

THE  
CATHOLIC SUPFRAGIST

VOLUME. III.



THE  
CATHOLIC SUFFRAGIST

VOLUME III. 1917.



CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY,  
55, BERNERS STREET, LONDON.

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# THE CATHOLIC SUFFRAGIST

*Organ of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, London.*

VOL. III., No. I.

January 15th, 1917.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

Daughter of the ancient Eve,  
We know the gifts ye gave and give;  
Who knows the gifts which *you* shall give,  
Daughter of the newer Eve?

—Francis Thompson.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN DURING AND AFTER THE WAR.

BY ALICE MEYNELL.

The numerical preponderance of women in the population of England, small before the war, is now increased, and will be greater when a war without precedent ends, and a peace without precedent begins. There are few sure forecasts to be made to-day, when our hopes and our faith are so—I will not say belied, but at least discouraged, at least deferred, by the partial prosperity of the greatest crime yet committed by man on earth—Germany's outrage on Belgium. But, if there are no certainties, there are probabilities. One of these is the increase, after the war, of emigration from the United Kingdom; and emigration has always implied a greater number of men than of women expatriated; a greater number temporarily, and a greater number permanently, of women-producers and women-consumers in this country. Another probability is that England will be more democratic in the time of the future peace than before the war and during the war. There will, then, be a certain marked majority in our population at a time when one principle of democracy—the power of majorities—will be put to a certain test.

The fact of the majority of the women in

our country—a fact notably distinctive of the United Kingdom among nations—has long given to the opponents of Woman Suffrage a plea—an entirely undemocratic plea: that majorities of one kind are not worthy of the power that inheres in majorities, as majorities. This illogical position rested on a conjecture—that the majority in question would be imperfectly responsible. No account was taken by our opponents of the steady effect of the consciousness of superior numbers. It is a steadying effect that will assuredly work well with the most conscientious body of voters in the nation, and the most conscientious body of voters in the nation will probably be the body of women voters. It is a minority that is excitable, it is a minority deeply convinced of its right cause, but imperfectly appreciated by the public mind, that is excited.

As to the other objection—that women would tend to vote together—this too will be greatly modified by the war. It will not only be modified, it should be destroyed. Let us close with the plea, let us grant it at once. The vote of women on the most vital of all social questions *will* be solid, and its aims

will be those of the new legislation. Women have been in advance of their time in their theory of civil legislation and civil administration. They will certainly work together in favour of a police for the repression of vice; but have not our present legislators begun to agree with them that a police for the repression of crime is imperfect without a police for the repression of vice? Is not this one of the civil lessons of the war, and has not our Government reasonably learnt it and frankly acknowledged it? The war has made an occasion for such legislation and for such administration: an occasion only, for good cause for it existed long before the era of war. Good cause existed, but the fear of "interference with the liberty of the subject" barred the way. War has rebuked, and chastised, and cured many civic cowardices; this was not the least deplorable, and its cure is still incomplete. Legislation against alcohol, against sexual vice, against the causes of foul disease, is legislation against vice, but not against crime. England is no longer—the conditions of war having pressed the matter—afraid of such inquisition. Some of the liberties she boasted of in peace are found to be idols, and have been shaken; they will be surely overthrown. On these matters—the only ones upon which the votes of women will be "solid"—there has been no change in the opinion of women; the change has been in the opinion of the Nation and its Government. What women without votes thought yesterday the Constituencies think to-day. Before the war, women held vice, as well as crime, to be "stuff o' the conscience" for States; they think so now, in war. And the nation, in its new necessity—or rather its newly realised and acute form of an ancient and chronic necessity—has welcomed the work of women police, for example, and has laid a hand of timid control, of timid control which we must pray will gain courage, upon the traffic in alcohol. There, in a larger and more effectual shape, will be the fulfilment of

the old projects of women reformers, projects hoped for, during many and many a year, with passion and patience.

But if the world hitherto called "cautious" has learnt something from the policy of women hitherto called "rash," women too have taken a lesson. The war has helped them to understand themselves. The war, in imposing upon them new duties, demanding from them new endurances, and exacting from them a response to new tests, has set them to thinking of themselves as not only daughters of women, but also daughters of men. Heredity in character and ability is not a matter of one-sided transmission. It had been taken for granted that the old neglect of the education of women, a neglect that followed the Reformation, came to its ignoble utmost in the day of Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* (charming idyll but for its women), and continued for a great part of the nineteenth century, had weakened the woman's brain. Even the progressive, the reformer, the suffragist, seemed to admit the plea, and to ask for patience in the development of the intelligence of women on the ground that their mothers were undeveloped. This was to assume that intellect was inherited sex by sex. It is indeed probable that the intelligence and the ability of the whole race has lost something by that neglect of the brain of women: that the whole race has lost by it and not half the race only. The son and the daughter may be the worse for it, but not the daughter only. This truth cannot be a new discovery, so obvious is it, but surely it has not been preached. It makes for self-respect and mutual-respect, for all practical and reasonable equality, for partnership, and for courage. No woman recognising it fully will excuse herself for "nerves" on the ground that her daughter only, and not her son, will inherit them. It is a truth that brings to light the whole responsibility of women, and, like all other truths well faced, prepares the nation for the woman's vote.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

As we have the good fortune to celebrate our second anniversary with an article from Mrs. Meynell, we hope our members will buy extra copies of the paper this month, so that Mrs. Meynell's article may be well circulated.

\* \* \*

The long foreshadowed Imperial Conference or Council of the Empire is to materialize early in the year. The premiers of the self-governing dominions will assist in the discussion of measures relating, not only to the vigorous prosecution of the war, but no doubt in the discussion of peace terms, and after war problems. Some of the members of this conference represent both the men and women of their respective countries, the gentlemen of the motherland, in this respect we should prefer to say the fatherland, represent men alone. When is this grotesque situation to end?

\* \* \*

*Jus Suffragii* records the conversion of M. Maurice Barrès to the Suffrage. Writing in the *Echo de Paris* last November, M. Barrès said: "Before the war I had never given my mind to the claims of women, or rather, I felt repugnant to them, and saw no reason for them. To-day a series of facts, the whole experience of the war, have persuaded me. Our soldiers, in the great majority of cases, have received from their home, from their mothers, and from their wives, powerful support. Large numbers of women work on the land, on munitions, in offices, in field hospitals. It seems to me just and right that those who have collaborated in the national defence should to-morrow be closely associated with the whole life of France. I am ready to join with them in this claim." But the CATHOLIC SUFFRAGIST had received earlier proof of M. Barrès' change of opinion, for in acknowledgment of a review of his essays on Blessed Joan of Arc, which appeared in our columns in September, the writer received a signed copy of one of M. Barrès' works with his "remerciements et *sympathies*."

Anti-suffragists in the States still seem very eager to claim that the Catholic Church is opposed to woman suffrage, and every now and again some enlightened priest makes it his business to prove that they are talking nonsense. The latest champion is Father James Cox, of Pittsburgh, who, according to the *Woman's Journal*, recently gave a statement to the Woman Suffrage League of Allegheny, in the course of which he says: "In the problem of equal franchise there is nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine. It is a political movement, and Catholics are absolutely free to act as they choose, without let or hindrance from ecclesiastical authority.

"Women have the same right to say how this world of ours shall be governed as men have. Neither man nor woman has an inherent right to vote or rule, but obtain this right by having the necessary qualifications. Both have by nature equal faculties and abilities to vote or rule; they have the same intelligence, and if there is any advantage anywhere between the sexes, it is on the woman's side, as the majority of women have a higher standard of morality than men, and this influence for good will be more quickly exerted by the women when required than by the men, just because of their higher principles of life."

\* \* \*

A member writes that Father Bernard Vaughan, preaching in aid of the Red Cross, declared that women had been splendid, and should have the vote. The vote is not a reward for good service, nevertheless we hope our member heard correctly, and that Father Vaughan is also a convert to suffrage. Indeed the *real* aims of the suffrage movement would afford a fitting theme for the famous preacher's eloquence.

\* \* \*

We call the attention of our members to the notice in another column concerning the election of a committee. Nominations duly proposed and seconded and resolutions for the agenda should reach the Secretary by January the 25th.

## THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY,

Office: 55, BERNERS STREET, LONDON.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

MISS LEONORA de ALBERTI.  
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MISS BRADY.  
COUNCILLOR ELLEN CHAPMAN.  
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MISS GABRIELLE JEFFERY, Hon. Treasurer.  
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## THE CATHOLIC SUFFRAGIST.

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Hon. Editor . . . . . MISS LEONORA de ALBERTI.  
Hon. Treasurer . . . . . MISS BRADY.  
Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Society.

## THE SAINT OF AUSTRALIA.

A writer reviewing Miss Pearson's "Ideals and Realities" in the CATHOLIC SUFFRAGIST some months ago, spoke of the essay on Caroline Chisholm, and remarked that it should prove a mine of quotation for suffrage speakers. Since which time several members have asked that some tribute should be paid to her memory in our columns. Father vanden Heuvel's appeal to women to found hostels to help emigrants would seem to afford an opportunity of calling to mind the great woman who was known to the last generation as the Emigrant's Friend. Catholics, very rightly, are proud to claim her as one of their own, but her charity embraced mankind without distinction. "My political creed," she says, in a defence which was forced upon her, "or rather my principle, has been through life to work to the best of my ability for all. I have never for a moment considered country, or creed, or colour; my sole object has been to do all the good I could."

She had unbounded faith in family life as the basis of a country's prosperity, and her great aim was to re-unite wives and husbands and families. She has been called the apostle of social virtues and the ambassador of wives and children. In her letter to Earl Grey on "Emigration and Transportation" she declares: "All the clergy you can despatch, all the schoolmasters you can appoint, all the churches you can build, and all the books you

can export, will never do much good, without what a gentleman in that colony (Australia) very appropriately called God's police—wives and little children."

With this belief burning in her soul she dogged the footsteps of the officials of the Emigration Commission, carrying neatly docketed packets of evidence, until being unable to avoid her she was finally admitted to an interview. She had little difficulty in proving the truth of her statements, and after listening for a short while a commissioner blandly remarked that he was quite satisfied, and made out an order by which two shiploads of children were removed from English workhouses to their parents in Australia. Another proof that more suffering is caused by official want of thought, than official want of heart. Or rather let us say that one parent has tried to run the world alone, with disastrous results to the human family.

It was Michelet, in *La Femme*, who called her the Saint of Australia, and declared that without means and without assistance she had done more for that new world than all the emigration societies and the British Government. "The richest and most powerful Government in the world," he says, "master of India and of an empire of more than a hundred and twenty million persons failed in that colonisation, which should have counterbalanced its losses. A simple woman succeeded and accomplished

the task by her vigorous benevolence and greatness of heart. It required an admirable persistency in well doing, a sublime obstinacy."

The Catholic Truth Society has recently published a life\* of her which should help to keep her memory green. The writer, Mr. G. Elliot Anstruther, says: "Fame, in her case, was not the posthumous honour which often comes too late to atone for neglect in life; on the contrary, we shall see that in her own day Mrs. Chisholm enjoyed the esteem, help, and praise of the press and public of two continents, whereas at the present time it is probable that outside small and special circles there is hardly even the memory of her name."

One of the finest tributes was paid to her by the *Empire*, which declared in August, 1859, that "If Captain James Cook discovered Australia, if John Macarthur planted the first seeds of its extraordinary prosperity, if Luding Leichhardt penetrated and explored its before unknown interior, Caroline Chisholm has done more, she has peopled, she alone has colonised it in the true sense of the term. To her influence, her untiring efforts, her self-sacrificing devotion is owing in great measure the spreading over the face of the land of a prosperous, a happy, a teeming population. How many hundreds of homes have been founded, how many families settled throughout the length and breadth of Australia by her efforts? How many family circles re-united, whose members but for her influence and exertions, would have been still separated by half the circumference of the globe?"

Not the least of her innumerable good works was her agitation to procure better conditions on board emigrant vessels, which were at times hot-beds of iniquity and disease. Only a few days ago I came across a Government dispatch of 1827, in which a Colonial Governor describing the state of certain emigrant vessels which had come under his notice, declared in a burst of honest anger that the affecting narratives appearing in the press detailing the disgusting conditions of

\* Caroline Chisholm: The Emigrants' Friend. By G. Elliot Anstruther. Catholic Truth Society, 1d.

slave-traders, could be applied with full force to some British emigrant vessels. Though she was threatened with personal violence by touts and procurers Caroline Chisholm made public the conditions of these vessels, and obtained protection for young women and girls, and other necessary reforms. Many touching tales are told of the devotion of the emigrants to their friend—to quote Michelet once more: "Elle est la légende d'un monde, son souvenir grandira d'âge en âge." May the prophesy be realised.

L. DE ALBERTI.

## LONDON AND BRANCHES.

Office: 55, Berners Street, London. Hours 3-30 to 5-30, Saturdays 10-30 to 12-30. Other times by appointment. Library books 2d. a week.

Holy Mass will be offered to the intentions of the Society (for Peace and for all killed in the war), on Sunday, February 4th, at St. Patrick's, Soho, at 10-30

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT BRANCH.—Hon. Sec., Miss T. M. Browne.

The Annual Meeting will be held on Saturday, January 20th. Nominations and resolutions should be sent to the Hon. Sec. before that date. Many thanks to Mrs. Hughes and to all those who helped to collect articles for the Christmas Sale.

Subscriptions are now due and should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Miss McKinley, 75b, Berkeley Street, Liverpool.

ELECTION OF NEW COMMITTEE.  
FOR MEMBERS OF C.W.S.S. ONLY.

Nominations to the Committee, duly proposed and seconded, should reach the Secretary not later than January 25th. The following are standing for re-election: Miss Leonora de Alberti, Miss Barry, Miss Brady, Councillor Ellen Chapman, Miss Gadsby, Miss Jeffery, Mrs. Meynell, Mrs. Walter Roch, Miss O'Sullivan and Miss Whately. The Annual Meeting will take place at the Catholic Association Rooms, 55, Russell Square, 3 p.m., on Saturday, February 10th.

## EMIGRATION.

BY FATHER A. J. VANDEN HEUVEL.

The North Western States of America are an agricultural country and ever will be. Their soil, climate, resources are eminently favourable to agriculture in its several departments. Having no iron nor coal nor navigable waters, their towns will never become industrial centres. They will indeed have a flour mill and creamery and cheese factory, and such industries for which the surrounding country supplies the raw material, but factory towns in the English sense they will never be. The growth and prosperity of the town, to be sure, depends on the spirit of enterprise in its citizens; but this spirit is guided by the extent and prosperity of the farming country tributary to the town. The prosperity of the farmer depends upon the revenue he obtains from the sale of his products—as the manner of living of the farmer improves with his prosperity, creating new wants, so does the town improve, attracting merchants, mechanics, artists prepared to supply these wants.

All this seems like saying twice two are four. Still it is overlooked. I remember a music teacher and a milliner, sisters, nice accomplished girls who settled in a town beginning its first stage of development. Of course they were unhappy, disappointed, there being no call for their talents. However, I managed to find them each a homestead some twelve miles from town, where they settled down to the simple life. Had they selected at first a town in its third stage of development, they would have done well from the start. Still, you may ask, did they not do well as it was, considering that each got 160 acres freehold? To be sure they did, because they had the grit to accept and to make the best of hardships and privations, which are the inevitable lot of the homesteader. Even when the boys build your cabin, supply you with a saddle horse, haul your firewood, dig your well and vie with one another to help and cheer you, your "dear little home in the West" has its shady side. The winter is cold and long, you are alone,

the town is miles away, provisions may run short. But is a girl safe under these conditions? Who would harm her? Wild animals there are none, Indians are in Government Reservations, and the pioneer settlers are apt to be men with fine qualities of heart and head. To no others does a wild and new country appeal; not till they have partly tamed the land and the town has outgrown its second stage of development, does the scum of the frontiersmen drift in.

Homesteading, however, will soon be a thing of the past; don't build hopes in this direction—there are other opportunities, better ones by far, where under favourable conditions the foundations of a fortune can be laid—yes, a fortune. It is easier to-day to make a fortune in America than it was 25 years ago, and this without financial backing, without artificial props. All that is needed is a sound mind and frame, the knowledge of some work and the zeal and perseverance to stick to that work and do it well. There was a time when Americans judged others by results only, and were indifferent to the process whereby results were arrived at. It is not so to-day. Results still count: but of far greater value are truthfulness, honesty, integrity, energy in perfecting one's self in one's own department, a breezy common sense ever exerted in the interest of an employer—this is what leads to fortune. Any woman or girl, though starting at domestic service or some drudgery, has in the North West a fortune within reach.

But what of the girl who has made (as who may not make?) a mistake? Has she an equal chance with the rest? Why not? No one there will inquire into her past or, if it is known, take a severe view of it. By the way I touch my cap to Miss de Alberti for her remarks in the Christmas number. I, too, have no sympathy with the home or parish that will cast off a girl to avoid a so-called scandal. Such "scandals" are dependent for their life and growth on surrounding minds. Where minds are low and

gross and un-Christian "scandals" will strike root and widen as in a receptive soil—where, as in the West or in the Colonies the mind is breezy and bold, "scandals" do not thrive. Nor can I accept the protection theory. It is apparently of no importance that the offenders should carry their dangerous tendencies into families outside the parish.

But to come back to emigration. Who should consider emigration? They and only they who for some reason are dissatisfied with their present condition, who wish to change this condition and improve it. If you are happy as you are, of course, stay where you are. They and only they who can and who will work, for it is only by energy and honest effort that one can hope to succeed. The difference between here and the States or colonies is not that here you must work while there you may idle; but that there all honest work is a key opening to independence and fortune. Where shall I go? Tell me what you are looking for, what you can do and are willing to do. Rather let women be your advisers and guides. Let some woman's organisation, as I suggested in my last article, establish a hostel, headed by some motherly soul, who will welcome the emigrants on their arrival, and give them help and guidance. Here is a field for woman's activity useful and promising. Work it—it is your own.

## THE Y.W.C.A.'S DIRECTORY.

We have received a specimen copy of the Directory of the World's Young Women's Christian Association, in which addresses of Association Homes and referees all over the world are given.

A new edition, price 4d. post free, is issued every January. Separate addresses are given free by letter on receipt of a postcard to the Office Secretary, World's Y.W.C.A., 26, George Street, Hanover Square, London, W., from whom copies of the Directory can also be obtained. The Secretary, in a covering letter, states that many of the cases of distress and difficulty in travelling which have come to the notice of the society, would have been obviated had the women and girls in question known suitable addresses.

## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND PARLIAMENTARY MORALS.

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage has issued a Manifesto on Venereal Disease in its connection with the political disability of women. The pamphlet, written by Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, president of the Federation, is signed by the Executive Committee and by sixteen magistrates of Glasgow, and can be obtained from the Suffrage Societies, or from the Hon. Sec., N.M.F.W.S., 6, Wellington Road, N.W. (price 1d., post free 1½d.). It gives a record of parliamentary action as regards moral laws affecting women and children, and clearly proves that this sorry record of cowardice, injustice and callous indifference is the outcome of the political subjection of women. It is a significant fact that the first contagious disease act was introduced for the "benefit and better protection" of His Majesty's land and sea forces, a few years after the inspection of men in the army had been abolished. It is significant that the House of Lords, not answerable to male electors, has a better record than the Commons. This pamphlet, which should be bought by all suffragists, is intended as an answer to the Home Secretary's Mansion House speech. "The speech, though tentative, and subject to National approval, appears to be heading for the re-introduction in disguise of certain provisions of the loathsome C.D. Acts, and as the Home Secretary has publicly asked for the opinion of the Nation at large, we desire, as a body of enfranchised men and an integral part of the Nation, to be allowed to publicly express our determination to fight to a man and use our votes against the "deep damnation" of the re-introduction of those Acts." . . . We welcome the co-operation of our men friends in our fight against the danger which is hanging over women.

## JUMBLE SALE.

We have not yet received sufficient goods for the jumble sale; we hope members, now that the holidays are over, will look in their cupboards and send in parcels of cast-off clothing, etc., to the office, 55, Berners Street.

## THE CHURCH AND THE WORKER.

Even the enemies of the Church have at times paid tribute to her solicitude for the welfare of the worker and of the poor. Many of us know this in a general kind of way, though we might have some difficulty in expressing it. Mrs. V. M. Crawford's book, "The Church and the Worker" (Catholic Social Guild, 3d. net), based on the celebrated encyclical "On the condition of the working classes," gives a lucid sketch of Catholic teaching on such momentous problems as the relation between employers and employed, the living wage, the right to strike, and so forth. Mrs. Crawford deals with Catholic social action before and after the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, and gives a brief account of the work of the great Bishop Ketteler in his fight for better industrial conditions for the workers of Germany. The writer tells us of the immense impulse given to every kind of Catholic social activity by the publication of the Encyclical. "The Catholic democratic movement, as it came to be called, was accepted henceforth as one aspect at least of the official policy of the Church. The Encyclical became the accepted Charter of the party of social reform, and made its position secure." The great Encyclical cannot be said to deal with women's work, which was not then the acute problem it now is. Indeed, in twenty-five years there has been a revolution in the position of women, a revolution which is still in progress. His Eminence Cardinal Bourne takes note of this change in the preface contributed to Father Bernard Vaughan's life of Blessed Joan of Arc. "We live in an age," writes His Eminence, "when the energies of women are of necessity taking new directions. The old home life is impossible or insufficient for many of them, and they have to go forth abroad to live often solitary lives, to work out a career unaided, and to enter upon precincts which until recent times were confined to the stronger sex. It is useless to ignore this tendency." . . . And since those words were written what further changes have not come about! Mrs. Crawford quotes Cardinal Manning's strong protest against the employment of married women in factories. Everyone, no doubt, would agree that a wife takes on special duties towards

her husband, and children and home, but for her to perform those duties, surely presupposes that the man should be able to perform his. If our social conditions have made it impossible for a man to keep a decent home and maintain his family, is the wife to sit down with folded hands and allow her children to starve, rather than to go out to work? Catholics on the continent in their eagerness to keep women out of factory life, Mrs. Crawford tells us, were inclined to favour home labour, and we know, and they discovered, what that means. They were soon compelled to hold exhibitions of sweated industries. The charming picture of the neat wife working at home with her children round her, does not fit the frame our social conditions have provided.

It is impossible in a necessarily brief review to deal with all the interesting points this text-book raises, but its price brings it within the reach of all. L. DE A.

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