

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Monthly



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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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THE WAR AGAINST SWEATING.

IS IT TO GO ON?

In 1909 the child of a trousers finisher died in East London from starvation, the mother not earning sufficient to provide her with food. In the same year many chain makers at Cradley Heath, and many lace finishers at Nottingham, and many matchbox makers in Bethnal Green were earning at the rate of a penny an hour.

In the same year a ray of light appeared on these poor women's horizon. The National Anti-Sweating League obtained the passing of the Trade Boards Act, and chain makers, matchbox makers, and trousers finishers heard the good news that a minimum wage was about to be fixed for them.

The minimum wage is now a solid fact, and in all parts of the country groups of poor women are richer by several shillings a week.

They are richer in more than money. Better wages have meant better food, but they have also meant better hope and better courage. The spirits of these women, as well as their bodies, have been refreshed.

Is this good work to go on? The League has secured the further extension of the Trade Boards Act to the Shirt Making, Linen Embroidery, and other trades, embracing 150,000 workers. These need to be instructed and helped, as were the other workers—a huge task for which no funds are available.

Will you not assist to provide them? A small donation from every reader of the 'CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE' would be in itself sufficient. See that yours is not lacking.

The League is commended to you by the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Birmingham, Canon Scott Holland, Lord Lytton, Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., and others, and by its unsurpassed record of truly humane and religious work. For the sake of its poor clients, see that it does not fail for want of aid.

To the Secretary,
National Anti-Sweating League,
34, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.

I desire to contribute £ to the Special Fund for helping the women newly included in the Trade Boards Act.

Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss) _____

Address _____

GREAT FORWARD MOVEMENT:

£1,000 NEEDED.

No one who was not present in Southampton during the Church Congress can have any adequate idea of the enthusiasm aroused by the C.L.W.S. Campaign, and the influence exerted upon the thought of the Church by the Congress itself. Our packed meeting in the Palace Theatre, our audiences in the open air (numbering at times 1,000 persons), the sale of 1,000 copies of our paper and of innumerable pamphlets, the large number of signatures to our Petition to the House of Commons secured from clergy who are not as yet Members of our League—all these are but outward tokens of an attitude of acceptance, not to say of welcome, on the part of the Congress as a whole of those principles for which we stand.

The Hour of Opportunity.

The way lies open before us for wide development in our work. Already requests for speakers for new Branches are arriving at Headquarters. Several such centres of light and influence have been already formed, or will be formed, before these lines are in print. We can go forward now as we never have gone forward before, if only the Members of the League will rise to the height of their opportunity. For the hour of opportunity, long-looked for, long-prayed for, has at last struck.

But we cannot go forward with our present resources. More workers who can devote their entire time to the work are imperatively needed.

Voluntary Work at Headquarters.

We doubt whether our Members in general realize how much of our work is carried out from Headquarters by voluntary helpers. The Monthly Paper is written, edited, and posted to subscribers without one penny of cost to the League funds beyond the actual outlay on stamps and wrappers. Were it not for ungrudging voluntary service, the expenditure upon book-keeping would be enormously increased. The amount of voluntary propaganda work done in connexion with the Monthly Paper and other League activities is very great. Hundreds of personal letters are written by voluntary helpers. The Press department makes no charge upon League funds, save for out-of-pocket expenses. But all this work centres in London; and the need of the Provinces is the need of the hour.

The Need of the Provinces.

Three additional organizers are imperatively needed. One should be at work in Wales, which, save in the extreme south, is at present untouched by the League. One should be responsible for the South Coast—a field of unrivalled opportunity. One should be at work in the North, giving such help in Scotland as might be possible from time to time. A shorthand typist should be engaged at Headquarters to relieve the Secretary and Miss Corben from the necessity of much mechanical labour which at present they are bound to undertake, to the great detriment of their value to the League. With these additional workers, and with Miss Axford at work in the Midlands, we should be making some real attempt to cover the ground. We should be accomplishing in a twelvemonth what would otherwise be the work of years.

The Executive Committee has carefully considered the position, and has resolved that the needful expansion can be undertaken if a sum of £1,000 can be raised by collections, donations, or new annual subscriptions before the close of the current year.

Ways and Means.

Can this be done? It can and will, if we all set about it in the right way.

Our first need is prayer. We publish with our Thanksgivings and Intercessions for this month a Special Collect, which we ask every member of our League to use frequently and devoutly during the coming weeks.

But earnest prayer will not free us from the necessity for careful organization. The plan we propose is as follows:—

(1) All donations, collections, and new annual subscriptions sent to the Central Office on or after October 13th will be regarded as contributions to the £1,000 which we seek to raise. It is estimated that about £200 of this sum will be needed to meet the necessities of the current year.

(2) Our effort will culminate in a great Meeting in the Church House, Westminster, on December 9th, at which the Bishop of Kensington will preside. The main purpose of this meeting will be to re-state the spiritual principles which animate our movement; but an earnest appeal will be made for financial support. The Branches of the League will be represented by pennants, which will be specially provided without cost to the Branches, and subsequently retained at the Office for use on similar occasions; and it is hoped that every Branch will send a purse, to be presented to the Bishop of Kensington, either by a delegate from the Branch, or in the case of distant Branches by some London Member deputed to represent the Branch. A general collection will be made; and promises of donations payable before the end of the year, will be received.

After the collection has been made, the total sum contributed or promised to the Special Fund will be announced.

Our Appeal to the Branches.

In appealing for the hearty co-operation of the Branches we do not forget that many have already helped us this year, and that all have local expenses to meet on their own account. But it is obvious that the organization which prevents them from being isolated and comparatively ineffective units is the organization at the Central Office. Without the Literature thence provided, without the speakers often thereby secured, without the sense of corporate strength thereby imparted, the smaller Branches would be crushed out of existence, and even the larger Branches would lose much of their force and vitality. We ask for a supreme effort on their part. A sum of £5 from each Branch would provide one half the total amount required. There are very few Branches to which that sum would be really impossible, though in many cases the provision of it would call for considerable self-denial on the part of many individuals. There are many Branches which a true perception of the needs and opportunities of the hour would prompt to provide a much larger, though not more liberal, gift.

To Central Members.

But we must not look to the Local Branches alone. The Members of the Central Branch must take a foremost part in this work if it is to be accomplished. Those who have not given must give, and those who have given much must give more. For the sake of women, for the sake of the Church, for the sake of Christ, let us do according to our ability.

The following information and suggestions are given for the use of Branch Secretaries:—

(1) A marked copy of this paper should be sent to every Member in the Branch, with a request for a gift (which should reach the local Secretary not later than December 1st) towards the Branch purse.

(2) Free copies of the paper for distribution to Branch Members who do not subscribe to it will be sent on application to the Office. To obviate error the application should be headed 'Free Copies of Paper.' Application should be made at once, stating the number of free copies required.

(3) Branch Members should be reminded that they can augment their contributions to the Branch purse by gifts from sympathizers who do not belong to the League. Collecting cards will be issued in three forms, adapted respectively to the collection of sums in pence, in threepences, and in sixpences. They will be sent to Secretaries and others on application. They can be used otherwise than in connexion with Branch purses.

in the least in truth. (3) Never say any ill thing of a person. (4) Never be irritable or unkind to any one. (5) Never indulge in luxuries which are not necessary. (6) Rely on the Power which alone is able to assist me, and exert my own powers as far as they go.

Active work soon occupied her thoughts. Towards children and towards the unfortunate her warm sympathy had always been drawn. She now invited one forlorn little boy to spend his Sunday evenings with her. Friends soon accompanied him, and after a time, an empty laundry being placed at her disposal, she gathered round her some seventy little ones of the very poorest, and without the help of pictures or books kept them happy and attentive, quiet and orderly, till she sent them away to their miserable homes. A summer holiday was spent in Wales, where the glory of the mountains appealed strongly to her heart, though she cared little for the works of man, and neither the ruins of historic castles nor the splendour of some grand cathedral stirred in her any degree of enthusiasm. A visit was paid to Plymouth on the homeward journey, and the sailors and the degraded women seen in the streets awoke a longing to do something to better their condition. Some years earlier, when scarcely 15, she had persuaded her father to take her with him when he visited the House of Correction at Norwich, and even in those early days the same compassion had arisen in her heart, the same earnest desire to help. Twenty-seven years later she was to hold a great meeting at Devonport where her wish could be in some measure fulfilled, as she gave her message to the listening crowd—some 1,500 of the most hopeless of the great city.

Early in the year 1800 proposals of marriage were made to her by Joseph Fry, a member of a Quaker family, to which she at first entirely declined to listen, her fear being "to hinder her spiritual welfare." However, renewed advances met with better success, and in the August of that year the marriage took place at the Friends' Meeting House at Norwich. Mildred Court, in the City, became their home, and the young wife found her duties many and considerable, hospitality to her husband's large circle of friends being no small part, and during the nine years of their residence in London family affairs mainly engrossed her time. Five children were born to them, her own youngest brother was for some years an inmate of the house, and whenever sickness and sorrow, or death itself, touched the family circle, it was to Elizabeth that troubled hearts turned for comfort and for courage. Yet with these many claims of home and kindred, she had accepted the post of Visitor to the Schools and Workhouse of the Society of Friends in Islington, and had done much careful and successful work. The death of her father-in-law brought about their removal to Plashet, the home of the Fry family, where many happy years were to be spent, and where their five remaining children were born. The country surroundings and large garden recalled the days of her own childhood, and she rejoiced to see her little ones enjoying like pleasures. In October, 1809, her beloved father died, and it was at his funeral that the necessity first came upon her of addressing the Meeting and uttering her thoughts in prayer and praise. When the idea first suggested itself she shrank from it, imploring that this might not be required of her, but as the inward prompting grew stronger she yielded in what she felt to be obedience to the call of God, and felt great comfort in the sense of not having resisted His voice.

In 1811 she was acknowledged by the Friends as a minister, and her more serious work among them dates from this time. It became her duty to attend the Monthly Meetings and the great Yearly Meeting, to speak and to pray, and though the claims of her growing family often made it difficult for her to leave them, it was wonderful how obstacles were smoothed from her path, leaving her more and more the assurance that this active and public work was distinctly a call from God. About her own village, too, her influence was felt. With others she worked to establish a successful School for some seventy girls at East Ham, and by word and deed succeeded in bringing some order and relief to a colony of very poor Irish about half a mile distant from her home. Everywhere the magnetism of her personality was felt, the calming effect of her presence, and the unforgettable tones of her sweet, deep voice. To her servants she was an ideal

mistress, realizing as was seldom done in those days their needs and cares as a part of the great human family.

The winter of 1812-13 was spent in town, and it was then that her first visit to Newgate took place. Some women prisoners were condemned to death, and Elizabeth was asked to see and speak to them personally. Even in this twentieth century we cannot consider that prison regulations have become ideal, but it is difficult for us to realize the actual hell upon earth of the prisons barely a century ago.

Attention had been already called to this crying evil. John Howard had dedicated his life—ay, and had laid it down a willing sacrifice—in the cause of prison reform, but in the absorbing anxieties of revolutionary days and the fierce terrors of war the matter seems to have sunk into oblivion, and his work of devotion to have been lost and wasted.

The women's side of Newgate was even worse than that of the men, and the Governor entered it with real fear and only when necessity arose. About 300 women with their children were confined in the narrow space of four rooms; tried and untried prisoners of all ranks and degrees of guilt were there together—filthy, ragged, fierce, and violent, with no employment, no bedding, no attempt at instruction—under the charge of one man and his son! Separated from visitors by a grating, they thrust their hands through, begging clamorously for alms, which were immediately spent at a spirit tap, so that drunkenness and the foulest language added to the utter depravity of the scene.

It was impossible for Elizabeth to dismiss from her mind the horror of it all, and though it was yet four years before home duties left her sufficiently free to carry out her intention, Prison Reform was thenceforth to her the work to which she was imperatively called.

In the autumn of 1816 her regular visits to Newgate began. She asked upon the second occasion to be left alone with the women, and read to them in her wonderfully impressive way the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard. She then addressed the mothers, dwelling upon the results to their children of the present conditions. She suggested that a school should be formed for all under 25 years of age, and that they should choose a schoolmistress from among themselves. On her next visit Mary Connor, convicted of having stolen a watch, had been selected, and well and faithfully did she carry on the work for the remaining fifteen months of her imprisonment. An unoccupied cell was provided by the authorities, and for weeks Elizabeth and two devoted helpers were there daily, gaining more and more influence with the miserable beings to whom they brought the first rays of hope, of pardon, and of peace. From "wild beasts" they became "harmless and kind," and though the Governor and his officials believed the schemes merely visionary, they gave all possible support, and the improvement among the prison inmates was undeniably great. Occupation, classification, and instruction were the three methods chosen. The women were assembled, and in the presence of the Sheriffs were asked by Elizabeth if they would keep the rules drawn up by herself and eleven other ladies. They agreed unanimously. A former prison laundry was whitewashed and placed at the ladies' disposal, and very soon the "tried" prisoners were at work upon stocking making. A visit from the Aldermen and Sheriffs of London brought hearty support and help, and the generosity of "Friends" supplemented these public funds.

The Bible-readings—twice daily—were of immense importance in the work of Reformation. The women crowded to hear. Visitors were allowed to be present, but nothing affected Elizabeth's entire concentration upon her subject, and the wonderful beauty of her tones reached to the very hearts of her hearers. Her own heart was often wrung with pity at the human tragedies around her. A young woman was condemned to death, and only awaited for the birth of her child for the execution of the sentence. Another was to suffer death for the murder of her babe. More and more as her experience widened did Elizabeth disapprove of the frequent sentence of death. More and more did she feel that even these miserable souls were not past reclaiming, and that many a one might yet have lived a life of deep repentance, have regained her self-respect, and proved the reality of her penitence.

Some Impressions of the Church Congress Week.

By Mrs. R. A. THOMAS.

A WONDERFUL WEEK—a week for which to thank God and take courage—such has been this Congress Week for all who have the cause of Womanhood at heart. But to some of us who, at Southampton, came for the first time in touch with the leaders of our League, the week has been in a special sense a revelation and an inspiration. "Tasks in hours of insight willed, may be through hours of gloom fulfilled," and the memory of the rousing addresses we heard at our evening meetings, the thrilling speeches at the Palace Theatre, the patient courage of our workers selling the League paper, so cheerfully and untiringly, at the Congress doors, and the march through the Southampton streets to meet the Qui Vive Corps will stir us to fresh efforts through the year before us. But, best of all, a more abiding inspiration than any will be the treasured recollection of those consecrated moments spent daily in the grand old Church of St. Michael's. Always our hearts will throb with gratitude to the Vicar of St. Michael's—for his constant kindness to us, and, above all, for allowing us to use his beautiful church as the spiritual home of the League during this momentous week.

Those of us who were able to arrive at Southampton before Sunday had an opportunity of hearing, in the Bishop of Southampton's morning sermon at St. Mary's, a fine exposition of the spiritual side of the Women's Movement. Referring to the claims of women, he said that the teaching of Christ and the development of His teaching in the history of the Church as a whole, formed a strong argument for the recognition of women's place and work, and for the equal treatment of the sexes. The claim which women had put forward in these later days was a claim for freedom to discover their powers of work and service, their capabilities—physically, intellectually, and spiritually; and then for a fair, not prejudiced or harassed, opportunity to bring their powers and capabilities into exercise. They had made themselves felt in many spheres of activity. Should we as Christians, discourage, oppose, and hinder these efforts? Should we not, rather, work towards the enlargement of opportunity, the training of gifts, the providing of many fields for their exercise, the enabling of women to do the work for which they are fitted, whatever that work may be? In concluding the Bishop said that he should not touch the political question. He believed that time would solve it, if only the right temper could be trained.

The great Women's Meeting of Monday afternoon gave a fine opportunity for the sale of Church League papers and the distribution of pamphlets outside the doors. Canon Ivens's sympathetic remarks on the broader outlook for women were loudly applauded. "I believe," he said, "that if the demand which you are making is urged with patience, wisdom, and forbearance, it will be granted, and I am convinced that you will use your enlarged opportunities, as your sisters have done for years past in New Zealand, for the welfare of your country and for the maintenance of all that is pure and good."

We especially appreciated the story of his working-man parishioner who spent all his evenings at the club, leaving at home in solitude a good wife, but one who "could not find time to be interested in politics and such like." It was certainly refreshing to hear the enlightened suggestion as to the whole duty of the working-class wife with which the Canon continued: "There is a great deal too much gossip and tittle-tattle going on in our midst. The world is a larger place than the street in which you live; and the politics which interest your husband and your sons, and the book of travels which you take out from the library, open up questions far more important than the petty quarrel which is being waged between two neighbours. I feel sure that one good effect of the present movement for securing a larger sphere of action for women is, that a larger number are being led to interest themselves in great matters, and are, perhaps, discovering that many petty things which have hitherto seemed so important are very trifling indeed."

Miss Maude Royden, in her speech on purity, gave those of her own sex who were present an earnest of the power and dignity with which she was to address their husbands and brothers at

The great work thus begun was carried on with unflinching zeal for nearly thirty years. Steady improvement in the condition of the prisons rewarded her efforts: matrons were appointed, employment provided, and regular instruction given, and order, cleanliness, and quiet replaced the horrors of past days. The fame of such doings must needs be spread abroad. The name of Elizabeth Fry became a household word. The great of the land desired to see the woman whose personal influence had done so much. High officials would fain consult her and benefit by her judgment. But through all her prayer was to be kept "humble, watchful, faithful, and persevering."

From London to other great cities of England she passed, and thence to Scotland and Ireland, bringing everywhere the same purifying influence, the same gently compelling force. Few could refuse any request from her, and the hardest hearts melted at her glance and word. "It is more terrible to be brought before Mrs. Fry than before the judge," said a Newgate prisoner, and the best in every nature seemed to awake in response to her own.

Many foreign authorities, with consciences aroused by her example, wrote to her for advice, and in 1838 she visited Paris, accompanied by her husband and friends, and was received with high honour. In the following year the visit was repeated, though the strenuous exertion had told upon her health. A voice in her heart cried, "Daughter of God, go, go, go, and I will help thee." The tour made was extensive, including Avignon, Marseilles, and the Pyrenees. In 1840 Belgium, Holland, and Germany were travelled through, royalties vying in the respect and honour they paid her. In Denmark she dined with the King and Queen in their country palace, and pleaded with success the cause of the persecuted Baptists. Travelling in the forties was not the luxurious matter of to-day, but involved much hardship and fatigue, and her busy home-days brought scarcely less. In May, 1842, in company with the Lady Mayoress, she paid a visit to the Duchess of Kent, the Queen-Dowager, and the Duchess of Gloucester, and was then received by the "dear young Queen, Prince Albert, and their little ones." In 1843, on her last Continental tour, the Duchess of Orleans received her in great state in the Tuileries, and on her return Sir Robert Peel, Prince Albert, Lord Aberdeen (then Foreign Secretary), and Lord Stanley (the Colonial Secretary) gathered to hear her experiences. With so ceaseless a round of activities, no wonder that at last the lamp burnt low, and the large and devoted circle of her family—husband, children, and grand-children—knew that her days with them were numbered. Quietly she passed to her rest—strong in the faith by which she had lived—in October, 1845, in her sixty-fifth year.

Her name is linked with many agencies for good, but her work in the prisons must ever stand as her great memorial, and the thought of this woman, so brave and pitiful, will ever rise to the minds of men as they read or hear the words, "I was sick and in prison, and ye visited Me."

A Rummage Sale.

HOW TO HELP THE GENERAL FUNDS OF THE C.L.W.S.

A RUMMAGE SALE will be held at St. Andrew's Mission Hall, Malden Road, N.W., on Saturday, November 29th, at 3 P.M. We earnestly beg all members who can to send any discarded clothing, boots, or household articles, and not later than November 27th to Mr. Rose, 176E, High Street, Camden Town, N.W. To any who will inform us previously by sending a card to the C.L.W.S. Office we shall be greatly obliged. Also we shall be very glad of names of helpers for the day of sale. We feel sure you will all do your best to make this a very great success.

GERTRUDE WILLIAMS.

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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.

MONTHLY PAPER.

All communications respecting Advertisements should be addressed to the Advt. Manager, Miss F. L. Fuller, 52, New Bond Street, W. Telephone: No. 2421 MAYFAIR.

All other communications should be sent to the Editor, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

The insertion of Letters or of Signed Articles in this paper implies that their contents are thought likely to prove of interest; but the League is not responsible for the opinions thus expressed.

For Subscription Rates see Front Cover.

An Open Letter to the Dean of Durham.

St. Mark's Vicarage,
 Tollington Park, London, N.,
 To the Very Rev. the Dean of Durham. October, 1913.

DEAR SIR,—At an anti-Suffrage meeting held in Southampton on September 30th you took as the text of your remarks from the chair two articles which had just been published in the C.L.W.S. Monthly Paper—'The Church Congress' and 'An Appeal to the Clergy.' I felt honoured that the unworthy products of my pen should receive your distinguished attention; and you will not take it amiss if I reply in these pages to the criticism which you then uttered with respect to them.

May I in the first place acknowledge what I feel to have been the sincerity and courtesy of that criticism. The vulgar abuse and misrepresentation which too often do duty as argument when the Church League for Women's Suffrage is assailed were conspicuously absent from your speech. If I have to complain

of misrepresentation at all, it is of misrepresentation rooted, I am sure, in misapprehension. Whether such misapprehension was due to any lack of lucidity on my part, or to some want of attention on your part, I am content that the public should judge.

You began by challenging my contention that the question of the status of women is a religious question. You admit, indeed, that all questions are religious for the Christian; that as Christians we must bring to the decision of this question the best judgment that we have; but you repudiate the idea that as Christians we must hold ourselves bound to give one answer only to this question, viz., that which the C.L.W.S. advocates. I hope I do not do injustice to your position. I am using, if I mistake not, your own words, though I have not a verbatim report of your speech.

Now, if you will consider the matter somewhat more carefully, you will find, I think, that, whereas a Christian must bring his best judgment to bear on all questions submitted for decision, those questions will severally fall into one of two categories. There will be some in which there is no ethical principle involved, which must therefore be determined upon grounds of expediency. There will be others where ethical principles are clearly at stake, and where in consequence considerations of supposed expediency must be resolutely disregarded. I do not know that any ethical principle forbids me to eat lobster salad late at night, but my best judgment as a Christian man, basing itself upon considerations of expediency alone, compels me to abstain. On the other hand, I am often sorely tempted to depart from the standard of absolute veracity at the promptings of supposed expediency, but the demand of the ethical principle involved is paramount.

The question, then, which is really at issue between us is simply this: Is there any Christian principle which imperatively demands the Enfranchisement of Women? If there is, then as a Christian man I must close my ears to all counter arguments which move on the lower plane of expediency, and govern my conduct by consideration of that principle alone. If there is not, then it is merely mischievous to treat this question as "religious," in the fullest sense of that word.

I turn to the paper which you read at the Church Congress, and find that you recognize the "equality of the sexes" as an "indisputably Christian principle." My task is thereby lightened. I accept your principle, and affirm that the Enfranchisement of Women is an inevitable corollary thereto.

I admit, of course, that it is speculatively possible to construct a system of government in which the equality of the sexes would be completely recognized, yet in which Votes for Women could find no place. Men and women might, for example, agree to abandon the system of representative government altogether, and choose a despot for life—man or woman, peer or peasant—by an elaborate system of casting lots. But such suggestions are ludicrously impracticable, to say no worse respecting them. There is no real alternative to the Enfranchisement of Women other than the maintenance of their position as, so far as politics are concerned, a subject sex.

I want to emphasize this point, for it seems to me of some importance. If the demand for "Votes for Women" were but one of many more or less conflicting demands put forward to secure in public matters equality of the sexes, it would be deplorable to attempt to carry it by an appeal to religious convictions. Every Christian desires a diminution in drunkenness; but to make the Disinterested Ownership of Public-Houses the object of a religious crusade would simply darken counsel. For it is but one of many proposals sincerely put forward to attain that end. Prohibition, Local Option, Local Veto, Reduction in the number of Licensed Premises—all these expedients are proposed. And it is the part of a Christian man to bring his best judgment to bear upon these various plans, and to determine which will best contribute to the attainment of the end that, as a Christian, he is bound to promote. But to secure the recognition of the equality of the sexes in public life there is no practical alternative to Votes for Women. The best judgment of those who desire to give effect in public life to the indisputably Christian principle of the equality of the sexes is compelled to support Votes for Women as the only practicable expedient open to them.

You will urge, perhaps, that equality is consistent with differentiation of function. I admit your contention, but

not as relevant to the present discussion. The functions of fatherhood and motherhood are diverse; but we are agreed in believing that the divergence constitutes no inequality. But to affirm that it is the function of one sex to rule and of another to obey* is the very negation of equality.

I would propose to you, Sir, a very obvious dilemma. Either you think it religiously important that the indisputably Christian principle of the equality of the sexes should be expressed in the ordering of our public life, or you do not. If you do, can you suggest any other expedient for its expression than the Enfranchisement of Women? If you do not, can you give any good reason why it should not find such expression? and can you mention any other indisputably Christian principles which you do not desire to recognize in the ordering of the State?

As a controversialist, Sir, you are somewhat at a disadvantage on an anti-Suffrage platform. You labour under the disability of holding the fundamental principle of suffragism. You cannot cast the equality of the sexes to the winds and utter the language of Lord Curzon at the Albert Hall, or of Sir Almoth Wright in his recent deplorable pamphlet. Indeed, you may well ask yourself what you are doing in such a galley.

I have gratefully recognised the courtesy of your criticism, but you hardly did justice to your finer instincts when you likened me, by implication of course, to a "dancing Dervish." The Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford and the Bishop of Kensington also contributed to the October issue of our Paper. Did you—I put the suggestion with bated breath—did you mean to compare them to dancing Dervishes also? But, perhaps, this is hardly fair. Your illustration had, at least, the supreme merit of making your meaning clear. I only refer to it as a timely reminder that the religious fervour which you deprecate is not the only possible source of intemperance in speech.

In suggesting, however, that because we recognize the essentially religious basis of the claim of Women to Enfranchisement, we therefore refuse to discuss the question, and simply clamour for our own way, you are demonstrably unfair. I say "demonstrably," because every issue of our Paper is a refutation of your assertion. Reasons are as thick as blackberries, and we render them without any compulsion at all. We recognize that in a very imperfectly Christianized community appeal to Christian principles is not in itself sufficient. The evils attendant upon the present exclusively male franchise must be exposed, and the benefits which experience elsewhere has (so we believe) discovered in equal franchise for the sexes must be set forth. When, however, we address ourselves exclusively to that section of the community which professedly stands for the maintenance of Christian principles in private and public life—the clergy, we feel entitled to press the matter on grounds of principle alone; to refuse to give weight to considerations of supposed expediency alleged against us until our appeal to Christian principles is shown to be fallacious.

You charge me, Sir, with assuming in my second article that every honest clergyman must approve the Enfranchisement of Women. I assumed nothing of the kind. I addressed my appeal avowedly to those amongst the clergy who admit that women's claim is just, but will not use their influence to render it effective. I believe wholeheartedly that Christian principles demand the Enfranchisement of Women; but experience forbids me to assign any limit to the follies and prejudices of Christian men.

Remembering to whom my appeal was addressed, I fail to find anything contemptible in the plea that the continued apathy of the clergy, arising from absorption in other interests, is alienating many of our most devout and intelligent women from the Church. The clergy admittedly cannot interest themselves actively in every proposed reform which they may passively approve; and if the question of Women's Enfranchisement were of slight moment, involving little of spiritual gain or loss, the clergy might reasonably hold themselves absolved from active participation in the controversy; but, in view of the actual facts, apathy on the part of the convinced priest may

* It may be said that whilst one sex only makes the laws, both sexes are called upon to obey them. But there is no real affinity between obedience to the laws ourselves have made, and obedience to laws enacted without any reference to our will. Spiritually, the difference is that which exists between freedom and servitude.

almost be accounted the unpardonable sin. You seemed to suggest that I appealed to the clergy to embrace a merely political cause from motives of professional interest. Believe me, I should share to the full your contempt for those who could respond to such a line of argument. I appealed to the clergy who believe in the justice of Woman's claim to recognize their duty, to weigh its urgency, and to fulfil it whilst there was still time.

Your statement that you could equally well take the chair at a Suffrage meeting may, or may not, have given satisfaction to those who organized the Anti-Suffrage meeting at which you presided. To me, Sir, it constituted—I would write with all due respect—the very head and front of your offending. The movement for the Enfranchisement of Women had been before the country for years whilst you were still in your cradle. It is, in its essence, a world-wide movement. It confronts the Church as really, and almost as urgently, in India and China as in England and America. It has been discussed *ad nauseam* in Parliament. Its principle has been accepted in that assembly with almost monotonous regularity for I know not how many decades. Petitions to Parliament, processions through the streets, gigantic demonstrations have arrested the attention even of the unthinking multitude. Nor is this all. During your still recent residence at Westminster you have seen and heard strange things. You have gone homewards past the House of Commons, and seen women keeping vigil there through long, cold, autumn nights, desirous of presenting their case to the Prime Minister. You have read of women, too eminent in the professional world or too conspicuous in Society to be wholly unknown to you—Lady Constance Lytton, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Dr. Ethel Smyth, to mention but a few—convicted in police-courts and imprisoned for offences against property or police regulations. You were not the vicar of some remote country parish, to be hoodwinked by newspaper articles about hooligan women and demented viragoes. You have read of the hunger strike, of forcible feeding. You know, and have long known, that a section of the womanhood of this country is in passionate revolt against existing conditions. And you, Dean Hensley Henson, a recognized leader of advanced thought in the Church, a man resident but recently at the very centre of affairs, for whom no avenue to accurate knowledge was closed, who might almost be said to have had his finger on the pulse of the universe—you blandly profess that you have an open mind and invite frank discussion of this question, as though it had only just appeared above the political horizon. I refrain from comment.

My articles which provoked your criticism were written with the usual editorial anonymity. But I have never written an anonymous letter, and do not propose to do so now. Therefore, though my name can add no weight to my views, I beg to subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,
 F. M. GREEN.

Forcible Feeding.

WE are aghast and indignant at the recrudescence of forcible feeding. We thought that barbarity had been banished forever from our penal system. It is, of course, an enhancement of the barbarity that it should be practised upon women, normally law-abiding and of social worth, who have been goaded into rebellion by the refusal of justice and by more than the suspicion of political treachery. But our protest against the practise does not rest upon its accidental connexion with the Suffrage agitation. We resist it as inhuman. It is, as carried out, simply an irresponsible form of torture. It may be more or less severe at the discretion of the Home Secretary and his officials. If we are really to return to the days of physical torture, let its amount and character be regulated and determined in open court. It is vain to say that such "treatment" is rendered inevitable by the hunger strike. If a prisoner refuses food there are two possible methods of dealing with the situation other than forcible feeding. He can be left to starve, or he can be released. Which course should be adopted, when a choice has to be made, would depend upon the circumstances of the case, the nature of the offence,

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