

# THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE



MONTHLY



PAPER



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## OUR CHARTER

Christianity is the proclamation of the Divine entry into History; of the Divine submission to the historical conditions of human experience; of the Divine sanction given to the things of time and the affairs of earth, to the body, the home, the city, the nation. A kingdom of God come down here, visibly, audibly, tangibly, evidently, manifested on earth—this is its first and last message. — HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND.



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**THE WAR AGAINST SWEATING.**

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In 1909 the child of a trousers finisher died in East London from starvation, the mother not earning sufficient to provide her with food. In the same year many chain makers at Cradley Heath, and many lace finishers at Nottingham, and many matchbox makers in Bethnal Green were earning at the rate of a penny an hour.

In the same year a ray of light appeared on these poor women's horizon. The National Anti-Sweating League obtained the passing of the Trade Boards Act, and chain makers, matchbox makers, and trousers finishers heard the good news that a minimum wage was about to be fixed for them.

The minimum wage is now a solid fact, and in all parts of the country groups of poor women are richer by several shillings a week.

They are richer in more than money. Better wages have meant better food, but they have also meant better hope and better courage. The spirits of these women, as well as their bodies, have been refreshed.

Is this good work to go on? The League has secured the further extension of the Trade Boards Act to the Shirt Making, Linen Embroidery, and other trades, embracing 150,000 workers. These need to be instructed and helped, as were the other workers—a huge task for which no funds are available.

Will you not assist to provide them? A small donation from every reader of the 'CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE' would be in itself sufficient. See that yours is not lacking.

The League is commended to you by the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Birmingham, Canon Scott Holland, Lord Lytton, Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., and others, and by its unsurpassed record of truly humane and religious work. For the sake of its poor clients, see that it does not fail for want of aid.

To the Secretary,  
National Anti-Sweating League,  
34, Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.

I desire to contribute £ . . . : to the Special Fund for helping the women newly included in the Trade Boards Act.

Name (Mr., Mrs., or Miss) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

**THE CHURCH AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.**

BY THE REV. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt.  
Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford.

THE long discussions which have taken place on Women's Suffrage have made one matter clear; it is that, when the question is considered from the standpoint of abstract justice, the case of the opponents breaks down. No one claims that masculinity in itself constitutes a qualification for the Suffrage; some other qualification has to be assumed; but, whether this be the possession of wealth, or the production of wealth, or intellectual capacity, or ability to serve the State, large numbers of women are found to possess the qualification. Hence the opponent is apt, as a last resource, to employ the argument that society rests on a basis of physical force: the Suffrage should, then, be confined to those who can serve as soldiers or sailors. Until compulsory service is introduced this argument rests on a principle which this country has not recognized; but, even if this fundamental weakness should at any time be removed, it is doubtful whether the cause of Women's Suffrage would be seriously weakened. Wars are not now carried on with the fists, but by elaborate appliances which require the co-operation of many who do not appear in the field. Even in the heroic age Achilles could not fight without armour, and this could only be procured by his mother. If the Suffrage was for the fighters, it would be unjust that only he should have a vote.

The opposition is, therefore, reduced to arguments from expediency, and this fact gives the Church a right to a voice in the matter. The Church is armed with a weapon which does not belong to political parties—faith. One of its duties is to attest the inexpediency of injustice; to insist that neither should evil be done in order that good may come, nor should wrong be maintained lest inconvenience arise. For the belief that what is just is expedient the Church does not go to experience, yet experience is wholly on its side. If modern states are comparatively stable and secure, it is because they have eliminated many an injustice which rendered earlier communities turbulent and unsteady. Whenever there has been a proposal to remove unjust disabilities the timid have magnified the dangers which must attend such removal; yet the result has been, not danger, but security. And if on all such occasions when politicians hesitated, ecclesiastics had been courageous, the place of the Church in the State, as the authorized advocate of right and justice, would be more generally acknowledged, and its work more universally appreciated.

But the Women's Suffrage question, as one specially affecting the poor, has a peculiar interest for an institution which, from the first, was dissociated from wealth. The fact that poor women are largely a wage-earning class is one which must not be ignored; however important their duties within the home, the present condition of society renders the theory that those are their only functions absurd. So long as this state of affairs exists it must be recognized, even by those who consider it deplorable; but the view that it is not deplorable has support. Plato, not only in his fanciful Republic, but in the mature wisdom of his Laws, pointed to the absurdity of wasting the intellectual ability which one-half of the human race possesses. At least it must be allowed that the older solutions of social difficulties—infanticide and polygamy—are vastly inferior to the existing solution, whereby woman takes her place side by side with man in the production and distribution of wealth. The opponents of the Suffrage have no other solution to offer of the real difficulty that, whether or not the true sphere of woman is the home, numbers of women are compelled to find another sphere. And the numbers who are compelled to do so are likely to increase rather than to diminish, because of certain ascertained facts which produce this result. The causes which, in spite of a majority of male births, lead to a preponderance in the female population are equally at work in advanced and in stagnant societies. And the ever-increasing standard of comfort has a constant tendency to raise the age of marriage, and, indeed, to reduce the number

of marriages. But those who can take any part in the work of the community cease to be surplus population, inasmuch as the community depends no less on their efforts than on those of others; and so long as the employment entails neither physical nor moral injury little fault can be found with the solution at which society has, after a variety of experiments, arrived. The difference, however, between wealth and poverty is that, whereas the wealthy have the choice whether they will be superfluous or not, the indigent can only remain superfluous at considerable inconvenience and risk to themselves. Now that the working population should have a voice in regulating the conditions of labour is a commonplace in the case of male labour, and together with the extension of the franchise among the male workers, improvements in the conditions under which they are to work have been introduced. The franchise has furnished them with the leverage which, for this purpose, they required. In the case of the woman worker, too, the only weapon whereby she can effectively secure for herself fair treatment—the political franchise—must not be denied her. The assertion that its possession would not aid women in their endeavours to ameliorate the conditions under which they work is similar to arguments which have been urged against other reforms, such as that the slave is better off than the free labourer because he is some one's property; it may be doubted whether these statements are meant seriously. In supporting the demand for the Suffrage the Church is taking the side of the poor and the weak; and is, therefore, acting according to its principles.

But the third reason why this cause demands ecclesiastical support is the weightiest. There are joint sins for which the community punishes one party with infamy, prison, and death, while it leaves the other unpunished or only administers a mild rebuke. The reason for this doubtless lies in the fact that the laws are made by men; and just legislation on this matter can only be obtained when both sexes are properly represented in the legislature. Even if legislation should prove itself powerless to eradicate the evil or even to ameliorate it materially, it would be better that both sexes should be responsible for the legislation on this subject than that the sex which comes off best should be entirely answerable for the arrangement which has that result. But it seems clear that where women have the franchise more serious attempts have been made at grappling with this evil than elsewhere.

Now, the existence of these social evils cripples the missionary enterprise of the Church, since it has to be constantly apologizing for the state of affairs at home. It may be perfectly true that Christianity is not responsible for the sin which leads to misery; that in committing such sin the culprits violate the principles which the religion inculcates. Yet the desirability of propagating a system cannot be learned from the effects which it contemplates, but has to be gathered from that which it actually achieves.

It may be doubted whether, when the agitation for Women's Suffrage first commenced, the leaders appreciated the possibilities which it offered for dealing with the most terrible of social evils. With continued study of the subject, and with experience of its practical working, this side of the matter has become increasingly prominent, and many advocates of the cause devote their attention to it exclusively. For it has been found that where the Suffrage has been granted, pressure has been brought to bear upon the legislatures to grapple with the evils to which allusion is being made. The equalization of the sexes in all rights and duties is the expedient which furnishes the best hope of a remedy; and, as has been seen, this is never likely to be secured except where the legislature is properly representative of both. The interest, however, of both in the extirpation or at least decrease of immorality is identical.

Now, since the morality of the community is a matter with

which the Church is specially occupied, it is bound to support whole-heartedly any policy which in this matter is likely to strengthen its hands.

It is conceivable that there may be political questions whereon the Church as such has no opinion, and should seek to exercise no influence.

Notes and News.

Powerful Advocacy.

Our members will read with profound gratitude the weighty appeals for Women's Enfranchisement contained in this paper, for which we are indebted to the Bishop of Kensington and Prof. Margoliouth.

Petition to the House of Commons.

Miss C. E. Strachan has most kindly promised to relieve the office staff by taking over all correspondence in connexion with our Petition after her return from the Church Congress.

Meeting at Caxton Hall.

We have a splendid band of workers at Southampton for Congress Week. So far as their engagements will permit they will be "At Home" on Tuesday, October 14th, at 3 P.M., at Caxton Hall.

A Suffrage Catechism.

(Continued.)

Q. What warrant is there for supposing that women desire the Vote as an "effective instrument of social service"?

A. Many proofs might be advanced. Take one. Suffrage literature deals very largely with questions of social and moral reformation.

Q. Does experience justify the expectation that women, if enfranchised, would use their votes for the ends suggested?

A. Assuredly it does. The granting of the Vote to women in every country where women have been enfranchised has been promptly followed by legislation which has sought to remedy moral and social abuses.

Q. Why, then, is it that women do not use the opportunities of social service now open to them? Why, for example, are so few women members of Boards of Guardians?

A. Many spheres of social service which are theoretically open to women are practically closed against them. Guardians of the poor are appointed by election, and in the great majority of cases are the nominees of one or other political party.

Q. But why do not women, if they desire social reform, seek it by means of their undoubted influence? Why must they have Votes?

A. The only influence to which politicians yield promptly is the influence of the ballot-box. It is of the essence of our political system that the wishes of those who have votes should always have precedence over the wishes of those who are voteless.

Q. But do not Suffragists declare that they were mainly instrumental in securing the passage of the White Slave Traffic Bill, and this despite their voteless condition?

A. They do so declare—and with truth. But the Bill was passed in a seriously defective form despite their efforts; the passage of the measure in any form was only achieved by a crusade of quite unusual magnitude, carried on throughout the whole country.

Q. Would it not be detrimental to the purity and refinement of womanhood to be involved in the turmoil of election contests?

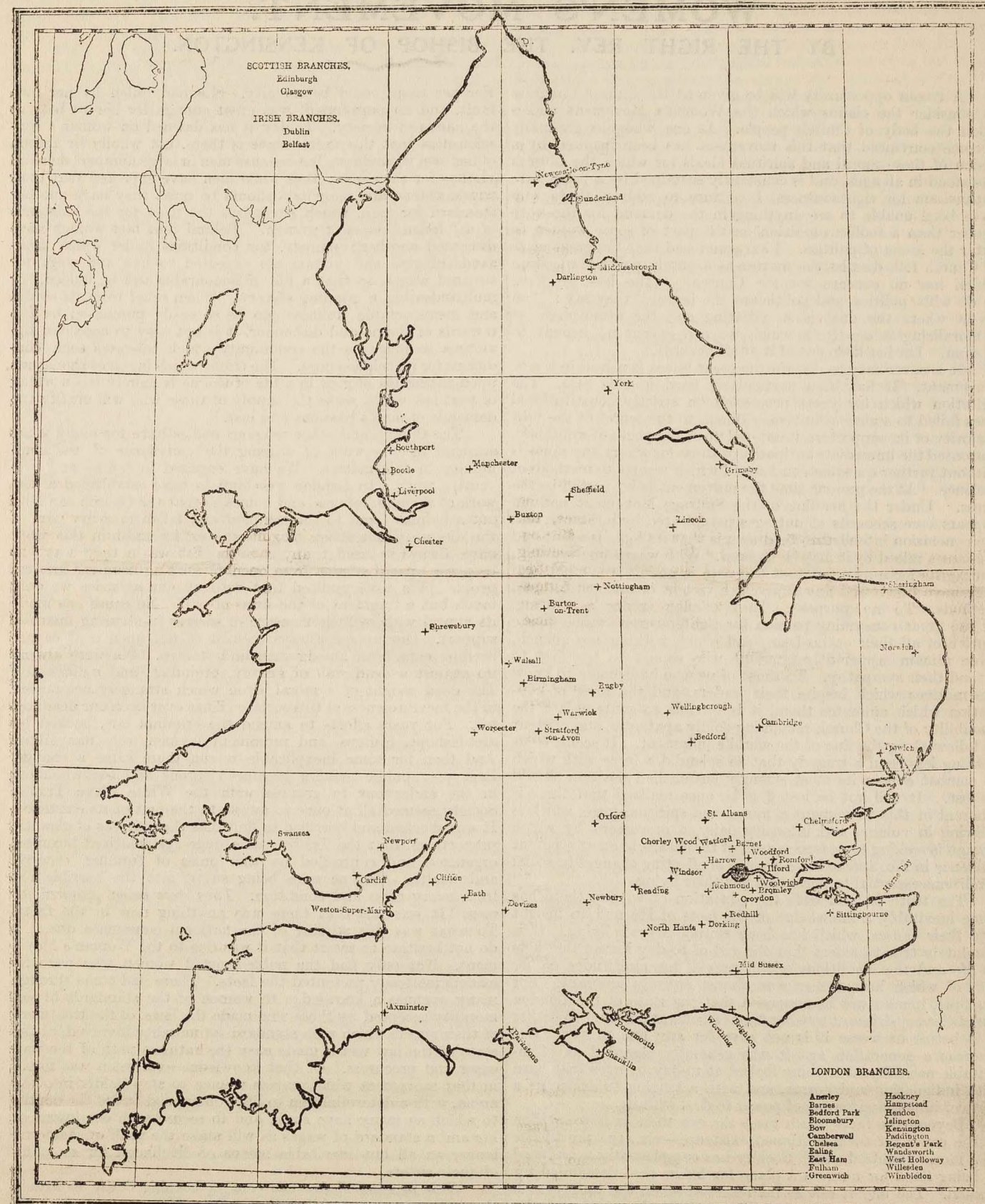
A. Women are involved in such contests already. They canvass in every constituency. They sit on platforms and make speeches. They are welcomed as indispensable allies.

Q. But will not woman, if entrusted with political power, become unsexed? Will she not disdain to use, as heretofore, the arts of womanly persuasion?

A. Undoubtedly the emancipation of women will teach them to set a new value upon themselves. Undoubtedly their self-respect will grow, and they will no longer be content to wheedle men-folk into granting their reasonable desires.

The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free.

BRANCHES OF THE C.L.W.S.



## THE MORAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON.

A FRESH opportunity will be given at the Church Congress to consider the claims which the Women's Movement makes upon the body of Church people. As one who has gradually become convinced that this movement has been inspired by a vision of those moral and spiritual ideals for which the Church has stood in all ages, and is constantly sustained by a passionate enthusiasm for righteousness, I venture to address those who have been unable to see anything in the demand for the vote deeper than a foolish ambition on the part of some women to enter the arena of politics. I am convinced that the great mass of Church folk dismiss the matter as a purely political question which has no concern for the Church. "The less we have to do with politics and politicians the better," they say; "an arena where the dust is so vitiating and the atmosphere so demoralizing is one from which we can expect no benefit to woman. Let her keep out of it at all hazards."

It is never easy to discern the great issues involved in a new movement. It has been particularly hard in this case. The agitation which for years proceeded on strictly constitutional lines failed to secure attention. When, to the regret of the vast majority of its supporters, it entered upon the phase of militancy, it aroused the immediate antipathy of those for whom any cause is without further question condemned which resorts to methods of violence. At the present time the movement is boycotted by the Press. Under the heading of the Suffrage Movement nothing appears save accounts of outrages perpetrated by militants, and the conclusion intended to be drawn is that its force is spent and the issues raised by it may be ignored. With wearisome iteration Suffragists have asserted that the vote is mainly a symbol, and they have disavowed any support of violent or unconstitutional methods. To no purpose. They cannot secure a hearing. Of the great consuming passion for righteousness, which is the motive of all their enthusiasm, and which nothing can quench, those remain apparently ignorant who should be the first to extend their sympathy. To those of us who have come to know the motives which inspire their leaders, and the force of conviction which animates them, it is terrible to contemplate the possibility of the Church remaining coldly apathetic, and content to follow along the line of the world's judgment. It seems to us nothing less than a tragedy that so splendid a force with which to combat evil in its most strongly entrenched position should be lost. It will not be lost if it be once realized that there is inherent in this movement a moral and spiritual force which is growing in volume and intensity daily, a movement by which woman is seeking to possess herself of the means to exert a potent influence in life, and to have a voice in effecting changes in social conditions essential to purer and healthier living.

The truth is that with the education of women there has come inevitably a knowledge of the facts of life and an insight into their causes, which has been simply overwhelming. It is absolutely true to assert that the girl of to-day knows the facts of life and the conditions which prevail for multitudes of her sex, of which her mother was almost entirely ignorant. For example, it need not be supposed that the state of the London streets is very different to what it was a generation ago. Whether it is better or worse it is not easy for any one to say. But whereas a generation ago it was generally regarded as of inevitable necessity, it is being looked at to-day by eyes that burn with indignation and horror, and with a longing to exchange a state of impotence for one of power to deal with it.

Beyond the facts which meet the eye there is now a vision of the cause for their continued existence—viz., the prevalence of a moral standard which Society has complacently acquiesced in being fixed for man on a plane far below that demanded for woman. The day is not so far removed when the unfortunate of the streets was unquestionably condemned as one who by reason of her wickedness entrapped men to their destruction.

For her there could be no pity. She had fallen by her own fault, and no punishment was great enough for her to bear at the hands of Society. To-day it has dawned on woman's consciousness that this unfortunate is there, not wholly by reason of her own wickedness, but because men in large numbers demand victims for their lust; that while men have expected that their wives, sisters, and daughters should be pure, they have another standard for men, which recognizes the need for the existence of a "fallen" class of women. Behind that fact women have discerned another: namely, the conditions under which thousands of girls and women are expected to live and work for sweated wages, so that a life of honourable toil is, indeed, for multitudes but a grinding slavery. When relief from its sordid and insupportable dullness can be so easily purchased by the rewards of shame and dishonour, it is not easy to condemn the victims so much as the community which tolerates such conditions for its helpless ones. The traffic which involves thousands upon thousands of girls in a life of shame is merely the working of that law which seeks the supply of those who will gratify the demands of man's passions and lust.

The Church and other religious bodies have for many years engaged in the work of stirring the conscience of the community in this matter. We have engaged in rescue and preventive work. In London we claim to have established a network of shelters, refuges, and homes so that the Church can hold out a helping hand to the tempted and fallen in every part of the diocese. But those who have been foremost in this work have always realized that the main obstacle in their way has been the apathy of the great body of even professing Christian people. We have realized that with all our agencies we only touch but a fragment of the mass of evil. No cause has made its appeal with so little measure of success in securing financial support. Our appeal always seemed to fall upon deaf or unheeding ears, both among men and women. We were always up against a dead wall of apathy, prejudice, and indifference. The dead weight of a moral sense which strangely acquiesced in the inevitableness of this social evil has ever been our deadliest foe. For years efforts to amend the criminal law, backed by archbishops, bishops, and prominent laymen were unavailing. And then for some inexplicable reason there came a change. Last year public opinion became vigorous and overwhelming in the endeavour to grapple with the White Slave Traffic. Society seemed all at once to awake to the fact of its existence. It was shocked and horrified to find that the evil was of gigantic proportions, that the Traffic was a huge systematized business, organized and controlled by the forces of cunning, cruelty, and wealth. Victims were being swept into the horrible net from every class and condition. *They were being procured for men.* It was not that there was anything new in the facts. To what was this stirring of the national conscience due? I do not hesitate to assert that it was due to the Woman's Movement. Not only had the noble-hearted women who were its leaders fearlessly presented the facts. There had come through many avenues a knowledge to women of the standards of sex morality accepted by those who made the laws, of the treatment of their sisters which such standards of morality involved, of the state of the law which made easy the ruthless path of the procurer and procuress. Of that knowledge expression was found in that movement which impels women to step boldly into the arena, with a determination to lift womanhood out of the depths to which so many have sunk, and to secure such conditions of life and a standard of wages as will make the path of shame no longer an all but inevitable means of livelihood for so many of their sisters.

With this knowledge has come a burning desire to attack the evil at its source rather than to spend our strength in mitigating some of its most pitiful effects; to prevent catastrophes

by removing the cause of disaster. Women have come to realize that too long they have consented to acquiesce in the continued existence of evils which press with such pitiless cruelty upon their sex; and with unerring instinct they have seized upon the vital point.

While we social reformers and rescue workers have been content to make heroic efforts to rescue out of the turbid flood of evil such portions of the human wreckage which come within our reach from the shore, we seem to have had no eyes for those cruel rocks higher up the river on which the frail barks were foundering. It is to that critical spot to which the women of to-day are pointing. Why not blow up that rock, they say, no matter what the risk may be through the explosion to the nerves of those who securely live on either bank? That rock may be rooted in antiquity, it may have come to be regarded as a part of the fixed order of things, but it is removable; let us have a hand in helping to remove it. We know the truth of the appeal. That rock stands for conventional public opinion. It has its fixed status in the legislation which has expressed the standard of morality accepted by those who, through the possession of the vote, alone voice the will of the community. It stands for that view of womanhood which is as dishonouring to man as it is unjust to woman.

The coincidence of the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act with the agitation for Women's Suffrage is one which cannot be explained away. We have no wish to belittle the efforts made by any who contributed to the result. But justice compels us to recognize that our failure in past years was due to the absence of that moral sense in the community, due to the ignorance of the real facts of life, in which women for generations had been held. But now with the inrush of knowledge, made powerful by the Women's Movement, the conscience of the community was stirred to energetic action. The acknowledgement of this constraining influence was seen in the eagerness with which both political parties passed the Bill. The rapid change of front then shown by our legislators may indeed have been due to a desire to demonstrate what men could do for women when they tried. All honour to them that they made even a tardy effort!

It was one thing to pass the Bill. We all confidently hoped that with this quickening of the national conscience great good would result. Enough has happened during the short interval in which the Criminal Law Amendment Act has been in operation to realize the truth of the contention of the leaders of the Women's Movement, that acts of the legislature can only be effectively carried out when they are administered by those who are sincerely determined to use the powers which such acts create. We have lately seen in the conduct of the Piccadilly Flat Case enough to deepen our fears that the Act passed a year ago may prove a dead letter.

It was the first instance of a woman being charged under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The Home Secretary stated in the House of Commons that "the case was opened and pressed as a bad one"; that "the indictment included three counts under section 7 (4) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1912, for exercising control for the purpose of gain over the movements of three prostitutes, and three counts under section 1 of the Vagrancy Act, 1898, and section 7 (4) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1912, for living in part on the immoral earnings of the same three prostitutes. The maximum penalty for each of these offences is two years' imprisonment. The Crown proceeded with all the charges, none were withdrawn, and the prisoner pleaded guilty to all counts of the indictment." The prisoner, "Queenie Gerald," was sentenced to three months in the second division. The ages of the girls under her control were 17, 17, and 18. From letters found in the woman's possession it was plain that her wealthy male clients were dealing with her as a procuress, i.e., as a person who would procure girls who were not prostitutes. "There was abundant evidence,"

Mr. McKenna stated, "to show that she defrauded her clients, but no evidence to show that she was guilty of procuration." She kept within the letter of the law. As her male clients did not betray their identity by any signature or addresses to their letters there was no evidence against them. But they were guilty of attempting to procure; they were, in fact, the very people against whom the Act was framed to proceed, but apparently there was no attempt to secure their presence in the dock beside the accused woman. A number of names were found in the diary and ledger kept by the woman, but, the Home Secretary explained, "the names were not in the handwriting of the persons supposed to be referred to," and so "these names were not relevant to the case." That the first test case involving a woman under the Act, "pressed as a bad one," should have met with this fate must be regarded as indeed a disaster.

When one recalls the zeal displayed in the raid made by the police upon the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union, the pertinacity with which every supposed clue was followed up, and the sentences imposed upon those who were under any circumstances and from any point of view acting from political motives; when one realizes how the mass of citizens have endorsed the action of the Government in treating these women as criminals of the most dangerous type, one is moved, indeed, to marvel. This is the way the strong arm of the law can work its will against those women who were mainly instrumental in rousing indignation against the horrors of the White Slave Traffic. Thus the righteous wrath of the nation can find its vent in the punishment of political offenders, condemned to long periods of imprisonment in the third division, while women of the "Queenie Gerald" type are put in prison for three months in the second division, and the charge against her male clients, which would inevitably have involved disclosure of their names, is never preferred!

This latest example of the administration of the law in the cases of men whom, as stated in the House of Commons, "the law, as it at present stands, cannot touch," is one from which only the cynical will derive any satisfaction. We are indeed come to a strange pass when the moral sense of the community can so signally fail to discriminate between the offences of women engaged in a campaign to secure the franchise, and of those who engage in the noisome White Slave Traffic. Some of those who rejoiced at the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act a year ago might even find it possible to understand that it is this outraged sense of injustice which has led some women to resort to methods, which, however indefensible they may appear, at least are designed to make the people hear.

In the great mass of the ardent supporters of the Women's Movement there is a deeply seated longing to go to the root of this social evil, with which for many reasons both men and women are loth to come to grips. They have been driven to the conclusion that the only effectual means by which any member of the community can contribute to the solution of its problems is by the vote. They know that in a democratic state the will of the community to create or to remove the conditions under which its life shall be lived finds its expression by its enfranchised citizens. In them, at least, we have those who are eager to serve where service is most needed, zealous to play their part in making life richer and fuller and more worth living for the whole body. In a great campaign for righteousness, purity, and truth, we require all the forces of which the body is possessed; we require means by which those forces may be applied and their weight brought to bear upon the actual conditions of life. So long as the aspirations of women to be such a force are held in check, and freedom to express themselves be denied, we are but missing the most hopeful and fruitful of all influences in national life which the goodness of God has given to mankind.

Will there not be found sufficient zeal for righteousness in the Church to-day to cause us to intervene and prevent a loss so grievous?

**N.B.** — Those who desire to Join our League or to become Annual Subscribers, to our Paper will find Forms provided for their use on page 306

## THE SUFFRAGE CLUB, 3, YORK STREET, St. James's, S.W.

The Club has been formed as a Social Club for  
**MEN AND WOMEN**  
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### CONSTANT LECTURES ARRANGED.

- Oct. 3rd., 3.30.—Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Hugo Ames.  
 " 7th., 8.30.—R. Somerville Wood, Esq., M.A.  
 " 9th., 3.30.—Mrs. Swiney, Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson.  
 " 10th., 7.30.—Club Dinner.  
 " 17th., 3.30.—Miss Royden, Mrs. Auerbach.  
 " 21st., 8.30.—Mrs. Walter Gallichan (C. Gasquoine Hartley),  
 H. D. Harben, Esq., J.P.  
 " 24th., 3.30.—Mrs. Douglas Knocker, Madame de Lampenoille.  
 " 28th., 8.30.—Miss Abadam, Miss Jean Forsyth.  
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## PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

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

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

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED BISHOPS AND CLERGY OF THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND AND OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH sheweth:

1. That the refusal to women in a democratic country of any share in the Parliamentary Franchise is fundamentally unjust; strangely anomalous in view of the public duties which they have been rightly encouraged to undertake and which they admirably fulfil; and calculated to obscure the spiritual equality of the sexes which is an essential tenet of the Christian Faith.

2. That the Empire is thereby deprived of valuable forces which, if experience elsewhere may guide our judgment, would operate in favour of much needed moral and social reform.

3. That all political parties repeatedly assert large measures of reform to be long overdue; and that it would be disastrous to commence such reforms without giving to women a voice in concerns about which they have admittedly expert knowledge.

4. That your Honourable House has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of conferring the Parliamentary Franchise on duly qualified women.

YOUR PETITIONERS THEREFORE PRAY THAT YOUR HONOURABLE HOUSE WILL BE PLEASED TO PASS WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY A MEASURE TO CONFER THE FRANCHISE UPON WOMEN ON THE SAME TERMS AS UPON MEN.

AND YOUR PETITIONERS AS IN DUTY BOUND WILL EVER PRAY.

### INSTRUCTIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

No person may sign the Petition more than once.

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

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

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

Needless creasing of the sheets should be avoided.

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### OBJECTS, METHODS, AND MEMBERSHIP.

The objects are to band together, on a non-party basis, Suffragists of every shade of opinion who are Churchpeople in order to

1. Secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men.

2. Use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes.

3. Promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the community.

The methods used are

(a) Corporate Devotions, both public and private.

(b) Conferences, Meetings, and the distribution of Literature.

Men and women are eligible for membership who

(a) are members of the Church of England, or of Churches in full communion therewith; (b) approve of the Rules of the League; (c) pay an annual subscription as fixed by the Branch to which the member belongs.

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### MONTHLY PAPER.

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All other communications should be sent to the Editor, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

The insertion of Letters or of Signed Articles in this paper implies that their contents are thought likely to prove of interest; but the League is not responsible for the opinions thus expressed.

For Subscription Rates see Front Cover.

### The Church Congress.

At last an assembly of Church people which can claim to be representative of more than parochial or, at best, diocesan opinion is about to take into serious consideration the position of women in relation to that Kingdom of God which has its existence here and now. We rejoice that it should be so; rejoice that the insight and courage of those who are responsible for the Congress programme have led them not to shrink from this problem because its discussion cannot fail to raise questions which must find their ultimate solution in the sphere of political action. They will have their reward. Already it is theirs in the gratitude of thousands of women and not a few men; in the respect which wisdom and courage always compel; in the widespread interest aroused. Nor, if we rightly forecast the future, will the coming years be indifferent to the doings of to-day. The Southampton Church Congress is like to be remembered when many similar assemblies have been forgotten.

The Congress, of course, will make no pronouncement upon any of the points that are at issue. It is an assembly for discussion, and for discussion alone. In the discussion there is no likelihood of unanimity. Conflicting opinions will find expression. When Bishop Creighton of revered memory presided over the last Congress which met in London, he closed what proved to be a somewhat stormy debate upon the question of ritual by saying that in his judgment some of the things which had been said were wiser than others. Doubtless wisdom and unwisdom will again be in evidence. But even if the utterances of wisdom are received with less sympathy than we anticipate, they will not be in vain. Truth is great and will prevail. That is the confidence which inspires all who believe in the progress of humanity. It is much that truth should be heard.

But though no resolution will be brought forward, no vote taken, no decision announced, we look to this Congress to determine—we hold that it already has determined—two points for all reasonable men:—

1. It has made it plain that the realization of the Kingdom of God cannot be attained without reconsideration of the ideals of womanhood. It has recognized that the women's movement is a force of which the Church of God must take account. The Congress programme must be interpreted in relation to the events of to-day. If it had been drawn up a century ago, it would have had a different meaning. Even if it had been published but ten years ago, it would have excited little interest. Its significance lies in the fact that it deals with the fundamental questions which lie beneath the strife and turmoil which rage all around us. If the Congress means anything at all, it means that in the judgment of all who take part in it the answer to be given to woman's demand for enfranchisement and all that is therein implied is of vital importance to the well-being of the kingdom of God.

2. It affirms, therefore, that the question of woman's status is, as we have ever maintained, a religious question; that it cannot be dismissed as "purely political" from the thought and conscience of devout Church people. Either the demand of women for equality of political status with men is in harmony with the revelation which is ours in Jesus Christ, and will tend to the furtherance of His Kingdom, or else the reverse must be the case. If there be those who would claim the sanction of Christ for an ideal of womanhood which would oblige women to accept as their portion political serfdom, let them say their say. But if no such position can be made good—and we have never met an opponent of Women's Suffrage who was content to base his opposition on religious grounds, though we have heard prejudice quoting scripture for its purpose—then let us look to it that we fail not to exert our influence in favour of a reform in the political sphere which finds its sanction in the teaching of our Master, and will hasten the coming of His Kingdom.

### An Appeal to the Clergy.

THE complaint which is constantly made respecting the attitude of the clergy towards Women's Suffrage is, not that they are hostile, but that they are apathetic. The assertion is obviously too sweeping. Many of those who are rendering most effective help to the cause are, we rejoice to know, to be found in the ranks of the clergy. Two letters published in these columns from two priests, the Rev. Paul Bull and the Rev. H. K. Hope, give timely evidence of an earnestness and zeal which is shared by many of their brethren. The Bishop of Kensington and Prof. Margoliouth encroach upon scanty leisure to write for our pages. We have no lack of clerical speakers and preachers for our Southampton Campaign. A surprisingly large proportion of the entire membership of our League (about 1 in 12) is clerical. Indeed, it may be said without possibility of challenge that there is no body of men, comparable in numbers with the clergy, which has yielded so many strenuous and tireless advocates of the Enfranchisement of Women. And this advocacy is not without cost. Those who know anything of the conditions under which the parochial clergy do their work, who estimate with any accuracy the prejudice which confronts a priest who ventures to "meddle with politics," are full of gratitude for the

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candour and courage displayed again and again, now in the columns of *The Times*, now in the pages of some country Parish Magazine, on the platform or in the pulpit, by men whose convictions will not suffer them to be silent.

But to say that the accusation is intemperate is not to say that it is groundless. It is unfortunately true that there are many of the clergy who are apathetic. They are not opposed to the Enfranchisement of Women. If pressed to express their judgment on the issue, they will say that the reasonable demands of women should be granted. But they take no steps to further what they approve. They are content, so far as they are concerned, that this reform should be indefinitely postponed.

It is this attitude on the part of some—we fear, of many—of the clergy that women are beginning to find intolerable. It is this attitude which we would beg them to abandon.

Let us examine the causes of this apathy:—

(1) It is due in some instances to ignorance—an ignorance for which the Press of this country is mainly and gravely responsible. The magnitude of the Movement has been concealed; its efforts to secure publicity, never adequately reported, are too often treated with contemptuous silence. This ignorance has been in some measure dispelled in recent years, but it still persists. We venture to affirm that no priest can have any true idea of how widespread, how earnest, how resolute this agitation is who does not read regularly some Suffrage paper. The daily Press, prostituting its influence to the interests of party, does no justice to the Movement.

(2) But more serious than ignorance as to the widespread nature of the demand is misconception as to its real character. It is a demand for "Votes for Women." From a certain point of view that does not seem a very soul-stirring claim. The privilege of dropping a voting paper in a ballot-box once in five years, considered by itself, does not seem worth all the bother which is made about it. But it must not be so considered if the demand of women is to be understood. The Vote is the symbol of equal citizenship. Its refusal is equivalent to the denial of citizens' rights. From a certain point of view it has been truly said that it is not so much the Vote that matters as the refusal of the Vote. To many of the clergy the possession of the Vote is practically valueless from the standpoint of current politics. They live, suppose, in constituencies which are preponderantly Liberal or Conservative, so that a vote more or less on either side is entirely negligible. But let the clergy consider how they would feel if they were disenfranchised on the score of their moral or intellectual incapacity; how such treatment would affect their status in the community. They will then better understand women's passionate demand for Enfranchisement.

Again, women regard the Vote as an instrument for social service—and rightly so. If men, bound to the chariot of party, have failed to use that instrument as effectively as they should have done, that is no reason why women should disregard it. There are evils in our common life to-day which can only be adequately dealt with by the aid of legislation: sweated industries, drunkenness, the social evil, insanitary housing, and many more. It is the desire to find some remedy for such ills which more than anything else engages women in this conflict. Their hopes may seem extravagant to some; but, can any man—at least, can any priest—remain apathetic in face of a demand which is inspired by such lofty purpose of social service.

(3) The apathy which exists, so far as it exists, may be in part accounted for by absorption in other interests. The clergy, popular misconceptions notwithstanding, are for the most part busy men. Sacred study, preaching, teaching, pastoral visitation, charity organization, guilds, clubs—there is no end to the claims upon their thought and time. "First things first," says the parish priest as he throws an invitation to a Suffrage meeting into his wastepaper basket. Does he realize what he is doing the while? Does he reflect that his indifference to the claims of womanhood is costing him the respect of many of the most enlightened, the most spiritual women in his congregation, and straining to breaking-point their loyalty to the Church of which he is an accredited minister? It would not have been so ten years ago. It is so to-day. Ten years ago women hardly ventured to hope for sympathy or comprehension. To-day they

insistently demand them. It is rapidly becoming impossible for women to believe in the spiritual insight, not to say the Christian piety, of a priest who is deaf to the demands of their sex.

This may seem a hard saying. It is, however a true saying. A lady, till recently a medical missionary in India, expressed in private converse the other day what thousands of women are beginning to feel. Let her words be placed on record as nearly as memory can recall them. "I do not say the time has come, but it is fast coming, when failure to recognize and further the claims of women for freedom from artificial disabilities must be regarded as definitely un-Christian. There was a time when slavery in its grossest form was carried on beneath the British flag with all but universal acquiescence. The pulpits were silent respecting it, or quoted Old Testament Scriptures and Pauline utterances in its defence. But a time came later when every priest who was worthy of respect was to be found in the ranks of its resolute opponents; when it was impossible to believe that any man who upheld slavery was himself in touch with God. The like must happen in relation to women's demand for freedom from sex-domination. One tries to be charitable, to make allowance for ancient prejudices. But if women's emancipation is not a test question in relation to sincere Christianity to-day, it will be so to-morrow."

Those who combine devotion to the Church with devotion to the Cause of Womanhood cannot be silent at such an hour. There is too much at stake. Women, in their struggle for justice and opportunity to serve, have need of the sympathy, the active influence, the unceasing prayer of their clergy. The Church has need, never more than to-day, of the devotion, the service, the gifts of its women members. That the Women's Movement should lose touch of organized Christianity in our land, that the Church should be impoverished by the loss of many of its most devoted members—these are eventualities which we cannot calmly contemplate. This is no time for clerical apathy.

## The Story of the C.L.W.S.

By the Rev. CLAUDE HINSCLIFF.

ON October 25th, 1909, a small meeting was held in London to consider the question of forming a Church League for Women's Suffrage. This was practically the first step taken in the way of organization, though subsequent inquiry elicited the fact that for some time prayers had been made that the Church might be led to take up the cause of Women's Enfranchisement.

What was the dominant idea at the back of the minds of these Christian Suffragists? It was a twofold one, to be exact. First and foremost was the belief that the particular Cause was in itself good, and therefore pleasing in God's sight. Moreover, it was felt that what was good must be good now, and that no future "psychological moment" was to be awaited before concerted action should be taken in the name of the Church.

In the second place—and this is but yet another instance of the modern development of the idea of what comes within the scope of "Church work"—all were persuaded, relying upon the fundamental facts of Christianity, that nothing was in itself "common or unclean." It was the belief in the Incarnation held by the pioneers of the C.L.W.S. which prompted their action. The following words from the pen of Canon Scott Holland express the position exactly:—

"Christianity is the proclamation of the Divine entry into History; of the Divine sanction given to the things of time and the affairs of earth, to the body, the home, the city, the nation."

The Church, therefore, as commissioned to carry on the work of her Christ, had as her field for action the world to its utmost bounds—the world, with every variety of condition of life and of diverse circumstance.

The Inaugural Meeting was held on December 2nd, and was remarkable for a platform representing opposed parties in the political and Suffrage world. The main object to be attained was a society which should be a rallying-ground for Suffragists of every shade of opinion as to the methods to be employed for gaining the Parliamentary Vote; who believed that this Vote

should be given to women on the same terms as men, both now and hereafter; who would not be debarred from membership owing to their attachment to a particular political organization. A way out of endless difficulties was found by stating the objects and methods of the League as follows:—

"The objects shall be to band together, on a non-party basis, Suffragists of every shade of opinion who are Church-people in order to:—

(1) Secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men.

(2) Use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes.

(3) Promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the community.

The methods shall be:—

(a) Corporate Devotions, both public and private.

(b) Conferences, Meetings, and the Distribution of Literature.

The League started in the teeth of either supreme indifference, undisguised suspicion, or intense opposition. In spite of such opposing forces, the Bishop of Lincoln readily consented to become President. Since its inception the C.L.W.S. has maintained its democratic character. As a League it is governed by a General Council, which meets annually (when the Executive Committee is elected) and half-yearly to transact business. Members of Council are chosen by the Branches. Beyond the prodigious amount of ordinary work which is done by these Branches and through headquarters on devotional and educational lines, the following special efforts have been made:—

1910. Church Congress Campaign at Cambridge.

1911. A May Mission, and Congress Campaign at Stoke-on-Trent.

1912. A copy of the Monthly Paper sent to every clergyman in England and Wales.

A Mission Week.

Church Congress Campaign at Middlesbrough.

Various memorials have been signed, such as the following:—

To Convocation, relating to the inadequate representation of women in the Councils of the Church.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury, with reference to Welsh Disestablishment, drawing attention to the inability of women to influence Parliament without the franchise.

To the Government, in connexion with the White Slave Traffic Bill, the Forcible Feeding of Prisoners, the passage of Enfranchisement Bills, &c.

The issue of a Monthly Paper, which began as a four-page leaflet in 1912, has been a valuable means of communication between the Members of the League, and of drawing the attention of the public to the claim upon the Church of women struggling for enfranchisement.

Friendly relations with the other Religious Leagues for Women's Suffrage have been maintained, with the result that a firmer pressure has been brought to bear on the Government. Beyond all these activities, however, must be the value of the past work of the League on its devotional side. There have been the Members' daily use of the C.L.W.S. Prayer, and the use of special prayers during times of crisis; attendance at the Holy Communion on Corporate Communion Day once a month, or at Special Celebrations arranged from time to time; the observance of Quiet Days; and participation in various types of Devotional Meetings.

Space prevents notice of the various meetings, interviews, and methods employed whereby, at the present time, the League has 91 Branches and upwards of 5,000 Members, including more than 400 clergy.

C. HINSCLIFF.

### Correspondence.

THE following letters from the Rev. Paul Bull and from the Rev. H. K. Hope, sent to our Organizer in connexion with the campaign at Southampton, will be of special interest to our readers:—

DEAR MISS CORBEN,—I much regret not being able to be present at your meeting. But our Greater Chapter, at which all must be

present, meets on these same dates—so we cannot come. Please express to the meeting my entire sympathy with your object.

1. From the very first discussion of the subject the enfranchisement of women on the same basis as that of men has commended itself to my best reason and judgment. The claim to this seems to me entirely right and just, and the righteousness and justice of a cause is in no way affected by what seems to me the criminal folly of some of its advocates. My enthusiasm for this cause is kindled by a conviction that the national life is perishing for want of just those elements which the enfranchisement of women will liberate into effectual operation.

2. I have studied carefully all that has been said against it, but, while much appeals to my prejudices, I have heard nothing which commended itself to my reason or conscience. I have served the Church and State as well as I could for thirty years of my manhood without ever myself having had a vote for anything, and I have never desired one. But the note is a symbol of freedom and I think women are right to insist on obtaining it.

3. The altered status of women which their enfranchisement will symbolize will, I believe, have an immense effect for good on every department of our nation's life, and will make it more possible to realize our Lord's will in many directions. The fact that a claim so just and righteous has been met with so much indifference and scorn is, in my opinion, the worst sign of the degradation into which our public life has fallen.

4. The most impudent hypocrisy of some of our opponents is revealed when they exhort women to "trust man's chivalry."

After twenty-five years spent in preaching a crusade to men on the matter of purity, I have seen enough to make me profoundly distrust the "chivalry" which treats women as dolls, or drudges, or for worse purposes. We want a new chivalry, which will welcome them as comrades in life's battle; and the altered status of women will, I believe, do much to lift the moral life of the nation, and to reorganize our life on rational and righteous principles.

Praying that God will abundantly bless your meeting and our cause,

I am, yours very faithfully in Christ,

PAUL B. BULL.

House of the Resurrection, Mirfield.

DEAR MADAM,—I am grieved that I have not replied respecting Southampton Special Campaign earlier.

I enclose £10 towards funds—with special reference to advertising. Ninety-nine out of one hundred clergy don't know even yet that there is a Church League for Women's Suffrage.

I most thankfully believe that "the Congress will have a far-reaching effect on the whole Woman's Movement in England." Alas! I personally can only help your splendid army with my prayers.

Yours faithfully,

H. K. HOPE.

15, Buckhurst Road, Bexhill-on-Sea.

### Thanksgiving and Intercession.

LET US GIVE THANKS

For deliverance from the bondage of prejudice and for light vouchsafed upon our path.

For all who, having served the cause of womanhood in their generation, have entered into rest.

For all who now labour in accordance with God's will to hasten the coming of His Kingdom.

For the unity of the Spirit which prevails amongst us.

For all that makes for the good success of our cause.

WE PRAISE THEE, O LORD.

LET US PRAY

For preservation from the spirit of faction or self-will.

For charity to bear all things, hope all things, endure all things.

That all who take part in the Church Congress may be taught by the wisdom which is from above.

That all that is spoken in accordance with God's will may bear fruit to His praise and glory.

That our sins may be forgiven, our judgment enlightened, our tempers sanctified, and our efforts prospered according to the good pleasure of our God.

WE BESEECH THEE TO HEAR US, GOOD LORD.

N.B.—Copies of the above in small type for interleaving in Prayer Books may be obtained from the office: 4 copies, 1s. 3d.; 12 copies, 3s.; 25 copies, 4s.; 50 copies, 6s., post free.

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(Organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship)

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16th, at 8 P.M.

Chair: Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Other Speakers: Miss EVELYN SHARP and Mr. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Tickets 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., to be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, 'Votes for Women,' 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., or from The Secretary, The Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

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*Mothers in Council.*

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*Restaurant.*

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*Spectator.*

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Southampton Campaign.

Local Offices, 5, Portland Street. Organizer, Miss L. Corben. Office hours, 9.30 A.M. to 6 P.M. Prayers, 9.35 A.M.

SERVICES.

A Service of Intercession and Meditation will be held at St. Michael's Church at 6.30 P.M. every evening.

SPECIAL PREACHERS:

Monday, Sept. 29th. The Rev. Canon Scott Holland, D.D. Tuesday, 30th. The Rev. J. S. W. J. Danbury. Wednesday, Oct. 1st. The Rev. C. Hinscliff. Thursday, 2nd. The Rev. F. M. Green. Friday, 3rd. The Rev. Lewis Donaldson.

Wednesday, Oct. 1st. CORPORATE COMMUNION, 8 A.M., St. Michael's Church. Saturday, 4th. CORPORATE COMMUNION AND THANKSGIVING, 8 A.M., St. Michael's Church.

MEETINGS.

Monday, Sept. 29th. 5.15 P.M.—Local Offices, 5, Portland Street. Chair: Lieut. Cather, R. N. Speaker: Miss Canning. Tuesday, 30th. 5.15 P.M.—Local Offices. Chair: Rev. C. Hinscliff. Speaker: Miss Sutcliffe. Wednesday, Oct. 1st. 5.15 P.M. Local Offices. Chair: Mrs. Cather. Speaker: Mrs. J. E. Francis. Thursday, Oct. 2nd. 1.30 P.M.—Assemble at Sussex Road, near Clock Tower. 1.45 P.M.—Headed by C.L.W.S. Banner and the Town Band, march to the Floating Bridge to meet Mrs. de Fonblanque and the "Qui Vive" Corps, accompanied by members of other Suffrage Societies who are marching into Southampton. 2.15 P.M.—Form up for Procession back to the Town, to the Palace Theatre for Public Meeting at 3 P.M. Chair: The Rev. F. M. GREEN. Speakers: The Rev. CANON SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., The Rev. LEWIS DONALDSON, The Rev. G. H. DAVIS, The Rev. ALFRED HANSON HAIGH, The Rev. T. A. LACEY, and others. Friday, 3rd. 5.15 P.M.—Local Offices. Chair: Miss Canning. Speaker: Mrs. Cather. The C.L.W.S. Stall at the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition will be open daily.—Avenue 7, Block S. Tea will be provided at the Local Offices during Congress Week at 6d. each from 4.30 to 5.30 P.M. Open-air meetings will also be held.

The Treasury.

(Money Received July 16—August 15.)

Table with columns for ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, NEW MEMBERS, DONATIONS, and RAILWAY POSTER FUND. Lists names and amounts received for the period July 16 to August 15.

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Table with columns for ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, NEW MEMBERS, and RAILWAY POSTER FUND. Lists names and amounts received for the period August 16 to September 15.

Table listing names and amounts for the CHURCH CONGRESS CAMPAIGN FUND. Includes names like St. Clair, Miss A., Holmes, Miss K., etc.

Table listing names and amounts for COUNCIL DELEGATES EXPENSES FUND. Includes names like Ilford Branch, Regent's Park Branch, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for RAILWAY POSTER FUND. Includes names like Aylward, Miss, Donnithorne, Miss V., etc.

Table listing names and amounts for HOLIDAY GIFTS. Includes names like Fuller, Miss L. G., Normanton, Miss, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for HOLIDAY GIFTS. Includes names like Fullin, Miss L. G., Normanton, Miss, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for DONATIONS (General Fund.). Includes names like Holmes, Miss K., Ross, Miss Beatrice, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for HOLIDAY GIFTS. Includes names like Wingrave, Miss Margaret, Sale, Miss, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for HOLIDAY GIFTS. Includes names like Lacey, The Misses, Bashford, Miss E. F., etc.

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Table listing names and amounts for DONATIONS. Includes names like Wight, Mrs., Sheffield Branch, Ilford Branch, etc.

Table listing names and amounts for CONGRESS CAMPAIGN FUND. Includes names like Cather, Mrs., Saved on Redhill Branch, etc.

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Table listing names and amounts for MIDLANDS ORGANIZER'S FUND. Includes names like Davy, Miss Phyllis, Hyde, Miss, etc.

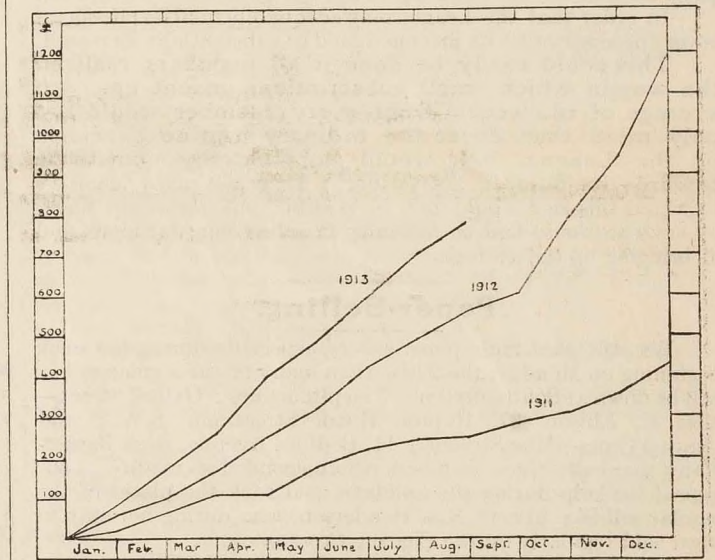
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Finance Statement.



The diagram printed above shows the total receipts of the C.L.W.S. during the years 1911, 1912, and 1913 (the latter to the end of August). It will be seen that each of the two last years shows a considerable increase over the year before it.

The curve for the present year shows a fairly steady income, averaging approximately £97 10s. per month, as compared with £72 and £30 10s. for the corresponding months of 1912 and 1911, respectively.

This increase, while satisfactory, is not sufficient for the growing needs of the League. The average expenditure during the eight months of the current year has been £104 10s.—i.e., some £7 more than the average receipts, to which extent the League has had to draw upon the balance brought forward from 1912.

It has not been possible to make so close an analysis of the receipts and expenditure for the year 1912, but it may be said:

\* Income from all sources, including sales of Monthly Paper, Literature, &c. † Expenditure includes all outstanding accounts, as well as those paid. ‡ See Annual Report for 1912 Balance-Sheet—3d. post free—and August. C.L.W.S. Paper for Balance-Sheet at end of June, 1913.

that for the first eight months of that year the expenditure exceeded the income to such a degree that in October it was found necessary to issue a special appeal for funds. This appeal met with an immediate response, and the increase of income from the beginning of October to the end of the year is clearly indicated in the diagram.

It will be seen that the average rate of income during the present year would, by the end of the year, bring in approximately the same total as last year. This total was sufficient for the immediate needs of the League at that time. Since then, however, the number of Branches has increased by 50 per cent., while there are many others on the point of formation, and still more which might be formed if it were possible to widen our organization. With that end in view the services of a Special Organizer have now been obtained for the Midlands, but there is work for more than one, and the League could well employ the continuous services of a Travelling Organizer if funds were available.

It must be recognized that the increase in the number of Branches means a proportionate increase of expenditure in such items as travelling expenses, postage, and office expenditure generally. The permanent staff in the Central Offices needs augmenting; indeed, the work of the League would to-day be quite impossible to cope with were it not for the amount of voluntary—but intermittent—help which is forthcoming. Then, too, although both the Monthly Paper and the Literature pay their way, a considerable amount of stock has to be kept in hand, and there is always an average of from 7s. 6d. to 10s. per Branch owing on these accounts. This means that a quite considerable proportion of the League's assets are not immediately available.

In order that the League may adequately fulfil its mission, it is very necessary that its income should be substantially increased.

This could easily be done if all members realized the way in which small subscriptions mount up. An average of 1d. weekly from every member would not only more than cover the ordinary routine expenses of the League, but would substantially contribute towards its outside activities. There are many Members to whom this sum would not be possible, but there are many others who would find no difficulty in subscribing far more, and so bringing up the average.

**Paper-Selling.**

We still want more paper-sellers, especially during the week beginning on Monday, the 29th, when many of our regular sellers will be down at Southampton. The pitches are: Oxford Street—Miss K. Ellison, 37, Hopton Road, Streatham, S.W.; and Charing Cross—Miss Strachan, 11, Bedford Avenue, High Barnet. Many thanks to those members who responded so readily to our appeal for help during the holidays, and took the places of the regular sellers; also to Miss Henderson, who during her stay in town sold regularly on the Charing Cross pitch.

JOAN CATHER, *Hon. Prop. Sec.*

**Suffrage Literature.**

*The Soul of Woman's Suffrage.* By the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman. (Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Ann's Street, Dublin, 1d.)

An interesting reprint of an address delivered in Dublin by the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman. The author summarizes his conclusions thus: "The real fact is that men don't want to be too virtuous, and women don't want to think or to work." The address sparkles with wise and witty observations.

*Service versus Subjection.* (N.U.W.S.S., 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster.)

This anonymous pamphlet, composed by one of our C.L.W.S. members, deals very felicitously with women's changed outlook upon life. In the author's view "motherhood" rather than "wifehood" expresses the true ideal for women, a motherhood which has a spiritual realization which may be independent of actual motherhood. The harm which a woman may do in the home, or in the wider home—which is the State—by cramping her own personality is excellently emphasized.

**A National Week of Prayer.**

THE following Manifesto and Call to Prayer has just been signed in the name of the C.L.W.S., Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, Free Church League, Friends' League, Jewish League, and Scottish Churches' League. All our Members will be approached with regard to their united effort from headquarters as far as C.L.W.S. observance is concerned. General arrangements are in the hands of the "National Week of Prayer" Secretary, Mr. Thos. G. Rogers, whose address is 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

"In the belief that the Enfranchisement of Women is in accordance with the Will of God, and in view of the supreme and urgent importance of the settlement of the question, the undersigned Religious Suffrage Societies have agreed to issue a Call for a National Week of Prayer for Woman Suffrage.

"They accordingly invite the observance of the week, November 1st-8th, in the following manner:—

"(1) Every individual Suffragist who recognizes that the claim for the Enfranchisement of Women is based on justice and righteousness, and can be rightfully and conscientiously pleaded before God, is asked to join in this Week of Prayer.

"(2) Every Suffrage organization (and every Branch thereof) is asked to arrange at least one Meeting during that week, at which the spiritual and moral aspects of the Woman's Movement may be emphasized."

**The Church League in America.**

OUR readers may expect to hear very shortly of an important development of the C.L.W.S. in the direction of overseas organization. The first step towards a Pan-Anglican League will be taken by the establishment of Branches among Episcopal Church-people in America. Ways and means are being found for a visit to the States in the early part of 1914 by Mr. and Mrs. Hinscliff. Meanwhile our Correspondents are:—

MISS EMILY C. CARR,  
2127, R. Street, Washington, D.C.

MISS ELLEN L. LEAF,  
2027, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

We shall be grateful to any one who can put Miss Carr and Miss Leaf into communication with Church Suffragists in their respective States, and ourselves in touch with Americans now visiting England. C. H.

**The Calendar.**

Oct. 1, Wed.	DAY OF SPECIAL INTERCESSION FOR THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.
" "	Southampton: CORPORATE COMMUNION, St. Michael's 8 A.M.; Meeting at Local Offices (5, Portland Street), 5.15. Speakers: Mrs. Cather and Mrs. J. E. Francis. Service of Intercession and Meditation at St. Michael's, 6.30. Preacher: Rev. C. Hinscliff.
" "	Bloomsbury Branch: Lecture, St. George's Vestry Hall, Little Russell Street, W.C., 8.30, by Miss Irene Cox (Sec. Industrial Law Committee) on 'Girls in Industry.' Ealing and Acton Branch: Special Evensong, St. Mellitus, Hanwell. Preacher: Rev. Ernest Nicholson.
" "	Liverpool and District Branch: Holy Communion, Christ-church, Hunter Street, 10 A.M. Celebrant: Rev. V. S. Ellis. Special Evensong with Sermon, 8 P.M., St. Stephen's, Grove Street.
" 2, Thurs.	Southampton: Procession (assembling 1.30 at Stagg's Gate) to Public Meeting in Palace Theatre, 3 P.M. Speakers: Canon Scott Holland, Rev. F. M. Green (Chair), Revs. G. H. Davis, F. Lewis Donaldson, A. Hanson Haigh, J. Drew Roberts. Service of Intercession and Meditation, St. Michael's, 6.30. Preacher: Rev. F. M. Green.
" 3, Fri.	Southampton: Meeting at Local Offices, 5.15. Speakers: Miss Canning and Mrs. Cather. Service of Intercession and Meditation, St. Michael's, 6.30. Preacher: Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson.
" "	Barnet Branch: Every Friday, 6.30-7 P.M. Silent Intercession in the Parish Church.
" 5, Sun.	CORPORATE COMMUNION DAY.

" 6, Mon.	C.L.W.S. Meeting, Cowes (I. of W.). Speakers: Mrs. Cather, Rev. C. Hinscliff.
" "	Fulham and West Kensington Branch: C.L.W.S. Service at 8.15 P.M. in St. Andrew's Church. Preacher: Rev. C. Baumgarten.
" "	Finance Committee, 6 P.M., Executive, 7 P.M., at the Central Offices.
" 7, Tues.	Manchester Branch: Public Meeting in Houldsworth Hall, Deansgate, 8 P.M. Speakers: Lady Rochdale (Chair), Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson, Miss E. Seymour Bennett.
" 8, Wed.	Hampstead Branch: United Religious Demonstration, Public Meeting in Town Hall, 8.15 P.M. Speakers: The Bishop of Lincoln (Chair), Rev. Dr. Horton, Rev. A. E. Green, Mrs. Ford Smith, Miss Smythe Piggott.
" 9, Thurs.	Anerley Branch: Members' Meeting at 149, Croydon Road, 8 P.M.
" "	Bootle Branch: Meeting, Stanley Hall, 8 P.M. Speakers: Miss Chubb (Liverpool), and others.
" 14, Tues.	Caxton Hall: "At Home," 3-6 P.M. Speeches on the Church Congress Campaign. Tea, Collection.
" "	Ilford Branch: Combined Meeting with "Votes for Women Fellowship," Town Hall, 8 P.M. Speakers: Right Rev. Bishop Powell (Chair), Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Rev. F. M. Green.
" 15, Wed.	Ealing and Acton Branch: Drawing-Room Meeting at "St. Faith's," Mount Park Road (Miss Norton). Speaker: Miss A. M. Bell.
" 16, Thurs.	Quiet Day at Christ Church, Ealing. Conductor: Rev. C. Hinscliff.
" "	Bloomsbury Branch: Holy Communion, St. George's, Hart Street, 8 A.M.
" 17, Fri.	Greenwich and Lewisham Branch: Annual General Meeting, 8 P.M., 43, Clarendon Road. Speaker: Mrs. Cather.
" 20, Mon.	Finance Committee, 6 P.M., Executive 7 P.M., Central Offices.
" "	Brighton and Hove Branch: Jumble Sale, 3 P.M., and Concert, 8.15 P.M., at Assembly Room, Livingstone Road, Hove.
" 23, Thurs.	Barnet Branch: Inaugural Service at Parish Church, 8 P.M. Preacher: The Rector (Rev. W. Manning).
Nov. 1, Sat.	NATIONAL WEEK OF PRAYER begins.

**From the Branches.**

For Addresses of Branch Secretaries see List on Page 307.

New Members	77
Anerley and District	

A Members' Meeting will be held at 149 Croydon Road on Thursday, 9th inst., at 8 P.M., to discuss important business. We hope to continue the Women's Meetings which, owing to the kindness of Mrs. Jones, proved such a success in the summer. We shall be glad to receive new names of any desiring invitations.

A Jumble Sale will be held early in November. Please send us any articles, especially men's and boys' clothes. (MISS) ETHEL FENNINGS.

**Barnet.**

In preparation for the Service to be held on October 23rd in the Parish Church to inaugurate the work of the Branch, a little group of Members have met in the Parish Church for half-an-hour every Friday evening during the last month for silent intercession. This opportunity for united prayer on behalf of our great Cause and those who work for it has been much valued. The Church will be open every Friday at 6.30 P.M. for silent intercession. Members are asked to be present as often as possible. (MISS) CLARA E. STRACHAN.

**Birmingham.**

New Members: Miss Lily Morris, Rev. B. H. H. Nash, Miss Mary Walter. (MISS) E. M. GRIFFITHS.

**Bloomsbury.**

Arrangements for Monthly Lectures to be given in St. George's Vestry Hall, Little Russell Street, W.C., at 8.30 P.M., have been made as follows:—On October 1st a Lecture by Miss Irene Cox (Industrial Law Committee) on 'Girls in Industry'; Chairman, Mrs. Ward Poole. November 4th, Mrs. Bracher, on 'Women's Suffrage in New Zealand.' Miss Ruth Young has promised during December, 'Some Poets in Relation to the Women's Movement.' Admission is free, and Members from other Branches will be welcomed. Tickets for reserved seats (1s. each) from the Secretary of the Branch. (MISS) KATHARINE BAVERSTOCK.

**Brighton and Hove.**

New Members: Mrs. Gerald, Miss Blake, Mrs. Palmer, Miss Palmer, Mrs. Baines, Mrs. Pearson, Miss Molly Francis. Our new office is admirably situated at 3, North Street Quadrant. There has been active Office work during August, literature and C.L.W.S. papers being sold and our Library patronised. The Office has been regularly in charge of Members every afternoon. Mrs. Burman, a C.L.W.S. visitor to Brighton, sold 18 Magazines on the sea front. The Branch is very grateful for her kind help.

A Jumble Sale will be held this month (see 'Calendar'). If any friend will send parcels of old clothes to the Secretary, 48, Rutland Gardens, Hove, they will be most gratefully accepted. (MISS) KATE CLOSE.

**Cambridge.**

The first term of the new academical year begins on Friday, the 10th inst., and I sincerely hope that all C.L.W.S. Members who have friends or relatives now coming up to the University for the first time, will send me a note of their names, and the Colleges they are joining. A friendly word of welcome from our local Branch would not only be appreciated by the recipient, but would doubtless have the effect of adding to our numbers several new Members. (REV.) FRANK BUTTLE.

**Cardiff.**

New Members: Miss E. Aikman, Mrs. Baskerville, Mrs. Golding, Mrs. J. H. Morgan, Miss H. M. Puddicombe, Mrs. Sidney Richard, Mrs. Whale. Our thanks are due to Miss Ely, B.A., Miss Hooper and Mrs. John, who between them dispose of some dozens of Magazines monthly. Will others please help in this way? Through the kindness of the Vicar, the Rev. Sidney Thomas, a special Service of Intercession for the Church Congress is to be held at St. Andrew's Church, on September 30th, at 7.30 P.M. We are deeply indebted to a London Member for an excellent selection of Suffrage books to form the nucleus of our Lending Library; we hope to give further particulars next month. The Hon. Secretary again appeals for help in paper-selling on Saturday mornings, if only for an hour. (MISS) LUCY E. L. RUSSELL.

**Ealing and Acton.**

Transferred Member: Miss L. C. Harston. (MISS) S. A. BONNERJEE.

**Edinburgh.**

The Branch is arranging the first Public Meeting of the League in Scotland, which will be held on the 27th of this month. The Rev. F. Lewis Donaldson and others will speak. Any Members who have not already received a notice of this Meeting are requested to communicate at once with the Hon. Secretary. The special Congress Intercession Service will be held in the Lady Chapel, Old St. Paul's, on October 1st, at 5 P.M. (MISS) C. PLAYFAIR.

**Fulham and West Kensington.**

It is hoped that all Members will attend a C.L.W.S. Service on October 6th, at 8.15 P.M., in St. Andrew's Church, by kind permission of the Rev. G. D. Castleden. The Service will be conducted by the Rev. C. Baumgarten, Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury. After the Service Members and friends are invited to 3, Perham Crescent, to discuss plans for future work. (MISS) JANE LOMAX.

**Greenwich and Lewisham.**

New Member: Miss Beeching. We are very sorry to lose our Treasurer, Miss Villiers, as she is leaving the neighbourhood. The Annual General Meeting will be held on Friday, October 17th, at 43, Clarendon Road. Mrs. Cather has promised to speak for us. We are holding a Social Evening on Tuesday, November 25th, in conjunction with the Free Church League. Further particulars will be given next month. Members are asked to book these dates. (MISS) L. H. JARVIS.

**Hampstead.**

Members are earnestly asked to do all that they can to ensure the success of the Meeting at the Town Hall on October 8th (see 'Calendar'). It is the First Meeting of this kind to be held in Hampstead, and we feel greatly indebted to the Bishop of Lincoln for kindly promising to preside. Tickets and handbills may be obtained on application to the Hon. Sec. Volunteers are needed for bill distribution, canvassing and paper-selling. The result of our appeal for contributions to the Special Holiday Fund amounts to date to £1 7s. 6d., i.e., Mr. F. Debenham, 10s.; Mrs. Hicks, 5s.; Mrs. and the Misses Willis, 3s.; Miss E. Morrison, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Henderson, 2s. 6d.; Miss S. van Hollick, 2s. 6d., and Miss C. E. Clark, 2s. (MRS.) LUCY HENDERSON.

**Harrow-on-Hill and Pinner.**

Since the departure of Miss Grey we have been in the position of a branch without a working secretary. Miss Florence Rankin, Grey Lodge, Hatch End, will consent to act as Secretary for a new branch at Hatch End, and Mrs. West, The Nest, The Grove, Pinner, is working up a future branch in Pinner, and Miss Foxwell, M.A., 90A, Wellesley Road, Harrow, is taking over the Harrow Branch in the autumn. This is a district where much good work can be done by the distribution of our literature. Will some one come forward with financial help for this purpose? (MRS.) GERTRUDE HINSCLIFF.

**Ilford.**

New Members: Miss Martin, Mr. Martin, Mrs. Tilley, Mrs. Crofts, Mrs. Gregory.

A very pleasant evening was spent at the Broadway Chambers, on Tuesday, September 2nd, when we commenced our autumn work with a Musical Evening. A very eloquent and impressive speech was given by Miss Bonwick, B.A. The meeting was well attended.

The Secretary would also like to thank all who so readily volunteered to work for our combined meeting of the C.L.W.S. and "Votes for Women" Fellowship on October 14th, when we hope to have the pleasure of listening to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and the Rev. F. M. Green. Will *all* members please keep that evening free, and bring with them a friend who has never before attended a Suffrage meeting? Tickets, 2s., 1s., 6d., and 3d., should be obtained as soon as possible from the Secretary. (Miss) M. HAWLEY.

#### Irish Branch (Dublin).

New Members: Canon A. Lockett Ford, Mrs. Lockett Ford.  
(Miss) M. L. STACK.

#### Kensington

A Lending Library has been opened at 21, Lexham Gardens, S.W. Annual subscriptions, 1s., should be paid to the Librarian, Miss Amabel Ransom. It is hoped that Members will avail themselves of this opportunity of gaining information about our Movement. The catalogue includes novels, as well as serious works.

The Kensington Branch did well with paper-selling on July 26th, and one or two Members have kindly kept the pitch going during August and September. But the holiday season being over, the Secretary hopes to receive more offers for paper-selling. She also begs Members to be kind enough to send her their holiday gifts at the very beginning of October. (Miss) LINA ROSS.

#### Liverpool and District.

New Member: Mr. H. N. Cox.

On the Day of Intercession, Wednesday, October 1st, Holy Communion will be celebrated at Christ Church, Hunter Street, at 10 A.M., by the Vicar, the Rev. V. S. Ellis; and at 8 P.M. the Rev. A. E. Wykes, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Grove Street, will have a special Evensong and Sermon: the preacher will be announced on the handbills. Members are earnestly requested to make these services known. The Congress Prayer will be offered at other churches in the city.

Our Open-Air Meeting on New Brighton sands was a success. A large audience listened to Mrs. Evan's and Mr. Allerton's addresses quietly and with interest, and Magazines were sold.

Arrangements are being made for a Public Meeting. The banner workers have begun, and will welcome small contributions. Thanks for those already received.

(Mrs.) L. M. WALLACE.

#### Manchester.

New Members: Rev. — Tozer, Mrs. Russell, Miss C. M. T. Brooke, Miss M. E. Leather Barrow.

A very successful Garden Meeting was held on September 16th, at the Rev. F. W. Cooper's house, Prestwich. Our speakers were Mrs. Llewellyn Herford, Miss C. M. Hatton, Rev. F. W. Cooper, and Rev. G. M. Taylor. The Rev. A. E. Cornibee presided; we gained two new Members.

Our Day of Intercession will be held in Sacred Trinity Church, Salford. We tried to have it in the cathedral, but the Dean thought it "too soon" after our last Day of Intercession!

We are hoping for a good meeting on October 7th, in the Houldsworth Hall, Church House.

(Misses) M. F. and H. M. NORBURY.

#### N. Hants.

New Member: Mrs. Kemp.

(Miss) EDWARDS.

#### Norwich.

New Member: Miss Eugenia Cripps.

At a Committee Meeting on September 10th it was decided to start a Study Circle in November. The subject to be 'Sweated Labour.' It was also decided that we should have a Devotional Meeting at 10A, Castle Meadow, on Oct. 3rd, in connexion with the Church Congress devotions.

The Secretary wishes to acknowledge Holiday Gifts received from Mrs. Goodchild, Dr. Margaret Boileau, Miss Constance Smith, Mrs. Hankinson-Cox, Mrs. Barcroft, Miss Grace Spalding, and the Rev. F. G. E. and Mrs. Field. (Miss) CATHERINE E. STILL.

#### Sheffield.

New Member: Mrs. H. B. Cramp.

(Miss) M. V. PALMER.

#### Sheringham.

New Members: Mrs. Evans, Rev. E. H. Taylor, Miss Hilda Page (to be transferred to Central Branch).

An Open-Air Meeting was held on the Cliffs at Sheringham, on August 21st, when Dr. Helen Hanson, M.D., spoke to a large and interested audience. The chair was taken by the Rev. Anthony Fenn, Rector of Stibbard. There was a good sale of literature, amounting to 6s. 3d., and a collection of 13s. 9d. was taken.

(Miss) F. MOORE.

#### Stratford-on-Avon.

New Members: Mrs. Cross, Mrs. Tome, Miss Eaves.

Holiday Gifts total 4s. 6d.

We hope to have a Meeting the second week in November. Will any Members who have time to spare communicate with the Secretary? (Miss) MARY EAST.

#### Walsall.

Members are reminded that Wednesday, October 1st, is being observed as a Day of Special Intercession for the Women's Movement during the Church Congress. At 7 A.M., at St. Mary and All Saints', the Vicar, the Rev. and Hon. S. G. W. Maitland, will ask for Special Intercessions. At 7.30 A.M., Holy Communion will be celebrated at St. Peter's by the Rev. C. E. McCreery.

The Committee of the C.L.W.S. and the N.U.W.S. Societies are issuing invitations for a Meeting in the Co-operative Hall, on Saturday, October 25th, at 3 P.M., when Mrs. Kempthorne has kindly consented to take the chair. The speaker will be Miss Abadam. Members are urged to make the Meeting known, particularly amongst Church workers. Application for further invitations should be made to the Secretaries or Members of the two Societies. Additional copies of the Magazine will be undertaken for October.

Special Congress Number.—Volunteers for street-selling and otherwise are asked to send in their names. (Miss) E. P. COOKE.

#### West Holloway.

New Member: Miss E. Bayley.

On September 6th the Branch held a Meeting at 13, Stock Orchard Crescent, by kind permission of Mr. and Mrs. Ayres. Miss G. Bayley read a paper on 'Woman's Position in the Church.' An interesting discussion followed.

(Mrs.) M. AYRES LUCAS.

### MEMBERSHIP FORM.

I am a Member of the Church of England.\* I approve the objects and methods of the C.L.W.S., and desire to be enrolled as a Member of the.....Branch†

I enclose an Annual Subscription of .....‡

Name and Title.....

Address .....

\* If not a member of the Church of England substitute the title of the Church to which you belong. It must be in full communion with the Church of England.

† Where no local branch exists in your neighbourhood you should join the Central Branch.

‡ Minimum Annual Subscription, 1s.

### POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION FORM.

To the Secretary, C.L.W.S.

6, York Buildings, Adelphi, London, W.C.

I enclose herewith an Annual Postal Subscription of 1s. 6d. for the Monthly Paper of the League.

Name and Title .....

Address .....