

# WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THE COMMON CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

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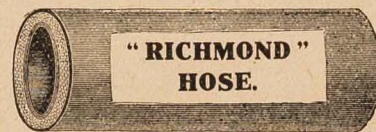
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## Notes and News.

### The National Union in Council.

The Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies met on Tuesday and Wednesday, April 27th and 28th, in the Chelsea Town Hall. The hall is a large one, but its capacity was taxed to the utmost to seat all the delegates who were present. The meeting was certainly the largest that has ever gathered together to consider the position and policy of the Union. Even the gallery was crowded, and every seat in the body of the hall was occupied. The business was, of course, confidential.

### Disabilities of Professional and Working Women.

With the close of the Woman's Kingdom Exhibition, we propose to start at once on a new section of the National Union's educational campaign. The large subject of the disabilities imposed by law, or by custom, which will require legislation to break it down, upon women in their attempt to earn a livelihood, will be dealt with in a series of articles by experts. We begin this week with a criticism from the pen of Miss Clementina Black, of the Report issued by the Civil Service Commission.

### The National Liberal Federation and Woman's Suffrage.

We learn that the wording of the Suffrage resolution passed by the National Liberal Federation was not given quite correctly in the *Manchester Guardian*, from which we quoted it. It should run:—"That this General Committee desires to record its approval of the principle of Woman's Suffrage." The terms were less urgent and less satisfactory than those quoted, and the matter is too important not to be very carefully chronicled. It is, however, obviously well to have even this expression of opinion from so powerful a body.

### A Very Obvious Trap

Opponents of the Plumage Bill have, with ingenuity worthy of a better cause, actually decided to harness the whole of the Suffrage movement into its service. A resolution is, we understand, to be moved to the effect that the Bill should wait for the enfranchisement of women, before being placed on the Statute-book, as it is women who are chiefly concerned! That the House of Commons should defer legislation about hat trimmings while it deals with Taxation, Wages-Boards, Education, Disestablishment, the feeding of school-children, Insurance, &c., &c. (the list is endless), because the hat-trimming business affects women, is really too engagingly absurd a suggestion for the most guileless. That any "legislation concerning women" should be proceeded with without the enfranchisement of women is the real injustice. But the traders in feathers who fear for their profits may rest assured that women will offer no opposition to the protection of the birds. If Suffragists were to fall into this preposterous trap, they would naturally array against Women's Suffrage the whole forces of the plumage trade, anxious to postpone the day of their enfranchisement.

### The Woman's Movement in Russia.

The *Times* Special Supplements must surely be rapidly converting the *Times* public to Woman's Suffrage. Nothing could be better propaganda than the Russian Supplement of April 27th, with its admirable article on the position of Russian women. It is a curious and a deeply interesting fact that equality, whether of rights or wrongs, seems to produce comradeships and mutual respect between men and women; while inequality breeds suspicion and hostility. In Russia the long and bitter struggle for freedom brought men and women together, as in Australia, New Zealand, and Norway, equality in liberty has done. But when men gained even the shadowy rights of representation in the Duma, and the women were left out, that comradeship began to break down. It will need the restoration of equality—in freedom this time, we hope, and not in suffering—to restore that good feeling which prevailed when the struggle was a common struggle towards a common good.

### The Double Standard Again.

It is interesting to compare the fevered anxiety of the British press to count the votes cast by women in the first elections in which they took part in Chicago, with its complete silence on the subject of the votes cast by men at a recent election in New York. One-fifth of the voters went to the poll on a question connected with a revision of the Constitution, of which the *New York Times* says, "few things are more important." The writer

adds, "Women Suffragists are welcome to all the advantage they may gain, and any taunts and gibes they may direct against the male voters will be freely forgiven. Women would have striven in vain to do anything sillier!" It is rather poor comfort for the women; but what is a real source of hope is that where women vote, the interest of men has increased, and the male vote has gone up.

### Women and the Churches.

Women whose interest in religious work prevents them from diverting their energies into the Suffrage movement, might do a real service to their sex in another way. We are informed that much of the apathy of "religious people" towards the Woman's Movement is due to the fact that it has as yet made small stir in their particular world. Women do not demand wider opportunities of service, better training, or better positions on governing boards. If this is so, women should begin doing so at once! Only so will they persuade their world that the movement among women is a real and a vital one, for people judge always by what they see and feel themselves. It is true that the women who care most for progress are so repelled by the attitude of the Churches towards their aspiration that they have largely turned to other kinds of work, and notably to Suffrage work. We think they are wise. But there remains a number whose interests, or whose duty keeps them from this course, and upon them we urge most strongly the other method of advance.

### Progress.

It is true that there is a change in the atmosphere of the Churches. A correspondent informs us that in Halifax the "parent-church" of Congregationalism has lately passed a resolution affirming that women should be eligible as deacons. The Congregationalists have, we believe, always been in the forefront of progress in these matters.

### Equal Standards.

The report of the Committee appointed by Convocation to consider the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, has reported against all grounds for divorce with the notable exception that it approves of the equalisation of the law as between the sexes. That is to say, admitting that infidelity is a ground for divorce on the part of the husband, it must also be admitted as a ground for the wife to obtain similar relief. It is striking that, as far as we are able to discover, no one in the whole country—that is to say, no body of people, we cannot, of course, speak for individuals—has failed to assent to this elementary act of justice. It was the one on which the whole of the Royal Commission was agreed. Nevertheless, the grievance admitted by all remains unrelieved, and Mr. Asquith has said he has no intention of introducing legislation on the subject. It is impossible to suppose that this would be the case if the grievance was one felt by voters.

### Local Government.

The very interesting report of the Local Government Society shows that 679 women are now serving on Education Committees. The number is slowly increasing, but it is of course small compared with the number serving on School Boards before 1902. Mr. Balfour's Education Act swept away this opening for women in Local Government, and no amount of service rendered, or duties admirably fulfilled, availed to save these voiceless persons from being sacrificed to political exigencies.

### Women Chairmen.

Among other interesting items, we observe that seven women have been appointed Chairmen of Boards of Guardians, two of whom (Miss Duncan and Miss Seddon) also discharged the office of Justice of the Peace in the matter of signing certification orders for pauper lunatics. In Ireland, Mrs. Ellegot has been appointed as Collector of Town and Water Rates in the Listowel U.D.C., and two ladies as "Clerk and Executive Sanitary Officer."

### A New Serial for "The Common Cause."

Mrs. Rentoul Esler, whose work as a novelist has been compared with that of Miss Edgeworth, begins her new serial story, "Wind and Tide," in THE COMMON CAUSE next week. To all who know her writings, this will be good news, for Mrs. Esler is a novelist of originality and distinction. To the few who do not, we can promise a delight in store, and we urge all our readers to seize this opportunity to enrol new subscribers to THE COMMON CAUSE.

## In Parliament.

[We make no attempt to give a full account of the week's proceedings in Parliament. Our aim is merely to show what Parliament is doing with regard to questions which we have special reason to think would be more satisfactorily dealt with if women had the vote.]

Wednesday, April 22nd.

### MILK (SUPPLY AND SALE).

MR. ASTOR (Plymouth, U.) moved that fresh legislation be needed to control the supply and sale of milk. He said his intention was to try to discover what the intentions of the Government were. The late President of the Local Government Board had introduced several Milk Bills; the Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis had reported in favour of legislation a year ago; the new President of the Local Government Board had welcomed the Report. "The welcome remains; the legislation has not yet arrived." Mr. Astor quoted various authorities in support of the view that infected milk was a source of tuberculosis, especially in children. In London 10 per cent. of the milk is tuberculous. Legislation about milk is antiquated, and the regulations in different parts of the country so various as to leave the farmer in a state of utter bewilderment. It ought to be possible to classify milk, so that the public should know what they were buying. It would not be necessary to forbid the sale of inferior milk, but people should be in a position to know exactly what was offered them. Pasteurised milk had been used in New York with immediate effect on the infant death-rate, and he believed it could be used here, but only under Government inspection and control.

SIR RANDOLF BAKER (N. Dorset, U.) urged that it was not proved that tuberculosis could really be transmitted to human beings from cow's milk. MR. ALDEN (Tottenham, L.) claimed that the latest authorities on the subject had proved beyond doubt that it could be, and was. He did not believe we could get pure milk without further legislation. Other speakers strongly endorsed this view.

MR. H. SAMUEL (President, Local Government Board) agreed with this view, and admitted the absurdity of carrying on "a great national campaign against tuberculosis," while ignoring this great source of infection. The Royal Commission of 1901, after six years of investigation, had unanimously reported that a great deal of disease, especially among the young, must be attributed to the consumption of milk containing tuberculous bacilli. The Departmental Committee on Tuberculosis had come to the same conclusion:—

"It is also agreed on all hands that the present measures which are taken by the law and the administration of the law to stop these hundreds and thousands of deaths of children, especially from tuberculosis through milk, are quite inadequate. This death-rate continues, and the children are now dying. Week by week and month by month thousands more of them are suffering from hip disease, diseases of the glands, and other causes, which we are told on the best authority are the result of taking tuberculous milk, and it is plain that it is the duty of the State to take these matters into account, and to act effectively."

MR. SAMUEL believed that the law might be made much more effective, and that such adulteration of milk existed which could not be checked without further legislation. There was an enormous body of expert opinion behind the demand for it. "This is a matter for the general law: it is not a matter for local legislation." A Bill would certainly be introduced very shortly, and he hoped to make it an agreed Bill. The question was put and agreed to.

Thursday, April 23rd.

### POLICE STATION MATRONS.

MAJOR GILMOUR (E. Renfrew, U.) asked the Home Secretary, with reference to the conditions of service of matrons in police stations, whether they are on duty from 4 p.m. to midnight in one week, and from midnight till 4 a.m. the next, and on alternative Sundays from 10 p.m. till 4 a.m. Monday, and receive no pension, no police medical attendance, and no pay during sickness nor during their one week's holiday; and if so, whether he can see his way to improve the position of these women, whose duties are arduous and often repulsive and dangerous?

MR. MCKENNA: The hours of attendance vary according to local circumstances, but may be said to be approximately as stated, except that during most of the night-time they are resting, and are relieved from attendance before 10 a.m. whenever possible. Arrangements for a weekly rest day have also been made. The appointment is not pensionable, and matrons do not receive ordinary pay during sickness and annual leave, but they receive sickness benefit and medical attendance under the National Insurance Act."

### SUPPLY.

In Committee of Supply, MR. JAMES HOGGE pointed out that the wages of female typists in the Treasury Department were

from 20s. to 26s., and some charwomen got as little as 10s. a week. Yet the estimate of sales from waste amounted to £7,000. He would like to know whether these charwomen were engaged all the time, and how such wages compared with those paid elsewhere.

SIR J. D. REES (E. Nottingham, U.) complained that the hon. member was "egging-on" the Government to increase the pay of its female employees. "If they are satisfied and can be got at this wage, I think it inconsistent of the hon. member to urge the Government to increase those wages."

Friday, April 24th.

### JUNIOR ASSISTANT MISTRESSES (IRELAND).

MR. FLAVIN (N. Kerry, Nat.) asked the Chief Secretary how many junior assistant mistresses at present in the service of the National Board in Ireland are in receipt of a salary less than the full allowance of £24 a year?

MR. BIRRELL (Secretary for Ireland): The Commissioners of National Education inform me that there are 176 junior assistant mistresses in receipt of a salary of less than £24 a year, and of these fifty-four are engaged in schools whose averages range from thirty to thirty-five."

Monday, April 27th.

### PLURAL VOTING BILL.

In the debate on the Plural Voting Bill all the threadbare arguments, for and against, were reproduced; but it was obvious that most of the speakers regarded the question purely as it would affect the chances of their own party.

MR. HUME WILLIAMS (Bassetlaw, U.) complained that while the anomalies and injustices of our present electoral law are patent, the Government had chosen to deal with only one, and demanded:—

"Why are they left unremedied? Why do the Government choose but one admittedly small item which they are pleased to christen an anomaly and deal with that, while leaving all the others untouched? I think the reason is obvious. They do not know what the result of a real reform might be upon their electoral prospects. They do know what the result of this bill is going to be."

SIR JOHN RANGLES (N.W. Manchester, U.) reminded the Government that their earlier Reform Bill had held out "possibilities and hopes of votes for women:—

"Perhaps a good deal of trouble in the country in connection with that question might be attributable to the manner in which the Government have dealt with electoral reform."

He warned the Government that the country would regard this Bill purely as an electioneering trick, and urged that they should not let it be thought that "the House of Commons is legislating to perpetuate its own personal membership, and to perpetuate in place and power any Government."

MR. HARCOURT (Secretary of State for the Colonies) confessed that the Government were dealing with the matter because they found it to their own advantage to do so, and said that the very fact that the Opposition suggested that this was so showed that the extent to which the Liberals suffered was the exact measure of the extent by which the opposite party gained.

In defending the Government's conduct with regard to the Reform Bill he maintained that "all these reforms had to be postponed owing to the unfortunate insistence of some ladies who desire the vote" and that they must now be content with what could be got in the lifetime of the present Parliament.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON (Barnard Castle, Lab.), though supporting the Bill, regretted that the Government had never yet introduced a Bill for dealing with the anomalies as injustices of electoral laws, "such as the greatness of the question, or the justice of the position required." It seemed to him that the Labour Party had as much reason to object to these anomalies as the Opposition.

"We are specially interested, as we have demonstrated in this House on many occasions, in the great question of the non-representation and the non-enfranchisement of women. We would have liked, if it had been possible, for this question to have been treated along with the question of plural voting in a great scheme of electoral reform."

### Resolutions passed at Council Meetings of the N.U.

Among other resolutions, the Council unanimously passed the following:—

This Council welcomes the introduction of a Women's Suffrage Bill in the House of Lords.

Also (with regard to Mrs. Humphrey Ward's Advisory Committee):—

This Council strongly condemns the organisation of an unrepresentative advisory council of women, not free to discuss all questions of interest to the country and without power to enforce legislation, as a substitute for the Parliamentary Enfranchisement of women.

## Studies in Freedom. III.

A last point, and probably the most important of all, remains to be touched upon in connection with the probable action of women on the political life of a nation. It is assumed that they can or would only be able to think parochially; that in all those great matters which affect the existence of a nation as a whole, they would be incapable of taking a wide, statesmanlike view. In fact, it is assumed that in such matters their influence would be politically fatal, though on what grounds the assumption is made it is difficult to discover.

How ridiculous this argument is, can be shown by the testimony of facts from the country that has in other respects proved how fallacious are the assumptions usually made regarding the political influence of women when placed on an equality with men. Since its conquest from Sweden in 1809, Finland has occupied the position of an autonomous portion of the Russian Empire, governed by the Tsar, as Grand Duke, through its own Diet, under its own Constitution. Under that Constitution, Finland has given a lesson to the world of peaceful development and self-expression, economically, educationally, socially, and artistically, that has rarely been equalled, and never surpassed.

But evil fate has dogged this little country. Some eight years ago it suffered acutely from attacks on its freedom by the reactionary party then in favour at the Russian Court, whose designs found a fitting tool in the Governor-General of dubious memory—Robrikoff. The *dénouement* of that period is too well known to require repetition; and for a time peace returned.

But, since the granting of universal suffrage, dark days have come once more, and Finland is threatened with constitutional annihilation. Here, if anywhere, is one of those questions which stir the political conscience to its profoundest depths. Here is a test of the ability of politically-minded woman to leave the narrow circle of her immediate interests, and to rise to the height of national political thought and action. It is, so far as Finland is concerned, a question exactly paralleling the questions which at home we are accustomed to call "Imperial," in contradistinction to "local" questions. What has happened? The words of the late Senator Mechelin, written only a few months before his death, are full of significance. "In the present difficult times, when ceaseless encroachments of the Russian Government threaten our autonomy and injure the activity of the Diet, there is a lifting and a strengthening of the feeling of solidarity of the nation, to which the political equality of the woman contributes in a way that can hardly be over-estimated."

The opinion of another of the political leaders of Finland is even more emphatic. "In what concerns the vital question of our country—our Constitutional fight—the woman stands by the side of the man, with clearer comprehension and stronger resolution to protect, along with him, the rights of the fatherland, than she could ever have done in her former vote-and-right-less condition." Opinions, equally favourable, could be multiplied. On this question one of the foremost among the female politicians says:—"Women's political freedom has strengthened our resistance against Russian oppression. Women are now fully aware of the danger, and stand side by side with the men. Constitutional ideas have been introduced into the homes, and children are now brought up in the idea of national defence; while in the Diet, most women representatives, on these great political questions, belong to the wing of strongest constitutional opposition." That is a frank statement which has little of the "parochial" ring about it, and I recommend the point about home education in great political problems to "imperial-minded" opponents of women's freedom here in Great Britain.

A similar point, supporting the contention of this article, is furnished by Norway. The question of national defence is acute there, and, judging from the mysterious activity of Russia in Finnish Lapland and in the neighbourhood of Torneo, it is likely to be even more acute in the future. A woman member, Miss Anna Rogstad, was thanked by the Norwegian Minister for War for her speech on the defence question, and for the influence she exerted in the country on the problem. She showed a thorough and sensible grasp of the question, and earned universal recommendation. And that on a subject about which women are always told they know nothing!

There is no need to labour the point. In every particular it has been seen that in those countries where political equality exists, women have given the lie to the assumptions so freely and groundlessly made concerning their capacity for political action. It would seem that the opponents of freedom imitate the tactics of the cuttlefish, and when driven into a corner, darken the waters of controversy by ejecting a stream of turbid statements, under cover of which they hide from pursuit. When brought into the open, they ignominiously fail. W. G. GOODE.

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## INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN.

The International Council of Women will hold its Quinquennial Sessions at Rome, from May 4th—13th. It is expected that representatives of over twenty nationalities will take part in the conference, the headquarters of which will be the Hotel Quirinal. Resolutions will be moved on the following questions, among many others:—

- "The equal rights of parents with regard to their children.
- "The Civil Rights of Women in respect to Personal Rights and Property.
- "Effective protection of women against the abominable violation to which they are the victims in times of war.
- "The formation of Juvenile Courts in all countries, with women to preside over them.
- "The licensing of employment and registry offices.
- "Suppression of houses of ill-fame.
- "Supervision of young girls travelling on steamers.

On May 15th there will be a big Suffrage meeting, organised by the Italian Suffragists, and from the 16th—24th a Congress arranged by the Italian Council of Women Workers.

## REGISTRATION OF NURSES.

The seventh annual Conference on Nursing and Midwifery was held at Westminster from April 28th to May 1st. Miss Zoe Puxley, who presided over the political section, referred to the growing recognition of nursing as one of the most important factors in public health work, and Sir Victor Horsley moved a resolution calling upon the Government to accept Dr. Chapple's Bill for the State Registration of Nurses.

Registration, he said, would consolidate the profession, and would improve education, conditions of work, and the social status of nurses. It would also make it possible for them to secure a proper remuneration for their work. "People say to me," said Sir Victor, "that nurses are fairly well remunerated. I think exactly the opposite. I am perfectly certain that a great deal of the shortage of nurses at present is due to that simple fact." The public did not realise that the question was not only one of advantage to the nursing profession, but primarily it was a question of public health. Surely the public would not tolerate it, if they realised that children with infectious fevers were now being left in the homes of the poor, because the fever hospitals could not take them in.

Lord Knutsford stated several objections to registration, and maintained that it did not guarantee the fitness of a nurse or her character. A vote resulted in the resolution being carried by a large majority.

## DEARTH OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

The report of the Board of Education for 1912-13, issued on April 18th, draws attention to the dearth of elementary school teachers in England, which it describes as a "very grave situation." The following table shows that the number of bursars and pupil teachers, from which the supply of teachers is mainly drawn, has greatly diminished during the last few years:—

	Pupil Teachers.		Bursars.		Total Entrants.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	
1906-7	2,468	8,550	—	—	11,018
1907-8	2,092	6,205	637	1,406	10,340
1908-9	1,302	3,907	1,112	2,393	8,714
1909-10	894	2,956	1,090	2,251	7,191
1910-11	583	2,020	723	2,041	5,376
1911-12	393	1,562	614	2,135	4,813
1912-13	295	1,173	598	2,225	4,398
1913-14	251	1,203	598	2,434	4,486

There are many causes for this decline, but the chief appears to be economic. While the average salaries of certificated teachers have increased, during the last ten years, there has also been a considerable rise in the cost of living. Also, the bursar system, which is now the commonest avenue to the teaching profession, has postponed the time of wage-earning till the age of nineteen, or even later, so that during the secondary school period boys and girls not only contribute nothing to the family income, but are often a charge upon it. It is true that maintenance grants have been awarded in many cases, but these have been small, and have not been granted till the pupil was seventeen or eighteen. During the last few years, too, owing to trade prosperity, the number and variety of other openings for boys and girls has increased, so that the teaching profession appears less attractive.

The Board proposes remedies under three heads:—

- (1) The development of rural pupil-teachership on improved lines;
- (2) some further assistance by the State to meet the expenses incidental to preliminary education where the bursar system is applicable;
- (3) the encouragement and assistance of schemes other than the bursar and pupil-teacher systems for bringing recruits into the profession.

The important question of salaries, however, will still remain to be dealt with, and the Board do not see their way to depart from the essential features of the bursar system. While it has kept out of the profession many children whose parents cannot afford to support them during their period of training, the Board are satisfied that a period of continuous attendance at a good secondary school has resulted in a marked improvement in the general education of intending teachers, and that to abandon it would be to do serious harm to elementary education.

## INTERNATIONAL ABOLITIONIST CONFERENCE AT PORTSMOUTH.

A conference of the Fédération Abolitioniste Internationale, will be held in Portsmouth, June 15th to 18th. This association was founded in 1875 by Josephine Butler, its object being the "abolition of prostitution, specially regarded as a legal or tolerated institution." In addition to this special aim, it also carries on a permanent inquiry as to the moral, economic, or other causes of this evil, and the means of remedying it. The subject of the June Conference will be "A Constructive Policy," for dealing (a) with the Reduction of Venereal Disease, (b) the Reduction of Immorality.

## IRELAND AND MILITANCY.

At first sight the present situation in Ulster might seem a convincing argument in favour of the theory that all political power rests in the last resort on physical force. It is in the memory of all how the Government rejected the amendment proposed by the Opposition excluding Ulster from the action of the Home Rule Bill. It never occurred to anyone that a solution of the crisis might be found in some modification of the exclusion plan.

In March last the Government themselves made a series of suggestions turning upon a conditional exclusion of Ulster. Have any fresh arguments been advanced by the Unionist Party to justify this change of front? None; but the fact that Ulster to-day can put into the field a force of nearly a hundred thousand men, perhaps more than any other part of the Empire where representative government obtains. Australian men are not reduced to a lower political level than criminals, lunatics, and aliens, by going to reside in other self-governing parts of the Empire, and it is intolerable that Australian women should be so degraded.

NEW ZEALAND.  
Infant Welfare.

The *Canterbury Times* reports that, in order to get authentic information as to the number of cases of infantile paralysis and to prevent it spreading, the disease will now be made notifiable.

## SWEDISH ELECTIONS.

The Swedish elections have resulted in the return of 86 Conservatives, 71 Liberals, and 73 Socialists, a disappointing result from the Suffrage point of view.

The question of National Defence has been regarded as paramount by many Suffragists, and the Swedish (affiliated) Suffrage Society, while maintaining its neutral policy as a body, decided to permit its individual members to work for the political party with which they were in sympathy. This attitude shows the keen anxiety of Swedish women in regard to National Defence,

but it may have the lamentable effect of postponing their enfranchisement for many years. There is still a possibility, however, of a Liberal-Socialist combination which might overthrow the present Government and result in a return of Herr Staaf to power.

## SWITZERLAND.

The *Grand Conseil* of Geneva has pronounced against the proposal of the Suffragists to include women in the Council of *Prud'hommes*, a very urgent reform from the point of view of the woman worker, who is now dependent upon men for the settlement of her trade disputes. However, the majority by which the proposal was rejected was a small one, and *Le Mouvement Feministe* remarks:—"We are beaten but not at all discouraged . . . we are going to begin the battle over again."

## WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN PERU.

"The West Coast Leader" reports that the Woman's Movement has at last spread to Latin America, an organisation having been formed at Lima (Peru) by Señorita Maria Jesus

## NEWS FROM ABROAD.

## AUSTRALIAN WOMEN RESENT APPOINTMENT OF ANTI-SUFFRAGIST GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The following resolutions were passed at a meeting held under the auspices of the Women's Political Association of Victoria:—

- (1) That this Association having received by mail a record of Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson's votes against Woman Suffrage in the Imperial Parliament, protests against the appointment of an Anti-suffragist as Governor-General of Australia and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, that Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson's support of the enfranchisement of women for Home Rule Parliaments does not compensate for his opposition to votes for women for the Imperial Parliament, which is a crime against civilisation as well as against the democratic principles for which Australia stands united.
- (2) That this Association demands that the Commonwealth Parliament shall, on re-assembling, take such steps as are necessary to safeguard the political status of Australian women resident in Great Britain, or in any other part of the Empire where representative government obtains. Australian men are not reduced to a lower political level than criminals, lunatics, and aliens, by going to reside in other self-governing parts of the Empire, and it is intolerable that Australian women should be so degraded.

(3) To secure effective official and private protection for maternity.

(4) To diffuse the principles of the scientific training and up-bringing of children.

(5) To give conferences in harmony with the objects of the association.

Alvarado Rivera, under the title "*La evolucion femenina*." The object of this society is to work for "the advancement and diffusion of feminine culture and to defend the truths, interests and rights of women in all classes of society." Its programme is:—

1. Foundation of a social periodical defending and promoting the work of the society.
2. Urging before the next Congress:—
  - (a) The sanction of the bills tending to assist women and extend their field of action, as certain Representatives have urged.
  - (b) Official protection for the professional and higher education of women.
  - (c) The abrogation of the law which prohibits women from practising jurisprudence.
3. To secure effective official and private protection for maternity.
4. To diffuse the principles of the scientific training and up-bringing of children.
5. To give conferences in harmony with the objects of the association.

During the past week the first meeting of the new organisation was held at the residence of Señora Rosalia de Hermoza, at which a numerous gathering were present.

## FRENCH ELECTIONS.

The *Times*, April 28th, reports:—

"Nearly 17,000 votes were recorded in Paris and suburbs yesterday for the experiment initiated by *Le Journal* to test woman's interest in the franchise in France. The provincial votes—for the experiment applied to the whole country—have not yet been counted; they are received for the most part by post, and will not be counted till the final close of the poll on May 3rd." Suffragists in France, though they have co-operated in this experiment, do not regard it as a "test" of women's desire to vote.

## HUNGARY AND CHILD WELFARE.

A Bill has been introduced into the Hungarian Parliament by Herr Bela Ken, Under Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, for the formation of a new central department for dealing with questions of child welfare. At present there are some 1,000 different societies engaged in various enterprises for the benefit of children, in addition to work carried on by the Municipalities and the State. The idea of the Bill is to concentrate all the effort, and prevent overlapping. According to a correspondent of the *Daily Citizen*:—

"The department would be accommodated in a 'children's house' with local branch establishments, where the offices of the existing societies would be stationed; juvenile courts set up; homes found for stray children; and medical and other advice given to parents. One clause of the Bill provides for the special care of any children in whom unusual talent, in science or in art, is detected and in need of encouragement."



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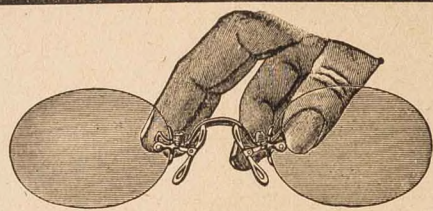


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### WOMENS SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT.

On Wednesday, April 1st (private members' day), Hon. Hugh Wyndham, Member for Turffontein (Johannesburg), moved the Second Reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill in the Parliament of the Union of South Africa.

The Bill consists of two clauses. The first provides that women in each of the four provinces of the Union possessed of those qualifications which would enfranchise men in that particular province, shall be entitled to registration as voters. The four provinces of the Union have different franchise qualification. In the two new provinces, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, there is a strong colour bar, behind which Adult Suffrage is granted to white men. Therefore the passage of this Bill would enfranchise every adult white woman in those two provinces. In Natal there are property qualifications. The Cape Province, in making civilisation rather than colour the basis of its franchise, though it appears less liberal than the white adult Suffrage provinces, is in reality far more so. Here there is a small property or earning qualification, and a very slight educational test. The passage of this Bill would therefore enfranchise a large number of white women, and some coloured women. Its probable effect would be to increase the proportion of the white vote. The second clause of Mr. Wyndham's Bill applies to provinces where the property qualification exists, and provides, in effect, that the man shall have the preference in the case where the property jointly occupied by husband and wife is large enough to enfranchise one, but not both. Otherwise it might be left to mutual settlement which of the two was to exercise the vote.

In the debate, which began early in the afternoon, and continued till the House adjourned just before 6 p.m., fourteen speeches were made, eight in favour of the Second Reading, and six against. Of those in favour of the Bill, the most important were those by the mover himself, Mr. Wyndham (Unionist, Opposition), and the Prime Minister, General Botha.

General Botha made an eloquent speech on the services of South African women, pointing to their self-sacrifice, courage, and heroism in the past, and recalling the promise of citizenship in which the Voortrekkers induced their women to leave their pioneer homes and to start once more their wanderings in the wilderness. His speech, however, contained an insidious suggestion, likely to do the cause infinite harm with the members of his own party, without whose support the Bill has not the remotest chance of passing; and this suggestion was to the effect that country women on their lonely farms would find it more difficult to reach the polling booths than the women of the towns. In other words, the enfranchisement of women, according to him, would be likely to increase the Unionist vote out of proportion to that of his own party. He made some slight reparation in suggesting that it might be possible for the country woman to be allowed to send her vote by post.

The six speeches made against the Bill were all made by the members of the South African Party, that is, by the Government Party. Their main objects were "ridicule and the Bible." However, it must be acknowledged (gratefully) that ridicule had a smaller place, and serious objections greater, than in previous debates.

Of the remaining six speeches on the side of the Bill, four were made by Unionists, one by a Labour member, and one by a South African Party man. That gives the analysis of speakers thus: of the eight in favour, five Unionists, one Labour, and two South African Party (Government). The six against the Bill were all Government Party. This is most ominous, and the six South African Party speakers are an indication of the huge majority on the Government side against the Bill. The matter was not disposed of, but the debate was adjourned till April 20th, so that at the time this paper went to press the result was not known.

E. M. WOODS.

### May Magazines.

*The Englishwoman.*—The May number of *The Englishwoman* opens with an interesting and important article, in which Mr. John, Liberal M.P. for E. Denbighshire, discusses the bearing on the Suffrage demand of the present movement towards Federalism. Though few people seem yet to have thought out very clearly what they mean by Federalism, it is clear, as Mr. John points out, that there is a growing belief that in a federal solution will be found the only "way out" of our present difficulties. In this case—and supposing the tendency becomes a real demand—how will Women's Suffrage be affected? Mr. John points out that Anti-suffragists have largely conceded the right of women to a voice in domestic matters, and that the difficulties with regard to electoral qualifications will be much more easily surmounted in the case of local than of Imperial Parliaments. "Mr. McKinnon Wood, the Secretary for Scotland, has already intimated that the Ministerial Government of Scotland Bill will concede the franchise to women, a statement which, it is fair to assume, must have had the sanction of the Prime Minister." Mr. John's own Bill for the Government of Wales included Women's Suffrage in its provisions. Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon, it is true, show "ingrained Conservatism and obduracy on this point," as regards Ireland; but Ulster will find it difficult to go back on the position conceded by Sir Edward Carson a little while ago, in the case of his proposed Provisional Government. It certainly looks as though women might make a tremendous advance if Federalism is to be the solution of the Irish difficulty, though that advance

cannot be regarded as in any sense final till women have the vote for all government "on the same terms" as men.

Other interesting articles are on the French working-classes, whose less depressing condition than our own Mme. Muriel Ciolkowska attributes in part at least to the fact that "there are no families . . . where the mother is not a bread-winner"; the "Reform of Children's Clothing," a plea that little girls should be set free from the intolerable burden of clothing at present imposed upon them by convention; "The Irish Dramatist," by St. John G. Ervine; and "Marriage Customs in Ireland," by Michael MacDonagh.

*Jus Suffragii.*—A special anniversary number, containing portraits of Mrs. Chapman Catt, the Papal Prelate Giesswein, the Queen of Holland, the oldest voter in Europe (Sophia Palin of Finland), and the Presidents of the National Councils; also a fine full-page cartoon from Rembrandt's "Faust," showing the politician and Woman's Suffrage. Besides reports of the year's work in a large number of countries, this number contains an article by Annie Furuhjelm, M.P., "Woman's Suffrage: A Man's Question," by I. Zangwill; "The Educative Value of Woman's Suffrage," by Emile Vandervelde; "Love and Suffrage," by Gabriele Reuter; "The Logic of Anti-suffragism," by John Galsworthy; "Liberty and Woman's Suffrage," by Hon. S. Barzilai, M.P. (Italy); "The Ethical Meaning of the Woman's Movement," by Dr. Giesswein; "Woman's Suffrage and Division of Labour," by Oda Olberg; "The Municipal Vote in France," by F. Buisson, M.P.; "Women and the Future of the Race," by Jean Finot; "The Woman Citizen," by Jules Bois; "The I.W.S.A. as a Teacher of Languages," by Rosika Schwimmer; and letters from d'Estournelles de Constant, Baroness Suttner, Olive Schreiner, and Hedwig Dohm. French and English editions of this number, which celebrates the tenth anniversary of the Alliance, are to be sold at Rome at the quinquennial Congress of the International Council of Women.

*The Optimist.*—An interesting article by Mrs. Fitzroy Hecht, entitled "The Unknown Quantity."

### Some Recent Books.

*Wealth.* By Edwin Cannan, M.A., LL.D. (King.)

Professor Cannan explains in a preface that "the really fundamental questions of economics are why all of us, taken together, are as well off—or as ill off, if that way of putting it be preferred—as we are, and why some of us are much better off and others much worse off than the average." It is on these lines that he has treated the subject of wealth. The book includes several important matters which are not usually dealt with in general treatises, unless they are of considerable length. Among these may be mentioned one of special interest to women—the question of the inferiority of women's earnings.

"Whether," writes Professor Cannan, "a child is born to parents who are well-to-do or to parents who are poor, it is an economic advantage to be born a boy rather than a girl." He considers that the disparity of incomes between the sexes is one of the "most prominent features of the distribution of incomes," and gives as one of the chief reasons for this inequality "the restrictions which prevent women from entering many occupations in which they could, if allowed to compete, succeed better than they do at present in occupations in which they are allowed."

Professor Cannan also makes the following suggestions:—

"Besides enlargement of the field in which women can be employed, there are two other important ways in which their earnings might be raised. First, the opinion of the consumer about the comparative quality of things produced by men and things produced by women might be modified in a direction favourable to women. At present, for example, many 'consumers' of the service of waiting at table appear to regard the service as superior when performed by a waiter, even if the waitress handles an equal number of dishes with equal dexterity and dispatch. Opinions—or prejudices—such as these are clearly as capable of being changed as opinions about the beauty of tight or loose skirts, or tall hats and bowlers. . . . Girls as a rule do not have so much spent upon them as boys. If they were better fed and trained, their output would be bigger than it now is in occupations in which they compete with men: their average earnings in such occupations would rise more nearly to that of men, and their improved prospects here would relieve the pressure on the special fields in which women only are employed because they are superior to men. . . ."

"The disparity of incomes between the sexes is one of the most prominent features in the inequality of the distribution of income."

*WOMEN IN SEVEN PROFESSIONS.* By Edith J. Morley. (Routledge. 6s.)

A survey of the economic conditions and prospects for women in Teaching, Medicine and Surgery, Nursing (including midwifery and massage), work as Sanitary Inspectors, and Health Visitors, as Civil Servants, as Clerks and Secretaries, and on the Stage. The book has been edited by the studies committee of the Fabian Women's Group, and is the result of most careful and thorough research. It contains a more complete survey of the work and opportunities of women in the occupations named—and of the training necessary for each—than has hitherto appeared, and should be read by all who are interested in the progress which women are making in the professional world. Among so much that is interesting, it is difficult to single out a few passages for quotation. It would be easy to select hundreds that give food for thought. The book is invaluable as a work of reference.

*MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.* Cecil Chapman. (Woman Citizen Series. Second Edition. David Nutt. 2s. 6d.)

Mr. Chapman gives the arguments for and against Indissolubility of Marriage, and advocates certain reforms in the Divorce Law which his experience as a magistrate has led him to regard as essential in the interest of national morality. He points out that the members of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes have reported, by a majority of nine to three, in favour of reforms similar to those advocated by himself.

### List of Books Received.

*THE EMANCIPATION OF ENGLISH WOMEN.* By W. L. Blease. (Second Edition. Published by the National Political League. 3s. 6d.)  
*PIONEER WORK FOR WOMEN.* By Elizabeth Blackwell, with an Introduction by Mrs. Fawcett. (Everyman's Library. Dent. 1s.)  
*WHAT IT MEANS TO MARRY; OR YOUNG WOMEN AND MARRIAGE.* By Dr. Mary Scharlieb. (Casell. 2s. 6d. net.)  
*PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE.* By Walter Heape, M.A., F.R.S. (Casell. 2s. 6d. net.)  
*CHILD LABOUR IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.* By Frederic Keeling. (King. 7s. 6d.)  
*DAMAGED GOODS.* A Play by Brieux. Translated by John Pollock, with a Preface by Bernard Shaw and a Foreword by Mrs. Bernard Shaw. (A. C. Fifield, 13, Clifford's Inn, E.C. 1s. net.)  
*TIGER.* By Witter Bynner. (Rider. 1s. net.)  
*PHILIP'S WIFE.* A Play by Frank G. Layton, M.R.C.S. (A. C. Fifield. 1s. net.)

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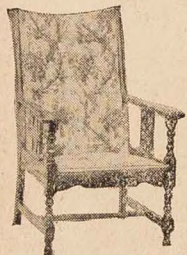
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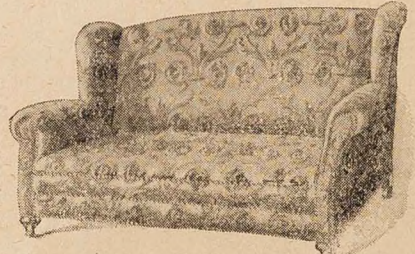


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## Correspondence.

[Correspondents are urged to write briefly, as we receive each week a greater number of letters than we can possibly print. They are also warned to write on one side of a page only. Letters with writing on both sides must in future be consigned to the waste-paper basket.]

### THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER.

MADAM.—A number of articles and letters have recently appeared in your columns dealing with the question of education, especially in connection with school-leaving age and vocational training, and the relation of these to the duties and happiness of the citizen. There are one or two considerations bearing on these points which I think are apt to be forgotten, and with your permission I will draw attention to them.

To clear the issue I will begin by expressing my fullest sympathy with the root-idea behind the letters and articles referred to, viz., "La Carrière ouverte aux Talents." No enlightened person would for a moment question that proposition, and we have attained so far in the march of progress that prejudice can no longer prevail upon educational bodies so far as to combat it; it is the general rule to provide opportunity, whether sufficient or not I do not pretend to decide, but at any rate many opportunities are provided for children from humble homes to get a good secondary education. My own experience has been that often more opportunities are provided than there are fit subjects for, and scholarships are frequently bestowed in very unsuitable cases, simply because there is a scarcity of suitable ones. It is, in fact, the talent very often, and not the opening, which is lacking. Many enthusiasts forget that before advanced education is universal, the human material for it to work upon must be immensely improved. There is much facile eloquence expended on the idea of the "educational ladder," as if it were not apparent that a large proportion of those who even now attend the Universities are incapable of using the opportunities which the Universities offer. The fact that we already have a class of young men who waste their time there is a poor reason for claiming that doubtful privilege for all. This sort of talk is unsound, and rests on the false assumption that every child is capable of benefiting from secondary education, whereas the fact is that a very large number soon reach the limit beyond which no more "book-learning" can be assimilated. Keep boys and girls at school till they are sixteen, well and good, if you teach them something capable of developing their mind and character. But keep them all at school with the idea of persisting in making them all learn, say, a modern language, or mathematics, or any other branch of study requiring much mental ability, and you turn many a bright though unbookish child into a stupid dunce. It is this consideration, and not the desire to make a class of manual workers, which is behind the movement in favour of manual or technical training in the last year of elementary school life. Yet one is regarded as a heretic in certain quarters if one advocates a year's training in housewifery as the last year's school course for girls; one is supposed to have as one's ulterior object the providing of a class of domestic servants, leaving on one side the obvious reply that if girls do not want to be domestic servants a year's training will not compel them into that walk of life! Surely it must be admitted that one of the weak spots in the lives of our humbler working class is inefficiency of the wife and mother in the duties which fall to her lot. I hold that these duties are not in themselves either mean, or servile, or narrowing. I hold that the work of a wife and mother not only gives opportunities for the noblest kind of service, but is far more educational than most outside work which women of the working-class would take up in its place. The drawback is not in the nature of the work, but in the conditions under which it is performed. Given on the one hand decent means with which to conduct the economy of the home, and on the other fit preparation for its exercise, surely most women would choose it, with all its variety and all its possibilities, to the alternative of going out to factory or workshop, leaving the home to be organised and run by strangers!

Co-operation is a great saver of labour, but even labour-saving can be carried too far. There is some work which has been done before by countless millions, and will be done by millions more, work in which those millions "must find their happiness or not at all." To come to the practical issue. It is my opinion that every girl-pupil in an elementary school—it is far more important than for the secondary schools, into which, be it noted, the mentally gifted from the elementary schools are early drafted—should have one year's unbroken tuition in housewifery, not to fit her to do other people's work, but to fit her to do her own.

E. WALFORD COMMON.

### CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT.

MADAM.—Your note on this Bill is inaccurate in one respect. It is proposed by the Bill to extend the time during which a charge may be brought from six months to twelve. This is to be effected by amending Clause 27 of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1904, by which the three months originally limited by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, was extended to six months.

In dealing with these matters, which are really vital to the race in general and to women in particular, we have to be thankful for very small mercies very gradually received.

ARCHIBALD J. ALLEN.

[We are glad, indeed, to know that this Bill proposes to extend the time during which a charge may be brought, and admit readily that in this matter reformers have to be thankful for any kind of advance.—Ed., C.C.]

### THE ROKEBY VENUS.

MADAM.—May I point out to you that your statement concerning me and my recent action lacks logic.

You state that I said there is "but one Mrs. Pankhurst," and that you wish to remind me there is "but one Velasquez." If you are referring to the artist himself your statement is absurd, because I did not kill him; if you are referring to the picture, you are following in the Government's footsteps, by comparing the value of a human life to a canvas picture. Comparing Mrs. Pankhurst to five by seven square feet of symbolism—do you not see the lack of logic in your sneer at my effort to point out this very principle?

MARY RALEIGH RICHARDSON.

[Our point was that it was impossible to replace a Velasquez picture without also replacing Velasquez. It is as difficult to do this as to replace Mrs. Pankhurst. And the thing Miss Richardson attempted to destroy is not, as her letter suggests, merely seven square feet of canvas or of symbolism. It was a bit of the soul of Velasquez, to produce which the artist must give blood and tears. If the destruction of this work would save a human life, it must be destroyed, and doubtless Velasquez himself would applaud the act; but to destroy what means so much to human life—to destroy a thing of beauty—out of revenge is not justifiable. Miss Richardson can hardly have persuaded herself that Mrs. Pankhurst would be released an hour sooner if the whole of the National Gallery had been destroyed; but Mrs. Pankhurst was being hurt and therefore her followers hurt other people. Is that a right motive for destroying even seven square feet of canvas? We have no desire to sneer at Miss Richardson, and we trust she will believe that we had not when we wrote the paragraph she complains of.—Ed., C.C.]

### FLOGGING CLAUSES OF THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT.

MADAM.—There is another, side of the flogging question to be considered. It has been clearly shown by Mr. Tighe Hopkins, in his book on penal reform (Wards of the State), that flogging has never been of the slightest use in deterring crime, which has but flourished the more under its action. This is proved by statistics. Apart, therefore, from any humane reason, it is certainly senseless to have recourse to a system which can but brutalize not only the flogged, but the flogger. What type of man must he be who will consent to take a wage for drawing blood from the back of a fellow-creature, bound and helpless before him? Miss Macleod-Cavey writes contemptuously of "sentiment," but it is common sense to suppose that you can make a man decent by whipping him? or to suppose that the more brutal type of man will fear degradation? Surely, the lower down he is in the human scale, the less he minds being degraded, and the less he feels pain.

MAY L. PENDERED.

MADAM.—Re letter in your issue, April 17th, signed Beatrice Macleod-Cavey, on "Flogging Clauses of the Criminal Law Amendment Act." Why not let them be flogged? Is not a man hanged not so much to pay the penalty of his crime, as to prevent other murders being committed? ETHEL T. HALL.

[Modern opinion is surely moving in the direction of reformatory rather than retaliatory or deterrent punishment. And our correspondent ignores the effect of flogging on the flogger.—Ed., C.C.]

### BLOOD-STAINED FEATHERS OR A VOTE.

MADAM.—It appears from the report of the last meeting of the Committee to consider the Plumage Bill, that the supporters of the plume-traffic now hope to utilise the Woman's Suffrage movement to impede legislation which all humane women must desire. This ludicrous proposal to offer blood-stained feathers as a sop to rational beings who demand Parliamentary enfranchisement for serious reasons, is only fitted for a place in the annals of an "Alice Through the Looking-Glass" House of Assembly, or the pages of an early-Victorian "Punch."

ELLA FULLER MAITLAND.

### "GHOSTS."

Magnificent—but dreadful, was the prevailing feeling on witnessing the performance of Ibsen's "Ghosts," arranged by the New Constitutional Society (under the organisation of Mr. J. I. GRIFFIN) on Sunday last, at the Court Theatre.

The story, told with a directness and simplicity that is compelling, is the old story of the "sins of the fathers, &c.," the full significance of which is perhaps only to-day being realised. The play was splendidly acted all round, but special mention must be made of the remarkably fine performances of Miss Bessie RATTON and Mr. Leon QUARTERMAINE. The poignant scene between mother and son in the second act, when the wretched boy tells his mother of the doctor's report of his illness, reached a very high art; and the powerful last scene, when the boy's awful deed materialises, and we saw him become a helpless imbecile before our eyes, was a wonderful piece of acting. The mother's agony of indecision, as to whether or not to keep her promise to her son to give him the poison in the event of the fatal attack—the end being left in doubt as the curtain goes down—was finely portrayed by Miss RATTON.

### "THE PATIENCE OF THE SEA."

The next venture of the "Pioneer Players" will be a performance to be given at the Ambassadors' Theatre on Sunday next of Conoc O'Riordan's "Patience of the Sea." Miss Gertrude KINGSTON will appear in this play, supported by Messrs. Harcourt WILLIAMS and Basil HALLAM. There will also be a public performance on Monday next, at 3 p.m., for which tickets may be obtained at the office of the Pioneer Players, 139, Long Acre, W.C.

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ALL BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS to be addressed to The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., and all ADVERTISEMENTS must reach the Office not later than first post on Tuesday. Advertisement Representatives, S. R. Le Mare.

NOTICE.—This paper is obtainable at newsagents and bookstalls by mid-day on Friday. If any difficulty is found in obtaining it locally, please communicate with The Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE.

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

**Spirits in Prison.\***

One of the most interesting of the books recently produced by the Suffrage Movement has been Lady Constance Lytton's "Prisons and Prisoners." It is impossible not to be moved by its directness and simplicity. Nor, surely, can any reader, however Anti-Suffragist, fail to marvel at a system which condemns such a spirit to Holloway.

Lady Constance Lytton tells us she had always been interested in "prisons and prisoners," and when she became a militant Suffragist, and considered the question of volunteering for a deputation, on which she hoped to be arrested, she had to bear in mind that her desire to know what prison and prisoners were like, might be over-influencing her judgment. Her account of the conditions of imprisonment will, we cannot help hoping, make many realise how stupid and wasteful cruelty is. It is not the sense of physical suffering that afflicts one most, though that, also, is always present, and sometimes, in the case of forcible feeding, is not less than torture. But that which oppresses the imagination of the reader is not cruelty so much as inhumanity—"the expense of spirit in a waste of shame." The attitude of those in authority towards their charges is one of unintelligent and, in a sense, brutal coercion. We say "in a sense," because often there was no intention of being brutal; but the assumption that prisoners are "all bad" belongs not only to the chaplain whom Lady Constance Lytton quotes: it penetrates the whole prison system. Prisoners are handled roughly, or, at least, discourteously—for a push is a discourtesy when a word would suffice—apparently because it is less trouble to push than to speak to a person who has no human rights. The sense of indignity and outrage which this creates is easily understood. It implies so much! It sets one so intolerably apart from one's fellows, who are still good enough and intelligent enough to understand speech! Lady Constance Lytton describes the way in which wardresses and others (if they must speak) speak to prisoners without looking at them; and how, when a pathetic cry came from an old woman during the preaching of a sermon—"Oh, sir, don't be so hard on us!"—the interrupter was at once led out, and the sermon proceeded as if no interruption had taken place.

It is, perhaps, vain to expect that such coercion should provoke anything in return but a desire to coerce. And so from this gentlest of prisoners comes the cry—"Now, when these promises have all been broken, women have taken to burning empty houses. . . . Yes; and they will burn buildings until they are treated rationally, as an equal part of the human race." So do we tread again the vicious circle. Men have coerced women, and women will seek to coerce men. Must it be so? In that case, suffering has taught women very little. The whole moral of this story of prisons and prisoners is that men and women will not be taught to behave rationally by being treated irrationally. They may be prevented by sheer force of prison bolts and bars from hurting Society—for a time. But the mind is untouched, except it be degraded; it is not, and it cannot be, raised to "rational" conduct by coercion.

\* *Prisons and Prisoners.* By Lady Constance Lytton. Heinemann, pp. x.; 337. 3s. 6d. net.

There is a sense in which we, living in time, may possess the future, and conquer the unconquerable past. Nothing, indeed, can alter the things that have been done. Nothing can blot out the record of oppression of the weak by the strong. The fact that men have exploited women, like the fact that the rich have exploited the poor, is part of human history, and remains. But there is yet a sense in which we can conquer history and force it into service; a sense in which we can make it mean what we choose. Women may reflect on their crippled sisters in China, on their outcast sisters at home, and be filled with a burning resentment and conviction that human beings who have inflicted or permitted such horrors are fit for nothing but coercion, and can be moved only by being hurt and wounded. Or, still reflecting on these same iniquities, they may be moved to an infinite pity, and swear that they will willingly hurt no one. Since it hurts so much—so almost intolerably much—to be bullied and coerced and despised, why not refuse to retaliate? To understand is the greatest of all rewards; but if we understood we should not dream that those who break promises will be reformed by burning even empty houses.

The author of "Prisons and Prisoners" has understood the very heart of prisoners in material prisons. It was not she who helped them, she tells us, but they who helped her. They could not help her in any material sense, but they helped her to much understanding, and her counsel to them in return is of the noblest. But we are all prisoners, and there are other prisons than Holloway. We are in bondage to tradition, custom, convention, to our human limitations, to the past. Indeed it is a human condition from which the bravest and freest escape only in degree. Nevertheless, we are not, any more than those in Holloway, "all bad," and because we are not we react disastrously to coercion. Certain kinds of punishment degrade the punished; but it is just because they are still too fine for that kind of punishment. The very fact that it has a brutalising effect proves that those on whom it was tried were meant for something better, would have responded to something more humane. If otherwise, coercion would not morally have hurt them. But human nature always reacts against the assumption that it is "all bad."

The question is—how shall we react? If we strike where we have been struck, and burn down houses when promises are broken, we do, indeed, what history has taught us; and we are conquered by the past. But if we wrest from our imprisonment the power to understand all prisoners—even politicians—even Anti-Suffragists—we force the past into the service of the future, and conquer unconquerable facts.

**The Civil Service and Women.**

The significance of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service is likely to be misinterpreted by people who do not examine carefully not only the signatures appended to it, but also the "reservations" or points upon which various signatories have carefully withheld their agreement. Such an examination reveals the curious facts that the Majority Report, in its entirety, represents the views of one only out of the sixteen persons who have set their names to it, and that, with the exception of the Chairman, every member of the Commission differs from some one or more of its findings.

From Section X. of the Report, which deals with the Employment of Women, eight of the sixteen signatories record their dissent, and from one paragraph, to which we will return later, nine. Section X. opens with a rough statement of the numbers of women employed by the State in industrial, domestic, clerical, official, and other work. In some instances such terms are used as "many," "some," "about," "more than"; and after making a moderate allowance for these uncertain groups, we find that, including unestablished workers, the total can hardly fall below 65,000, and may perhaps considerably exceed that number. It is, therefore, by no means a small army of women which receives its pay from the Treasury of Great Britain—in other words, from the taxpayer.

The Report lays down, very properly, the principle that: "the sole object of recruitment should be to provide the most efficient public service possible, consistently with economy on the one hand, and satisfactory conditions of labour on the other." The wording of this principle will be accepted by almost every employer in the country; but the term "economy" will be interpreted very variously. To one man "economy" means getting workers who will accept very small pay; to another it means giving such good pay and such comfortable conditions as

will make each worker a better human being, and, therefore, a more productive instrument. The influence of these divergent interpretations may be traced in the mental attitudes of several of the Commissioners, and on no topic do they come out more plainly than on the question of the work of women.

In considering this main principle the Report records the claim urged by some witnesses "that in recruiting the public service the difference of sex should be ignored." This claim the Report resists on the ground that it "presupposes the complete interchangeability of women with men in the Civil Service," whereas "the evidence shows that in power of sustained work, in the continuity of service, and in adaptability to varying service conditions, the advantage lies with men."

Now this is the statement from which no less than nine of the sixteen persons who signed the Majority Report record their dissent in the following terms:—

"We believe that efficiency in clerical, as in other forms of labour, depends in part upon the food, housing, recreation, &c., &c., made possible by the salary paid. For this reason we think that no fair inference can be drawn as to the efficiency of the two sexes from a comparison between the work of the existing women clerks and that of male clerks enjoying much larger salaries. And we do not think that the evidence before us (in so far as it is based upon actual experience and not *a priori* consideration) justifies the statement, even in regard to existing facts, that 'in adaptability to varying service conditions, the advantage lies with men.'"

Members of the Commission who adhere to the opinion of the Majority Report are: Lord MacDonnell (Chairman), the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Donald MacAlister, Mr. S. J. G. Hoare, Mr. R. D. Holt, Mr. Percy E. Matheson, and Mr. A. E. Shipley; while those who dissent from it are: The Bishop of Southwark, Sir Kenneth Muir Mackenzie, Mr. Cecil Beck, Mr. J. R. Clynes, Miss Haldane, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Deane Streatfield, and Mr. Graham Wallas. The three remaining Commissioners are those who signed the Minority Report: Sir Henry Primrose, Sir Guy Granet, and Mr. Alfred A. Booth. These gentlemen do not say that the evidence proves any difference between the working powers of men and women. But they do say that: "All experience, we believe, goes to prove that, from various causes leading to less continuity and concentration of exertion, a woman's output of work in a given time is generally less than that of a man." They do not, however, quote any single instance in which men employed at the same or closely similar work, and paid at the same rate, have produced a greater output in the same time than women. Such cases are, of course, not common. There are, however, two examples, both in the Civil Service, in which women and men have been employed in practically the same work, *i.e.*, in factory inspection and in typing, although in both cases the women have been paid considerably less. In the former instance it cannot, I think, be denied by any honest observer that the women have, in fact, done better than the men. Their record, indeed, has been one of which all women may be proud. Their superiority, however, has been probably due to somewhat exceptional circumstances, and women would do wrong to build upon it any assertion of general superiority. The other instance is that of typists. More than one witness declared that men typists had been found unsatisfactory, and been superseded by women who do better, but who, nevertheless, are paid at much lower rates.

As to the improvement in physical condition (and therefore, of course, in power of work) produced in women by better feeding (and in the natural course better feeding is a result of better pay), the evidence of the Deputy-Chief Cashier of the Bank of England is very illuminating. When some twenty years ago the Bank began to employ women, "a very large proportion were invalid on account of various nervous complaints; several medical practitioners of specialised experience were consulted, and the conclusion eventually arrived at was that the women did not take sufficient nourishment in the middle of the day, with the result the Bank were induced to provide them with free luncheon . . . and we have had much less sickness since." Clearly it is not fair to compare women whose salary is small enough to induce undue thrift in food with men receiving double or more than double as much. The sane conclusion is that we do not know and cannot know for at least another couple of generations whether there are any general natural differences between men and women in power of work. At present we can but remark that, before the Civil Service Commission, those witnesses who had most personal contact with women were, on the whole, perceptibly less sure of the existence of any difference, while those who were surest regarded the fact rather as admitted than as requiring the test of experiment.

The existence of such a difference is the main argument of persons who believe that men as men should be paid at a higher rate than women. But even those persons who fully believe that, in the words of the Majority Report, "Women's services are (subject to exceptions which in the higher branches are

important) less efficient on the whole than those of men," are willing to declare that the inequality of pay should not be greater than the inequality of efficiency. The Majority Report recommends that "in so far as the character and conditions of the work performed by women . . . approximate to identity with the character and conditions of the work performed by men, the pay of women should approximate to equality with men."

That declaration of principle is really a verdict in favour of "Equal pay for equal work." What remains for women is to show that on equal terms they are equally efficient—or, more probably that in some departments they are more, and in some less efficient.

On the important question of compulsory retirement at marriage—which, of course, creates an artificial diminution of value by tending to abbreviate the period of employment—the Majority Report is conservative; "the majority of us believe that the responsibilities of married life are normally incompatible with the devotion of a woman's whole-time and unimpaired energy to the Public Service." Eight members of the Commission (those already named, as making a reservation, with the exception of Mr. Boutwood) believe "that there are many cases . . . in which the enforcement of this rule would act to the public disadvantage." The three signatories of the Minority Report do not deliver any opinion upon the point.

Nobody seems to have considered the far-reaching social effects of the restriction. If the Civil Service contains, at present, from 6,000 to 7,000 women, and if the number is likely to be largely increased, if (as is, of course, the case) the restriction has spread from the Government to the Municipal service and now applies to sanitary inspectors, health visitors, to many teachers, and to a considerable body of other employees, we find ourselves faced by battalions of spinster officials. Compulsory retirement on marriage means that something near a million of women are constantly confronted by loss of the occupation for which they have fitted themselves if they marry. Moreover, these are women of whom probably all have passed a medical examination, and are therefore healthy; most have satisfied an educational test, and are therefore rather above than below the ordinary level of intelligence, and the immense majority have entered employment before the age of one-and-twenty. If the regulation acts as a bar to marriage on the part of these picked women—and that it does, to some extent, do so is pretty clearly proved by the annual marriage rate among women in the Post Office, which is but 2 to 3 per cent.—public authorities should surely consider much more seriously than they appear to have done the effect upon national life of that regulation which they are so ready to impose upon a sex not their own. It seems reasonable to believe—with the British law—that restraint of marriage is, as a general principle, contrary to public policy.

The Report recommends that a "special section should be created within the Treasury for the general supervision and control of the Civil Service," but omits to mention the desirability of including women members in that special section. The same eight members of the Commission who demur to a rigid rule of retirement at marriage, point out how necessary is the presence of at least one woman upon that authority. I would venture to add that not only is it necessary to have at least one woman member, but that it is necessary to have in that position one woman (or more) possessing considerable acquaintance with the conditions of the public service and of a character and resolution to give her opinions weight and make her influence valid. Well-meaning ladies of no public experience or accustomed, in the amenities of private life, never openly to maintain their own opinions against those of their neighbours, will not do.

Last of all, I should like to express a hope that when next women are included as members of any public enquiry, their names will be placed in their proper alphabetical position and not relegated in every list, from the Royal Summons to the signatures of the smallest reservation, to a place at the foot, after that of every man. CLEMENTINA BLACK.

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#### BY-ELECTIONS IN GRIMSBY & N. E. SHIRE

By the death of Sir George Doughty, on April 27th, a by-election will be necessary at Grimsby. At time of going to press, the candidates have not been definitely selected. The results of the last two elections have been as follows:—

1906.—Sir G. Doughty (U.)	6,349
H. H. Haldinsein (L.)	4,040
T. Proctor (Lab.)	2,248
Unionist majority over Liberal	2,309
JAN. 1910.—Tom Wing (L.)	7,772
Sir G. Doughty (U.)	7,450
Liberal majority	322
DEC. 1910.—Sir G. Doughty (U.)	7,993
Tom Wing (L.)	7,205
Unionist majority	688

Another Parliamentary vacancy is caused by the death of Mr. W. E. Harvey, Labour member for N.E. Derbyshire. Mr. Harvey had represented the constituency since 1907, the results of the last two elections were:—

JAN. 1910.—W. E. Harvey (Lab.)	8,715
Dr. Court (C.)	6,411
Majority	2,304
DEC. 1910.—W. E. Harvey (Lab.)	7,838
Dr. Court (C.)	6,088
Majority	1,750

Both sides are unprepared for an election, and the choice of candidates is uncertain. Mr. James Martin, president of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, and Mr. Frank Hall, its financial secretary, have been mentioned as possible Labour candidates.

#### BIRMINGHAM SUFFRAGE STALL.

The Birmingham Society think that it may interest readers of THE COMMON CAUSE to hear about the Suffrage Stall they are holding at the annual Bingley Hall Trades' Exhibition, which was formally opened on Monday afternoon, March 23rd, by the Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, who, after the opening, visited the Stall and took some literature. The exhibition will remain open till May 31st. During the first fortnight six new members were enrolled, and over 224 "Friends" signed cards, many of them men who have signified their willingness to ask questions at meetings. A fair amount of literature was sold, of course including THE COMMON CAUSE, and a great deal of free literature distributed.

Amongst the many visitors to the Stall have been people from New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Roumania, Canada, Damascus, and the States. The Stall is the outcome of an idea of a member of the Birmingham Society, and bids fair to be an excellent piece of propaganda work, inasmuch as the exhibition has been visited during the first fortnight by 60,000 people. The manager told one of the ladies at the Stall that at first the other Stall-holders were not at all favourably disposed towards the idea of a Suffrage Stall being held, but many of them are now quite interested, and he thought the Stall was having a good influence, and making an impression.

#### Obituary.

A great spirit has passed away from us—that of Miss A. J. Coles, one of the original members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Her work and influence were of the greatest, and as an ardent Suffragist, she was able to penetrate and understand the motives which underlie the methods of some who uphold militancy, though she was herself never a militant. If she did not come forward on public platforms, she inspired all who came in contact with her with her great knowledge of the meaning and progress of the movement, her faith in God, and in ultimate victory. She had the patience which is necessary to all great achievement, and uncommon naturabilities, combined with a delightful sense of humour, which could enliven and penetrate the very dullest of minds. As she advanced in life, circumstances made it easier for her to devote time more freely to the Suffrage cause, and the loss of her work amongst the poor in Bermondsey is incalculable. She once said that one of the happiest experiences of her life was on the day when she was first able to go out into the streets and sell THE COMMON CAUSE, and to the very last she expressed great joy at the prospect of returning health, with its promise of further service to the cause. Miss Coles was the friend of men as well as of women, and perhaps some of the best acts of her beautiful life can best be told by men.

## WOMAN'S KINGDOM.

### A MESSAGE OF THANKS.

#### SOME OF THE EXHIBITS.

The Exhibition closed on Thursday night, and it only remains now to thank the small army of people who worked so hard through a very strenuous period. There are far too many people who helped us to be mentioned by name, but special thanks are due to the honorary officials and their capable staffs of assistants. Miss Kelsall's task began many weeks before the Exhibition opened, and she and Mrs. Lawrence, her second in command, have had the most arduous work of all our many helpers. To them, and to the small army of volunteer commissionaires, cashiers, and assistants under their leadership, the whole Exhibition owes a deep debt of gratitude.

THE COMMON CAUSE sellers, under the able leadership of Miss Gosse, who is also organising the street selling in London, worked splendidly, and we are sure they have done a great deal towards increasing the circulation of the paper. THE COMMON CAUSE lounge, of which Miss Gosse was in charge, was greatly appreciated by visitors.

Miss Vaughan Jenkins was indefatigable in advertising the Exhibition, especially by means of decorated brakes, an illustration of which appears on this page.

Miss Willis, Miss Joseph, Miss Coleman, Mr. Baker, and other members of the Suffrage Atelier have been indefatigable. The Atelier's task did not end with the decorations. Its members have kept an eagle eye on every corner of the great gallery, which bristled with Suffrage posters, and every coign of vantage, upstairs and downstairs, was occupied by some advertisement of Woman's Kingdom and its attractions, or of the Suffrage question in one of its many aspects. Ugly corners were beautified, and empty spaces filled, scratch entertainments and attractions organised, poster parades undertaken, and thousands of leaflets distributed.

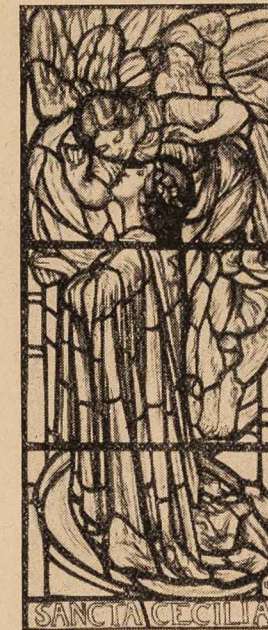
Miss Dorothy Courtney has had another long and heavy job, and not content with organising the Arts and Crafts Section of the show, has done an enormous amount of work in various other departments. Miss Hibbert-Ware has worked indefatigably over the lantern lectures, and so have Mrs. Meeson Coates over the Fine Arts Section, and Mrs. W. N. Shaw over the Photographic Salon. The Actresses' Franchise League have worked magnificently under the

very greatest difficulties, and any organiser would be envious of the way in which they took over a big task and made themselves responsible for every detail connected with their department. Miss Edith Craig deserves a special vote of thanks, for she had organised a series of wonderful shows, which could not be given, and instead of counting up the cost of her lost time and trouble, set to and helped us in all sorts of ways, such as poster parading and selling tickets. Mr. Jack Cheape should also have a vote of thanks all to himself, for he worked at all sorts of jobs, like a navy, from early morning to late at night, for days and days on end.

Our exhibitors cannot be too much thanked. It is the exhibitors who make a show, and the National Union has special cause to be grateful to the exhibitors in Woman's Kingdom—both to those who organised sections, to those who rented space, and also to those who organised demonstrations, chief among whom should be mentioned Madame Edith Garrud, and the girls of the Crouch End High School, whose energy, good nature, and skill has been the wonder of the Exhibition.

The staff deserves a special word of thanks as well. Exhibition work is strenuous, and Exhibition hours are long. Both during the three months of preparatory work, and during the show itself, the various members of the staff have given splendid help and untiring service. And lastly, we thank our advertisers, both in the souvenir and the special Exhibition numbers of THE COMMON CAUSE. To everybody who has helped us in any way, we are extremely grateful.

V. C. C. COLLUM.



DESIGN FOR STAINED GLASS WINDOW BY MARGARET I. CHILTON.

proper care is not taken of the teeth, and suitable antiseptic preparations used.

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Volunteers are asked to communicate with Miss Gosse, at the office of the London Society, 58, Victoria Street, S.W., giving particulars of the time which they are prepared to devote. Though sellers willing to devote a regular time weekly to pushing the National Union's organ are especially needed, volunteers for occasional work

will always be warmly welcomed. So provincial members visiting London are invited to offer their services, if they have a few odd hours to spare.

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(Continued from page 95.)

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