

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

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*"The time of life is short:  
To spend that shortness basely were too long."*

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(NUMBER OF SOCIETIES IN THE UNION 489).**

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Notes and Comments.

The Crown.

The offering of wanton disrespect to the Crown, even under a plea of certain constitutional rights of approach, forms no part of the constitutional programme adopted by the overwhelming majority of Suffragists. We believe we have authority to express, on behalf of these Suffragists, our profound regret that such disrespect should be offered by anyone, and a repudiation of the claim that it is offered in the name of Suffragists.

The Channing Arnold Case.

We are glad to see that the Channing Arnold case continues to attract public attention, and we hope ourselves to deal further with questions arising from it very shortly. We print elsewhere a letter from Mr. Wilson stating that he is anxious to reply in *The Times* to a communication from Sir Herbert Thirkell White, which appeared in that paper on May 15th, but that *The Times* has declined to publish a reply he has sent to them.

We also print the questions asked in the Commons last week, together with Mr. C. Roberts' answer. On the points raised by these questions we refrain from comment at present. Our thoughts turn once more to the child, for her wrongs are so easily forgotten. Women of an imperial race bear heavy responsibilities. It is useless to say women cannot think imperially. They must. If the law in any part of the Empire is not in effect as well as in form, strong enough to protect little girls from cruel wrong, women in every part of the Empire are dishonoured.

Fighting for Freedom in N.-E. Derbyshire.

A healthy breeze blows from N.-E. Derbyshire. With many of the points at issue between the three candidates, Suffragists as such are not concerned, but that Mr. Martin stood for exploited women and polled over 3,000 votes against great odds, is very much their concern. Heartiest congratulations to all who fought in the gallant fight.

The Breakfast Egg.

Mr. Lloyd George has twice disregarded the custom by which Cabinet Ministers do not enter the arena at by-elections. Several years ago he spoke for Mr. Winston Churchill at Manchester and Mr. Churchill was defeated—last week Mr. George sped to the assistance of Mr. Masterman at Ipswich, and Mr. Ganzoni has got in. Mr. George seems like that egg the old woman in the workhouse mentioned when she was asked what the inmates had to eat. "Oh," she replied, "they give us mostly porridge and bread and weak tea, and an egg for breakfast the day we die."

The Ipswich Result Helps Woman Suffrage.

The ill-success of Mr. Masterman for the second time within a few months is a heavy blow to him and his political and personal friends, and it is well that he bore this blow in a manly and dignified way. Suffragists may sympathise with his personal disappointment, but they sympathise more deeply with the cry of unenfranchised womanhood. Mr. Masterman refuses all serious consideration of the women's demand for political recognition, and that the N.U.W.S.S. by its opposition has been partly instrumental in securing his defeat is a subject for pride and rejoicing.

Epsom and Ipswich.

The Press states that at Epsom, the Grand Stand, the new refreshment room built at a cost of £14,000, and every building has each its own guard for the race, and that 2,000 police officers have been drafted in. From Ipswich one who has good reason to be well informed, writes: "Our escape is little short of miraculous. — has been pelted with missiles of every kind. Miss — told me that she had never been so pommelled. She could hardly lie on her back, and her legs were bruised and her face scratched. Platform after platform has been rushed." All physical violence, whether of Suffragists, or of the public, or of the official guardians of law and order, is so nearly contemptible that those who resort to it place themselves in the dock before public opinion, whatever official punishment they may suffer or escape.

The Price of a Suffragist Soul.

The correspondence in *The Times* on Women's Suffrage and local parliaments is not yet exhausted. It will be remembered that Mrs. Ward published a second letter last week of

considerable length stating in effect that no official alliance with Suffragists for any form of local government vote would be possible unless they renounced their claim to the imperial franchise. Mrs. Fawcett's convincing reply to this we print elsewhere. Mrs. Ward's further rejoinder only serves to adorn Mrs. Fawcett's moral—that she and Mrs. Ward differ as to the essentials of a settlement by consent.

A communication in *The Times* of May 23rd (which we also reproduce), signed by Lord Curzon and Lord Weardale, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., proves that even if Suffragists desired to sell their souls, the price offered is a little meagre.

Women's Way in Dublin.

The Earl of Pembroke has just made a gift of land in Dublin upon which model cottages are to be built, to be controlled by the Alexandra College Guild. The Guild was founded in 1897 by Miss White, LL.D., at a meeting presided over by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who is still a Vice-President. It is noteworthy that it at once took up the Dublin Housing question and founded in the following year the Alexandra Guild Tenements Co., Ltd., to deal with this question, to which public attention has recently been called by means of riots and bloodshed. The Guild's way seems best.

Deptford Women, Loyal and True.

The following appeared in *The Daily Citizen* of May 21st:—"The women on strike at A. & G. Scott's, Ltd., tin-box factory, Deptford, won yesterday a great victory, the firm having agreed to all their demands. But the women are, above all things, loyal to their fellow-workers. They will not return until the demands of the men employed by the firm are granted."

During the Ladies' Golf Championship Finals the Press was pleased to congratulate the women who took part in them on their sportsmanlike behaviour to each other. The women did not desire special congratulations for conduct in no way exceptional. The right sort of women, whether at work or at play, are always "sportsmen," whether in their relations to each other or to men.

Perilous Position of the Primrose League.

The following is from *The Pall Mall* of May 21st:—"Sir E. Carson was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League, held at St. James's Theatre this afternoon. Miss Balfour presided.

"Sir Edward Carson, who met with a cordial reception, said their welcome was not so bad for a rebel to receive. (Laughter.) 'Imperium et libertas'—that was the motto of Ulster to-day. (Hear, hear.) He was not against his King, he was not fighting against his King, but he was fighting for his King and for his kingdom's rights. (Applause.)

"He had been asked to propose a resolution which emphatically condemned the Government's Irish policy. He proposed it with all his heart. (Hear, hear.) No country had made greater progress under Unionist administration than had Ireland."

Perhaps Sir Edward used Latin so that the ladies might not realise he was talking of the Empire and of liberty—which are things they ought not to know too much about.

"The Long Legislated For."

"Candida" has a sad little article in this week's *New Statesman*. She fears that when women—"the long legislated for"—get votes all women will make laws all the time, and she expresses a just opinion that this will be very tiresome. She perceives that even now Suffragists talk about things like Government and laws and votes. But that is what they are there for, not to teach people how to collect old china, or behave like the Cubists behave. No footballer would gain honours who spent his time on the field showing the crowd how to bud rose trees, though he may be a prime "buddist" in his own back garden.

The Dry Temperament of Man.

*The Daily Telegraph* sustains its broad-minded and cordially sympathetic attitude towards women's aspirations. Mr. W. L. Courtney however, writing in that journal on May 27th, informs his readers that "Molière, like Shakespeare, has too broad a humour to be fully appreciated in feminine circles." Is it because Mr. Courtney is anxious to bask in the sunshine of feminine approbation that he is himself a little trite in saying this kind of thing? However, he may be forgiven all for he provides a plum. He states that in the seventeenth century the temperament of a man was declared by some to be "warm and dry," and that of woman, "damp and humid," and that a great many extraordinary conclusions were drawn from this supposed contrast.

## In Parliament.

Wednesday, May 20th.

### WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Motion, by Mr. Tyson Wilson, to appoint a Committee to consider and report upon the anomalies created in the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act. The motion was agreed to.

### SALARIES OF MEDICAL WOMEN.

MR. SNOWDEN (Blackburn, Lab.) asked the Home Secretary if he was aware that the Board of Control for the Administration of the Mental Deficiency Act had advertised for male and female inspectors, who must be registered medical persons, and had offered salaries of £400 to men and £350 for women, and if he would explain why this difference of payment was made, seeing that the Board stated that there was no difference in the importance of the work of the men and women inspectors; whether the two women candidates had refused the post on account of the difference in salary, and if the post was still unfilled; why the practice of the Government Departments to pay medical officers the same salaries had been departed from in this case?

MR. MCKENNA (Home Secretary) replied to the effect that the rates were fixed by the Treasury because it was believed that suitable candidates could be found at the salaries offered. That it appeared that the proposed salaries complied with the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, that when conditions of employment are approximately the same the rates of pay should approximate to equality. That the two women candidates for the post of female inspector declined it on the ground of difference of salary, not because they thought it too small. The post had not been filled, but the matter was not at present urgent. There was no rule or practice requiring the salaries of men and women medical officers in the Government service to be the same.

In answer to a further question from MR. SNOWDEN, MR. MCKENNA expressed the opinion that "it could not be said that the work (of men and women medical officers) was identical."

MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT (Glasgow, Bridgeton, Lib.) asked if Mr. McKenna was aware that "a great many distinguished women economists are strongly opposed to the doctrine of equal pay for equal work, and think it would work disastrously to women."

MR. MCKENNA agreed with Mr. MacCallum Scott, but was magnanimous enough to say that he himself was quite willing to give equal pay for equal work, but he was not convinced that the work was equal. Of course, as Mr. McKenna is "not convinced" that the work is equal, there is an end of the matter, Mr. McKenna being apparently the final arbiter and judge of the relative value of the work of male and female medical inspectors.

Thursday, May 21st.

Government of Ireland Bill. Motion made, "That the Bill be read a third time."

Motion made and question proposed, "That the debate be now adjourned." Owing to continued disorder sitting suspended by the Speaker.

### GIRLS' WAGES IN THE POST-OFFICE.

In answer to questions from LORD ROBERT CECIL (Hitchin, U.), and MR. LANE FOX (Barkston Ash, U.),

MR. HOBHOUSE (Postmaster-General) informed the House that the starting pay of female learners in the Provinces is five shillings a week, but wages above this figure are given when the first qualifying standard is reached. The hours of duty are forty-two a week, and units of age for entry to the class are fifteen to eighteen, and on or before two years' service every learner, if satisfactory in all respects, is offered an established appointment. Girl probationers in some cases start at 5s. a week, increases given after one year's service. The limits of age for entry are fourteen to sixteen, and all girl probationers who give satisfaction and can obtain a Civil Service certificate are eligible for the situation of telephonist or other permanent employment in the Post-Office after they have reached the age of sixteen, and are given permanent employment before they reach the age of nineteen. Mr. Hobhouse was unable to say without notice how many girls were employed at the wages of 5s. a week, nor what was the next step in wages.

Friday, May 22nd.

### WEEKLY REST DAY BILL.

Moved by MR. GOULDING (Worcester, U.). Its rejection was moved by MR. BOOTH (Pontefract, Lib.). Hon. Members in

their speeches touched upon a variety of subjects—ladies in lifts, militant suffragettes, the making of beds, the moral effect on the home life of a father's absence from the family circle on Sunday, new-laid eggs on Sunday, shaving on Sunday, and other equally weighty questions worthy of statesmen. Result: Bill defeated by 12 votes.

Monday, May 25th.

### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND BILL.

Bill read a third time, and passed by a majority of 77.

### NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT (OUTWORKERS).

On the motion for the adjournment of the House, SIR J. D. REES (U., Nottingham E.) asked the Government to consider "the cruel case of the married women outworkers in the lace trade."

MR. WEDGWOOD BENN (Lord of the Treasury), replying to Sir J. D. Rees, said that inquiries had been made into the case, and that after careful consideration the conclusion came to was that the married women outworkers could not be excluded without injustice to the single women outworkers, and that if both the married and single women outworkers were excluded a great injustice would be inflicted upon people who are in-workers and working in factories.

The House adjourned until Tuesday, June 9th.

### WOMEN'S RIGHT TO BRITISH CITIZENSHIP.

#### Once an alien; always an alien.

The Women's Co-operative Guild sent a memorandum on the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons, to which the measure has been referred. They desire the Bill to be amended so as to allow a woman who, being a British subject, marries an alien the power to retain her nationality on marriage, or to revert to her original nationality on widowhood, on the dissolution of the marriage, or on legal separation, if she so desires.

Unfortunately, the Standing Committee has rejected Mr. Dickinson's amendment, giving a woman the same right of deciding to what nationality she should belong as a man or a single woman has at present. It has also rejected an amendment providing that a British woman who had married an alien, and had become a widow, or had been divorced or legally separated, might, if she desired, cease to be an alien.

### THE CHANNING ARNOLD CASE IN THE COMMONS.

MR. MORRELL (Burnley, L.) and others questioned the Under Secretary for India on the Channing Arnold case on May 19th:—

MR. MORRELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for India if he can give any particulars as to the civil action brought by Captain Finnie against Mr. Channing Arnold, in connection with the MacCormick case; whether this action is still proceeding; whether the costs of it are defrayed by the Government of Burma; whether the plaintiff is represented by the Government advocate; and whether, in view of the fact that Mr. Arnold has already suffered heavily, both by loss of liberty and loss of money, for the action that he took, and that the conduct of the Government has been sufficiently vindicated by the result of the appeal in the criminal case, the Secretary of State will now direct that the civil proceedings be discontinued?

MR. C. ROBERTS: The action is for defamation, £1,000 damages and costs being claimed, and, so far as I am aware, it is still pending. The Government of Burma, in the discretion allowed them under rule, are defraying the costs, and the plaintiff is being assisted by the Government advocate. The charges against Captain Finnie have not been withdrawn by Mr. Arnold, and the Secretary of State is not prepared, on grounds personal to Mr. Arnold, or for the other reason cited, to take action which would deprive Captain Finnie of the remedy given him by law.

MR. MORRELL: Is it not a fact that these proceedings were really started by the Government while Captain Finnie was actually away, and were not these mere civil proceedings by the Government against Mr. Arnold?

MR. C. ROBERTS: The proceedings, I presume, were necessary in order that Captain Finnie should have the opportunity of answering the charges which have been made.

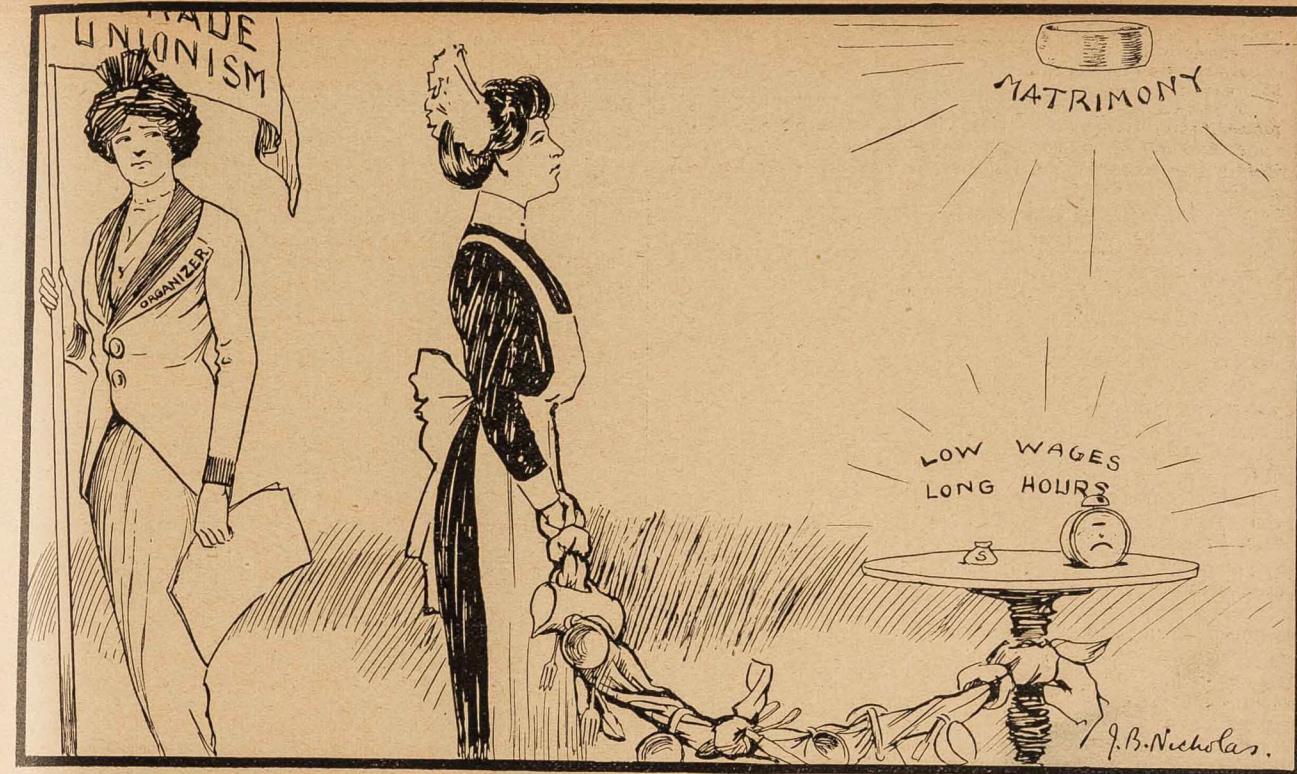
MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT: Is it the intention of the Government, when it has vindicated itself by criminal proceedings, to identify itself by financial support with similar action brought against an official in his private capacity?

MR. KING: Is there any precedent for this course of inquiry anywhere throughout the Empire?

MR. C. ROBERTS: It is strictly in accordance with rule.

### THOSE WOMEN AGAIN.

The special correspondent of *The Times* in Derry has made a wonderful discovery. It is this, that women are responsible for sending a Nationalist Member of Parliament to Westminster to represent Derry, "a city of Unionist and Protestant traditions." The women who do this do not vote, of course; they only work in the shirt factories of Derry. They come "in large numbers" from Donegal. They are Roman Catholics, but the head and



### A WEAPON OF OPPRESSION.

The honourable badge of marriage becomes a weapon of oppression if any point to it to excuse the under-payment of women workers.

front of their offence is that "they bring with them their husbands." These husbands have "no employment except in their homes; they look after the house," and presumably the baby, while the wives work in the factories. The husbands, in addition to the work of the house, vote at Parliamentary elections, and "vote Nationalist to a man." There you are. The Donegal peasant wives, by their industry, enable their husbands to live at home and to vote. The special correspondent does not say whether the wives are paid wages which enable them to keep their husbands and families dependent on them in comfort and decency. On this point he maintains a discreet silence, but we may conclude that in this case also, what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose, and that women are not given higher wages even when they have husbands and families to support.—E. P.

### WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE FOR LOCAL PARLIAMENTS.

PRESIDENTS OF THE N.L.O.W.S. STATE THEIR POSITION.

To the Editor of "The Times." May 22nd.

SIR,—In view of the correspondence that has lately appeared in your columns on the above subject, the Executive Committee of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, at their meeting yesterday, passed the following resolution, to which we shall be grateful if you will give publicity:—

"The Executive Committee of the N.L.O.W.S., while reaffirming their opposition to the Parliamentary vote for women, consider that the discussion of the franchise for possible Federal Parliaments is at present both premature and academic."—We are yours faithfully,

CURZON OF KEDLESTON, } Presidents of the League.  
WEARDALE,

MRS. FAWCETT AGAIN REPLIES TO MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

To the Editor of "The Times." May 23rd.

SIR,—Mrs. Humphry Ward's proposal, when stripped of ornamental accessories, amounts to this:—If the Suffrage organisations will abandon their main object and purpose, she, on her part, will personally (she cannot speak for the N.L.O.W.S.) abstain from opposing the granting of the Suffrage to women in local Parliaments, if such should at some future time be established.

May I venture to suggest that she should try the effect of a similar proposal on the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Clifford, and other leaders of Christian Churches, and assure them that if they will, as Churches, abandon and renounce Christianity she will promise henceforth personally to abstain from publishing any more Robert Elsmers. I fancy they would say:—"You go on with your Robert Elsmers, and we will go on with our Christianity."—Yours obediently,

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT,  
President, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.  
Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

### WOMEN WORKERS OF ALL NATIONS.

#### Suffrage Resolution Passed.

At the final Session of the International Council of Women Workers at Rome the following Women's Suffrage Resolution was proposed by Mrs. Anna Howard Shaw, and passed unanimously and with acclamation:—

"Realising the rapidly changing character of problems that must now be considered by Governments, and seeing that these problems increasingly affect the moral and educational and industrial life of the people, it is increasingly important that women should recognise their responsibility in national life. This International Women's Congress reaffirms the earnest belief that the right of voting in Parliamentary and local elections should be given to women in all countries where representative Governments exist."

The *Manchester Guardian* points out that resolutions passed by the Council have all the more significance:—

"when it is remembered that they must be passed without a dissenting voice and that the National Councils who appoint the delegates are not made up of bodies which necessarily represent equal moral standard, equal laws for women, peace or Suffrage, but of bodies of women working for every kind of social reform. In all the councils, as in our own National Union of Women Workers, there are, no doubt, many individuals not in agreement with these resolutions. The resolutions, however, represent a strong majority of opinion among the organised women of the world."

The Quinquennial Sessions of 1919 will be held in Norway, the British delegation having withdrawn its invitation in favour of that country; but it is hoped that one of the interim meetings of the Executive Committee will be held in this country.

### CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT.

The annual meeting of the Ladies' National Association for the abolition of State Regulation of Vice and for the Promotion of Social Purity was held in the Council Chamber, Caxton Hall, on Friday, 22nd inst.

A large audience was deeply interested in a speech by Mrs. James Gow on the Bishop of London's Bill (Criminal Law Amendment), introduced into the House of Lords, of April 28th of this year. Mrs. Gow traced the history of past legislation in this connection, notably the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, and the more recent Act of 1912, showing how their shortcomings rendered necessary the Act now under consideration.





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

The Young Lady in Business.

The middle-class woman in comfortable circumstances has  
the even tenour of her days ruffled from time to time by the  
servant trouble. Some extremists even say servants cannot be  
got. Girls in these days like to go into a shop or a factory, and  
despise the amenities of "a gentleman's family." To the  
middle-class woman of the suburbs it is all mysterious and  
inconvenient, and not very nice of the girls. The whole thing,  
too, is made more difficult because the daughters of the middle-  
class women in comfortable circumstances also tend to seek a  
professional or business career for themselves instead of being  
willing to dust the drawing-room or help the housemaid with  
the beds.

Suffragists see differently. To them also, if they are  
housewives it is inconvenient, but it is not mysterious, and it is  
on the whole quite nice. Indeed, it is part of their lives—the  
breaking of bonds, the striking off of chains. The girls aspire to  
a fuller life. Ignorantly and with many crude mistakes and  
sillinesses, they are working something out.

During the last few weeks undomesticated females (even  
those on the right side of the law) have been heard of a good  
deal. The Press generally has commented on the habit of  
public authorities of banning marriage by dismissing efficient  
medical women and efficient women teachers if they follow a  
natural human destiny. *The Daily Herald* has given encourage-  
ment to the Waitresses' Union, and has called attention once  
again to the rates of pay and conditions of work of the women  
employees in the service of the great catering companies. Last  
week the Shop Assistants' Union was forward in the promotion  
of a fine demonstration at the Queen's Hall against fines,  
deductions, and living-in; and the night following this a  
remarkably impressive gathering of women civil servants at  
Holborn Hall, was presided over by Miss Gore Booth.

What do these things mean? They have nothing to do with  
the Suffragist "stage army," the hundred or two professional  
agitators whom our opponents would have the public believe,  
voice a demand which is no demand, which has indeed, no  
backing among the common-sense, reasonable, womanly women  
who matter. Yet the main is flooding in.

The present is, however, a time of trial for women. What  
of the young ladies in business? And what of their sisters in  
the Civil Service or the teaching profession? Many of them are  
staunch and true. But what of the others? People sometimes  
smile because a girl in a draper's shop likes to be called a young  
lady. There may be something to smile at (Eliza Doolittle, in  
"Pygmalion," is quite amusing when she says she likes to be  
called Miss Doolittle), but let those who smile be quite sure they  
smile also because a man holding His Majesty's Commission  
likes to be known as an officer and a gentleman. It is perhaps  
not so absurd as it seems to desire to bear an honourable title,  
if you recognise also the responsibility of bearing it honourably.  
Now the time of testing is upon them the young ladies must see  
to it that they behave "as such." Let there be no idea among  
the waitresses that if one of them has a chance of marriage, her  
low wages and poor conditions are only her own concern, and  
do not matter. Let the women shop assistants see that the  
demand for "full citizen rights for all workers" emblazoned

upon the Union's banner is made in real earnest, and that their  
fellows the men assistants, understand clearly that the women  
expect them to stand by them in this. Let the professional  
women also be staunch; let the unmarried teacher back to the  
full the demand of "marriage no bar," let the women within the  
N.U.T. press on till that great Union learns its A B C of  
democracy. Let the whole mass of women Civil Servants unite  
in exposing any masculine pomposities or inanities in the  
Holt Report. Let young ladies, and older ladies too, of all  
classes and ranks join to sweep into a deserved limbo all  
"gentilities," all conceptions of ladylikeness as allied to  
inefficiency, or low pay, or bad housing, or servile dependence,  
or playing a fellow woman false, and let them unite in a new  
army of chivalry. In this army let her to whom social  
surroundings, or a happy marriage, or a distinguished career,  
or innate vigour of mind and character, have given an  
advantage, use this advantage, not for herself, but for the others,  
dedicating her strength to the weakness of the weakest of her  
sisters.

This is the good old hackneyed "noblesse oblige" freshened  
up again, and any woman, whether in business, or the pro-  
fessions, or at home, who lives up to it, helps to revive the honour  
due to the name of lady, helps to raise that name from the  
deserved contempt into which the treacheries of a servile race  
of women have brought it.

Against Fines, Deductions, and Living-In.

The "Great National Demonstration" held at the Queen's Hall  
on May 21st, to demand the abolition of fines, deductions, and living-  
in, should go far in bringing about the hopes of its organisers.  
The hall was crowded; the audience was not only enthusiastic, but  
remarkably practical. There was some eloquence in the speakers, but  
it was mostly the eloquence of fact; generalisations appealed less than  
the hammer, hammer, hammer of the phrases, *no deductions, no  
fines, no living-in*. A few banners were hung in the hall, and notice-  
able among the mottoes they bore were, "The Unity of the Workers  
is the Salvation of the World" (Palmer's Green Shop Assistants), and  
"We demand Shorter Hours, a Living Wage, and Full Citizen  
Rights for all Shop Workers." The chair was taken about 8.15 by  
the Bishop of Oxford, and among the speakers who supported him  
were Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., Mrs. Tennant, Mr. Neil Primrose,  
M.P., Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., and others.

The Bishop declared the matter for consideration that night was  
as important as Welsh Church Disestablishment or Home Rule, for it  
concerned "the flesh and blood, the aspirations and prospects of a  
vast number of our brothers and sisters." And through his speech he  
spoke again and again of the women workers as well as of the men.  
The demand they made was, rightly, for a greater share of  
material welfare in return for their work, but also for a fuller recog-  
nition of the personality of the worker.

In regard to features of the present system, the Bishop quoted  
Mr. Wells' "Kipps," "We've got into a beastly drain pipe, and we've  
got to move along until we die." When speaking of the assertion  
that living in promotes morality, the Chairman's "I deny it" was  
received with loud applause.

Among the other speakers were Lord Henry Bentinck, whose  
vigorous directness was well appreciated; Mrs. Tennant, who, as she  
told the meeting, "twenty-six years ago as an agitator, then as an  
investigator, as a factory inspector, and again now as an agitator,"  
has worked against this system; Mr. Primrose, Mr. Stephen  
Walsh, and several of the "workers" whose lives are directly affected  
by the system the meeting desired to abolish. Mr. Walsh made clearly  
and decisively the point that the woman worker needs enfranchise-  
ment for her protection. A resolution demanding, in effect, that all  
fines, deduction of wages, and the living-in system, be abolished by  
law was adopted with enthusiasm.

A Feminist Manifesto in 1789.

(From the French of Marcellé Tinayre.)

"You have assembled, Gentlemen, in order to advise as to the best  
methods to be adopted for summoning the next 'States-General.' An  
interval of 195 years makes it almost impossible to conform to former  
methods; on the other hand, none of the fine Assemblies of the 'States-  
General'—neither that held in Tours in 1483, nor those following—  
can serve as a model for the forthcoming Assembly. All, Gentlemen,  
were equally irregular, because we were not summoned to attend them.  
Yet we constitute the most sane and the best part of the nation."  
—From "La Dépêche," Toulouse.

It was thus that the women of Provence addressed the  
members of the "States-General," on the eve of their assembly,  
in 1789.

Mr. Giuseppe Giusti publishes in *Il Secolo* an interesting  
study of this very rare document. Published, no doubt, at  
Marseilles, and without the printer's name, the exact title of  
the memorial runs as follows: "Claim of the women of Pro-  
vence to admission to the States-General." It was almost at

once withdrawn from circulation and forbidden, "as bringing  
contempt upon order and public security."

The ladies of Provence had not waited for the proclamation  
of the Rights of Man to proclaim the Rights of Woman. Their  
memorial, which even to-day appears very daring, is logically  
conceived, clearly drawn up, with as much moderation as force,  
and at times with a frankness as audacious as it is ingenuous.

"It is not extraordinary that barbarous nations should keep us infamously  
imprisoned in their seraglios, and that they should have excluded us  
from all share in public life. But that in France, where we are the  
channel of all the graces, where we occupy an important place in society,  
no one should have thought as yet of admitting us to the States-General  
seems to us difficult to believe. It was reserved to you, Gentlemen,  
to wipe out this insult, and to give to the world a great example of French  
gallantry."

But the Provençal ladies had no pretensions to forming a  
"Fourth Estate."

"That," they write, "we are well aware, would be unconstitutional.  
The Clergy, the Nobility, the Third Estate, those are the natural divisions  
of the nation. We ask that our sex should be divided into three orders,  
like the male sex, and that our representatives should be distributed  
among the three Chambers, in proportion to the number of members which  
shall be chosen.

"The abbesses, prioresses, canonesses, and nuns will form our Clergy;  
women of title or of noble birth our Nobility; and all the others shall  
be our Third Estate.

"Every young girl or woman over fifteen years of age shall be entitled  
to take part in the elections, but it would be expedient that those eligible  
for election should have given a citizen to the State. We believe this  
condition to be necessary in the interests of the social body, because an  
innocent and timid young woman would have somewhat limited ideas with  
which to oppose the coarse arguments of our antagonists."

It will be observed that the authors of the memorial had  
skilfully answered beforehand the objections which would  
certainly be brought forward. The belief that maternity gives  
to a woman the highest claim to all the other rights of citizen-  
ship, this belief, which even to-day is admitted with difficulty,  
and which is, nevertheless, so just, so logical, and even so  
respectable, is dexterously handled and developed. In the first  
place the authors comment on the influence which women  
exercise over ministers of religion, soldiers, accustomed by  
the traditions of chivalry to defend the weaker sex, "impassive  
magistrates," who yield to the solicitations of charming  
litigants, and citizens of low rank who owe their elevation in  
society to the influence of their wives! If women are thus  
powerful, in spite of the laws and against the laws, would it  
not be better that their power should be used for the public good  
and in a legitimate manner?

"What shall we say to the Nation? . . . We shall make plain to  
it the defects of our education, while at the same time suggesting methods  
by which we can be made of use to the State. We will remind it of those  
obligations towards our sex which are daily repaid with ingratitude,  
finally, we will place clearly before it the subject of our population and  
of the means by which it may be increased.

"No one will deny that the true wealth of a State is its population;  
therefore, if we refuse to increase it we refuse to enrich ourselves.

"Maternity is the one tax which we alone pay, but it does not produce  
the effect which we should expect from it. It should be paid by all. But  
the nobility have few children, the clergy can have none, the third estate  
alone gives citizens generously to the State. . . ."

And the Provençales foresee the necessity for a tax on  
celibates!

"There is only one means of doing away with celibacy in France:  
it is to double the taxes of bachelors; to give no employment and no  
responsible positions to this parasite class which lives at the expense of  
fathers of families, and usurps the possessions of future generations.  
Only by these means will Frenchmen lose that character of frivolity of  
which they have been rightly accused; they will be born again in a  
numerous and healthy posterity which will have patriotism as its universal  
guiding force."

The desires of the women of Provence were generous and  
their willingness is obvious. They were ready to pay for their  
civil rights with one or with several children. They even went  
so far as to demand compulsory collaboration in this indisputably  
useful social work. The Assembly either disclaimed or ignored  
their memorial. Doubtless it would have done better to have  
received it. Perhaps, owing to the ladies of Provence, France  
would possess to-day several million more citizens. V. E.

Obituary.

A large circle of personal friends and all Suffragists have to mourn  
the loss of a true-hearted woman and a great supporter of Women's  
Suffrage in the death of Mrs. Russell Cooke, which took place last  
week at her home, Bellecroft, near Newport, I.W. Mrs. Russell  
Cooke bore the strain of a long illness with undaunted courage, and  
never slackened her interest in the great causes with which she had  
identified herself on account of the physical suffering which she was  
called upon to bear. The recent formation of the National Union  
Society at Newport was largely due to her inspiration, and as soon  
as the Society was formed, she invited it to meet at Bellecroft,  
although she must at that time have known that her days were  
numbered. Her buoyant courage and her power of faithful friend-  
ship will long be cherished as a precious memory by her many friends.

## IPSWICH BY-ELECTION.

Polling resulted in a victory for the Unionists.

Mr. F. C. J. Ganzoni (U) ... ..	6,406
Mr. Masterman (L) ... ..	5,874
Mr. Scurr (Soc.) ... ..	395

Ipswich, as polling day drew near, became more and more like a town in a state of siege. Shops and houses were barricaded in the main streets and riots seemed to be expected as a matter of course. The place was recognised as a Parliamentary cock-pit—Sir Edward Carson gave the final word for the Unionists, and Mr. Lloyd George was brought down on the last night to ensure victory for the Government.

The behaviour of Ipswich crowds was such as one would have thought possible only in the barbaric ages: the way in which women were treated in the streets caused a revulsion of feeling, even towards the militants, on the part of decent-minded working-men. Allusions to Mrs. Pankhurst from the Liberal platform, presumably intended to bring the question into disrepute, were received in ambiguous silence.

During the week at every available street-corner the shouts of rival speakers, representing many organisations, rose in a continuous, inharmonious babel. It was a trial of lungs rather than of wit. The side issues which marked the election increased the confusion of tongues; Free Trade, Tariff Reform, "Loyal Ulster," the Police Union, Puritanism (represented by Mr. Kensit), Socialism of the rebellious kind, Anti-Insurance, Anti-suffrage, Women's Freedom League, Constitutional Suffrage of various types, Militancy, claimed a simultaneous hearing, often within a few yards of each other.

Barrack Corner became by common consent the Suffrage arena; the National Union commanded a large audience every night at seven o'clock, and when our speakers left at eight for another pitch the Freedom League took on the audience. Vehicles of men's organisations came night after night, but their speakers failed to collect an audience. The most noticeable fact about the out-door speaking was that the women speakers swept away the men's audiences at almost every point: in fact, if party organisations wanted a hearing they found it advisable to put up a woman speaker. Women are in politics, and they have obviously come to stay.

The day before polling Mrs. Cooper and other members of the N.U. went down to the Ranelagh Works: on each side of the entrance and opposite it were rival men speakers, within a few feet of each other, shouting lustily at a perplexed audience below, their arms moving like the sails of a windmill. We drove into their midst accompanied by good-humoured shouts of "It isn't fair," and joined in the fray. From that moment the meeting was a prolonged roar of laughter, except on the part of the two men speakers who were nearest the gate.

The reception of our speakers was extraordinarily good. Miss Muriel Matters and Mrs. Cooper made a favourable impression the first day, and contributed greatly to the success of subsequent meetings. Miss Helen Fraser, who came on Wednesday, is almost a genius in handling a rowdy audience, and was listened to even by the children, in a silence that is most unusual at a street corner.

Owing to the fine weather indoor meetings were at a discount—even Mr. Lloyd George's meeting was not full.

The Suffrage Shop attracted a good deal of attention; members of the local society taking turns in looking after it.

We feel that the unpopularity of the Suffrage Movement which, owing to the burning of the Bath Hotel at Felixstowe, was such a marked feature of the initial stages of the election, is now almost a thing of the past. And this is not only due to the success of our speakers already mentioned, but also to the enthusiasm and tact shown by our workers, Miss Cohen, Miss Power, and Miss Scott.

The National Union can congratulate itself that an enemy in the Cabinet, no less formidable because he calls himself a Suffragist, is still in the unprecedented position of being without a seat in Parliament.

L. F. WARING.

## N.E. DERBYSHIRE BY-ELECTION.

The N.-E. Derbyshire by-election has come and gone, and with but ten days in which to convert the electorate the Labour candidate has polled over 3,600 votes. It is a splendid result. When the fight opened there was literally no organisation in existence and practically no Labour propaganda had been done in any part of the constituency. With few exceptions, therefore,

the votes polled by Mr. Martin were "hewn out of the solid," mainly by the strenuous labour of the speakers and workers of the National Union. In his speech after the declaration of the poll the Labour candidate, amid the acclamations of his audience, drew special attention to the splendid results of the women's work. Many drawn to our meetings by curiosity left filled with enthusiasm for the Women's Cause, while on all sides we were besieged with a demand to return and our organise adherents into Suffrage Societies. Our efforts were admirably supported by members of the Chesterfield Society, notably Mrs. Jameson, Miss Smith, and Mrs. Whitley, who came over night after night to help at our meetings; also Mrs. Frank Hall and Mrs. Morgan who, with others from Staveley, were energetic in the indispensable but very fatiguing business of working up our meetings and distributing handbills. Nor can we be too grateful to Mrs. Morgan for throwing open her house and its bathroom to our workers, and for the many creature comforts she provided for us ere we set out for our dinner hour meetings, and when we returned at night.

## EAST FIFE BY-ELECTION.

The following sums, sent direct to Miss Alice Crompton, are acknowledged with very hearty gratitude:—

	£	s.	d.
Glasgow Society ... ..	10	0	0
Miss Slack ... ..	5	0	0
Miss Lees ... ..	5	0	0
Mrs. Finlay ... ..	3	0	0
Dr. Elsie Inglis ... ..	2	0	0
Stranraer Society ... ..	2	2	0
Miss Gillet ... ..	2	0	0
Mrs. Renold ... ..	2	0	0
Miss Lumsden, LL.D. ... ..	1	7	6
Mrs. Heitland ... ..	1	1	0
Mrs. Rackham ... ..	1	0	0
Miss Lawson ... ..	1	0	0
Miss Jeffrey ... ..	1	0	0
Miss Dalby ... ..	1	0	0
Miss A. J. Cohen ... ..	1	0	0
Dunbar Society ... ..	1	0	0
Dornoch Society ... ..	10	0	0
Mrs. and Miss Blane ... ..	5	0	0

## C.C. SELLERS.

The London Corps of THE COMMON CAUSE sellers is coming steadily on, and arrangements are being made for holding monthly meetings for them at the London Office. The day and hour will appear for two weeks beforehand in this column.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Suffragists felt they had much in common with the aims and objects of proportional representationists, as these were set forth at the Annual Meeting of the Proportional Representation Society, on May 20th. The advocates of both reforms are working for the attainment of the ideal set before them by Mr. Asquith in February, 1906, when he stated that in his opinion "it was infinitely to the advantage of the House of Commons, if it was to be a real reflection and mirror of the national mind, that there should be no strain of opinion honestly entertained by any substantial body of the King's subjects which should not find their representation and speech."

The principal difference between the aims of Proportional Representationists and those of Suffragists seems to be that while the work of the former is devoted to securing the adequate representation of minorities, the latter are concerned with obtaining, for the first time, some share of representation for the majority of the adult population.

The subject of most of the speeches on May 20th was Proportional Representation in its relation to Federalism and Devolution generally. Suffragists could not but be impressed by the moving appeal for the safeguarding of the interests of minorities made by such Anti-suffragists as Lord Dunraven and Mr. Mackinder, who put the case for the representation of women with all the fervour that the most ardent supporter could desire, while it was difficult to believe that the eloquent pleading of Lord Parmoor that any subordinate Parliaments which might be set up should be based on a real, instead of a sham, system of representation, was not meant for a joke, coming as it did from the lips of one who, a fortnight before, had voted against Women's Suffrage in the House of Lords.

To the logically minded it seemed odd that the Suffragettes, having listened in silence to the speeches of three strong Anti-suffragists, should begin their evening's work by interrupting Mr. Anderson, who, as his custom is, made an eloquent speech on behalf of the claims of democracy, of the kind we have so often heard and enjoyed on Suffrage platforms.

## Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.  
President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.  
Hon. Secretaries: MISS K. D. COURTNEY, MISS C. E. MARSHALL (Parliamentary), MISS EMILY M. LEAY (Press), MISS EVELYN ATKINSON (Literature).  
Hon. Treasurer: MRS. AURBACH.  
Secretary: MISS CROOKENDEN.  
Offices: Parliament Chambers, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.  
Telegraphic Address—Voiceless, London. Telephone Number—1960 Victoria.

## Treasurer's Notes.

We have lately received some very welcome donations, and one very beautiful gift, consisting of an old silver and jewelled filagree necklace from one who writes she is unable to give money. I take this, the earliest opportunity, of thanking all whose spontaneous help is ever a source of encouragement to those who are working at Headquarters.

In appealing for further contributions to our funds, it is well to realise the evolutionary forces that are at work, and adding daily to the strength of our movement; the progress towards better social conditions—slow as it is—means continuous improvement in the position of women, and we have got so far, that to-day the Women's Suffrage question is part and parcel of every important political question. The ramifications of our work reach out in all directions. Our Union has become one of the most active political and educational organisations in the country, holding something like 300 meetings every month; our literature goes all over the world, and is in constantly increasing demand, and it is no exaggeration to say that every week hundreds of new subscribers and thousands of Friends are enrolled.

Our recently published annual report shows all this progress; but it shows also that the financial responsibility for this vast amount of work grows heavier and heavier every year, and those who in any way help us to bear this increasing financial burden are indeed giving us new life and vigour, and fitting us with the strength we need for further efforts. For no matter how much we are doing, there is always something more which *could* be done, and which would be so well worth doing if only the money would run to it—if only, when all the current work is planned out and set going, there were just a little more to spare for some unforeseen emergency or for some extra little piece of useful and practical propaganda. Here, for instance, is a case in point: the fertile brains of Suffragists are continuously at work devising new ways of bringing our question before the public, and one of our members recently made the happy suggestion that we should advertise the non-militant Suffrage movement by means of simply worded advertisements in motor-omnibuses. By her own generosity we were enabled to make an initial experiment, and now we are anxious to carry out this useful scheme on a more extensive scale. The general public who travel in motor-buses are just the persons whom we desire to reach. They are not more ignorant or more prejudiced than those whom we meet elsewhere, but they are, for the most part, busy working people, who have had little or no opportunity of having the case for Women's Suffrage put fairly before them, and who know next to nothing about our great organisation, or about the many weighty reasons for the urgency of our demand.

Can anyone doubt but that it would be an immense advantage to be able to advertise our work in this way, and incidentally, also, THE COMMON CAUSE, and so help to increase the circulation of our paper, the best instrument of propaganda that we have? There can be no doubt that everything that focusses attention on the work of the National Union and spreads knowledge of the growth and extent of the non-militant Suffrage movement, must tend to increase the support that is given us. But, alas! advertising, as everybody knows, is an expensive luxury. To carry out this scheme thoroughly we should like to advertise in every omnibus line running in the Metropolitan and Suburban area, and put advertisements in hundreds of 'buses; but all we can spare just now from the campaign upon which we are already engaged will not suffice for more than a small fraction of that number. Here, then, is a great opportunity of doing immediate good.

We are constantly being told that the non-militant Suffrage movement is not sufficiently known to the general public. We are told that our quiet educational campaign, our vast propaganda work carried on week by week by our 489 societies up and down the country, our orderly meetings, our share in elections, the teaching, the writings of our devoted leaders, helpful as they all are to our cause and productive as we know them to be of continuous progress, yet go unrecorded by the

Press, and are therefore ignored by thousands of men and women whose only source of information on all public matters is the ordinary daily paper. Who, then, will send us a donation towards our scheme for motor-bus advertisements? £10 10s. will cover the cost of an advertisement in thirty 'buses for six months. The present seems to be a most opportune moment for making special efforts: the General Election comes nearer and nearer, and the seed we sow now will assuredly bear fruit.

## THE ALEXANDRA COLLEGE GUILD AND HOUSING CONDITIONS IN DUBLIN.

It was announced at the Annual Conference of the Alexandra College Guild, Dublin, last week, that the Earl of Pembroke has decided to give, as a memorial to his father, the late Earl of Pembroke, a site of almost two acres of ground for cottages, and the trustees of the Pembroke Irish Charities have agreed to build on this ground sixteen model cottages, and to hand them over, when completed, to the Alexandra Guild Tenements Company to be their property.

To the Alexandra College Guild has been entrusted the honour and the responsibility of carrying out the design of the memorial, and of making the life of the tenants in these cottages something much better than the best that is possible in the tenement houses they already manage.

## FACTS ABOUT THE GUILD.

Alexandra College Guild was founded in May, 1897, by Miss White, Lady Principal, at a meeting presided over by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who still remains a Vice-President. Its primary objects are to establish a bond of union amongst present students of the College, to keep past students in touch with it by giving them opportunities of hearing lectures on subjects of general interest, and to interest them in, and inform them about, women's work in the world. It now numbers over 900 members.

## TENEMENTS COMPANY.

The first notable development of the Guild was the formation on July 4th, 1898, of the Alexandra Guild Tenements Company, Ltd. It is interesting to record that at the time it was started this was the only public company in the United Kingdom managed entirely by women, and that, except on two occasions, a dividend of 2½ per cent. per annum has been paid upon its capital of £1,335. The company purchased and made habitable and healthy seven tenement houses in Summerhill and Grenville street. These houses are looked after by members of the Guild, and in this way many women have become interested and well informed in regard to the housing question.

It thus appears that the housing conditions in Dublin, which are now beginning to arouse general public attention, were being dealt with in a practical way by the women of the Alexandra Guild over fifteen years ago.

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Speakers: Mrs. STANBURY (Exec. Com., N.U.W.S.S.); The EARL OF LYTON; Mr. T. GUGENHEIM; Mr. P. WHITWELL WILSON ("P.W.W." of The Daily News).

Next Week (June 5th), Miss EDITH DIMOCK (Exec. Com., L.S.W.S.);  
Councillor MARGARET ASHTON, M.A. (Exec. Com., N.U.W.S.S.); Dr. SALEEBY.

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