


WOMEN'S BEVERAGE  
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# THE CHURCH LEAGUE

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE



MONTHLY  PAPER

ONE PENNY.



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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 Financial Situation.

THE FINANCE COMMITTEE met on July 31st and reviewed the position. It is one of considerable anxiety. Our increasing work at head-quarters, due largely to the voluntary service rendered to the League, necessitates an increase in our expenditure under many heads. We are on the eve of a Church Congress which must prove of deep importance in the history of the Church in relation to the Women's Movement. It will involve no small expense on our part if we are to do our duty adequately. We are launching a Petition to the House of Commons which cannot be done without a heavy bill for printing, stationery, and postage. In September a new Organizing Secretary will be taking up work in the Midlands. Her salary and expenses will need to be provided. Meanwhile our exchequer is practically empty. We are by no means downhearted. We have been in worse plight before, and may be again. But we wish our readers to know how matters stand, in order that they may help according to their ability. We shall be specially grateful for speedy gifts, or promises of gifts before Christmas. It is a serious hindrance to the work we have in hand when we are obliged to centre our attention upon financial questions. The Committee meets again on September 8th. We trust the position will by then be such that we shall be able to devote ourselves to our proper work.

Notes and News.

Petition to House of Commons.

On another page will be found particulars concerning a Petition to the House of Commons respecting the enfranchisement of women. It is sometimes said that petitions are a worthless expedient in these days. That may be true of general petitions, but we do not think that it is true of such a petition as we have in view. A petition signed by Bishops and Clergy, if the signatures are sufficiently numerous, will have weight. If it can be shown, as we believe it can be shown, that a majority of these favour the grant of the franchise to women, few will be found to regard this as an insignificant matter. Moreover, such a petition will enable clergy who for one reason or another feel unable to join our League to give some outward and visible sign of the faith that is in them, and thereby do something to sweep away the misconception that the Church, by which, alas! most people mean the Clergy, is inimical to this reform. We beg our readers to take up this effort with enthusiasm.

Congress Number.

We are publishing next month a largely increased edition of our Monthly Paper, which will contain, *inter alia*, an important article by the Rev. Prof. Margoliouth of Oxford. Will our Branch Secretaries and other friends help us to secure for it the widest possible circulation? We offer the paper on special terms, viz., 100 copies 2s. 6d.; 30 copies 1s.; carriage free. It will be understood that these special terms only apply to *additional orders*. They do not relate to standing orders or to the trade. Orders at these rates must be sent in before September 20th, marked "Special Edition."

Suffrage Catechism.

The great pressure upon our space compels us to discontinue for the time being our issue of the Suffrage Catechism. It will be resumed as opportunity occurs.

To be Sold.

Miss Bell wishes to sell, for the benefit of the C.L.W.S., an oak cradle decorated with panels and rose wreaths in gesso. £5 5s. It can be seen by appointment at 35, Abercorn Place, N.

Church Congress Preparations.

Full particulars of arrangements so far as they are at present completed, together with our Organizer's Note will be found on page 284.

Treasury.

Particulars are unavoidably held over. Total received £86 11s. 9d.

Thanksgiving and Intercession.

LET US GIVE THANKS—

For ever-increasing opportunities for making known the truth.

For the personal service of many voluntary workers.

For the steady increase in the circulation of our paper.

For the manifest progress of our cause.

WE PRAISE THEE, O LORD.

WE BESEECH THEE TO HEAR US, GOOD LORD—

That it may please Thee to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts.

That it may please Thee to guide and enlighten all who shall speak at the forthcoming Congress on the position of Women in Church and State.

That it may please Thee to sanctify and prosper the efforts of all who are taking part in the Sweated Industries Exhibition during Congress Week.

That it may please Thee to enlighten our understanding, quicken our zeal, and strengthen our faith.

That it may please Thee to teach us to pray.

THY WILL BE DONE.

N.B.—Copies of the above in small type for interleaving in Prayer Books may be obtained from the office: 4 copies, 1½d.; 12 copies, 3d.; 25 copies, 4d.; 50 copies, 6d., post free.

Paper-Selling Report.

MANY thanks to all members who sold the C.L.W.S. paper on the 25th and 26th, when the National Union pilgrims entered London, and to the London branches for their willing co-operation and support. In addition to the staff of paper-sellers from head-quarters, the following branches provided sellers for different portions of the route: Barnes, Ealing, Hampstead, Hendon, Ilford, Islington, Kensington, West Kensington and Fulham, Paddington, Regent's Park, and Willesden. Hampstead sellers headed the list with a sale of 99 copies, Barnes and West Kensington both following close behind. All are heartily to be congratulated on the splendid result.

Meanwhile, the captains of the paper pitches are still in need of more volunteers to carry on the work successfully. Will not some of those who sold for the first time on the 26th, and found it ever so much easier than they expected, come forward again and help? To volunteer regular time is perhaps too great an undertaking to begin with, but I am sure that if members, when they have a spare hour or two now and then, would try selling on one of the pitches just as an experiment, they would not mind after a little giving regular time. Names of volunteers should be sent to Miss R. Ellison, 37, Hopton Road, Streatham, S.W., for Oxford Street pitch, and Miss Strachan, 11, Bedford Avenue, High Barnet, for Charing Cross pitch, or to head-quarters.

Gratefully acknowledged for Propaganda Fund: Miss Donnithorne, £1; Mrs. Hunt 5s.; Kensington Branch (extra on papers per Miss Ross) 7s. 6d.

There will be a paper-sellers' meeting at the office at 6.30 on Tuesday, September 16th. In addition to the special corps of paper-sellers, will all who are able to come down to Southampton during Congress Week (Sept. 27th-Oct. 4th) and sell the paper try to come to this meeting, or if that is impossible send in their names to the Propaganda Secretary? Already 12 members of Congress have volunteered for paper selling, but we shall want quite double that number if the League is to be represented adequately, as in addition to selling outside all Congress meetings and at street meetings, we shall want at least four permanent street pitches where the paper will always be on sale.

As this paper-selling is only a small portion of the work to be done during Congress Week, more helpers are urgently needed.

Further information as to expenses may be had from Miss Corben.

JOAN CATHER, Hon. Prop. Sec.

## The Place of Women in the Councils of the Church.

An Address delivered at the Croydon Ruri-Decanal Conference on June 5th, 1913, by H. E. OLIVIER.

The Councils of the Church are fourfold: Parochial, Ruri-Decanal, Diocesan, and Provincial; corresponding to the Congregation, the Presbytery, the Provincial Synod, and the General Assembly in the Church of Scotland. I mention that analogy at the outset, because—as we shall see—it has considerable significance in relation to our special subject, 'The Position of Women in the Councils of the Church.' Also it seems to show that our conciliar arrangements, so far as the main lines of the frame-work are concerned, have the sanction of wider experience than that of the Church of England alone, and therefore, whatever other changes may come, are likely to remain permanent as being naturally adapted to the requirements of Church-organization.

Now, of those four Councils of the Church, we in this room are directly associated with three: we are the Ruri-decanal Council, we are created by Parochial Meetings, and we help to create the Diocesan Conference. We are one stage removed from the base on which the whole fabric rests, or should rest: the Parochial gatherings are intended to be the bed-rock of the whole structure; it is from the several parishes of England that the motive power and the initiative and the inspiring force, on which the Church depends, must be ultimately derived. It is therefore, obviously, of supreme importance that these Parochial assemblies should be so organized that they do really represent the true life of the Church, and not of any one section.

And we find that the regulations defining the qualifications of what is called a "parochial elector" are, up to a certain point, designed to secure this real representation of genuine Church life. For those persons are described as "qualified" who are either actual communicants, or who are by baptism and confirmation admissible to Holy Communion, and who sign a declaration to the effect that they have not joined any religious body which is not in communion with the Church of England. That clearly is a genuinely church franchise; that is, a franchise based on the fact of churchmanship and on nothing else. This body of qualified persons, then, meets together for the election of members of the Ruri-decanal Conference, and it suddenly discovers that, for the purpose of this election, quite a new factor is introduced. We are confronted with a regulation which practically neutralizes all that has been laid down in the original definition of a "qualified person." We are directed to admit the votes only of "qualified persons of the male sex," although there had not been a word in the original definition to suggest any such distinctions. But if our astonishment is great at this sudden reversal of what we have been led to expect, it is even greater at what follows: for the sex distinction, which has been unexpectedly introduced, is further complicated by the insertion of a rate-paying qualification: the franchise is conceded to persons of the female sex, if they are ratepayers. Thus, we start with a definition of a qualified churchman, and we are told, quite rightly, that it is a person of the status of a communicant who has not attached himself to one of the sects. No sex distinctions or rate-paying qualifications are so much as named, for the simple reason that such matters can have nothing to do with the genuineness of a person's churchmanship. We are not asked for the opinions of our people as males or as ratepayers, but as communicants. But when it comes to the election of delegates, we are solemnly asked to forward as the decision of the communicants of our Church a result as to which, everyone knows, three quarters of the communicants have had no chance of recording their convictions.

It may be well asked, how did this amazing paradox ever come into existence? And I suppose the answer would be two-fold:—

1. The compilers of the scheme were obsessed by the franchise conditions in the sphere of secular government and administration. The parliamentary vote, as is well-known, was

supposed to depend (when parliamentary government first became a reality) on what is called "a stake in the country," or on certain intellectual distinctions; so you had a high property qualification on the one hand, and the university seats on the other. And until the middle of the nineteenth century, it had always been assumed that women could not hold property, and that their intellectual capacity was not worth considering. Therefore they were eligible for the vote on neither of the grounds on which its possession was justified. As is well known, their exclusion from the franchise on these grounds has been undermined from two directions; first, there has been legislation making all the difference to women's property-holding capacity, as well as a great advance in women's education; so that they are no longer disqualified on the two grounds which formerly excluded them. And secondly, those two qualifications for the franchise have themselves ceased to be operative; the recent extensions of the franchise (not to mention the proposed abolition of the university seats) have made it ridiculous to pretend that either a property qualification or an intellectual qualification are at the present time a condition of the right to vote. So that the analogy which was in the minds of the compilers of this church franchise has, as it were, come to pieces. They have merely imported into the ecclesiastical sphere a set of considerations which most thoughtful people have abandoned in the secular.

And all this, of course, quite apart from the even more obvious reflection that there never was really any analogy between the two cases at all. A person has the vote as a rate payer or tax-payer, because he ought to have control over the expenditure of his rates and taxes. But no question of controlling the allocation of rates can be considered at a meeting of the communicants of a church. To require a rate-paying qualification in the election of the members of a Church Council is exactly as ridiculous as it would be to say that no man should take part in a parliamentary election who was not a subscriber to the local hospital. In both cases the two things—the qualification and the privilege—are in altogether different spheres, and it is very difficult indeed to discover how they could have been confused, as they are confused, in the election of the members of this Conference.

2. The other reason for the imposition of this rate-paying qualification upon women was probably this: that the proportion of females to males, among the communicants of almost every church, is about three to one, and, therefore, unless the numbers of women could be artificially reduced, the men would be, in every case, hopelessly out-voted. Ultimately, the decisions of the Church would be the decisions of the female element; that is, they would be hysterical and sentimental and irrational and impracticable, instead of being sane and robust and business-like and common-sensible. You will find this feeling very strongly embedded in the minds of those who are opposed to all change in this matter. And, of course, in these days it is an entirely untenable position: it is quite inconsistent to claim citizenship in a democracy, and then object to the extension of the franchise because you dislike the things the new voters would probably do. So that this ground for limiting the rights of women in the Councils of the Church is out of court for reasons which are accepted in every other sphere of public life.

But it is not enough to say that a thing is theoretically "out of court"; that, in itself, is never a very convincing plea to the gainsayers. It is more to the purpose to inquire what are the grounds for supposing that, if the appointment of delegates to the Ruri-decanal Council came to be decided by a body in which the female element was predominant, that appointment would be made on grounds which are sentimental, hysterical, irrational, and the rest of it. The only possible answer to this inquiry must be derived from experience, and what is the witness of experience in this matter?

I mentioned at the outset that the conciliar arrangements of the Church of Scotland had a significance in relation to the subject of the place of women in the Councils of the Church. That meant this: the bed-rock of Church organization in Scotland is, as it theoretically is in England, the congregation. And the congregation consists of "all persons, not being under Church discipline, whose names are upon the Communion Roll,"

as well as those who are "connected with the congregation or are associated with it in its interests and work," provided that "no reason exists for refusing to admit them to the Communion if they should apply." To this body belong all female, as well as male, members of the congregation. And the congregation takes a direct part in all the most important activities of Church life. In the first place it elects and appoints its minister and the elders; it elects a representative to the Presbytery, corresponding (though it is a bigger thing) to the Ruri-decanal Conference. Thus all members of the Presbytery sit by right of election by the whole body of communicants—male and female alike. And it is by the Presbyteries that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is elected. The General Assembly is a more important ecclesiastical body than any in the Church of England. It would correspond to the united convocations of Canterbury and York, but with far more real powers than convocation possesses. Here you have something quite real, with genuine executive authority, and, as we have seen, the ultimate constituency from which it derives its authority is the mass of communicants—male and female. In view of this discussion, I asked a Presbyterian minister in Croydon, who is a neighbour and friend of mine, if it was ever felt in Scotland that the composition of the various assemblies bore the impress of election by persons of whom the majority were sentimental, hysterical, and unpractical. And he laughed the idea to scorn. So that as soon as you get to experience, all those fears which have led to the unfair treatment of women in the Church of England are simply blown away.

And consider what a small thing it is that our communicants are empowered to do compared with their brothers and sisters in Scotland. There is no question of their electing the minister, and, until long-delayed reform can be accomplished, there is no question of their electing to convocation. And yet, while women communicants in Scotland are entrusted with such very important responsibilities, women communicants in England are not permitted, as such, to take any part even in the appointment of the (more or less) sham bodies which correspond to the Presbytery and the General Assembly in Scotland.

I have dealt at some length with this case of the Presbyterian Church because it is so obviously an analogous case to our own. But if I were asked simply to disprove the assertion that that organization would be badly administered, of which the preponderating element is likely to be female, I should be disposed simply to point to two such organizations as the G.F.S. or the Primrose League, the management and administration of both of which is mainly in female hands. The extraordinary success and efficiency of both of these organizations ought to be enough to silence any imaginary fears as to what would happen if "the place of women in the Councils of the Church" proved to be numerically larger than men's.

And when one considers what the matters are on which the most important deliberations are held in the Councils of the Church, can it seriously be said that they are matters on which all women communicants should not make their voices heard? The question of divorce; various aspects of what is called the social evil; Poor Law administration; the education of the young; certain sides of the drink question. I feel very strongly that not only is it just and fair that the women's views of these questions should be most gravely considered; but even more—that there is a sense in which it is impossible to discuss them adequately at all without direct inspiration from women. Of some of the evils that have to be dealt with, women are essentially the victims, and the urgency of the problems concerned can never be properly appreciated until the thoughts of the sex which suffers most become articulate. Some of them, notably the matter of the education of the young, have been so very largely bungled, because they have been considered without that intuition into the mind of young children which is the peculiar possession of women rather than men.

But this is not all. It is not only, of course, these social problems which have to be considered by the Councils of the Church. More prominent still are the questions bearing directly on specifically religious topics, on which it is so extremely difficult to obtain the real opinion of the rank and file of Church people. I mean such burning and blazing questions as those

with which prayer-book revision is concerned. I do not, of course, mean to say that women, as a sex, are likely to be liturgical experts or that they have the historic sense in any special degree. It is the business of the experts to propose some definite solution of these problems to the mass of the Church members; but the one condition of a sound and reliable "aye" or "no" to the proposals of the experts is that the constituency to which they are submitted should be really in possession of what is called the "religious instinct." And I ask any one here to say, from his own experience, if the "religious instinct" is not found on the whole more conspicuously in women than in men. And it is for that reason that it is so wrong to arrive at decisions on these grave matters without giving women as such, an unfettered opportunity for letting those religious instincts of theirs become articulate.

After all, the most valid claim to have some control over Church administration is based on two things; first, on your personal knowledge of the practical work of the Church in its thousand parishes, and secondly, on the extent to which you have provided the sinews of war for that work. In other words, on service and sacrifice. Eliminate all that we get in the way of personal service and financial help from women, and there is hardly a parish in England which would not fall to pieces in a month. We accept, in some cases we almost demand, the help of women in every department of our parochial administration; in the working of our many church societies; in the Sunday schools; in the districts; in the business of raising funds. We could not do these things without them. Again, look through the list of subscribers in the financial statement of any parish in the land, and you will generally find that considerably more than half of those subscribers are women. And when they ask for a due share in the selection of those whose opinion will be asked at headquarters as to the management of church work and the control of church finance, they are told that their personal service and their contribution to the funds do not count unless they are ratepayers; unless, that is, they are qualified according to a standard which has no more to do with the life and work of the Church than the Church has to do with the mending of the roads.

We here in this deanery have already given our opinion on the folly and injustice of the present rule. Twice, I believe, this Conference has passed resolutions to the effect that the voting qualifications for women in the election of members of the Conference should be the same as that of men. But we are helpless in the matter until the Diocesan Conference agrees to accept as members from the rural deaneries those whose position is due to election by women as well as men. And the Diocesan Conference tells us that it cannot make any alteration until sanction is received from the Provincial House of Laymen, for the House of Laymen only admits from each Diocesan Conference those who are there through the operation of the existing rule. To my mind, the advantage of having a few men from the diocese of Canterbury in the House of Laymen is as nothing compared with the advantage of having the Diocesan Conference really representative of the churchmanship of the diocese; and certainly, if every diocese were to insist on giving women their right place in the Councils of the Church, the House of Laymen would either fall into line or cease to have any members at all.

And it ought not to be difficult for a body of Christian men to put themselves back, in heart and mind, to the first days of their faith, when it was fresh from the Master's hand. "These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women and Mary, the Mother of Jesus." It was the first Christian society; women and men on an equal footing; women and men acting together in the greatest election that ever took place—the election of the two, of whom one was to be numbered with the eleven apostles. We are always being told that the church needs constantly to be re-invigorated by renewing its youth, by reversion to type. All that is really wanted for the settlement of our subject of this evening, is a sincere and unreserved recognition of what it means to belong to a society in which there is neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, for all are one in Christ Jesus.

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## PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

[The Executive Committee has resolved to invite signatures to the following Petition and to present it to the House of Commons at the earliest suitable opportunity.]

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament 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.

### INSTRUCTIONS.

All communications respecting the Petition should be addressed to the Petition Secretary, C.L.W.S. Office, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W. Letters respecting the Petition should not deal with other subjects in addition.

Copies of the Petition and forms upon which signatures should be written may be obtained upon application.

Signatures should only be procured on the forms supplied from the Office.

The signatures desired are those only of the Bishops and Clergy of the Churches of England and Ireland, and of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

It is hoped that all Branches will arrange to procure the signatures of their clerical members and of clerical sympathizers in their respective districts.

Individual members, where no Branch exists, are earnestly asked to co-operate in obtaining signatures.

The signatures should be written in ink, and should be followed in every case by the address of the person signing. Signatures without an address are valueless.

Each sheet will contain space for about twenty signatures. It will be a convenience if those who apply for sheets will indicate the number of signatures they hope to secure. It is worth while to ask for a sheet even if only one or two signatures can be obtained.

Bishops should not be asked by individual helpers to sign. Their signatures will be invited specially from head-quarters.

Needless creasing of the sheets should be avoided.

## The C.L.W.S.

President: The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

Hon. Sec.: Mr. F. Shewell Cooper.

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(All cheques should be crossed and made payable to *The Church League for Women's Suffrage*.)

Office: 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. Hours, 10-1, 2-5. Saturday, 10-1.

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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.

## The Case for Women's Suffrage.

(Continued.)

By HELEN B. HANSON, M.D., B.S.(Lond.).

### UNEQUAL LAWS.

WOMEN as an unenfranchised sex suffer from unequal laws and from the unjust administration of the law as a whole. Prominent amongst the unequal laws stands out the Divorce Law. A man may divorce his wife for one act of adultery; a woman, to divorce her husband, has to prove, in addition, cruelty, bigamy, desertion, or some other of certain offences. That men, responsible only to men, should have ventured to pass such a law is a curious illustration of the alleged chivalry accorded by a voting to a voteless sex. The anti-Suffragist contention that man has the world for his playground, while woman's sphere is the home, so far from being a mitigation is only a palpable exacerbation of this inequality. One would have supposed that, since man's interests are so varied, the upsetting of his domestic relationships need be avenged by a comparatively light sentence passed on the wife; and that, on the other hand, since a man's error dislocates

the woman's whole sphere, he would be punished severely. But exactly the reverse, as regards severity of punishment, is the case—the man suffers nothing, the woman everything.

A word here may not be amiss concerning those who hold that divorce, even for adultery, is contrary to the teachings of Holy Writ. They are necessarily opposed to any extension of the Divorce Law. One has no quarrel with them on that ground. One is only tempted to wish that they would show themselves as jealous for the repeal of a man's right to divorce a woman as they are to prevent woman from having an increased right to divorce a man. But with those who maintain that Suffragists who seek to equalize facilities for divorce are seeking to lessen the sanctity of the marriage tie, and thus lower morality, we have a quarrel. Exactly the contrary is the case. To the majority of Suffragists the marriage tie is so sacred that it is a matter of regret that the country esteems it so lightly—that a man is allowed to break the contract with impunity. To secure that such immorality shall no longer go scot free—regarded as too trifling to merit legislative interference—is rather to enhance than lessen moral values in the public eye.

Another amazing instance of the chivalry of members of Parliament to a voteless sex is to be found in a law\* passed in 1889, in accordance with which lawyers have decided that the women of the country are entitled to receive the benefit of certain Acts of Parliament, but only those Acts of Parliament passed since 1850. The same Statute made it plain that, though women were only to have the advantage of beneficial Acts since 1850, they might be punished under any Act passed since Parliament began!

Then there is the question of the rights of parents under the law. The father alone is entitled to prescribe the religion of the children (if legitimate), their mode of education, and place of residence. He can even remove them from the care of the mother when she has committed no fault, as was affirmed by Mr. Birrell early in 1912 in the House of Commons, when speaking of the celebrated McCann case, where the father had taken away and hidden the children from the mother. He stated that the man was within his legal rights—"the law gives to the father the custody of the children." The laws of intestacy are equally against the woman: inheritance in her case is "postponed."

As regards taxation, there is also glaring inconsistency. The country offers to men in return for their money all that it offers to women in the way of protection, &c., and it further confers the tremendous privilege of allowing them to decide for themselves the laws under which they shall live.

The attitude of authority towards unrepresented men who refused to pay taxes and unrepresented women who also refuse differs considerably. The man, John Hampden, has a statue erected to his honour in the Houses of Parliament. Women who refuse from similar conscientious scruples find themselves distrained upon or imprisoned.

The Anti-Suffrage League has fortunately issued a pamphlet on the inequalities of the law as between men and women. One may take it, I think, that they have made out the best case that can be made, so we will, for a moment, examine in what way they prove that woman is the "spoiled darling of the law."

To begin with, there is a certain amount of legal machinery (so clumsy as to be frequently inoperative) by which a man who is separated from his wife for cruelty may be made to pay her a certain sum—up to £2 weekly—for maintenance. Now there is no similar law for making a wife support her husband, and this is held to prove the chivalrous care with which men have looked after women's interests even more than their own.

But the fact is that whereas a woman is frequently compelled to give up her livelihood on marrying, this occurs almost never in the case of a man. At the present time women are forced by public bodies constituted under Acts of Parliament to resign appointments of value varying from below £100 to over £600 a year if they marry. Either as teacher, doctor, male nurse, or civil servant, men are permitted to fulfil this natural destiny without any corresponding penalty. Surely, therefore, the same law that suffers a woman to be deprived of her power to earn should allow her some compensation if her husband fails

\* Sir Victor Horsley at the Queen's Hall, 1913.

## Great Women of History.

IX.

LETIZIA BUONAPARTE: "MADAME MÈRE."

By EMILY C. GROWSE.

"THE mother of a great man." What fulfilment of prayerful ambition rings in the words! What realization of sacred hopes lying deep in a woman's heart as she dreams of the future of the sleeping babe, of the light-hearted schoolboy, of the youth on the threshold of manhood! "Good—and if it may be great," she prays for him to be, and knows that the answer to her prayer depends in no small measure upon herself, upon the qualities she has to give to her child, the environment she creates for his early years, the ideals she sets before him, upon what she herself is even more than upon what she does; and as we study the lives of the world's greatest, be they leaders of thought, or leaders of action, we recognize how many would say with Napoleon, "C'est à ma mère que je dois tout."

In that stern heart, dominated by an ever-soaring ambition and lonely as such natures must needs be, it is touching to find how Napoleon's admiration and confidence in his mother's powers, his love and reverence for her character never failed. "Tête d'homme sur un corps de femme, elle était la bravoure même," he remarked when recalling the troublous days following his father's early death, and then, as the memory of her radiant beauty recurred to him, he added, "Elle était belle comme les amours." On her side a passionate faith in her son's genius, a heart-felt pride in his extraordinary ability were combined with a swift clear judgment which was not blind to his failings and feared not to rebuke his wrong doings, and which prevented her from being dazzled even by the brilliant successes of his world-conquering career.

Letizia Ramolina, as well as her husband, the young and handsome Carlo Buonaparte, came of a long line of ancestors of unmixed Italian descent. Both families had migrated to Corsica in the fifteenth century, and had taken their part in the varying fortunes of that "Isle of Unrest." After years of strife between contending parties, the Genoese in 1764 called in the aid of the French to maintain their authority, and four years later, weary of the struggle, made over the island unreservedly to the French Government. This called the patriots to arms. Pasquale Paoli appealed for help to every court in Europe, declaring the Corsicans were "being sold like a flock of sheep" without choice in the matter. The islanders rallied round him, and among the most ardent were Carlo Buonaparte and his young wife, Letizia. Married in 1764 at the ages of 19 and 15 the young couple, still little more than boy and girl in years, flung themselves with enthusiasm into the fight for freedom, and throughout the opening campaign in the summer of 1768 Letizia with her son Joseph, then a few months old, was at her husband's side, following the fortunes of the war as the patriots moved from camp to camp. In the spring of 1769 the army took the field again, and, though with the prospect before her of soon again becoming a mother, Letizia with the little Joseph was once more beside the soldiers, cheering them by her brave words, lessening their hardships by personal service, and delighting them by her beauty and her dauntless spirit. The French, nettled by the reverses of the previous year, sent strong reinforcements, and on May 9th the battle of Ponte Nuovo was fought. Anxiety for her husband and for the patriot army called Letizia from the shelter of the rocks where the women and children had congregated, and drove her on to the very battle-field, where again and again her voice rang out urging her countrymen to resist to the uttermost: "Let us fight to the last man and conquer or die." Bullets whistled round her but she had no fear, "trusting entirely to the protection of the Holy Virgin," to whom she had dedicated her unborn child! But all was in vain, and after hours of valiant effort the Corsicans, utterly broken, were driven in hopeless route from the field. On the rocky slopes of Monte Rotondo the fugitives gathered with scanty provision of food, and with clothing utterly unsuited to the keenness of the mountain air. A French officer, however, soon appeared with a flag of truce assuring them

her, and in doing so (in a very inadequate manner) it can be scarcely said to show her favouritism.

It is true that the law does not, as a rule, forbid married women to work at hard physical tasks for small pay when they are married. The same important Local Authority that turns out its woman doctor earning £700 a year if she dares to marry actually advertises for married men caretakers. The wife is considered a necessary factor there—but then she is not paid any salary; and it may be that, in the eye of the law, it is not the work, but the shock to the nervous system of receiving payment that is so bad for the married woman.

But, apart from these considerations, the number of men who marry on the understanding that they shall look after the house and children, and in return be fed and clothed by their wives, is infinitesimal, while hundreds and thousands of women marry on this understanding, and resign their means of livelihood on marriage either voluntarily or at their husband's request.

The fact that, if brutality on the part of the husband renders it impossible for the wife to live with him, the State gives her a certain right to a barely living wage from her husband shows not so much chivalrous devotion to women as a desire to spare the rates and taxes which would otherwise go to her support.

Other legal inequalities there are, due to the remains of "coverture"—i.e., the supposition that a woman is so much under her husband's control that she is hardly responsible for her own acts—much in the same way that a man is considered responsible for the ill-behaviour of his dog. A woman, for example, cannot be imprisoned for a judgment debt.

Whether such laws ever work out to the advantage of women in business concerns is doubtful. For instance, there are people who hesitate to take as partners those who are not fully responsible for their actions. But if there are occasions when any law works out to a real and unfair advantage to the woman, then all Suffragists would wish it repealed. If anti-Suffrage wives say so, we must try to believe that they really rejoice that their husbands should suffer for their faults; but it was a striking fact that, when Mr. Mark Wilkes was imprisoned in the autumn of 1912 because he was unable to pay his wife's income-tax, it was Suffragists (women even more than men) who worked hard to get him out and to get an alteration in the law. They desire no such arrangement.

Nor have women, where they are enfranchised, sought any unfair advantages under the law. But they have sought and obtained, in Colorado for instance, the joint guardianship of children and equal rights respecting them; and in New Zealand equal divorce laws and a Testator's Family Maintenance Act.

The anti-Suffragists, however, maintain that not only are women favoured\* by the law, but they are also favoured by its administration, as a striking example of which they quote the fact that infanticide by young mothers shortly after childbirth is scarcely ever treated as murder.

Inasmuch as we can have no examples of men distraught with suffering and fear of the shame of illegitimate childbirth acting in a similar manner, it is, perhaps, idle to speculate as to how they would be treated under such circumstances. Yet in *The Bath Herald* of February 2nd, 8th, 18th, and 25th, 1911, there is an account of a man who killed his illegitimate child, and was sentenced to six months only in the second division.

Women are not favoured by the administration of the law. On the contrary, a perusal of the daily and weekly papers will convince any attentive and unbiased reader that women are constantly treated with far greater severity than men for the offences of which they are convicted. I must not attempt to adduce evidence here in proof of this assertion; but in my next article I shall quote a few from amongst many cases to show how the status of women is reflected in the disproportionate punishments inflicted upon women who are guilty of crime, and in the trifling penalties which are meted out to those who subject women to ill-usage of various kinds.

(To be continued.)

\* It is impossible to quote the whole Anti-Suffrage pamphlet here, but it is one well worth perusing and disseminating as Suffrage propaganda.

they might return to their homes without fear of molestation; the policy pursued was uniformly conciliatory, and three weeks later Carlo Buonaparte made his submission to the victorious foe.

August 15th, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, is always a great day in countries which follow the faith of Rome. Ajaccio was making holiday, its streets were gay with flowers and flags, and the high altar of the cathedral was ablaze with lights, when Letizia Buonaparte joined the throng to celebrate the mid-day Mass. Scarcely had she knelt in her place when she was seized with the pains of travail, and, having been helped by her women-folk to reach her home hard-by, she gave birth to her second son, a fine and lusty babe, "with a big head and a very intelligent face," who received the name that was to sound throughout the world, Napoleon.

"When I became the mother of a family, I consecrated myself entirely to its proper direction, and I did not leave my house except to attend Mass. I know the Christian should go to church every day, but I do not believe that the Church insists that during the week persons who are at the head of affairs, and particularly mothers of families, should spend the greater part of the day away from home." So wrote Madame Mère towards the end of her life, summing up her practice and her creed with characteristic decision and common sense; and truly no mother was ever more needed in the home, or gave herself up to its duties and its joys with more devotion.

Though warm-hearted and kindly the character of her husband lacked strength, and his vanity led him into extravagances which his modest income could ill-bear. As the family increased, numbering by 1782 four sons and three daughters, Letizia had hard work to provide the little people with all that was needed for their mental and physical development, and to respond to her husband's requirements which included her not infrequent appearance in public, where the general appreciation of her remarkable beauty was to him an unfeeling delight. She had but one faithful servant to help her and had herself received no advantages of education or training, but with keenness of insight she discerned the special needs and powers of each child and ruled her little kingdom with a tender and loving, but at the same time, an exceedingly firm hand.

In the opening of the year 1779 came the trial of parting with her sons, Joseph and Napoleon, who were to be educated in France, also with her step-brother, Joseph Fesch, the future cardinal, who was a child of six at the time of her marriage, and had lived in her household for fifteen years. In 1780 her third son Lucien was admitted to the Military College at Brienne, and she satisfied her mother-heart by a visit to the elder boys, at the same time starting the younger in his new career. It was at this time she used her influence with Napoleon to persuade him to abandon all thought of the naval profession and to devote himself to that of the army. In 1783 Maria, afterwards to be known as Elisa, Princess of Lucca and Piombino, received a nomination for the famous school of Saint-Cyr, and thus with five children provided for the family means were considerably assisted. Fresh trouble, however, was at hand, for in 1785, shortly after the birth of their youngest son, Jérôme, Carlo Buonaparte died while on a visit to France at the early age of 38. He had gone to Paris to consult a physician, but the gravity of his condition had been kept from Letizia to whom the news came as a terrible shock. With the real heroism that was in her she braced herself for the hand-to-hand struggle with poverty which awaited her, and, with splendid courage, fought her way through. She was bravely helped by Napoleon, who seems always to have taken upon himself the responsibilities of an eldest son, and who in 1791 undertook the education and entire support of his little brother Louis, a boy of 12, a heavy charge upon the young officer's slender pay. Meanwhile the soul-stirring events in France had their counterpart in Corsica, and 1792 found the supporters of the Revolution and the partisans of the former leader Paoli, in open conflict. Naturally enough after the years spent in France the young Buonapartes were on the side of the revolutionists, and, after an attempt to capture the citadel of Ajaccio, Napoleon barely escaped with his life, and Letizia duly received warning of her danger through one of her son's faithful followers. At dead of night she must rise

and waking her children hurry them to the shelter of the mountains, trusting to fortune to keep their whereabouts unknown until the French ships should appear in the harbour. Once again courage and promptitude had their reward and, after two days and nights of incredible anxiety, they were rescued by a small vessel secured by Napoleon for their relief. Some months of grinding poverty followed when even Letizia's genius for management was taxed to the uttermost, then help came in the form of a pension to Corsican refugees, and the chapter of their early misfortunes closed, and all unknowingly to themselves that of their amazing prosperity had opened!

From 1794 to 1812 Napoleon passed from triumph to triumph, mounting step by step to the topmost height of success and fame, and lifting his relatives in his train; from Artillery Officer to General, First Consul, Emperor; from pinching poverty to unlimited wealth; from the obscurity of the undistinguished upper middle-class to the world-wide celebrity of the Imperial family; a dazzling change, indeed, and one more testing, perhaps, to character than even the dangers of revolutionary times, or the daily toil and effort to supply life's barest needs. Mingled with her pride in her son's achievements there was ever in Letizia's mind a presentiment of the turn of fortune's wheel, which though long delayed was so surely to come at last. This dread it was which prompted her to hoard and save, to ask from Napoleon an ever higher allowance as the years passed, and yet to call upon herself his reproaches for failing to live in the full style and dignity which he would wish. "Who knows," she said, "whether all these kings will not some day come and beg their bread of me?" Many anxieties were hers throughout these years; and one most bitter disappointment, Napoleon's sudden marriage with Josephine Beauharnais, a widow, an aristocrat, seven years older than himself, and about which she had known nothing till it was an accomplished fact, roused in her the bitterest feelings against the unknown woman who had stolen her son's heart. All the Corsican capacity for hatred was called forth and, in spite of Napoleon's wishes and Josephine's real efforts at a better understanding, Letizia's opposition to her daughter-in-law was relentless, and only ended when the divorce had taken place and her rival's power was broken. The marriages of her daughters were also matters of anxiety. Pauline and Caroline proved to be among the most beautiful women in Europe, but in no other respect were they the equals of their mother, who found her influence over them but slight when weighed in the balance with the intoxicating effects of admiration, rank, and power. Difficulties arose, too, between the Emperor and his brothers, and Letizia, true to her mother instincts, befriended to the uttermost whichever of her children was at the moment least favoured by fortune. At last came the crash and the Emperor's sentence of banishment. At once all the noble qualities of his mother shone out afresh. The invitation of the Empress to accompany her to Vienna was met with the prompt refusal, "I shall never separate from my children," and her energies were at once bent on joining her son in Elba. She had been called parsimonious, but now every penny she had was placed at his disposal, and she could only be reconciled to his refusal to avail himself of her generosity by his acceptance of a considerable loan. Arrangements were soon completed, and she and Pauline settled in the little island where the grace and beauty of both made a strong impression upon the people. A fête was given in honour of Napoleon's birthday, and "Madame Mère received her guests with a charming and gracious dignity." Long as she had resided in France she had never succeeded in mastering the French tongue, and spoke it with a strong Italian accent, but when she used the speech of the sunny south her language and tones were most pleasing. The year passed by, the ex-Emperor's plans were matured, and before leaving for his last venture he would fain tell the whole to his mother and seek for her blessing. "Heaven will not permit you to die, but sword in hand go now, my son, follow your destiny." So did the intrepid woman send him forth to make his last bid for fortune's favour. Then followed that brief triumph in Paris, the intense anxiety of the "Hundred Days," and then—Waterloo—and St. Helena. Earnestly Letizia entreated to share his exile, but her request was refused. Passionately she strove to secure his liberty. "My son's life

is dearer to me than my own," she wrote to the allied sovereigns. "In the name of Him who is mercy itself interest yourselves in his freedom." In vain did she plead, though as long as his life lasted this was the one object of her hopes and prayers. She withdrew to Rome, where she was treated with the utmost respect. Once some inquiries were made of her concerning a report of her having sent money to foment disturbances in Corsica. Quickly she flashed back the retort, "I do not possess the millions with which they credit me. If I had, they would be employed to liberate my son held captive by most infamous perfidy." In 1821 came the news of the Emperor's failing health, and then the end. Meekly the heart-stricken mother bowed to Heaven's decree, feeling her own life ended too, though fifteen years were yet to pass before for her the call was heard. Many sorrows were yet to be hers. Her daughters Elise and the beautiful Pauline; the young "King of Rome," upon whom, for his father's sake, her keenest hopes had been centred; her grandson Napoleon, son of Louis; Catherine of Westphalia, the best-loved of her daughters-in-law—all were to precede her to the grave. Beautiful still, and with an air of great distinction, she was a familiar figure in the great city till 1830, when an accident resulting in a fractured hip prevented her taking any exercise except by driving. Later in the year a still greater misfortune befell her; her eyes—those brilliant eyes which had charmed so many—entirely failed her, and the last five years were spent in that strange solitude which the blind alone know. "How have you borne it all?" said a wondering friend. "Because it has been the will of God" was the answer, and we can well believe its truth. She loved to hear the history of her great son's campaigns read aloud, and experienced one moment of keen joy when she heard his statue was to be replaced on the Vendôme Column. A proposal to revoke the sentence of banishment of her family from Paris in her favour, and to invite her to spend her last years in the French capital, met with the characteristic reply, "I will never cease to share the lot of my children." So it was in the Palazzo Buonaparte, on the Corso, that the long life drew to its close, and from there the world heard in February, 1836, that Napoleon's mother was no more.

In the church at Ajaccio, built by the Emperor Napoleon III., is a tomb bearing this simple inscription:—

"Maria Letizia Ramolina Buonaparte,  
Mater Regum."

### Wife's Claim against Husband for Maintenance.

A STATEMENT upon this subject in a recent instalment of the Suffrage Catechism having been called in question, it will be well to set forth with some particularity exactly how the law stands, and to consider its practical consequences. Under the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act, 1895, a wife can get (either with or without a separation and certain other relief) an order on the husband for weekly maintenance, in the following circumstances and no others:—

1. If the husband has been convicted of an aggravated assault upon her; or
2. If he has been convicted on indictment of an assault upon her and been (a) fined to a larger amount than £5, or (b) sentenced to be imprisoned for over two months; or
3. If he has deserted her; or
4. If he has been guilty of persistent cruelty to her, or wilful neglect to provide proper maintenance for her and her infant children, and by such cruelty or neglect has caused her to leave him and live separately from him; or
5. If the husband is an habitual drunkard.

Now observe that a man may neglect entirely to maintain his wife and family, and that fact, in itself, does not entitle his wife to set the law in motion against him. She can only do so if his neglect to maintain has resulted in her living apart from him. See how this operates in practice. A man who is earning, say, 20s. a week marries. At first, perhaps, he does pretty well. In the course of a few years two or three children are born. Then

(Continued on page 285.)

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# SOUTHAMPTON SPECIAL CAMPAIGN.

September 15th to October 4th.

Local Offices—5, Portland Street, Southampton.

Local Organizer—Miss L. Corben.

ARRANGEMENTS are now well in hand, and on this page we give a full programme of our proposed activities. I want to offer our grateful thanks to all our friends in Southampton who are co-operating with us—especially to the Vicar of St. Michael's, who has most kindly invited us to look to that Church as our Spiritual Home for the time we are in Southampton. A Daily Celebration of the Holy Communion is always held here at 8 A.M., an opportunity many of us will be glad to avail ourselves of before beginning the stress of our day's work; and on Wednesday, Sept. 24th, and Wednesday, Oct. 1st (our Corporate Communion), special intercession will be offered at 8 A.M. We also warmly thank our members who have already sent in their gifts for this campaign; but money is still urgently needed. So far only about £45 (including Holiday Gifts) has been received, and it is more than impossible to do our work effectively unless this sum is doubled. This Congress will have a far-reaching effect upon the whole Woman's Movement in England, and we earnestly ask all those who cannot give personal service to do all that lies in their power to see that our work is not hindered for lack of funds. Now is our time to press forward and show to the world what a strong force the C.L.W.S. is. Will all members who read this ask themselves what further help they can give?

It has been the greatest encouragement to receive the names of so many workers; already between twenty and thirty have volunteered their services, but we still want more. The amount of work to be done is enormous, and no one need fear time hanging heavily on their hands. We want an army of helpers for paper-selling, handbill distributing, open-air meetings, poster parades, office helpers, stall holders at the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, stewards for meetings, &c.; but we have to remind all our helpers that our Executive Committee bids us be careful, and constantly we are pulled up by the plain fact that work we want done cannot be carried out as it should be unless we receive further financial support. So we have to think of economy with efficiency.

The Marchers' "Qui Vive" Corps is arranging a "March" into Southampton, to arrive on Thursday, October 2nd, about 2 P.M., so we shall assemble at Stag's Gate, at 1.30 P.M., and, headed by our C.L.W.S. banner and a band, march out to meet them to bring them in to our Public Meeting at 3 P.M.

And now a last and most important appeal to all our branches and members: "Pray for us." Pray, as the Bishop of Winchester asked, for the Congress, the speakers, workers, &c. Especially it is asked that where possible October 1st be kept as a day of special intercession. Already two branches—Manchester and Edinburgh—have signified their intention of holding a special intercession service on that day. Will every branch do the same? L. CORBEN.

*A General Prayer for the Congress and for all who prepare for it, and take part in it.*

We beseech Thee, Heavenly Father, to pour Thy blessing upon the coming Church Congress, and upon those who take part in it. Fill all hearts with the desire to honour Thy Name, and to labour for the advancement of Thy Kingdom. Make us to learn anew the power of united prayer. Deepen in us the sense of our need of the strength and guidance of Thy Holy Spirit. And grant to us all such a measure of faith and hope, of truth and charity, that we may go forward more bravely and thankfully in the work which Thou has given us to do. We ask this, not for our own worthiness, but for the sake of Jesus Christ our Saviour.—Amen.

## PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME.

Wednesday, Sept. 24th.—8 a.m. Holy Communion. St. Michael's Church (Special Intercession).

2.30 p.m. Opening of SWEATED INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION, Victoria Rooms, by the Rev. J. W. S. J. Danbury. Speakers—Miss Susan Lawrence (National Anti-Sweating League), Mrs. J. E. Francis, Rev. C. Hinscliff. Recitations by Miss Ella Cuthbert (Miss E. Franklin). Admission: 2.30-4.30, 1s.; 4.30-6.30, 6d. Tea, 6d.

8 p.m. Victoria Rooms. Public Meeting. Chair—Dr. E. H. M. Stancomb, M.B., C.M. Speakers—The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, The Right Rev. Bishop Powell, Mrs. Joan Cather.

Monday, Sept. 29th.—5.15 P.M. Short Meeting at Local Offices, 5, Portland Place. Chair—Lieut. Cather, R.N. Speaker—Miss Canning.

6.30 P.M. Service of Intercession and Meditation, St. Michael's Church. Preacher—The Rev. Canon H. Scott Holland, D.D.

Tuesday, Sept. 30th.—5.15 P.M. Meeting Local Offices. Chair—Rev. C. Hinscliff. Speaker—Miss Sutcliff.

6.30 P.M. Service of Intercession and Meditation, St. Michael's Church. Preacher—The Rev. J. W. S. J. Danbury.

Wednesday, Oct. 1st.—8 A.M. CORPORATE COMMUNION (Day of Special Intercession for the Women's Movement). St. Michael's Church.

5.15 P.M. Meeting at Local Offices. Chair—Mrs. Cather. Speaker—Mrs. J. E. Francis.

6.30 P.M. Service of Intercession and Meditation. Preacher—The Rev. C. Hinscliff.

Thursday, Oct. 2nd.—1.30 P.M. Assemble at Stag's Gate for procession to Public Meeting\* at 3 P.M. Chair—Rev. F. M. Green. Speakers—The Rev. Lewis Donaldson, The Rev. G. H. Davis, The Rev. Alfred Hanson Haigh, and others.

6.30 P.M. Service of Intercession and Meditation, St. Michael's Church. Preacher—The Rev. F. M. Green.

Friday, Oct. 3rd.—5.15 P.M. Meeting at Local Offices. Chair—Miss Canning. Speaker—Mrs. Cather.

6.30 P.M. Service of Intercession and Meditation, St. Michael's Church. Preacher—The Rev. Lewis Donaldson.

The C.L.W.S. Stall at the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition will be open daily—Avenue 7, Block S.

Tea will be provided at the Local Offices during Congress Week at 6d. each.

Open-air meetings will also be held.

The Local Offices will be open from September 15th until October 4th.

\* The Hall will be announced in next issue.

(Continued from p. 283.)

the man falls into bad habits. He frequents the public house more than of yore. He is seldom entirely sober, though he is not an habitual drunkard in the eyes of the law. The few shillings which he brings home in his pocket on Saturday night must be set aside for the rent, which is collected on Monday morning. The wife falls back upon the pawnshop; but that is a resource speedily exhausted. Driven at last to desperation she consults the vicar of the parish as to what the law will do for her. Can he say, "You must take a separate room for yourself and your children, and when you are thus separated from your husband you will be able to procure a magisterial order securing to you maintenance"? Where can a penniless woman secure a room thus? How is she to maintain herself and her children? She will forfeit the few coppers she has hitherto had and have nothing in return. Even if she could overcome these obstacles and secure a magisterial order, she would not in many cases be any better off. The order may be disregarded; and, if it is, it rests with her to set the law in motion again. A woman with a few pounds in the savings bank might cope successfully with the situation; a penniless woman is helpless from the first. Two facts stand out clearly: (1) Failure to maintain is not in itself, apart from concomitant circumstances, an offence of which the law takes cognizance; (2) the law provides no practicable remedy for the woman of the poorest class who is the mother of young children, and who is left by her husband without proper maintenance or is deserted by him altogether.

We earnestly ask our readers to give their custom to those who advertise in our pages. It is only through the support we thus receive that we are able to publish our paper without heavy cost to the funds of the League.

## From the Branches.

New Branches: *Barnet, Newport (Mon.), N. Hants, Rugby, S. Albans* ... .. 5

New Members ... .. 190

### Anerley and District.

New Associates: Miss M. Foreman, Mrs. Gwyer, Mrs. Sowood, Mrs. Tatler.

Members and friends are urged to support our lending library, which contains some of the newest and best books on our Movement. We hope to hold an Open-Air Meeting on September 5th, and trust all our friends will rally round us (see Calendar).

Please return "Holiday Gift" envelopes by September 5th to Hon. Treasurer. (MISS) ETHEL M. FENNINGS.

### Barnes.

Our Branch organized paper-selling on the morning of July 25th, when the Pilgrim marchers assembled on Barnes Common, and also between High Street and Albert Memorial on the 26th, before the Hyde Park demonstration, the total sales realizing 6s. 10d., this amount being exceeded by only one other Branch. The Hon. Secretary thanks several members for their help, and particularly the two new members who had never before sold papers.

A special Corporate Communion was held on the 26th at St. Michael's Church, but was attended by very few Members.

Will all who have not yet sent in their Holiday Gifts kindly do so in time for the Hon. Secretary to send them to head-quarters before September 8th. (MRS.) MARIAN H. HILLS.

### Barnet.

New Members: Miss Austin, Mrs. Ayrton, Mrs. Bentley, Miss Bowden, Mrs. Coleman, Mrs. Davies, Miss Elliott, Miss Gardiner-Coleman, Miss E. Gay, Miss George, Miss Hawkins, Rev. A. Hay, Mrs. Mace, Miss M. A. Mace, Rev. W. Manning, Miss Moir, Dr. Edith Pellatt, Mr. F. Mill Pellatt, Mrs. Reynolds, Miss D. Spanton, Miss Vincor-Minter. Transferred Members: Miss G. E. Devonshire, Rev. L. Raimes, Miss L. A. Strachan, Miss C. E. Strachan.

Our new Branch begins with twenty-five Members. The sun shone brightly upon our Inaugural Meeting, held on July 29th, on the lawn of Old Fold Manor, Hadley, by kind invitation of Miss George. The Rev. Aidan Hancock presided, and the Rev. F. M. Green, B.D., gave an eloquent address. Heartiest thanks are due to both speakers for their earnest support of the Cause. The Branch is most fortunate in having for its Warden the Rev. W. Manning, Rector of Chipping Barnet, who has kindly promised to arrange for

any services that the Branch may desire to hold, and has also invited the Branch to regard the parish church as its spiritual home.

We began work before our formal inauguration: on July 24th, at 7 P.M., a special Devotional Service of a deeply impressive character was held in the Parish Church on the occasion of the visit of the National Union Pilgrims. The service was conducted by the Rector, assisted by the Rev. L. Raimes. Ninety people were present, many of whom joined the Pilgrims in their procession, with banners, from the Church to the Market Place, where an Open-Air Meeting was held.

On July 25th, at the 8 A.M. Holy Communion Service, before the Pilgrims left Barnet, the Church League Prayer was offered. (MISS) CLARA E. STRACHAN.

### Bedford Park.

New Members: Mrs. E. Briggs, Mr. H. D. Courtenay.

(MISS) H. C. MARTINDALE.

### Bloomsbury.

New Members: Miss C. Fruin, Miss Hale-Johnson.

(MISS) K. BAVERSTOCK.

### Bromley (Kent).

The Kentish Pilgrims marched through Bromley on July 24th, and were warmly welcomed by several of our Members, also by Members of the F.C.L.W.S., and of the local Liberal Women's Association. In the afternoon there was a procession through the town. At the foot of Mason's Hill a most successful Meeting was held. Mrs. Mann (Chairman of our local Committee) presided, and the principal speaker was Miss Muriel Matters. Miss Griffith Jones, Mr. Beaumont Morice, and Mr. Western also addressed the meeting. Before proceeding to Blackheath the Pilgrims were entertained to tea in the Co-operative Hall by a committee formed by members from the above societies. There was a large gathering. (MISS) ETHEL M. WILLIAMS.

### Chelmsford.

New Member: Mrs. Seager (transferred from Manchester).

Poster at Chelmsford Station for C.L.W.S. paper, provided for a year by a Member. (MRS.) A. L. HATCHER.

### Edinburgh.

New Member: Miss Helen B. Taylor.

Members are asked to remember the special Intercession Service on October 1st. (MISS) C. PLAYFAIR.

### Fulham and West Kensington.

New Members: Mrs. Herring, Mrs. Hadow, Miss H. M. Framp-ton, Miss T. H. Wynne.

On July 24th a Meeting was held at 3, Perham Crescent, and Mr. Harold Box gave an excellent address, which was followed by a very interesting discussion. Four new Members joined.

At the Demonstration of the National Union of Pilgrims on July 26th the following Members sold papers: Misses A. Laurie, Lomax, N. Lomax, and Crouch, Messrs. Crouch, Bewsher, Porter, and Morris. The papers sold very well, and the interest shown was most encouraging.

The Secretary will be pleased to receive any suggestions for the development of C.L.W.S. work in Fulham and West Kensington for the autumn. (MISS) JANE LOMAX.

### Hendon and Golder's Green.

New Members: Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Ball, Mrs. A. Ball, Mrs. Bush, Mrs. H. Bush, Mrs. Gazeley, Mrs. Harris, Miss Masters, Mrs. Miall, Mrs. Saunders, Mrs. Vince, Mrs. Groom, Mrs. B. Wells.

A Working-Women's "At Home" was held on July 31st, at which twelve new Members joined. This was felt to be a satisfactory result of a year's work. The women have attended many meetings, and feel that they become Members of the League from a strong conviction of the righteousness of its aims.

Our Branch was represented at the Hyde Park Demonstration on July 26th, several members walking with the Pilgrims, others being present in the Park, and the Hon. Secretary selling papers. There was much kindness and friendly encouragement shown by the waiting crowd. (MISS) EMILY C. GROWSE.

### Ilford.

New Member: Rev. R. Isherwood.

During August, owing to holidays, our usual Monthly Meeting has not been held.

Will all Members and friends bear in mind Tuesday, October 14th, when we hope to have a combined C.L.W.S. and "Votes for Women Fellowship" Meeting at the Town Hall. The speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and the Rev. F. M. Green. As this will be a very important meeting, the help of every Member is urgently needed to make it a success. Tickets, 2s., 1s., 6d., and 3d., may be obtained from the Secretary, who will gladly accept any offer of help in distributing handbills, &c. (MISS) M. HAWLEY.

### Ireland (Dublin Group).

New Member: Miss A. M. Maxwell.

We are circulating the following Petition: "We, the undersigned Suffragists of the Church of Ireland, earnestly beg you to hold a Service in St. Patrick's Cathedral on a date to be submitted hereafter,

to pray for God's Blessing and Direction on our Movement." We hope any of our Members or others who wish to help, who have not yet received a copy, will write to the Secretary for one. It is most important that a great concentrated effort should now be made by all Church of Ireland Suffragists to show how intensely in earnest we are that a service should be held for the Cause. This has been done at St. Paul's, Newcastle Cathedral, Manchester Cathedral, and very many other churches in England. Thus we could help our clergy to realize how much we want them to help us in this great social movement. (Mr.) L. I. STACK.

**Liverpool and District.**

New Members: H. J. Boughey, Esq., Mrs. Buxton, Miss Buxton, Mrs. Callender, Miss E. Houston, Miss Jones, Miss G. Mason, H. O. Mason, Esq., Miss Pilkington, Mrs. Forster Robson, Miss Saunders, Mrs. Symons, Mrs. Spooner, Miss Scholefield, Rev. A. E. Wykes, Miss Young; transferred from Central, Miss O. Japp.

A meeting was held on July 31st, the Rev. A. E. Wykes in the chair. "Rule II., Liverpool Rules," was discussed, and a resolution to delete it was passed unanimously. The Chairman spoke eloquently of the un-Christian spirit behind the "Cat-and-Mouse" Bill, and the danger to the whole community of such legislation. A unanimous resolution was passed condemning it. This was subsequently forwarded to the Prime Minister, Home Secretary, and others.

We regret that six Members who joined under a misapprehension of C.L.W.S. constitution have resigned.

The Monthly Celebration of Holy Communion will be, in future, at 10 o'clock, the Saturday after the second Sunday, at Christ Church, Hunter Street.

Miss Japp and Miss Steenstrand are organizing a Working Party to make a banner. Will Members send promises of money or work as soon as possible to the Hon. Secretary?

(Mrs. D.) L. M. WALLACE.

**Manchester.**

New Members: R. G. Crass, Mrs. S. A. Edwards, E. Goodyer, Mr. William Holland, E. L. Marsden, the Misses E. Powell, M. Ross, G. A. Simonsen.

We have arranged to hold a Garden Meeting on September 16th in Prestwich. The Rev. F. W. Cooper has very kindly promised us the use of his garden, and is going to speak for us as well. Mrs. Llewellyn Herford and Miss C. M. Halton will be among the other speakers.

Our next Public Meeting will be in the Houldsworth Hall, on October 7th, and we are observing October 1st as a day of intercession. (Misses) M. F. and H. M. NORBURY.

**Mid-Sussex.**

New Member: Miss A. Gair. The Pilgrims, on their march to London, passed through several of the villages belonging to the Mid-Sussex Branch, and were entertained for the night of Monday, July 21st, at Cuckfield. Ten of the Church League Members were present at the Early Celebration there on Tuesday morning, and later gave the Pilgrims a good send-off, in spite of drizzling rain. Some of them accompanied them all the way.

Thirty-six Members now in the Branch. (Miss) CONSTANCE HARRIS.

**Norwich.**

New Members: Miss A. S. Barnes, Miss Constance Partridge, Miss Agnes Smith. Miss Margaret Sheepshanks was printed by mistake for Miss Anne Sheepshanks as a new Member last month.

The National Union Pilgrims made a very successful start from Norwich. Large Meetings were addressed at Wymondham and Attleborough, and the speeches were listened to with great interest. We were unfortunately unable to hold a service at Wymondham, as we had wished, but several of our Members joined in the pilgrimage to Wymondham from Norwich, and some who could not spare the time to walk even so short a way were present at the start from Norwich. (Miss) CATHERINE E. STILL.

**N. Hants.**

New Members: Mrs. Bromfield, Miss E. Bromfield, Mr. Jeffrey Edwards, Miss D. Edwards, Miss M. C. Edwards, Miss Millicent Edwards, Mrs. George Linn, Mrs. Porter. Transferred Members: Miss C. Chadwick, the Rev. A. H. G. Creed, Mrs. Doman.

A Branch has been formed for North Hants. Literature and magazines have been distributed in Fleet and the neighbourhood, and it is hoped a Meeting will be held some time in October. Eleven Members have joined. (Miss) M. C. EDWARDS.

**Paddington.**

Transferred Members: Miss Beaton, Mrs. Cholmley, Miss Clarke, Miss Deane, Miss Fuller, Miss Glover, Miss Hawksley, Mrs. Hunt, Miss Kingdon, Miss Leigh, Miss Preston, Rev. H. Thompson, Miss B. Vesey, Miss M. Vesey, Mrs. Veley, D.Sc., Dr. Jane Walker. (Miss) MAUD BELL.

**Red Hill.**

On Wednesday, July 23rd, the Branch was able to arrange that the N.U.W.S.S. Pilgrims, on their way through the town, were welcomed at Evensong at Reigate Parish Church, the organist and choir kindly giving their services. At the Open-Air Meeting on Red-hill Common C.L.W.S. literature was distributed, and a satisfactory number of the papers was sold. (Miss) M. DAY.

**Romford.**

New Member: Miss Clifton. On July 17th, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Webster, a Garden Meeting was held at "The Homestead" Manor Gardens. The speakers were Mrs. Cather and Mr. Ferrers; the Rev. T. W. Gibson, Rector of Cranham, took the chair, and Miss Florence Geere gave a recitation from Tennyson's 'Princess.'

On July 24th the Suffrage Pilgrims visited Romford en route for London. A Meeting was held in the Market Place at 1 P.M., and owing to the kindness of the Rector (the Rev. H. R. Phillpotts), a Special Service of the C.L.W.S. was held at 5.30 in St. Andrew's Church; the Rector, assisted by the Rev. P. J. Raybould, conducted the service, and an inspiring address was given by the Rev. L. A. Macgowan, M.A., LL.D. The Pilgrims afterwards proceeded through the town, and held a Mass Meeting in the Corn Exchange. The speakers were Mrs. Philip Snowden and the Rev. H. J. Kitcat, Rector of Bow. Mrs. Rackham took the chair. Votes of thanks were proposed by Canon Grant, seconded by the Rev. H. Whitmore, and supported by Mrs. Tee. Miss Golding-Chitty played a 'cello solo during the interval. An overflow meeting was held in the Market Place, where the chair was taken by Dr. Macgowan; speakers, Miss Vaughan and the Rev. H. J. Kitcat. The large audience at both meetings was very orderly and attentive. (Miss) LILIAN BARBER.

**Rugby.**

On Tuesday, June 24th, a Garden Meeting was held at Brookside, Dunchurch Road, when the Rev. F. M. Green addressed a gathering of some thirty people. Nineteen of the audience joined the League, and it was decided to form a Rugby Branch. At the request of head-quarters I have consented to act as Branch Secretary for the time being, but when the summer holidays are over I hope to call a meeting of Members, and formally to elect officers. I shall be glad if, in the meantime, those who are already Members will seriously consider what work they can do for the League in the autumn, so that, with division of labour, the work may not all fall on the shoulders of one person. (Miss) E. H. DEWAR.

**St. Albans (Herts).**

New Members: Miss G. Carter, Mrs. E. M. Cleghorn, Mrs. Collet, Mrs. L. L. Cooper, Miss N. Cunningham, Mrs. Jackson, Miss M. Lee, Mrs. M. Nicholson, Mrs. T. Outram, Mrs. E. Paulder, Mrs. E. Quedsted, Mr. T. Quedsted, Mrs. M. E. Wigglesworth, Mr. Sidney Wigglesworth.

A Garden Meeting was held on July 30th, by the kind invitation of Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Elworthy, at Windygates, Battlefield Road. Rev. Arthur Hayes, King's Lynn, presided. The Rev. Claude Hinscliff's deeply interesting address aroused so much enthusiasm that fourteen Members were enrolled at the close of the Meeting. (Mrs.) E. G. ELWORTHY.

**Stratford-on-Avon.**

New Members: Miss H. Archer, Miss Chapman, Miss D. N. Chapman, Miss E. Davis, Mrs. Heritage, Mrs. Lowe. (Miss) MARY EAST.

**Swansea.**

New Members: Mrs. Williams, Mr. W. Williams. Through the kindness of the Rev. M. H. Williams an Afternoon Meeting was held at St. Gabriel's Hall, on July 23rd, and was well attended. Miss Dillwyn, President of the Swansea Branch of the N.U.W.S., kindly presided in the unavoidable absence of our own President, the Rev. Harold Williams. A very interesting address was given by the Rev. F. M. Green, dealing with the spiritual and practical side of the Enfranchisement of Women. A vote of thanks to the speaker was proposed by the Rev. M. H. Williams, and seconded by Mr. Stephen Thomas. Tea was provided, and a good collection taken.

The Misses Hopkins have undertaken the selling of the Monthly Paper. (Miss) McCLEURE.

**Wandsworth.**

May we be allowed to remind the readers of the Monthly Paper of the Garden Meeting and Sale which Mrs. McDade, M.D., is kindly holding on Wednesday, September 17th, at 3 P.M., in aid of our Branch funds, and may we again ask for contributions of work, flowers, cakes, or sweets? Tea, 4d. (Miss) CATHERINE A. YATES.

**Wellingborough.**

A Garden Fête was held at Archfield, Wellingborough, by kind permission of Miss Lilley, in connexion with the C.L.W.S. and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. By the joint efforts of the Hon. Secretaries of these Branches a very enjoyable afternoon and evening were spent. Addresses were given by the Rev. C. Hinscliff and Miss Abadam, and they were listened to with

great interest and attention. Tennis and croquet tournaments, bowls, tea, sale of work, and dramatic and musical entertainments, arranged by Miss James, Hon. Secretary to the N.U.W.S.S., brought a very successful party to a close, and enabled the Treasurer to send a donation of £5 to each Society. (Miss) LILLEY.

**Windsor.**

Miss Roll, Miss Grist, Mrs. Hartopp Nash, Miss Robertson, Miss Aldridge, Mrs. Brunton, Mrs. Holt, Mrs. Lovegrove, Miss Prideaux. Two Drawing-room Meetings were given by Mrs. Bernard Everett on July 21st, in the afternoon and evening, at which Miss Abadam spoke on 'The White Slave Traffic.' Both meetings were well attended, and aroused deep interest. Several new Members joined the League, and those present made good use of the Branch library of books on Social questions. Miss Abadam's deep earnestness and eloquence made a great impression, and the meetings proved a good advertisement to the Pilgrimage Meeting at Slough, which took place on the following Thursday. (Miss) STREET.

**Worthing.**

New Members: Miss E. Oliver and Miss A. Sparrow. Last month our Branch arranged at Homefield, Worthing (by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Legg), a Drawing-room Meeting, at which the speaker was the Rev. F. M. Green, of Tollington Park, and the Chairman Mrs. E. Francis, of Brighton, who, at great personal inconvenience, came direct from addressing a Pilgrimage Meeting at Hassocks. Her opening speech was, as usual, characterized by "breeziness" and life. The Rev. F. M. Green most ably and convincingly dealt with the Suffrage Question from almost every standpoint, especially its religious aspect, declaring that the Suffrage Movement was a human one, and would benefit the whole of mankind, and therefore it was one of the duties of the Church to support it. Much literature and several photographs of our Founder and President were sold, two new Members also being enrolled. Our Branch was represented by Miss Collyer and Mrs. Harrison at the Brighton General Council.

Copies of the C.L.W.S. Paper have been, and are being, sold during June, July, and August on Saturdays (12 to 1), at the pier end of South Street. (Miss) LILIAN COLLYER.

**The Calendar.**

Sept. 2, Tues.	Ilford Branch. A Social Meeting at the Broadway Chambers, at 8 P.M. Speaker: Miss Bonwick, B.A.
" 5, Fri.	Anerley and District Branch. Open Air Meeting at Tramway Terminus, Crystal Palace, at 8 P.M. Speaker: Mrs. Cather.
" 6, Sat.	The Rev. C. Hinscliff "At Home" to Branch Secretaries and Treasurers, 3-6 P.M., at the Central Offices, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
" 7, Sun.	CORPORATE COMMUNION DAY.
" 8, Mon.	Finance Committee, 6 P.M. Executive, 7 P.M., at Central Offices.
" 16, Tues.	Paper-Sellers' Meeting, at 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, 6.30 P.M.
" 16, Tues.	Manchester Branch. Garden Meeting in Prestwich, at the Rev. F. W. Cooper's. Speakers: Rev. F. W. Cooper, Mrs. Llewellyn Herford, and Miss Halton.
" 17, Wed.	3 P.M. Wandsworth Branch. Garden Meeting and Sale. Mrs. McDade, M.D., Lavender Lodge, 145, Lavender Hill, S.W.
" 18, Thurs.	Watford Branch. Drawing-room Meeting, at St. George's, Chalk Hill, Bushey, at 3 P.M. Speakers: Lieutenant and Mrs. Cather.
" 19, Fri.	Open Air Meeting in Market Place, Watford, at 8 P.M. Speakers: Lieutenant and Mrs. Cather.
" 19, Fri.	Social Evening, at 21, Lexham Gardens, at 8 P.M. "How the Vote Affects Men and Women." Speakers: Mrs. Cather and Rev. C. Hinscliff.
" 24, Wed.	8 A.M. Holy Communion, St. Michael's Church, Southampton. Sweated Industries Exhibition, Victoria Rooms, Southampton. Public Meeting, 8 P.M. (See Special Congress Note.)

**Branch Secretaries.**

Anerley and Crystal Palace (S.E.)—Miss Ethel Fennings, 149, Croydon Road. Barnet (pro. tem.)—Miss Strachan, 11, Bedford Avenue, High Barnet. Barnes—Mrs. Hills, Bank House, 102, Church Road. Bedford Park (W.)—Miss H. C. Martindale, 90A, Fielding Road. Bloomsbury (W.C.)—Miss K. Baverstock, 9, Cosmo Place, Queen Square. Bow (E.)—Miss A. E. Sparks, 137, Bow Road. Camberwell (S.E.)—Miss I. D. Biddle, 35, Calington Road. Chelsea (S.W.)—Miss M. Leachman, Cheyne Club, 11, Oakley Street. Ealing and Acton (W.)—Miss Bonnerjee, 43, Hamilton Road. East Ham—Miss C. E. Heanley, 396, High Street North, Manor Park.

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