

Men's League for Women's Suffrage

No. 48.

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Monthly Paper.

ONE PENNY.

President: THE RIGHT HON. THE
EARL OF LYTTON.

Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.

October,
1913.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

We invite all our readers to pay special attention to the International paragraphs which appear in this issue, and will in future be a regular feature of the paper. In response to a request from the Men's International Alliance, the committee has agreed to make our own monthly paper the official organ of the International Alliance also. Under these circumstances, we hope shortly to increase the size of the journal, and shall welcome articles of interest, not only to English readers, but to the large number of European readers who will be added to our circulation.

It is not for us to take sides upon the controversy which has arisen in connection with the meeting of the National Council of Women Workers at Hull. The Union is clearly based upon the theory that suffragists and anti-suffragists could meet on a common basis in connection with economic questions only. No doubt Mrs. Humphry Ward and her friends are right in maintaining that resolutions dealing with the suffrage issue are, therefore, out of order. We venture to say, however, that the schism is inevitable. The economic status of women, as of men, is, under modern conditions, in direct and indissociable connection with politics. This fact is borne in upon all who seek to raise the status of the woman worker, and we are at a loss to understand the position of Mrs. Humphrey Ward in this matter. We have a profound respect for Mrs. Ward's high intellectual gifts and for her labours in the service of womanhood. But it seems to us quite incredible that she, with her knowledge of economic conditions and legislation, can fail to see that the whole trend of modern legislation is towards State regulation of industry, and that the great mass of women-workers will inevitably be driven to seek the weapon which their male colleagues and rivals find so important. The National Council may be split, but it will emerge the stronger, and, we prophesy confidently, with a solid suffrage programme.

We hope next month to publish a special article on the significance in the feminist movement of the events of the Church Congress. Meanwhile, may we thank Miss Maude Royden for the splendid use she made of the epoch-making opportunity afforded to her? Her two speeches and the paper of Mrs. Paget are the two main features of the Congress. As an interesting corollary we note that Dr. W. S. Macgowan, of St. Anne's,

Soho, will deliver a series of sermons on the first four Sunday evenings in November (7 p.m.) on famous women, including Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Josephine Butler, and Octavia Hill. The feminist views of leading Churchmen, like the Bishops of Lincoln, Kensington, and Hereford, the Rev. William Temple, of Repton, the Rev. T. A. Lacey, and the indefatigable work of the Rev. Claud Hinscliffe, and his devoted colleagues of the Church League are bearing rapid fruit.

An admirable editorial on "A New Policy for a General Election" appeared in "Votes for Women" on October 3, presumably from the pen of Mr. or Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The article contains an excellent summary of the three main policies which have been attempted, and shows, we think, conclusively (though the committee has not yet formulated an opinion), that none of them will be suitable for a General Election. The writer suggests that "the right course is first of all to approach the leaders of both the great parties, and ascertain from them what their Government is prepared to do with regard to woman suffrage if, as the result of the General Election, they find themselves in power. The next step will be on the basis of this new information to formulate an *ad hoc* policy with which to fight the election."

Joint action is recommended, and in this proposal we concur with the utmost cordiality. The centrifugal tendency of suffragists is the tragedy of the movement, as it was of ancient Greece. We add our appeal to that of the writer in "Votes for Women," and urge with all earnestness that the old bad separatism be buried under new a structure of mutual compromise and co-operation.

J. M. M.

My Chivalrous Paper.

Pictures and scare head-lines of riots by men, with loss of life, on one page; on another page a discussion on "Is Militancy a Disease?" Yes, apparently, when it is woman's militancy and does not kill anyone.

This may be chivalry; it isn't common sense.

Reflections on the Home Journey.

Women could fiddle about with windows in trains for themselves, but men might open more doors for them into their trades.

A chocolate-box to a woman on her birthday is no substitute for the ballot-box on polling days.

THE PROSPECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN HOLLAND.

The vote is not yet within the women's reach in Holland, although the Queen's Speech, the programme of the Cabinet that has just come into power, mentioned the enfranchisement of women for the first time as a desirable reform.

Three national societies, the Vereeniging (16,000 members, founded 1894), the Bond (6,000 members, founded 1907), and the Men's League, are conducting the agitation for the enfranchisement of women outside the Parliament, and four political parties of different power and influence have declared in favour of the reform; but there is still many a slip between the cup and the lip, and our propaganda must not be allowed to slacken. This will become apparent when we take a look at the present political situation of the Netherlands.

For the purpose of overturning the Conservative Clerical Government the three Liberal factions united in November, 1912, upon a programme which contained for women nothing more than the abolition of their constitutional disability. When in June the "second elections" obliged the Social Democrats to choose between the Liberal and the Clerical candidates, they declared their preference for the former. The result of the elections was a Chamber with 46 Conservatives, 38 Liberals, and 16 Socialists. None of the parties accepted the formation of a Cabinet, but the new Government promised on entering upon their functions to take in hand without delay the revision of the Constitution, and the Queen in her opening speech said that it would be amended so as to introduce manhood suffrage in the next electoral law, and strike the word "male" from the qualifications for the electorate, so as to open the prospects that *some day* Dutch women may be enfranchised. Otherwise her Majesty never as yet manifested great interest in the question of woman suffrage.

On the day of the opening of the States General, September 16, the Dutch W.S. Association held a crowded meeting at The Hague to express their gratitude for the advancement of the cause of women's enfranchisement, and at the same time to urge their claim and protest against delay. The demonstration of women, not arranged by any one Suffrage Society, but manifesting the feelings of all suffragists, held on September 17, demanded *Constitutional Equality for Men and Women*, and addressed itself especially to the Members of Parliament. It was much commented on in the Press, and not unfavourably, but it will be observed that great work is still to be done, and years of propaganda may still lie before us.

The Men's League takes an active part in it by putting questions to candidates at election time and publishing the Budapest resolution of the International Men's Alliance for Woman Suffrage.

WOMEN AND BANKRUPTCY.

The Bankruptcy Act, 1913, has made some changes in the legal position of married women in the direction of extending facilities for making them bankrupt. At present a married woman can only be made bankrupt if she carries on a trade or business *separately* from her husband, but on and after April 1, 1914, the mere fact that the husband has some control over or interest in the business will no longer render his wife exempt from bankruptcy proceedings. Of course, unmarried women are subject to bankruptcy in the same way as men. The new Act also makes it much easier to proceed in bankruptcy against a

married woman trader where a final judgment, expressed to be payable out of her separate property, has been obtained against her, by allowing a bankruptcy notice to issue on such a judgment. This means that the creditor can adopt a short and simple method of compelling his debtor to commit an act of bankruptcy, which is necessary to enable the creditor to present a petition in bankruptcy. Under the old law it was frequently found to be impossible to make a married woman bankrupt in cases where she had not committed an act of bankruptcy, because the creditor had no right to serve her with a bankruptcy notice. Even the sacred "restraint on anticipation" has been attacked. When a married woman has been adjudged bankrupt, and is in receipt of income which is subject to a restraint on anticipation, the Court will now have power to order the whole or part of such income to be paid to the trustee for distribution among the creditors, although in exercising the power the Court must have regard to the means of subsistence available to the woman and her children. Another inequality between the sexes has been swept away. Under the old law, when a wife has lent money to her husband for the purposes of his trade or business, she cannot prove in his bankruptcy until the claims of the other creditors have been satisfied. A loan by the husband to the wife for the like purposes is now placed on the same footing.

The changes in the law referred to above will be welcomed by Suffragists, because they abolish senseless distinctions in the legal position of the sexes. It is difficult to know what view Anti-Suffragists will take. The immunity of women from bankruptcy has frequently been adduced in argument to show that they are the "spoiled darlings of the law," although the argument in question is generally used by persons who have not the faintest knowledge of the historical origin of the anomalies referred to. But assuming women ought to be grateful for these so-called privileges, and that they flow from some chivalrous desire to shelter and protect a voteless sex, why are they being taken away?

HERBERT JACOBS.

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THE NEW STATESMAN: SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON THE AWAKENING OF WOMEN, EDITED BY MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

How to Reach the Unconverted.

ONE of the most urgent needs of the Woman's Movement in the United Kingdom is to overcome the barrier set up by the neglect—if not, indeed, the boycott—of the general Press. Something more is required than the specialist organs of the Movement. Useful as these are, they fail, as a rule, to reach or to appeal to the unconverted.

The problem of how to secure adequate representation in journals of general circulation has been under the consideration of several of the leaders of the Movement. It is difficult to induce any distinctive Liberal or Conservative journal to take up the Woman's Cause. But the establishment, last April, of *THE NEW STATESMAN*, and its success in securing an influential circulation among leading politicians, officials, professors and business men of the most varied opinions, all over the country, appears, to some of those engaged in the Movement, to offer an opportunity for getting what is desired.

THE NEW STATESMAN, which has, from its start, sought to give expression to the Woman's Movement, is issuing, with the number for 1st November next, a Special Supplement on "The Awakening of Women." Edited by Mrs. Sidney Webb, this will include articles by—

MRS. FAWCETT	MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST
MISS JANE HARRISON	MISS B. L. HUTCHINS
MRS. W. PEMBER REEVES	LADY BETTY BALFOUR
MRS. C. P. GILMAN	MRS. W. L. COURTNEY
DR. FLORA MURRAY	MISS ADELAIDE ANDERSON

THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN

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- THE CAPITALIST VERSUS THE HOME.
- THE UPGROWTH OF NEW TYPES OF SUBORDINATE BRAINWORKERS.
- THE WOMAN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.
- THE WOMAN AS MEDICAL PRACTITIONER.
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- THE MEANING OF MILITANCY.
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Together with a classified select bibliography.

It is important to secure, for this number, an exceptionally wide circulation. But something more is at issue. If we can secure for THE NEW STATESMAN one thousand new postal subscribers for one year, the Directors of that journal (who include Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. H. D. Harben, and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb) are prepared to devote, in the body of the paper, greatly increased space to the Woman's Movement; and will, in addition, arrange to issue a series of Special Supplements, each dealing with a subject bearing directly or indirectly on the Advancement and Emancipation of Women. This does not mean the establishment of anything that could be called a "Woman's Supplement," which would defeat the object in view. It would mean the securing, among the frequent "Subject Supplements" for which THE NEW STATESMAN is acquiring a unique reputation, a systematic supply of information and argument on such subjects as Marriage and Divorce (the experience of all countries); the Disabilities of Women in different lands; the Results of Woman Suffrage in all the countries in which it has been introduced; the Responsibility for Children of the Mother, the Father and the State respectively; the Education of Girls, what it is and what it should be; and other subjects to be chosen from time to time in consultation with the leaders of the Movement.

THE QUESTION NOW IS WHETHER THE REQUIRED THOUSAND NEW POSTAL SUBSCRIBERS FOR ONE YEAR CAN BE OBTAINED. Will every Branch or Local Organisation of Women set itself to enrol at least six such subscribers before Christmas next?

The Statesman Publishing Company Limited, 10, Great Queen Street, Kingsway, W.C., October, 1913.

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THE NEW STATESMAN

BRANCH NEWS.

CAMBERWELL AND FOREST HILL GROUP.

"If the mountain will not come to Mahomet,
Mahomet must go to the mountain."

Here in Camberwell and Forest Hill we have formed a local group in connection with the League, and hope by canvassing, by speaking wherever we can obtain a hearing, by keeping Suffrage matters to the fore in the local Press, and by all other lawful means to persuade our neighbours that we stand for that which will mean the betterment of social conditions, the sweetening of the civil relations between men and women, and the removal by their joint effort of some of the darkest stains on our national fair name.

To this end we have offered to send speakers to meetings in connection with various religious, social, and political societies, guilds, and clubs in the district. In several instances the authorities of such have already promised us a hearing, and meetings are being arranged.

Further, we are proposing to hold monthly Men's League meetings in various parts of the district. The first of these will be held on October 22, at 8 p.m., in the Hansler Hall, Lordship Lane, Dulwich, S.E., when Laurence Housman will be the speaker. In the following week, on October 31, at 8.15 p.m., another meeting will be held (by kind permission of the committee) in St. John's Club Room, East Dulwich Road, S.E., when the speaker will be A. J. Clifford Ewen.

The chairman of the group is Walter F. Westbrook, and any Men's League members resident in this part of South London who have not been personally approached are requested to communicate with the hon. sec. of the group, A. J. Clifford Ewen, 11B, East Dulwich Road, S.E.

Already an encouraging measure of support has been extended to us, among the newly-recruited members being the vicars of three local parishes. Of these, the Rev. H. G. Veazey, of St. Mark's, Camberwell, has offered us the use of parish rooms for meetings, arrangements for which are now being made. Another has promised to assist by speaking on our behalf.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the National Women's Trade Union League of America in convention assembled in St. Louis, Missouri, June, 1913:—

RESOLUTION No. 6.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Whereas, the democratic movement for freeing women from their political and economic shackles is in all lands one, and

Whereas, we feel the deepest sympathy with our British sisters in the long and arduous struggle which has now extended over half a century to obtain the ballot, and

Whereas, the bringing of this all-important question before Parliament is persistently delayed and blocked by the action of the British Government, be it

Resolved, that we, the delegates to the National Women's Trade Union League of America, in Convention assembled, do protest against the attitude of the British Government as opposed to those liberal and democratic traditions which they and we alike inherit, and for which in the eyes of the world Great Britain stands, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the British Prime Minister and to the principal Suffrage societies of Great Britain.

PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The following petition has been drawn up by the Church League for Women's Suffrage, and will be presented to the House of Commons bearing the signatures of Bishops and Clergy only when Parliament reassembles.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland assembled:

The Humble Petition of the undersigned Bishops and Clergy of the Churches of England and Ireland and of the Scottish Episcopal Church sheweth:

1. That the refusal to women in a democratic country of any share in the Parliamentary Franchise is fundamentally unjust; strangely anomalous in view of the public duties which they have been rightly encouraged to undertake and which they admirably fulfil; and calculated to obscure the spiritual equality of the sexes which is an essential tenet of the Christian Faith.
2. That the Empire is thereby deprived of valuable forces which, if experience elsewhere may guide our judgment, would operate in favour of much needed moral and social reform.
3. That all political parties repeatedly assert large measures of reform to be long overdue; and that it would be disastrous to commence such reforms without giving to women a voice in concerns about which they have admittedly expert knowledge.
4. That your Honourable House has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of conferring the Parliamentary Franchise on duly qualified women.

Your Petitioners therefore pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to pass without further delay a measure to confer the franchise upon women on the same terms as upon men. And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray."

Co-operation in securing the necessary signatures will be heartily welcomed. Full particulars may be obtained, together with copies of the petition and forms for signatures, by writing to the Petition Secretary,

C.L.W.S. Office,
6, York Buildings,
Adelphi, W.C.

THE UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

At this Congress a resolution in the following terms was submitted by Mr. Jaakoff Prelooker, of the Men's League, and Lieut.-Col. W. Mansfeldt, both delegates of the Men's International Alliance for Woman's Suffrage:—

"That in view of the fact that women are not less deeply interested in the blessings of peace than men, and are, indeed, by their natural maternal instinct even more anxious for the lives, health, and happiness of their sons, but, being deprived in most States of the Parliamentary vote, cannot help fully and effectively the cause of international arbitration by direct influence upon Parliament and Governments, the XX. Universal Peace Congress expresses its conviction that the political enfranchisement of women is most desirable on this as well as on many other moral and economic grounds, and would lead to a speedier cessation of the arbitrament of war in cases of international disputes."

The resolution was not discussed, as there had not been time to give the required notice. Its submission was, however, exceedingly useful, and it will be formally introduced at next year's Congress.

LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM CHANCE, BART.

MEETING AT GODALMING.

DEAR SIR,—I am organising a meeting in favour of Women's Suffrage, which will be held at the County and Borough Hall, Guildford, on Thursday, November 13, at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. The meeting will be *non-party* and *non-militant*, in accordance with the principles of the League. The Bishop of Kensington has kindly consented to take the chair, and among the speakers will be Lord Farrer, the Hon. Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., Mr. D. M. Mason, M.P., Mr. Cecil Chapman, Sir H. H. Johnston, K.C.B., and Mr. R. F. Cholmeley.

I want to get a platform of men only, as it seems to me that it is most important at this particular time that people should be brought to realise that there is a strong demand on the part of a large number of influential men for the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women. The Anti-Suffragists constantly assert that the Women's Suffrage Movement is of the nature of a sex-war; and a men's platform would go far to show the baselessness of their contention.

MR. JOHN SIMPSON IN AUSTRALIA.

Mr. Simpson, who is officially representing the League in Australia, sends a delightful report, from which we take the following characteristic passages:—

"My arrival here was very much like that of explorers who have been before me, just a quiet slipping into the peaceful waters of Sydney Harbour, surely one of the most beautiful spots in a continent that is as full of beauty as an egg is of meat. My approach was unheralded by trumpets, and the official representative of the Men's League stepped ashore after a twelve thousand miles journey unknown and undetected. . . . During the first few days I had an opportunity of studying life in a country where, according to the Anti-Suffragists, they were labouring under the disadvantage of an enfranchised womanhood. To the typical English Anti, Australia is a small arid island where the politics reach no higher level than the chit-chat of a Dorcas society—a land of uncivilised people, most of whom are black, and, in a word, a country that has no real life or existence in what the Germans would call 'Welt Politik.' To see Australia is to be undeceived on all these points. At the first glance one realises that in days to come Australia will be the hub of the Southern hemisphere, that it is a land already teeming with the latest inventions, and that, like Japan, it is rushing with comet-like speed towards the position of a dominant Power. Here is a country that is building its own navy, and has a military force that will, in time, be able to hold Australia for the Australians. Its banks and civil service are second to none in the world, and the men and the women, free citizens in the sight of God and men, are working to build up a social system that is a thousand miles ahead of our antiquated order at home, and despite the obvious freedom of the women there is none of the dreaded lack of chivalry on the part of men that is the pet bogey of the Anti-Suffragist. With economic freedom women have acquired an added value in the eyes of men, and their chivalry has grown in a like ratio. To me it was an amazing sight to see at the foot of bills announcing political meetings, 'Ladies specially invited,' to

see the political parties fighting to add to their programmes Bills which in England we should class as feminist legislation.

"Of the working of some of the legislation I shall tell you at a later date, in the meantime let me say that real sweating is almost unknown, and the wage that is earned by what out here are called sweated workers is well over 15s. per week. Typists of ordinary skill earn from 30s. to £2 10s. per week, waitresses from 25s. to 38s. including their food, and so on all round; even girls apprenticed to businesses (who at home would receive no remuneration at all) receive pocket money amounting to 5s. to 10s. per week. All these things have come about through direct *Parliamentary action*, and are a final and crushing blow to the Anti-Suffrage theory that the vote and wages are not in direct relation.

"I soon discovered that our good friends Miss Hodge and Miss Newcombe were campaigning out here, and on Thursday evening, August 21, I introduced myself to them. They were kind enough to extend the courtesy of their platform to me, and in a speech of about half an hour's duration I put our case to the large body of Sydney folk who crowded the hall.

"Ordinary Suffrage propaganda is redundant out here, and so I confined myself to telling them of the evils that exist and our theory as to the adequate remedies, of the work of the League, of the men who form its executive and officers, and I wound up by pointing out that the Liberal Government that had slammed the door in the faces of the Colonial Premiers was barricading that same slammed door against the demand for improved social conditions that was at the root of our campaign. To one used to the frigid reception of Suffrage speeches by home audiences the warmth with which these remarks were received was a pleasant surprise, and I have the pleasure to inform you that as the outcome of the meeting it was decided to form a Men's League for the Dominions, which will carry on educative work. Its members will bombard those at home with information as to the working of Suffrage out here, and when in England deputations will wait on Parliamentarians with a view to impressing on them the urgent need of the reform. The scheme is at the moment in embryo, but it is hoped to have matters sufficiently advanced for a deputation to wait on the English Parliamentarians who are coming out here shortly. In closing this I would paraphrase the ordinary birth announcement, and say 'both father and child are doing well.'" JOHN SIMPSON.

HOLIDAY ODDS AND ENDS.

BY THE DEALER.

Travelling is the touchstone of petty chivalry—especially of those kickshaws of chivalry which the women are to lose when they get the vote. Let's see how it works out.

* * * * *

Up the Slope of a Tube Railway.

A stream of empty-handed men all too pressed for time to notice women loaded up with children, portable prams, and holiday baggage.

* * * * *

From the Lodging-House Window.

Groups of erstwhile fishermen, who now live at leisure on the visitors. Attending to them is woman's sphere.

To woman is relegated the carrying of coals and water, cleaning of boots, doorsteps, and windows. The fisherman, so handy with nails and string when it suits him, finds that nailing down of carpet or attending to a blind cord is woman's work inside the lodgings.