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OBJECTS, METHODS, AND MEMBERSHIP.

The objects are to band together, on a non-party basis, Suffragists of every shade of opinion who are Churchpeople in order to

1. Secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men.
2. Use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes.
3. Promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the community.

The methods used are

- (a) Corporate Devotions, both public and private.
- (b) Conferences, Meetings, and the distribution of Literature.

Men and women are eligible for membership who

- (a) are members of the Church of England, or of Churches in full communion therewith; (b) approve of the Rules of the League; (c) pay an annual subscription as fixed by the Branch to which the member belongs.

The minimum Annual Subscription to the Central Branch is 1s.

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Our Charter.

Christianity is the proclamation of the Divine entry into History; of the Divine submission to the historical conditions of human experience; of the Divine sanction given to the things of time and the affairs of earth, to the body, the home, the city, the nation. A kingdom of God come down here, visibly, audibly, tangibly, evidently, manifested on earth—this is its first and last message.—HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND.



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Notes and News.

Mission Week, June 2 - 8.

The demands upon our space this month are very great, and we are obliged to deal briefly with many matters which deserve more extended treatment. We must refer our readers to the Monthly Calendar for full particulars respecting our Mission Week, which is being held at a somewhat later date than usual. We ask for interest, personal service, and prayer, from all our members, that it may be of lasting benefit to our holy cause.

United Demonstration.

We draw special attention to this important fixture for June 22nd. Every member within reach of London should be present.

In Parliament.

An important Bill is on the eve of introduction into the House of Commons as we go to press. It is in charge of Mr. Lansbury, and aims at the removal of the sex disqualification in relation to the Parliamentary vote, without otherwise modifying the franchise. It is most important to bring all possible pressure to bear upon members of Parliament that they may support the Bill and may urge the Government to grant adequate facilities for its passage into law.

Great Religious Meetings.

We are asked to announce that a great effort is being made to focus attention upon the religious aspect of the Women's Movement by means of meetings which are to be held in the Queen's Hall on June 19th at 3.30 and 7.30. Amongst the speakers will be Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. Runciman, Mrs. Willey, M.D., Miss A. Maude Royden, the Bishop of Oxford, Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, Rev. W. Temple, and Mr. T. E. Harvey, M.P. We trust that all C.L.W.S. members will do their best and utmost for the success of this enterprise. Admission will be free, but tickets for reserved portions of the hall may be had at prices ranging from 1s. to 10s. 6d. In preparation for this meeting a Quiet Day will be held at Morley Hall, 26, George Street, Hanover Square, from 12 noon till 8 P.M.

Branch News.

The Editor apologizes to Branch Secretaries for the abbreviated form in which it has been found necessary to insert their reports for this month. It will not constitute a precedent.

July Monthly Paper.

In our next issue we hope to publish an important article by Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., 'The Vote beyond the Seas,' and Mrs. Ennis Richmond will continue her interesting series of articles on 'The Co-Education of Boys and Girls.' We shall also devote considerable space to reporting the Queen's Hall meetings referred to above.

Press 'Boycott.'

We suffer severely from the refusal of the Press as a whole to insert Suffrage news. Incumbents who receive this paper would greatly help us if they would insert a brief paragraph in their parish magazines drawing attention to the existence of the League, its objects and methods. A Church society may surely ask this courtesy even from those who do not feel able to give their own support to the cause we seek to promote.

Advertisements.

We desire to remind our readers that by giving their patronage to those who advertise in our paper they will render the C.L.W.S. invaluable assistance. The utmost care is taken to ensure that only firms of high standing and reliability advertise in these pages.

Finance.

We are printing 32,000 copies of this issue of our *Monthly Paper*, and sending one to every clergyman in England and Wales. This special effort to enlarge our work will entail the expenditure of £100, a sum which we cannot provide out of our ordinary income. Special contributions towards this expenditure are earnestly solicited. They should be sent to the office marked "Special Propaganda."

Circulation.

We ask for hard work in all our branches to increase the monthly circulation of our paper. We must maintain a regular circulation of not less than 8,000 copies monthly. There are three ways in particular in which we ask for help in this matter: (1) Subscribe yourself and induce your personal friends to do likewise. (2) Persuade newsagents and Suffrage shops in your vicinity to take the paper for sale on the usual trade terms. (3) If it is possible, volunteer to sell the paper in the streets, outside meetings, on the beach, &c. One member sold 80 copies of our May issue in this way, and advertised in so doing the existence of the League to thousands. Who will emulate her example?

['THE TREASURY' will be found on p. 46.]

The Reasonableness of Enfranchising Women.

By the BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

It is possible to be a good textuary and a bad divine. Those who quote Scripture against the Women's Franchise are in that case: they mistake altogether the greatness and righteousness of the Women's Movement. It aims at freeing women from all merely artificial as distinct from natural limitations, and so permitting them to advance towards the full and wholesome realization of the faculties which are God's gift. It is not for man to say to woman "Thou shalt not," where God has said "Thou shalt" by natural endowment.

The demand that is made is no new thing. John Stuart Mill's famous essay on 'The Subjection of Women' was issued in 1869, and has never been answered. Indeed, the argument is far stronger now than when he wrote. Scientific reformer as he was, he never dreamt that within half a century the conception of the nation as a great brotherhood, as a nexus of families, would become what it is to-day. The sphere of political activity has immensely widened. Almost all our legislation is social legislation. Law invades—nay, casts its helpful ægis over—the shop, the factory, the home; it has to do with far-reaching moral problems; it regulates education; it is concerned more and more with the life, the health, the upbringing of our children. And therefore, *pari passu*, it is handling departments of the national life which essentially and primarily concern our womanhood.

But another development of modern life was still more concealed from Mill. He did not foresee the extent of that industrial revolution which has more and more forced woman out of the home to earn her own livelihood. The home is still a very sacred place; it will be more and more sacred. But it is no longer the exclusive centre of women's thought and activity. From the lowest grades in the social scale, upward through the commercial and the professional classes, the daughters now "go out into the world," like the boys; they choose a calling, they have a profession, they earn their living, they take their place in the great world of business and of commerce. Woman needs the protection of the vote in this new sphere which she has (happily) been compelled by economic necessity to enter.

The refusal of the vote to women has become the more strange and paradoxical by reason of the advance in the higher education of women, which is one of the most striking developments of the last half-century. In one of the remarkable demonstrations for the Suffrage, where many thousands of women

marched with their banners and mottoes through the London streets, no feature was more moving in its appeal than the contingents of women graduates. They represent a new force, which cannot be ignored. A London policeman was heard to remark, as they went by, that this procession was not like many he had seen: "They mostly show signs of education," said he. That policeman had more discernment than some public men.

Further, let me urge that the demand is far from being merely selfish: it is not the mere clamour of an unfranchised class. Thousands of our best and ablest women are devoting their gifts of heart and mind, and social influence, to the bettering of the conditions of the people, the solution of social problems. More and more are they so engaged; and more and more are they finding out that only by wise laws, and wise administration of those laws, and wise amendment of those laws, can our social conditions be improved, and social ills be remedied. Women's social service is impeded at every turn by her want of a vote. The voteless woman is an all but negligible quantity in legislation. At best she may be the camp-follower in a party battle. She needs, and deserves a nobler function than this. Why should the commonwealth be deprived of her public influence?

Once more, I am impatient that this right shall be conceded, because (1) it would be mischievous if a certain sex-bitterness should be introduced into the controversy, which is by no means impossible; (2) the growing signs of disorder and turbulence are a mark, not of the weakness of the female mind (as some pamphleteers have stooped to say), but of the passionate sense of injustice which makes some wilder spirits feel a revolutionary disgust at the existing social order. The right remedy for this peril, is the granting of a righteous demand that has been too long delayed. But beyond all, I for one desire to see this agitation end, in order that the magnificent enthusiasm, the splendid eloquence, that genius for organization, that patient persistence in agitation (qualities of the greatest public utility) may be released from this exclusive strain, and devoted to those many channels of public and social agitation, and the prosecution of those many movements for the national good, which sorely need the help of all good women.

Christ and Womanhood.

By Mrs. WYNDHAM KNIGHT-BRUCE.

"Lord, when shall Thy Kingdom come?"
And the Lord made answer and said:

"When the two shall have become one;
And the outward as the inward;
And the male as the female, neither male nor female."

The words are quoted by Clement of Alexandria as one of the unrecorded sayings of Our Lord, and the thought certainly either inspired St. Paul, or was echoed by him, when he wrote: "in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female."

The saying itself may be authentic or not, in either case it gives the key of the position that Christ held and acted on towards woman, and is equally true whether we think of what He said and what He did, or of what He did not say and did not do.

For one truth stands out before us as we study reverently and honestly the way in which He met and dealt with womanhood as a whole, and with women in particular, and the truth is what we should expect to find—that He stands alone. The revelation in both that He gives us of the Divine Will differs, not in detail, but in principle, from the wisest thought evolved by the wisest men of the world. This difference is absolute, and shows itself in three directions.

1. Christ speaks no word that disseverates the personality and life of man from those of woman. Man and woman may indeed be called to fill different offices in life, but the unit of His teaching is based on the common humanity of both. He lays no stress on the natural distinction of sex, He gives no separate ideal for man and woman, He recognizes only the oneness of personality in that human race He came to redeem and uplift.

Unlike the Hebrew prophets, He addresses no reproofs or warnings to women as a class. Unlike two of His own Apostles, He lays down no special limitations for a woman's life, He binds upon her no law of inferiority or subservience. The same principle is shown in practice. The Blessed Virgin Mary makes her own decision in answer to the Angel's message, though she was espoused to St. Joseph; Joanna, the wife of Chuza, is not reproved for leaving her home, and her place at Court, while she follows the Lord in His journeys; the little group on Calvary is not forbidden to stand among the howling mob, nor checked for leaving the retirement of womanly life insisted on at that time by Jewish authority.

It is the same principle that He upholds when He warns His disciples that His coming will bring division into home life: "Suppose ye that I am come to give Peace on earth? I tell you nay, but rather division," that necessary division that must come as the fire of the Holy Spirit separates and purifies. Women are to be as true and as outspoken as men to new revelations; if separation must come between father and son, it must come also between mother and daughter, between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The latter has perhaps a special lesson when we remember the obedience exacted in the East in this particular relationship.

2. Again, Our Lord differs in another way from the almost universal thought of the world; not by one word does He merge woman herself in those functions of life that she may fill. It may be her noble calling to be a wife and mother, as it may be a man's to be a husband and father, but Christ never points to either as the object of existence to man or woman. That stands for both alike in the fulfilment of individual responsibility to God.

The fatal theology of Milton:—

"He for God only, she for God in him,"

finds no authority from the Master. The only reproof He ever spoke to a woman was for too great absorption, regardless of higher things, in details of housekeeping.

3. Lastly, carrying out this conception of the common humanity of man and woman, He destroys the difference of moral standards. He leaves us only one. With one sentence He sweeps away the condemnation and punishment of the guilty woman while the guilty man goes on acquitted. "Let him who is without sin among you cast the first stone."

What He said in word He repeated in act. He knew there were sinners against moral purity among the men who gathered round Him, and He received them. But He showed publicly, at great cost to His own position, that in precisely the same way He received women who had also sinned against moral purity. When the question of divorce was brought to Him, His answer is the same. The teaching of the Rabbis at that time was largely in favour of the right of a man to put away his wife for almost any cause that pleased him, if he had ceased to love her, if he had seen one he liked better; while for no cause might a Jewish wife put away her husband. Whether our Lord intended to sanction one reason for divorce, or whether He absolutely forbade re-marriage, one fact is clear, the law for both was to be the same.

Other facts emerge as we reverently study His life. He allowed women to share in the years of His public work. Yet at that time among the Jews women were treated as inferior beings, the relation of the sexes in common life were narrow and suspicious, for a Rabbi even to speak to a woman in public was indecorous in the highest degree. Translate St. John, iv. 27, correctly, and we see it: "the disciples marvelled that He talked with a woman." Still more must they and others have marvelled in the later days, when "the twelve were with Him, and certain women, . . . and many others." Only a close friendship could have led to the words spoken to Him by Martha and Mary. But perhaps it is even more striking to notice how He gave some of His deepest revelations to women. If in St. John's gospel we read of the teaching of the new birth given to Nicodemus alone, at once it finds its parallel in the teaching of the true nature of worship given to the woman of Samaria, alone at the well. To a woman Christ first declares the risen life: "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

From a woman, Martha, as from a man, St. Peter, He receives the confession of faith, "I believe that Thou art the Christ, the Son of God."

It is to a woman, Mary of Magdala, that He gives the revelation of His Ascension, sending her as "an Apostle to the Apostles" with the message, "I ascend to My Father and your Father." He broke the silence of His childhood in words to His mother, the silence of His grave in words to another Mary.

Is there not a touch of tenderness in His open recognition of woman's self-sacrifice, self-devotion, faith? The widow's mite: "she hath given more than they all." The box of ointment, exceeding precious: "Whosoever this Gospel shall be preached, this shall be told." The triumphant passing of the severest trial of faith He ever gave: "Oh woman, great is thy Faith."

Then at the last, in "lowliest awe and wonder," we thank God for the courage He gave to the women who alone of His followers remained on Calvary, for the brave loyalty that knew no lost cause, that met the storm of unpopularity and came through it, steadfast and unmoved, last at the sepulchre, first on the Easter morn.

How splendidly Our Lord rewarded it. For some time on that Easter Day women alone could say "We have seen the Lord"; women alone were the appointed bearers of the Resurrection joy to the Church.

So Christ restored womanhood to independent and equal life. Is it wrong to think that as He did so He gave us guidance how that womanhood may be used? Surely there is meaning in the teaching of the Parables that the woman's search for the lost piece of money is to be "in the house," that she hides the leaven in the three measures of meal, types of quiet unknown work lying nearest at hand, of quiet strong influence that works ceaselessly and noiselessly.

St. Paul and the Woman Movement.

By the Rev. A. E. N. SIMMS.

To those who are occupied in maintaining or opposing the claims of women to an equal share in the privileges and opportunities afforded by membership of a democratic State, no part of the New Testament is more in evidence than those passages in which St. Paul maintains the subordinate position of women. Do these mean that the Christian religion is definitely committed to the Anti-Suffragist position? Is it, from a Christian point of view, *wrong* to be a Suffragist? It is very important that we should be clear on this point.

This is not the first time that the advocates of progress have found themselves face to face with the apparently very determined opposition of the Bible, and have yet found a reconciliation which, so far from impairing the authority of Scripture, has only served to define it. We recall the classic case of Galileo, whose testimony to the earth's movement was met by clear texts of a contrary sense. *E pur si muove*. We now know that Scripture is not responsible for contemporary science. Again, we remember that the best Christian conscience, after very many centuries of Christian teaching about the nature of God, at last found it impossible to acquiesce in the existence of slavery. Yet the New Testament, without a word of condemnation, recognizes slavery as an existing institution. Further, St. Paul inculcates obedience "with fear and trembling" in the same manner as he requires wives to be obedient to their husbands. He modifies no existing relationship except that in every case he conditions it by the phrase "as unto the Lord." When Onesimus ran away from his master he does not commend him or condemn slavery. He sends him back to his master, not with a copy of the Rights of Man, but with a copy of the Epistle to Philemon. There are many other subjects, such as war, upon which the modern conscience is becoming very sensitive, and upon which

direct information from the New Testament may, equally with the cases mentioned, be said to favour the advocates of no change.

All this, therefore, considerably weakens in advance the force of objections based on New Testament quotations, by which it is attempted to stop the questions raised by the Woman Movement. The opposition will stand the test of examination as little here as before. St. Paul himself reminds us that we were baptized into Christ and not into Paul. To him Christ is always the "risen Christ," not Christ after the flesh. The risen Christ he identifies with the Spirit, as in Romans, viii. 9-11. So also in St. John, Jesus connects his risen life with the Spirit (chap. xv.), who is to guide us into all truth. We are baptized into a living and guiding Spirit. Jesus had many things to say, but "ye cannot bear them now." We are not as the ancient Jews or as the Mahomedans chained to a permanent social or political system.

Christ in St. Mark's gospel, to which critics assign the oldest place, deals with the only form in which the woman question was raised—the divorce question—by way of *equality*. The Mosaic Law was the voice of God to the Jews. Christ calls it an accommodation to their "hardness of heart" when it gives a man the right to put his wife away. He astounds his disciples by talking to the Samaritan woman. The subject was not drawing water, but the nature of God. Housewifery did not exhaust the capacities of woman. Mary, not Martha, chose the good part.

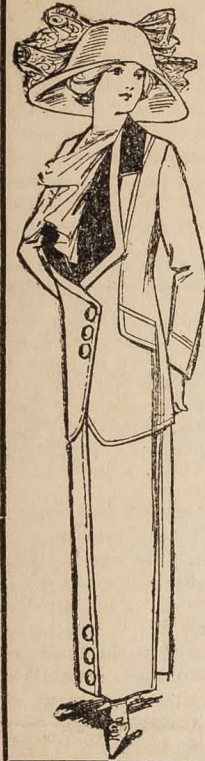
As St. Paul says, Jesus is Lord. But we are slow in acknowledging this Lordship. In commercial life we acknowledge it but little, in international relations not at all. We are not fair to St. Paul to expect that he should have raised every possible question and solved it with reference to Christ. He saw the great Christian principle of not being "under law," but being "in the spirit." But he saw it, necessarily, within the limits of his life's work. This work was the tremendous revolution effected in the relation of Jew and Gentile. With the cry of "no difference" he met the objections of the Jew drawn from the oracles of God. We know what this meant to him. "I die daily" is his own description. But it was the condition of insight, and his inspired message is that in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female.

In such a life there was no room for any other first-class question. In other matters the Apostle was in harmony with, not in opposition to, his environment. He reflects the opinion of his day on the relation of slaves and women to their owners. A Hebrew of the Hebrews, he found a woman, as in the tenth commandment, among a group of effects belonging to his male neighbour, off which he was expected to keep his hands. No needless offence must be given by the Church. The women in the Corinthian Church must obey the canons of modesty which they themselves acknowledged. But there was a special reason for his directions. Corinth was the most dissolute city in the Empire. A thousand women were retained for immoral purposes in the temple of Aphrodite, a goddess who represented Oriental nature worship. Against such a *religious* influence as this every argument that could be *immediately* effective must be used. The end of the world was imminent, and every relationship must remain as it was. The Church was, as it were, in a state of siege and the struggle was for existence.

The Apostle appeals to the story of Adam and Eve, to certain ideas about angels, and frankly to contemporary custom. "Is it comely?" he asks. He says that the woman is the glory of the man while the man is the image and glory of God. Here we have Paul without an inspired message from the Lord, defending a contemporary position, and defending it well enough for women who did not dispute it. But the position is changed. Like the slaves, women are changing. They sit on Royal Commissions and Municipal Councils. They are mayors, physicians, and lecturers. It is too late to apply 1 Cor. xi. 3-16 to the solitary case of voting at Parliamentary elections. Could St. Paul be challenged on his own principle of "no difference," he would see that for slaves and for women his true inspiration lies in his message "neither bond nor free, male nor female." Sex vanishes as a *political* necessity. The commemoration festival of St. Paul is his *conversion*.

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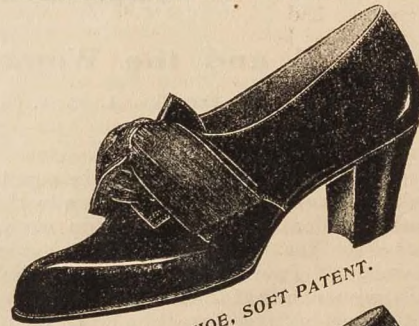
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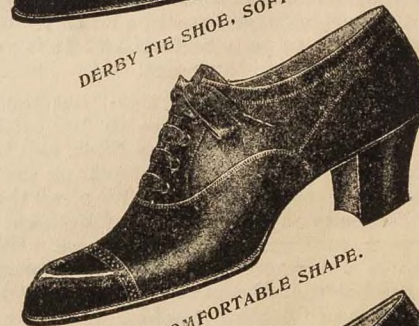
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Freedom and the Vote.

By Miss A. MAUDE ROYDEN.

FREEDOM is in itself so good a thing that the burden of proof lies on those who deny—not on those who demand it. The most cogent reasons should be set forth by those who seek to withhold so excellent a thing from their fellow-men and women.

But it has been said that in asking for the Vote we are claiming the right to govern other people. That is not true. We claim the right to govern ourselves. But it is true that in order to live in a State at all—in order to profit by all that is contained in that word—every individual must sacrifice something of his individual freedom of action. Even to live together in a family means some restraint and some sacrifice, though, as far as possible, it is a voluntary sacrifice. To live in the larger organism of the State means some sacrifice also, and, as far as possible, that sacrifice of individual freedom should be balanced by a share in the direction of the whole. Then one may justly speak of the "free" citizen of a "free" State; but to speak as though one tried to tyrannize over another with his vote is foolish, since both are voters. Women do not seek to govern men, but, equally with men, to govern themselves.

A great deal of misleading cant is talked about the "willing and joyful surrender" of woman to her acknowledged superior—man. If it be willingly rendered, why enforce it by law? Why deny freedom of choice to those who voluntarily choose to surrender the lead? There is no instinct in human nature more akin to the divine than that instinctive recognition of nobility and power in others. If men are our superiors by right divine, we shall not fail to recognize it. If they are not, why try to compel a recognition—or pretence at recognition—by force of law?

Women at present live under a despotism. This may be good or bad; but it is well to remember that it is a fact. To live under laws imposed by the will of others is not freedom. And when we are vaguely told that "the political function is properly the man's," what is meant is, that it is the function of man to decide what we shall or shall not do. Prof. Dicey tells us that woman ought to have personal freedom, but not political power. This, reduced to concrete fact, means that her personal freedom may be restricted by those who have political power. By them it is decided in what occupation she may engage; what are her rights over her property; over her children; over her own person. Is it to be "personally free" not to have the power of deciding whether one will undergo an operation or not? Could anything be more intimately *personal* than the freedom to decide that? Married women have no such rights over their own persons.

To be excluded from "the political function," but to have every other freedom, means that women are free to do everything but decide what they shall do! It is precisely the right to decide *this* that constitutes freedom.

It is not enough to say that we are only forbidden what is not good for us. If it were true, it would not alter our claim to decide this for ourselves. And the assertion—often made that we are "too good" for politics only makes the position more grotesque. We do not make laws for our superiors, but they for us; nor promise to obey inferiors, but they us again. If men seriously believe that women are their superiors, and yet claim the right to rule over them, their claim is far more outrageous than those who frankly say we are inferior. Miss Violet Markham has stated, and more than once, that, in her opinion, women are superior to men. We do not think so; we think them equal; but could anything be more grotesque than her position (if she really holds it)—that the superior should be ruled by the inferior because he is inferior?

It may more truly be said that we who protest against unfreedom are already free, because freedom is a spiritual thing, which no one can take from us. In a sense that is true, and up to a certain point. But it is true also that the general assumption

of women's incapacity for self-government has its effect even on the spirits of women, which perhaps the bravest hardly realize. To have much expected of one is inspiration, and many a character has been finely touched to fine issues by the sense that much is expected, and by the bracing consciousness of responsibility. To realize that little is expected, and least of all in the large issues of national life, is of all things most daunting. To be denied freedom and responsibility is to be cut off from two great sources of life.

The Vote—A matter of Justice.

By the Hon. W. A. CECIL.

"Even in those countries where they are best treated, the laws are generally unfavourable to women with respect to almost all the points in which they are most deeply interested."—LORD MACAULAY.

THESE words (written in our grandmothers' time, when, according to Anti-Suffragists, women were womanly, and did well to leave the framing of laws to the chivalry of men) are of special interest to-day, when Woman-Suffragists claim that, not only from a sentimental point of view, but economically, they are suffering from injustice through lack of political power.

In any democracy the interests of the voteless are naturally of least account, and when, in the industrial world, a collision of interests takes place between the sexes, it is, as Mr. Balfour says, "very hard that the women should be entirely excluded from any influence on the political machine by which the interests of the workers of both sexes are to be determined."

In spite of what appears to Suffragists the justice of their claim, as human beings, to share in the making of laws which affect them and their children, so much opposition has been aroused, so many objections raised, that at times they are driven to believe that what to them are irrefutable proofs of the necessity for the enfranchisement of women are to many Anti-Suffragists conclusive arguments against.

To these latter any idea of raising the social status of women in general, of giving them greater facilities for education, thus making them less cheap, or of interfering in any way by legislation with the supply of women for immoral purposes, is utterly repugnant. It is an axiom with this type of man, that the average woman is immeasurably inferior to himself, that she is hysterical, illogical, small-minded, self-centred, and fit for breeding purposes alone.

These men argue that it is essential for the virility of the race and for the protection of women of the richer classes, that the dual standard of morality should be maintained, and that prostitutes should exist, though how obtained does not concern them, and what they fear is that women with their "fad" legislation will alter the existing conditions, while we maintain that to prevent women having any voice in a matter so closely affecting themselves is to do the sex a great injustice.

One of the most grotesque features of the campaign against the admission of women to citizenship is the incongruous gathering together of men such as these, with the devout Christian following, as he thinks, the teaching of the Bible, and the patriotic Imperialist who would deprive women of all power, lest their ideas of what is good for the country should differ from his own.

It is only with the last two that it is possible to argue. Others in these pages meet the arguments of the devout Christian; the Imperialist should realize that to Suffragist women the ideal of the Empire is just as sacred as to himself, but they feel that the Empire cannot stand while the conditions under which women are at present compelled to work are rapidly killing the imperial race.

Practically all the industries which occupied the women of past generations in their homes are now done by machinery, with the result that women have to follow them into the factories or get what other work they can in order to exist. At the

present time there are some five million women in the labour market, the vast majority driven there by starvation, many of them having children and invalid husbands or parents to support.* Miserably paid, though their work is in many cases identical with that of men, the average woman's wage is insufficient for the barest necessities of life, and though it is a favourite argument that "woman's place is the home," hard as is the lot of the factory worker, the life of the home worker is infinitely worse. There factory laws cannot touch her, and poverty, starvation, and competition, combined with the absence of wage boards, enable the sweeter to cut down his "expenses" to the uttermost. A few specimens, taken more or less at random, give some idea of the wages paid, and the hopeless struggle a woman has to bring up her children to be good citizens. Paper bags, 3d. to 5d. per thousand for fair sized bags, the worker finding her own paste; carding buttons, 3s. per 100 gross; ditto hooks and eyes, 8d. or 9d. per 24 gross; making blouses, 1s. 6d. per dozen. In many cases a fire, for drying purposes, has to be kept up at the worker's expense, the work has to be fetched from, and taken back to the factory, and the woman supplies her own needles, cotton, &c. The home often consists of one room, which serves as bed-room, work-room, and living-room, and is usually packed with the articles being manufactured. In the case of bag making, the paste gets over everything, and hundreds of damp paper-bags cover the floor, the bed, and every bit of furniture.

We are told that the remedy lies in organization, but how can exhausted, starving, and penniless people either form or subscribe to trade unions. It is a favourite dictum that the vote has nothing to do with wages, but it is a fact that Government, the biggest employer, is also the biggest sweeter of women, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself tells us that with Woman Suffrage the double rate of wages could not possibly be maintained, and private employers would have eventually to follow suit.†

Hasty factory legislation indirectly excludes women from some of the best paid industries, causing over-crowding in the others, and thus tends still further to reduce wages.

Another direct result of the hopelessly inadequate wages of women is that thousands of girls are driven every year by sheer starvation to lives of immorality. Low wages and the operations of the White Slave Traffic, a system with a huge international organization, create in the heart of the Empire a mass of misery and disease almost beyond belief. The average working life of a prostitute is about seven years, during which she is sold to lower and lower houses as her value declines, and finally she dies of disease in a Lock Hospital.

The seeds of disease spread and permeate all classes. Men give it to their wives, and the children grow up blind or deformed, and it is wonderful how few people realize its awful ravages throughout this and other countries, whether the Contagious Diseases Act is in force or not. There are more males than females born every year, but the infant mortality from privation and disease is much greater among the males, a fact which should be remembered when considering the numerical preponderance of women.

The National Vigilance Association is making strenuous efforts to crush the white slave traffic, but as they say themselves, their efforts are hopeless till they have Parliamentary power behind them, and we cannot hope to see effective legislation passed till the interests of women form integral parts of candidates' programmes.

Almost all important measures directly affect women, and it seems absurd that where women are duly qualified they should be debarred from professions simply on account of their sex. It is argued that interests outside the house would take them out of their homes, but we have seen what thousands of these homes are like, and a woman need not be a worse mother because she chooses to go out and earn money to feed, clothe, and educate her children rather than stay at home and poke an empty grate.

* According to the *Westminster Review*, May, 1905, at an average National School one child in every three is supported entirely by its mother's work.

† This is now rapidly taking place in Norway where Woman Suffrage is in force.

This argument cannot certainly be used against Woman Suffrage by those who find time for social amusements or pay nurses to look after their children, or by those who regret, as most Anti-Suffragists do, that more women do not join in the excellent administrative work in Municipal affairs which their sex is doing, in spite of the fact that this work also entails considerable study and absence from the house.

A mother who has studied national and imperial questions will not bring up her children to be worse citizens than one who, through no fault of her own, is compelled from lack of education to remain an ignorant and docile drag on her husband's career.

Another of the chief arguments levelled against the enfranchisement of women is that they have not the bodily strength to enforce their views. That the weakest should go to the wall is the fundamental principle of tyranny, and the argument therefore calls for no further comment here.

Again, it is argued that woman's brain is not capable of grasping commercial problems. As a matter of fact there are a considerable number of successful women in business, and it is very possibly due to the custom which leaves girls uneducated and unprovided with capital that there are not a great many more.

It is also argued that because women cannot take part in active military operations they are unfit to be citizens. Half the men who offer themselves for the army are rejected as physically unfit to be soldiers, yet we do not hear of their being disfranchised.

The working woman's part, while her husband and sons are fighting, and she has to keep the home together, is anything but an easy one, and when, as is almost invariably the case, her patriotism rises superior to her privations, certainly no soldier will attempt to belittle her share in the success of her country's arms.

Finally, the conclusion of the whole matter is this: we do not believe that Woman Suffrage will bring the millennium, or anything like it, nor do we believe that it will bring the disaster our opponents predict.

We believe, however, that it will become more to the advantage of Candidates and Members of Parliament to study the problems which affect women's life and labour, and gradually to bring about the necessary reforms. We believe that it will stop the terrible sweating of women by Government, and tend generally to produce a strong and healthy race worthy of the Empire entrusted to us.

We believe that the conferring of the franchise on women would be an act of justice to the country. Lord Beaconsfield wrote in 1873, referring to the sex-barrier: "As I believe this anomaly to be injurious to the best interests of the country, I trust to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament," and we may conclude with the words of the late Lord Salisbury:—

"I earnestly hope that the day is not far distant when women will also bear their share in voting for Members of Parliament and in determining the policy of the country. I can conceive no argument by which they are excluded. . . . And their influence is likely to weigh in a direction which, in an age so material as ours, is exceedingly valuable—namely, in the direction of morality and religion."

Industrial Women's Need of the Vote.

By LOUISE DONALDSON.

ALL women need the vote, though there may be some who do not wish for it. They need it to acquire that "very first and most essential element in the harmonious development of woman's nature, as it is of man's—freedom." Industrial women have an especial need, because the vote, in its aspect as an instrument, is mainly to affect law, and their lives are directly touched at more points by law than those of other women. The vote is acutely needed by the home-keeper of the wage-earning class, who is increasingly under State regulation and

surveillance without any voice in the matter; but the married, and very often the unmarried, industrial woman is home-keeper and wage-earner too.

We are often told that women's interests are safe in the hands of men. It has always been said, whenever any new set of people desired enfranchisement, that the voteless were safe in the hands of the voters, and it has never been true. Not that any one class or set of people has deliberately put aside another set, it has only been ignorant of their needs or has forgotten them altogether. Thus the middle class, the agricultural class, the wage-earning class have all in turn felt the need of themselves representing their own interests, as they only could know and understand them.

That women are not a separate class in this sense is true, they belong to all these classes; nevertheless, there is a very definite woman's point of view in a large number of the matters legislated upon by Parliament, and in industrial affairs there is often an actual conflict of interests between men and women. It is necessary that women should themselves be able to say with authority through a representative what regulations are needed for their labour.

We are told sometimes that men "take care" of women, they "protect" them in legislation. They do make certain prohibitory laws ostensibly to this end; but men of the ordinary type, *i.e.*, not the Christ-like man, are permeated with the idea of sex domination, and this results in a species of protective legislation which has injurious effects on women's industries. Even were the laws perfect it is far better for the persons concerned to regulate their own affairs. However easy it might be to be always carried, having legs one desires to walk; it is strengthening to the muscles and bracing to the whole constitution. But when one is carried where one would not, the need of remedy is acute.

For example, there is a law that women may not work at night (it reminds one of the Moslem law, that no woman may be out after sunset). There are many women printers; this law prevents their taking any newspaper work, or any work of emergency very common in the printing trade, creating a distinct sex-disability. The skilled trade of women florists has been almost annihilated by the same kindness. The work of decorating concert-rooms, ballrooms, &c., is done late in the evening. The women petitioned, they urged that the work was light, pleasant, well-paid, and the hours few, though at night. It was of no avail, and the industry has passed into the hands of foreign men.

I am not defending night-work, none not absolutely essential to the well-being of the community should be permitted; but had women a vote, involving the power to instruct a Member of Parliament, they would teach him to point out to his colleagues that printers and florists cannot go home at 8 P.M. to bed because beneficent gentlemen say it is good for them; they have to earn their living; they are not printers and florists for fun, so they must needs take up some other employment, unskilled because they have no time to learn another skilled industry; they go to swell the ranks of some already overcrowded trade and to lower its wages—and if it happen to be a sweated home employment, they can work all night and all day too if they choose!

They might impress upon their representative, if they had one, that this sort of legislation is humbug; that the sick nurse, generally overworked and underpaid, does night work; that the poor mother, not paid at all, with a succession of babes, is always a night worker, and that the actress begins her work when the florist must leave off!

Cannot women speak to the M.P. for the constituency in which they live? we are asked.

They can when he will find time to hear them. Before the last General Election a candidate for a Norfolk division was asked to receive two deputations—one from the Carpenters' Trades Union, the other from the Laundress's Union. The poor man was pressed for time, he could only see one—and it was not the Laundresses! Trade unions, we observe, need the power of the vote behind them.

Again, pledges given to the voteless are very like the promises made by unscrupulous persons to children—anything to soothe them and keep them quiet. But when the time for action comes, either the pledge is conveniently forgotten or some excuse for breaking it is found.

Now and again threatening rumours reach our ears of the legal prohibition of the employment of married women in textile factories. I consider that the highly skilled and complex employment of bringing up young children and home-keeping is labour enough, even with trained assistance, for any woman for a certain number of years; but it is of little use to forcibly consign a woman to a home to feed and tend children if the necessary funds are lacking. These women earn from 10s. to 30s. a week, and no way is suggested by which this amount shall be made up, either the raising of the husband's wage, or the payment by the State of the mother while she brings up its citizens, and has no other means of possessing economic freedom.

Women themselves need to be consulted on the matter, and their opinion needs buttressing by the strength of the vote.

The Anti-Suffragist is fond of saying that the enfranchisement of women would not raise their wages; that the vote has no effect on economic conditions. This is incorrect. "Investigation will show," says a great M.P. "that all the improvements in the economic condition of the wage-earning classes are the result of political pressure brought to bear by organized bodies of working men *with votes*."

That the possession of the vote would directly raise women's wages is not maintained, and the reminder, always given, is unnecessary that many men, though enfranchised citizens, receive very low wages. It is true; but men have only recently awakened to the power of the vote in bettering their economic conditions, and they are now rapidly making use of it to that end. But however bad men's conditions may be, women's are always proportionately lower, whole fields of skilled work are shut off from women, and for precisely the same work equally well done women are paid a lower wage. The very piece-work rates are higher for men in the same trade. No one acquainted with the causes that regulate wages and the effect of political forces upon these causes, will deny that the general low status of women, the tradition of inferiority shared by themselves, is bound up with their lack of political freedom. "Political freedom must precede industrial emancipation," said the Chartists, and industrial women illustrate to-day the truth of this axiom.

Finally, industrial women, like all other women, want their vote in order to serve. This is a day of great social change and regeneration, of mighty developments of the Kingdom of God, a day of hope. Shall not women have their recognised part in this beginning of a better time, a better England?

Women are free citizens by baptism in the Church, absolutely equal with their brothers.

It is for Church people to see that the equality proclaimed in the Church is carried into the world; that it ceases to be a mere declaration made on Sunday afternoons when the babies are baptized, and becomes an actual fact and law of the Kingdom of Christ on earth.

Women's Vote and National Purity.

By URSULA ROBERTS.

WILL the enfranchisement of women work for national purity? That between Suffragist and Anti-Suffragist Church people is the question that counts. None of the clergy and no Church workers can afford to shut their eyes to the fact that hideous vice exists in both town and in village, and it is surely not too much to hope that if the main body of Church members became convinced that any movement really had a chance of helping men and women to lead purer lives they would support that movement *en bloc*. The Women's Suffrage movement quite seriously makes such a claim. The woman with a loathsome cancer distrusts the quack because she knows that he has

something to make for himself out of her disease; but she does not turn with equal impatience—even though she feels that his cure may be a delusion—from the disinterested student of scientific research. Before the Anti-Suffragist scoffs at our claim let him or her call to mind two facts: first, that Suffragists have nothing to gain personally from bringing it forward; secondly, that by the revelation through Christ of our common brotherhood, all Christians know that the wounds and afflictions of others are their wounds and afflictions too.

The loathsome cancer of prostitution is gnawing at Christ's own body. We *must* seek a cure. The Church teaches us to put on a level with our sins of commission our sins of omission. If we are doing anything less than all that is in our power, we are by our apathy and acquiescence "taking the members of Christ and making them the members of a harlot."

Even if Suffragists are deluded in the belief that the enfranchisement of women will make things better, dare you turn a deaf ear to their appeal? If the chances were a million to one against their being right, it would behoove you to listen for the sake of that millionth chance. There is so much at stake—so much to gain if they are right.

This, then, is briefly the case of us Suffragists. We believe that the majority of prostitutes are what they are not through their own lust working from within, but through the pressure of circumstances working from without. We believe that these circumstances could be modified by legislation in such a way as to lessen the pressure. We see a very close connexion between the fact of prostitution and the fact that the average wage of the industrially employed women in this country is less than a living wage. It is between 7s. and 7s. 6d. a week. We believe that women's votes would raise their wages by strengthening women's trade unions. Mr. Lloyd George himself has admitted that the Government, which is the largest employer of sweated labour in the Kingdom, could not go on paying women lower wages than men for equal work done if women had the vote. This is fully borne out by the facts as to wages in New Zealand, and other countries that have introduced equal Suffrage.

It is true, of course, that there are women who could never be forced into the trade of prostitution. They would, quite literally, prefer to starve first. They do, quite literally, starve first. And they have, indeed, chosen the better part. But the point is that no woman should ever be forced to such a choice of alternatives. It is an outrageously hideous choice, and it is faced daily by numbers of poor women because public opinion—or the public opinion that has power behind it—is not vigorous enough to insist that all women workers should be paid a living wage.

We believe, too, that women's votes would do much to check the white slave traffic. We cannot think that it would be possible for a Bill dealing with this horrible trade to be introduced nineteen times and be nineteen times blocked by a Parliament elected by women as well as men. The law urgently needs such amendment as would make it possible to prosecute a man or woman for procuring girls for immoral purposes, though the arrest be made in another country from that in which the offence be committed. We are convinced that if women were enfranchised they would have far more chance than they have now of raising the age at which a girl can legally consent to her own dishonour. At present it is no offence whatever in the eyes of the law for a man to seduce a girl of sixteen, or indeed an even younger girl if he can successfully plead that he thought she was sixteen. Is it right that a woman who is not thought fit to have control of her property until she is twenty-one, should, when it is a case of her person, be regarded as responsible as soon as she looks as though she might be sixteen? It is a striking fact that in nearly all the places where women have the vote the age of consent is fixed at eighteen; in Wyoming where women have been enfranchised longer than anywhere else, it is fixed at twenty-one.

The law also needs considerable amendment at the point where it touches offences against children. If magistrates cannot be trusted to deal with necessary severity in such cases, the

law ought to make it impossible for them to indulge their vice of leniency. It is not uncommon to read of magistrates letting a man off with a caution or an extremely light sentence on the ground that the child was more frightened than hurt, or that it was a first offence. Sentences of a month or six weeks, so common in England, form a very noticeable contrast with those inflicted for similar offences in New Zealand, where women have had the vote for eighteen years. There the punishment varies from five years to life imprisonment, with flogging. At present it is the case that prosecution must take place within six months of the offence—a wicked restriction, and one which women would surely seek to abolish. It is outrageous, too, that these cases involving children should be tried by juries exclusively masculine. When we think about these poor little children we can but feel it is small wonder that initiated into vice at the age of ten or eleven, or even younger, they should go from bad to worse, until they reach the streets and finally the Lock Hospital.

We may turn for encouragement to the record of the good acts passed with the help of women in other countries. There is no reason whatever why Englishwomen should be behind their sisters in Britain over the seas in their use of the vote. Women's Suffrage stands for purity and morality in Australia and New Zealand, and we believe that it stands for just the same qualities in our own country. And that is why we believe that God is with us; that this movement is essentially a religious movement and that all Christian women and men are doing God's will when they take part in it.

The Vote and Home Life.

By Mrs. CECIL CHAPMAN.

MANY arguments are put forward on the Suffrage question which have a curious ring of unreality about them, and certain lines of Matthew Arnold's recur to my mind:—

Below the surface stream, shallow and light,
Of what we say we feel—below the stream,
As light, of what we think we feel—there flows
With noiseless current strong, obscure and deep,
The central stream of what we feel indeed.

Do people in all sincerity believe that rendering women eligible for the Parliamentary vote will seriously modify the nature of women in general, and break up the home? And yet this is one of the staple arguments of the Anti-Suffragists served up under different forms.

Matthew Arnold's words apply to everybody at all times, but perhaps they come with special force when a new idea is in the air, and we are called upon to express an opinion on something which is not yet generally accepted; what we say we feel is apparently what we want to feel in accordance with ordinarily received ideas. People who have not thought about the Suffrage and its effect upon the home at all readily make remarks of an entirely surface nature. What we think we feel is a subtler form of the same order of ideas, but what we really want to know is what we feel indeed.

When we are told that the vote is going to alter the nature of women and destroy the harmony of the home, a great many questions rise to the mind. First and foremost, have all women got homes at all, and are all homes such models of harmony that no improvement is needed? Is it necessary that all homes should be exactly on similar lines, and is there, in this department of our life only, no room at all for diversity? Does home life consist in the woman never going out at all? A few months ago we were all amused by an Anti-Suffragist cartoon which was displayed as a poster. It represented a deserted home, husband and child left without dinner, in a helpless and disconsolate attitude, and a notice posted up by the absent wife: "Back again in 50 minutes, attending a political meeting." The inference appeared to be that a wife should never go out; and how the "Antis" or designers of that poster justify hours spent in choosing hats or playing bridge it is difficult to imagine, not to speak of the municipal work which they recommend in season

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and out of season. The pressure of work which keeps a poor woman at home is hardly likely to yield to the enticements of political meetings any more than it does to cinematograph shows, which would perhaps be on parallel lines with bridge parties. I think we should all be very glad if it were possible for the hard-working woman occasionally to get any change of scene and relief from drudgery to counter-balance the infinite variety of distractions and pleasures which absorb the greater part of the lives of her more fortunately placed sisters. And should she have time at her disposal, a political meeting would surely be a more desirable form of relaxation than an hour at the public-house, or even gossiping with neighbours in the next street.

Arguments such as these, that the woman should never leave the home and that she must inevitably quarrel with her husband should she be rendered eligible for the Parliamentary vote, are so manifestly unreal that we may safely look for their cause to some deeper origin, some "noiseless current, strong, obscure, and deep," which in other words can be described as an instinctive dread of any change or new idea, or rather to prejudice, of the description of what one "feels in one's bones."

There is another class of opposition to which expression has been given in a very remarkable manner by Sir Almroth Wright and into that I do not propose to enter in this short article. Few women are likely to accept for their sex his bold generalizations from the laboratory. But in any case he proves too much, for if women are the impossible people he describes, undoubtedly they all ought to be shut up. Far from meddling with local government which Mrs. Humphry Ward and Miss Violet Markham assure us is the sphere expressly designed for them by Nature's salic law, such incalculable persons cannot be safely entrusted with the care of either home or children, and the harem modified to suit Western ideas is the only proper place for them.

But *pace* the nightmare of Sir Almroth Wright, the woman in the home, and how the vote may affect her and it, is my subject, and it would be interesting to consider what constitutes a home and what makes its value. The four walls only, and enough to eat and drink have a resemblance to a cage, and it is not difficult to call to one's mind very many gilded human cages. We all know the home so forcibly described in 'Rutherford & Son,' that masterly play which is now being given in London, where a fine personality who calls forth our rather reluctant respect, has absorbed every vestige of life in any other member of the family. He stands surrounded by human failures, who have never had a chance of success. And we know that other type of home set forth in the 'Madras House,' where six daughters consume their lives in weary insipidity, without any room or scope for natural development.

I think the "Antis" fail to distinguish between the feminist movement and the demand for the vote. No reasonable person could allege that the mere fact of placing a vote in the ballot box once in three or five years could affect anybody's life, or that, considering the time now spent by women in political work on behalf of men, their time and energies would be more absorbed if they had the right to express their own opinions by the vote, as well as by every other sort of means of expression now made use of. It would be quite possible to have the Parliamentary vote, which is only a logical sequel to the Municipal vote, already obtained without taking any part in the feminist movement. But the objections of the "Antis" in so far as they touch the "home" problem certainly deal not in the least with the vote in itself, but with the actual status of women in the home.

They take the vote as an emblem, a symbol of feminism; and all their arguments go to prove not at all that the vote would have any effect in modifying home relations, but that the welfare of the home, and consequently of the state of which the home and the family are units, depends upon the status of women remaining in its present condition; man, whether good or bad, weak or strong, always to dominate and woman always to yield.

Of course these conditions never do really obtain, because in spite of the theories of Sir Almroth Wright and the "Antis," human life does not run at all on the lines they lay down. There

are infinite varieties, no two homes resemble one another, and sometimes the woman is the better man of the two.

But the "Antis" are content with ideals of the past. Their faces are turned backwards, and they theorize from crystallized types which admit of no growth. The "home," like everything else, is subject to evolution; it is not necessary that domination and subservience should for ever remain the ideal to which we must aspire. There is such a thing as co-operation and sympathetic fostering of the powers and capacities of those with whom you live, even should they be of opposite sexes, and a "home" might mean a place where wife and daughters are encouraged to develop their faculties and their full sense of duties and responsibilities without any diminution in the self-respect and dignity of the masculine head, who is now supposed to be able to answer for all their views and opinions.

It is strange to think that the "home," which looms so large in people's talk when it comes to opposing the grant of the Suffrage to women, should be the one unit in the State which finds no representation. The man is supposed, it is true, to represent his family. But how can he possibly do so? A man's point of view is quite different from a woman's. He attaches perhaps exaggerated importance to certain things which are very apparent and obvious, whilst the woman's attention appears to be turned to another side of life dealing with its inner workings, things which appear very humble and trifling, but which in view of the preservation of life and the improvement of the race have undoubtedly an importance of their own second to none. One has but to consider the part which a man plays, and which his wife plays, in a home, to know where the correct "representation" comes in. And yet we accept the man as sole representative not only of the family, but also of the home, which we are constantly told is woman's sphere!

The demand of women for expression, their wider sense of responsibility, not only within the home, but also to the community, of which they form part, the desire for intelligent, sympathetic co-operation with men in the State as in the home, represents a new energy coming to take its place in the world. It stands for a change in the point of view of human values, for a higher and a truer morality and sense of justice. It contains the germ of a great regenerative force which should be welcomed and fostered in this materialistic age of ours. All over the world there is an awakening amongst half the human race, and to many of us words spoken nearly 100 years ago ring in the ears with strange significance and inspiration:—

Spirits there are who stand apart
Upon the forehead of the age to come,
These, these will give the world another heart
And other pulses. Hear ye not the hum
Of mighty workings?

Correspondence.

SIR,—Term has slipped away with my memory and my time, and only at the last second can I send you a word. Forgive me!

What is to be said at this moment?

There has been a pause and a silence. We have been waiting to fix the lines on which the immediate policy ought to move, if the right and hopeful amendment is to be pressed upon the Government Suffrage Reform Bill.

It is within Parliament that the pressure is to be felt. It must take a form which Parliament understands and responds to. We must carry the full volume of favourable force along with us. Parliament yields to mass and weight. It will not be scurried or scared into a decision. It must be impressed by the solid force of the influence and the arguments which are behind the Movement.

All this we are quite well able to do, if only we can bring it all into action undivided and whole.

The case for the women has really been given already. They are loaded down with the Labour, for the sake of which Parliamentary representation exists. They are already profoundly concerned in all the risks and emergencies of public life and public service. We all make use of them in a thousand ways for our daily

convenience. It is morally impossible to lay on them these social burdens, and yet give them no direct opportunity of expressing control or consent. If they do this immense and perilous service for us at the cost of great physical risk and strain, then all the more urgent is the necessity that they should be able to speak and act for themselves, on their own behalf, in matters which so acutely concern them.

Legislation turns more and more round the very matters which are women's own. It is simply monstrous that man alone should be responsible for the legislation. The demand that women shall be intimately active in determining what form such legislation should take goes down to the very root of our national and moral life.

Yours truly,

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND.

Christ Church, Oxford.

SIR,—I understand that the June issue of your paper will be largely distributed amongst the clergy. Will you allow me to write a word in your columns to my brethren in the ministry?

I wonder whether the clergy for the most part at all realize the character of the women who are striving to win the franchise for their sex, or the motives which inspire their efforts. Personal knowledge of not a few, correspondence with many more, convince me that they are as a whole the best, the most spiritual women, in the world to-day. The vote is in their eyes a lever whereby God's work may be accomplished in the world. It is not—I write in general terms—for personal ends that they desire enfranchisement. They hope to cleanse our national life from some of its foulest stains—to protect virtue, to make the way of vice less easy and less attractive, to root out the white slave traffic as a lucrative and scarcely dangerous trade, to put an end to the inhuman sweating of female labour. Their motives are sacred and sincere.

They are appalled that in what they regard as a veritable crusade they are left without the active sympathy of their clergy, that they are constantly faced with antagonism or, what is worse, apathy. Perhaps they do not make sufficient allowance for the influence upon us of the pernicious half-truth that the clergy should have nothing to do with politics. Perhaps they assume a degree of knowledge of their motives, and of the ills which they seek to remove, which some of us do not possess. But, unquestionably, they view our attitude with mingled bewilderment and bitterness, and many of them are being slowly alienated from our corporate Church life. Let me quote one sentence from a letter which has reached me—a sample of many like utterances—"It will only be when our Church takes up the cause of justice and righteousness that many of our women members, whose loyalty, alas! is being sadly shaken, will get back their feeling of love for, and trust in, it. Our love for its Founder is strong as ever."

Women have no right to demand from us assent to their political views. They have a right to demand our careful, thorough, prayerful consideration of a claim which is made upon such sacred grounds, which concerns itself with matters of such profound moment. They have a right to demand that, if our judgment is convinced, our influence shall be exerted. I venture humbly to press their demand upon my brother clergy.

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

F. M. GREEN.

St. Mark's Vicarage, Tollington Park, London, N.

The Calendar.

- June 2, Sun. Corporate Communion Day.
Mission Week commences.
Deputations to Clergy.
Birmingham Branch Meeting at the Imperial Hotel, Temple Street, 8 p.m. Speaker: Rev. G. H. Davis. Chair: Miss E. M. Naish.
- 3, Mon. Street Distribution of Literature.
Brighton and Hove Branch Garden "At Home" for members and friends, at 48, Rutland Gardens, Hove, to meet the Secretary of the C.L.W.S., 4 p.m.
- 4, Tues. Brighton and Hove Branch "At Home" for members only, at 20, Goldstone Street, Hove, to meet the Secretary of the C.L.W.S., 8.30 p.m.

- 5, Wed. Day of Prayer and Meditation at the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, Strand, W.C. Addresses: 11 a.m., Rev. C. Hinsliff; 3 p.m., Rev. C. Llewellyn Smith; 6.30 p.m., Rev. Hugh B. Chapman.
Brighton and Hove Branch, Public Meeting at Town Hall, Hove, 8 p.m. Speaker: Mr. S. D. Shallard (Men's Society for Women's Rights), and others.
- 6, Thurs. Service at St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate Within, E.C. Address at 1 p.m. by Rev. Dr. Cobb.
St. Swithin's, Lewisham, S.E.: Holy Communion, 7 a.m.
- 7, Fri. Public Discussion Meeting at Essex Hall, Strand, W.C., at 8 p.m. Subject: 'The Church and the Social Problem.' Speakers: Dr. Letitia Fairfield, Rev. G. D. Rosenthal, Rev. F. M. Green and others.
Anerley Branch Meeting at 149, Croydon Road, Anerley, 8 p.m.
Hove: Evensong, S. Barnabas' Church. Preacher: Rev. W. E. Lloyd, 8 p.m.
- 8, Sat. Hove: Holy Communion, S. Barnabas' Church, 7.30 a.m.
Procession from Hyde Park Corner (assembly 2 p.m.) to service at St. George's, Bloomsbury, W.C. 3 p.m. Preacher: Right Rev. Bishop Powell, D.D. (Vicar, St. Saviour's, Poplar).
- 9, Sun. Church of the Ascension, Blackheath: Holy Communion, 7 a.m.
- 11, Tues. Anerley Branch Garden Sale at "The Hermitage," 149, Croydon Road, Anerley, 3-6 p.m.
- 12, Wed. Quiet Day at Morley Hall. (See Notes and News.)
- 19, Queen's Hall Meetings. (See Notes and News.)
- 20, Thurs. Greenwich and Lewisham Branch Garden Meeting at Merten House, 43, Clarendon Road, Lewisham, 6 p.m.
- 22, Sat. United Demonstration in Trafalgar Square of the C.L.W.S., Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, and Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 3 p.m.

News from the Branches must reach the Offices of the League not later than the 17th of each month.

Clergy in the C.L.W.S.

(This list is reprinted by request, and brought up to date.)

- Hereford, Right Rev. Dr. Percival, Bishop of.
Labuan and Sarawak, Right Rev. Dr. Mounsey, Bishop of.
Lincoln, Right Rev. Dr. Hicks (President C.L.W.S.), Bishop of.
Worcester, Right Rev. Dr. Yeatman-Biggs, Bishop of.
- Adderley, Hon. Reginald, v. St. Peter's, Parkstone.
Addleshaw, S., v. Gorfield, Wisbeach.
Allbrook, H. V., Hackney, N.E.
Allfree, H. G., Chorley Wood, Herts.
Auden, J. E., v. Tong, Shifnal.
Baumgarten, C., v. St. George's, Bloomsbury, W.C.
Bassett, W., v. Frimley, Surrey.
Bethune-Baker (Canon), J. F., Lady Margaret Prof. of Div., Cambridge.
Bell, Maurice F., v. St. Mark's, Regent's Park, N.W. (Executive C.L.W.S.).
Birchenough, G., Edgbaston, Birmingham.
Blackett (Canon), Selwyn, v. Wareham, Dorset.
Boyle, Vicars, v. Portslade, Brighton.
Bonney, Rev., v. Molesworth, Huntingdon.
Bryant, R. J., Birmingham.
Brock, H., "Lindaux," Branstone Road, Burton-on-Trent.
Brooke, Ingham, v. Barford, Warwick.
Buck, W. A., v. Leamington.
Buttle, W. F., Downing Coll., Cambridge.
Chapman, Hugh B., Chaplain, Royal Savoy, W.C.
Chettoe, S. E., v. Hendon, N.W.
Colley (Ven.) T., v. Stocton, Rugby.
Cornibeer, A. E., v. Sacred Trinity, Salford.
Cocks, F. R., Woking.
Cobb, W. F., v. St. Ethelburga's, Within Bishopsgate, E.C.
Collier, H., v. Much Wenlock.
Collier, E. C., v. St. Peter's, Birkdale, Southport.
Corbet, A., Leamington.
Cullen, J., v. Radcliffe-on-Trent.
- Davis (Canon), G. H., Hereford.
Donaldson, F. L., v. St. Mark's, Leicester.
Donaldson, L. R. L., Leicester.
Edwards, G., v. Crossens, Southport.
Ellott, J. C., v. S. Mary's, Hornsey Rise, N.
Escreet (Ven.) C. E., The Ascension, Blackheath.
Exton, R. B. L., Chaplain, Strand Union.
Field, F. G. E., Holt, Norfolk.
Fowle, H. M., Putney, S.W.
Fry, Blount, v. Cullercoats, Northumberland.
Gadd, A. J., v. St. Vin., Edinburgh.
Grant, J. A., Bedford Park, W.
Grimley, A. L., v. Ellington, Huntingdon.
Green, A. E., v. All Saints', Lower Sydenham, S.E.
Green, F. M., v. St. Mark's, Tollington Park, N.
Green (anon), Peter, Manchester.
Hanson-Haigh, A., Barnes, S.W.
Hall, C. G., v. St. Matthew's, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Harris, E. C., Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Hardy, T. J., Ascot.
Healey, S., Primrose Hill, N.W.
Hinsliff, C., Regent's Park, N.W.
Howe, W. R., Boston, Lincs.
Hopkinson (Canon), v. Whitburn, Sunderland.
Holland (Canon), Henry Scott, v. Regius Prof. Div., Oxford.
Holmes, A. J., v. Broomfleet, E. Yorks.
Hoggins, A. C., Oxford.
Hockey, A. K. C., v. West Lavington, Sussex.
Ingleby, A., Worthing.
Inskip, J. T., v. Jesmond, Newcastle.
Iredell, E., v. St. Barnabas, Tunbridge Wells.
Jackson, V., Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Jeayes, F. G., Woolwich.
Jones, D. T., The College, Hartlebury Castle, Kidderminster.
Jones, A. S. Duncan, Chaplain Gov. and Caius, Cambridge.
Kitson, B. M., Barnes, S.W.
Kitcat, Henry, v. Bow, E.

Clergy List Continued.

Lawrence, T. J., r. Upton Lovel, Wilts (Hon. Sec., Ch. of Eng. Peace League).
 Laurie, A. E., Edinburgh.
 Lee, A. H. K., Christ Church, Albany Street, N.W.
 Lewis, Arthur, v. Chardstock, Chard.
 Lloyd, W. E., Hove, Sussex.
 London, W., v. All Saints', South Mersham, Sussex.
 Macdonald, H. J., London, N.
 McClean, M. Y., v. Coxley, Wells, Somerset.
 Middleton, C., v. St. John's, Birkdale, Southport.
 Mitchell, A. F., v. St. Augustine's, Sheffield.
 Moorsom, R. P., Cleadon, Sunderland.
 Morgan, A. E., v. St. Andrew's, Willesden Green, N.W.
 Mullin, J. C., v. Milton, Stoke-on-Trent.
 Newland, M. S., v. St. Thomas's, Stourbridge.
 Odeh, N., Oxford.
 Paine, W. H., West Kensington, W.
 Parr, E. G. C., London, S.W.
 Parkyn, Lindon, v. Holy Trinity, Southport.
 Price, J. A., v. Longnor, Buxton.
 Purvis, J. B., v. Hendon, Sunderland.
 Rees, J. V. H., Ashley, Charlton-cum-Jardy, Manchester.
 Rees, W. G. E., v. St. Thomas's, Pendleton, Manchester.
 Richmond, W., v. Valley End, Surrey.
 Rice, Francis, v. St. Swithin's, Hither Green, S.E.
 Roberts, A. P., v. Oldbury, Edgbaston.
 Rooks, Percy, Burton-on-Trent.
 Rosenthal, G. D., Birmingham.
 Roberts, J. Drew, Zion College, W.C.
 Robinson, J., Cartmel, v. St. Michael and All Angels, Bedford Park, W.
 Rooks, Percy, Burton-on-Trent.
 Roberts, W. C., r. Crick, Rugby.
 Rudolf (Preb.), E. de M., Church of England Waifs and Strays Soc.
 Scott, C. V., Church of England Waifs and Strays Society.
 Shaw, H., r. Alderley, Chelford, Cheshire.
 Shaw, E. Vernon, Dulwich, S.E.
 Shaw, P. J., r. All Saints', North Street, York.
 Shipton, C. P., r. Halsham, Ottringham, Hull.
 Smith, Llewellyn C., Barnes, S.W.
 Smythe, F., v. Hove, Sussex.
 Smith, C. S., Garforth, Leeds.
 Snow, H. L., Bromley, Kent.
 Spencer, F. A. M. (Hon. Sec., C.L.W.S. Branch), Oxford.
 Swann, N. E., Paddington Green, W.
 Tarcombe, M. W., Southport.
 Tennant, F. R., r. Hockwold, Brandon, Norfolk.
 Thomeswell, C. F., Oxford.
 Thompson, T. H., Hove, Sussex.
 Tickell, S. C., Safron Walden (Hon. Sec., Church of England Anti-Vivisection Society).
 Underhill, F., Highgate, Birmingham.
 Udney, S., v. Thornton Heath, S.E.
 Urch, Frank, Chelsea, S.W.
 Veasey, H. G., v. St. Mark's, Camberwell, S.E.
 Weston, C. W., Nazareth, Tinnevely, S. India.
 White, James, Chaplain, Bromley College, Kent.
 Wilson (Canon), J. M., Worcester.
 Windley, H. C., v. St. Chad's, Besham, Durham.
 Wigram (Ven.) A. T., Port Elizabeth, S. Africa.
 Wilson, C. P., v. Fishponds, Bristol.
 Williams, E. M., Whitburn, Sunderland.
 Williams, Alan, v. St. Mary's, Warwick.
 Worster, W. J., v. St. Barnabas's, Rainbow Hill, Worcester.
 Woods, J. H., v. St. Mark's, Shields.
 Wontner, T. S. D., v. Newbourne, Suffolk.
 Woolley, C. B., The College, Hartlebury Castle, Kidderminster.
 Wynne, H., Bearwood, Edgbaston.

On Sunday, May 5th, being the first Sunday in the month, at the 8 o'clock celebration in St. Michael and All Angel's, the prayers of the congregation were asked "on behalf of the Women's Suffrage League, who are making their Corporate Communion this morning."
 (Miss) H. C. MARTINDALE.

Birmingham.

New Members: Miss M. Birch, Mr. W. H. Denson, Mrs. S. E. Farrar, Miss D. G. Farrar, Miss Elsie Mauvon, Miss E. M. Naish, Miss Bee Richards.
 (Miss) E. M. GRIFFITHS.

Brighton and Hove.

New Members: Mrs. Wrightson, Miss Wood, Mrs. Fagden, Mrs. Grice.

On April 19th a successful "At Home" was held at Kemp Town by invitation of Mrs. Benington. Mrs. Francis was the speaker, and, as usual, her speech was much appreciated.

On April 22nd a very good concert was held at the Assembly Rooms, Livingstone Road, Hove. The Rev. E. Lloyd took the chair, and opened the concert with the C.L.W.S. prayers and a most excellent Suffrage speech. Three fresh members joined the C.L.W.S. as a result.

On May 8th the first Open-Air Meeting of this year was held on the ground at the top of Rutland Gardens, Hove. A good collection was taken, and twelve C.L.W.S. papers were sold.
 (Miss) KATE CLOSE.

Chelmsford.

New Members: Mrs. Poole, Miss Dorothy Poole, Mrs. Francis Scruby, Mrs. Cardozo, Mrs. Taverner, Mrs. Wyld, Miss Madge Poole, Mr. F. Russell, Miss May Thresh, Miss Mildred Hay, Miss D. M. Taverner.
 (Mrs.) A. L. HATCHER.

Greenwich and Lewisham.

New Member: Miss E. Mathias.
 A very interesting meeting was held at the Park Hospital on Friday, May 10th, on 'The Minority Report.' A good discussion followed and a collection was taken. The Committee, seeing that the Branch now numbers 100 members, is agreed that the Branch raises its annual donation to the General Fund from £3 to £4 per annum, and it was decided at the last meeting that this proposal should be made to all the members at the next Branch meeting. We feel our responsibility towards the Central Branch is a real one, and we wish to help financially to the best of our ability.
 (Mrs.) M. CLOSE SHIPHAM.

Hampstead.

A members' meeting was held on May 17th, at 24, St. Edmund's Terrace, Regent's Park, by kind permission of Mrs. Knowles. Miss E. Seymour Bennett, in the Chair, emphasized the need for unity and loyalty among all sections of League members. Dr. Helen Hanson gave a very interesting address.

The Branch hopes to hold an open-air meeting on Hampstead Heath on Sunday, June 2nd, at 3.30. Members are requested to turn up in force. If the weather should be bad the meeting will be postponed.

Hendon and Golder's Green.

New Members: Miss Irene Cox, the Rev. G. A. Tait.
 On St. Mark's Day, April 25th, a meeting was held at the Council Offices, Hendon, at which Dr. Helen Hanson and Lieut. Cather, R.N., spoke. A collection amounting to 12s. 6d. was made in aid of the Branch funds.
 (Miss) EMLY C. GROWSE.

[Branch News from Ilford, Ipswich, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Shanklin, Southport and Birkdale, Sunderland and District, Warwick and Leamington is unavoidably held over till next issue.—Ed.]

The Treasury.

MONEY RECEIVED (April 15—May 15, 1912.)

	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions	3 19 0
Donations	20 14 8
New Members	7 17 0
Collecting Boxes	11 5 0
Monthly Paper (Special Edition Fund)	25 1 6
Coffee Stall	3 6
Affiliation Fees	3 17 4
Literature Sales	6 14 8
			£79 12 8

[Details of the total amounts given above are held over for lack of space and will be published next month.—Ed.]

From the Branches.

New Branches (Bedford Park, London, W., Cambridge, Chelmsford, Chorleywood) ... 4
 New Members 85

Anerley.

New Members: Mrs. Banks, Miss E. M. Summers, Miss S. M. Lacey, Miss A. Poulter, Mrs. G. F. Norman, Miss M. Duncan, Miss L. A. M. Smalley, Miss F. Bousfield, Mrs. Jones, Miss Walron, Mr. W. J. Wise, Miss O. H. Grey.

The Green, White, and Gold Fair (held in conjunction with the local branch of the W.F.L.) in the Town Hall on April 25th was pronounced by all to be a great success. It was opened by Mrs. Despard (supported by the Rev. Egerton Swann).

As a result of this venture the funds of both societies have been augmented by £14 14s. A sale of fancy articles left over and fresh home-made cakes and sweets will be held in the garden of The Hermitage, Croydon Road, on Tuesday, June 11th, 3-6 P.M. Cards of invitation can be obtained from the Hon. Sec.
 (Miss) E. M. FENNINGS.

Bedford Park.

New members: Miss Jones, Mrs. Evans, Miss Ensor, Miss D. Henwood, Mr. Borrett, Mr. Rendell, Miss J. Tyers, Mrs. E. A. Tyers, Mrs. Benjamin, Miss Norman, the Rev. J. Cartmel-Robinson, Miss Dodridge. Transferred from other branches: Mrs. Coombs, Mr. Fry, Miss Percival Clark, Miss Edwards, Miss M. Sennett, Miss H. C. Martindale. Members of Committee: Mrs. Evans, Mrs. Benjamin, Miss Edwards, Miss Sennett (Treasurer), Miss Martindale (Secretary). All members are asked to make the League known among their friends.

The Inaugural Meeting of this Branch was held on Wednesday, May 1st, at 1, Esmond Road, by kind permission of Mrs. Evans. The chair was taken by the Rev. J. Cartmel-Robinson, Vicar of St. Michael and All Angel's, Bedford Park, who subsequently joined the League. Mrs. Luey Henderson of Hampstead gave an excellent speech.

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The undermentioned items are selected from Catalogue No. 87.

LANE (Rev. C. A.) **Illustrated Notes on English Church History.**—From the Earliest Times to the Dawn of the Reformation—The Reformation and Modern Church Work. Illustrated with over 600 illustrations. Revised edition in one volume. 12mo, cloth, red edges (pub. 2s. 6d., 1904) 1s. (Postage 4d.)

TETLEY (J. G., D.D.) **Old Times and New.**—An interesting collection of sketches and studies of olden time, containing many witty sayings from Sydney Smith to Canon Ainger. 2nd Edition, with photographic frontispiece. 8vo, cloth (pub. 7s. 6d. net). 1s. 6d. Postage 5d.

VEALE (Rev. H., B.A.) **The Devotions of Bishop Andrewes.**—(Græce et Latine) carefully edited and arranged in sectional paragraphs, by the Rev. Henry Veale, B.A. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo, cloth (Cambridge, pub. 7s. 6d.) 1s. Postage 4d.

VENN (JOHN, F.R.S., F.S.A., Fellow and President of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge). **Annals of a Clerical Family—An Account of the Family and Descendants of William Venn, Vicar of Otterton, Devon, 1600-1621.** Illustrated with over 30 portraits and other illustrations. 8vo, cloth (pub. 15s. net, 1904). 3s. 6d. Postage 5d.

Just published, may be had post free, Catalogue 95.—Special Bargains in Theological and Philosophical Books.

MAURICE, THE PHILOSOPHER; or Happiness, Love, and the Good. By HAROLD P. COOKE, Lecturer in Philosophy in Armstrong College. With an Introduction by Dr. F. G. S. SCHILLER. Cr. 8vo, i-xvi+108 pp., cloth, 2s. 6d. net. (Postage 3d.)

"An agreeable activity of thought and literary reminiscence."—Times.
 "A brilliant philosophical dialogue.... A book I can recommend to all."—Dr. W. H. D. ROUSE in a public speech.
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