when a woman is too old for regular employment she can, at least in towns, get as much casual work as she has strength for, provided she is a trustworthy and competent worker. In addition, the closeness of the relationship between employer and

employed makes it certain that an immense amount of kindness and service, for which no money is given or required, will be rendered on both sides by those whose natures are capable of kindly offices, and these are, happily, not few. When employment is divorced from human relations, as it largely is in factory work, all these flowers of life are as surely crushed out as the pretty weeds which our town pavements have destroyed. The affectionate tending of a sick servant by her employer, the inexpressible devotion of a nursemaid to her adopted child, the loyalty and solidarity that may and does sometimes exist between all the women in a household, whether employers or employed, are all precious human manifestations which could be replaced by nothing else.

But one cannot help seeing that this very closeness of relationship may itself, unless disciplined, lead to all the grievances under a sense of which servants labour. The immense majority of servants live as well as work in another woman's house, they are subject to her rules of life, they are judged by her standard of taste and morality; they are compelled to associate at bed and board with fellow-servants not of their own choosing, and, even if they are free to go out very often, the conditions of their service make it almost impossible to use their leisure at home in any way they wish. In many places the hours of actual hard labour, especially for general servants in large, poor families and boarding and lodging house and for under servants in large houses ("tweenies" or scullery maids) are excessively long, but even where the actual work is not over hard, the sense of being "tied to a bell" embitters what might quite well be real leisure for personal work or play.

We have a strong belief that the agencies which have been so effective in raising the status of the nursing profession would be equally strong in raising that of the domestic worker and in so doing add to the well-being of the employer as well as the employed. These agencies are mainly two: organisation and training. There are sentimentalists who opposed the work of Florence Nightingale and to whom it seemed more "womanly" to smooth pillows and be gracefully inefficient than to know your business thoroughly and require decent conditions under which to carry it out. There are thousands of women now of the employing class who look with apprehension to any raising of the status of domestic workers and who regard their organisation as the road to ruin. We believe them to be profoundly mistaken. A well-managed union which should combine the functions of Employment Bureau and Character Register (both of servants and employers), the training and certification of servants of various grades, insurance of sorts, social clubs and out-of-work lodgings, would be the most tremendous advantage to servants and therefore to all employers. The numbers of domestic servants exceed the numbers in any other wage-earning employment. Is it not worth while to get to the roots of their discontent and remove it?

We regard domestic work as perhaps the most entirely satisfactory, because the most undoubtedly necessary of all manual work. We have no sympathy at all with those who say that it is peculiarly hard or revolting or monotonous. If employments were free to women we should probably hear less of this sort of talk, for women who were better fitted for non-domestic work would do it and leave domestic work to those who liked it. Under rational conditions and if the social status were raised, we believe that many women of the middle class would earn better wages and live happier lives at domestic work than at much dreary office and shop work.

We hear that the work is "monotonous"; it is not so much the work, it is that you never get right away from it; it is the dreadful indeterminateness of the demands made by it, so that you never feel "free." We regard this as perhaps the most fundamental of all the objections, and we admit that, except in large houses where there is ample room for servants, it will always exist with the living-in system. Still, we can see no reason why it should not be mitigated by the establishment of certain well-recognised rules which could be adopted by all unionists; nurses, the need for whose services is far more urgent than that for servants, are given a certain time for work, for sleep, and for exercise, and we all know this may be interpreted with reasonable elasticity, while at the same time the existence of such an understanding does make employers more conscious when they ask more than they are entitled to.

In towns, we believe the solution lies largely in the direction of a great extension of day labour. With the establishment of better training and more complete registration, the status of domestic servants would be raised, so that a superior type of woman would engage in work which really requires a fine type; the improvement in housing and labour-saving devices will make it possible for people to get on with less continuous attendance, and we should regard it as a wholesome discipline

for healthy men and women to live for some hours of the twenty-four without feeling that they have a fellow human attached to the bells in all their rooms. Competent women will contentedly give a hard day's work if they can have their private lives to live as well. For those who live in, definite hours of work should also be the rule, and it would be possible in towns to arrange for social clubs, provided the servants themselves will divest themselves of the appalling snobbery which devastates their ranks. In houses where only one servant is kept, it is often very difficult for the servant to do anything she would really like to do in her time "off," because if her mistress has to replace her in the kitchen, she cannot well receive her friends at the same time; she can sometimes do sewing, reading, or writing in her bedroom, but social intercourse is a necessity which no one thinks of denying to the employing class, while it is made very difficult and very dangerous for the employed.

To be a whole human being it is necessary to have some freedom of action and intercourse; it is this great craving which we believe to be at the back of all the unrest and all the complaints, however ill-expressed and clouded with anger. It is our great hope that educated women, who are mostly in the position of employers, will co-operate with the employed to ensure the organisation and training without which they will neither attain nor merit freedom. Chafing and raging and recrimination are futile and fruitless. Domestic servants are in a remarkably strong position; their services are indispensable; let them combine to offer good work and demand good conditions, and they will raise not only their employment, but millions of their fellow-women. If the agitation about the Insurance Bill has the result of bringing about such combination, it may be that the indirect efforts will be even greater than the direct.

A Married Working Woman.

A TRUE STORY.

In one of the "Five Towns," a portion of England made familiar to book lovers by Arnold Bennett, is a long street. Every house in that long street is just like every other house. And the next street is like this; and so is the one after that. Nearly every street in the town is like it, and so are most of the streets in the other four towns. And as the towns merge into each other without a break for nearly seven miles in length, the general effect of dreariness and monotony is not lost for want of iteration.

Mrs. Evans is not conscious of her surroundings as constituting a grievance, however, for her mind is constantly occupied with weightier matters.

It was February, and a cold rain penetrated through her thin jacket, and through her still thinner shoes, as she hurried to the "pot-bank" to begin her day's work.

Her meditations are nearly always on one theme; and that is, how to "keep a roof over the children's heads," and to get them enough to eat day by day, without the help of the "parish," which is the deepest disgrace she knows. Was it only thirteen years—it seemed a hundred!—since that good-looking lad, Bill Evans, came a-courting her? Ah! he was different then from the husband of later years. But conscience pricked. Was he so different? Was he not, even then, notorious for losing jobs? True, he had always had a satisfactory reason, which she, poor fool, had believed then, before she knew any better! He "could not stand the foreman," or somebody had wanted to "put on him," and they would find "Bill Evans didn't take things lying down." They did, and the result was that eventually nobody would give him a job, which he took as a special distinction, and quite sufficient reason for loafing about, expatiating on his martyrdom to anyone who would listen, whilst she went to work. He had always liked "a glass," and, of course, when he had nothing to do, he got into "bad company," and liked more than one glass. Those were dreadful days!

Her mother minded her babies (she has three, and five in the churchyard), and at this time she had nearly all her meals at her parents'. But even so, they had got into debt, and the landlord had "sold them up," and she had seen all her little household gods knocked down at auction. Then they had all come to live with her parents. And there were continual "rows." For her father was in the habit of "speaking his mind" to his son-in-law; and the latter considered himself a much injured individual in having to "pig among this lot," as he put it.

This horrible life lasted two or three years, and then Bill took himself off. He had gone off several times, threatening never

to come back. He knew she was "soft" where he was concerned, and that he could make her squirm with a threat of leaving her—in those days! But this time he really went; and for a time they were quite comfortable, with her father's, her brother's, and her own wage. Then her father fell ill, six years ago now, and the doctor ordered him to the workhouse infirmary. This was a staggering blow, but owing to the demands of herself and others on them, the old folks had not been able to save, and they had to submit. Her father died—at the workhouse! Her mother had "never looked up properly since," and the disgrace was a bitter pill. Later Bill turned up, and said he was going to turn over a new leaf. Mrs. Evans' brother, aged fifteen, asked her why she had not shown him the door, and told her that if she was going to "take up with that wastrel again," he (her brother) was "cutting off." But her mother had an old-fashioned idea that the house and all its contents belonged to the man of the family by natural right, and told her she'd have to put up with him—she'd "made her bed, and must lie on it!"

Mrs. Evans herself is a more modern product than this, and has a sneaking idea that if she had had "the pluck of a mouse," she could have "sent him off with a flea in his ear." But she never had any pluck where Bill was concerned! And he had said that he was different now, and it was such a hard job to keep them all now father was gone!

Alas! for her hopes. Bill stayed a few weeks, and actually got a job, and brought her a week's wages. Then one night he dropped across an old pal, who "treated" him. Next morning he was too "tired" to go to work. Tired men not being in request, his name was "Walker" again. For a few months he hung about and did a few odd jobs; and sponged on her, and on her brother, the only other bread-winner in the family. Then one day her mother told him he'd "have to stir up a bit, for Mary (Mrs. Evans) was going to have another, and if he didn't do something she'd have to go to the workhouse to be confined, and they'd be lucky if they didn't all have to go, for goodness knew what was to become of them without her wages!"

So Bill made himself scarce again, and from that day to this they have never "seen top nor tail of him."

They got through somehow! One after another of the household gods had found its way to "uncle's," and that they escaped the help of the hated "parish" is a source of continuous satisfaction.

Now both brothers were working, and with Mrs. Evans' wages averaging from ten shillings to twelve and sixpence a week, they were quite respectably well off—till that February day which had so much to add to their tale of experience.

Mrs. Evans, in order to earn her twelve and sixpence a week, worked in one of the dangerous processes of pottery manufacture. Many are the processes through which those articles of daily use have to pass between the conditions antecedent to the "clay" stage, and the highly glazed and polished stage in which they reach the homes and institutions of the homeland and the lands beyond the seas. But Mrs. Evans got them when they left the dipper, who is usually a man. In the "biscuit" stage they are brought to him, and with practised rapidity he dips them into a tub containing a mixture in which is a percentage of lead. A girl takes them from him; then Mrs. Evans and her work-fellows get them and clean them with a sponge ready for the oven. All the workers in that "dipping house" have more or less knowledge that they are risking health and, perhaps, life itself, whilst they handle the articles dipped into that deadly tub; but the knowledge causes them little alarm, and they take their chances just as stoically as does the engine-driver, the miner, or the expectant mother. This particular day was inspection day, and Mrs. Evans presented herself, with others, to the certifying surgeon for another guarantee of fitness to encounter the daily risk. She dreaded this ordeal, for sometimes the doctor asked awkward questions, and she was "afraid to death" that he would find out that she often felt "bad," and would be thinking that she would be better "out of the lead."

But that morning she "passed" once more, and assured herself, with a sigh of relief, that she was safe for another month.

She hurried home through the rain and cold wind for her dinner of bacon and potatoes and a cup of tea. When you feel "bad" there's nothing like a cup of tea to make you feel "put" (lively) again. She dried her two-and-elevenpenny halfpenny shoes and her thin cotton stockings whilst taking her dinner, and was just raising the cup to her mouth when—crash! went the cup, and the tea all over her skirt. They were all startled, and her mother rated her for her carelessness, and reminded

her that she had "done that same trick pretty often lately, and pots cost money!" But Mrs. Evans did not let her mother see her face at this moment, and was glad that she (her mother) had no practical experience of "wrist-drop." So she bent down to pick up the pieces, and by the time they were carried out she was able to smile at her own stupidity, and to agree with her mother that she did not deserve more tea.

But on the way back to work, out of observation range, her face took on an air of gravity, and her eyes had a haunted look. Her thoughts took a shape which made every sensitive nerve quiver, and she shrank shuddering from a prospect which her fears opened out as ominously imminent.

Surely it could not be! Might she not, then, even be allowed to work for her children? No thought of the personal bodily suffering in store for her crossed her mind. But the children! And her poor mother! Would it have to be the hated workhouse for them all, after all? After all their struggles; and after having kept clear of the "parish" —except for poor father (ah! what a sting that is!).

She donned overall and respirator, and worked steadily for an hour, when—whatever was the ghastly pain which—! Thought and speech fled before the monster which gripped her vitals, and she swooned. When she "came to" she was in a cab with two fellow workwomen, who were watching her with anxious, compassionate eyes.

Poor old mother! Her eyes had not yet wept tears enough, and there was another burden to lay on her frail shoulders. But the women were full of the milk of human kindness, and they helped Mrs. Evans on to the "squab" (a rough kind of sofa bed); one ran for the doctor, and the other helped the old mother to rub the seat of the pain with turpentine.

The agony of lead colic defies description, and we will draw a veil over the sufferings of the next hour or two; till the "doctor's stuff" began to take effect.

The neighbours came in to proffer sympathy and help to Mrs. Evans' mother after the workmates left. They were all sorry; but work was waiting at the "pot-bank," and every minute spent away from it meant less of the necessities of life at the week-end. They knew lead poisoning is usually a long business; but they did not remind Mrs. Evans or her mother of this. Instead they bade them "look on the bright side," and remember that there would be half-wages as compensation.

* * * * *

Mrs. Evans had to manage on half-wages over a year. But they did not have to call in the help of the "parish." To the end of her life she will suffer the effects of that year's illness. But she is deeply thankful to be able, in spite of her disability, to earn ten shillings a week at another branch of pottery manufacture.

The country which can produce such heroic material is fortunate. But is it wise to use it so wastefully, to hold it so cheaply? Would it not be better for our race to take better care of our women and children? It is the pride and boast of man, the law maker, that he protects the weak and helpless. Does he, whilst such lives as Mrs. Evans' are common as grass?

Woman is the natural protector, the natural race-builder. Not till she takes up her nature task shall we cease to maintain conditions of life which wring our hearts and sear our consciences.

ADA NIELD CHEW.

The Economic Position of Married Women.

In writing recently of the proposed "Norwegian Amendment" to the Reform Bill, I spoke of it as recognising and establishing for the first time in our franchise laws the truth that the status of a married woman is in reality and in equity that of a joint-householder, even when the house is taken in the husband's name and the rent and rates paid out of his wages. I do not suppose that many Suffragists will deny this truth, but our opponents and critics may question it, and it is therefore desirable that we should all be quite clear as to the arguments on which it rests.

Even by popular sentiment and popular phraseology it is admitted that the average household is as dependent on, and owes as much to, the wife as the husband. She is the "house-keeper," the "housewife." It is she who "makes the home" and "keeps the home together" for husband and sons. "What is 'ome without a mother?" is a favourite pot-house sentiment. The anti-Suffragist grows unctuous upon the subject of the sacred, all-absorbing duties of the wife and mother, but has

never yet been heard to declare that "Man's sphere is the Home."

In spite of these platitudes, most Britons are so accustomed to regarding the payment of money as the supreme proof of ownership and conferrer of rights that, because the normal household is maintained out of the husband's earnings, they regard him without question as "the householder," and reckon the non-wage earning wife as well as the children as his dependents. It therefore seems quite natural to them that under a franchise based on occupation or ratepaying the husband alone should be the voter. Just in the same way it seems to many, if not to most, Britons self-evident that, in the event of any conflict of opinion between parents as to the up-bringing of their children, the will of the father ought to prevail, because he pays the whole cost of their maintenance, while the mother merely risks her life in giving them birth and devotes her whole existence to them.

It is, therefore, important to meet our countrymen on their own ground by showing them that, even from an economic point of view, a married woman has a claim to be regarded as a joint-householder with her husband, because his wages out of which he pays the rent are really hers as well. This is a new idea to many people, but I think that a little reflection will convince them that it is really a necessary conclusion from facts that are indisputable. Society has to provide somehow for the continuance of its own existence by the bearing and rearing of fresh generations. Under our complicated social system it does this, not by maintaining the mothers or paying them directly for their services, but by remunerating the services of the adult male worker to the industrial community upon a scale based not on his requirements as an individual, but on the assumption that he is a husband and father with a wife and family to keep.

The cost of doing so forms part of the cost of production of the commodities manufactured or services performed by male workers, and comes eventually out of the pockets of the public as consumers. At this point in the argument someone unversed in industrial matters usually exclaims: "But an employer doesn't ask a man whether he is married or single before he fixes his wages. He pays him for the value of his work according to the standard of wages customary in the trade." Quite so; but the standard of wages in the trade is determined partly by the standard of living, or as I prefer to call it the standard of expectation, habitual among the majority of workers in the trade, and the standard of expectation in the case of male workers is based not on the requirements of an individual, but on those of a family. "The permanent remuneration of the labourers," says Mill, "essentially depends on what we have called their habitual standard—the extent of the requirements which, as a class, they insist on satisfying before they choose to have children." More recent writers, while differing in their explanation of its mode of action, lay ever increasing stress upon the importance of a high standard of comfort, crystallised into and made explicit by a high standard rate as the bulwark of the worker against the lowering of his wage; while it is assumed, as a matter of course, that the requirements of the male worker include the power to provide for wife and children. This claim is, in fact, generally recognised by public opinion, by industrial practice, and by law. Public opinion admits it: If goods porters on railways are found to be getting only 18s. a week, the cry is not "a man cannot live on that," but "he cannot keep a wife and family on that." Industrial practice concedes it: In most, if not all, occupations, unless the competition of female or juvenile labour has pulled down wages, men in full employment do, in fact, earn enough to bring up a family—not perhaps as they ought to be brought up, but without conspicuous violation of the worker's own standard. The law assumes it: The Poor Law postulates that an able-bodied man should be able to earn enough to keep his family, and, if he fails and comes to it for help, penalises him by offering him "the House."

This assumption is, in fact, the basis of our present social system. No one supposes that it works altogether satisfactorily but, if it broke down altogether, a reconstruction would have to be made, and the community would have to take upon itself the cost of rearing fresh generations. This would involve a direct payment to the mother during the years of childbearing, or until the adolescence of the children. This proposal, crudely presented as the "payment of motherhood," offends many people, and merely to mention it generally means pulling the cord of a showerbath of sentiment about the outrage on the sacredness of motherhood involved in the idea of payment. The same kind of sentiment has been at different periods evoked by the idea of a paid ministry of religion or priesthood, but, except in the Society of Friends, it has been allayed by general recognition of the necessities of the case, helped by St. Paul's sensible

reminder that the labourer is worthy of his hire. Like priests and parsons, mothers have to live, but in their case economic and social forces have worked out a solution satisfactory alike to masculine sentiment and to masculine love of power, in the system which makes society's payment of maternity, not to the mother herself, but to every adult male worker as a hypothetical husband. From the woman's point of view, the disadvantage of this indirect arrangement is that it allows the unthinking portion of the public (which in this connection is nearly the whole) to ignore the economic effect of the family's needs upon the man's wage altogether, and to suppose that he supports wife and children out of money earned solely and in respect of his own exertions.

To this delusion Suffragists have, I fear, often contributed by their advocacy of the doctrine of "equal wages for equal work" as between men and women. Mrs. Fawcett has warned us of the difficulties and dangers of this doctrine. It is quite true as is so often pointed out that a very large proportion of women workers have to contribute to the keep of other besides themselves, and no doubt this fact by influencing their standard of expectation exerts some upward pull upon the rate of women's wages. But, first, the effect is to a great extent counteracted by the downward pull exerted by those women workers who are subsidised by their fathers, husbands, the Poor Law or Charity and so are content with even less than an individual subsistence rate of wages. Secondly, I doubt if the family claims of most women workers are equal to those of a man with the average family of a wife and three children to keep.

It is obviously impossible in the course of a short article to develop and defend these points in full. I must content myself by saying that under present social conditions the doctrine of "equal wages for equal work" seems to me not only economically impracticable but anti-feminist in its tendency.

Those who assert it are making common cause with the enemy; first, by ignoring the married woman's claim to a portion of her husband's higher wage, which is higher on the assumption of her existence; and, secondly, by playing into the hands of the male trades unionist, who knows well that the victory of the principle would mean the ousting of women altogether from many occupations in which they now make a tolerably good living. If "payment of maternity," and of the other parts of the cost of rearing fresh generations by the State, ever becomes an accomplished fact, then will be the time for claiming "equal wages for equal work." In the meantime there is plenty to be done in securing for the woman worker a wage adequate to the requirements of healthy individual subsistence, and for the married woman her right to maintenance for herself and her children out of her husband's wages.

E. F. RATHBONE.

[We publish Miss Rathbone's interesting article not as authoritative but because it is a clear and reasoned statement of a view generally very ill-expressed and more usual perhaps among anti-suffragists than suffragists.—ED. "THE COMMON CAUSE."]

Idols of the Mind.

Roger Bacon, centuries ago, indicated the mental obstacles that beset truth. Francis Bacon elaborated his namesake's theories, and described these obstacles as the idols of the mind. He divided them into four classes: those of the Tribe, the Cave, the Market Place, and the Theatre. He says: "There is a great difference between the idols of the human mind and the Ideas of the Divine." The ideas of the Divine represent Truth, the idols of the human mind represent what human beings imagine truth to be. By systems of philosophy man attempts to approximate human understanding to the Divine conception, but he is confronted with difficulties, due, naturally enough, to human limitations.

First, the idols of the Tribe beset him, those common human prejudices that prompt him to reject what lies beyond his immediate vision, while passions play upon him and distort even things seen and known. These idols have much to do with the difficulties of the Women's Suffrage agitation, indeed with the whole feminist movement from its very beginnings. A hundred years ago women were not adequately educated. Their demand for education was resented. Why should they want what they never had? As J. S. Mill says: "Custom is not only a second nature, but is continually mistaken for the first. The effect of custom, in preventing any misgiving respecting the rules of conduct which mankind impose on one another, is all the more complete because the subject is one on which it is not generally considered necessary that reasons should be given." Nevertheless, men a hundred years ago did give a reason for their objection to woman's education. In fact, they gave many reasons, but the principal objection was this:—"Woman had

no intelligence worthy of education." Women's intelligence was undoubtedly stunted, but deliberately to stunt it, and excuse the stunting by the fact that it was stunted, was giving an effect for a cause. Men also added, perhaps with some misgiving as to the fairness of their first excuse, perhaps, and this is more likely, to soften the blow to feminine vanity, that woman's ignorance was so much more beautiful and valuable than any knowledge could be. Sydney Smith, one of the first champions of woman's right to be educated, said about this: "We are quite astonished in hearing men converse on such subjects, to find them attributing such beautiful effects to ignorance. It would appear from the tenor of such objections, that ignorance had been the great civiliser of the world. Women are delicate and refined, only because they are ignorant—they manage their households, only because they are ignorant—they attend to their children, only because they know no better. Now, we must really confess, we had all our lives been so ignorant as not to know the value of ignorance."

To-day history repeats itself: women want the vote, and the question is, how can they think they ought to have what they have never had? If they have never voted in the past, it must be because they are mentally incapable of it. And how much more beautiful womanhood is without it, and how much more valuable on a pedestal above politics—although with the possibility of being knocked off that pedestal and trampled upon by our legislative juggernaut. These are some of the idols of the Tribe, worshipped as fetishes of amazing significance.

The idols of the Cave are the false notions of particular individuals, varying according to their particular education, habits, and tastes. Here the wish is the father of the false notion. We believe the things that clash least with our own private standards, with our own mental, physical, and social comfort. These idols are essentially elusive and difficult to track. Hindoos, they say, have over three hundred million deities in their Pantheon. The idols of the Cave, to which we all do *pūja*, are infinite in number. Most of us will satisfy a whole array of petty considerations before embarking on the support of a newly-acquired principle.

The idols of the Market Place are perhaps the basest of all. The idols of the Tribe owe their origin to human limitation and human stupidity: those of the Market Place owe theirs often to base passions, to the cult of the ignoble, to the fictions, more or less deliberate, of self-interest. Things acquire a spurious value: we rate them at this extrinsic rather than at their intrinsic value. We value what others value, even in defiance of the teaching of our own religion, and in opposition to the promptings of good sense. We worship money, for instance, though we know that few attitudes of mind could be more un-Christian and more unmoral. In these cases "The ill and unfit choice of words," says Bacon, "wonderfully obstructs the understanding." Words, as we know, are to mental intercourse what money is to commerce. Yet in spite of the importance of words, we come across such anomalies as this: the offices of the Church are called the "service" of God, as if Christian service were something apart from every day life.

Sometimes the noblest principles are branded with an appearance of wrong. Perhaps no enemies of the Suffrage ever did the cause so much harm as those who called it "unsexed" and "unwomanly." It might be supposed that the women who cared for morality—whose hearts bled for their fallen and sweated sisters—would be called "womanly," and the women who stood in the way of the womanly movement the "unsexed." Instead the fiat of the market place went forth and branded the cause of the women as one to be avoided by all right thinking, which often means unthinking, people.

The idols of the Theatre one might expect to be the most formidable of any. This harking back to authority strengthens bigotry and prejudice, and it frightens the timid. Fortunately for the Suffrage movement, it has from its very modern nature, little recognised authority against it.

Times change and circumstances alter cases. These are truisms, but it is amazing how little people realise them. The invention of big guns revolutionised warfare and made brilliant uniform suicidal. Yet no one seemed to realise this till hundreds of lives had been lost to the nation, a sorry illustration of the fact that if we do not march with the times the times will march without us and disaster overtake us. Yet if a prophet arise to point out that an institution has had its foundations swept away by the current of time, he is likely to be morally stoned as a disturber of the peace.

Of course, it is largely indolence and apathy that makes for the unpopularity of new schemes, but there is also another influence at work. It is not only the mental wrench that we object to, but our occupations and our livelihood may be involved in the old régime. Personal interest creeps in, and

again, that noble and implacable enemy of justice—*esprit de corps*. We fight in our country's quarrels, just or unjust. In the Women's Suffrage question *esprit de sexe* is a puzzling element. Good men resent attacks on bad men, and many Suffragists become nobly unjust in their championships of women. We are apt to tar all men with the same brush, we get tarred equally indiscriminately.

If we want to convince people of the justice of a course, it is best to entice them on to virgin ground where there are none of the hedges and barriers of prejudice, convention or cant, and where there is no danger of putting our foot into other folk's pet flower beds. We must dress up our generalisations in unrecognisable garb, the more picturesque the better, the more concrete the better. If we storm the citadel of people's prejudices we shall only find a habitation for truth after much weary image-breaking. Logic may be successful, but it often fails to drive truth home. There are minds that require more than logic, which after all has limitations similar to those of the idols of the Tribe. It can only show you the way onwards for a few steps, like a lantern that you carry in your hand. Many ask for more. They ask for a guiding light far ahead—a glamour in the mystery, an ideal in the sordid darkness, poetic revelation in short. In the case of the Suffrage, they want to be assured not only of the logical justice of granting the vote, but of a genuine desire on the part of women to rise on a flood tide of greater things, to which the giving of the vote is but a breaking down of a barrier.

L. F. WARING.

The Proposed Reform of the Bankruptcy Law.

After mature consideration of many years, the Board of Trade has at last discovered that the position of married women under the present Bankruptcy Law is unfair to the public, and requires amendment by placing them on a footing of equality with men. As the law stands, the usual method of making a man bankrupt is to sue for debt, recover judgment, and then issue a notice (called a bankruptcy notice) founded on the judgment, whereby the debtor is required to pay the judgment debt within the time named in the notice. If he makes default, he commits what is called an "act of bankruptcy," and can then, by the presentation of a bankruptcy petition, in due course be declared a bankrupt. The judgment must be for a sum of at least fifty pounds, but that is another story. The procedure is based on the legal notion that the judgment is a personal

judgment against the man, for which as a legal person or entity he is fully responsible to the law. But the patchwork legislation which got rid of the old common law theory that a married woman had no property, but that it all belonged to her husband, produced a curious and anomalous result. A married woman, it was held, could make contracts, for so the statute declared; but she contracted not as a "person" recognised as such by the law, but only as a person created for that purpose by the statute, and therefore binding not herself as a person, but only the property of which she was possessed separately from her husband. When this conclusion was reached, the next step followed logically that such a judgment, not being a personal judgment, was not one under which she could be made amenable to the Bankruptcy Law. The situation was ridiculous, because a married woman who carried on a trade separately from her husband could be made bankrupt if she committed certain other acts of bankruptcy, which she might be astute enough to avoid or evade. A creditor's most powerful weapon was useless in his hands when he dealt with Mrs. Smith, but was all effective against Mr. Smith. The new bill proposes to put Mrs. Smith in the same position as Mr. Smith, and all fair-minded people will welcome the reform.

Two further reforms are proposed which continue this policy of equalisation. If a married man is declared a bankrupt and his estate has to be divided amongst his creditors, his wife can receive no dividend on any money she may have lent him, until all his other creditors have been paid in full. This has been the law for many years and is a prudent and just provision. The converse is now to become law, so that, if a married woman who has been engaged in trade becomes bankrupt, her husband will receive no dividend on any money he has lent to her until all the other creditors have been paid in full. Lastly, Mrs. Smith is to cease to have the advantage over Mr. Smith in respect of her settled property, if she becomes bankrupt. When Mr. Smith becomes bankrupt his trustee acquires and distributes amongst the creditors the income of any property which has been settled on Mr. Smith every year but for the bankruptcy. Now, Mrs. Smith, if she engages in trade, will in the same way be deprived of such income for the benefit of her creditors. However tightly the settlement be drawn, if under it the income must be paid to Mrs. Smith, her trustee, if she becomes bankrupt, would step in and take the income to distribute amongst her creditors. But remember Mrs. Smith can only be made a bankrupt if she ventures to engage in business. If she does, it is, of course, only fair that she should accept the risks, as she gets the benefit of her operations.

A. M. LANGDON.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OBJECT: To obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.
METHODS: (a) The promotion of the claim of women to the Parliamentary vote by united action in Parliament and by all constitutional methods of agitation in this country. (b) The organisation of Women's Suffrage Societies on a non-party basis.
Hon. Secretaries: Miss K. D. COURTNEY. **President:** Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Edith Palliser (Parliamentary). **Secretary:** Mrs. Geraldine Cooke.
Hon. Secretary to Press Committee: Miss Emily M. Leaf.
Telegrams: "Voiceless, London." **Hon. Sec. to Literature Committee:** Miss I. B. O'Malley. Telephone 1960 Victoria.
Offices: Parliament Chambers, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

From Headquarters.

FOURTEEN NEW SOCIETIES.
 Since the last meeting of the Executive Committee, no less than 14 new Societies have applied for affiliation to the National Union. Their names will be submitted to the Executive this week, and will be published in the next issue. Fourteen Societies is a good record for the first week in the year, and our plan of campaign for the next few months will no doubt bring in a great many more.

ORGANISATION.

Organisers will be at work in all the Federations, as follows:—
 North-Eastern.—Miss Gordon. South Wales.—Miss Waring.
 North-Western.—Miss Norma-Smith. Oxford, Berks and Bucks.—Miss Yorks, N. and E.—Miss Elphick. Fielden.
 Yorks, W.—Miss Clarkson. West of England.—Miss K. M.
 Midlands, E.—Mrs. Renton. Robertson.
 Midlands, W.—Miss Morrison. Kent.—Miss Dutton.
 Eastern Counties.—Miss Eva Ward.
 South-Western.—Miss G. Davenport.

The Scottish, the Manchester and District, the West Lancashire, West Cheshire and N. Wales, and the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federations make their own arrangements for organisers.

Miss Helga Gill is making a tour in Ireland during the month of January, and the arrangements for Mrs. Cowmeadow, Miss Sheard, and Miss Beaver will be published next week.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

All efforts must now be concentrated on making the Albert Hall meeting on February 23rd a great success. Applications for seats should be sent at once to Miss Strachey, The London Society, for W.S., 58, Victoria Street, S.W. Those Societies which have not applied for boxes are urged to do so at once, as the demand will probably exceed the supply.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Press Department.

A detailed analysis of the attitude throughout the year of even the principal papers would be impossible. No regular newspaper reader can fail to realise, however, the universal change of tone manifested in the treatment of the subject of Women's Suffrage, while the fact that it is now almost impossible to pick up any paper without finding some mention of the question is in itself a sufficient refutation of the cry of the "Antis" that the "general public is not interested." The rapidity with which Women's Suffrage, at length given a fair chance, has forced itself to the fore in the Press, proves that the demand for Suffrage news and for the opportunity of free discussion and ventilation of opinion is commensurate with the growth of the movement, and needs only to be organised to be effective.

Now that the worst times are over, it is interesting to look back on the early days of last year and compare the difficulty then experienced of persuading the papers to risk burning their fingers by taking Suffrage news, with the anxiety of the reporters who collected in the Press Room to procure at the earliest moment a draft of the statement issued by the Executive Committee of the National Union on the situation created by the announcement of the Reform Bill. This change which the question of Women's Suffrage has undergone in the estimation of the Press is, of course, due to more than one cause. The papers have at last realised the fact that Women's Suffrage is a living and practical question, and not a theme for academic discussion, and that if they would keep abreast of the times they can no longer either ignore it or treat it as a joke.

One other proof remains to be given of the increased importance which Women's Suffrage has assumed in the eyes of the British Press. At the beginning of the year 1911 it would have been impossible to do more than vaguely describe the attitude of the principal London papers. With the permission of their Editors, however, we are now able to publish a

list, tabulated according to their views on the subject of Women's Suffrage.

We cannot close any account of the year's work without offering our warmest thanks to the *Manchester Guardian* for its courageous and constant championship of our cause.

A striking feature of the year and one of great significance has been the enterprising undertaking by the *Standard* in throwing open a page daily to news and discussion of all phases of the "Woman's Movement." As might be expected, the question of the Suffrage, as symbolical of the whole movement, has taken a very prominent place in this discussion, and interest has been immensely stimulated.

We should like to take this opportunity of heartily thanking the Federation Secretaries and Press Secretaries for the help and support they have so loyally given throughout, and especially the former, who ungrudgingly shouldered the burdens which were thrust upon their willing shoulders, already bent with the weight of their own work.

We give below a list of newspapers classified according to their views on Women's Suffrage:—

SUFFRAGE PAPERS.	ANTI-SUFFRAGE PAPERS.	NEUTRAL PAPERS.
<i>Manchester Guardian.</i>	<i>Times.</i>	<i>Throne.</i>
<i>Daily Telegraph.</i>	<i>Morning Post.</i>	<i>Onlooker.</i>
<i>Morning Leader.</i>	<i>Guardian.</i>	<i>World.</i>
<i>Daily Express.</i>	<i>Morning Advertiser.</i>	<i>Hearth and Home.</i>
<i>Daily Chronicle.</i>	<i>Saturday Review.</i>	<i>Illustrated London News.</i>
<i>Daily News.</i>	<i>Spectator.*</i>	<i>T.P.'s (non-political.)</i>
<i>Daily Graphic.</i>	<i>Pall Mall.*</i>	<i>Outlook.</i>
<i>Star.</i>	<i>Truth.*</i>	<i>Daily Mirror.</i>
<i>Westminster Gazette.</i>		<i>Church Times.</i>
<i>Financial News.</i>		<i>Lady's Pictorial.</i>
<i>Christian Commonwealth.</i>		
<i>Labour Leader.</i>		
<i>Nation.</i>		
<i>Tablet.</i>		
<i>Queen.*</i>		

* The Editors of these papers did not reply, but we have classified them according to the tone of their leading articles.

EMILY M. LEAF.

Contributions to the General Fund.

	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged since November 1st, 1911	842 17 1
Received from December 16th to 30th, 1912:—	
Subscriptions:—	
Miss Nancy Fleming	10 1
Miss J. Kennedy	2 2 0
Miss E. M. C. Druce	1 1 0
Mrs. Marnelli	3 0
Miss V. Garrard	1 0
Mrs. J. M. Oswald	2 0
Mrs. Reid	10 0
Miss Teasdale	1 0
Mrs. W. E. Dowson	5 5 0
Donation 1912 Campaign:—	
Mrs. James Ward	2 0 0
Miss Nancy Fleming	1 0 0
Anonymous	1 1 0
Miss E. M. C. Druce	4 4 0
Mrs. Weston Eve	10 0 0
Mrs. Tabor	3 0 0
Miss E. Struge	2 2 0
Miss Dutton	2 2 0
Miss Montgomery	5 5 0
Mrs. John Marshall	30 0 0
Mr. and Mrs. Thoday	2 10 0
Mrs. Foster	5 0 0
Mr. and Mrs. Thompson	5 0 0
Madame Loppe	5 0 0
Miss J. P. Strachey	10 0 0
Berkhamsted W.S.S.	2 2 0
Central and S. Hackney Branch	
Society	1 1 0

Literature Department.

Suffragists doing propaganda work in Wales will be glad to hear that some of our best leaflets have lately been translated into Welsh. This has been carried out by the enterprise of the Bangor and District Society, which felt that in order to convert Welsh miners, quarrymen, and country people, it was necessary to give them propaganda in their own language. The following are the names and prices of the leaflets, to be obtained from Mrs. Price White, Rockleigh, Bangor:—
 "Extracts from Mr. Lloyd George's Speech at Bath," 9d. per 100, 6s. per 1,000.
 "The Conciliation Bill Explained," 9d. per 100, 6s. per 1,000.
 "Why Working Women Want the Vote," 6d. per 100, 4s. 6d. per 1,000.
 "Are Women Citizens?" 6d. per 100, 4s. 6d. per 1,000.
 It is hoped that all the Welsh Societies will buy and distribute.
 I. B. O'MALLEY.

Treasurer's Notes.

In spite of Christmas week with all its other claims, many friends and colleagues have remembered our need. Considering the season, I have a goodly list of gifts to announce for the last two weeks; but I hope that with the New Year our fund may go up with a bound, for now we shall be getting to work in earnest, and on a great (and therefore costly) scale. Please send your New Year's gifts soon to the 1912 campaign, or to one of the special objects mentioned below:—

1. Annual subscriptions to the National Fund.
 2. Donations for the 1912 campaign.
 3. Donations for by-election work.
 4. Donations for additional organisers.
 5. Donations for new work in Ireland.
 6. Donations for new work in Herefordshire.
 7. Donations for free literature for propaganda purposes.
 8. Donations for organising demonstrations and meetings.
- If you can't give at once, what can you promise for the collection at the Albert Hall on the 23rd February?
 F. M. STERLING (Hon. Treasurer, *pro tem.*).

STOCKTAKING SALE NOW PROCEEDING.

BARGAINS IN ALL DEPARTMENTS

EVENING GOWN, as sketch, in soft satin, with short tunic of ninon, edged with silk fringe, bodice fichu effect, tucked ninon and fringe. In black, white, and all new colourings.

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MRS. ENNIS RICHMOND, late Principal of West Heath School for boys and girls, Hampstead (now carried on by her son, Mr. Kenneth Richmond) takes at Valley End, Surrey, girls up to the age of 18.

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London Society.

RICHMOND DEMONSTRATION.

There is to be an important demonstration in Richmond on the afternoon of Saturday, January 27th. The demonstration will take the form of a procession through the town followed by a mass meeting in the theatre, at which the Mayor of Richmond has promised to take the chair. Among the speakers will be the Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, and Mrs. Philip Snowden. The Committee appeals to members of the society and to all friends of women's suffrage to give active support to the organisers of the demonstration, in order that the size and representative character of the procession may give it a real political significance. Reserved seats for the meeting, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., and all further particulars to be obtained from Miss Mildred Watson, 156, Westbourne Terrace, London, W.

A FANCY DRESS DANCE.

Under the auspices of the London Society a Fancy Dress Dance is to be held at Crosby Hall, Chelsea from 9 p.m. to 3 a.m. on Tuesday, January 9th. Tickets, 6s., to be obtained from—Lady Scott-Moncrieff, 11, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea; Mrs. Cross, 79, Cheyne Court, Chelsea; Mrs. Sanger, 58, Oakley Street, Chelsea; Miss Newcomb, 1, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea; Mrs. Hunt, Malford House, Church Street, Chelsea; Miss Mary Creighton, Hampton Court Palace; Mrs. Whitting, 22, Tedworth Gardens, Chelsea; Miss Hesther Cox, 58, York Street, Westminster.

Federation Notes.

Manchester and District.

FEDERATION BAZAAR.

Viscountess Castlereagh will open on the first day a bazaar which will be held in the Midland Hall, Manchester, on February 8th, 9th and 10th, in aid of the work of the Manchester and District Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies. Lady Frances Balfour will be the opener on the second day, and Lord Emmott of Okham will open the bazaar on the third day. The non-party character of the Manchester and District Federation work for women's suffrage is illustrated by the openers, for while Lord Emmott is a member of the Government, Lady Castlereagh is associated with the Unionist party as the daughter of Mr. Henry Chaplin and the wife of the eldest son of the Marquis of Londonderry. Lady Frances Balfour is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The bazaar has the support of many members of Parliament and leading men and women of all parties in the Manchester district, and the societies working for it cover an area from Macclesfield to Wigan and Clitheroe. Among others who in one way or another are helping the bazaar is Mr. J. M. Barrie, who has given permission to an amateur company to perform "The Twelve Pound Look." It is expected that Mr. Harry Lauder will appear in the entertainments. Councillor Margaret Ashton is the president of the bazaar, Lady Beatrice Kemp the honorary secretary, and the honorary treasurers are Mr. Alfred Brookes and Mr. Forrest Hewitt.

Eastern Counties.

NORWICH.—On November 23rd the Committee of the Norwich Women's Suffrage Society was "At Home" at the Thatched Assembly Rooms. The guests numbered about 60. After refreshments had been served, Miss Appleyard's Awakening was acted by Miss D. Jewson, Miss M. Jowson and Miss C. Roope. Miss Wise gave an "Anti-Suffrage Monologue," and Miss Dyer sang a selection of Suffrage songs. The evening was brought to a close by a short address from Dr. Mary Bell. The guests all voted the evening a great success, while the Committee felt well repaid for their efforts in thus having been enabled to bring the question of Women's Suffrage before many who would doubtless have avoided the more ordinary meetings.

LEITCHWORTH AND DISTRICT.—On December 14th, Miss I. O. Ford spoke at the weekly meeting of the Literary and Debating Society on "The Vote and Women's Wages." Her speech was listened to with earnest attention, and for nearly an hour afterwards questions were asked and comments made to all of which Miss Ford replied in the most able and convincing manner. Three new members were enrolled.

COLCHESTER.—The first gathering of the Colchester branch took the form of a meeting at the Masonic Hall on Friday afternoon, November 24th. Mr. Charles Benham was in the chair and made a telling speech. Mrs. Heiland followed with an excellent address on the "New Situation Created by the Proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill," and Mrs. Kennedy spoke on the general work and aim of the Eastern Counties Federation. A resolution calling upon the Government to include women in the Electoral Reform Bill was passed unanimously, and the election of a representative permanent Committee and officers followed.

HITCHIN AND DISTRICT.—The by-election campaign in our constituency has resulted in many new members being added to our Society. A drawing-room meeting held on November 16th at St. Mary's Vicarage, Hitchin, by the kindness of Mrs. Jones, was very successful, as it brought some people into the movement who had hitherto not felt able to join us. On November 17th Miss Ashton gave the second lecture of the course which we had arranged for this autumn. She dealt with the need of the vote in forwarding the work of women on city and town councils, and we keep hearing on all hands of the good effect of her excellent lecture. On November 18th we had a public meeting in Hitchin when Lady Selborne presided, and Mrs. Raeburn and Miss Norma-Smith made stirring speeches, and on November 22nd another was held at Welwyn when Miss Helen Ward took the chair, and Mr. Hogg, of the Men's League, and Miss Norma-Smith spoke. At all these meetings new members were enrolled. We are very grateful to the two

organisers for their efficient help, and we also tender our heartfelt thanks to three of our members, Miss King, Miss Pepper and Miss Dyer who gave them hospitality. Where all are so helpful it is difficult to particularise, but we feel especially indebted to Miss Dyer, who leads a very busy life, but who is always ready to support us in every way. On December 15th we had a delightful lecture from Miss I. O. Ford. This was the last of our course. The subject was "Women's Unequal Wages and Sweating," and Miss Ford showed conclusively how impossible it is to deal effectively with this terrible evil without the political power which the vote bestows. The collections taken at these lectures have been most encouraging.

DUNMOW AND DISTRICT.—On November 21st a most successful and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Town Hall, Dunmow. The chair was taken by The Rev. H. Latimer Jackson, rector of Little Canfield. Lady Betty Balfour and Miss Mercer very kindly came to speak for us. Lady Betty Balfour made a most earnest and impressive speech, and carried her audience with her; she was followed by Miss Mercer, who made a splendid appeal for help, which was generously responded to in the collection. The National Union resolution was carried with only two dissentients.

On December 13th the Society held a small meeting in St. Mary's Room, Dunmow, for members and friends. Mrs. Raeburn kindly came up from Cambridge for the express purpose of helping to inaugurate the local Committee. She spoke first on the present situation, and afterwards explained the Federation system. The following officers were then formally elected: Mrs. H. de Vere Stapoole, as Hon. Treasurer; Miss G. Osborne, as Hon. Secretary; and Miss K. J. Coyle, as Chairman; and Miss Emily Strutt, of Witham, has since kindly consented to act as President. Five new members joined the Society at this small, but extremely sympathetic meeting.

South Wales and Monmouthshire.

BRIDGEND.—Though only a fortnight had elapsed since Miss Fraser's previous meeting, the Town Hall was again packed on November 30th. Miss Fraser spoke on "The Legal Status of Women," and the audience made up almost equally of men and women listened with rapt attention and great appreciation to every point. Eight names of new members were handed in during the interval. The collection was 7s. 8d.

NEWPORT.—Mr. Lyndon Moore presided at a public meeting on November 24th. Miss Helen Fraser proposed a resolution protesting against the exclusion of women from the Government's Reform Bill, calling for the passing of the Conciliation Bill and asking for the support of the borough member to that measure. Miss Vivian, headmistress of the Girls' Intermediate School, seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

PENARTH.—On November 29th this Society held what the "Penarth Times" described as a "somewhat novel sale" of cakes, apple jelly, aprons and Christmas presents. Nearly all members sent contributions or helped in other ways, and the Cardiff Society came over and gave us invaluable assistance. A profit of over £10 resulted. Funds are, however, still needed, and a fancy dress dance will be held in the All Saints Parish Room on January 24th. Public meetings will be held as early as possible in the new year. The Society has sustained a great loss in the resignation of their hon. secretary, Mrs. Mailland, who can no longer give up the necessary time. It was thanks to her enterprise that the Penarth members formed themselves into an independent society rather more than a year ago, and the success has been almost entirely due to her energy and skill. Fortunately she is still able to remain upon the Committee.

Irish Notes.

WOMEN AND THE HOME RULE BILL.

The Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation and the Irish Women's Franchise League wrote to the Parliamentary Committee engaged in framing the Home Rule Bill asking them to receive a deputation who would set before them a request that a clause granting enfranchisement to Irishwomen should be inserted in the Bill. The Committee refused to receive the deputation. But the fact that women from all parts of Ireland of every creed and every shade of political opinion consented to the making of this request proves the strength of the women's suffrage cause in Ireland. Probably only Irishwomen could understand how great a sacrifice of party sympathies was involved in this common demand from both Unionist and Nationalist women. For Unionist women hate to admit even the possibility of a Home Rule government for Ireland; and Nationalist women are reluctant to add a difficulty to the accomplishment of a deeply desired consummation.

IRISHWOMEN AND THE INSURANCE ACT.

Largely attended and excited meetings in reference to the Insurance of Domestic Servants were held in Dublin and in Cork. These meetings were organised in Cork by the Munster Women's Franchise League and addressed by Miss Day, Hon. Sec. of that League. In Dublin they were organised by the Irishwomen's Reform League. They proved of great educational value on the subject of the Insurance Bill as it affects women generally.

MISS SOMERVILLE ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Miss E. Somerville (joint author with Miss Martin Ross of the famous "Adventures of an Irish R.M.") gave to a largely attended meeting of the Munster Women's Franchise League an address on "The Educational Aspect of Woman Suffrage" which was remarkable for the subtle humour that has made her books so famous.

In the course of her remarks Miss Somerville dwelt upon the importance of distributing literature, and she then proceeded to tell of the excitement with which copies of Women's Suffrage papers are received, and how the doctrines preached have come as a revelation to women in the remote country districts where hitherto politics were almost a dead letter and the election of a minor official to the local work-house an event that loomed larger than the rise and fall of a Prime Minister. Miss Somerville then gave a racy account of an election in which she once took part in England and the effort of the average working man to understand the hard facts that were launched at him with such persistence. After listening in silence he casually remarked "Tell it to the missus"—who, no doubt, when in possession of the facts, made up her lord and master's mind for him. But could we not ask why the missus was not supposed to have a mind of her own?

"I believe," said Miss Somerville in conclusion, "that the time is near when all this will be changed. The woman who has had to sit at home while her husband, her sons, her servants play their part in the making of the laws and the fixing of the taxes which she as well as they must obey and pay, now sees windows opening into life. She will become a companion in a newer and higher way to her husband, or brother, or sons; she will provide for them an infinitely more interesting home and add to its comforts an intellectual stimulus that will raise home life to its highest possibility and will endure unimpaired into old age."

DR. WALKINGTON IN BELFAST.

An interesting development of the suffrage question in Belfast is the quiet educational work amongst working people which Dr. Walkington (the chief promoter of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation) is now carrying on. Every Monday evening an informal meeting of poor women, mill girls, and sometimes small boys is gathered in a Mission Hall in a very poor district of Belfast. Dr. Walkington talks to these people and takes the opportunity of introducing the subject of women's suffrage. It is received with the deepest interest, even by the small boys! And when the meeting is formally over, there are always some women who linger to ask for more information about suffrage. Dr. Walkington's example might with advantage be followed in other Irish towns, where the education of our poorer sisters on this great question is too often neglected.

UNITED IRISHWOMEN.

The Irishwomen's Reform League had a meeting in the Gresham Hotel on the evening of December 16th. A very interesting paper on the "United Irishwomen," written by "Mary Butler," was read. (The "United Irishwomen" work in connection with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, of which Sir Horace Plunkett is the head. It is interesting to note that that valuable and successful Society found it impossible to prosecute its work satisfactorily without the aid of women.) Afterwards, Mr. Herbert Fryer, the distinguished London pianist, who was visiting Dublin that week, kindly played a number of pianoforte pieces which gave intense delight to the audience.

THE NATIONAL UNION IN IRELAND.

The N.U.W.S.S. have very generously volunteered to send Miss Gill to Ireland for a few weeks to speak in various localities. Her visit is anticipated with much pleasure and interest and arrangements are being made by all the Societies belonging to the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation for meetings to be addressed by her.

The Societies in Newry and in Waterford have now joined the Federation.

Bow Branch of the I.L.P.

On Sunday, January 28th at 8 p.m., there will be a meeting of the Bow branch of the I.L.P. to support the demand for a Government measure of adult suffrage. Mrs. Despard is to take the chair and the speakers will be Miss Ward, H. D. Harben and George Lansbury, M.P. This meeting is the first in London to initiate the campaign decided upon by the I.L.P.

Britain Overseas.

South Africa. By far the most interesting contribution to the December number of *Jus Saffragii* is Mrs. Chapman Catt's account of her Suffrage tour in South Africa. It was a happy thought to pre-

sent the suffrage plea in the two official languages, and while Mrs. Catt addressed the British women, Dr. Aletta Jacobs was the missionary to the Boers.

"We were in South Africa 76 days or nearly three months," says Mrs. Catt, "and three full delightful months they were. . . . That our suffrage friends may know we were not idle during this period I offer the following summary. Of the 76 days twelve entire days and nights were spent on trains, and 14 days were spent in sightseeing. These 36 days taken from the 76 left 40 which were spent under the direction of the suffrage committee of the 11 towns visited with a view to suffrage work. These include the capitals of the four provinces comprising the Union, namely, Cape Colony, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal."

"We found woman suffrage sentiment uncultivated among the masses of the people, but the leaders in every town are exceptionally superior, well educated, intelligent, influential. The one hindrance in our judgment to the speedy enfranchisement of women is to be found in the suspicion and distrust of Briton for Boer and Boer for Briton, a condition which inevitably follows a civil war and is not the least of its attendant evils. It was painful to witness the continually recurring evidence of this feeling. . . . Yet there are forgiving and forgetting Boers and Britons who take a broad-minded view of things and who wish to work amicably together for the common good. With these people not only rests the fate of Woman Suffrage, but the future of South Africa. If the women composing the new organisation are able to lift themselves and their cause above the racial antagonism which so unhappily divides all movements in South Africa, the world's suffragists may rejoice ere long over one more country won for our glorious cause."

The close of this hopeful mission was a Conference at Durban attended by delegates from nearly all the suffrage clubs in South Africa. The suffrage organisations have been the first in South Africa to combine for national action, for it is from the Union parliament alone that they can demand and receive the suffrage. And as proof of the earnestness of purpose to which this convention bears witness, we are reminded that Durban lies one thousand miles away from Cape Town and "it is a country of magnificent distances."

Foreign News.

The Netherlands.

In the Dutch Parliament the question of an amendment to the State Constitution was discussed for three days. The leader of the Socialists advocated full Adult Suffrage; the Radicals, though in favour of Women's Suffrage objected to its standing in the way of "true democracy." Some Liberals did not mention the women at all; one of the members of the Allied Government parties declared that they had always advocated universal suffrage, but apparently did not explain whether he used the word in its real significance or merely in the sense of manhood suffrage. The leaders of the anti-revolutionary and Roman Catholic parties declined to express an opinion until the report of the State Commission on the amendment of the Constitution was published. In the end the proposal to suggest to the Queen the desirability of introducing a bill to amend the Constitution on account of the urgency of the franchise question was rejected. On the question of the desirability of electoral reform the votes were 42 in favour and 37 against.

A Servant's Life.

We have received the following communication from a servant, and as we believe in letting people speak for themselves whenever practicable, we publish it as a "human document" of some value.

DEAR MADAM,—I have read with interest the letters on Domestic Service, and should be very grateful if you would publish this as I think it is very true. I should be glad if all servants would rise up and demand more freedom and more time to themselves.

Oh, what a life poor servants lead, The life of some is hard indeed, Full of worry, care, and strife, Oh, who would lead a servant's life?

With what disdain we are spoken to, As though their words would pierce us through, Speaking in commanding tone All they wish for, to be done.

If things go wrong we get the blame, Guilty or not it's just the same; We dare not answer, if we do, We are saucy and impertinent too.

If we ask to go out we get denied, Our friends to visit us beside, Whilst we with smiles must on them wait, Oh, pity then a servant's fate.

But GOD above he knows our lot, And nothing by Him is forgot; He sees and knows all that we do, And in our troubles will help us through. ANOTHER SERVANT.

Helping Poor Mothers.

A Swiss correspondent has sent us the following account of voluntary work done in Basle to help poor mothers with children:—"We began in 1905 to provide a nice comfortable home for children during the time that their mothers were in hospital for acute illness or during confinement, and even in some cases for chronic disease, if it could be mitigated by rest and nursing. We did it because we saw that there were many mothers who needed nursing and care, and who did not go to the hospital because they did not know what would become of their children, and were afraid that they would not be kept well while they were away. The husbands are very rarely good housekeepers, and if they get home tired with a day's hard work they do not like to begin work again or the education of their children."

"We only take the children of really poor people, and they must be in good health as certified by a doctor. Before we take them the father has to agree to certain conditions providing for the welfare of the children, and he has to pay a sum varying from 3d. to 10d. a day, and this comes weekly or fortnightly out of his wages and if he fails we have the right to get the money direct from his employers the day he is paid. The agreement signed by the father is a legal document by which sums of money due to the institution could be recovered."

"The sum paid by the father is very far from covering the cost of the children's keep. During the year 1910, it covered one-sixth; institutions, local boards and authorities paid a fifth more and we had to provide the remainder. We hope that after a time the experiment will have so far justified itself that the State will take over the work and extend it, as there are many children for whom we have no room."

One hopes that one of the effects of the Insurance Act in England may be that working mothers may be enabled to be treated in institutions and sanatoria, and that the benefits under the Act may go towards paying the cost of some such institutions as that described above. The working mother often postpones the necessary treatment and the necessary operation because she cannot contemplate the certain neglect of her children which would ensue.

Chivalry—A Parable.

BROTHER: I suppose you didn't see that very sensible letter from a man, pointing out to the suffragettes that if they get the vote they can't expect men to treat them with the same courtesy as before.

MARGERY: No. Is it in to-day?

BROTHER: No, but here's an answer from some silly woman trying to make out that women don't want men's chivalry. Well, it only shows the class of person she is, and the sort of men she probably knows.

MARGERY: Well, you know, some forms of chivalry are very trying.

BROTHER: What on earth do you mean?

MARGERY: I was wondering if she was the woman I walked behind yesterday in the rain.

BROTHER: What are you talking about now?

MARGERY: Well, yesterday I walked behind a man and woman in the rain. He had on a hard felt hat, and she had a black satin one with white feathers. He had the one and only umbrella, and he held it well over his own hat, and half way over hers. Often other passers-by jostled them, shaking raindrops over her, sometimes they got separated and he went on quite calmly, not noticing that she was not under the umbrella, until suddenly he recollected her and shook the umbrella over her. Yet she walked quite calmly by his side.

BROTHER: Well, what else would you have her do?

"Thinking Women

Read

The Standard"

IN a few weeks this phrase has become a truism. Why? Order *The Standard* for a week, or a day, and you will see. It is because, since October 3, *The Standard's* daily news pages have included one headed:

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM"

which every Thinking Woman in the land, and very many thinking men, want to see and to study every day. "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" has ended what was called the "Press Boycott" of the serious interests of thinking women—not their ribbons and ornaments, but their thoughts, aims, claims, views, hopes, deeds, and—Work.

"WOMAN'S PLATFORM" in *The Standard* has already become the Thinking Woman's own medium in the Daily Press of Great Britain. All thinking women, modern women, are keenly interested in "WOMAN'S PLATFORM." They know that it is their own; they themselves determine how much it can serve their own interests by;—

1. Following "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" closely and day by day in *The Standard*, and using it freely in women's interests, as opportunity offers.

2. Inducing the largest possible number of the general public—men and women—to do the same thing, thus extending the scope of its services to women.

The Standard,
104, SHOE LANE, LONDON, E.C.

MARGERY: I thought she might have carried the umbrella, as her hat being flimsy needed more protection.

BROTHER: That would have been absurd, as I suppose it was his umbrella. It was not his fault if she didn't wear a sensible hat and came out without an umbrella.

MARGERY: Perhaps it was, and he wished her to wear that kind of hat, and paid for it. But she was quite well and strong and he could have either lent her his umbrella or protected her as far as an umbrella shop or a cab.

BROTHER: Well, what has that got to do with chivalry?

MARGERY: I think he thought he was being chivalrous, but I wonder if when she got home she wrote to the paper saying women could do without chivalry.

Reviews.

THE PASSING OF THE AMERICAN. By MONROE ROYCE. (Messrs. Stephen Swift and Co., Ltd. Price 3s. 6d.) Criticism of themselves and their institutions



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is said to be very deeply resented by the American people. Experienced travellers in the United States not infrequently put the prospective traveller there on his guard about the touchiness of our cousins across the Atlantic. Again and again one hears of the ninety-nine words of praise being eagerly swallowed and enthusiastically applauded, whilst the hundredth word of gentle criticism has blighted for ever the reputation for decency of the unfortunate critic! This extreme sensitiveness of Americans on the subject of their country is due far less to a secret want of faith in themselves than to the unfair and often ill-mannered, ignorant and impertinent observations of the casual visitor.

"The Passing of the American," by Monroe Royce, is criticism of the American, from cover to cover. All his faults and weaknesses are laid bare by the author, who, wonderful as it may seem, is himself an American. His methods in business and in politics, his religion, his education, his personal habits are all passed in review. A genuine sense of humour in him is seriously questioned; whilst the world-worshipped American woman comes in for a share of his censure.

The writer is infinitely concerned to improve the stamina and increase the numbers of the native American, who is threatened, as he believes, with utter extinction by the hordes of more enterprising foreigners to whom the United States has so generously extended her hospitality. His remedy is, in part, the restriction of immigration.

Many readers will question the wisdom of such a course, and will scarcely recognise the supreme necessity for preserving the purely American stock when the new elements are becoming rapidly Americanised and promise so much for the type which will ultimately appear.

But on this and other debatable points raised in this book the reader will form his own opinions. The book is patently written for the man and woman of our everyday working world. It is brightly written by one who does not fear to call a spade a spade. If it did not at times degenerate into mere scolding it would be altogether useful. Indiscriminate fault-finding is a weariness of the spirit to those even who are anxious to put things right.

E. S.

ON THE WALLABY THROUGH VICTORIA. By E. M. CLOWES. (Heinemann, 6s. net.)

The point of view of this book is that of a woman's life and work in Victoria. Impressions may be drawn from it of the less hampered conditions which prevail in a country where the problem of "equality amid difference" has been solved without prejudice.

Mrs. Clowes is an observer of contrasts. She points out that success on the up country stations has never been, and is not yet, solely an affair of man's labour, but depends largely on wifely industry and co-operation. From the very early days woman has taken her share of work without any question, even when it has meant that newly-born lambs have had to be put into her bed under the blankets with herself and the children." It has also been required of her that she should hold her husband's land in his inevitable absence, against white settlers. In the towns and cities there is of course keen competition between the sexes, but there are many chances of employment for women, and excellent payment for work done. A typist may earn £2 a week, with extra money for all overtime. Wages tend to be markedly higher than in England, and there is a minimum fixed by law. The working woman has her hours regulated, and is very well protected. On the whole the women of the middle and working classes have a better time of it in Australia, than in the mother country. They do not ask quite so much of life, but receive more. There are, it is true, fewer servants to wait on them, but they become more independent of domestic help. "The women in Victoria naturally do not like to hear of the stone throwing, etc., practised by their own sex in the fight for political equality at home . . . but then they literally cannot comprehend a woman's side of the question being disregarded simply because she is a woman. They have never resorted to violence, because there was no necessity for it; the laws in Australia being the same for women as for the men, in divorce, in labour, and the ownership and care of the children. . . They know that it pays them if nothing else to stand shoulder to shoulder, and to make of themselves and their family a compact little commonwealth, protecting their interests against outside interference only. A woman who lives in the British Isles finds it just as difficult to realise all that similarity of law involves, as does

the Victorian in her disapproval of militant suffragist tactics. Many women make no use of their votes; but these are a rapidly decreasing number, and owing to the distance from the polling booths in some districts many men also fail to vote. The value of child life ranks higher than in England, and if the father is dead or an invalid, or if the mother is a forsaken wife and known to be honest and hard-working but still unable to support her family, some or all of her children become wards of the State.

There are dark and disappointing features in Victorian civilisation, and these are frankly stated by Mrs. Clowes, whose book also gives reliable information on such subjects as dairy farming, wheat growing, alien life, the national liking for racing, the pressing need of irrigation, etc. The style is simple, and the work may serve to clear away much of our ignorance as to Victorian life and its conditions.

FRANCES E. ASHWELL COOKE.

NEW TRACTS FOR THE TIMES. THE METHODS OF RACE-REGENERATION. By DR. C. W. SALEEBY, F.R.S.Ed., F.Z.S. (Cassell and Co., 6d.)

Dr. Saleeby rejects as methods of race-regeneration the institution of compulsory mating, the lethal chamber, permission of infant mortality, and interference with ante-natal life, and the State regulation of vice; he questions the advisability of marriage certificates of health and the refusal of permission to marry (which tend to increase the number of illicit unions); he advocates State help to parents, the segregation of the unfit, the notification of venereal diseases and adequate provision for treatment.

In dealing with the question of State help, Dr. Saleeby refers to the Insurance Bill of 1911 and its maternity benefits, and describes Mr. Lloyd George as "the first Eugenist amongst modern statesmen." Suffragists wonder how much would have been heard of that benefit if suffrage books had never been written and suffrage speeches never heard.

The chief point of interest in Dr. Saleeby's book is his treatment of the question of the segregation of the unfit. Dr. Saleeby does not say that this segregation is only to apply to women, but we cannot help having the strongest suspicion that this is in his mind. His utterances on the moral question are wholly inadequate. Half-witted women, he tells us, recruit the ranks of prostitutes, but not a word does he say of those who victimise the half-witted in this way. Dr. Saleeby's book advocates the penalising of the unfit, who are the products of sin, but he only skirts the question of the sin that produces them.

We are told that the Home Secretary in the summer of 1911 promised to introduce legislation on the subject of eugenics. The gravity of such a question coming before the House before women have the vote will be apparent to suffragists. Women would do well to peruse such books as Dr. Saleeby's. Amidst much that every thinking woman will agree with, there are danger signals in it, all the more ominous because half-concealed, which show the necessity for watchfulness.

L. F. WARING.

Cursory Rhymes.

Sing a song of suffrage And opposition boast, Four and twenty antis Had upon toast. When debates were opened They proved their case so thin, A surer way we couldn't wish To welcome wobblers in. They all were on the platform, Being rather funny; The wise man in the gallery Was giving us his money; The maid, who all her guileless life had fancied us her foes, When the chairman put the question For the antis nearly rose.

But there came a little common sense and down she sat again.

D. C.

LAST WEEK'S VERSES. The verses we published last week entitled "The Anti" were by Mr. J. Y. Kennedy.

Women Doctors.

It seems that Mr. Mostyn-Bird in a book entitled "Woman at Work," wrote that the profession of medicine is suited to few women, and "of the large number who enter, only 20 per cent. get as far as the final examination." To this Miss L. M. Brooks, secretary and warden of the London (R.F.H.) School of Medicine replies in the Standard of January 2: "May I be permitted to draw the attention of your readers to the actual facts as relating to the London (Royal Free Hospital) School of Medicine for Women, the oldest and largest medical school for women in the country? Of those students who enter the school, 65 per cent. qualify between five and six years from the beginning of the course, five years being the minimum time for a medical course prescribed by the General Medical Council. Of the total number of students, 86 per cent. obtain a medical qualification, and of these 75 per cent. qualify on the degrees of the University of London.

The question also of "real eminence" is a comparative one, and if by this is meant a position on a hospital staff and the receipt of a good professional income, a considerable number of women have achieved this."

Letters to the Editor

Correspondents are requested to send their names and addresses, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. The Editor is not responsible for any statement made in the correspondence column.

Correspondents are requested to write ON ONE SIDE OF THE PAPER ONLY.

THE RISE OF THE DEMOCRACY. "M. A. H." is wrong in the review of this book in stating "no reference" is made to the United States and "nothing is said" of France. A glance at the Contents or Index alone would have prevented this misleading statement. As the purpose of the book—plainly set out on the first page—is to give some account of the movement towards democracy in England, there is naturally but little space given to the movement elsewhere.

I am sorry "M. A. H." finds "The Rise of the Democracy" so "confusing and confused," "superficial," "wanting in any sense of historical proportion," containing a statement "more than dubious" and altogether "not very useful"—it seems such a very severe judgment. However as THE COMMON CAUSE is the only paper in the country to condemn a book which insists upon Women's Suffrage as essential to democracy, I ought not to complain.

Perhaps, too, henceforth branches of the National Union will refrain from asking the author of so unworthy a production to speak on their platforms, and by so doing they will give him time to write his books less faultily.

JOSEPH CLAYTON.

Prospect House, Hampstead, December 29th, 1911.

SCAREMONGERING VERSUS SOCIALISM. I trust by this time that all "thinking women take

Women in Industry

Readers of THE COMMON CAUSE desiring information as to the conditions under which women work, should read the columns of

THE LABOUR LEADER

in which Factory and Public Health Law is explained by an expert.

ORDER FROM YOUR NEWENT EVERY FRIDAY. . . ONE PENNY

the Standard." May I suggest to those among them who are Christian Socialists and also Suffragists, that they write to "Woman's Platform" explaining the Christian Socialist position, which, as far as I can see, has not been fairly set forth in the articles on the "Red Peril." Any novice reading these might suppose all Socialists to be Atheists and Anarchists, and it is time some Christian Socialist enlightened the readers of the Standard on the other side of the question. After the support many Socialists have given to the cause of Female Suffrage, they should not be able to say that the women they have defended were slow to come forward and do them justice. I commend this to Christian Socialists, who will be capable of dealing with the matter.

Dec. 30, 1911. C.M.M. A. L. H. (Chelmsford) writes in support of Lady Onslow's letter of last week.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

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Other Socie ties

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE. The annual birthday party arranged by the Committee of the Actresses' Franchise League at the Criterion last Friday was a great success. A delightful programme was provided by the play department, which included songs by Madame Alice Esty, recitations by Miss Grace Jean Crocker, a violin solo by Miss Marjorie Clemens, a concertina solo by Miss Christine Hawkes, dances and song by Little Phyllis Bourke, and a humorous sketch by Miss Fanny Wentworth. Mrs. Pertwee acted as hostess to the artistes, while Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett was hostess for the Committee. "At Home" of the Actresses' Franchise League will held in the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on Friday, January 12th, at 3 p.m. (Please note change of date.) Miss Winifred Mayo will take the chair, Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, Mrs. Percy Deamer, and Sir John Rolleston will speak, and Miss Lily Brayton will be the hostess.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY. Hon. Sec.: Miss Beatrice Gadsby, B.A. Hon. Treas.: Miss Monica Whately. Office: 51, Blandford Street, Baker Street, W. MEMBERS are asked to make known the new office address, office hours 5 to 6 on Tuesdays and Fridays, or by appointment. Members are particularly requested to write at once to the Hon. Sec., offering to lend their drawing-rooms for meetings, a series of which is to be held directly after the holidays. FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE. General Secretaries: Rev. C. and Mrs. Fleming Williams, 2, Holmby View, Clapton, N. The General Secretaries will be glad to communicate with those anxious to form branches, or arrange for meetings. Combined meetings with the Church League are being arranged, details later. Donations to the Forward Movement Fund should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Holman, 55, Talbot Road, Highgate, N.

Forthcoming Meetings.

- ARRANGED BY THE NATIONAL UNION. JANUARY 4. Leamington-Birch's Music Rooms, Parade-Warwick and Leamington Franchise Club. 3.0 JANUARY 9. Newcastle-on-Tyne-27, Ridley Place-Suffrage Choir Practice. 8.0 JANUARY 10. Sevenoaks-The Chantry-Monthly Meeting-Miss J. H. Thomson, B.A. 3.0 Filey-The "Grand"-Amateur Theatricals-"Niobe". 8.0 Bournemouth-Assembly Rooms, The Avenue-"At Home". 4-6 JANUARY 12. Huddersfield-Mayor's Parlour-Deputation to Mr. Spennell-Miss Siddon, Mrs. Donkersley. 3.30 JANUARY 16. Wallasey-Central Liberal Club-Miss Rathbone Malton-Adult School-Miss I. O. Ford. 7.30 Newcastle-on-Tyne-27, Ridley Place-Suffrage Choir Practice. 8.0 Great Marlow-Danesfield-Drawing-room meeting -Mrs. Robie Uniacke, Cameron Grant, Esq., E. Hornby-Lewis, Esq. (chair). 3.0 JANUARY 17. Keswick-Battersby Lecture Hall-"The Economic Aspect of W.S."-Miss C. E. Marshall. 8.0 "The Educational Uses of W.S."-Miss Highton. 8.0 Bournemouth-Assembly Rooms, The Avenue-"At Home". 4-6 JANUARY 18. Leicester-Victoria Hall Granby Street-Suffrage Plays acted by local suffragists. Evening. LONDON. JANUARY 5. North Hackney-Mrs. Barrons's drawing-room meeting-Mrs. Mustard, Mrs. Wheatley. 3.30 JANUARY 9. Chingford-Spicer Hall Congregational Chapel, W.L.A., Miss Fielden. 3.0 JANUARY 10. Brentford-St. George's Parliament, Green School-Miss Helen Ward. 8.0 JANUARY 11. Highgate and East St. Paneras-Spear's Memorial Hall, Highgate Hill-The Elizabeth Bessie Comedy Company in a 17th century play-Tickets 2s. 6d. and 1s. 8.0 JANUARY 13. Upper Norwood-Grove Lodge-Miss Abadam, Miss Emily Green (chair). 3.0 JANUARY 15. Ealing-Miss Debae's drawing-room meeting-Miss Watson. 3.30 Poplar-Weslevan Chapel Lecture Hall, Woodstock Road-Mrs. Gimingham, M.A. 3.30

JANUARY 17. Fulham-Mrs. Raikes Bromage's drawing-room meeting-Miss C. Corbett, B.A., Miss Wickham (chair). 8.30 Sutton-Largo Hall, Adult School-Public meeting and debate-Mrs. Snowden. Evening. IRELAND. JANUARY 11. Dublin-35, Molesworth Street-Irish W.S. and Local Government Association-Committee meeting. 11.30 MEETINGS ADDRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNION. JANUARY 12. Oldham-Lyceum-Oldham District Teachers' Association-Miss Marjory Lees. 7.45

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