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THE VOTE.  
January 30, 1914.  
ONE PENNY.

**WITHOUT FEAR: C. DESPARD.**

# THE VOTE

**THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.**

VOL. IX. No. 223.

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1914.

Edited by C. DESPARD.

OBJECTS: To secure for Women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

Mr.

Laurence Housman

on

“Be Law-Abiding!”

[SEE PAGES 231-235.]

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## OUR POINT OF VIEW.

### The Majesty of the Law.

We express our warm appreciation of the latest service which Mr. Laurence Housman has rendered the Woman's Cause in general and the Women's Freedom League in particular by his illuminating speech at St. Peter's Hall, Bournemouth. The Hall was let to the League on condition that there should be "No advocacy, or expression of approval, of militancy or of any form of lawlessness on the part of any speaker." Mr. Housman shows how the liberties we enjoy to-day have been won because the doctrine of "Be Law-abiding" has been ignored in the past. We imagine the fierce revolt of educationists, led by Headmasters of Public Schools, which would be the immediate result of banishing the teaching of history from the school curriculum because it showed that liberty was greater than legality. Militancy would be rampant. But more touching still to women fighting against injustice is the picture conjured up by Mr. Housman of the Bournemouth worthies responsible for letting the Hall, doing public penance in the stocks for their own law-breaking in failing to attend church regularly every Sunday morning. In our present issue we give our Bournemouth friends the opportunity of securing in the Hall a verbatim copy of this trenchant speech immediately after its delivery, and bring it at once to the knowledge of others who could neither be in Bournemouth nor in St. Peter's Hall. In view of its importance to our Cause we hold over this week some of our usual features.

### Hiding their Light under a Bushel.

Our readers will remember that in our last issue Miss Margaret Hodge, in her interesting series of articles, "Where Women Vote," told how the non-party Women's Service Guild of Western Australia, by their determination and watchfulness defeated an insidious attempt to reintroduce the Contagious Diseases Acts and to qualify "equal conditions for men and women" in a Divorce Bill. To these noble women a further tribute of praise was paid by Miss Newcomb and Miss Hodge when they were entertained last week at the Suffrage Club, London. But the praise was tinged with reproof because the Women's Service Guild, having won this and other victories, had not thought it worth while to chronicle them. Women who do responsible and important work are still too much inclined to hide their lights under bushels; it is an inevitable result of unequal standards of value which the great movement for the benefit not only of women and children, but of men, is sweeping away. Miss Newcomb drove home her point by telling how news just to hand from Queensland shows the disastrous effect of the modesty of the Western Australian women. In spite of the protests of the women's organisations in Queensland, a Bill was passed "in the last hours of an expiring session" "requiring prostitutes in the Brisbane area to submit themselves to periodical examination." Some of the men legislators wrung their hands over it, but urged acceptance of the clause so as not to endanger the whole Bill, promising to mend matters "if opportunity presents." The result is that not only is the clause in work but the days on which women are to submit themselves for examination are fixed under a penalty of £20 for failure to do so. Had the women of Queensland known how their sisters on the other side of the Australian Continent had successfully withstood the attempt to introduce such legislation, they would have been armed with a strong weapon in their fight. One point, however, must be noted; the Women's Service Guild of Western Australia is independent of political parties; in Queensland the women's political organisations are part of the party machine. We hope that workers in the woman's movement all over the world will take to heart the dangers of false modesty and, remembering how a victory in one part of the battlefield helps the fighters in another, will not deem

it waste of time to chronicle their achievements in any matter affecting the vital interests of women, irrespective of race or creed.

### Our Fight for Justice in the Courts.

Practising what we preach, we are glad to note that the work done by the Women's Freedom League in fighting the orders, "No Women Admitted," or "All Women Leave the Court," was warmly recognised at a discussion which took place a few days ago at the Institute of Journalists, London. The subject was dealt with from the point of view of the woman reporter rather than women as part of the public, but, as the deputation of the Women's Freedom League pointed out when received by Mr. McKenna, restrictions on women journalists because of their sex constitute a grievance and a handicap which cannot be tolerated. There was practically a unanimous opinion that the right of the woman reporter was established—and largely through the determined efforts of the League—but one or two old bogies cropped up: one was the need to protect women from close touch with evil and the knowledge of the degradation of their sex; the other that woman was too emotional to exercise calm judgment in weighing right and wrong. Why, we may ask, is Justice always represented as a woman, and why is it the masculine custom to make men look as much as possible like women by dressing them in wigs and gowns when they are dispensing justice? The battle of the Courts is not yet completely won; we shall go on with our fight and continue to make progress, but the most effective weapon for our full triumph will be the Parliamentary Vote. Its influence in the hands of women, as is being proved in Australia and New Zealand, is felt not only in legislation but in the judicature. America is setting an example to the world in another way—a way which we have been demanding in vain here. A "Public Defender" has been appointed in Los Angeles whose duty is to defend any person accused of crime as diligently as the Public Prosecutor prosecutes. Mr. W. J. Wood was appointed to the office after a competitive examination. All the comfort Mr. McKenna gave to us when we waited upon him was that grievances had to be borne.

### The Immediate Need.

We are glad to note that the articles by Mrs. Hugo Ames on conditions as to the treatment of women in Holloway prison are evoking considerable attention and discussion, and that Captain St. John, hon. secretary of the Penal Reform League, agrees with us in advocating not only trained women nurses in all prisons but that "while it lasts Holloway should be placed in charge of a woman of common-sense, social experience, tact and gentle firmness, with a very free hand"—preferably with no official experience of prisons. We fear London will not be in any hurry to follow the lead of New York in placing a woman in control of all prisons; it will need the women with votes to sweep away the blighting effect of ancient prejudice. The Bishop of London, under the wing of the Bishop of Kensington, is at last intending to verify, by a personal visit, the facts about the forcible feeding of Suffragists in Holloway. We look to him to take the earliest possible opportunity of stating them—heedless of official explanations—to the peers spiritual and temporal in the House of Lords, and demand that this torture of women shall cease.

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## WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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### AT HEADQUARTERS.

**Caxton Hall Meetings.**—Readers are reminded that our meeting next Wednesday afternoon will be of special interest. Mrs. Nott Bower has chosen for her subject that afternoon "Reforms Urgently Needed in Criminal Law." Miss Nina Boyle will also speak, and the chair will be taken by Mrs. Mustard. The following Wednesday, February 11, we shall hold both an afternoon and an evening meeting at Caxton Hall. Mr. John Scurr will speak in the afternoon, and the speakers for the evening will be announced later. All members and friends are invited to both these meetings, when they will hear what the Women's Freedom League thinks of the King's Speech.

**Discussion Meeting.**—Next Monday evening, February 2, at 1, Robert-street, Mrs. Nevinston will open a discussion on "That men, having sole political power, are to blame for the present muddle of society." The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock by Miss Winifred St. Clair. F. A. UNDERWOOD.

### PANIC.

Who is it says "Men cannot be bullied?" They may be persuaded and cajoled; they cannot be driven. How often has that been said to the militant section of the Suffrage Movement? How often is it repeated, by callow youths only just released from nursery coercion, by grey-haired men who bully the waiters at their clubs, by anxious women who take men at their own valuation; while suffrage men and women look on and listen and smile. Smile rather broadly, too, when we hear the gentle blandishments Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson are lavishing on each other and on the unlucky Prime Minister—whose proneness to yield to persuasion is so marked a feature of his character! We not only smile, we laugh aloud, when we note the postponement of Cabinet engagements, the coy fashion in which Mr. George and his genial colleagues are fencing with the rather natural desire of the wooing public to listen once more to the voice of the Cabinet charmers. It is the sweet cajoleries of the Concert of Europe, no doubt, that have so impressed Mr. Churchill with the necessity for more Dreadnoughts; or the siren song of Labour and Strike that will cause the mariners of Downing-street to deviate from their appointed course. "All done by kindness," like the Hagenbeck family at Earl's Court; what a pity that suffragists alone should show this determination of perverse violence!

There is only one conclusion. Women, too, must have a harder weapon with which to strike. There must be found some means whereby resolute organised women can "stop the traffic" and hold up the peaceful order of things until the Prime Minister yields to "persuasion." It is an old story that lawyers' interpretations of words and phrases may mean anything except what the words and phrases actually do mean. We, too, will introduce our own interpretations, and when "militancy" has become "persuasion," anti-suffrage males may give in with grace and a clear conscience, in the manly knowledge that they were not "bullied."

The forging of this weapon will mean time, thought, and organisation. Funds also, for nothing worth doing can be done for nothing. The Conference of the League is to be held at the end of March, and by that time

the country will know on what the Government will hold together or fall apart. There is no single point of danger, from Ulster to Industry, from internal to international strife, that is not going to affect deeply and materially the conditions and security of women in the world, in the Empire, in industry, in Ireland. Let them therefore put their hand to the plough now, before their fate is decided over their heads. Let them throw themselves heart and soul into their own movement, in which they are neither pawns nor servitors, but principals; and having put their hand to the plough, we guarantee they will never even desire to look back.

C. NINA BOYLE.

### HOMERTON CAMPAIGN.

COMMITTEE ROOM: 91, High-street, Homerton. (Nearest station—Homerton, N.L. Railway.)

Work proceeds apace—Mrs. Ball keeps the shop open every day, but is much handicapped by want of helpers. Volunteers, please note that the campaign can run much more satisfactorily if well supported during the day as well as at the evening meetings. Miss Munro has had excellent meetings, and the Freedom League is winning its way into the goodwill of the people. "The Protection of Criminals by the Government and the Law Courts," our new pamphlet, is going well, and will soon be scattered throughout the neighbourhood. Helpers and funds are urgently required. The campaign closes on February 9, so workers should hasten to give whatever assistance is in their power.

MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

### LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

So urgent has been the demand for "Liberal Cant" by Eunice Murray, that the fourth edition is now being printed, the last edition having been sold out in three days.

The "Traffic in Women," by C. Nina Boyle, has reached the sixth thousand.

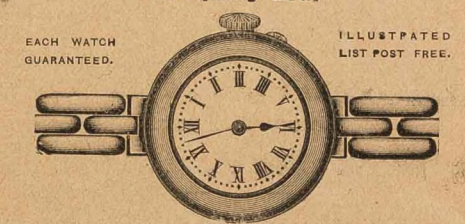
The sketches by G. Colmore, appearing in THE VOTE, evoke so many expressions of appreciation, that we remind readers of our dainty little booklet of the stories entitled "Mr. Jones and the Governess," price 6d.

## SIR HARRY JOHNSTON (The Famous Explorer) and MISS LENA ASHWELL WILL ADDRESS A PUBLIC MEETING

Organised by the "Votes for Women" Fellowship  
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KINGSWAY HALL,  
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## WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

### IV.—WOMEN AS HOME MAKERS AND CITIZENS. BY MARGARET HODGE.

The Woman's Political League in Victoria and its companion league in South Australia are doing magnificent work. These are both entirely non-party and are working wholly for social reform. Quite recently they have secured the raising of the age of consent in Victoria, in spite of the delicacy which prevented a leading M.P. from discussing that topic with women. The education that *The Woman Voter* (the organ of the Political League) is giving to the men and women of the Commonwealth may be compared, to some extent, to that work which *The Suffragette* is doing for the men and women of the British Isles. *The Woman Voter* has steadily grown in size and increased in circulation, and is by far the most educative paper in the Commonwealth. The other journals supply what the people want and not what they need.

"The Press's laws the Press's patrons give." But this woman's journal is trying to awaken its contemporaries to some of the dangers with which they are face to face and to provide them with weapons to fight against them. What has been accomplished by women in little more than a decade is no mean record.

The infant mortality in the Commonwealth has been reduced from over 10 per cent. in 1903 to under 7 per cent. in 1913; and in Queensland, where the summer temperature is often 100 degrees, the infant mortality is as low as 6½ per cent. The numerous references in the Commonwealth Year Book under the word "Milk" show how busy the Legislature has been in endeavouring to secure pure nourishment for the rising generation. The admirable lectures of State-appointed women doctors in the schools and training colleges to girls and students, and the beautiful practical lessons in mothercraft all share the honour of diminishing the rate of infant mortality. The maternity grant of £5 and the excellent lying-in hospitals have, of course, done much to reduce the rate of infant mortality by enabling the little life to dawn under hygienic conditions. The numerous free Kindergartens provide happy and wholesome recreation and education for the early years, and stringent legislation prohibits all labour for those children under fourteen throughout the Commonwealth, except in Victoria, where the minimum age is fifteen. The public parks all have their children's enclosures, and in the lovely climate exercise in the open air is enjoyable throughout the year. The great reform which has taken place in education, and the extension of it to everyone in the Commonwealth, without distinction of age or sex, is, no doubt, in part the cause of the diminution of crime. The convictions for crime in 1911 were one-third of the percentage of those in 1881, a generation earlier.

In the new University at Perth (W.A.) the Senate is to consist of an equal number of men and women; and even the older University of Sydney has had a woman nominated, though not yet elected on that body. Under an equal system of education the honours in all subjects are equally divided between girls and boys. A girl, however, gained the highest place in mathematics in three States, and the Head of her

school told me that he often found girls better at mathematics than boys were. "Would that not have sounded strange thirty years ago?" he said, adding, "But we are learning to throw off old prejudices."

For the protection of girls in industrial and professional life every effort is made. The age of consent has been raised throughout the Commonwealth. Economic independence is, however, the best safeguard for the woman worker and good wages have been secured for all female hands; even the outworkers—generally the most cruelly sweated—are in receipt of a fair salary. The average rate of wages for women workers has risen from 8s. 8d. in 1901 to 25s. 11d. in 1911, and as the price of living is very little higher in Australia than in England (many girls are comfortably boarded and lodged for 14s. per week each) the worker can count on a good margin for extra expenses. All overtime work is paid at one and a half the ordinary rate, and no one is regularly employed for more than eight hours per diem. For the further protection of girls since the White Slave Traffic scare many women have organised themselves into a Vigilance Committee, wearing a special uniform which the Government has made it penal to imitate. The Homes for immigrant girls in Western Australia and South Australia are beyond praise. The strict inspection and supervision of registry offices makes bogus institutions of this kind difficult to maintain.

The root of the great social evil—the unequal standard of morality for men and women—is being dealt with in the only way that can be effective—the early training of boys in self-respect and self-control. Dr. Arthur, of West Sydney, has written excellent pamphlets instructing boys upon the subject. He is finding disciples, and one of these, a Mr. Bligh, obtained entrance into the schools of West Australia through the permission of the wise director of education there. In many of the schools he addressed large classes of boys over twelve years of age on the subject of their moral responsibilities. We were privileged to hear a lecture from the same noble and disinterested man addressed to mothers and teachers. He succeeded in impressing many of those present with the consciousness that the woman of the past had taken the easier, but not the higher path, when she pandered to man's weaknesses and failed to call forth his nobler qualities. It struck us as painfully significant that, when we spoke in South Africa of the great scourge and its cause, the dual standard of morality which must be abolished, the women in our audiences only sighed and thought we were advocating an impossible ideal; but the Australian women looked as hopeful as Britomarts, for they have the weapon of the vote and the courage of self-respecting citizens, and are quite ready to go forth and combat the dragon of evil.

#### NEW BRANCH AT READING.

At the meeting at Palmer Hall on January 20 Miss Anna Munro, introduced by Miss Hinder in a very able speech from the chair, spoke on the broad aspects of the Woman's Movement, making special reference to the policy and work of the Women's Freedom League. The room was full, many having to stand. The whole atmosphere of the meeting was one of hearty and warm comradeship. Before the public meeting the new Branch was started at a business meeting; the hon. officers and committee were appointed. The announcement that Mrs. Despard, who is so well-known and beloved, would speak for the Branch on February 4, was received with great pleasure. Mrs. Penrose, Miss Broadley, Mrs. Tregay, and other friends are working with great enthusiasm to make the League strong.

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## POLITICAL NEWS.

### Mr. D. M. Mason as Independent Candidate.

The Liberal Executive of Coventry, having decided that it prefers the judgment of Party to individual judgment, is seeking another candidate to take the place of Mr. D. M. Mason as its representative. Mr. Mason has declared his intention of standing as an independent candidate for Coventry at the next general election. He will not apply for the Chiltern Hundreds, but continue to represent his Coventry constituents during the life time of the present Parliament.

### The Women's Labour League and Suffrage.

At the annual conference of the Women's Labour League at Glasgow, on January 26, the president, Mrs. Salter, said that the present Government had shown itself sadly lacking in statesmanship. It had had a great opportunity and had missed it. If the Cabinet had the last seven years to go over again, it could hardly be conceived that they would treat the women's question as they had done. It was resolved, by 26 to 11, that the Labour Party should take into consideration the necessity of moving an amendment to the address. A motion to oppose Government measures which did not deal with enfranchising women was defeated.

### Southern Men Moving.

A West Surrey Branch of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage has just been formed for the Parliamentary divisions of Guildford and Chertsey with seventy members, including Lord Aberconway, Lord Farrer, the Bishop of Guildford, the Hon. A. J. Davey, Sir T. Sturmy Cave, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the Revs. F. C. Hill, A. B. Gwynn, A. E. N. Sims, and D. Heaton, Col. G. Chrystie, Messrs. N. Aston, J. Hutchinson Driver, Jocelyn Bray, R. E. Bray, H. Nevill, W. Shawcross, H. F. Phillips, G. Kendall, A. Monro, S. H. Langton, W. Stokes, W. F. Rawnsley, P. Courtenay Welch, and W. C. Marshall. The following officers were elected:—President, Sir Wm. Chance; vice-presidents, Lord Aberconway, Sir T. Sturmy Cave, Sir Owen Roberts and Col. Bullock; treasurer, Mr. Pilcher; and hon. secretary (until a local resident can be found), Mr. Atkinson; committee, Messrs. H. Nevill and G. H. White (Guildford), E. Bridger (Godalming), H. Bury (Farnham), J. Bray (Shere) and W. Stokes (Ockham), the Rev. D. Heaton (Woking), the Rev. A. E. N. Sims, Messrs. W. C. Marshall and D. B. McLaren (Haslemere), Archdeacon Potter (Milford), and the Rev. W. Basset (Frimley). Sir William Chance presided at the inaugural meeting; he was supported by Sir Owen Roberts Col. Cuffell Commander E. C. Thornhill the Rev. C. C. Frewer and many others. Sir William stated that asking questions as electors at political meetings would be a part of the work of the branch.

### An Effective Way for Men to Help.

With reference to the "Suffrage First" scheme and the effective help men may render to the cause of woman suffrage, *The Christian Commonwealth* says:—

"If Liberal men would attend meetings addressed by Liberal candidates and put questions publicly on this topic it would have a very good effect. Most of the anti-suffragist Liberal members and candidates adopt that attitude because they have an idea that it is the more popular attitude at present. It is the pressing duty of Liberal male suffragists to alter such views. It is much more effective for men than women to put these questions because they have votes. There appears to be a deliberate conspiracy on foot inside the Liberal Party to prevent the adoption of candidates favourable to suffrage. This plot can be upset if suffrage Liberals will be active and alert. The most hopeful policy for woman suffrage in the near future is to make the Liberal Party caucus aware that there is a great and overwhelming body of Liberal voters who feel keenly upon this question. If that conversion were accomplished we should soon see woman suffrage an item in the official Liberal programme."

### The Question that Women Ask.

From the article "Women in Politics" in the able and informing series on "The Great Unrest Among Modern Women" now running in *The Christian Commonwealth* we take the following extracts:—

"The women's demand for the vote represents a totally different ideal of political life from that entertained by the majority of male politicians. They think of it as an instrument by which to change things they have come to feel as intolerable. In their thoughts at present at least there is a destructive bias. They are thinking of a national spring cleaning. That is not precisely how men think of politics."

"Politics as practised by men is so largely the art of finding reasons for doing nothing without loss of dignity and the command of a sufficient number of votes that the infusion of this uncompromising spirit into public life will make politics rather more of a reality and less of a game than it is at the present time."

"The real question that women ask themselves is whether the position of women and children needs to be improved and whether the moral forces of public life would be enriched if they were politically enfranchised; and they do not ask those questions rhetorically, but in the spirit of the crusader. The suffrage agitation is their emphatic affirmative."

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### Against Forcible Feeding.

Another attempt is to be made to bring about the cessation of forcible feeding and the withdrawal of the "Cat and Mouse" Act. A deputation composed of independent men and women, not organised by any society but representing a strong body of public opinion, opposed to the Government's policy of coercion and torture is being formed to wait upon the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary to voice abhorrence of the methods, employed as being not only quite useless for effecting their purpose but also as being cruel, degrading, and therefore an outrage upon the moral sense of the community. Among those who have already given their names in support of this constitutional attempt to influence the Government are Princess Duleep Singh, Viscountess Dupplin, Lady Maud Parry, and Dr. Elizabeth Sloan Chesser. Names may be sent to Mrs. D. A. Thomas, 122 Ashley-gardens, Westminster S.W.

### "Elementary Justice."

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P. speaking in support of Mr. Stuart, the Labour candidate in the North-West Durham election said with regard to woman suffrage:—

"In the case of the women, both parties shut them out from the franchise and from the rights of citizenship. He expected that even in that part of Durham there were men who did not see why women should have the vote, but such men judged the matter from the way they themselves had misused the vote. (Applause.) Surely it was elementary justice that if a woman had to obey the laws she should have a voice in the making of the laws in the same way as her husband, father, or brother. He had been told that the Liberal candidate claimed that his party was in favour of women having the vote. If Mr. Williams made that statement he had allowed his imagination to run away with the facts. The truth was that the Liberals were in power, and the question had been before Parliament half a dozen times, and every time leading members of the Government from the Prime Minister downwards had not only opposed women's suffrage, and manhood suffrage too, but had used forms of trickery in their opposition to it unworthy of honourable men."

### No Longer Law-Abiding.

The respect for law is not an attribute of English public life which an intelligent inquirer, who should limit his researches into English political manners of the present time or the last two or three years, would take to be very widespread or deeply rooted. . . . On all sides we hear the determination expressed to refuse obedience if the law is not such as to deserve it.—*The Nation*, January 24.



## THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.  
Secretary—Miss H. HOLMAN.

FRIDAY, January 30, 1914.

### WITHOUT FEAR.

Where the mind is without fear, and the head is held high,  
Where knowledge is free

The words are from the pen of an Eastern mystic. They record the aspiration which he breathes out for the country he loves. So may she be! Within her borders may a people dwell, whose minds are immune from fear because they possess knowledge! For he—the sage—has discovered that fear is the daughter of illusion. Sweep illusion aside; tear away the veils with which, time out of mind, Truth has been swathed, and Humanity will enter upon a new era.

It may be objected that such dreams as these are mystical—that there is nothing real behind them. We—and this may be said of all who think seriously about the social problems of the day—are not mystics: we are very much perplexed persons. We feel that—somehow, somewhere—things have gone desperately wrong; we have a dim perception that we are ourselves in a measure responsible for the wrongness; and we are looking for a way out of the labyrinth which encloses us. That being the case, we must accept any sort of help that comes our way. We must not even despise the dreamer, for the vision of one era, as history shows, has often been the reality of the next. Utopia is not so much ridiculed by the world at large as it was in the days when Sir Thomas More depicted it. But let no one dream that Utopia will be possible to a generation one of whose principal motives to action is fear.

To-day, especially in political life, we meet fear everywhere. Amongst our rulers! The subtle lawyer-minds that have been busy broadening out our constitution, moving on from precedent to precedent, giving—or professing to give—more and more power to what they call the people are confronted with certain perils. They were ready to build up a democracy of male persons (perhaps because men are more malleable than women), but they never intended really to allow this people to rule itself. A wild animal, beautifully tamed, magnificently obedient, was their ideal, with a Government beneficent and paternal to keep it in discipline. In a strange, sudden, and ungrateful fashion this artificial Democracy is beginning to assert itself. Actually it wants to be real. Take the present position of the Government! There are divergencies in the Cabinet on matters of vital importance to the nation. We know that the divergence is real, and we suspect that if one of the contending parties thought the moment appropriate for personal appeal to the country, the divergence would be followed by a split. But fear is abroad. It is upon the cards that the Democracy might declare itself in an unexpected way. Labour is restless; women are on the war-path; unredeemed promises and pledges unfulfilled make cowards of even such stalwarts as the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "Therefore, for heaven's sake unity of front," say the dissentients, through their mouth-piece, Sir John Simon. "We have an 'incomparable captain' to command us; we have had a long voyage together. Before us is the port of safety. Around us are our adversaries, prophesying foul weather. Why dispute about matters so trivial as two or three millions more or less for the Navy? Close your eyes; stick to the ship. Leave everything in the hands of the ship's leader and all will be well."

In the ears of the groundlings that may seem fine talking and good sound common-sense. To those who can see below the surface it is evident that the fear-phantom is on board the Liberal ship. In any case Sir

John Simon makes frank admission of that which some have suspected and others have known for a considerable time. The country is committed to one-man rule, for that is how our present Government spells the great word Unity. Obey the "incomparable captain"; let him lead the ship; do not even ask what the destination is for fear of unpleasant revelations and presently you will find yourselves where you wish to be.

If it is so with our rulers and those who support them, how about the rank and file? Are they without fear? If they were: if instead of pinning their faith to the incomparable captain who can talk to them so wisely, they could look their situation fairly in the face and act with strength and courage, even in our day we might see great things. But—alas! while their rulers fear them, they fear not their rulers alone but one another. The fatal infection spreads like a leprosy over the whole of society. Unless we shake it off: unless, in great numbers we can dare to have minds without fear, our decadence as a nation is inevitable.

In a late issue we dealt with some of the broader aspects of the woman's movement. This surely is one—to eliminate the element of fear from our political life. There is nothing perhaps which has so much surprised the ordinary politician in the strange developments of the last few years as the courage of the women who have pledged themselves to one another and to humanity; surprised them because of its novelty and its persistence. In the early days of militancy it was scoffed at: an amusing anomaly; a flash in the pan that would soon disappear. Hence the absurd severity of the first sentences. But the authorities found to their surprise that the spirit of fear which they invoked did not come to their call; and when they asked the reason they were told that there is something more precious than riches, something dearer than liberty, even than life, and that is the strong, indomitable will of those who know that their demands are righteous and that their cause is just.

This is the counter-infection to fear; and we gather hope and joy from the knowledge that it, too, is spreading.

While a political party boasts of its false unity, while it pins its faith obediently to an "incomparable captain," we—the women in the Suffrage-camp—without fear, our heads held high, walking in the light of the knowledge that has come to us through suffering, claim a true unity. To no incomparable captain, but to a common aim, a single motive, an ardent love we have pledged ourselves. Our societies may be numerous, the methods adopted may vary; that does not trouble us. So far as our sisters in the movement are concerned, we neither praise nor blame. We accept what is done as fellow-soldiers in a great battle. Hence, while we have no fear of our opponents we have no fear of one another. Sir John Simon speaks of bringing his ship safely into port. Does he—does any member of his party, with the exception of the "incomparable captain"—know what that port is?

We in the Suffrage-ship know. There is nothing indefinite about our aim. Rights of citizenship; the opportunity to lend our hand to the building up of a New Order: it is that we seek.

At this critical moment when, in view of impending changes, we are gathering ourselves together for action, Mr. Laurence Housman and his sister have designed and wrought out their beautiful banner of Unity. There is no need to describe it, for any who wish may see it at the Suffrage Atelier; it will wave, no doubt, in many a demonstration of protest or victory, and we can imagine that in the days to come, when the prayer of the poet is granted, this banner of Unity will be preserved as a relic in some great national cathedral.

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,  
Where knowledge is free  
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit,  
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country come.

—Tagore.  
C. DESPARD.

## BE LAW-ABIDING.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN AT ST. PETER'S HALL, BOURNEMOUTH, JAN. 30, 1914.

From the "Regulations and Conditions for Letting St. Peter's Hall, Hinton-road, Bournemouth":

"There must be no advocacy, or expression of approval, of militancy or of any form of lawlessness on the part of any speaker."

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not usually write my Suffrage speeches beforehand; I generally trust to the inspiration of the moment, and the help of my audience, to say what I want to say. But on this occasion I cannot do so. I am not here to say what I want to say, but what I must. I have not on this occasion to satisfy either my own conscience or an audience of my fellow countrymen and women, but the syndicate or committee under whose auspices this hall has been let. I have come here to speak to you metaphorically in a white sheet.

There have been occasions in the past when I have expressed the mistaken notion that those who are persistently and forcibly excluded from a share in their own government, under a system which calls itself representative, are less morally bound to submit to that outside power which imposes its law upon them than those who have a part in its constitution and a voice in its control.

To-day I am to put to you the other point of view, and tell you that they should submit, and, as a consequence, tell you incidentally that law is a higher thing than justice, and legality more to be desired than liberty.

The main reason, so far as this audience is concerned, why you should have this point of view dinned into your ears is that it is only on these conditions that we are allowed to hold this meeting at all. Other reasons, of lesser importance, I hope to give you in the course of my address, all as reputable and as irrefutable as Lord Curzon's famous set of reasons why women must not have the vote.

I will give you my reasons—the best reasons I can find, that is—why you should be law-abiding, for what they are worth; and you can take them home with you and knock them into a cocked hat, or—if you prefer—turn them into a fool's-cap or a fire-extinguisher or any other domestic article suitable for children, paupers, criminals, lunatics—or Anti-Suffragists. But here, I warn you, you must not say a word against them; otherwise you—or I—will get turned out.

This meeting is held, you will understand—or at all events this lecture is given—in praise of law-abidingness—law-abidingness under all circumstances; yes, even present ones. In spite of all the provocations, the shufflings and the delays of unjust and unrepresentative government, in spite of broken promises and pledges not redeemed, in spite of the corrupt manipulation of the judicial procedure of our law courts in order to help the Government to its political ends,—the prosecution of one set of political offenders, and the refusal to prosecute another set of political offenders, the temporary release of one set of prisoners, under the terms of the Cat and Mouse Act (women who have not the constitutional weapon of the vote), and the unconditional release of another set of prisoners—men, with a strong backing among our working-class electorate; in spite of all these inequalities and injustices which weigh against the women in their fight for political freedom, you—if you would stand well with the powers that be, and with the gentlemen who make a profit in letting to you this hall—you must obey the law.

And before I sit down I will tell you what the law is, or what some of it is, this thing which—please the pigs!—you are to obey. I will tell you also some of the history of the law, how laws were made and unmade, and how very law-abiding was the conduct of those who built up the constitutional history of this country.

But you must not read constitutional history—

only if you would disown its teaching and deprecate its results. I am not here to encourage you to take your political lessons from history, rather to warn you against history. If you wish to believe in law-abidingness as a principle suitable for all circumstances, all times and seasons, and all governments that claim to be just governments, then you must not read history. And that is where the trouble comes in: women Suffragists have been reading history and applying its lessons not only in theory but in practice to their own case. They mustn't! If they do St. Peter's Hall will be closed to them.

Ladies and gentlemen, people in the present day are coming to know a dangerous amount of history. For our present political institutions to be safe, it ought to be kept a closed book.

You will recall how some 350 years ago there was another closed book in this country, closed by law and by order of the Ecclesiastical Authorities, backed by Parliament; and the people of this country, or some of them, the leaders of the Reform Party—the Reformation Party, I mean—insisted on having it open. They broke the law so as to have it open,—and they got it open, they got it read in all their churches in the vulgar tongue. And what was the result of the opening of that book? The overthrow of an established order of religion and the substitution of another; the most tremendous change and overthrow—social, religious and political—that this country has yet seen: and all brought about by a few men, and women—and then a few more, defying the authorities of St. Peter's Hall in Rome, breaking the law, and saying that there was something higher than law. You mustn't do such things, or say such things—no! You must be law-abiding.

If you had lived in those times it would have been your duty to consent to that book remaining shut until Parliament said that it might be opened; or, if you had been Roman Catholics and had lived a little later when Parliament ruled that in this country mass was not to be said even in a private house, it would have been your duty to give up the practice of your religion because Parliament, which is higher and more sacred, said that you were not to practice it.

That is where the principle of law-abidingness would have led you in the past. I hope that it makes you feel very comfortable in your consciences, very certain that you would have been right, noble and self-respecting, helpful to the advancement of the cause of Liberty.

If it makes you feel like that, then you will agree with everything I have yet to say.

If law-abidingness is a principle, if it is not sometimes a mere opportunist device for the drugging of our consciences to the crimes done by existing governments, and to our duty to bring mis-government to book by all possible means,—then it is a principle which did not spring into life only yesterday. Government exists no more by divine right now than it existed by divine right 300 years ago. If it was right for people to rebel against and to resist the acts of Government then, it may equally be right now.

And since I am not here to say that it is right now, I have no ground—nor have any who agree with the controllers of this hall—to say that it was right then.

But if you think otherwise—if you say that conscience must rule a man's actions—then a consideration you have to face is this: that our consciences may easily be blind to the iniquities done to-day in the name of Government, though no longer blind to the iniquities done in the past; and that while we see



clearly, in looking back, which side was right in those causes for which our fathers fought against law and government to the death, we are unable to see so clearly to-day under conditions to which we have become habituated.

Nevertheless, if to be law-abiding is a moral principle, it cannot really depend on the question whether we are blind or whether we see. Irrespective of our blindness or our clear-sightedness law must be obeyed, if to be law-abiding is a moral principle.

Let me, then, take you back once more into the past, and precipitate you gently but firmly against some of the problems in which your law-abidingness as a moral principle would have landed you.

In the past the law of this country ordered that unfaithful wives should be burned to death—the crime of which they were guilty being “treason”—but for unfaithful husbands it provided no penalty at all. It would then have been your law-abiding duty to hand over to so-called “justice” any woman thus threatened by an unequal sex-law with agonising death, who came to you seeking concealment or a means of escape. In choosing between a crime against the law and a crime against humanity it was your bounden duty to commit a crime against humanity: law—if law-abidingness be a moral principle—being far greater than humanity. That was your duty. It wasn't what Christ said; indeed, it directly contradicts what He said; but that, of course, cannot concern us here. This is only St. Peter's Hall, dedicated, I suppose, to the saint at that period of his life when he denied Christ. We also, if we would exalt law-abidingness into a ruling principle above the law of humanity, must deny Christ. There is no help for it. That is our duty.

Let me give you yet another instance. The law of this country said, at one time, that witches and wizards were to be burned; and it was almost always women who were accused of that crime: (it was a mediæval way of getting rid of women of superior intellect and originality). We no longer believe in witches; we believe that all those unfortunates who were burned as witches were innocent of the charge laid against them. Nevertheless it would have been our duty to deliver them over to the tender mercies of the law had we lived in those days, and had they sought help of us in their extremity. I hope you begin to see, then, in what hole the dictates of your “hall-marked” consciences would have placed you. In order to support this great law-abiding principle it would have been your duty to become partners in the law's crime against humanity—supporters of folly and superstition—and to hand over the innocent to be burned!

A comfortable doctrine, my friends, which I am not here to refute. The law which said that witches should be burned was just as sacred—being based upon the infallible intellect of male legislators—as the law which says to-day that a woman is not to have a vote,—as the law which says that the husband may forbid his wife to go out of the workhouse without him, as the law which says that the husband—and not the woman—shall decide whether her life or the unborn child's is to be spared if the conditions of birth make it impossible to save both.

A medical friend of mine told me that if he thought the husband would not give the right and just answer he would avoid asking him the question; but in neglecting to do so he would be breaking the law.

Dare we say that the days of superstition are over,—that laws to enforce superstition no longer exist—when we still give such power over their wives into the hands of men?—so that not long ago a man charged with an assault upon his wife was filled with wonder and indignation. “What?” he cried, “cannot I do what I like to my own wife?”

You say that the law does not allow it. The law, by its sentences, tells the men of this country that they can assault their wives at less risk of serious punishment than if they assaulted any other person; and the law

of this country allows assault of a particularly detestable kind to be practised by men upon their wives with impunity. For the law provides no punishment whatever for the man who knowingly brings disease into the home, turns marriage into an infection, and destroys the health of wife or child. And this is how those who would allow that license to continue seek to save their faces upon this matter: they say that the law gives precisely the same immunity to the woman. And they know perfectly well in saying it that for every single case of infection brought into the home by the wife there are hundreds brought in by the husbands. You might just as well say that it was right to have no law against thieves, because honest men had equal opportunities for robbing others if they wished to do so. You know perfectly well that disease is rife in the homes to-day—not because of the lives that the married women have lived, but because of the lives of the men.

It is when you examine honestly our social habits and conditions that you see what a superstition, what a vain juggling with truth is this assertion that our laws are equal for women as for men. For if we persistently neglect to make laws because they would affect uncomfortably the wrong-doings of men, if we leave a criminal habit unchecked because in the main men and not women indulge in it, then, though there were not one word of inequality upon our statute books to show for it, I say that our laws relating to sex are not equal. You can secure and maintain inequality between class and class, and between sex and sex, just as much by refusing to make laws as by actually making them unequal.

I would like to give you yet another of your law-abiding problems, brought a little nearer to date than the cases of witch-burning. Within the memory of many of us slavery as an institution still existed in America, the country which I suppose even then regarded itself as the most civilised in the world. And when the law so stood, slaves were forbidden to run away—they were a man's property, and people called “free” themselves were forbidden to help them to run away; they were compounding a felony—helping the slave to steal his master's property.

If there is any one here—any member of the St. Peter's Hall Committee—who thinks that under those circumstances it was right to be law-abiding and to hand back the escaped slave to his master, will it kindly hold up his or her hand?

I fear that I am in a minority, that in my plea for people to be law-abiding I stand—deserted by the committee—among a perverse and a rebellious generation.

Let me, then, in order to get at your consciences and smite them—if so I may—let me divert your attention from the apparently discredited claims of laws set up in the past, to the more sacred claims of the laws which are in operation to-day. And for a beginning let me read you a short extract from a quite reputable and usually law-abiding paper, *The Daily News and Leader*, giving an account of what took place in South Wales only a month ago:—

#### WOMEN ROADMAKERS.

##### STRIKING PROTEST AGAINST OFFICIAL APATHY.

The women of Haverfordwest—descendants of those brave Pembrokeshire women who used their red cloaks with such success in repelling the attempted French invasion at Fishguard in 1797—are once more banded together in the public service. Armed with shovels, reaping-hooks, and other implements, a band of forty are at work on an almost impassable road leading from Hook to Haverfordwest—the highway over which the women have to struggle on market days. Despairing of getting the Pembrokeshire County Council to do the necessary work by any other means, they have decided to effect temporary repairs themselves, and thus shame the public authorities into action.

The squad works with the precision of trained soldiers. The leader is armed with a motor horn, by means of which the operations are directed, and under her guidance yesterday trenches were dug, pools of water drained away, and a decent pathway made in the middle of a long section of the road.

“For years we have been trying to get the road made good,”

said one of the workers, “but it has always been discussion and more discussion, and we despaired of getting anything done. We are determined to have a decent path over which we can walk in comfort.”

Those women, whose action you have so incautiously applauded, were law-breakers; they were interfering with the work—or the repose—of the properly constituted authority, trespassing upon its legal domain, taking upon themselves what they had no right whatever to do—the repair of the King's high road. It is no answer, to the offence chargeable against them, that the properly constituted authority was neglecting its business—was doing so perhaps for very good party reasons—in order to keep down the rates, or placate some voting interest on which it depended for its election to local office; or perhaps because it was divided in its opinion as to the need for that particular piece of road-making,—said, perhaps, that the majority of the women of the country did not demand it, and so on, and so on.

Liberal Cabinets may do the same sort of thing, and for the same sort of reason; but that is no excuse for the road-makers of Reform to set to work on their own account and make that position of refusing to legislate untenable.

What this reprehensible and lawless gang of women ought to have done was to agitate constitutionally,—ask all the voters who never had to walk along that muddy road to use their votes and turn out those neglectful councillors from office at the next election, or at the next election after that. And if the voters who didn't have to use that road didn't care enough about it to turn them out,—very well; then it was the law-abiding and constitutional duty of those women just to wait and wait, and meanwhile on wet market-days go in mud up to their knees.

Instead of that, they took the law into their own hands, and *The Daily News* praises them and calls their action “a public service!”

We live, I fear, in a rebellious age. Only a week ago a man was up before a London magistrate for molesting a woman, not in a lonely road where she was unprotected, but in a street with people walking about and with a policeman in sight. And it came out in the evidence that the woman had taken the law into her own hands and struck her assailant in the face. And the magistrate—dreadful man!—said he was very glad she had done it, and gave her victim an additional punishment over and above the blow that he had already received.

That magistrate mustn't come and say that sort of thing here! With a policeman in sight, she had really no excuse. There was the “arm of the law” ready to come to her rescue. What more did she want? Her mistake was that she allowed human nature and womanly instinct to come before law and order. And just as there is this tendency in individuals to be human first, and law-abiding only afterwards, so in the relation of sections of the community to the State there is a growing tendency to demand that the law shall adapt itself to human nature, and not human nature to the law: in other words, to assert that it is the duty of Government to placate the governed, not the duty of the governed to placate the Government. We even have moral teachers who tell us that it is only through people in this country having been implacably opposed to unjust government that our Constitution has made any appreciable advance toward freedom. “All our liberties,” says Dr. Clifford, Free Church divine and contemporary leader of the Nonconformist conscience, “all our liberties are due to men who, when their consciences have compelled them, have broken the law.”

That is a very disturbing doctrine,—all the more disturbing because, if you read history, it is unanswerable. Therefore, I must beg of you not to read history. You who wish to be law-abiding—as I wish you to be law-abiding—will find the study of our constitutional history as full of incitement to rebellion against bad

government as are some of the speeches which Mr. Lloyd George has made in Wales, Mr. Bonar Law at Bristol, Sir Edward Carson at Belfast, and Mr. Larkin, Mr. Tom Mann and Mrs. Pankhurst wherever they stand up to speak.

These people, if we lived under an even-handed Government, would all have been in prison together,—would every one of them have “done time.” But they have not. Only the woman and the working-class leaders have been selected for that honour—perhaps because they really meant what they said, perhaps because membership of the Privy Council insures immunity from arrest, whether one of its members frequents a Piccadilly flat, or whether another stirs up rebellion in Ulster.

I mention the Piccadilly flat case because the Editor of a London paper, which was lending its columns to the exposure of that scandal last year, told me that a member of the present Cabinet came to him and said: “What name have you got hold of?”—tried for an hour to get it out of him, and, failing to get it, said: “If it is a Front Bench man, on either side, then it is your duty—to suppress it for the credit of the country!”

Do you wonder, when that is a Cabinet Minister's notion of the credit of the country, that women are determined to get the vote in order that they may sweep back such false notions of our National credit into the dustbin that they came from?

Our laws, and our administration of the laws, may no more represent the consciences of women than does the mind of that Cabinet Minister, who used his power and influence to prevent the moral exposure of a Front Bench politician so as to keep up the credit of male government. We men are responsible for the making and the administration of those laws, and for the keeping of such ministers in office. The women are not responsible. We men are a part of that legislative system; the women are not. And yet I come here to tell women that they are as responsible and as bound to give obedience to those laws and to those ministers as men are!

You pay taxes for the upkeep of unequal laws, for the unequal administration of those laws; you pay out of your pockets the cost of the re-imprisonment time and again, under the Cat and Mouse Act, of Suffragist prisoners, and you see other prisoners—men, with a big backing of votes—(charged and sentenced for precisely the same offences)—Larkin and Lansbury and Connolly and John Scurr, you see them unconditionally released before they have served their time, and you are not to resist the payment of your taxes—those taxes which provide for the forcible feeding and help to wring out the lives of heroic women—resisters to unrepresentative government! You are not even to be tax-resisters!

Political corruption enters a borough or other constituency,—political corruption in which women have had no voice or part. A legal inquiry into that corruption is set on foot, and the cost of it is charged upon the rates. And for that political corruption of the male electorate voteless women have to pay and are not to resist payment! The political corruption of that borough “represents them,” I suppose; and they are chargeable for it, as they also are chargeable for the upkeep of members of Parliament who have not troubled even to canvass them to ascertain their views.

This House of Commons, which could not find time—even though militancy had ceased—to pass into law a measure of women's enfranchisement to which it had twice given a majority larger than the Government itself could command, could yet find time to vote into its members' pockets the money of unrepresented women, and having secured its £400 a year still continued to vote to itself meals below cost price—food for its stomach for which you women as well as men have to pay. And you, while this easy and callous



indifference to your claims goes on, have to sit down "constitutionally" and wait!

These road-makers are continuing to make roads of their own without consulting you,—roads which lead them to £400 a year, roads which lead them to a cheap dinner-table where they can get mutton-chops below cost price; but you must continue your mud-march on that stick-in-the-mud route called "constitutional," which, in fact, is no real road at all, because it gives you no constitutional footing whatever. You must not do as those Welsh women did—go out with hammer and pick and shovel in defiance of slumbrous authority, and make a path of your own. No, that you must not do! You must be law-abiding.

Legislation will go on, over your heads, session by session, and Liberal electors who say they "support" Women's Suffrage will still refuse to use in your service, by putting Suffrage first, that constitutional weapon of the vote which is denied to you; and will go on "supporting" still this piling up of laws unjustly based. But you, with an equal right to the remedying of your grievances, but without the same constitutional means that they have, are not to substitute other means as a makeshift. No, that would be wrong.

You women have been compelled into the Insurance Act, but you must not resist its compulsory levies. Yet see what happens to you in its administration. A working-man who is insured, if he is unable to earn his wage gets his insurance money; but a working-woman, who goes out to work, if unable to earn her wage does not get her insurance money unless she is also unable to do her housework, for which she gets no pay at all. They don't ask the working-man whether he is able to do his house work; knocked off from his wage-job he gets his pay without further question. The woman doesn't. The "rare and refreshing fruit" only falls to her when she is too ill even to potter about within the four walls of her home. Nay, sometimes it does not fall to her even then without a long struggle; for this precious law which compels the poor woman to insure forgot to compel the officials to make due and punctual payment. Listen to this, published in the Press less than a fortnight ago:—

An old woman was discharged from a convalescent home still incapable of work. She sent her medical certificate (properly signed) to her approved society week after week, but was unable to obtain the money due. In despair, the penniless woman appealed to the commissioners who very solemnly declared that she was entitled to the money.

Several more weeks went by, and in spite of the declaration of the commissioners, the money was not paid. A further appeal was made for the people responsible for the working of the Act to see that justice was done. Though the medical certificate was quite in order, she was treated as a malingerer and sent to a referee!

The medical referee also reported that the woman was unable to work and therefore entitled to benefit. Still the society did not pay, and the woman found herself butting against a stone wall of—"nobody's business to enforce payment." Every authority declared in favour of payment, but there was no authority to see that justice was done.

Why did not this Government which provided compulsion and penalties to make that poor woman insure, provide also compulsion and penalties for the responsible officials to make them pay what they owed her?

They did pay at last: and who made them? Not the Government, but Miss Margaret Douglas, who threatened a row and exposure in the Press, and perhaps at the next by-election, if they didn't pay.

That was all to the good; but there is no redress for the woman who, though she was sick and needing extra delicacies, was starved during five months of waiting. It is nothing to those who took her money with fine promises of help in time of need that after those months of privation she is back in hospital and not expected to recover.

No penalty under that Act was provided for those officials, but there was penalty provided for her had she refused payment. And it was a woman who had to be her champion. Miss Margaret Douglas is an exceptional woman, with exceptional knowledge and

courage and persistence; and it was she more than Sir Edward Carson or Mr. F. E. Smith who lost the Government their by-election at Reading. But she can't be all over the country, and she can't make herself a sufficient substitute for the granting of the vote to women. And I say to you men here that if you compel women under penalty into your ill-thought-out schemes of social legislation, and cannot prevent even one such case of mal-administration befalling them as a consequence,—then it is up to your conscience and your honour, by that very confession of your impotence to prevent wrong, to put Suffrage first all the way and all along the line; and get rid once and for all of your arrogant notion that you can conduct social reforms to a right conclusion without the help of your "better halves."

But all this is a light digression from the main point of my discourse, which is "Women obey!" Obey! Separate yourselves from all those great periods and examples in English history, which we men praise but which you must not, when our forefathers to preserve the spirit of the constitution broke the letter of the law.

Separate yourselves from the evil thing—from Wicliff, and Latimer, and Sir Thomas More,—great names, but alas! every one of them law-breakers: from John Hampden, who tested by resistance the law of taxation as it then stood,—was adjudged by the High Court to have broken the law, and who yet went on breaking it, obtaining for himself in consequence not only a statue in Parliament, where it stands to this day, but the more excellent reward of a *statute* in Parliament which altered the law for ever afterwards, mainly as a result of his rebellious example and instigation.

Yes, you must separate yourselves from him; from all those non-jurors also, and Free Churchmen who pushed our national claim for religious liberty to its logical consequence against the Church as by law established—and won. You must separate yourselves also from those obstinate jurymen who, in order to force amendment of the criminal laws of this country from a careless Government in days when we hanged men for sheep-stealing, refused to convict even the guilty; and by holding the law up to contempt got it changed. Point by point you must separate yourselves from those exemplary acts in our constitutional history of which we unregenerate men have pretended to be most proud, but which we have to throw over when we come to dictate to you, who stand to-day in a like case, and tell you that in all circumstances you must be law-abiding.

But I cannot stop there. We are all law-breakers to-day, perhaps without knowing it. Where the law, in consequence of changing conditions, ceases to be representative we break it—break it so often that we make it become obsolete long before it has become old. Of course it is very wrong of us, but that is what we do. All motorists break the law, though it is scarcely fifteen years old. It does not represent the present condition of things, and because it is out of touch with present conditions juries more often than not refuse to convict, even when chauffeurs in their haste have killed people. You cannot administer strictly a law that has got out of gear.

You women, who wheel perambulators in our streets, will in future, if you wish to be law-abiding, go off the pavements and wheel them in the road. You will there be a much greater nuisance and a much greater danger to the traffic, but you will be law-abiding. And if you wish to show Bourne-mouth what an uncomfortable thing law-abidingness can be made you have only to organise a parade of perambulators along that part of the thoroughfare in which, by law, they are allowed to go.

Or again, how many of us always go to church on Sunday morning? The law says that we must; but we have so persistently broken it—and did so per-

sistently break it from the time when it was first imposed—that it has passed out of mind, and no Government has even troubled to repeal it. But the punishment for breaking it is two hours in the stocks. And now that the Committee of St. Peter's Hall know of the statute and the penalty, I look with confidence that they shall reassert the majesty of the law, and that every one of them who has broken it shall apply for the re-erection of the public stocks, in order that its rigours may be visited upon them in their own persons, and they—sit in that seat of judgment until their offence has been purged.

I give what may seem to you now a light example of the position in which these devotees of law and order would find themselves if they faithfully followed out their principles; but it was no light thing in the past for the men who broke down that rotten law by their persistence and made it of no effect. And while it is against that law itself that the laughter is now turned, it was not always so. In the days when that law was considered to be just, it was those who sat in the stocks who were laughed and jeered at.

So it is to-day. Men who are blind to the injustice of our present laws, and of a system which expressly excludes from the constitution one-half of the people, direct their wrath or their mockery against those who, without the constitutional weapon at their command, are fighting to get that injustice remedied. And always you will find it true, when the fight is against injustice, that those who would maintain injustice are keen to exalt the letter of the law, as though that were sacred, while caring nothing for the spirit.

In the past the men of this country fought against King and oligarch, and all institutions claiming authority, over them, till representative government was granted them. But now the men of this country are a responsible and a guilty part of that Government which the women have to fight. It is the men as well as the Government whom the women accuse of holding unjust power. Thus it comes about that, when women to-day break the laws, it is not the dignity of King or of ruling class that they offend, but our dignity,—the dignity of men,—our self-esteem, our self-complaisance in the laws that we have made—our good conceit of ourselves which makes us go on thinking that we can still manage to effect just reforms without the women's aid; and so, exalting the party system above humanity, we tell the women that they must wait!

And they won't wait: and therefore we punish them! And I do not envy that man his mind who says that he "believes in Woman's Suffrage," and who is not utterly ashamed to let that cause, when once he has admitted its truth, stand anywhere but first.

If we men wish this fight to be fought and won constitutionally, then it is absolutely necessary that we should give the women the help of that constitutional weapon which is ours but not theirs. We must give them the help of our votes. We must redress the weight of those great party-organisations which still shut out the woman's claim from their programmes by ourselves putting Suffrage first,—by recognising—what surely we must know in our heart of hearts—that this Woman's Movement, which has come to disturb so inconveniently the nice balance of our party system, is the biggest and the most living

movement of our day, that to it belongs the future, and that with it is bound up our best hope for the moral cleansing of the race.

### A GASTRONOMIC INJUSTICE TO WOMEN.

In a certain Suffragist procession, about the time when a great company of the women of the nation were insured without their consent, one banner bore the legend "Why should a man get 10s. and a woman only 7s. 6d.?" From one of the onlooking men came the answer, prompt and pat, "Because a woman eats less, stupid!" The Suffragist retort that she would certainly have to eat less if she were paid less, whatever the dimensions of her appetite or its size in ratio to her brother man's, was very much to the point. I have been reminded of this incident in going through the skilfully compiled statistics, tables and household budgets of Mrs. Pember Reeves in her recent book, "Round About a Pound a Week" (G. Bell and Sons, 2s. 6d. net.) It is a book which should be in the hands of every Suffragist who cares to know just how the respectable working woman of London, several grades above the slum population, really lives.

The fact of man's fixed belief—and even woman's—that his gastronomic requirements necessarily exceed hers, however hard her work and however long her hours, is again and again evident in these pages. And not by any means in these pages only, alas! Many readers will remember the controversy, aroused in *The Daily News* by Mr. Chiozza Money's publication of a London school-child's experimental budget and dietary, in which "kippers for father" (nothing, of course, for mother), figured as an essential item. Equally as a matter of course, will many Lancashire wives, working side by side with their husbands, and going home to fresh work at night, accept without protest a different dietary; differing from theirs, in some cases, as regards both nutritive and appetising qualities. It is the eternal law that, "mon should tek the best an' woman hev the rest." He, the Lord of creation, must have "meyt to his dinner," and "a bit o' summat tasty to his tay"; she, the child-bearer, housekeeper and joint wage-earner, must dispense with any such aids to appetite where there is not enough money to provide a "relish" for both. Some of these Lancashire workwomen are beginning to wake up to their unequal conditions, as compared with the workmen's employed with them, since Annie Kenney uttered her memorable protest against certain aspects of these conditions. But there are many of their London sisters who are slow to follow their example, as the following records of food-expenditure in Lambeth "homes" will show:

Throughout the week every breakfast for mother and children consists of their shares in half a loaf of bread, with a touch from the weekly six pennyworth of margarine. This is accompanied by tea made from the 4oz. which has to last for seven days. The 2d. tin of milk and the 2 lb. of sugar, which also have to do seven days' duty, furnish the tea with milk and sugar. The husband's breakfast relish usually takes the shape of an egg. Sunday dinner is roast mutton, greens and potatoes. Tea is "tea," made as above, and toast. All the week-day teas for mother and children are a repetition of breakfast. Mr. Z (the husband) has fish or a rasher added.

And here is another case of "kippers for father"; a week's menus for a family of mother, father and four

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children, all under five—and all obliged to live "round about" a pound a week."

*Sunday.*—Breakfast: One loaf, 1 oz. butter,  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. tea, a farthing's-worth of tinned milk, a half-pennyworth of sugar. Kippers extra for Mr. X. Dinner: Hashed beef, batter pudding, greens and potatoes. Tea: Same as breakfast, but Mr. X has shrimps instead of kippers.

*Monday.*—Breakfast: Same as Sunday. Mr. X has a little cold meat. Dinner: Sunday's dinner cold, with pickles, or warmed up with greens and potatoes. Tea: One loaf, marmalade, and tea. Mr. X has two eggs.

*Tuesday.*—Breakfast: One loaf, 1 oz. butter, two penny-worth of cocoa. Bloaters for Mr. X. Dinner: Bread and dripping; cheese and tomatoes. Tea: One loaf, marmalade and tea, fish and fried potatoes for Mr. X.

*Wednesday.*—Breakfast: One loaf, 1 oz. butter, tea, corned beef for Mr. X. Dinner: boiled bacon, beans, potatoes. Tea: one loaf, 1 oz. butter, and tea, cold bacon for Mr. X.

*Thursday.*—Breakfast: One loaf, jam, tea. Dinner: Mutton chops, greens, potatoes. Tea: 1 loaf, 1 oz. butter, and tea. (Friday's breakfast repeats Wednesday's). Friday—dinner: Sausages and potatoes. Tea: 1 loaf, jam and tea.

*Saturday.*—One loaf, 1 oz. butter, two pennyworth of cocoa. Dinner: Pudding of "pieces" (*i.e.*, odd scraps of butcher's meat), greens and potatoes. Tea: One loaf, 1 oz. butter, and tea. Fish and fried potatoes for Mr. X.

Now, readers must remember that Mrs. X. was a nursing mother, "minding" three children under five, besides the baby at her breast; that her "home" consisted of one room in a drab and dreary street of Lambeth—(one room for washing, cooking, bathing, eating, and sleeping in!); and that in spite of all difficulties she was "a good manager," with children who "looked fairly well and seemed vigorous." There is no suggestion that Mr. X was not an excellent husband and father and a hard worker withal. But it never seems to have occurred to him that the wife and mother, depleted of her vitality by bearing four children in five years, and mostly confined to one stuffy room, while she spent yet more of that starved vitality in nursing the youngest, may have sometimes craved a "relish" at tea or breakfast as much as he did. He had, at least, fresh air (as fresh as London air can be in the district of mean streets), the daily change from home to the scene of his work, the intercourse with his fellows; she had only the one room in the dark house of the drab street, had only, as her life there, the maddening monotony of washing, cooking, cleaning, mending, with no ray of relaxation or pleasure. And yet he, not she, must have whatever poor "dainties" or "tasty bits" the family income could afford. Even

Chapter 9

## The Quickest Way to Wear Out Clothes

Suppose you always wore your clothes as roughly as you rub them on a wash-day.

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Mrs. Reeves evidently thinks his daily "relish" and Mr. Z's, and many another husband's of those mentioned here, no more than his due—is he not the worker, the breadwinner, who must be "kept up to his work" at all costs? But how is she, a nursing mother, to be kept up to hers? On greens and potatoes and "tea," supplemented by bread with cheap jam or "a touch of margarine!"

Working men ought to be better fed; there is no doubt about that. But so, too, ought working women; and of the two their need, their claim, is greater. Vegetarianism on well-planned lines, carefully adjusted to meet their tastes and their pitiful purses, might no doubt nourish both wage-earner and house-mother more effectually; though it must be remembered that the taste for pure food is not created by such an environment, and that the workers must have what they can eat. But the point I wish to emphasize is not the often unscientific feeding of the poor—usually forced upon them, as Mrs. Reeves explains, by the lack of proper cooking utensils or of sufficient gas and fire—but the fact that the workman's inadequate food allowance of 6d. a day must forsooth drop to 2d. a day, or less, in the case of his wife. One cannot help wondering if, were he the child-bearer and the virtual prisoner in one dreary room, he would regard his as the inferior claim to "relishes," aids to a jaded appetite, or any parallel privileges.

This gastronomic injustice to women is not without its serious side for the nation. The nursing mother, forbidden anything "tasty" or tempting by the poverty which will only provide such "relishes" for one, is often unable to eat at all; or forces herself to swallow a morsel, without appetite, as "a mere necessary filling of the lamp of life with oil." And the baby at her breast? Let empire-builders look to it; for of such mothers comes the race that is to be.

S. GERTRUDE FORD.

### "VOTE" POSTER PARADE.

Rally Round Our Banner for the Poster Parade on Friday, February 6, Round the Theatre Queues.

Every parade must be a greater success than the one before. Members of THE VOTE Brigade will welcome all friends as paraders. Meet at Headquarters at 5.30 p.m.

Mrs. Walter Carey invites VOTE sellers to tea at the office every Thursday from 4.30 p.m. onwards.

P. LEAHY, VOTE Street Sales Organiser.

### CAXTON HALL "WEDNESDAYS."

There was a large audience on January 21 at the first of the Caxton Hall "Wednesdays" after the holidays to welcome Miss Cicely Hamilton and Miss Anna Munro as speakers. Mrs. Huntman presided, and said that the Women's Freedom League demanded a Government measure for Woman Suffrage, and on nothing else would we spend time or money.

Miss Hamilton, in the course of an interesting address, said that though the vote was in discredit to-day with those who had it, it was still our standard or symbol, and if it had no value because of possible changes in the political system, women must still have it so as "to be there in our places with the right to equal terms with men in any form of Government that may be evolved." No class of men ever devoted so much energy to the preparation for the franchise as women are devoting all over the world to their mental enfranchisement. Women, she said, had made meetings an instrument of political power; the great difficulty nowadays was not to go to meetings. It seemed to be a law of Nature that if you do not control yourself someone will control you.

Miss Munro spoke of the growing strength of the League outside London, the formation of new Branches in England, Scotland and Wales, and increase of work everywhere. She made special reference to the Homerton Campaign, and the League's determination to bring before the public the facts of this case of "The Protection of a Criminal."

**Voters and Voteless!** Be ready to welcome the Northern men demanding a Government measure for Woman Suffrage while they are in London on February 14 and 15. For particulars see last page of THE VOTE.

PLEASE MENTION "THE VOTE" WHEN ORDERING GOODS.

## "Daily Herald" Suffrage Week

During the week commencing February 2nd and concluding the following Monday, February 9th, the "Daily Herald" will direct attention to the Suffrage question on a scale that has never before been attempted by any daily newspaper.

The programme of Special Articles will include contributions from the DAILY HERALD SPECIAL COMMISSIONER.

**FEBRUARY**  
**2nd**  
**TO**  
**FEBRUARY**  
**10th.**

We have engaged the services of a Special Commissioner, who will present the true facts of Government torture, and in addition a dozen or more of those best able to speak both from the Women's and the Men's points of view will contribute forcible articles dealing with the present situation.

This campaign has been timed to direct public attention to the subject at the very moment that Parliament is meeting for an eventful Session.

What ought Parliament to do?

What can we compel the Government to do?

What can you do?

These and other questions we desire to answer.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN  
H. D. HARBEN  
F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE  
Miss BEATRICE HARRADEN  
GEORGE LANSBURY  
JOHN SCURR  
Mrs. DESPARD  
Miss NINA BOYLE  
Miss CICELY HAMILTON  
BEN TILLET  
Miss EVELYN SHARP  
ISRAEL ZANGWILL  
Sir EDWARD BUSK  
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### "VOTE" APPEAL: £100 WANTED.

Dear Fellow-members and Readers,—I desire to thank very heartily all who have contributed to our Fund for the enlargement of THE VOTE. Their help, with the kind and cordial letters we have received, testifying to the pleasure they take in our paper, have greatly encouraged us. But we must make a further appeal. The Fund is not yet large enough to enable us permanently to increase our columns. We remind those of our readers who may be able to help us, that the moment is critical in the history of the Woman's Movement. The League is increasing; we are making new branches and new members; work of all sorts is pressing upon us; never was there a time when a really representative paper was so urgently needed as it is now. Therefore I beg you to help us. I regard THE VOTE as the life-blood of the League. Many, I know, week by week look out for it eagerly. My own keen disappointment when, through unforeseen circumstances, during my recent travels, our Christmas number arrived several days late, is fresh in my memory; and the consciousness that we must support the thing we love, has drawn my own special contribution.

I hope others will follow my example, and so lighten our task. Yours sincerely,  
C. DESPARD.

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED.

	£	s.	d.
Amount already acknowledged	73	3	6
Mrs. Despard	5	0	0
Hackney Branch W.F.L. (per Mrs. Catmur)	0	10	0

"THE CHILD: STATE AND PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY."—A discussion on this subject, arranged by the Fabian Women's Group, will take place on Monday, February 2, at the Caxton Hall at 8 p.m., to be opened by Mrs. Cobden Sanderson. Mrs. Pember Reeves will preside. The discussion will emphasise the need for women to have political power to influence man-made legislation, the good intention of which is often spoiled by want of understanding.

### "MANNERS MAKYTH MAN."j

As an outcome of the Bishop of Winchester's letter to *The Times* of October last, our Winchester Branch, on the initiative of its president, Mrs. Walter Carey, has undertaken active propaganda in the city. Miss Andrews and myself held a public meeting, which was widely advertised, and we hoped amongst our audience there would have been at least a few representatives of the religious world; finding our endeavours to obtain a hearing in this eminently pacific way met with no success, I personally called on some of the clergy. The Dean refused to see me, writing: "There would be no object in such an interview, as he had an opinion, not lightly formed, that the Parliamentary Suffrage should not be given to women either in the interest of the nation or of themselves."

On Epiphany Sunday I was privileged to hear in the ancient cathedral that contains amongst other treasures the ashes of Jane Austen, a fine sermon from the Canon in residence; he spoke of ideals, social service, enthusiasm, courage. I felt sure I could not fail to meet with sympathetic treatment from this man of golden words. But, alas, with stony countenance he told me he "refused to discuss the subject," and I was shown the door with scant courtesy. Ideals and enthusiasm he evidently considers suitable only for men; yet, strange to say, his congregation on that Sunday morning consisted mainly of women.

These examples are typical of the reception I met with from the clergy everywhere. I am writing personally to the Bishop to point out that a truce on the part of the women would, in the face of such ignorance and prejudice, mean extinction of our Cause. His letter is addressed to men and women of goodwill; they appear scarcely to exist in the city of Winchester, not only was goodwill conspicuous by its absence, but in some cases the "manners" that we are told "nakyth man."

M. C. HYDE.



FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L. LONDON AND SUBURBS.

Fri. Jan. 30.—CROYDON POSTER PARADE to advertise THE VOTE, 11 a.m. CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, 32A, The Arcade, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Tanner. Sun. Feb. 1.—REGENT'S-PARK (weather permitting). Mr. Hyde and others. Mon. Feb. 2.—W.F.L. OFFICE, 1, Robert-street, Discussion Meeting, 8 p.m., to be opened by Mrs. Nevinson. Subject: "That men having sole political power are to blame for the present muddle of Society." Chair: Miss St. Clair. Admission free. Tues. Feb. 3.—CLAPHAM, 37, Honeybrook-road, Clapham Park, Branch Committee Meeting, 8 p.m. Wed. Feb. 4.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30. Mrs. Nott Bower "Reforms Urgently Needed in Criminal Law," and Miss C. Nina Boyle. Chair: Mrs. Mustard. Admission free. Thurs. Feb. 5.—CAMDEN ATHENAEUM, Camden-road, N., 8 p.m., Public Meeting. Speakers: Miss Boyle and others. Chair: Mrs. Huntsman. Fri. Feb. 6.—WARWICK HOUSE, Wood-lane, Highgate, N. Drawing-room Meeting (by kind invitation of Mrs. Simmons), 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard and Mr. J. Y. Kennedy. Chair: Mrs. Mustard. (Invitations to be obtained from Miss Mitchell, Merok, Great North-road, Highgate.) Sat. Feb. 7.—CAXTON HALL, Tango Practice Class, 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. under the auspices of the London Branches Council. Tickets, 2s. (including tea) from Mrs. Huntsman, W.F.L. Office. Mon. Feb. 9.—KENSINGTON, 6, Argyle-road. Drawing-room Meeting (by kind permission of Mrs. Brend), 8 p.m. Speaker: Miss Boyle. CATFORD, Drawing-room Meeting, 8 p.m. Miss Anna Munro. Wed. Feb. 11.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. Mr. John Scutt on "Go Home and Mind the Baby." CAXTON HALL, Political Meeting, 8 p.m. W.F.L. Speakers and others. Fri. Feb. 13.—CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, 32A, The Arcade, Public Meeting, 3.30. Mon. Feb. 16.—W.F.L. OFFICE, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi. Discussion Meeting, 8 p.m., to be opened by Miss Hodge. Subject, "The General Effect of the Women's Vote in Australia and New Zealand." Tues. Feb. 17.—CLAPHAM, 1, Imperial-mansions, Bromells-road, Clapham, Branch General Meeting, 8 p.m. Wed. Feb. 18.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. The Rev. Moritz Weston, D.D., on "Christianity and Mary Magdalene." Fri. Feb. 20.—CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, 32A, The Arcade. Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. Wed. Feb. 25.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. M. Cunningham: "The Race-Bearers and the Falling Birth-rate in France." Fri. Feb. 27.—CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, 32A, The Arcade, Meeting, 3.30 p.m.

PROVINCES.

Fri. Jan. 30.—BOURNEMOUTH, St. Peter's Hall, Hinton-road, 8 p.m., Public Meeting. Mr. Laurence Housman and Miss Nina Boyle. Chair: Miss Underwood. Mon. Feb. 2.—MIDDLESBROUGH, Hinton's Café, 8 p.m. Business Meeting. Ipswich, St. Laurence's Hall, Green, Gold, and White Fête. Opening Ceremony by Miss Nina Boyle, 3 p.m. Meeting, 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Boyle and Mrs. Tippet. Dramatic entertainments, Cake and Candy and Work Stalls. Burnage, Garden Village, Branch Meeting. Wed. Feb. 4.—Reading. Meeting arranged by Branch. Mrs. Despard. Afternoon. Fri. Feb. 6.—SHEFFIELD, Stevenson's Café, Exchange-street, "At Home," 7.45 p.m. Speaker: Miss Anna Munro. Tickets, 1s., including refreshments. Mon. Feb. 9.—MIDDLESBROUGH, Hinton's Café, 8 p.m. Speaker: Miss Alice Dewhurst. Subject: "Child Study." Burnage, Garden Village, Branch Meeting. Thurs. Feb. 12.—SOUTHAMPTON. King's Speech Meeting, 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Leigh Rodwell, Mr. Perriman, and Dr. Stancombe. Mon. Feb. 16.—MIDDLESBROUGH, Hinton's Café, 8 p.m. Speaker: Mr. Kelsall. Subject: "Anomalies of Present System." Thurs. Feb. 19.—CHESTER, Brown and Co.'s Sale Room, St. John-street, 8 p.m. Meeting. Speaker: Mr. John Morris. Subject: "Why Men Should Support Women's Suffrage." Mon. Feb. 23.—MIDDLESBROUGH, Hinton's Café, 7.30 p.m., "At Home." Speaker: Miss Winifred Jones: "Things That Count." Tues. Mar. 3.—CHESTER, Crane House, Drawing-room Meeting, 3 p.m. Hostess: Mrs. Crosland Taylor. Speaker: Miss Eunice Murray.

SCOTLAND.

Fri. Jan. 30.—Lochgelly, Co-operative Hall, 8 p.m. Councillor Millar. Mon. Feb. 2.—Glasgow, 70, St. George's-rd. Sewing Party, 7 p.m. Tues. Feb. 3.—Glasgow, Academy Rooms, Partick. "At Home," 8 p.m. Hostesses: Mrs. Wilson, Miss White, and Miss Bunten. Speaker: Miss Eunice Murray. Wed. Feb. 4.—Edinburgh, Suffrage Shop, 90, Lothian-road. "At Home," 7.30. Speaker: Miss Eunice Murray. Tues. Feb. 10.—Glasgow, M'Lellan Galleries. Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss C. Nina Boyle, Rev. Canon J. O. Hannay, (George A. Birmingham). Chair: The Very Rev. Provost Deane. Edinburgh, Suffrage Shop, 90, Lothian-road, 2.30 p.m. Dr. Aimée Gibbs: "Healthy Homes and a Healthy Race." Tea, 2.30 to 3 p.m.

OTHER SOCIETIES.

Tues. Feb. 3.—WOOLWICH L.R.A., 8 p.m. Mrs. Tanner. Sun. Feb. 8.—KINGSTON HUMANITARIAN SOCIETY, 7 p.m., Miss Munro. Thurs. Feb. 12.—MIDDLESBROUGH, Presbyterian Church Guild, Newton-road. Address on Women's Suffrage by Mrs. Schofield Coates.

A SAFE INVESTMENT.—Set all doubts at rest by giving Messrs. Cooper & Co., 68-74, Brompton road, S.W., a trial order for groceries. You will receive courtesy and attention and find a most varied selection of goods from which to choose. Their fresh fruits as well as their bottled and tinned fruits are to be specially recommended, cakes, biscuits, and confectionery.

OUR OPEN COLUMN.

Letters intended for publication must be written on one side of the paper only, and authenticated by the name and address of the writer. It must be clearly understood that we do not necessarily identify ourselves with the opinions expressed.

Dear Madam,—In her article this week, Miss Boyle says that one result of the placing of Woman Suffrage on the Liberal programme, "might be the secession of the Anti-Suffrage Liberals to the Unionist ranks, as was the case over Home Rule," &c. There is, however, one very important difference between the two cases. The Liberal opponents of Home Rule were able to join a party (Conservative) which was definitely opposed to that measure.

The Anti-Suffrage Liberals have no such refuge, as the Conservatives are not, as a party, pledged to oppose Woman's Enfranchisement. In fact, some of the warmest advocates of Woman Suffrage are members of the Unionist Party.—Yours faithfully,

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Feb. 5th, at 8.15 p.m.—"Sex and Social Evolution," " 12th, at 8.15 p.m.—"Psychological Aspects of the Struggle for the Franchise," " 19th, at 8.15 p.m.—"The Genesis of the New Woman," " 26th, at 8.15 p.m.—"Feminist Politics and the State."

TICKETS, 1/-, 2/6 and 5/-. To be obtained at the Box-office, Queen's Hall, or the International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Strand, W.C. or by letter containing remittance from Miss Schartzau, 170, Piccadilly, W.

The Women's Freedom League HOLDS PUBLIC MEETINGS AT CAXTON HALL

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Chair: Mrs. MUSTARD.

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SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES MEETINGS.

We accept Announcements of Suffrage and kindred Meetings for this Column at the rate per single insertion of 2s. for 24 words, 1d. every additional word; four insertions at the price of three. All Announcements must be prepaid, and to ensure insertion, should reach the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER, VOTE OFFICE, 2, ROBERT-ST., ADELPHI LONDON, by the First Post on Tuesday Morning.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton-street, W. Subscription, 1 guinea. Wednesday, February 4, 8.30, Discussion: "La Femme Seule." Miss CHRISTOPHER ST. JOHN, Chairman: Mrs. STANBURY.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.—GLASGOW SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE (Non-Party, Law-abiding). PUBLIC MEETING, St. Andrew's Halls, Thursday, February 5th, 8 p.m. Chair: Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D. Speakers: Miss MAUDE ROYDEN, the Right Hon. W. H. DICKINSON, P.C., M.P. Tickets at Suffrage Office, 202, Horse-street, 2s.; reserved, 1s. and 6d. Free tickets.

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# The NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

Founder and Hon. Organiser - Mrs. ARNCLIFFE-SENNETT.

**"Now's the Time and Now's the Hour!"**

## A MASS MEETING

### OF THE MEN OF THE NORTH

WILL BE HELD IN THE

**MEMORIAL HALL, Farringdon Street, Ludgate Circus, E.C.,**  
**SATURDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 14, at 3 o'clock** (DOORS OPEN 2.30 p.m.)  
**BOOK THE TIME AND BOOK THE HOUR!**

Preliminary List of Names of some of the Members of the Northern Men's Federation who are coming 400 miles to give a

### MANDATE FOR A GOVERNMENT MEASURE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE THIS SESSION:—

Baillie ALSTON, J.P.  
 Councillor BARRIE.  
 Councillor HAMILTON BROWN, J.P.  
 Councillor CAMERON, J. P.  
 Councillor CHARLTON.  
 Councillor CRAWFORD.

Ex-Councillor COLBORN.  
 Ex-Baillie GORDON.  
 Councillor HAMILTON.  
 Councillor ROSSLYN MITCHELL.  
 Councillor MURRAY (Father of the Edinburgh Council).

Ex-Provost PERRY.  
 Ex-Baillie RAE.  
 Councillor STABLEFORTH.  
 Councillor TURNER.  
 Councillor WALKER.  
 Councillor WHITEHEAD, J.P. &c., &c., and

**COUNCILLOR ALEXANDER WILKIE, M.P. (Secretary to the Shipwrights' Federation).**

Mr. J. AITKENSON, J.P. (*Hon. Sec. for Newcastle*).  
 Mr. JOHN ALLISON, J.P.  
 Mr. JOHN BELL.  
 Mr. J. BRUNTON.  
 Mr. CUTHBERTSON, J.P.  
 Mr. J. DARBYSIRE (*Hon. Sec. for Manchester*).  
 Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND.  
 Mr. R. FERGUSON.

Mr. R. K. GAUL (*Hon. Sec. for Berwick-on-Tweed*).  
 Mr. JOHN HENDERSON.  
 Mr. J. ILLINGWORTH.  
 Mr. W. G. INGLIS.  
 Mr. ALEX. KIRKWOOD.  
 Mr. J. LAWSON.  
 Mr. RICHARD LEVEN.  
 Mr. DUGDALE MACMILLAN.

Mr. J. McMICHAEL, J.P.  
 Mr. J. WILSON McLAREN.  
 Mr. ALEXANDER ORR.  
 Mr. J. RENNIE, J.P.  
 Mr. A. M. SERVICE (*Hon. Sec. for Glasgow*).  
 Mr. THOMAS SHAW.  
 Mr. T. TRAINER.  
 Mr. W. TWADDLE,  
 &c., &c.,

And (engagements permitting)

**MR. ROBERT SMILLIE (President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain).**  
**Speakers' Names to be announced later.**

The Northern Men's Federation was formed from the Deputation of Baillies, Town Councillors and others, whom Mr. Asquith refused to receive last July. It has been in existence six months, and has accomplished splendid results. Branches have been formed in the chief cities of Scotland and elsewhere, and a continuous campaign of open-air Meetings has been kept going all through the winter. These meetings have been fully reported in the Press. Many successful meetings have taken place in the halls of the various towns, and a Mass Meeting for the men's mandate was held in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh (the largest hall in the city), on November 14. This Meeting was attended by many members of the Town Council, and was voted a brilliant success.

Special and CONCENTRATED CAMPAIGNS have been, and will be, conducted in the Divisions of:—

BRIDGETON (Mr. McCallum Scott, M.P., Anti-Suffragist and Supporter of Mr. Asquith).

ST. ROLLOX (The Rt. Hon. McKinnon Wood, M.P., Supporter of Mr. Asquith).

SOUTH EDINBURGH (Mr. Lyall, M.P., Anti-Suffragist, Secretary to Mr. Asquith).

EAST EDINBURGH (Mr. Hogge, M.P., Supporter of Mr. Asquith), and

CENTRAL EDINBURGH (Mr. Price, M.P., Supporter of Mr. Asquith).

A Deputation was received by Sir EDWARD GREY, at Berwick-on-Tweed, on October 27, 1913, reports of which appeared in *The Times*, *Scotsman*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Manchester*, *Newcastle*, and other leading newspapers, the fighting speeches of the men being withheld from publication.

A Deputation of the N.M.F. was received by the Lord Provost and Town Council of Glasgow, on November 12 last, and subsequently a resolution to petition Parliament, passed by a big majority.

A Resolution to petition Parliament was introduced into the Town Council of Edinburgh by Councillor Crawford, seconded by Councillor Bruce Lyndsay, on December 2, and passed by a large majority.

Sir JOHN SIMON, on his visit to Glasgow, was approached to receive a Deputation. He refused!

LORD HALDANE, on his visit to Edinburgh, was approached to receive a Deputation. He refused!

Mr. LYALL, M.P. (Anti-Suffragist and Supporter of Mr. Asquith) received a Deputation of Members of the N.M.F. and his own constituents on December 18, and his answer being so unsatisfactory, the Liberal members have decided to withdraw their votes.

Over 200 letters have been sent to the Presbyteries of the Free Church and United Free Church of Scotland, urging them to appeal to the General Assembly of Scotland, and take up this question in a religious spirit, and the Archbishop of Canterbury has also been approached.

On Friday, January 10, the Glasgow Trades Council decided to send Councillors Charlton, Turner and Walker to represent it at the Northern Men's Meeting on February 14.

Writing to the Hon. Organiser, on October 18, Mr. Israel Zangwill said: "The formation of the Northern Men's Federation is the only gleam of hope that has lately appeared on the horizon. . . . I put great hopes in the North."

**Londoners! Come and Welcome the North on Feb. 14th!**

**ADMISSION FREE.**—A Few Reserved Seats at 2s. 6d., to be obtained from the ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE, 2, Robert-street, Adelphi; the SECRETARY TO CONVENTION, 6, Wellington-road, St. John's Wood; and at the Hall.

**A MASS MEETING will be held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, February 15th, at 2.30 p.m.**

**Voters! Come in Your Thousands!**

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