

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

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*"Hearts of youth,  
High-beating, ardent, quick in hope and truth,  
And noble anger, O wherever now  
You dedicate your uncorrupted vow  
To be an energy of Light, a sword  
Of the ever-living Will, amid abhorred*

*Din of reeking street and populous den  
Where under great stars blind lusts of men  
War on each other. . . . .  
O scattered, silent, hidden and unknown,  
Be lifted up, for you are not alone!*

—LAWRENCE BINYON.

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**Notes and Comments.****"Why Do You Not Stop the Militants?"**

There is probably no question more frequently put in private to constitutional Suffragists than this. Indeed, it is so constant that it seems worth while to reply to it publicly. We do not "stop the Militants" because we cannot. They are not part of our organisation, but entirely separate, with separate funds, separate control, and other leaders than ours. The N.U.W.S.S. has on more than one occasion appealed to the Women's Social and Political Union to abandon its disastrous tactics, and has repeatedly repudiated violence on its own behalf. Only last week, the Scottish Federation (of the N.U.) asked Mrs. Pankhurst to receive a deputation, which desired to lodge once more a protest against militancy, and convince her of the deplorable effect it was having on public opinion. The request was refused. In the meantime, as Mrs. Snowden said at the Free Church Council, "some of us are breaking our hearts about it"—most of us, perhaps, if we care about Women's Suffrage at all. But those to whom this tragic perversion of enthusiasm and courage and devotion into revenge and destruction is most of a heart-break, are called upon to make their own protest against it not a negative but a positive one. We are often asked to stand aside altogether, as a protest, until militancy ceases. Such a course would be a betrayal. It would be to put the Woman's Movement into the hands of those to whom its real significance has become invisible, to whom it is a war of retaliation. Rather should all who still see it in its true light, as a movement for healing and co-operation, strive and sacrifice unceasingly to make that vision clear to all—the uninterested, the Anti-suffragist, the Militant. This is the only real "protest against Militancy."

**The Real Enemy.**

Those who work for Women's Suffrage for any length of time invariably discover that the real enemy is not "Anti-Woman" so much as Anti-Democracy. There are men (and women) who honestly believe that women are naturally so inferior to men as to be unfit for freedom. But these are not many or important. Far more numerous are those who believe that some women—a few—are fit to vote, but must sacrifice their just claim in order to keep out the host of the unfit. Of these are Mrs. Humphry Ward and Miss Violet Markham. Here are two women whose political ability cannot be denied. They must necessarily admit it themselves, since Mrs. Ward habitually gives her help to her son at election times, and Miss Markham has a letter in the *Times*, of March 24th, in which she advises a perplexed male world how to find a solution of the problem of Ulster. Yet they are Anti-suffragists! Able, clear-sighted, public-spirited themselves, they cannot bring themselves to believe that other women can achieve their standard. They resign their claim to enfranchisement because they believe that other women are not fit for it, and would be a disastrous element in politics. It is impossible not to admire the refusal. It is also impossible not to resent it—on behalf of "the others." Is it not an enormous assumption to make, that other women are incapable of one's own standard? Can Mrs. Ward and Miss Markham seriously believe that they alone have the power to see steadily, judge wisely, and act with public spirit, or only they and a few of their friends?

**A Council of Women.**

Mrs. Humphry Ward suggests once more the formation of a Council of Women. It is, as far as we can gather, to be nominated by her. She is, on the supreme question now dividing women—the question of Women's Suffrage—in a minority so overwhelming that she withdrew in disgust from the "Women's Chamber," to which she already belonged, the National Union of Women Workers; yet she is herself to nominate the new one, a "Women's Parliamentary Advisory Committee." It is almost incredible that at this date such a proposal should be possible. It suggests a degree of misunderstanding of the tendency of the Woman's Movement which renders positively grotesque the claim of Mrs. Ward in any sense whatever to "represent" women. May we remind her that a body of women, "with power to advise Members of Parliament on matters affecting women and children," already exists in the National Union of Women Workers, and that it recently "advised" them to give women the Parliamentary vote? The National Federation of Women Workers, too—but they, no

doubt, are "the other women," whom Mrs. Humphry Ward hardly counts.

**Women Voters in Chicago.**

The intricacies of American politics are baffling to the looker-on. We learn that an enormous number of Chicago women registered as voters; that of these only 29 per cent. actually voted "at the primaries." It appears, however, that at the primary elections a declaration of party has to be made, and this many women objected to, and therefore did not vote. Apparently men have the same objection, as only 30 per cent. of the registered male voters voted at the primary elections. Miss Jane Addams, in the *Outlook*, congratulates the women on their "non-partisan attitude."

**Hysterics.**

The *Saturday Review* is in hysterics. The causes of this unfortunate occurrence are two—Mrs. Pankhurst and Mme. Caillaux. With regard to the former the writer of an article called "The Problem of the Suffragist" remarks: "It is difficult to induce her to go to prison, impossible to keep her there." One is tempted to paraphrase this: "It is difficult to induce the *Saturday Review* to be sane, impossible to keep it so." Otherwise, how account for the second article—on Mme. Caillaux? In this it is argued that women must not be given "direct political power" because Mme. Caillaux (who had none) shot the editor of the *Figaro*. "So far, the woman who wants the vote has shown herself also to be the woman who wants to destroy." There is no evidence that Mme. Caillaux wants a vote, and there is much evidence that the women who do are, in the enormous majority, totally opposed to methods of destruction. But what can be hoped from a writer who declares in good set terms, that "philosophy in failure, moderation in success, scepticism in speculation, calm optimism in action, a faculty of coolly estimating chances, some sense of humour—these are the ordinary qualities of every public man"? Someone else must have written the other articles, in which the conduct of some public men who do not share the political views of the *Saturday Review* is described.

**The Plumage Bill in Committee.**

A good deal of opposition seems to be developing in Committee against the Plumage Bill. According to Sir Stanley Buckmaster, the trade exists "to gratify a woman's vanity." The opposition seems to be coming from those "engaged in the trade." We do not hear of any woman, however vain, interesting herself in opposing this humane measure, and we decline to believe in Mr. Page Croft's silly story of the lady who believed birds were "chloroformed before being plucked." This is the kind of humour which could not raise the ghost of a smile in any place in the world but the House of Commons.

Meanwhile, melancholy pictures are drawn of women having the trimming snatched from their hats as they walk about the streets. All the pictures are drawn by men. The women seem quite unmoved, and some have even written to the press to say that, in their opinion, "women who persist in wearing plumage not permitted by the Bill should be compelled to surrender it." It seems as if men really do not know what women want—even when they feel most sure of their ground.

**Abduction No Crime.**

A very interesting case has been sent us, of an abduction charge which was tried in 1865. A girl was taken out of her mother's possession, but as the father was alive and not divorced or legally separated from the mother, it was held that she was "under coverture," and therefore had no legal possession of the child. The defendant was discharged upon this ground. Our correspondent writes: "No amendment has been made which removes the possibility of this defence remaining valid, though possibly an indictment could be so framed as to avoid it." It is an interesting illustration of that sacred right of motherhood which Anti-suffragists assure us is all that a woman ought to want.

**The National Union of Teachers at Lowestoft.**

We call attention to a letter from Miss L. F. Waring in our correspondence columns, describing the work of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in connection with the Teachers' Conference at Lowestoft, and asking for help.

## In Parliament.

[We do not attempt to give anything like a complete survey of the week's proceedings in Parliament. Our aim is merely to show how Parliament is dealing with certain questions which would receive more attention if women had the vote.]

Thursday, March 19th.

### END OF THE HALF-TIME SYSTEM.

MR. A. SMITH (Lab., Clitheroe), in Standing Committee, proposed an amendment which would have made it possible for certain districts to continue to employ half-time labour of children under fourteen. The amendment was rejected by 21 votes to 11, the effect of this decision being practically to abolish the half-time system.

### WOMEN PROBATION OFFICERS.

In reply to a question by Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck, MR. MCKENNA said that in some Courts no woman probation officers had yet been appointed, and he would consider whether he should once more call their attention to the matter.

March 20th.

### HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

SIR A. GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN (Dudley, U.), in moving the second reading of the Housing of the Working Classes Bill, urged the necessity for dealing promptly with the shortage of housing accommodation, and quoted from the Report of the Land Committee Inquiry, instituted by the Government, in support of his view. The chief difficulty in the rural districts was, he said, the shortage of houses. In the towns it was the existence of foul, festering slums, and the difficulty of clearing them out. He advocated a State grant towards what was really "a great sanitary public improvement":—

"You have got to deal with an existing void and build somehow. The only way to do it is, in my opinion, to subsidise the local authorities, and when you are in a necessitous area where wages are low and it is impossible to build without economic loss, then the nation should shoulder part of that loss, instead of leaving it all to the ratepayer."

Speaking of the clearing of slum areas, he continued:—

"If you turn a man out of his dwelling in order to effect a great public improvement, you are morally bound, and you should be legally bound, to provide him with another dwelling at a rent which he can afford to pay. You may say that is uneconomic, but after all you owe something to these people. . . . Therefore we propose that both in town and country alike where a local authority undertakes to deal with a closing order, and thereby creates a shortage . . . they have got to ascertain where the person displaced will live."

"Let me take the Report of the Local Government Board for 1912-13, and what do I find . . . that in the country they closed 2,292 houses. On the other hand, they sanctioned loans for building 331. You are simply creating a house famine. Before you proceed with your destructive policy you must take steps to see that there is somewhere for the people to go. The two things must go hand in hand. Take the urban side during the same period . . . You closed 7,290 houses and you sanctioned loans for building 1,549. . . . I think the House will agree that something more must be done on the constructive side."

Criticising the view that "the crux of the whole question is cheapening and making easier the purchase of land," Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen laid it down "as an absolute axiom that the cost of land is the smallest item in providing cottages," and gave in support of this assertion instances which had occurred while he was Chairman of the Housing Committee of the L.C.C. In the case of one development scheme, the rent had averaged 2s. 6d. a week per room, of which only 1½d. represented the expenses of acquiring the land. In another scheme, the cost of land was 1½d. out of 2s. 6d., in a third, 1½d. out of 7s. :—

"I think the House will admit that land in London and the outskirts is dear, and that if the cost of land was a big item in this connection it would probably be so in the case of London. . . . I perfectly agree that very often they have had to pay too much, yet I still say you are not going to touch the fringe of the question by cheapening the cost of the land. That is a complete mare's nest. We hear talk of raising wages and altering the land laws. I do not believe, having studied this question, that either by raising wages or altering the land laws you will get the results you anticipate. We must do something to get rid of the slums of the country. It may be that we impose on the country a heavy burden, it may be we may sanction municipal buildings, which undoubtedly is an evil, but, I say in all seriousness, almost any price is worth paying to get decent homes for our people, which is the real road to social reform. Let us try to get rid of the slums with all their horrors, and let us try to do something to elevate the people who dwell in those slums."

MAJOR HOPE (Midlothian, U.), in seconding the motion, pointed out that:—

"At present owners in declining to put houses in repair can play on the known reluctance of local authorities to impose closing orders, which will result in a shortage of accommodation in the district."

MR. RAFFAN (Leigh, L.) objected to the Bill, on the ground that the expenditure of public money would have the effect of largely increasing the amount of money paid to the owners of

land, and contended that what blocked the path were "the present land conditions of this country and the present system of rating." He concluded:—

"I say that the way to end the house famine is to take the rates off the cottages and put them on the unimproved value of the land, to take your rates from the building and improvements, the work of man's hands, and to put them where they ought to lie—upon the unimproved value of the land, which is the creation of the community and not of any individual. When that is done, you will have solved the housing question. Until that is done it will always remain an insoluble enigma."

MR. OUTHWAITE (Hanley, L.), in supporting Mr. Raffan, said that he had found that the land monopoly and the restrictions on the used land were very largely the factors which determined the condition of rural housing.

MR. CURRIE (Leith Burghs, U.), in criticising the scheme of housing reform foreshadowed by the Government, said:—

"I would appeal to the Government to depart from the idea of dealing with this matter by any central scheme of housing, which we have only too good reason to think merely means that the country will be flooded once more with hordes of officials doing work, or professedly doing work, which, in our judgment, would be much better done through local machinery, which has at its disposal the necessary knowledge of varying local circumstances and of local problems, and, what is equally important, of varying local resources."

SIR PHILIP SASSOON (Hythe, U.) stigmatised the insanitary cottages and slum areas throughout the country as a "blot on our civilisation, a menace to the moral and physical health of this country, and a continual drain upon the public purse," and maintained that the Report of the Land Committee emphasized the impotence of the Local Government Board to "stimulate the local authorities in this matter of housing reform." He considered that the Bill before the House made a serious attempt to deal with a deplorable state of things in the only practical way.

SIR MATHEW WILSON emphasised the connection between bad housing and a high rate of infant mortality.

MR. GEORGE ROBERTS (Norwich, Lab.) supported the Second Reading of the Bill because of the urgency of the Housing Problem, not because he thought it would solve the difficulty, but because he honestly believed that it would "palliate a terrible evil in our midst." Though he had always declared that values created by the public ought to be appropriated for public purposes, he submitted that in considering the problem of housing, the question of land did not assume "that great importance that some would have us believe":—

"After all, it is simply a question of a 1d. or 2d. per week, and this housing problem is not going to be solved by petty considerations of 1d. or 2d. per week."

He hoped that the Government would soon deal with the minimum wage question, but held that:—

"to advance the minimum wage theory as a reason why you should not embark upon a scheme of State housing is simply to give a device for shelving a great problem that ought to be faced at once."

An adequate wage could only be attained by slow gradations.

MR. WALTER LONG (Strand, U.) contended that while the State made contributions towards public health, education, and the administration of the Poor Law, it was absurd to object to a State contribution towards housing:—

"If there is any suspicion in the mind of anybody that some owner of land would derive benefit because he would have cottages built for him that he ought to build for himself, have your Local Government Board enquiry, which would be an inevitable precedent to any action under this measure, and if the result is to prove that the land-owner whose land is used for farming purposes of any kind fails to give to the farm the necessary equipment of cottages, amongst other things, by all means prevent your grant going to his benefit, or in any way providing those cottages."

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL (Cleveland, L.) pointed out that a great deal was already being done in the way of housing reform, though he must not be understood to regard it as adequate. He would not offer any opposition to the Second Reading of the Bill, but the Government were opposed to its most important proposal—the grant of a million pounds a year from the taxes. He believed that no step should be taken which would in any degree make agriculture a subsidised industry. He agreed with hon. members opposite that where the local authorities were at fault, the State also must seek to make good the deficiency. It was one of the proposals of the Government that the State should supplement the efforts of the local authorities, and directly through its own agencies build the houses that were needed. He also agreed that it was necessary to remove restrictive by-laws that hampered building.

The report of the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation would be in the hands of the members in a very few days. It would be found that among the proposals the Committee suggest that there should be a uniform grant from the central exchequer to all local authorities to assist them to deal with questions of public health. Various matters connected with public health and housing were receiving the consideration of the Government, and

a Bill was being prepared to deal with them which he hoped to lay before the House during the present session.

MR. H. W. FORSTER (Sevenoaks, U.) expressed profound disappointment with Mr. Samuel's speech, and said that if the Government were in earnest they would give all the support they could to this measure.

"I am driven to the conclusion, and I repeat it with reluctance, that the President of the Local Government Board is playing with this question. He is studying rather the fortunes of his own party than the interests of the working people."

The Bill was read a second time and committed to a Standing Committee.

### THE PLUMAGE BILL.

(Standing Committee.)

MR. DENNIS moved to omit words which would have the effect of making the innocent buyer of plumage equally responsible with the guilty seller. That would be an extremely unfair position in which to place the public.

MR. HOBHOUSE declared that the words were necessary to prevent attempts to smuggle plumage into the country. A picture had been drawn of the mental and physical distress which the Bill would cause to the women of England. He had received a letter from the director of the New York Zoological Society, who, writing after the Act in America had been in existence for some time, said:—

"You may say on my authority, in the strongest terms you can command, that seizures which have been made of forbidden plumage from the hats and trunks of passengers have caused no uproar or convulsion of any kind. The women who do not bring in forbidden plumage treat the law as a good joke on those who do. Now the nature of the law is so thoroughly well known both in this country and in yours that seizures have almost ceased, because of the general compliance with the law."

"Parisian milliners are now very careful not to sell to their customers any forbidden plumage, because when they do they are liable to lose those customers for ever."

March 24th.

### ABOLITION OF "HALF-TIMERS."

The Standing Committee which is considering the Children's (Employment and School Attendance) Bill, agreed to an amendment postponing the date for the abolition of "half-time" employment exemptions to January, 1917, Sir J. Toulmin pointing out that longer time than that proposed by the Bill—two years—should be given in order that local and individual requirements should be met.

### THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, March 24th.

A Smoke Abatement Bill was introduced by Lord Newton, and supported by Lord Curzon. In the course of his speech, the former said that 76,000 tons of soot were deposited in London each year from the smoke.

On a promise from the Government to appoint a Departmental Committee to consider the question, the Bill was withdrawn.

## Political Notes.

### A WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

It was announced in the *Daily Telegraph* last Saturday that Lord Selborne would introduce a Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Lords on Monday, March 23rd. It was further stated that the N.U.W.S.S. could give no information on the subject, but that the Bill would probably be framed on "Conciliation" lines. The *Daily Telegraph's* announcement was premature. We are now, however, free to state that it is true that Lord Selborne is introducing a Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Lords, but the Bill will not be a revival of the Conciliation Bill.

The Conciliation Bill was a compromise, framed by a committee of Members of Parliament drawn from all political parties. In its final form (the form in which it was introduced in 1911 and 1912), it represented very substantial concessions on the part of its Conservative supporters to meet the objections of Mr. Lloyd George and other Liberals. Nevertheless, in 1912, the Liberal and Irish Members united to secure its defeat.

It was not to be expected that the Conservative Suffragists in the House of Lords would repeat the offer of compromise made with so little success by the Conservative Suffragists in the House of Commons. The form of Women's Suffrage which most Conservatives prefer is the extension to women of the same

electoral qualifications as at present apply to men. This was the form of Lord Robert Cecil's Resolution at the Annual Conference of the National Conservative and Unionist Association at Norwich on November 13th and 14th.

A measure on these lines would obviously be advantageous to the Conservative party, and it is undoubtedly the form which would be adopted by a Conservative Government bringing in a Women's Suffrage Bill. But the Bill to be introduced by Lord Selborne is not a Government measure; the Anti-suffragists in the party will be free to oppose it. It has, therefore, been thought better to avoid the "equal terms" formula, since this is so often confused by Anti-suffragists with Adult Suffrage. The Suffragist Peers have framed their Bill on the simple principle of giving the Parliamentary vote to those women who already possess the municipal vote, without the concessions which, in the case of the Conciliation Bill, were added to meet Liberal objections. The Bill commends itself to Conservatives as a safe and moderate measure, since it would enfranchise those women who already have experience of using the municipal vote.

Except for Lord Lytton's valuable speech on the second reading of the Plural Voting Bill last session, the question of Women's Suffrage is new to the House of Lords. Indeed, it is unusual for that House to propose any kind of franchise reform, but the Suffragist peers naturally recognise that if the Bills which come up to them from the House of Commons had been passed by an assembly responsible to female as well as to male electors, those measures would more accurately represent the "will of the people" than they do at present.

The Bill may be introduced by Lord Selborne any day before Easter. The second reading is not likely to take place before May.

### MR. SAMUEL AND THE WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD.

MR. SAMUEL (President, Local Government Board) has received a number of proposals from the Women's Co-operative Guild with a view to diminishing the infant death-rate, and the accompanying "damage rate." He has promised to consider the following measures:—

To make the Notification of Births Act (now applied to about 60 per cent.) compulsory for all the community.

To establish maternity centres, under the local authorities, for the organisation of instruction and help.

To appoint municipal midwives.

To transfer maternity benefits from administration under the insurance to the control of local authorities.

### THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION IN IRELAND.

Every day the situation in Ireland seems to change. The concessions announced on March 9th seemed to offer excellent opportunities for Suffragists. Had the proposed referendum for the Ulster counties been accepted, we should have had a good case for claiming that such a referendum should be on the basis of the municipal register. At the same time, we should have urged the change in the political situation since the Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill was defeated in 1912. Mr. Redmond and other Nationalists gave as one reason for opposing that amendment the introduction of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, which was to deal with the whole question of women's enfranchisement. We all know the fate of that measure. It might have been claimed with considerable force that the withdrawal of this Bill created a new situation, and gave sufficient reasons for the introduction of amendments dealing with the enfranchisement of women in Ireland. The debates of last week have, however, thrown the whole matter again into the melting pot. No one knows yet whether the concessions will be accepted, though such an event seems to be very improbable. The referendum to all the electors of the United Kingdom, proposed by Mr. Bonar Law, seems to be still in the air, neither definitely accepted nor refused. It is impossible to say what any moment may bring forth.

Meanwhile, what should be the attitude of Suffragists? Clearly to insist that whatever is done about the Government of Ireland Bill, women should be consulted. As Irish Suffragists we work neither for or against any measure. In Ireland the non-party attitude is hard to understand. If you are non-party you are accused in the South and West of Ireland of being a Unionist in disguise: in the North you are regarded as a more subtle and, therefore, more dangerous type of Nationalist. The truth is, of course, that the Suffragists work for the recognition of women as citizens, whatever be their political party. Therefore, all Suffragists at the present moment ought to urge upon every political leader, and upon every political party, the right of women to be consulted on the question of Home Rule.

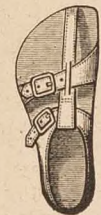
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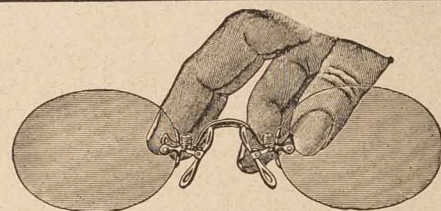
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To put it briefly, the Home Ruler regards Home Rule as the greatest need of the country at the present moment; the Unionist regards it as the greatest disaster which could befall the land. On either hypothesis, it is obvious that women are equally concerned and should have a voice. Further, there is the dreadful thought of which so many speak lightly. If, indeed, civil war, with all its unthinkable horrors, is to be the outcome of the present crisis, should not those who will suffer most from its horrors have a word to say?

DORA MELLONE.

### DEPUTATION TO SIR EDWARD CARSON.

On Monday, March 23rd, Sir Edward Carson received a deputation from the Northern Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation (Non-militant), which was introduced by Captain Craig, M.P. Arrangements had been made for a large and influential deputation of Ulster women. Owing, however, to the critical state of political affairs and the uncertainty of his movements, it was decided that a few should interview Sir Edward at once. Mrs. R. H. Metge and Mrs. W. J. Holmes, representing the Northern Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation, and Miss Mellone, representing the Federation, explained the object of the deputation, and asked the following questions:—

1. In view of the promise to Ulster women made by the Unionist Council last September, that the Municipal Register should form the basis of the Provisional Government, are you prepared to demand that this Register should be taken as the basis in any settlement of the Home Rule crisis?
2. If the Referendum for the Ulster Counties be accepted will you ask that this shall be taken on the basis of the Municipal Register?
3. Should Ulster remain under the Imperial Parliament will you support any measure of enfranchisement for women?

Sir Edward, in reply, stated:—

1. They were fighting for the same treatment for the men of Ulster as the men of England were getting, and the women of Ulster would get the same treatment as the women of England got; he could not ask for any special treatment for Ulster women, it would be inconsistent on his part to do so since he had never agreed with the Suffrage movement. Nor could he make such a demand on behalf of his party as they were divided on the subject.
2. With regard to the Referendum in the Ulster Counties, Sir Edward stated that this was a point requiring attention, and definitely promised to give it his consideration.
3. In reply to this question Sir Edward said it would be quite inconsistent for him to make any definite promise in this direction.

After further discussion, the deputation expressed their regret that Sir Edward had been personally unable to give them a more satisfactory reply, and having thanked him for receiving them, they withdrew.

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND MILITANCY.

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Huddersfield on March 21st, said:—

"There was a literary man the other day reproaching Parliament with doing nothing, wasting time. Well, there is one element of truth behind a great deal of exaggeration. I say it as one who has been in Parliament for twenty-four years. We have spent too much time on some things and God knows we have spent too little time on others of greater moment. Why have we done it? A generation has passed away since 1885, a generation that expected deliverance from penury, misery, wretchedness, privation. They wait in vain."

Speaking of the Unionist attitude towards Ulster, he continued:—

"I have deprecated as much as any man the breach of the law by people who are fighting for the franchise for women, but I ask, and I ask it in all seriousness: If Mr. Bonar Law ever comes into power what moral right will he have to punish these people for breaches of the law? After all, they are deprived of the right of citizenship. But of what right of citizenship does Home Rule deprive any man in Ulster? So far from depriving them of their votes, it gives them a vote for two Parliaments. They can vote for the Home Rule Parliament, they can vote for the Imperial Parliament. They have their rights as citizens of the Empire, as British citizens. There is no right they are deprived of. How, then, can he punish people who are fighting for the elementary rights of citizenship?"

But Mr. George said nothing of the difference between the attitude of his own Government to Mrs. Pankhurst and Sir Edward Carson. How does he defend that? We who support neither can draw no other conclusion than that in his eyes, Sir Edward Carson is the less to be excused. Yet he goes unpunished. Mr. Asquith says:—

"The rumour that warrants are out for the arrest of the Ulster leaders, has not, and never has had, the very slightest foundation in fact. . . . The Government has never taken, and does not contemplate, any such step."—Times, March 23rd.

### A CONFESSION OF FAITH.

MR. WALTER RUNCIMAN AT DEWSBURY.

(From a correspondent.)

At the Spring Conference of the Yorkshire Council of Women's Liberal Associations, held in Dewsbury on March 20th, Mr. Walter Runciman said that he looked forward to the time when women would help in solving the housing and land questions. He hoped that all women would soon be enfranchised.

### STRIKE AGAINST CHILD LABOUR. Over 900 Girls Cease Work.

A strike to check the employment of juvenile labour is taking place at Morton's Sugar Confectionery and Food Preserving Factory, at Millwall Docks, where over 900 women and girls, and some 500 men and boys have ceased work.

The trouble arose in the tin-box factory. Hitherto it has been the custom of this firm to employ no one under eighteen years of age, but last week three younger girls were engaged, and were put on press machines where the tin for boxes is cut. These machines are dangerous, and even with experienced workers engaged on them, accidents occur. There have been many compensation cases, in which girls working such machines have by some inadvertence lost one or more of their fingers. The little girls were given wages nearly one-third of what the older girls earn, which is little enough, averaging, according to the calculation of the earners, 7s. a week for girls of twenty, and 11s. for women at the age of twenty-six, and, seeing that the Trade Boards Act is being applied to both the sugar confectionery and tin box trades, the girls fear that the firm intend to substitute much child labour for adult labour. (The Trade Board's minimum wage is fixed for girls at eighteen, and lesser sums are paid to girls under that age.) The girls are in good spirits and full of pluck, but they are quite unorganised, and help is badly needed to enable them to carry the strike to a successful issue. Miss Susan Lawrence (L.C.C.) and Miss Mary MacArthur (National Federation of Women Workers, 34, Mecklenburgh Square) are raising a fund for this purpose, and making an earnest appeal for donations. Most of the men and boys are loyally supporting the women, but at present the employers show no signs of yielding.

### TINY EARNERS.

The need for the extension of the Trade Boards Act to other trades, and the addition of clauses to guard against the sweating of children, is shown by the extent to which tiny children are employed to augment the family earnings. In an interview with a representative of the *Daily News*, Mr. J. J. Mallon, Secretary of the National Anti-Sweating League, gave his opinion that the poor wages of the women home-workers lay at the root of this trouble:—

"In the East End of London at six and seven, home-workers' children are busy with boot-boxes, match-boxes, paper bags, and other trivialities. Their little fingers stumble and their minds wander. They don't tell you in words that they want to play like other children, but they say with the bird in Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey' that plaintively twittered and beat against the bars, 'I can't get out.'"

"People sometimes say, 'Oh, these babies are given little jobs of this kind to keep them out of mischief.' They would never make that comment could they see for themselves how the health of such children suffers. Only a few years ago an L.C.C. medical officer inquired into the physical condition of 400 children employed outside school hours. He found physical, often grievous, deterioration in all of them."

### TRADE BOARD FOR SHIRT-MAKING.

The Board established under the Trade Boards Act, 1909, for the Shirt-making trade held their first meeting on March 11th and 12th, and decided to establish "district committees" for four defined areas, three in England, and one in Scotland. They also made recommendations as to the number of and method of selecting, local representatives of employers and workers in each district committee in the four areas. Time-rates for women in the trade were discussed, but no conclusion was arrived at. The discussion is to be resumed on April 29th.

The Board consists of sixteen members representing employers, two members representing employers who are sub-contractors, eighteen members representing workers, and three members appointed by the Board of Trade, these being Mr. Anes (Chairman), Sir Stirling Murphy, and Mrs. Deane Streatfield.

### NATIONAL CARE FOR MATERNITY.

A discussion, arranged by the Fabian Women's Group, on "National Care for Maternity and its relation to the Amendments of the Insurance Act," took place on Thursday last at the Caxton Hall. An account of the meeting will appear in our next issue. This is the first of a series of meetings.

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NEWS FROM ABROAD.

SOUTH AFRICA.

The *South African News* publishes the text of Mr. Wyndham's Suffrage Bill. It proposes to grant the Parliamentary franchise to women in each of the provinces on the same terms as it is exercised by the men of that province. In the case of a married woman living with her husband, the vote will not be granted to her "in respect of property possessed, occupied, or rented by her jointly with her husband, unless the value of such property is at least twice the amount prescribed" by the franchise laws of the province in which she lives.

UNITED STATES.

The decision of the Senate, refusing to amend the Constitution of the United States in favour of Women's Suffrage, was reported in Saturday's *Daily Telegraph*. Thirty-four Senators voted for, and thirty-five against the amendment, a majority of two-thirds being necessary to obtain the desired change in the Constitution. Another amendment to repeal the existing provision enabling negroes to vote, and to grant the vote to women, was defeated by 48 votes to 19.

American Suffragists were prepared for opposition from the House of Representatives. Defeat in the Senate is an unexpected blow, and Suffragists throughout the world will sympathise with the Congressional Union and the Federation Equality Association in the collapse of their ably-organised attempt to obtain equal Suffrage by a single enactment.

Energetic propaganda is meanwhile going forward on behalf of the four "campaign States" in which the Suffrage question will come before the voters in November next. These are North and South Dakota, Montana, and Nevada. We learn from the National American Woman Suffrage Association that "big rallies are being arranged for, to occur in New York March 30th, Philadelphia March 31st, and Boston April 1st. Other big cities will also have their rallies. . . . Prominent speakers, opera singers, and moving pictures will be some of the features. The object is to raise funds to help the Campaign States.

Woman as Federal Lawyer.

Mme. Annette Adams has been nominated for appointment as Assistant District Attorney. She will be the first woman to receive such an appointment. The *San Francisco Star* says:—"California women see in the appointment of Mrs. Adams another sign of the growing political significance of women."

AUSTRALIA.

Children's Health.

The *Canterbury Times* reports that the Education Department in New South Wales is establishing a travelling School Hospital in connection with the medical branch of the Department, to meet the cases of parents whose financial position prevents them remedying the defects in pupils discovered by the medical inspection.

Some Books for Parents.

EXPECTANT MOTHERHOOD. By J. W. Ballantyne, M.D., F.R.C.P. (Cassell. 6s.)

MARRIAGE AND MOTHERHOOD: A WIFE'S HANDBOOK. By H. S. Davidson, M.B., F.R.C.S.E. (The People's Books. Jack. 6d. each net.)

THE BABY: A MOTHER'S BOOK BY A MOTHER. By a University Woman. (Same Series.)

THE TRAINING OF THE CHILD. By G. Spiller. (Same Series.)

YOUTH AND SEX: DANGERS AND SAFEGUARDS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS. By Mary Scharlieb, M.D., and F. Arthur Sibley, M.A., LL.D. (Same Series.)

THE HEALTH AND PHYSIQUE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN. By Arthur Greenwood. (King. 1s. net.)

THE CASE FOR CO-EDUCATION. Cecil Grant, M.A., and Norman Hodgson, B.A. (Grant-Richards. 5s.)

The problems connected with child life and education are rapidly becoming more and more complicated, and every year sees a number of fresh books dealing with such questions. Some of these—not the least useful—are concerned with the pre-natal period, or like Dr. Ballantyne's "Expectant Motherhood," even go back to the girlhood of the mother.

Dr. Ballantyne has given us a thoroughly clean, wholesome, and stimulating book. It is on a high plane throughout, but like many another before him he leaves the best to the end. His two chapters on Ante-Natal Hygiene offer the best statement of the sub-

ject so far presented to the general public. His remarks on the limitations of the family are wise, sound, and up-to-date. He acknowledges that the falling birth-rate is a very difficult subject. So it is; and I do not think if a comfortable pregnancy and a painless labour were offered to every married woman, desirable on all grounds as that may be, it would do nearly everything to check it. Its cause is largely economic, and is partly accounted for by the great rise in prices in recent years. It is also quite as often the desire of the husband to have few children to support as the shirking of maternity by the wife; that is the reason of the prevalence of small families.

The chapters on the hygiene of pregnancy are excellent, and certainly if the expectant mother reads them, she will see how much better and cheaper is prevention than cure, and so be the means of carrying out "the main purpose for which this book has been written." The reference to the great importance of rest during pregnancy, especially to women whose lives are taken up with exhausting toil, is very valuable. It has been said that bed is the best drug we have, and this is never more true than in the case of the expectant mother.

Dr. Ballantyne remarks on the law in Scotland with regard to divorce, where men and women have been regarded since the Reformation as in a position of absolute equality, and shows up the backwardness of our English law in this respect. "It is an observation," says Lord Guthrie, "as insulting to womanhood as it is unfounded for man to say—it is only men that ever say it—that a woman does not feel the wrong, the humiliation, and the degradation of marital infidelity as much as man." All the members of the English Royal Commission on Divorce (1912), regarded as ripe for legislation, the establishment of equality of the sexes as to grounds for divorce, and yet, two years later, there is no sign of any alteration in the law whatever.

There is one striking feature in this book which almost marks an epoch. Women doctors are given as much prominence as are men doctors. Altogether, though there are minor points on which all would not be agreed, the book is well worth reading by both the lay and medical public.

JANE WALKER.

Mr. Davidson's "Marriage and Motherhood"—described as "A Wife's Handbook"—is a useful little book which ought to be of great help to a woman after marriage. Mr. Davidson explains in detail the symptoms and signs of pregnancy, and the necessary care a woman should take of herself during that time. She is also warned against certain danger signals, so that she may seek help in time and probably prevent serious complications from arising. The chapter on the "Newly-born Child" is good, and would enable an intelligent woman to criticise the management of the child by an incompetent but self-confident nurse. It is supplemented by "The Baby: A Mother's Book by a Mother."

This book is simply written and easily understood: it should prove a great help to mothers. It gives them sound, common-sense advice, and mentions most of the minor complications which occur during the first few years of a child's life.

In the same series is "The Training of the Child," by G. Spiller, a sensible little manual dealing with the best methods of inculcating good habits, and emphasising the importance of moral training. Its key-note is contained in the phrase, "Be positive, and not negative; aim at the good and not at the absence of evil." Special stress is laid on the need for a right understanding of the words "strong" and "manly," self-control and unselfishness being held up as the chief attribute of a strong character. If this idea is early implanted in the child, a high standard of honour is likely to be formed in adolescence, especially with regard to the relations of the sexes.

"Youth and Sex" is in two parts—Part I, entitled "Girls," is written by Mrs. Scharlieb, M.D.; Part II, entitled "Boys," written by A. Sibley, M.A., LL.D. It is a book written essentially for parents. Mrs. Scharlieb maps out the physical and mental development of the girl from childhood to womanhood in some detail, and insists on the injustice of letting a girl grow up in ignorance of physiological facts and the eternal realities of life. Mr. Arthur Sibley brings home to his readers the prevalence of immorality and self-abuse amongst schoolboys, and the importance of teaching them self-restraint and self-respect. He appeals to the parents and schoolmasters to try and gain the confidence of the boys so as to help them to overcome vicious habits when they have once fallen a victim to them. This book should be largely read by parents. It is educational and will help them to watch and guard their children from acquiring habits which cannot be too strongly condemned on moral and hygienic grounds.

Another book dealing with the question of health is the "Health and Physique of School Children," which contains a mass of statistics on the above subject, which should be useful to all who wish to study it. Mr. Greenwood favours a great development in the school medical service, and of various agencies of prevention connected with it, and foresees considerable changes in the organisation and curriculum of the elementary school.

Mr. Grant makes out a very strong case for educating boys and girls in the same school, especially on the ground that it leads to a much higher moral tone, and more wholesome atmosphere than is usually found where the sexes are segregated. He lays stress on the fact that co-education does not necessarily mean an identical curriculum for boys and girls, and that it does not tend to make the girls rough and the boys less manly. On the contrary, it serves to bring out the best qualities in each. The chapters dealing with co-education in America, where the system is generally acknowledged to work satisfactorily, should do much to dispel the prejudices of many who regard innovations with distrust, while admitting the shortcomings of our own methods, and especially the lamentably low standard of sex morals so often found among boys.



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## Correspondence.

[Correspondents are urged to write briefly, as we receive each week a greater number of letters than we can possibly print. They are also warned to write on one side of a page only. Letters with writing on both sides must in future be consigned to the waste-paper basket.]

### THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN OUR VILLAGES.

MADAM,—I was much interested in Mrs. Pease's article on this subject in your issue of the 13th inst. I hope, with her, that there will be a large increase in the number of women elected to the Rural District Councils at the coming elections, and that as a result greater attention may be given by those authorities to the housing conditions in their respective districts. I also hope with her that there may be no State building of cottages; but I am sorry I cannot agree that they should be built at the expense of the rates. Before, however, drawing attention to some of the objections to this course, I should like to deal with her statement that cottages are being closed by rural sanitary authorities without being replaced by new ones; for, whether Mrs. Pease intended it or not, the ordinary reader will be led to think that 2,687 cottages were done away with in 1911-12, and only replaced by thirty-three new ones in 1912-13. I extract the following figures from Part II. of the forty-second Annual Report of the Local Government Board for 1912-1913, "Housing and Town Planning," to show the real state of the case:—

#### RURAL DISTRICTS. ENGLAND AND WALES. YEAR 1911-1912.

1. Number of houses voluntarily closed or demolished ...	755
2. Closing orders made by rural sanitary authorities ...	1,950
3. Closing orders determined ...	413
4. Demolition orders made ...	169

Now, "closing orders determined" means that the house has been made fit for human habitation; the closing is only temporary. "Closing order made" does not necessarily imply that the house cannot be made fit for human habitation. Therefore, all that the figures tell us is that 169 houses were demolished by the rural sanitary authorities, in addition to a certain portion (not stated) of the 755 dealt with voluntarily. Therefore, if the rural sanitary authorities were erecting 139 houses in 1911-12, and 331 houses in 1912-13 (see Report, page xxxviii.), they were certainly not doing badly.

But even if it could be proved—and perhaps Mrs. Pease can do this—that 2,687 houses were done away with in 1911-12, the number of cottages which have been, and are, being provided by private enterprise without any aid from the rates, must not be forgotten. No doubt the Finance Act of 1909 has greatly checked the building which was going on up to that date—the number of new buildings erected having fallen from 114,420 in 1909 to 48,899 in 1910. I believe, however, that the number has risen since, and no one can go about the country without remarking the building of new cottages which is going on. The proper remedy would seem to be to repeal that Act, pension off all the officials with whom it has burdened the land and place local taxation on a fairer basis; not to burden ratepayers still more by throwing on them the duty of providing cottages, which private enterprise could and would provide under happier conditions.

What would be the effect of cottages being let at less than an economic rent? All the inhabitants of a district not actually living in such cottages would have to make good the deficit to the rates out of their own pockets. Surely, the better plan would be for the rural sanitary authorities to use their existing powers for securing decent condition of housing—and women can do most valuable work in this matter—and so bring those landlords who now neglect their duties to improve their existing cottages, or to provide new ones.

Societies like the Rural Co-Partnership Association manage, in spite of the Finance Act, to secure an economic rent for their cottages, and, besides, pay four per cent. to their shareholders.

Let this, then, be the task of all new women district councillors—to encourage and not to stifle private enterprise; because when the ratepayers are called upon in a body to do what individuals ought to do, all hope must be abandoned of the latter rising to a sense of their duties in the matter. There is also a great deal to be said in favour of all local, as well as State, authorities providing cottages for their employees. If they were to house their own people, the relief to over-crowding would be very great.

WILLIAM CHANCE.

### THE PROBLEM OF THE MARRIED WORKING WOMAN.

MADAM,—Mrs. Chew does not seem to realise that those who uphold the endowment of motherhood, recognise it as a temporary solace for the unendurable ills which must remain till we have secured a living wage for all. Of course, no woman like "intrusion in their homes," but support from public funds entails that—and temporarily—is not any support preferable to none? The ideal of every suffragist is freedom for all, and that is the

"one far off divine event  
To which the whole creation moves."

From Mrs. Chew's suggestion, "that mothers of the working-class must collectively decide that their children shall be collectively cared for and protected (which leaves out the essential mother-love), may Heaven defend us! Her chief objection to endowment is, "that all women who become mothers . . . would be compelled to tend babies, though they may be temperamentally, and by lack of training, the very last persons who should undertake the work," and that it "would result in the moulding of all women of the poorer classes into one mediocre pattern." Why mediocre? And if one pattern, why not a perfect pattern, after Solomon's own heart? Is not mar-

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riage primarily ordained for the procreation of children? Clearly, then, women, before marriage, must seriously train themselves for the special profession they are intending to profess. The functions are not unique, they do not require an expert, every woman can learn to perform them. It is not a narrowing profession, but as wide as the world. If a woman has learned courage in bearing children, patience in rearing them, justice in ruling them, religion in teaching them, judgment in preparing them for their future—all this with an enduring love, which outlines the rebellions, the falls, the temporary ingratitude which she must perforce receive in part payment for her work—has she not, during this most exacting time, served the most admirable apprenticeship for any social, legislative, or judicial post? May she not be a highly-trained politician, in spite of lack of position, lack of money, and lack of book culture?

HENRIETTA BLOXAM.

### LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

MADAM,—I contributed to your issue on February 13th, a short letter on the above subject. May I tell you the results? I have had sent me a petition prepared by the late Dr. Forbes Winslow, and already signed by 2473 persons, asking for immediate reform of our existing lunacy laws, &c. You have my name and address, and I shall be glad to hear from anyone interested in the matter. I have also received a pamphlet from a gentleman relating his experience: "During the extremely hot summer of 1905, on going to my professional occupation at the west-end of London, I was taken ill and went home to bed. I do not remember much more till on coming round about ten days afterwards, I found myself in a lunatic Asylum! I was removed from my home, and thus became a lunatic and a pauper! My wife was paying over £70 a year for rent, rates, and taxes." Now, some may say she should not have allowed her husband to be removed, but what is the use of having a doctor, if you do not follow his advice? She afterwards attended before the committee, fully prepared to comply with the Act, and take all responsibility in his removal, but her application was abortive. It was four-and-half years before he could get liberated. There were 1,240 patients detained in this asylum, at a cost to the public of £40,000 a year. The sooner the rules existing in such an atrocious system are remedied, the better for our common humanity.

X.A.P.A.

### SHOULD SUFFRAGISTS HAVE A PROGRAMME?

MADAM,—The majority of educated and alert women are active Suffragists, but this majority is a minority when compared with the vast number of working-class women, including working-men's wives, who are not troubling themselves about the vote. This fact enables the opponents of Women's Suffrage to say that there is no insistent demand from the majority of women. Now, what seems necessary to rouse working-class women to demand the vote is a "programme," something which they can grasp.

I therefore suggest that the N.U.W.S.S. should draw up a programme of the reforms which the women will demand as soon as they get the vote. For example, say:

- (1) A national minimum wage for women workers.
- (2) A State housing scheme with a minimum of housing accommodation.
- (3) State pensions for widows left with families.

Such reforms would immediately appeal to all working-class women, and if such a programme were printed, for distribution, in leaflet form, with a request at the bottom informing the women that if they desired those reforms, they must see to it that their husbands, or brothers, or fathers demanded "Votes for Women" from all candidates at the next General Election. I submit that this form of propaganda would quickly give impetus to the demand from the majority of the women. Trusting that my zeal may excuse my presumption.

ARTHUR R. BLAIR.

### THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

We have received the following communication from the C.L.W.S.—

MADAM,—As certain misstatements about the "Church League for Women's Suffrage" have recently appeared in the press, I have been instructed by our Executive Committee to send you the following statement, which was passed by them at their meeting on Monday evening, March 16th, 1914:—

"The only methods employed by the Church League for Women's Suffrage are those of prayer and education. Necessarily, therefore, the League dissociates itself from the distinctive methods, violent or otherwise, of all Suffrage Societies founded upon a political rather than a religious basis; and all such statements to the contrary, as have been sedulously published in the press and elsewhere, are either founded on a misconception of fact or are intentionally misleading."

F. SHEWELL COOPER (Hon. Sec.).

### SUFFRAGE PROPAGANDA AND THE N.U.T.

MADAM,—May I appeal through your columns for help at Easter, during the N.U.T. Conference at Lowestoft? We particularly want to have a good procession on Tuesday, and a good muster in the Marine Theatre, 3 p.m. Will those who can help in the shop during the week, or act as stewards at the meeting on Tuesday afternoon, kindly write to the Lowestoft Hon. Sec., Mrs. Ponder, Waldo Cottage, Oulton Broad, Lowestoft?

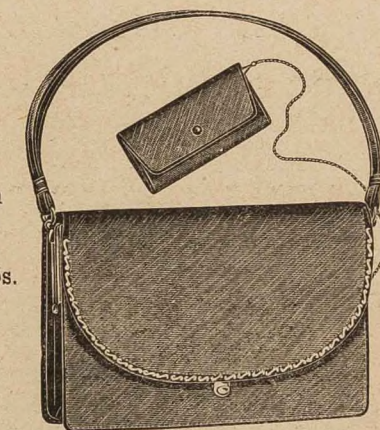
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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and all ADVERTISEMENTS must reach the Office not later than first post on Tuesday. Advertisement Representative, S. R. Le Mare.

NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Friday. If any difficulty is found in obtaining it locally, please communicate with The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies being a body which exists solely to obtain the enfranchisement of women, holds no official view upon any other topic. Opinions expressed upon other subjects must not be regarded as necessarily those of the Union.

## Men, Women, and Party.

It is frequently said by public-spirited men and women that the worst failure of modern statesmanship is the housing problem. Nothing stronger can be said about it by the unfortunates who are its victims than has been said again and again in the House of Commons, when—as periodically happens—Housing Bills are introduced. Last week all these things were said once more, in language exactly as strong (stronger was not possible) as that used in connection with another Bill, also introduced by Sir Arthur Boscawen, two years ago. The new President of the Local Government Board began his attack on the Bill with sonorous assurances that "this matter, by common consent, is one of the most important to which Parliament can devote its attention." Sir Arthur Boscawen closed his introductory speech with the assertion, loudly applauded, that "almost any price was worth paying to get decent homes for the people, for this lay at the root of the social problem."

This being "by common consent" agreed, what follows? The introduction of bills by private members on Friday afternoons: year after year of Liberal supremacy without the solution of "the most important matter to which Parliament can devote its attention": equal periods of Conservative government marked by equal indifference. The Housing and Town-planning Act of Mr. John Burns, which has resulted in the demolition of thousands of cottages and building up of hundreds, is the sole monument erected by the Liberal Party to show their appreciation of this great problem. Having achieved this, they are exhausted and can only find breath to express their sense of its urgency and their disgust at the proposed Unionist solution. It is true that Mr. Samuel indicated in his speech the way in which his party believed the difficulty should be met; but if they are right in their solution, why have they not attempted it? Why are the minimum wages, the rating reform, the widening of the powers of local authorities, and other ways of solving this problem, left to the end of a Parliament whose existence cannot now be greatly prolonged, whose time has been given to any subject but that which is "the most important"?

The answer can be read between the lines of this and every debate on the Housing question: it is that each party is considering its own interests rather than those of the people.

No one who has followed the fortunes of Sir Arthur Boscawen's attempts at reform will suppose that this description belongs to him. Whether people think his present Bill a good one or a bad one, they will, we are certain, recognise the sincerity and single-mindedness of its author's devotion to the cause of this great reform. But he is at every turn hampered and defeated by the traditions of the House of Commons: he cannot get his opponents to admit the sincerity of his supporters, because it has become the vicious habit of both sides to suspect and to betray party feeling at every point. This Bill, say the Liberals, is designed to put money into the pockets of the landlord: we will have none of it. Your remedies, retort the Conservatives, are designed to hurt the landlords: we will have none of them. Every question in which land and landlord are concerned is an acutely party question, and no such question will be discussed on its own merits. "The most important matter

to which Parliament can devote its attention" is discussed on a side issue.

Women, it is often said, will, when they have the vote, alter this. We believe they will; but—let us hasten to add—not because they are by Divine right of moral excellency raised above the trifling considerations which move their husbands and brothers. Women can be quite as trifling as men, and quite as cruelly and blindly partisan. Nevertheless, we believe their coming into public life will be enormously for good in the matter of party bondage, and for this reason. Women care more about the Housing question than men do, because (as every Anti-suffragist will admit) "their sphere is the home." A home is a house in these days—not a cave or a tent or a ledge-row. And every loafer at the edge of a street-corner crowd who bawls out to a Suffragist on the stump—"Your place is at 'ome"—admits in five words that the housing laws are more important to women than they can ever be to men.

However party-bound a man or woman may be, there exists a force somewhere which will break those ties. There are some questions at least on which, if they were asked to vote, they would vote as they thought, not as they were told: those questions in which they take a living interest. It may be religion, or nationality, moral reform, or exterior defence, that is your passion; but whatever it is, on that question you will put principle first and party second; you will, as far as in you lies, insist that it shall be decided on its merits. For men, as a whole, at least one question has been found which has been held as far as possible outside party prejudice—the question of foreign policy. Not one only but several questions exist, to which, if women had the power, they would insist on applying the same principle—questions of measures for the protection of life. The first of these is the housing question.

Holding, as we do, that party claims have been pressed immeasurably too far, and party bondage made a kind of slavery, it seems to us all to the good that the number of questions in which its influence is severely restricted should be increased. As men and women get accustomed to settling questions on their merits, public life will be dignified and purified. We notice that this has been the effect of Women's Suffrage in other lands. Asked "how it has affected the balance of parties," the answer is "apparently not at all." Women have voted in all the parties as men have. But on certain questions on which they feel very strongly—such, for example, as education and pure food laws, temperance and moral reform—they have acted together and compelled action on the part of politicians, irrespective of party considerations.

In our own country there is the more hope that women will follow this excellent example, that men are themselves beginning to groan under the bondage of party. Never, perhaps, has it been more strict; but the very strictness may be the presage of decay, for, pressed beyond a point, the thing becomes intolerable. We trust the spectacle of our housing problem, vital to the interests of the race as no other is, cheerfully abandoned to the frail fortunes of a private Member's Bill and the fag-end of the life of a Parliament, argued not with respect to its tragic importance to the nation, but with respect to its effect on the supporters of a party, may hasten that hour when the conscience of the House of Commons will revolt against the system which makes such things possible. Even the present crisis in Irish affairs may yet issue in good if it brings home to the people of this country the evils of slavery to party feeling.

## The Position of Widows Under the Poor Law.

### I.

The object of much of the social legislation of the last ten years has been the relief of various forms of undeserved destitution without subjecting the victim to what is vaguely called the stigma of pauperism. Thus the Unemployed Workmen's Act, introduced by the Conservative Government in 1905, aimed (not very successfully as the event proved) at enabling respectable workmen who were temporarily unemployed by no fault of their own to obtain employment on relief works, managed, not as had usually been the case in the past, by Boards of Guardians, but by specially created bodies known as Distress Committees. The Old Age Pensions Act secured to every person over seventy who could satisfy certain, by no means exacting, standards of respectability, a subsistence that would relieve him of the dreaded necessity of going into the "House," or of depending on out-relief. The Act which provides for the feeding of neces-

sitous school children was entrusted to the administration of the Education Committees, and not to the Guardians, expressly that it might not involve the disfranchisement and pauperisation of the fathers of the children. Finally, the Insurance Bill has insured that sickness and, to some extent, unemployment shall be relieved partly out of public funds, without making paupers of the sufferer and his family.

Unemployment, old age, sickness, these are three out of the four great causes which lead the decent poor to destitution and to pauperism. The fourth cause is widowhood; but no legislation has hitherto been enacted or proposed in the British Parliament to remove the widow and her dependent children from the stigma of pauperism. For her the Poor Law is still apparently thought good enough.

Yet surely it needs little argument to show that, of the four classes, the widow has by far the strongest claim to be emancipated from the Poor Law and relieved through some agency that will carry with it neither social stigma nor civil disability. With regard to the other three classes, it can be argued with some plausibility that if the State had let them alone, they could have provided for themselves, and were indeed in an increasing extent so providing by the exercise of co-operative thrift, and that there is a real danger to the cause of self dependence and private initiative if the path leading to State aid is made too easy. The Trade Unions in some trades were actually providing for their unemployed members. A fair proportion of the thrifty men in all trades were in Friendly Societies. Even among the very poor, the aged parents were often kept by their grown-up children without any assistance.

But if a thrifty workman provides against out-of-work, sickness, and old-age, it is obviously the utmost he can do. To lay up out of his wages a sufficient sum to provide an endowment for his widow, in the event of his premature death, would be an actuarial impossibility. Under present economic conditions, it is almost equally impossible for a widow hampered with a family of young children, unless she happens to be a very exceptional person, to earn enough to keep herself and her children adequately, and at the same time to do her duty by her home. Not a shadow of blame, therefore, should rest on such a woman because she has to turn to the State for help in the time of her need; and to fence about her approach to the State with humiliating conditions, to grant its help as meagrely as possible, and to call her and her children paupers because they accept it, is as unjust as it is irrational.

It is the intention of the Poor Law to be deterrent, and many of the better sort of widows are indeed deterred from applying for its help. They cannot bring themselves to rub shoulders at the workhouse gates with the vagrant and the workshy, the failures and derelicts of society, to be scolded or patronised by officials who have been brought up in the tradition that every applicant is a probable impostor, to trundle home the parish loaves and the parish groceries in a perambulator under the eyes of all their neighbours. Rather than do so, they will work their fingers to the bone, will remove themselves and their belongings to any insanitary slum where rents are low, and will there bring up their children on a diet of bread, tea, and margarine, until the constitutions of the whole family are undermined by privation.

Not that they are likely to escape privation even if they do accept the help of the parish. The reports of the Poor Law Commission reveal the fact that in the majority of Unions outdoor relief is granted almost as a matter of course to widows with dependent children, and that it finds its way in fact into some homes where it is not needed, and into many where the conditions of dirt, drunkenness, or neglect are such that no public money ought to be spent there. But the amounts granted are in a very large proportion of cases quite inadequate. No serious effort is made to ascertain that the earnings of the widow, or the other sources of income, are sufficient to make up a sum large enough to live on, but the Guardians rely on the comfortable theory that in most families there are "unrevealed resources." I hope, in a later article, to show the very serious results to which this niggardly policy leads.

But whether Boards of Guardians are discriminating or indiscriminating, liberal or illiberal, in the administration of relief to widows, makes no difference to the contention that widows ought not to be subject to their administration nor under the Poor Law at all.

It is incredible that if any body of men and voters were similarly situated—if they were doing the work of two people, as the mothers of young children are, performing an indispensable service to the State, and trying to be ordinary wage-earners as well—they would submit to be treated as though they were mere parasites upon the community.

Widows not being voters, they are powerless in the matter.

But it is very little to the credit of the working-men of the country that they have not long ago made this protest on behalf of their wives and children. It is difficult to understand how they can bear to go out to their work every day, knowing that if some unforeseen accident cuts them off prematurely, their widows and fatherless children will have to face not only the sorrow of bereavement, but the bitterness of destitution and pauperism.

In some States where women have the vote, the maintenance which widows draw from the State is called a Pension. This term seems to us unsuitable, because it suggests that the widow's work is over. We think it should, on the contrary, be recognised that a woman who is doing her duty by her young children—tending them, cooking, sewing, and washing for them, is not a pensioner upon the bounty of the State, but its servant, in that she has as much right to an adequate recompense for her services as a soldier or a sailor, a politician or a relieving officer.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

(To be continued.)

### The Education of Indian Women and Girls.

NOTE.—Together with Miss Roberts, Head Mistress of the Bradford Grammar School for Girls, the writer spent last winter in India, making an enquiry into the present position of the education of Indian girls.

The education of women in India owes its origin and most of its best features to Christian missions; but the movement which had its beginning about eighty years ago in Tinnevely, and which has very slowly gathered strength and scope ever since, has aroused interest in other than missionary circles, and there are in India to-day schools for girls, set up and controlled by the Government educational authorities, and a few also financed and managed entirely by committees of Indians. The whole amount of work done is pitifully small compared with the vast number of girls of school age in India. It is unwise to quote statistics, for the Government Quinquennial Report on Education is on the point of publication, and any numbers that I could give would be those of five years ago, but at the last census the number of Indian women who could read was returned as seven per thousand, and in the case of so large a population, a few years can have made very little difference to that estimate.

Meanwhile the education of boys is progressing very rapidly, and to all the many hardships of the present lot of women in India is added the danger that the contemptuous indifference of the husband, and the abject yet querulous subservience of the wife, may be further increased by the consciousness of a widening intellectual gulf between them. An illiterate man is dependent on his wife for much which an educated man can find elsewhere, and as the permanent status of a nation seems to depend largely on the closeness and purity of the relations between its men and women, the necessity of parallel development in their education becomes paramount.

This is, of course, not the only reason why Indian women should be educated, and no one would wish that their progress should "but subserve another's gain." The first object must surely be to remove the dead weight of ignorance, superstition, and terror which crushes their mental growth, to call their dormant intellectual abilities into play, to give their overdeveloped emotions safe outlet, to strengthen the will, in general, to make a complete human being out of a creature mainly regarded as an instrument of sex. And to these ends Indian women are needed who shall be able to lead and serve the women of their own generation, as neither Indian men nor English people can lead and serve them. The development of the higher education of women in England has been guided with extraordinary skill and success by the most able and devoted of English women. What they gave could not have been given either by men or by foreigners. In India this indispensable element is as yet almost entirely lacking. All the indigenous Indian schools which we visited last year owed their inception and management to men.

Still, the outlook is, on the whole, promising. The Government declaration of 1913 stated that though "the total number" of girls of school age under instruction "still remains insignificant in proportion to the whole female population," yet "in certain areas there are growing indications of a swiftly-growing demand for a more extensive education of girls." In most

parts of India we found a willingness, and in some places a desire, to send little girls to school for a few years. Elementary education might, in fact, be widely extended in India if suitable teachers could be found. It is not work that can be done by foreigners, and the pay, though as large as that given to men teachers, is adequate only for Indian needs, while the supply of Indian teachers is cut off at the root by the almost universal custom of early marriage, which removes the children from school at the age of 11 or 12. Some of these are willing to teach a few years later as married women, but the time of training is over, and the earning of wages by married women raises difficult social problems which India cannot at present face. The employment of widows also has been found to entail graver difficulties than were apparent at first. The great hope of the elementary schools is in the young Christian teachers whom the missions train, as in the Christian community the age of marriage is considerably higher than in any other body of Indians, and in the Eurasians, who are also Christians. The best elementary work by far is that done by missions which set apart at each station a trained woman missionary, to supervise a number of little schools and to give the young Christian teachers the experienced help and the kindly personal interest which they so sorely need, and which the teachers in Government schools miss.

The indigenous schools suffer more than any others from lack of teachers. Their main service is to render the idea of women's education more familiar, and to foster the desire for it. Their great significance is that they are, one and all, founded in the interests of some religion. It is perhaps not sufficiently realised in England that India is an intensely religious country, and that education is to an Indian primarily a religious thing. It is a mistake to imagine that the children in mission schools are bribed to endure the Bible lessons by the provision of secular teaching for the rest of the morning. The reason why the Indian father prefers, as he admittedly does, mission schools to Government schools for his daughters, is the attraction of the spiritual teaching. He does not, of course, intend his children to become Christians; but as baptism is not allowed, except with the consent of the parents, before the age of 16, and the girl is removed from school long before that age, he is not afraid to put her under the influence of the missionaries, and warmly appreciates the high moral tone, the clear ethical code, and the spiritual atmosphere of the schools.

Indian women, as such, have no grievance against the British Government. The abolition of Sati and of female infanticide, though in some ways they may have entailed more suffering than they removed, have yet impressed on the Indian mind a new idea of the value of a woman's life, and have classed women together with men as "British subjects," whose existence is under the safeguard of the State. Educationally, also, the Government has endeavoured to lead public opinion by providing schools for girls wherever there was reasonable hope that pupils would be forthcoming. In the Declaration of 1913 it is stated that, "as a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of a people by the education of women than by the education of men, liberal treatment has been accorded for girls in respect of scholarships and fees." But the fatal flaw in all Government education is its departure from Indian tradition and desire in its banishment of religious teaching from schools. It is difficult to see how this mistake can be set right now, and the Government policy for the present is "to rely as far as is possible on private enterprise in secondary education." Liberal grants of money are given to any school which the inspectors report as efficient, and no question is asked as to the religion taught. It follows that the secondary education of girls is mainly in the hands of Christian missions both English and American. At first, comparatively few girls, except the daughters of Christian parents, remained unmarried long enough to attend them; but there is now an increasing number of girls, daughters of parents of independent mind and modern views,

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who, especially in the large towns, avail themselves of these excellent schools. The work done is of a high order, and though secondary education is beset with problems far more complex and difficult than elementary education, progress is slowly being made.

Government has also opened all its universities to women on the same terms as to men. The intercourse with men which this entails, debars the best Hindu and Moslem women from making use of this right, and the main hope of the university education of women in India lies in the three projected Women's Colleges connected with the Universities of Bombay, Madras, and Dacca, two of which will be missionary institutions, and the third under direct Christian influence.

There seems at present little opening for Englishwomen to set up private schools, as Indians cannot, or will not, pay fees large enough to make such schools self-supporting, even with the help of Government grants. The best service that Englishwomen can render just now is either to serve in Mission schools, which have a long record of success in the past and a future of almost unlimited possibility, or to enter Government service as Inspectresses, in which capacity they may do very valuable work.

It must be remembered that the desire for women's education in India is a plant of very sensitive growth, and is still at a stage where it easily might wither away. Many Indian men—perhaps most—have an anxious dread of the changes which so new a thing as an educated womanhood will inevitably bring about. And, indeed, a new force, of unknown operation and unlimited power, is slowly coming to birth, and at this critical moment every influence should be of the most propitious. The words and deeds of educated women in England, and of the womenfolk of Englishmen in India are anxiously watched by Indian men, and any failure in gentleness and dignity on their part tells against their desire for the education of their daughters. Our "wild and whirling words" are not read by women, whom they might rouse to a desire for a life of more freedom, but by men, to whom they give a wholly wrong idea of our aims. An Indian is most readily open to argument courteously and reasonably stated; but shalowness and fierceness are simply repellent to him. "I wish," said one of the warmest champions of women's education in India, "I wish that women in England would remember their Imperial responsibility." Our cause, if a good one, does not need the help of random clamours against men, which, though they are counteracted here by thousands of acts of public service daily rendered by women, have no such counterpart in India. By unbalanced words and undignified actions, we may be doing a serious injury to the cause of those very women whom we most desire to serve.

ELEANOR McDUGALL, M.A.

#### WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MEETINGS IN INDIA.

In Mussorie, the branch of the N.U.W.S.S., the only suffrage society in North India, has not been idle during the months when society is away from this well-known health resort. The President, Mrs. Hallows, and the Secretary, Miss Weatherly, have been visiting Agra and Lucknow, two of the largest cities in the United Provinces, and have held meetings. There is deplorable ignorance of the whole question, even among the British and Europeans who reside in large numbers in these places. But as they read nothing but the telegrams about the militant outrages, they are not only ignorant, but deeply prejudiced. Anti-suffragists are active with propaganda and assert untruths about Suffragists which are gladly believed. This being so, it is necessary to hold meetings for education, and to tell elementary truths and give the history of Women's Suffrage from the beginning. After each meeting converts have been made, and an interest started. Much literature has been distributed, and not a little sold. Reports in local papers have appeared which have spread the intelligence we want to communicate. There are large numbers of young women in the Colleges and Medical Schools who should be reached. The Indian girls listen gladly and appreciate the arguments for Women's Suffrage. Miss O'Brien, M.B., Head of the Dufferin Hospital, presided at a meeting held in Lucknow, on March 2nd.

#### THE N.U.W.S.S. IN PARIS.

A branch of the National Union has been formed in Paris, by Miss Harris and Mme. de Beaufort. Last winter a series of small meetings—made possible by the generosity of Miss Harris, who took the financial responsibility—was organised and successfully carried through. As a result, the new society has been started. Miss Harris has returned to England, but the post of Secretary is ably filled by Mme. de Beaufort. She is staying at the Hôtel des États-Unis, 135, Boulevard de Montparnasse, whose proprietor most generously gave the use of a room for the meetings already held. Suffragists living in Paris, or staying even for a short time, are asked to interest themselves in this latest child of the N.U.W.S.S.

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#### URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILS ELECTIONS.

In addition to the list published last week, the following ladies are standing as candidates for Urban District Councils:—Mrs. Wood, Llangollen; Mrs. Pitchforth, Saltburn-by-the-Sea; Miss Bowes and Miss Edith Place, Felixstowe and Walton.

#### BRIGHTON AND HOVE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.

A Women's Franchise Club has lately been opened in Brighton, in the centre of the town, and bids fair to be a great success. Entertainments and lectures are given at frequent intervals, and are much appreciated, and the nucleus of a library has been formed, to which it is hoped that members will add by contributing volumes on suitable subjects. The subscription is 10s. 6d. per annum; with an entrance fee of 5s. Further particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 4, New Road, Brighton.

#### PROFESSOR A. F. POLLARD AND THE REFERENDUM.

"Advocates of the Referendum seem to cherish the delusion that its adoption will dispose of the question once for all. That is not the way of the Referendum. No sane observer imagines that even a majority of three to one against woman suffrage would stop the agitation. Time after time in certain of the United States the Referendum has gone against woman suffrage; the only result has been a fresh Referendum two years later, and the Referendum only settles the question when the women obtain the vote."—(Times, March 23rd.)

#### MEMORIAL AGAINST THE FLOGGING CLAUSES.

A memorial has been drawn up and forwarded to the Prime Minister by the Humanitarian League, against "the provision for flogging male offenders for certain crimes against women, while female offenders remain exempt." The memorial protests against flogging altogether, and points out that such a sex-distinction is "less an honour than an insult, inasmuch as it is not privilege, but equal justice, that women demand." It is signed by women only, and among the signatures are the names of many leading Suffragists.

#### A NOVEL APPOINTMENT.

Mrs. Shelley Gulick, who acted as Organising Secretary when the International Suffrage Alliance held its Congress in London in 1909, has been appointed by Messrs. Leslie & Godwin, one of the largest and best known firms of insurance brokers in London, to open and conduct a special department for them. Mrs. Gulick was, we understand, the first woman to act as an insurance inspector.



“WOMAN’S KINGDOM.”

The Special Women’s Department of the CHILDREN’S WELFARE EXHIBITION, Olympia, April 11th-30th. Office: N.U.W.S.S., 14, GREAT SMITH STREET, WESTMINSTER. Organiser: Miss V. C. C. COLLUM. Treasurer: Miss LONGLEY.

Outdoor Section.

In the Outdoor Section of “Woman’s Kingdom,” a feature of great interest will be a woman’s camp, shown by Miss Strick, who has had a long and varied experience in camping-out and knows the ropes thoroughly. This exhibit should be of the greatest use to any who are thinking of spending a holiday under canvas, and do not want to incur any great expense. The equipment is nearly all home-made, and is cut down to the most simple necessities. At the same time, the camp is most cosy and convenient, having a home-made shelter with a tarpaulin roof and a fire, as well as the sleeping accommodation, which consists of Army bell-tents purchased second-hand.

Many people spoil their camping holiday by taking an unnecessary amount of impedimenta with them, considering camp-beds, washstands, and elaborate cooking-stoves essential to comfort. Miss Strick, however, can pack all her belongings into a remarkably small space. For bed she takes the ticking of a mattress, which she stuffs full of fresh straw or dried bracken at each encampment; or she sleeps on a pile of green bracken with a rubber sheet over it. Some of her contrivances are extremely ingenious, including a wonderful table, which has more than one use and must be seen to be appreciated fully.

CAMPING IN THE ROCKIES.

Most of Miss Strick’s camping has been done in Wales, but during the last two years she has run, in partnership with three friends, a fishing camp on business lines in the Canadian Rockies. This is situated on Lake Moraine, below the Ten Peaks, about nine miles from Lake Louise, one of the most famous beauty spots of Canada. Hundreds of visitors from Europe and the United States stay at the big hotel at Lake Louise every year, and are conveyed by brakes to Moraine Lake, where there is excellent fishing amid some of the most magnificent scenery in the world. For a long time a shelter cabin put up by the Canadian Pacific Railway was the only accommodation to be had, and there was no means of obtaining any refreshment. But the year before last Miss Strick hit upon the notion of establishing a camp there, where people could stay for a few days, enjoying good sport on the Lake and a spell of the “simple life.” After some difficulties, and by dint of much hard work, she and her three friends made the idea an accomplished fact, and have run the camp two summers running with great success. In winter the roads are impassable, for the place is situated over 6,000 feet above sea level, and the approaches are blocked by snow.

All the work of the camp is done by its organisers, the only masculine help they have received being in the erection of the first tents. This includes getting their own wood, which is no light task, for the trees have first to be felled, then sawn into lengths with a double-handled saw, and finally chopped up with a big Canadian chopping axe. Fortunately, the camp is situated on the edge of a forest, so the wood is not far to seek, but the great iron cooking-stove has an enormous capacity for fuel and requires constant feeding.

Catering is comparatively easy, as bread, meat, fruit, &c., can be obtained from the hotel, the proprietors of which have proved themselves most kind and friendly. Fish is, of course, got from the Lake, two of the four occupying every alternate morning in fishing, which they thoroughly enjoy. Indeed, in spite of hard work, the whole experience has been found a delightful one, and the camp is to be opened again next summer. Further particulars of this enterprise can be obtained from Woman’s Kingdom, though the camp actually on show is one which Miss Strick has used in Wales, not the one in the Rockies, which is necessarily on a larger scale.

Just one word of warning. Let no one run away with the idea that to open and run a camp of this kind is a simple matter, which any novice could do with equal success. Experience of the country and its people is necessary, as well as practice in actual camping. Opposition on the part of the hotel proprietors or the Brewster Transfer Company, which runs the brakes, would have been absolutely fatal to the scheme, and it was only by winning their co-operation that the enterprise was carried to a successful issue.

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A “ONE-NIGHT” BIVOUAC.

A somewhat more humble bivouac is shown by Miss Collum, this consisting of a little tent, which once stood the test of three months’ bad weather, a roll-up cork mattress, a woollen sleeping-bag, and a few cooking utensils, books, &c., the whole capable of being conveyed on an ordinary donkey-barrow, that can be hired for a few shillings weekly.

SELF-DEFENCE.

The art of self-defence—which is not unlikely to come in useful to women of an adventurous turn of mind—is to be illustrated by Madame Edith Garrud, a professional teacher of Jiu-jitsu, and Miss Johnson, champion lady fencer, both of whom are organising displays.

DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS.

The programme of dramatic entertainments is not yet fully arranged, but Miss Edith Craig is planning some features of unusual interest. Miss Cicely Hamilton has promised to appear in her play, “The Home-Coming,” lately produced at the “Coronet,” under the title, “Twenty Years After,” the cast of which will include Miss May Witty (Mrs. Ben Webster). Christopher St. John is arranging a representation of the Trial of Joan of Arc, which is not a play in the ordinary sense of the word, but a dramatic and pictorial record drawn from contemporary chronicles. A poem entitled “Historic Women,” by Lady Wilde, one of the earliest Suffragists, will also be presented. A special feature is to be made of tableaux, one of which is to represent all the different Suffrage societies.

Part of the programme is being arranged by the Actresses’ Franchise League. Madame Lydia Yavorska (Princess Bariatinsky) has kindly consented to give an act from Ibsen’s “A Doll’s House” on April 24th, and other special attractions will be provided each day.

LECTURES.

The following lectures have been arranged, and will be given from 8.30 to 10.0 p.m. :-

- Tuesday, April 14th.—“Australia’s Women.” Miss H. C. Newcomb (Hon. Sec. Australia and New Zealand Women Voters’ Association).
- Wednesday, April 15th.—“Women in England 300 Years Ago.” Miss A. Maude Royden.
- Thursday, April 16th.—“How English Law treats the Wife.” Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A.
- Friday, April 17th.—“How English Law treats the Mother.” Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A.
- Saturday, April 18th.—“Gardening as a Woman’s Hobby.” Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, M.A.
- Monday, April 20th.—“Women in Local Government.” Mrs. Rackham.
- Tuesday, April 21st.—“Necessity for Sex Education.” Elizabeth Sloan Chesser, M.B., Ch.E.
- Wednesday, April 22nd.—“The Legal Professions for Women.” Miss Chrystal Macmillan.
- Thursday, April 23rd.—“The Organisation of Domestic Workers on Business Lines.” Miss Frances Dickeson (President of the Domestic Workers’ Union).
- Friday, April 24th.—“The Housing of the Woman Worker.” Mr. Edward Hayward.
- Saturday, April 25th.—“The Unmarried Mother and her Child.” Mrs. Deane Streatfield (Chairman of the Day-Servants’ Hostel Committee).
- Monday, April 27th.—“Medical Women and the Spheres open to them.” Dr. Florence Willey.
- Tuesday, April 28th.—“Character and Social Work.” The Hon. Mrs. Franklin.
- Wednesday, April 29th.—“The Children in the Police Courts”; or “The Child before the Magistrate”; or “The Work of a Probation Officer.” Miss Ivimy (Probation Officer—Juveniles).
- Thursday, April 30th.—“Woman Suffrage in Finland.” Mme. Aino Halmberg.

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