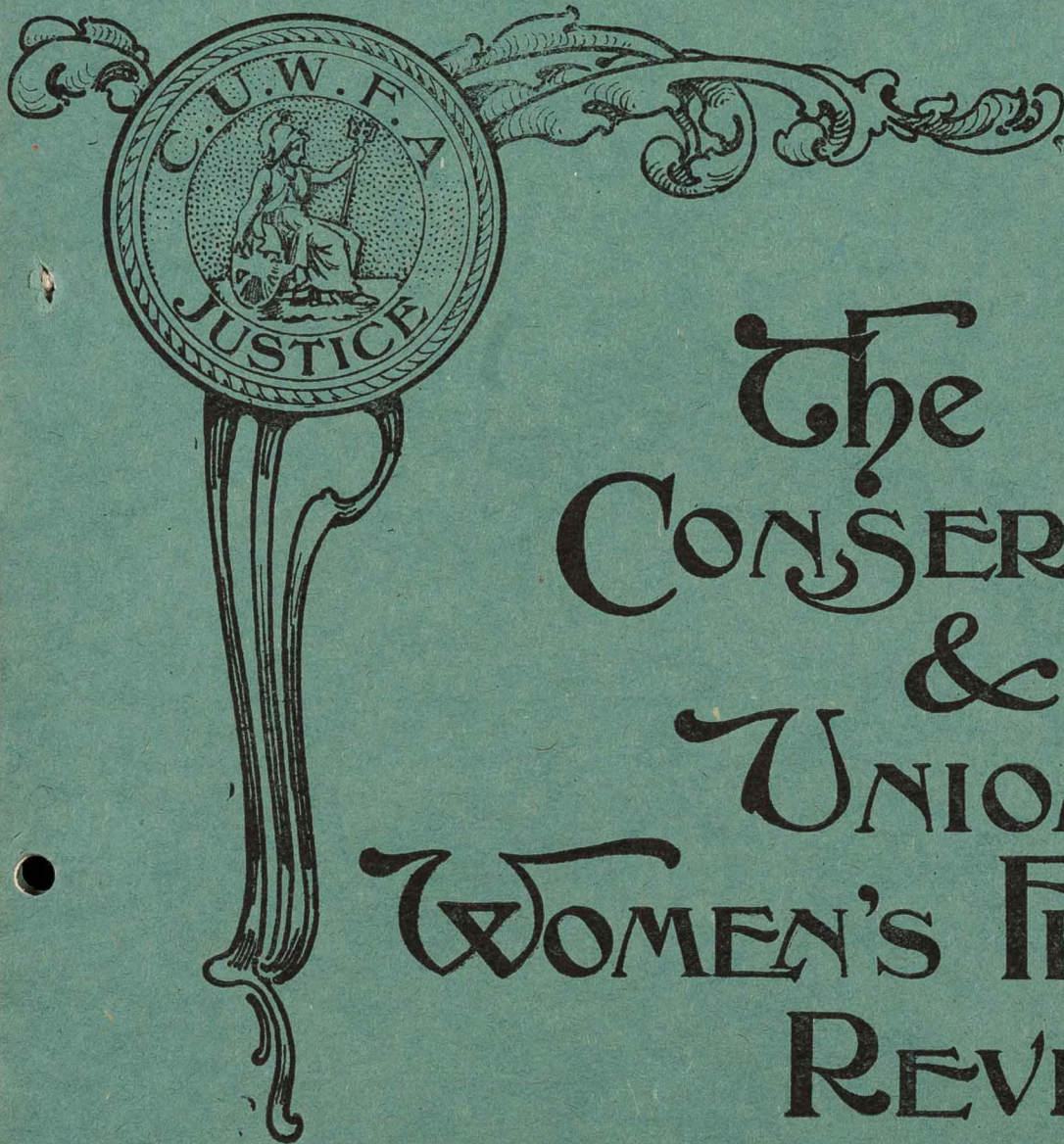


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UNIONIST
WOMEN'S FRANCHISE
REVIEW

Loyalty—Insistency—Moderation.

No. 7.

April, 1911.

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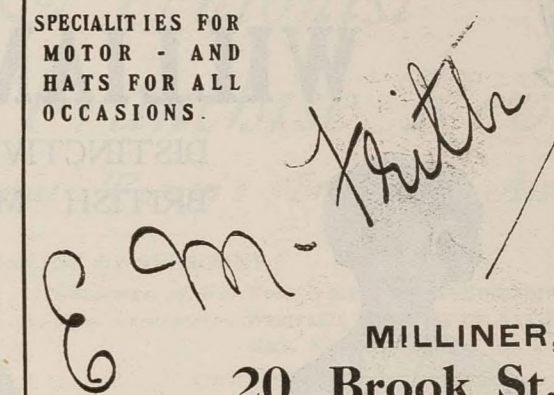
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Some Brief Particulars of the Society.

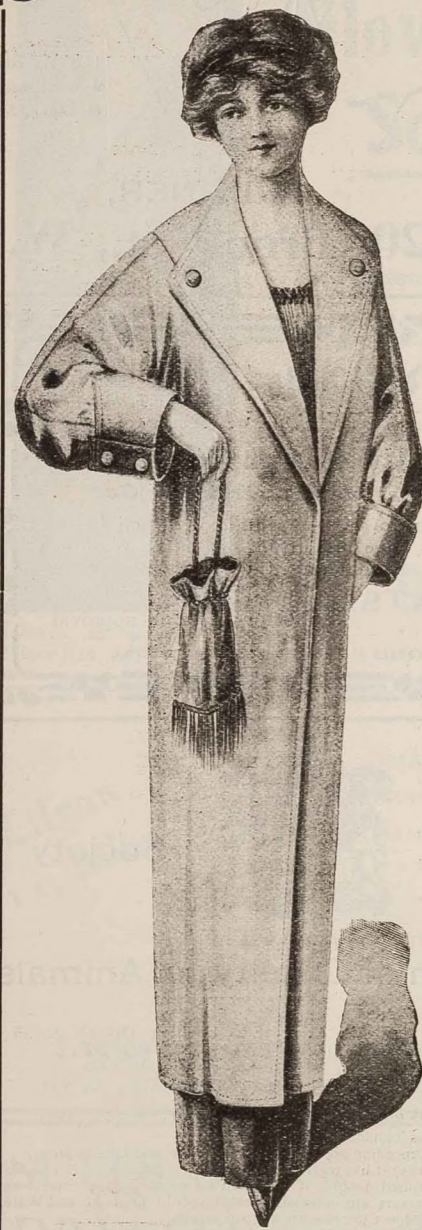
- A. The Society was founded in 1824.
 - B. Its methods of procedure are Punitive, Persuasive, and Educational.
 - C. Since the year 1877 it has registered upwards of 220,000 convictions, but the total should be multiplied tenfold if the cautions given by the Society are reckoned. Over 170 Inspectors are constantly employed in England and Wales alone, in which the Society has 630 branches and auxiliaries.
 - D. The Society holds Annual Essay Competitions on the duty of kindness to animals in the schools of the Metropolis and in the country. It has over 500 Bands of Mercy for Children and young people, and is constantly increasing this work by means of gratis Lectures and Public Addresses. It invites the clergy to preach sermons on kindness to animals on the 4th Sunday after Trinity. It publishes the ANIMAL WORLD and BAND OF MERCY monthly, besides issuing close on 200 pamphlets and leaflets inculcating the duty of kindness to the dumb creation. It is
- SUPPORTED ONLY BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS**
and the Council need every assistance to enable them to continue and increase their humane work, which is both educational and punitive.
The increased operations of the Society have drawn from the funds an amount vastly exceeding the yearly subscriptions. The Council therefore need much greater assistance, and unless such additional support be extended to them this most righteous cause of humanity must suffer.

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The Political Outlook.

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Again, as we go to press, the political atmosphere is filled with uncertainties: again the fate of a Women's Suffrage Bill, still more moderate and unassuming in its proportions than the last, is likely to be balanced, and to depend for success rather than on the free or four clamorous party interests, the carefully weighed judgment of the liberate assembly in the world. We could wish that a less dependent, more unbiased body could deal with our demands. We could wish that the subject might have the serious consideration of Another Place. As Conservatives we have never realised the immense importance of the House of Peers, and the great debt which the story owes that House, till the present moment when the enemies of our constitution are clamouring for its downfall. If it be true that for of years it has been the Lords who have governed the country, how can this but redound to of those who, with all their faults, raised the position among the nations of Christendom? the Lords, led by an English bishop, that men and women owed their personal freedom under the oft-renewed Great Charter; it is to their order that the middle classes first owed political freedom, and the granting of the representation. We call upon all who value liberty and independence of our constitutional system to fight for the men who have fought for them in the centuries that have passed; and we call upon the Lords, when they set their own House in order, to consider whether they may not have the privilege of assisting yet another worthy class of citizens to a freedom they have earned and deserved. We welcome Lord Selborne's fine and courageous words in favour of the enfranchisement of his self-supporting countrywomen, who contribute in such large measure to the well-being of the State. We should prefer to receive our political freedom at the hands of those whose careful judgment has never feared popular clamour, rather than to have it flung at us from the grudging hands of so-called Liberals, like a bone to a troublesome dog. And so convinced are we of the support for a moderate Bill that would be accorded by the silent and moderate voter, that on this matter we should not fear the issue could be placed fairly and squarely before the electors of the country. Few of these would, we believe, show active hostility to our claims, with the exception perhaps of that somewhat retrograde class who are obsessed with so vast a veneration for muscular force, that they will concede the reward of civic liberty only to the sex which furnishes the navy and the coal-miner, while they forget the sex which bears and rears, which nurses and trains the strength of the sons of each successive generation of mankind. May such misogynists learn wisdom with advancing years, till there be none left to earn that ugly title, which, for a woman, has no counterpart in language, since it finds none in her mind!

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The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association consists of members who have paid the subscription of 2s. 6d. per annum in advance. Members who subscribe for the first time are eligible for election to the Women's Council. Badges of Membership one shilling each.

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Mrs. GILBERT SAMUEL
48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, London, W.

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Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

President - THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE.
I desire to become a Member of this Association, and herewith enclose Registration Fee of 1/- and a Subscription of _____

Name _____
Address _____
Hon. Secretary,
Mrs. GILBERT SAMUEL,
48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, London, W.

(1) To form a bond of union between all Conservative and Unionist women who are in favour of the removal of the sex disqualification and the extension of the franchise to all duly-qualified women.
(2) To work for Women's Enfranchisement by Educational and Constitutional methods.
(3) To hold meetings and to arrange for lectures in furtherance of the principles of the Association.
(4) To maintain the principles of the Association and to support any Bill for the enfranchisement of women.
(5) To assist in the election of members to the Women's Council.
(6) To support any Bill for the enfranchisement of women.
(7) To support any Bill for the enfranchisement of women.
(8) To support any Bill for the enfranchisement of women.
(9) To support any Bill for the enfranchisement of women.
(10) To support any Bill for the enfranchisement of women.

† This Association though pledging itself not to oppose any official Unionist Candidate, yet will not work as an Association for any Candidate who is opposed to Women's Franchise.

HARRIET PACKER.

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The Political Outlook.

Again, as we go to press, the political atmosphere is filled with uncertainties: again the fate of a Women's Suffrage Bill, still more moderate and unassuming in its proportions than the last, is likely to hang in the balance, and to depend for success rather on the fortuitous issues of party warfare and the clash of three or four clamorous party interests, than on the carefully weighed judgment of the greatest deliberate assembly in the world.

We could wish that a less dependent, more unbiased body could deal with our demands. We could wish that the subject might have the serious consideration of Another Place. As Conservatives we feel we have never realised the immense importance of the House of Peers, and the great debt which English history owes that House, till the present moment, when the enemies of our constitution are clamouring for its downfall. If it be true that for hundreds of years it has been the Lords who have governed the country, how can this but redound to the credit of those who, with all their faults, raised this same country from an unimportant island to the greatest position among the nations of Christendom? It was to the Lords, led by an English bishop, that English men and women owed their personal freedom, under the oft-renewed Great Charter; it is to one of their order that the middle classes first owed their political freedom, and the granting of the rights of representation. We call upon all who value the stability and independence of our constitutional system to fight for the men who have fought for them in the centuries that have passed; and we call upon the Lords, when they have set their own House in order, to consider whether they may not have the privilege of assisting yet another worthy class of citizens to a freedom they have earned and deserved.

We welcome Lord Selborne's fine and courageous words in favour of the enfranchisement of his self-supporting countrywomen, who contribute in such large measure to the well-being of the State. We should prefer to receive our political freedom at the hands of those whose careful judgment has never feared popular clamour, rather than to have it flung at us from the grudging hands of so-called Liberals, like a bone to a troublesome dog. And so convinced are we of the support for a moderate Bill that would be accorded by the silent and moderate voter, that on this matter we should not fear the issue could it be placed fairly and squarely before the electors of the country. Few of these would, we believe, show active hostility to our claims, with the exception perhaps of that somewhat retrograde class who are obsessed with so vast a veneration for muscular force, that they will concede the reward of civic liberty only to the sex which furnishes the navy and the coal-miner, while they forget the sex which bears and rears, which nurses and trains the strength of the sons of each successive generation of mankind. May such misogynists learn wisdom with advancing years, till there be none left to earn that ugly title, which, for a woman, has no counterpart in language, since it finds none in her mind!

HARRIET PACKER.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.
All Editorial Communications should be sent to the Editor, at the Offices of the Association, and requests for Copies of this paper to the Press Secretary. Letters requiring answers should be accompanied by a stamped envelope. This Review can be obtained through Messrs. W. H. Smith, Messrs. Willing & Co., Messrs. Wyman & Co., Messrs. Marlborough and George Vickers.

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The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association consists of men and women who have qualified for membership by a Registration Fee of one shilling. It is earnestly hoped that members will also subscribe annually towards the expenses of the Association. Subscribers of five shillings or more shall receive notices of public meetings. Members who subscribe not less than one guinea will be eligible for election on the Women's Council. Badges of Membership one shilling each.

OBJECTS.

- To form a bond of union between all Conservatives and Unionists who are in favour of the removal of the sex disqualification and the extension of the Franchise to all duly-qualified women.
- To convince members of the Conservative and Unionist party of the desirability of this policy, and as far as is possible to give active support to official candidates at elections when they are in favour of the Enfranchisement of Women.
- To work for Women's Enfranchisement by Educational and Constitutional methods consistent with Unionist principles.
- To hold meetings and to arrange for lectures in furtherance of the above aims, and to provide literature on the subject.
- To maintain the principles of the Conservative and Unionist party with regard to the basis on which the Franchise should rest and to oppose Universal Suffrage in any form.

The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association is opposed to the demand of a vote for every woman; they only ask that sex should cease to be a disqualification, and that women who fulfil the same conditions as men should enjoy the same political rights and privileges. Under the existing law a man is qualified to exercise the parliamentary vote under following conditions:—

- An owner of freehold estate valued at not less than £5 per annum.
- An occupier of a house or tenement. (The occupier is the person in whose name the house is taken, and he can obtain a vote, however small his rental. But the law allows two or more persons to claim as "joint occupiers" where each pays a rental of not less than £10 a year.)
- A lodger, provided he occupies apartments of the value of not less than 3s. 10d. a week. (The apartments may be furnished or unfurnished, but in either case the minimum rental of 3s. 10d. a week—i.e., £10 a year—is reckoned on the unfurnished value.)
- A University graduate.
- A man whose living rooms are provided as part of his salary, provided his employer does not live on the premises (the service franchise).

† This Association though pledging itself not to oppose any official Unionist Candidate, yet will not work as an Association for any Candidate who is opposed to Women's Franchise.

Our Work.

Central Office Report.

We have been busily engaged at the Central Office, and are feeling encouraged by the steady increase of our work and the gradual widening of its sphere.

Early in January we wrote to all the Unionist M.P.'s favourable to Women's Suffrage to ask them to ballot to secure a date for the Bill. Several replied in the affirmative. The result of the ballot is known to all. Sir George Kemp will move the Bill, and we are hoping that perhaps Mr. C. S. Goldman will second it. We have now seventy-five members in the House on whom we can rely, but there are many "wobblers" and neutrals, on whom every influence possible should be brought to bear before May 5th (the date fixed for the second reading). Even if some of these gentlemen could be persuaded to abstain from voting it would be of great advantage. I should be pleased to give a list of unreliable and uncertain M.P.'s, to any of our readers who think they could assist in any way by writing or interviewing such Members. We shall naturally send a whip to all the reliable members before May 5th, to urge them to be present and support the Bill by every means in their power.

The quarterly Council Meeting of the Association took place at 8, Chesterfield Gardens (by kind permission of Lady Ancaster), on February 21st, and was more than usually well attended. Lady Selborne was in the Chair, and discussions took place on various matters, including the question of the Referendum, New Branches, Meetings, etc.

The Executive Committee have been engaged, amongst many other matters, in the reorganisation of the London Organisation Committee, which is in future to be known as the London Committee, with organising powers for London, and to consist of three members of each London Branch.

We have one new Branch at Droitwich to record, and are laying the foundations for others to be formed at Halifax, Taunton, Filey, Scarborough, and Tonbridge.

Our branches at Cheltenham, East Dorset and New Forest are doing splendid work, as will be seen by their reports, and we are grateful to all the Hon. Secretaries of our many Branches for the great sacrifices they are making on their time and leisure in pushing on our work in their respective centres. Dublin and Hull lead by a long way in numbers and activity. We hope others will soon follow suit! Our West Sussex Branch has just held a large and successful meeting at the Swan Hotel, Petworth, at which Lady Betty Balfour and Sir John Cockburn made most effective speeches.

We deeply regret that in our last issue we omitted to mention a splendid meeting organised and presided over by Mrs. John P. Boyd Carpenter, at St. John's Hall, Penzance, on November 8th, when the audience numbered a thousand, and Lady Betty Balfour and Mr. C. S. Goldman, M.P., the speakers, were very cordially welcomed. We owe a great debt of gratitude to Mrs. John P. Boyd Carpenter for her constant and very material help to our cause.

Our three large meetings at the Curzon Hotel have been most successful. The Hostesses were Lady Rayleigh, Lady Willoughby de Broke, and the Lady Knightley of Fawsley; and among the speakers were Miss N. Boyle, Mrs. Cope, Mrs. Percy Boulnois, Miss Martin, Miss Ruth Young, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. C. S. Goldman, M.P., and Mr. Percy Boulnois.

The six small informal meetings at the Curzon Hotel have also been well attended, and have been presided over by Mrs. Percy Boulnois, Miss Packer, Mrs. Robie Uniacke, Mrs. Victor Veley, Miss Eva Mackenzie, Miss Chadwick, Miss Woods, and Mrs. Coates. The final one will take place on April 4th (4 p.m.) and will be presided over by Mrs. Gray.

Finally I would inform those of our readers who were not present, that our public meeting at the Hotel Cecil on March 9th, with Lord Selborne as the chief speaker, was an unqualified and supreme success. The hall was crowded, and the audience was enthusiastic—as well they might be—at Lord Selborne's magnificent address. Lord Lytton in the chair, proved, as usual, the great and sincere friend he is to our cause; and Mr. Rowland Prothero, Miss Ruth Young, and Lady Betty Balfour spoke most eloquently and effectively. We are so grateful to all, more especially to Lord Selborne for the immense and invaluable service he has rendered to both our Association and the whole Women's Suffrage cause, by having publicly announced his whole-hearted adherence to the movement for the political enfranchisement of women. His speech is reported in this number of the Review. Many prominent people in the political world were present at the meeting, and we hope were converted, and many of our friends gave dinners at the Hotel Cecil before the meeting. Muriel, Lady De La Warr, brought a large party, including Lord Brassey; the Honble. Mrs. William Cecil entertained eighteen guests; Lady Rolleston brought Mrs. Buckle and Mr. and Mrs. Buxton; Lady Selborne brought friends, also Lady Gort, Lady Dillon, Lady Edward Spencer Churchill, and many others. I would add that Lord Robert Cecil, who on this occasion only proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers, was very cordially received by many grateful admirers in the audience.

Finally, I would inform our readers that we have been invited to send a fraternal delegate to the meeting of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, which will be held at Stockholm in June. So far we have no one able to go. If any of our readers could make suggestions regarding a possible delegate, would they kindly communicate with me at the Central Office?

LOUISE GILBERT SAMUEL.

Last year a friend was good enough to offer us a house in Buckinghamshire for a week, and through the energy of Miss Canning and Miss Gertrude Eaton we were able to do excellent propaganda work in the neighbourhood. Should there be other members of the Association who are able to put country houses or cottages at our disposal during the summer months we should be most grateful if they would communicate with the Honorary Secretary. We should also be glad to hear from members who would be willing to undertake the work of organizing meetings in a new district.

Our Organiser's Report.

Early in January I went to Stevenage to meet some ladies interested in Suffrage, and as a result, a meeting is being arranged in April at which Lady Betty Balfour has promised to speak, and it is hoped that a branch may be started for North Herts. On January 20th I spoke at a meeting of the Warwick and Leamington Circle. Most excellent work has been done by this Branch, and it is mainly due to the energy of its President and Hon. Secretaries. Lady Willoughby de Broke is mapping the county into districts, and getting ladies in these different places to be responsible for part of the work. If Presidents in other counties would do the same, the work of the Association would be very much simpler. Owing to the very good work done by Miss Paterson and Miss Margaret Bernard, a new Circle (the East Dorset and New Forest Circle), has been started, and three meetings have already been held, at all of which I spoke. The first was a drawing-room meeting at Wareham, which was followed by a public meeting at the Church House, Parkstone, and a few weeks later another was held at the Literary Institute, Lymington, at which Lady Selborne presided. At all these meetings people seemed interested, and many new members joined. Miss Paterson is working most energetically, and it is hoped that the Branch will soon be a really strong one. On February 27th I spoke at two meetings at Cheltenham, one being held in a drawing-room, and the other at the Conservative Club. Both were very successful, and a large number of members joined. Splendid work is being done in Cheltenham by Miss Kelly, the Hon. Secretary.

Besides this I have spoken at the Belgravia and Chelsea Annual Meeting, and at Croydon for the Branch, and at one or two other meetings, and a good deal of preliminary work has been done with a view to starting branches at Droitwich and other places.

VIOLET MARTIN.

Hon. Treasurer's Report.

The question of finance and of the raising of funds is becoming more and more the pivot upon which the future of the whole Association turns. For funds mean extension of organising powers and the possibility of a ready response to the continual demands that beset us for the holding of meetings and formation of fresh branches throughout the country. It cannot be too strongly urged upon our members that if they want to help the cause and the C. & U. W. F. A. they should devise means for raising of funds in different attractive ways in their immediate circles, by the holding of entertainments, dances, bazaars, &c. These methods not only mean funds for the work, they also mean advertisement, and may again mean education if a short speech can be opportunely included in a programme. And in regard to speeches it may here be remarked that evening entertainments are most useful, as men can attend them more easily, both as speakers and audience. May we ask for the kind consideration on the part of our large body of members of these few suggestions? Individuals continue to give nobly and

repeatedly in response to the continued appeals made from time to time by the Association, but it is often felt at headquarters that the burden is too unequally distributed, and that if we each did a little more we all together might play such a much more important part in the movement and in the Unionist party.

Lady Betty Balfour made a special appeal for funds at the meeting at the Hotel Cecil on March 9th. She promised to give £5 if twenty other members would follow suite. So far we have had kind responses from Mrs. John P. Boyd Carpenter, the Hon. Mrs. Paley, Mrs. M. A. Spielmann, Mrs. Lindsay Watson, and £3 from Mrs. Armar Corry.

We are pleased to be able to announce that the Lady Nina Ogilvie-Grant, the Lady Mary Arkwright, and the Hon. Mrs. Burn have allowed us to add their names to our list of Vice-Presidents. The Hon. Mrs. Eustace Fitzgerald, the Hon. Mrs. Norman Grosvenor, Dr. Lillias Hamilton, Mrs. McLean, Mrs. Micholls, Mrs. Arthur F. Pease, and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge have joined the Women's Council.

We have great hopes of starting a very flourishing Branch at Tonbridge. One of our organisers has been working down there, enjoying the hospitality of Mrs. Venning, one of our members, and we trust Mrs. Venning will consent to be the Hon. Secretary of this prospective branch.

Our readers will be glad to know that our paper continues to be much appreciated, and that its circulation is widening in every direction. We would urge on our members the necessity of obtaining new subscribers. It is most difficult to get adequate accounts of our work and progress into the press, and it is of the utmost importance that the REVIEW, and through it the Association, should be known as widely as possible. An idea was brought forward at the last Council meeting which we commend to everyone. It is that members should take extra copies and send them to friends who are interested but not convinced. Several of our members are doing this. Another method has been adopted by a correspondent who asked for three dozen back numbers, most gladly supplied by the Head Office, and distributed them to as many women householders in her neighbourhood. "The REVIEWS were properly addressed from the local directory to prevent the maids throwing them aside as mere advertisements, and the notice of the local branch and important paragraphs were all marked in red pencil to attract special attention." We quote from the letter our correspondent kindly wrote, in the hope that other members may be induced to follow an excellent example.

Two new leaflets have been passed by the Literature Committee; 'Women's Franchise, A Safeguard against Socialism,' by Mr. Gilbert Samuel; and 'Women's Work in Local Government,' by Miss Chadwick. Both leaflets appeared as articles in earlier numbers of the Review, and they have been reprinted as leaflets in response to a widespread demand.

The Country's Need for Women's Suffrage.

(From a speech by the Earl of Selborne, K.G.,
G.C.M.G.)
March 9th, 1911.

I do not approach this great question from any theoretical point of view. It seems to me when we are dealing with Constitutions, or with the franchise as part of a constitution, theory has little place in this matter-of-fact world. What we have to decide is whether a given proposal will, in practice, be for the advantage of the country or not. If I am in favour of Women's Suffrage it is not, therefore, on grounds of theory; but because, drawing on such experience as I have had, I believe women will be an addition to the strength of the country. All forms of Government have their drawbacks; there is no such thing as a form of government that embodies within itself all the advantages and brings in its train no disadvantages. We believe in Democracy because we are convinced that, for our country at any rate, it has advantages which will preponderate over its disadvantages. One of those disadvantages is this: that A, B, and C are classes enjoying the franchise; they may be trusted on the whole to do complete justice to class D so long as there is no clash of interest between those of A, B, and C, and of unfranchised D. Directly there is such a clash of interest it is inevitable, in a democratic system, that the unrepresented class does not get its full and fair share of consideration.

Now, approaching the question from that general standpoint, and remembering that it has been our national practice to add to our electorate class after class, it seems to me that the burden of proof rests on those who would state an inexorable No to any proposal for adding women to the franchise.

There are two great arguments that loom over every speech delivered against this subject; they always appear sooner or later. One is that women are not fit for the Franchise and the other is that the Franchise would degrade the true womanly character. It might be said that the arguments are mutually self-destructive. The one man says the women would destroy the constitution; and the other says the constitution will destroy the women. But we will not allow them to commit mutual destruction. We will examine them for ourselves. 'Women are not fit for the Franchise'—now the real bottom of that argument is this: that men are so fit that in comparison women are obviously unfit. In my opinion women need not fear the comparison. We know perfectly well that there are many thousands of men who enjoy the Franchise who are not fit. We know there are very many thousands of electors who take very little interest or who understand very little about politics, and we accept that as part of Democracy. We want to get the general opinion of the average man in the street, even if he be not the best, the wisest, or the most intelligent of men. But I am told the average man understands more about politics than the average woman. So he ought to. He has been a voter for all these years. Against his will he has been educated in the matter:—have not the women tried to educate him? Give women the same experience

and the same opportunities, I do not believe the average result will be materially different. It is also said that with women all things are a matter of emotion. I have some experience of men as well as of women, and I would say deliberately from my experience that men as a whole are quite as emotional as women. Although we may have too much emotion, and emotion may be misplaced, yet I do not think politics would be better if there was no emotion.

Then we come to the argument that the franchise would degrade the true womanly character. Taking facts as we find them, and as those who use this argument admit them to be, what do we find? It is a womanly thing for a woman to be a keen politician; it is a womanly thing to write political pamphlets and leaflets; to go on the platform, and to make a speech at a Conservative or Liberal meeting; it is a womanly thing for her to go in any weather, at any time of the day or evening, to canvass a vote in any slum of the city, and to toil the whole polling day to bring men voters to the poll. All that is true womanly work; but how degrading and sad, how ruinous to her character that she should walk into a polling-booth and put a cross on a piece of paper! I understand there are some conscientious and strong opponents of woman's suffrage who go further still in their defence of true womanly work. Not only should a woman do these things in connection with Parliamentary elections, but she is acquiring even more merit if in a Municipal election she goes into the polling-booth and puts her cross on the paper; and she is acquiring a merit that passes words if she takes her place in a Municipal Council. It is right, and a noble example of what a woman should do for her country when she goes through all the turmoil of a municipal election in London, or that she should stand for election; but if she goes into the same polling-booth to put her cross for the Member of Parliament in the same constituency she is degrading her womanly character. I confess that my intelligence is not adequate to the task of comprehending that argument.

I am told that women do not want the vote. I think if you turn up the files of newspapers about the time of the first Reform Bill, and again about the time of the second and third Reform Bills, you will see that one of the stock arguments of the old Tories of the day was that the men whom it was proposed to enfranchise did not want the vote. I have not the least doubt that a great many of them did not. I will assume, for the sake of argument, that the majority of women are indifferent to this question,—is that any reason why a deaf ear should be turned to the arguments of the women who do? And are the women who have made their opinions heard with no uncertain voice so unqualified to express an opinion that their pleading can be safely or fairly disregarded? Think of the Women's Trade Unions who support this movement; of the 15,000 women graduates of the Universities; of the 52,000 women engaged in various fields of public and professional work; of the 538 out of a total of 553 of the registered medical women in the United Kingdom; and 600 women members of local government bodies.

What is our experience elsewhere? I quite agree

Suffrage in Foreign Lands.

AUSTRIA.—Austrian women have at last succeeded in obtaining the Amendment of the Law of Assemblies which forbade women to join political societies or to participate in public meetings. The Law dates from 1848, and excluded 'foreigners,' 'Frauenspersonen,' and minors from membership of any political association. The German, Czechish, and Polish women's suffrage societies of the Austrian Empire have long been agitating for this preliminary reform and are to be congratulated on their new liberty—a liberty of which they are well prepared to avail themselves.

FRANCE.—The suffrage movement is spreading rapidly in France. The membership of the French Woman Suffrage Association has increased at the rate of 500 per cent. during the last twelve months. A meeting of the "Congrès Permanent du Féminisme International" was held recently, when the distinguished woman-barrister, Madame Marie Véroine, laid before the congress a scheme for the reformation of the French laws of divorce. It was decided to discuss the possibility of reforms in women's education in the colonies at the next meeting.

ROUMANIA.—It is interesting to learn from the 'Common Cause' that a Women's Suffrage Society has been formed in this country. One of its principal promoters is M. Alexandre de Stourdza. The reforms he is most anxious to bring about are that married women should be entitled to their own earnings, and that women who have the necessary qualifications should be allowed to plead in court. In Roumania women may practise as doctors and chemists but not as barristers. There is free education in Roumania for both sexes, even at the University.

SERVIA.—The Servian National Women's Suffrage Association, whose President is Madame Milka Voulovitgh, was founded in 1906, and incorporated all the women's associations then existing in the Kingdom. Except with regard to the Parliamentary vote Servian women have practically equal civil rights with men. The State commercial schools are open to men and women on the same terms. The status of the girls' State lycée is identical with that of the boy's schools, the final certificate enabling the students to register at all foreign Universities. The University was opened to women twenty-one years ago, and a large number of women students attend the various faculties. There are women in practically every branch of activity. There are six women doctors, most of them being in the Government service; there is one woman engineer, and recently several women have taken up law at the University.

Their sex bars them from no branch of the civil service, and the State is so anxious to encourage the progress of women that the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs offer annual scholarships to enable girls to be sent to study abroad. The Servian women are ardent patriots; it was they who preserved the national ideals for 500 years when their country languished under Turkish rule.

conditions here are not identical with those in Australia. But after all our kith and kin in crossing the sea are exactly the same as we are, only living under a different star. In Australia women have the vote. Judged by our standard the polls in Australia are very low. That, I think, is to be accounted for largely by the vastness of the country,—the population is far less concentrated than it is here; and we have certainly educated ourselves up to a pitch of interest in politics which has not been surpassed in any other country. I find, taking the three last General Elections in Australia in 1903, 1906 and 1910, that in the first 56 per cent. of the men voted; in the second 57 per cent.; and in the third 68 per cent. of the men. Now take the women. In 1903, 43 per cent. of the women went to the poll; in 1906, 44 per cent.; in 1910, 56 per cent. Thus in 1910 the per centage of women voting was as great as it had been of the men seven years earlier, which shows that the average of interest in public affairs among the women is increasing in exactly the same ratio as it is among the men.

It is often said that women are adequately represented by men who have, especially in recent years, passed many important measures involving acts of justice to women. It is perfectly true. Men will continue to act fairly to women if the separate interests of no class of unrepresented women clashes with the interests of a class of represented men. But there are great questions coming to the fore which affect women vitally, and on which women, as women, do not take exactly the same view that men do, as men; and with the best intentions on the part of men I do not think the questions that centre round the home life and upbringing of children will be as satisfactorily settled by men alone as they would be if women could make their voices heard as well as men.

But I am going to give you the one reason that with me weighs against everything. What I care for most—putting religion aside—is my Country and my home. I believe that the great questions of the future are going to affect more and more the safety of my Country, and the existence and sacredness of the home; and I believe that on both those two great questions not only ought women to be heard, but I believe that they care more deeply than men; and that is my experience drawn not only from the United Kingdom, but from over-seas. If you are to analyse the ultimate feelings of men and women on these two questions, I trust the women's instinct more than I do the men's. I believe that their feelings are deeper, less susceptible of change, less susceptible of conflicting emotion. Because I want to strengthen all the forces in my country that will make her strong in that world-competition that lies before her, and which is going to grow more strenuous from generation to generation; because I believe that the whole of our national life depends upon the existence and solidity of the home, I want to admit into the ranks of voters and the supporters of the country and the home, women whose influence, I believe, will be great to that end. I most firmly believe that giving the vote to women would be establishing the bulwarks of eternal strength, both for the Country and for the home.

The Imperial Aspect of Woman Suffrage.

During the next few months questions dealing with Imperial concerns will be brought before us all. The Imperial Conference and the Pageant of Empire will make even the least imaginative among us realize the greatness and the responsibilities of our inheritance. I should like to dwell specially on the influence of women in Imperial politics, and how it bears on the question of their political enfranchisement.

We are constantly told by our opponents that it is very well for women to have a say in domestic politics, education, health, etc., but that they are incapable of grasping wider Imperial problems; and the consequences will be disastrous if they try to do so. Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon have drawn a lurid picture of the results to the Empire if women were enfranchised; the latter went so far as to assert that Great Britain might put up her shutters if this happened. But I venture to say that these great statesmen, being human, are fallible; and that in this case they are mistaken, for the influence of women would go to strengthen, and not to weaken, Imperial ideals. It is for this reason, if for no other, that we who have the interests of our Empire at heart, are endeavouring to bring home to our leaders the waste of political force which is going on in consequence of withholding the parliamentary vote from qualified women.

The case was brought vividly to my mind the other day, when I was on the platform at a large meeting of the Women's Unionist Association. A member of Parliament and the local Conservative magnates were speaking. The hall was crowded, and as I surveyed the audience I saw that more than two-thirds were women. They were listening with rapt attention; their hearts and souls were in the cause; many of them had been slaving at the last election, and will probably do so at the next. The absurdity of the situation came home to me very forcibly. The speakers flattered us; they told us stories of the tact and discretion with which women canvassers went to work; they dwelt on our patriotism and political insight; they said we had brought the conservative candidate in. Did they realize that if these hundreds of patriotic women had been able to vote for the candidate, his election would have been certain? As it was, their energies were spent in exercising irresponsible influence of a not very exalted kind.

Now there is no doubt that during the last twenty years our political system has become more and more like a machine, inexorably subordinate to a central power. Measures and politics are ground out and ground down according to a hard and fast rule; and the wider Imperial interests are too often lost sight of in the process. Might not the introduction of a new and different element bring a breath of fresh air into the atmosphere? Would this readjustment of the political machine be hurtful to Imperial interests? I think not; for I believe that an admixture of voters who would respond to an appeal made to their higher patriotism would strengthen the hands of those who are working for Imperial unity. That women have

the power of grasping Imperial ideals none who have experience can doubt; for if we look at the membership of any of our great patriotic associations we see that the most devoted and fearless workers are women. Where would the Navy League and the National Service League be without their women members; and yet, these women, though burning with enthusiasm, and devoting their lives to the cause, are practically useless because they have not got the parliamentary vote. Is not this a waste of patriotic power? Would not the hands of the men who are working for these great causes be immeasurably strengthened if the women who are so ably helping them could make their voices heard, as fellow citizens, with equal responsibilities and privileges? It was stated in the *Times* recently that when Lord Kitchener addressed meetings in New Zealand, three-fourths of his audience were women. No criticism was passed, as these women were electors; but here the value of such meetings would be reduced by just that amount.

We have examples of women's Imperial insight in two great associations, founded and organised by women—The Victoria League and the League of Empire—which even under present conditions have rendered incalculable service in strengthening the bonds of Empire. The working of these associations has been carried on patiently and untiringly by women, even through the depressing years of reaction after the South African War, when political agents warned parliamentary candidates that Imperialism was dead for election purposes.

I must not be misunderstood. I do not wish or expect that women should control the destinies of Empire; but I do believe that if women, as well as men, had a voice in the choice of our rulers, these rulers would probably not be afraid to appeal to loftier patriotic feelings; there would also be an element in the electorate less trammelled and fettered by rigid party bonds; and an admixture of voters who would respond to an appeal made to their higher patriotism which would strengthen the bonds of those who are working for Imperial Unity. Recent general elections showed clearly the need of a loftier element in our national life. What were the issues principally placed before the electors? Were they great Imperial questions affecting the honour and dignity of the Empire? Not at all. They were generally questions which would appeal to the personal interests of the average voter. The candidates were compelled by the iron pressure of the electoral machine to confine themselves chiefly to taxes on food and raw material, and the pecuniary advantages to be gained from these taxes. Why? Because the ordinary elector is supposed to be incapable of enthusiasm for the high ideal which calls upon him solely for self-sacrifice and effort. But I believe that our countrymen are quite capable of this high ideal. We have seen their magnificent patriotism in the hour of need; and when they have women as fellow citizens to keep alive the sacred fire, they will realize that if they do not fit themselves to defend the country, the decay of the Empire is certain, whatever the tariff may be. Women's influence will go to strengthen the conception of Empire; not in the Jingo spirit, but in that of duty and self-sacrifice.

MARION CHADWICK.

The Vote—the Key to Women's Sphere.

By MRS. MORGAN DOCKRELL.

(President of the L.C.C. School Mistresses' Union).

We are, for the most part, so immersed in the present agitation for Woman Suffrage, that we do not sufficiently realise that the demand for the vote is not solely a thing of recent date, but is a link in the long chain of the woman movement. The people that talk of "Woman's Sphere" talk folly, for when God Almighty made the world, He put man and woman,—the complement one of the other,—into it, and they divided the work between them. We are told Adam delved and Eve span; but I should not wonder that now and then Eve took a turn at the spade, and Adam tried his hand at spinning, just to vary the monotony. Be that as it may, we do know for certain that as things developed, women more and more became rulers and orderers of the domestic side of the sphere. The baking and brewing, weaving and spinning, distilling and curing, the care of the sick and poor were all in their hands. It was a very happy, healthy share of the world's work, and women were quite contented with it. We sometimes forget how this domestic kingdom was lost to them. Men saw money in it, and they usurped it. So we came by the manufacturing system, in which woman was allowed to play the part of the sweated worker. So far as the poor and sick were concerned, men took them in charge in the poor houses and hospitals, and women were given no place in the management of one or the other.

The reason many women are clamouring for the vote is because it is the key to open the fast-locked doors of the domestic sphere, which men are everywhere mismanaging. Take an example:—On to a Board of Guardians, where men had for years played at domesticity, a woman was elected. At a subsequent meeting the question arose regarding the large amount paid for new socks for the paupers; also for darning the old socks. The woman, with an eye to the ratepayers getting good value in darning, requested that the paupers present might remove their boots. The fact then came to light that they were wearing socks from which the feet had been cut off. We want more women in public life to see to these domestic affairs; and they will bring their knowledge and experience to bear on all such matters when the key of the sphere—the vote—is theirs.

As there has for generations existed a woman movement; so, side by side with it, has also existed an anti-woman's-progress movement. To this party belonged the old woman with the mop, who endeavoured to sweep back the advancing tide. Whenever there has been some big, incoming wave in the tide of women's progress this old woman with the mop has always been in evidence. She invariably adopts the same tactics of denouncing the incoming tide, till, caught by it, she flings away mop and tactics and gaily sails in to share all the advantages of those who have been for so long struggling with

the tide and its accompanying storm and stress. Some of us are old enough to remember the different tides in the woman movement, when the Party with the mop was rampant. Take, for instance, the howl of indignation that she sent up when a woman's club first appeared in London; but now she has her own club, or group of clubs. It is hard to believe the fact that when Florence Nightingale, with her little band, proposed going to nurse the sick and wounded in the Crimea, the Antis were in strong opposition. They said the seat of war was no place for women! We know the sequel. In that campaign of dire muddle and glorious heroism, there was one oasis of order, organisation, and domestic success: the hospital at Scutari, where Florence Nightingale was commander in chief, working on a basis of common-sense and woman's knowledge. In the hospital the men were dying for want of wine, arrowroot, bandages, blankets and other necessaries, locked up in the stores. Red tape would, or could, distribute none of them till redder tape commanded. Florence Nightingale disregarded red tape; she had the stores raided and brought domesticity to bear on that scene of dirt, misery and poor man's shiftless attempts in the same direction. Our army to-day, so far at least as its domestic economy is concerned, would be incalculably improved if women had the vote.

The leisured woman who says she does not want the vote turns her back on her sphere. In that sphere women are working day after day for a killing wage, in order that men may grow rich. Women sitting actually in the shadow of death, are burdened like slaves of old, in the name of honest trade. Individually we are powerless to help these other women; but collectively the vote will be an immense lever with which to lift the pressure from off these most miserable, down-trodden sister-women.

However, neither Parliament nor Antis can stem the great tide of Feminism now surging all round the world; women are again coming into their own; and once more they will be a power for good on the domestic side of all things affecting our country and Empire.

Progress in California and Kansas.

The Suffrage movement is progressing with rapid success in the United States of America. Almost simultaneously news came from California and Kansas that by overwhelming majorities the legislative assemblies had passed amendments to the constitution giving full suffrage to women. In California the Senate passed the amendment by a vote of 33 to 5; the figures in the Assembly being subsequently 65 to 12. The Kansas Senate passed the amendment giving women the right to vote at all elections by a majority of 27 to 17. A similar resolution had already passed the House of Representatives by 94 to 28. Naturally the American suffrage societies are jubilant, especially as there is every reason to anticipate further successes in the near future. In the Montana House of Representatives a woman suffrage amendment to the constitution secured a majority vote, but not the two-thirds majority required to carry it.

Under the Flag.

Women's Suffrage in Canada.

The movement in favour of Women's Suffrage is gaining ground steadily in Canada, and the Association which has been formed to advocate it has increased lately by many new societies, while the public meetings which are being held all over the country are well attended.

The first step was taken in 1883, when Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister, introduced a Bill into the Dominion Parliament containing a clause which granted the vote to unmarried women who have the same qualifications as men. After a heated debate, the clause was rejected. Since that day the Cause has progressed by leaps and bounds, due in a great measure to the energy and organising capacity of the band of brilliant women who are leading it.

Canadian women have long been active in philanthropic work, but it is only recently that they have come to realize that the possession of the Parliamentary Vote is the key to all reforms, and that little can be satisfactorily accomplished without it. Many have therefore devoted their energies to obtaining it, and Bills for the Enfranchisement of Women have been presented to the Dominion Parliament and in nearly all the provincial legislatures, but they have invariably been voted down. Three years ago a petition was circulated in Ontario which obtained nearly 100,000 signatures, representing every shade of political and religious opinion, and a deputation of nearly a thousand members presented it to the Premier, Sir James Whitney. The chief speaker was Doctor Augusta Stowe Gullen, who made a stirring appeal on behalf of the Canadian Women's Suffrage Association, stating that women needed the parliamentary vote to guard their homes and their industrial interests. The reply of the Premier was sympathetic, but unsatisfactory. The Suffragists, however, were not disheartened, and last March several hundred Suffragists again waited upon Sir James Whitney, led by Dr. Gordon, President of the Toronto Suffrage Association, to plead for the right to vote. They have the whole-hearted support of many leading men, and the attitude of the press is also changing, while an active propaganda is being carried on by means of leaflets, lectures and meetings.

A great impetus was given to the movement in June, 1909, when the Quinquennial Gathering of the International Council of Women took place at Toronto. It was attended by delegates from twenty-six different countries, representing sixteen million organised women. The University Convocation Hall was crowded with a vast audience for the Suffrage Meeting, who enthusiastically applauded the stirring speeches made by Dr. Anna Shaw, from America; Mrs. Edwardes, representing Canada; Dr. Alice Solomon, from Germany; the Countess of Aberdeen and others. The resolution—"That the International Council of Women reaffirm its belief in the desirability of women having a right to vote in all countries where a Representative Government exists"—was carried unanimously, amid loud applause.

Last year public headquarters were started at

Yonge Street, Toronto, and on the opening day addresses were given by Doctor Stowe Gullen, Dr. Margaret Gordon and others; the chief speaker was Mrs. Hammond-Bullock, President of the Quebec Suffrage Association, who made an urgent appeal for advanced technical education for women. A strong feeling in favour of the Suffrage also exists among university women, and a college organisation was in progress of formation, though we do not know whether it is yet an accomplished fact; while many of the teachers at Haverger College are ardent Suffragists.

Specially encouraging is a report which reaches us of work done among the clergy in Toronto, who are said to hold adverse views on the question. An invitation to address the Ministerial Association of Toronto, which is made up of clergy of all denominations, was gladly accepted. Fifteen minutes was the time allotted, but at the end there was an unanimous call of "Go on," with the result that over an hour was given to the speaker, and to the discussion that followed, after which a resolution of thanks, coupled with an endorsement of the principles of Women's Suffrage, was presented by one of the clergy present, and carried without a dissentient.

At a meeting of the Dominion Temperance Alliance of Canada, which was attended by about 600 delegates, many of them clergy from various cities in Canada, the subject was also brought forward, and a resolution supporting a Bill to extend the Franchise to Canadian women, then before the Provincial Parliament, was carried unanimously. A number of Toronto clergy, who were present, have since preached sermons in support of Women's Suffrage, and have invited Suffragists to speak on the subject before women's church organisations, at prayer meetings and at young men's clubs.

In April, 1909, a Bill asking for the Parliamentary Franchise for tax-paying widows and spinsters was introduced into the Provincial Legislature of New Brunswick, and was debated for three hours. In the end, fourteen members voted in favour of the Bill and twenty-four against. A deputation of ladies, including the President, Vice-President and Secretary of the New Brunswick Suffrage Society, sat in the Speaker's Gallery during the debate. They also interviewed Cabinet Ministers and conversed privately with each member. Though the Suffragists were disappointed at the result of the division, they felt that a great deal of good had been done for the Cause, for the Legislators cannot now say they have not heard the arguments, or that the subject has not been before the people.

In all provinces of the Dominion, except British Columbia, widows and spinsters, and in some cases married women, have the right to vote in municipal elections, though they may not hold office. They are, however, eligible for appointment on School Boards in most of the provinces, while New Brunswick has passed an Act by which two members of every School Board must be women.

There is little doubt that in a few years, if not sooner, the women of Canada will possess the same rights and privileges in federal and provincial affairs that they already do in municipal.

EVELINE MITFORD.

India.

The Bombay correspondent of *The Times* reported that one of the principal provisions of the rumoured compromise between the Government of India and the owners of the jute and cotton mills over the Indian Factories Bill was to increase the working hours of children. The last official enquiries proved that in the Bombay Presidency and in Bengal, the Factory Law was practically a dead letter, and that 30 to 40 per cent. of the half-time staff were under nine years old, while many children of six and seven were working seven and eight hours daily in the Bengal jute mills. *The Times*, in a leading article, very justly observed that "when the existence of such deplorable conditions is cynically acknowledged there can be little room for any permissible compromise," and "it is surprising that such a proposal should have been entertained at all." *The Times* points out that the women and children mill operatives in India have very few champions; that most of the Indians who sit upon the Viceregal Legislative Council are concerned with the "jute interest," and that the mill operatives of India cannot even look for help to the Labour Party in this country, the members never having made any noticeable attempt to assist Indian Labour. Politicians are apt to forget that India is not inhabited entirely by men. Whoever else the Bengali "patriots" and editors of seditious literature represent, they do not speak for the inarticulate mill operatives aged six and seven, nor even for those of them who have attained the mature and legal age of nine. The amendments to the bill that embodied this "compromise" were lost; but the fact that they were debated in the Legislative Council has served a useful purpose if interest in the system of Factory Inspection in India has been stimulated. Were the Imperial Government responsible to English women electors as well as to men, and were the facts made known to them, some scheme might be devised that would not "break down."

Australia.

The following resolution was recently passed unanimously by the Senate of Federated Australia: "That this Senate is of opinion that the extension of the Suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliaments, on the same terms as to men, has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of elections, and, at the last Federal elections, the women's vote in a majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of Defence and Imperial concern they have proved themselves as far-seeing and as discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all nations enjoying representative government would be well advised in granting votes to women." The Resolution was proposed by Senator Rae in

the Upper House and Dr. Moloney in the Lower House. A Melbourne paper says:—"It was enlightening to listen to the debate; not one Senator had a word to say against women's suffrage, which in pre-suffrage days met with such bitter denunciations and prophesies of appalling disasters in all the State Upper Houses. The old opponents have actually forgotten that they were ever against women having the vote."

The following resolution has been recently passed unanimously by the Women's Political Association of Victoria, with reference to the Government's proposal to permit children of thirteen to be employed in factories:—"That this Association protests strongly against the proposal of the Government to allow children of 13 years to be employed in factories. It is opinion that, instead of being reduced for any reason, the age should be increased, as the children of the community should be protected against being turned into human machines while they are so undeveloped in mind and body."

Tasmania.

The Parliamentary vote was granted to the women of Tasmania in 1904. They take a keen interest in the welfare of the children of the country. A lady of Hobart, Mrs. Edwards, has collected the opinions of American and Canadian authorities on the efficacy of the Curfew Bell in clearing the streets of children at a reasonable hour at night. Various municipal bodies have tried the experiment in many towns and villages of the United States. The general opinion seems to be that the Curfew Law is difficult to enforce and not lastingly effective, especially in large cities.

South Africa.

In our last issue we referred to the debate which recently took place in the Union Parliament of South Africa on mixed marriages. A correspondent has kindly sent us the following letter which she received from a lady in Johannesburg. She says: "The subject of mixed marriages is one which vitally concerns us women in South Africa, and our children in the coming generation. It is our duty to avert by every means in our power the evil results that must ensue should marriage between white and black be legalised by the State. If white and black marry, a race inferior to the white race must result; besides, we should be fostering what would eventually prove to be a grave social and economic danger to the State."

When the Imperial Conference and the Pageant of Empire are absorbing so much public attention it is interesting to remember that a woman, Mrs. Clementina Fessenden, of Hamilton, Ontario, originated the idea of Empire Day which is now so important a feature of the education of the Empire's rising generations. In 1909 the day was observed at home and in the overseas dominions in nearly 55,000 schools, training colleges and institutions with an estimated attendance of 7,500,000 scholars.

The Conciliation Bill.

The text of the new Bill framed by the Conciliation Committee and introduced by Sir George Kemp, M.P., is as follows:—

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2. For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County division.

3. This Act shall be known as the Representation of the People Act, 1911.

The Bill differs from the one that passed its Second Reading last year only in the omission of the words "or of a £10 occupation qualification" which were originally in the first clause after the words "household qualification."

The title of the Bill has been changed from "The Conciliation (Women's Suffrage) Bill" to "a Bill to confer the Parliamentary Franchise upon Women." This alteration has been made to allow the bill to be amended in committee, in order to meet the criticisms of some of its opponents in the last Parliament.

Since the Conciliation Bill was framed last year, Town Councils throughout the United Kingdom have passed resolutions in favour of it. The list, including as it does many of the most important cities in Great Britain and Ireland is interesting evidence of the widespread approval the Bill has excited among those bodies best qualified to judge a measure to enfranchise women municipal voters.

Arbroath.	Inverurie.
Bangor.	Kilmarnock.
Barnsley.	Kilwinning.
Bradford.	Kirkwall.
Brechin.	Leicester.
Broughty Ferry.	Lerwick.
Cardiff.	Limerick.
Cork.	Liverpool.
Cumnock.	Manchester.
Devonport.	North Berwick.
Dover.	Nottingham.
Dublin.	Penrhyn.
Dundee.	Perth.
Fraserburgh.	Preston.
Glasgow.	Saltcoats.
Haddington.	Southport.
Hamilton.	Stoke Newington.
Hawick.	Thurso.
Huddersfield.	West Bromwich.
Hull.	

The electors of the London University have sent an urgent petition to the Prime Minister to grant full facilities for the Bill. The petition bears 18,000 signatures, and includes those of both candidates at the recent election, Sir Phillip Magnus, M.P., and Sir Victor Horsley.

Women Guardians and the Vote.

By CLARA D. RACKHAM, P.L.G.

We may discuss the question of Women Guardians and the Vote from two points of view. We may first consider the actual legislation which deals with the destitute and the need that there is that women should be able to affect such legislation by means of the vote, and we may then go on to consider how the way on to Boards of Guardians would be made easier for women if they had the status of voters and citizens. Even our friends, the Anti-Suffragists, are eager to acknowledge that the administration of the Poor Law is work in which women can give effective help, and yet they would uphold as just and reasonable the fact that women have no voice whatever in legislation dealing with the Poor Law. They would argue that women make good Guardians because the needs of the sick, the aged and the destitute have always made a special appeal to the sympathies of women, and numbers of women by their voluntary work of charity are acquiring the very experience that Poor Law Guardians require. Why is this sympathy and experience to be left on one side when Poor Law Reform is in the air, and the country is to decide between rival methods of grappling with the problem of poverty? Every woman who is engaged in administering the law knows how she and her colleagues are constantly coming up against faulty legislation which hampers them in their work, and it is obvious that legislation of this character—dealing with the needs of the poor and suffering—cannot be effectually remedied without the co-operation of both men and women. Besides the general question of Poor Law Reform there are many minor matters of law, which the Guardian constantly meets with, that betray the one-sided character of much of our legislation.

With regard to Old Age Pensions, it is a real hardship that a woman, born and bred in England, of English parentage, should be disqualified for a pension because she happened years ago to have married a foreigner who died before becoming naturalized. Yet this is what results from the present law, which makes a wife take her husband's nationality. Then, too, the fact that by law the relief granted to the wife is regarded as relief to the husband may press hardly on husband or wife. If the wife be under seventy, and in receipt of relief, the husband cannot claim an Old Age Pension on reaching seventy: this may often result in the wife going without the relief of which she is really in need, so as not to deprive the husband of his pension.

There is again the legal right which a husband possesses to forbid his wife to leave the workhouse, even though she may be capable of earning a livelihood for herself outside. This is an extraordinary instance of the tendency of the English Law to regard a wife simply as part and parcel of her husband. And yet in spite of this tendency how difficult it is for a wife to assert her so-called right of maintenance! If a woman does not receive from her husband enough money to keep herself and her children in health and decency, as long as she and her husband are living together she has absolutely no remedy

Echoes.

The prominence of women in the social activities of the day is one of the most marked features of our time, and everybody takes it as a matter of course, unless someone raises the question of voting. Women are already doing great service in most of our important State and Municipal boards, but they do not know enough to vote. In social service it would be hard to find their equals, but when it comes to voting, the veriest male ruffian is superior. The Church could not exist without them, but they do not know enough to vote. The average wife manages the domestic budget quite as well as the average husband manages his budget, but she does not know enough to vote. It would seem that only a man in whom prejudice has had its perfect work could fail to be ashamed of such a position as this.

The late Dr. Borden Browne, Professor of Philosophy at Boston University.

The only argument entitled to any weight against the fullest concession of a woman's right to choose her own sphere of activity and usefulness, and to evolve its proper limitations, rests on the assumption that woman does not claim any such rights. If she sees fit to navigate vessels, print newspapers, frame laws and select rulers—any or all of these—I know no principle that justifies men in interposing any impediment to her doing so.

Horace Greeley. Letter to the Ohio Convention.

There are, I suppose, many of us who have known the difficulty from time to time of having to run counter to the feelings and the wishes of men who are very dear to us, full of chivalry, and who, in their mistaken chivalry want to save us from soiling our hands with the work of the world. Some of the very best men hold this view, but it is for us to appeal to them, to show them that it is not the truest kindness to us, any more than to any other human being, to allow us to shirk our responsibilities, but rather to help us to fulfil them.

The Countess of Aberdeen.

It is my conviction that the development of a nation will be more natural when men and women are working side by side and for the same interests, and there is hardly any concern of the country in which women do not have the same—in many cases a greater—interest than the men. If it really is a fact—as remarked by the other side—that our political life is not advanced enough for allowing this progress, then it seems to me that we have spent the large sums of money for the education of the people very badly. I cannot believe that the women are less intelligent now than the men were when they were enfranchised.—*The Prime Minister of Denmark, January, 1911.*

"On the cultivation of the minds of women depends the wisdom of men."

—*Sheridan.*

before the law, except to apply to the Guardians, which nearly always means taking herself and her children into the nearest workhouse. The Guardians can then, if they choose, call upon the husband to repay what they have spent upon the wife and children. But what an amount of suffering and privation a woman will go through before she will take such a step as this! And yet we are sometimes told that a reason for the Franchise being confined to men is that a man is compelled by law to support his wife and children. The law is in no hurry to step in until the wife has actually become an expense to the rates. These are some of the legal difficulties which cross the path of the Woman Guardian, and surely in all of them we see an illustration of how much we need the woman's point of view, as well as the man's, in making the laws which both men and women have to keep.

We may now go on to consider the connection between the vote and the election of women as Guardians. We have to-day in England and Wales 1310 women serving on 412 Boards of Guardians. This sounds fairly satisfactory, but we cannot be pleased with our position when we hear that there are 234 Boards which have not a single woman representative. There are even now many difficulties in the way of women becoming Guardians. In many places where the idea is a new one, a woman who comes forward will be told that the Board is no place for women; that public work is unsuitable for her; it is not her sphere. If women were citizens, fellow-voters with men, accustomed to take their place in politics, this prejudice would rapidly disappear and men and women would in time come to work together in administration as a matter of course. The difficulty that a woman has in coming forward is intensified in localities where the elections are run on strictly party lines. Women are not within the political parties at present, however much work they may do for them, and a woman is not an obvious candidate for any party to put up. In many places her chances as a non-party candidate will be very small. Of course, we know that women often do stand and are elected, on party lines, but it remains no less true that, speaking generally, the fact that women are outside the party machine constitutes a serious hindrance to their taking their proper share in administrative work. The door into the field of local government is only half opened for women yet, and the vote will be a powerful factor in throwing it open wide.

The women graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, have addressed a petition to the members for Dublin University, the Right Hon. T. H. Campbell, K.C., and the Right Hon. Sir Edward Carson, K.C., requesting that they should move and support an amendment to the Conciliation Bill extending the franchise to women holding the M.A., or higher degrees. The petition, which is largely signed, concludes: "We especially think that the vote is a desirable protection for unrepresented professional women. University women are particularly interested in the laws relating to education and the medical and legal professions."

Pioneer Women.

FREDERIKA BREMER.
1801—1865.

When the Sixth Conference of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance is meeting in Stockholm this summer many thoughts will dwell on the memory of Frederika Bremer, the Swedish pioneer whose genius effected a real emancipation of her fellow-countrywomen. Although she won fame in every civilized country as a writer, yet she is even more honoured as a reformer and philanthropist.

Her elder sister has drawn a vivid picture of their childhood spent on their father's estate at Arsta, twenty miles from Stockholm. Madame Bremer held rigorous theories about children. The injunction she gave their governess was that they were to be kept in perfect ignorance of all evil, and that they were to learn as much and eat as little as possible. The little girls were deliberately underfed and insufficiently clothed; their mother was afraid of their growing up inelegantly tall and healthy.

The future authoress was a lively, restless child, and mischievous, as only imaginative children know how to be. But when she was still a naughty baby who would never stand still to be dressed, she was a writer and a champion of her sex. In a copy-book her sister found some verses devoid of all punctuation, the opening lines of which may be translated:—"Can man not learn the art of saving

Could not the stronger sex be taught
Not from their poor wives all help craving
To save their wages as they ought."

Their author was probably about five years old, for at the age of eight she had written French verses to the moon, and at ten she began an ambitious poem, entitled "The Creation of the World." When the Napoleonic wars drew the Swedish army to Germany to fight under Bernadotte, Frederika, aged twelve, wept because she had not been born a man; and twice she ran away, hoping that some chance-met person on the road might forward her design of fighting for her country by taking her to Germany. As she met no one she returned dispirited, and confided her schemes to her properly appalled sister.

When the children grew older the Bremer family migrated to Stockholm every winter, and there the sisters led a life of confinement that irked them all, but was torture to the restless spirit of Frederika. They were not allowed out of the house. Their mother refused their request to be permitted to go out for a walk twice a week, saying that if they needed exercise they could hold on to the back of a chair and jump. The more docile daughter carried out this recommendation; Frederika cried herself to sleep. Their monotonous life continued for years. A pathetic entry in Frederika's diary in 1823 says, "I am only twenty-two, and yet I am often tired of the world and wish I was taken from it. But then we do lead a very dull life." In that year her sister Agatha was ill and Frederika was allowed to stay at Arsta to nurse her. She escaped the dreary winter in Stockholm and

rejoiced in her liberty to read and write and roam about the country. She also amused herself by studying medicine—and dispensing drugs of her own composition. In this pastime she seems to have been attended by peculiar luck; it is recorded that she inadvertently gave a strong toothache tincture to an old peasant woman who came to her for a remedy for sore eyes,—and that the patient was cured by it.

Her first book, "Sketches of Every-day Life," she published anonymously. It was an immediate success. "The Neighbours," "Nina," "The President's Daughters," etc., followed and brought her fame and personal freedom. At the age of thirty she was prosperous and independent, she had won her liberty to work for the causes dearest to her,—the alteration of the Swedish law that kept women as legal minors all their lives, and the education of women and their right to teach in the National Schools. In the meantime her works won her popularity. In 1831 the Swedish Academy awarded her a gold medal, and in 1844 they gave her the large gold medal—the highest distinction it was in their power to offer her.

"Hertha," the novel that raised such violent public feeling, was not published until 1852. It was a passionate protest against the absurd injustices of the Swedish law, a poignant appeal for the rights of women. Perhaps the most moving scene in the book is when Hertha tells her sister of her thoughts of going to plead her cause with King Oscar:—"I should say—Your Majesty! grant us freedom, grant us the right over our own souls, our lives, our property, our future, and we will serve you and our country and all that is good with all our heart and all our soul and with all our powers as only they who are free can do!" The book raised a storm of indignation; yet none of her pictures of Swedish life had rung more true. When, as a result of Miss Bremer's work, many courses of instruction hitherto closed to women were unlocked, it was prophesied that women were not ready for their emancipation and would not avail themselves of their new opportunities; but immediately many young girls most joyfully came forward, and to all such pioneers Miss Bremer's kindness was unflagging. She took a personal affectionate interest in the many "little vessels she launched on the waters of life and piloted so wisely." The law was altered; women inherited their own property at twenty-five. And in 1859 women were allowed to teach in the National Schools. Two years later the Seminarium, the first training college for women teachers, was opened by private enterprise, and was endowed by the Swedish Government in 1864. Miss Bremer found time to be actively interested in prison reform, a school for deaf and dumb children, an asylum for poor old women and a home for friendless girls—in fact her help was sought by all, and was never refused. Hans Andersen said of her, "She is a noble woman and a true poet." At the end of her book, "The Neighbours," are words that seem to epitomise her message—"Above all things, my dear daughters, remember that you are human beings. Be good, love the truth, and you will conquer life. Should one of you fall, let her immediately determine to rise again." OLGA HARTLEY.

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance Conference.

At the sixth conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance which meets at Stockholm on June 12th the following twenty-two countries will be represented by delegates:—

Australia.	Holland.
Austria.	Hungary.
Belgium.	Iceland.
Bohemia.	Italy.
Bulgaria.	Norway.
Canada.	Russia.
Denmark.	Servia.
Finland.	South Africa.
France.	Sweden.
Germany.	Switzerland.
Great Britain.	United States

The Conference will last for five days, and the business meetings will be held in the banqueting hall of the Grand Hotel. The price of the tickets is 5 crowns (about 5 shillings). Messrs. Goode and Sons, of Hull, are advertising cheap fares to Stockholm for the Congress. Detailed information about hotels, recommended by the Hospitality Committee, will be found in the March number of 'Jus Suffragii.' Applications for rooms may be addressed to Frk. Fanny Petterson, Schéelegatan, 15, Stockholm, and should be inscribed 'Hospitality Committee.' Delegates and Visitors to the Congress can register their address "Rösträttskongressen," Stockholm.

Concerning Women.

The statistics issued in February by the Poor Law Commission (Appendix Volume XXV. [Cd. 5079]) contain figures that are of special interest to women. A rough analysis shows that half our paupers are women, one quarter are children, one quarter are men. Only one-fifth of the adult paupers are classified as "ordinarily able bodied," but nearly two-thirds of these are women, and only one-third men. The statistics of occupations are illuminating; less than half the women paupers have been engaged in industrial occupations. The rate of adult female pauperism is highest in the occupations of charring, washing, laundry-work and sewing. We hope these statistics will give food for reflection to the empirical politicians and doctrinaires who would sweep women from the industrial market to overcrowd the ill-paid ranks of those from whom so large a proportion of our paupers are recruited.

Madame Pauline Kergomard has awarded the cross of the Legion of Honour in December last. She is the second woman to receive this distinction, the philanthropic Madame Fustado Heine being the first. Now nine crosses of the Legion have been reserved for women inspectors, schoolmistresses, and directors of schools. Madame Kergomard has been working for fifty years; in 1879 she was appointed to the post of General Inspector of Maternal Schools. She has written a great deal on the subject of women's education.

It is little realized in England how great is the number of women wage-earners in Germany and France. While the employment of German men has increased 20 per cent. during the last twelve years, the employment of women has increased 57 per cent., and a full third of the economic labour of the Empire is now being carried on by them. In France the number of women employed by the State alone is 115,000, of whom 6,000 are on the railways, 17,000 in the Postal service, and 12,000 in the State Factories. According to the census of 1896, 55 per cent. of the wage-earners of Paris are women.

The Report of the French Commission on Woman Suffrage is favourable to suffragists. The Municipal Franchise which will probably be conferred on French women this year carries with it the privilege of electing the Senate, and as women will be eligible as electors to sit on the Municipal Councils, on the District Councils, and on the Council General, they will also be eligible as senatorial delegates.

The assertion so frequently made that women do not value or use their parliamentary vote is constantly being disproved. The latest election statistics from Colorado show that out of a total of 35,620 women registered, 29,084 voted; on the same occasion the total number of men voters was 41,540, of whom 36,891 voted.

In the recent municipal elections in Sweden, thirty-five women have been elected town councillors. They comprise 18 Liberals, 9 Conservatives, 3 Socialists. Several women stood independently of all parties, and one was nominated jointly by Conservatives and Liberals. All are prominent suffragists.

In Norway the political parties nominated more women than usual for municipal offices last year. Conservative women in Christiania have started a large political club.

If the recommendations of the Royal Commission are adopted by the State Government, West Australia will have the first free University within the British Empire. The Commission recommends that the men and women entering the proposed university shall have equal rights and privileges in all respects. The women's organisations will take care that that includes representation in the Senate and in the Council.

At the annual meeting of the Association of University Women Teachers, held recently, the following resolution was passed with only one dissentient:—"That this association is of the opinion that the direct and effective influence of women in educational policy and administration can never be secured without the Parliamentary franchise, and that the need of such influence is especially urgent at the present time, as lines of policy are being laid down which must vitally affect the welfare of the country for more than a generation. The association, therefore, urges the Government to pass into law a Women's Suffrage Bill next session."

Literature and the Press.

A SHORT HISTORY OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS. By Eugene A. Hecker. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 5/-).

Mr. Hecker has written a very interesting book. Though it is primarily intended to promote the complete enfranchisement of women in the United States, it will be read with profit and enthusiasm by all who are working for the same cause in other lands. In the United States there has been the same inveterate opposition, "violent, loud, and often scurrilous," to the better education of girls and women, to the opening up of the professions, and to the demand for an equal moral standard for men and women. However Anti-Suffragists may attempt to cloak their real opinions, their arguments rest upon an assumption that the natural inferiority of women condemns them to a state of subjection.

The historical aspect of the present legal status of women is admirably treated in the first half of the book. Mr. Hecker sums up the position of women under Roman Law, and then shows how the teaching of the Fathers about women—which was emphatically not the teaching of the Gospels—subsequently depressed their status under the Canon Law. The Canon Law influenced the laws of Western Europe, and thus the institutions of the United States, which were based on those of England, had their origin in a remote past. The movement for Women's Rights in the United States received a powerful impetus from the vast number of women who were engaged in the Anti-Slavery agitation, and we read with sorrow that when the World's Anti-Slavery Convention met in London, in 1840, the American women delegates were not allowed to take any part in the proceedings. However, the direct result of that injustice was the holding of the first Women's Rights Convention in the United States. In a series of tables Mr. Hecker has set forth the present status of women in all the different States of the Union. Our Anti-Suffragists are ever insisting on the favoured position of English women, and it may surprise them to learn that ten years before the first Married Women's Property Act was passed, the married women in the State of New York were given complete control of their property, and that husband and wife were made *joint* guardians of their children. Half a century later English women feel it an intolerable grievance that the husband is the sole legal guardian of the children during his wife's life. In his concluding chapter Mr. Hecker demolishes the Anti-Suffrage arguments, and puts forward a very powerful plea for the granting of equal suffrage. He urges that the double standard of morality must be gradually abolished, that women shall be given the full right to enter any profession or business which they may desire, and that they shall be trained as fellow-citizens devoted to the common task of advancing the ideals of the nation to their goal.

We trust that in a second edition Mr. Hecker will correct the curious error into which he has fallen by including such well-known leaders of the Constitutional Suffragists as Miss Emily Davies, Mrs. Snowden, and Lady Grove among the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union.

WOMAN AND LABOUR. By Olive Schreiner (Fisher Unwin, 1911, 8s. 6d. net).

This book is not, as its title would most probably suggest, a study of the economic aspect of the Suffrage question, but it is a passionate outburst of sympathy with those who are working for the enfranchisement of women. The sum total of Miss Schreiner's expression of opinion is that the whole field of labour should be opened to women. The circumstances under which the book has now been produced disarm criticism; it is only a fragment of a larger work which was burnt during the South African war, and even this was re-written at that time—when Miss Schreiner was living in an up-country hamlet in a single room of a little house guarded by natives. We do not recognise the claim of the author to have expounded the philosophy underlying the movement; nevertheless we are grateful to Miss Schreiner for the strong emphasis which she has laid upon the dignity of labour. The prejudice against women earning their own living in the upper and middle classes is gradually disappearing, but we fear that there are still many women who cherish the belief that it is more dignified to be a burden on their nearest male relation than to work for themselves. R.G.

GREAT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, by Edwin E. Slosson (Macmillan and Co., 10s. 6d. net).

This book gives us interesting information on the higher education of American women. We learn that Harvard allows them to take the M.A. degree, but withholds the fact that they work for the doctorate in several departments. Yale admits women to the Graduate Course for their Ph. D., but refuses to grant the M.A. It is a pleasure to turn to Stanford University and to read the founder's broadminded ideas. "We deem it of the first importance that the education of both sexes should be equally full and complete, varied only as nature dictates. The rights of one sex, political or otherwise, are the same as those of the other sex, and this equality of rights ought to be fully recognised."

The information given regarding the women in the University of California is most instructive. The author admits that they do better work than men; which fact, he thinks, is due more to their faithfulness to study than to any superiority in natural ability. They never allow outside interests to interfere with their work. Another most interesting fact, and one which we can use against the opponents of the higher education of women, is that as a rule they are better in health than the men. During the year 1907-8, 40 per cent. of the men and 35 per cent. of the women in California University were excused from classes on account of illness. The male students lost on the average 4.8 days apiece from illness, and the women 2.0 days. Women are welcomed and well treated in the University of Minnesota, and there are over fourteen thousand women studying there—a larger number than in any women's college in the United States. In the colleges of Science, Literature, and Art—the College proper—the women outnumber the men by two to

one. The spirit of equality is dominant throughout the University, and there are sixteen women professors. In the Junior College of the University of Chicago, the proportion of men failing wholly or partly is twice as great as the women. In 1906 20 per cent. of the women and 9 per cent. of the men gained honours in particular departments of the Senior College; while 43 per cent. of all the women and 19 per cent. of all the men were honourably mentioned in graduating.

The book contains a fund of information which will prove invaluable to all who are working for the intellectual advancement of women. E.B.M.

In our last number we mentioned that Mr. Cecil Chapman's book "Marriage and Divorce" was about to be published by Messrs. Nutt. It can now be obtained at all booksellers, price 2/-, and will be found to be a valuable addition to our knowledge of the subject. It has received excellent notices in the leading papers, and we much regret that want of space prevents our reviewing it in this number, but we hope to do so at length in our next. Mr. Chapman is such a staunch friend to us and we have been so often privileged to hear his excellent speeches that we are sure our readers will be glad to have his book on this important subject, and the price puts it within the reach of all.

The Englishwoman steadily maintains its high standard of interest and variety. The March number contains an excellent article on "White Women in South Africa," dealing with the Black Peril, and pointing out that the enfranchisement of the women of South Africa must be a determining factor in the ultimate elimination of the evil. The problem of "State children" is the subject of sympathetic treatment by Mrs. March, and there is a most sensible article on "Women and the legal profession," by a solicitor, who is strongly in favour of the removal of the existing disabilities. Among the articles in the April number are "Women and the Census," by James Haslam, "Eurasian Women in India," by Magdalen Tabor, "Women's Work in a Sub-Post Office," by Mrs. Fausset, and "the Theory of Feminism," by Francis Toye.

We have received a copy of "Life and Labor," the official organ of the National Women's Trade Union League of America. It is edited by Miss Alice Henry, published monthly at Chicago, and contains interesting articles on women's economic position in America, as well as news of the suffrage movement which it strongly supports. Its price is 10 cents, and it is well-written and well printed.

The Belgian Society for Improving the Condition of Women has started a new paper to urge the better education of girls, the repeal of many laws that press unfairly on women, the improvement of women's wages and the admission of women into many bodies from which they are at present excluded.

We do not know whether our readers are aware of the fact that papers advocating the woman's movement are in existence both in South Africa and Australia. The Women's Enfranchisement League of South Africa has an organ of its own, entitled, "Modern Woman in South Africa." It is published weekly in Johannesburg, and edited by Miss Nina Boyle who is now in England and who has kindly spoken for us on various occasions. "The Woman Voter," published monthly in Melbourne, price one penny, is the organ of the Women's Political Association. The editor is Miss Vida Goldstein, one of the foremost women in Australia, who has also come over to England this spring.

The newly enfranchised women of Washington, U.S.A., are publishing a new monthly political paper, "The Western Woman Voter."

M. Joran's book "Les Féministes avant le Féminisme" is an interesting account of the ideals of women of former times. The first chapter is devoted to Christine de Pisan and her book, "Le Trésor de la Cité de Dames," written between 1399 and 1405. Five hundred years ago this book, written by a woman, for women apparently, assumed an adequate knowledge of economics, agriculture and finance, on the part of women of various classes.

The Suffrage Movement abroad has been strengthened recently by the publication of some good literature. The Swedish Suffragists are rejoicing in the appearance of a novel by Elin Wagner, entitled "Pennskaftet"; which tells, in wise and moderate words, of the life and work of a woman devoted to the Suffrage Cause.

The Prussian W.S.A. has issued an important leaflet by Dr. Elizabeth Altmann-Gottheiner, which shews the necessity for professional women to be represented on the trades boards, now that the number of women engaged in earning their own living is increasing so greatly, and that their rights in various directions are beginning to be recognised. The leaflet can be obtained for 0.20 mk. at 58, Fasanenstrasse, Berlin.

The Moscow branch of the Russian League for Women's Rights is very active. It has published 7,000 leaflets addressed to ten women's University courses and high schools. It is collecting a library of books on questions concerning women, organizing lectures, and has an economic section which is amassing information and statistics about the conditions under which women students work and live.

The Russian writer, Mme. Anna Kalmanovitch, has just published an illustrated pamphlet, giving a general review of the Suffrage Movement, and dealing specially with the history of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance and the position in England. The interest of the pamphlet is enhanced by portraits of leading Suffrage workers.

Notes and Comments.

The December daily papers published a statement that Senator Hecker, of Denver, had given notice of his intention to introduce a Bill repealing the grant of Women's Suffrage in Colorado. It was asserted that he had interviewed 600 representative women, of whom no fewer than 520 were opposed to Women's Suffrage (*Daily Mail*, 29th December, 1910). This statement was eagerly accepted and was repeated by Anti-Suffrage speakers at their meetings and in debates. *The Woman's Journal* of January 14th contains the following information:—"Senator John Hecker, of Colorado, who was said to be intending to introduce a bill for the repeal of Woman Suffrage has come out in the Denver papers with a flat denial. He says: 'There is not a word of truth in these stories. I have never drafted a bill affecting Woman's Suffrage. I have never promised to introduce such a bill. I do not believe such a bill is in existence. I do not think the question will be raised in the approaching legislature, and even if such a bill were introduced I do not believe there is a sane man who thinks it would have a chance of passing.'" Senator Hecker admits that he is opposed to Woman Suffrage, and this makes more significant his acknowledgment that there is not "the ghost of a chance" of its being repealed. Yet Mr. Hecker's alleged intention to introduce such a bill has been telegraphed to the press all over the country, and not one in a hundred of the papers that published the lie will take the trouble to publish the correction.

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We regret Mr. Winston Churchill's reply to the Conciliation Committee's demand for an enquiry into the conduct of the police on the occasion of the deputation to the House last November. The evidence of responsible and independent witnesses was known to the Home Office the next day—and the facts were not then disputed. Any discussion of "militant tactics" is irrelevant to the issue. It is the duty of the police to arrest law-breakers; it is not their duty to assault them before or after their arrest. The fact that the Government has refused to allow the mass of evidence to be investigated, and prefers to leave the allegations unanswered, means that they assume the power of outlawing any agitators whose political views are distasteful to them and whose resentment is not dangerous. The matter is one more proof of the utter political helplessness of women, as Lord Robert Cecil has pointed out. There is not a woman's organization that would not have wished the facts to be publicly investigated.

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Governor Marion E. Hay, of Washington, has refused to recommend to the Legislature a Bill to exempt women from jury duty. He said: "Ladies who recently served on a jury here, the first since suffrage took effect, are earnest and sincere in their belief that women should serve on juries. The trial judge of the case praised their services highly, and urged that women jurors be generally called upon. I have been advised that prominent women of the State generally favour service on juries, and I shall make no recommendation otherwise."

There was an illuminating discussion at a recent meeting of the Metropolitan Water Board, over the recommendation of the General Purposes Committee that women clerks should be appointed to set up a system of card-indexing. The Committee had ascertained that the desired system had been adopted by women's organizations with striking success, and that women-clerks trained by women for this branch of work were most satisfactorily employed at the Bank of England and elsewhere. A member opposed the recommendation on the grounds that women's labour ought to be discouraged, but it was carried by a large majority; one of its supporters mentioned that the experience of his firm was most favourable, as women "added tone to an office, and young men learned to be gentlemen." When the debate turned to the question of remuneration, it is distressing to record that the members who were in favour of giving the women clerks adequate salaries were out-voted, and that the Board decided to offer juniors £50, rising to £78; seniors £78, rising to £91; and the Superintendent £90, rising to £120; and this was after paying sincere tributes to women's competence, training, and skill in this work.

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The Cardiff Conservative Association has decided that women ward workers shall receive invitations to be present at its meetings when candidates are chosen, and that they shall vote at these meetings.

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We congratulate the Kent Education Committee in appointing a woman attendance officer. Every-one who knows the risks ailing children run by being sent long distances to school in bad weather, will welcome the appointment of an experienced woman to such a post. We hope that other Education Committees will follow such a sensible precedent, and we trust the salary is the same that would have been given to a man.

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The assertion so frequently made by Anti-Suffragists that Woman Suffrage has some mysteriously deleterious effect on the marriage and birth rates is constantly disproved by statistics. The latest statistics from South Australia prove that the number of marriages there during the quarter ending December 31st, 1910, was the highest ever recorded for that portion of any year, the figures showing an increase of about 11 per cent. over the same period in the previous year, while the birth-rate for the same quarter was higher than it has been in any year since 1892.

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The new address of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage is 159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

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It is interesting to compare the figures quoted in our article entitled "Women and Crime" with the Poor Law Commission statistics given on page 112. We find that while half our paupers are women and only one quarter are men, four-fifths of our criminals are men, only one-fifth are women. In spite of there being twice as much poverty among women there seems to be a great deal more honesty.

Women and Crime.

The Blue Book which has lately been issued by the Home Office on the Criminal Statistics for 1909 contains a fund of information of value to speakers and writers on Women's Suffrage. It is sad reading, for it tells us that criminality in England has steadily increased during the present century. The statistics, and the interesting preface to them, written by Mr. Simpson, the Chief Clerk to the Home Office, have been widely commented on by the press; one point, however, has been generally ignored, and yet it cannot have failed to have attracted the attention of anyone who studied—even cursorily—the volume now before us. I refer to the extraordinary difference in the number of women criminals as compared with the men. This difference begins in early life with the admissions into the reformatories and industrial schools on orders of detention; and we find that the twenty-seven reformatory schools for boys received 1,150 inmates during 1909 and the nine for girls only 121; while the 68 boys' industrial schools admitted 2,081 to 589 in the 43 schools for girls of the same class. With reference to the Reformatory Schools for girls, the *Englishwoman* for March draws attention to the absence of any feminine control in their management, although they are maintained out of the public funds to which women are obliged to contribute. It is said that not a single controlling committee in England has a woman sitting on it, and these Committees are responsible for the schools to Inspectors appointed by the Home Office, of whom only one is a woman. *The Englishwoman* points out the great disadvantages which must result from having such a responsible body composed solely of men, however conscientious and well-meaning they may be. We should have thought that a committee composed entirely of women would have been more suitable and of greater use in dealing with girl offenders. The number of girls tried by the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction for indictable offences in 1909 was 11, against 293 boys.

The tables referring to adult criminals are most instructive. From these we learn that 177,471 men were received into the prisons, as against 43,729 women. Shop-breaking seems to be an almost exclusively masculine crime, for 1,102 men were convicted and only five women; this is the second largest class in the tables, the highest number of convictions for any crime being for simple and minor larcenies, when 2,879 men were sentenced and 168 women.

Very instructive also are the statistics which deal with the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. The number of indictable offences dealt with by these courts form nearly 80 per cent. of the total. From them we learn that thieving is far commoner among male than female servants, 1,365 men being convicted and only 284 women. These figures are significant when we remember how many more women servants there are than men. Cruelty to animals is a common charge against men; the tables tell us that 3,057 men were tried for this offence and only 15 women.

Begging is steadily increasing; here also the difference is great between the sexes, 22,207 men being tried to 1,225.

Branch News

Bath.—A Suffrage Debating Society has been started in Bath, the members being drawn from the three Suffrage Societies here. It meets about once in three weeks to discuss the various aspects of the Suffrage cause, and affords a valuable training for speakers.—(MRS.) MARY A. WALLER (*Hon. Sec.*), 29, *Sion Hill, Bath.*

***Bridge of Allan.**—*Hon. Sec.*, MISS G. MEARES, *Kilronan, Bridge of Allan.*

Bristol.—An interesting debate took place at the Colston Hall, on February 17th, between Mrs. Swanwick, Editor of the "Common Cause," and Mrs. Colquhoun, of the Anti-Suffrage League. Members of our Branch attended, and we are glad to say the vote in favour of the Suffrage was carried by a large majority. On the 27th a Debate was held at the Men's Junior Conservative Club in Redland. Mr. P. J. Hannon (who contested Bristol East at the last Election) spoke exceedingly well in favour of the Conciliation Bill, and Miss E. H. Smith and others supported him. The resolution was carried.—(MRS.) N. MARDON, (MISS) E. H. SMITH (*Hon. Secs.*), *Richmond House, Clifton Hill, Bristol.*

Cheltenham.—This branch is growing rapidly and we have already over 90 members. A drawing-room meeting was held at Ireton House (by kind permission of Mrs. Kelley), on Monday, February 27th, when Miss Hutchinson-Wright took the chair and Miss Violet Martin spoke. A meeting was held on the same evening at the Conservative Club, when Mr. Agg-Gardner took the chair and spoke splendidly for the cause. Miss Platt (Secretary of the Cheltenham Branch of the Primrose League) and Miss Violet Martin spoke, and they were both very heartily applauded. The vote of thanks to the speakers was proposed by Mr. Miles, and seconded by Miss Kelley; the vote of thanks to the chairman was proposed by the Right Hon. Lord Kingsale, and seconded by Councillor Mann, who said "there was a strong Conservative strain in women and the extension of the franchise to them would be a great benefit to the Conservative party, though it was not for that reason he advocated it, but on the broad grounds of justice and the public welfare." The following resolution was put to the meeting and carried with one dissident:—"That this meeting approves of the Conciliation Bill which has been passed by a large majority in the House of Commons and urges the Government, through their representatives, to give time in this session for the further stages of the Bill."—(MISS) FLORA KELLEY (*Hon. Sec.*), *Ireton House, The Park, Cheltenham.*

Croydon.—We had a delightful meeting on February 7th at St. Augustine's Hall. Miss Martin kindly spoke for us at very short notice, as Miss Abadam and Mrs. Robie Uniacke were unavoidably prevented from coming. There were 140 people present and the hall was beautifully decorated in our colours. The chair was taken by Major J. E. Fox, J.P., one of our staunchest supporters. The Hon. Sec. made an appeal for funds, which was generously responded to. "The Awakening" was sung by Miss Madge Baker and was enthusiastically received. Miss L. Hook proposed a graceful vote of thanks, and during tea a much-appreciated programme of music, arranged by Madame Maggie Purvis, helped to make our meeting successful. New members joined and many REVIEWS were sold. We owe most grateful thanks to the lady who gave us the Hall and the tea, and to those ladies who helped organise. On March 9th we had a large meeting at Somerfield, Purley, by kind invitation of Mrs. Baker. Everyone was most interested in Miss Eva Mackenzie's refutation of the Anti-Suffragists' objections. Mrs. Wilson-Haffenden made a charming speech from the chair. The Hon. Secretary's request for rooms for meetings met with a good response. One "Anti" in the audience offered her drawing-room for a debate, an invitation which was warmly accepted. The Hon. Secretary is having a Suffrage tea party, at which Mrs. Wilson-Haffenden and Mrs. Wingrove-Cooke are speaking.—(MISS) AMY M. MILLER (*Hon. Sec.*), 61, *Chatsworth Road, Croydon.*

Droitwich. We are glad to announce that Miss Amy Hall, Dodderhill Court, is Hon. Secretary of our new branch.

East Dorset and New Forest.—This branch held its first meeting on February 8th, at St. Martin's House, Wareham, by kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Filliter. Miss Violet Martin spoke and the excellent results of the meeting were several new members and a desire for a public meeting. On February 9th Miss Martin addressed an enthusiastic audience at the Church

- 26th. Kensington. Suffrage Study Class, 8.30 p.m., 29, Iverna Gardens. *Hostess*, Miss Mitford.
- 29th. Woking. Suffrage Tea, St. John's School.
- MAY 1st. Liverpool. "At Home," Corsey, Bebington, Cheshire. *Hostess*, Mrs. Eaton. *Speaker*, The Lady Betty Balfour.
- 2nd. Liverpool. Annual Meeting. *Chair*, The Lady Betty Balfour.
"At Home," Kenmure House, Blundelsands. *Hostess*, Mrs. Gordon. *Speaker*, The Lady Betty Balfour.
- 6th. Woking. Suffrage Tea, Goldsworth School.
- 26th. Croydon. Meeting at Small Public Hall, 3.30. *Speaker*, Miss Abadam.
- Kensington. Suffrage Study Class, 8.30 p.m., 29, Iverna Gardens. *Hostess*, Miss Mitford.

Other meetings are being arranged by the Central Office and by the Branches, but the dates are not fixed as the REVIEW goes to press. Members will be circularized and meetings will be announced in the daily press. Tickets and invitations to meetings can be obtained on application to the Honorary Secretary, at 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, and from the Honorary Secretaries of local branches, who will give all information; for names and addresses see Branch News.

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- Indirect and Educational Uses of Women's Suffrage By the late Hon. Mrs. Arthur Lyttelton ... 3d.
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- Why Conservative and Unionist Women want the Vote ... 3d.
- Reply to the Anti-Suffragists ... 3d.
- Reply to the Anti-Suffrage Manifesto. By an old-fashioned Conservative ... 2d.
- Appeal to Conservative Women. By the Lady Knightley of Fawsley ... 2d.
- Conservative Leaders' Opinions ... 2d.
- Adult Suffrage or Woman Suffrage, which is it to be? ... 2d.
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- Woman Suffrage: in the best interest of the Country. By Rosaline Masson ... 3d.
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- Authoritative Statement of the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League ... 1d.
- Women's Suffrage in New Zealand. By Lady Stout ... 2d.
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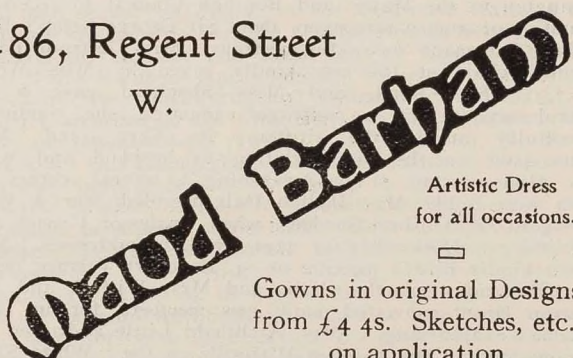
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A "Quarterly Record" of the Higher Thought Work carried on in London and the Provinces is published in February, May, August and November, and can be obtained from 10, Cheniston Gardens, W. Post Free 1½d. Telephone: 815, Kensington.

WOMEN'S WORK has met with no more signal success than in the establishment of "The Women's Bank," opened a few months ago by Mr. Thomas Farrow (founder of Farrow's Bank) and situate in separate premises of its own at 29, New Bridge Street, E.C., close to Ludgate Circus, St. Paul's, Blackfriars Bridge, in fact easy of access from all parts, so that no loss of time is entailed, even in making preliminary enquiries. There one can hear all about banking work—fair rate of interest paid,—system of current accounts and all advantages which result from owning of a banking account, which can be started with the modest sum of five pounds.

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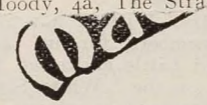
Our readers will be interested to learn that the Editor of THE LADIES' COURT BOOK is prepared to obtain expert opinion for ladies with regard to any difficulties, social, legal, financial or otherwise, which they may care to submit to him, and as no expense is incurred for preliminary interviews or enquiries, those who have no regular advisers, or for one reason or another do not wish to consult them, might well take advantage of such an opportunity.

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MISS ALICE BLUNDELL, who is so well-known as a writer and lecturer on philosophical subjects, is about to publish with Messrs. John Ouseley, Limited, an important work entitled "IDEALISM, POSSIBLE AND IMPOSSIBLE," which will be issued at 2/6 net. We anticipate that this book will arrest considerable attention in thinking circles.

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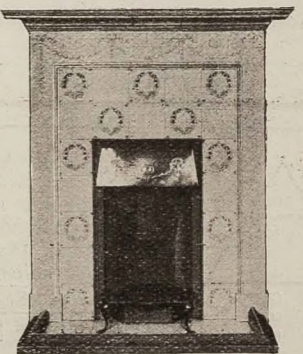
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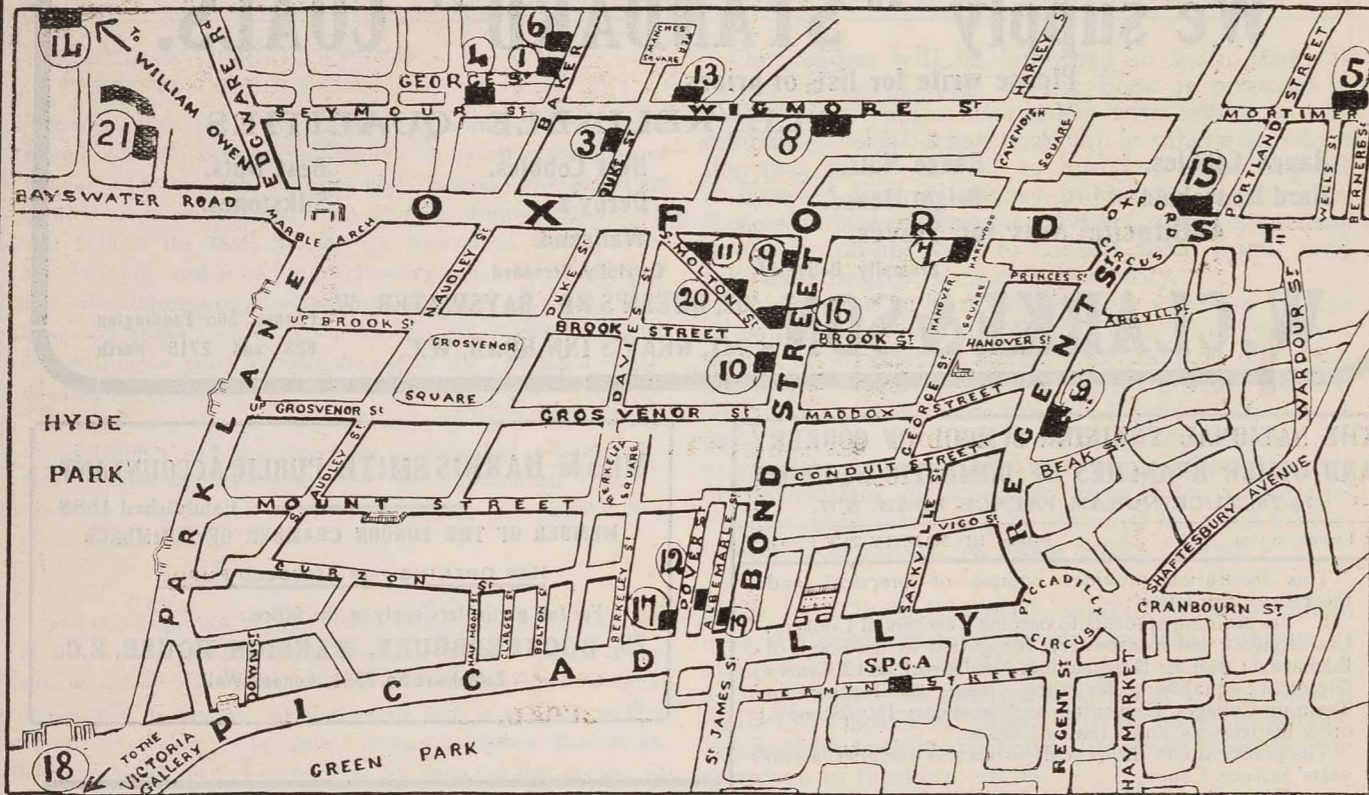
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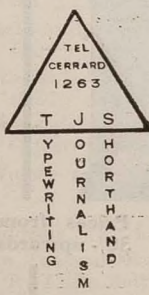
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- 2 Artistic Dress. Maud Barham 186, Regent Street. See advt. on page 120.
- 4 Dressmaking and Millinery, Violetta, 71, George Street, Portman Square. W. See advt. page vii.
- 5 Fire-places. Bratt, Colbran & Co., 10, Mortimer St. see advert on page xi.
- 6 Flowers and Plants. The Floral Depot, 47, Baker Street. see advert on back cover
- 7 Fruit, Flowers & Vegetables A. Cheesley, 7, Harewood Place see advert as below.
- 8 Costumiers, etc. Debenham & Freebody, Wigmore St., see advert page iii
- 9 Gloves and Hosiery. J. S. Gregg, 91, New Bond St., see advert, page vi.
- 10 Gowns &c. Mrs. Oliver, 115 New Bond St.
- 11 Girls' Costumes & Millinery. Elizabeth, 45, South Molton St. see advert page iv.
- 12 Habits & Sporting Costumes W. E. Cobb, 42, Albemarle St.
- 13 Lace Kate Braun, 94, Wigmore Street, W.
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