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THE VOTE.
January 9, 1914
ONE PENNY.

NEW YEAR'S HONOURS.

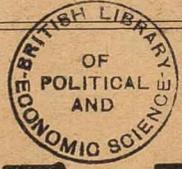
THE VOTE

THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

VOL. IX No. 220. [Registered at the General Post Office as a Newspaper] FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 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.

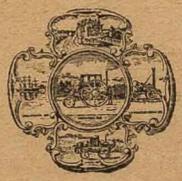


WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

I.—THE INTERPRETERS OF THE LAW.

[See Pages 176, 177.]

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OUR POINT OF VIEW.

The Cost of Denying Justice.

The Times, The Evening News, The Irish Independent, The Sheffield Daily Telegraph, The Morning Advertiser, Fire, and other papers, publish grave paragraphs about the costly nature of suffragist outrages. In damage to valuable property by fire alone, *The Times* assumes a probable loss of £250,000. But to this must be added a huge list of shattered windows, damaged golf greens, and sundry other items. The sum is enormously increased when with this is totalled up the cost of prosecutions, the services of cohorts of special police at political meetings, or in attendance on Cabinet Ministers, or on such occasions as the landing of Mrs. Pankhurst, and our ordinary meetings in Trafalgar-square and elsewhere, and the maintenance in gaols of numbers of suffragists whose sole crime is that they desire to give more efficient service to the State. Meanwhile the papers lament the increase of daring robberies and burglaries; and it is reported that no less than sixty murderers are at large. The public will do well to consider the cost of denying justice.

Sweet Simplicity.]

Fire endeavours, unconvincingly, to point out that the W.S.P.U. are being "made catspaws of" by people whose houses are "white elephants," and who prefer the insurance money. We do not suppose the incendiaries care a straw who it is that pays the piper; and it would appear as if *Fire* is simple enough to overlook the fact that by inflicting loss on insurance companies a far wider circle of the public is touched than one owner of a house. *Fire* smiles over "the simplicity of the infantile political economy which cannot see behind the insurance companies—the real sufferers from arson."—whatever that may be intended to mean; but we rather fancy the simplicity is elsewhere. At any rate, *The Evening News* "understands" that insurance companies are "seriously concerned" about the new risks, and are preparing to take it out of the public by placing them on the same footing as damage during war! The cost of denying justice will mount up, then, with a vengeance,—and whether one approves or disapproves of the campaign of arson, it will be impossible to deny that the incendiaries will have scored.

"The Best Strike."

We have welcomed the signs of the awakening of the Churches to the significance of the Women's Movement, but the daring clerics who openly stand by the women in their struggle for justice are still in a pitiable minority. It is refreshing, however, to find that the Rev. W. R. Harvey, a Congregational minister of Northampton, takes a bold stand with regard to the much-discussed question of the birth-rate. Instead of upbraiding women as bachelor Bishops and other Church dignitaries have done, he suggests that the best strike which could be organised would be "to keep little boys and girls in Heaven until we get the world a little more shipshape." This is a direct challenge to men who have had it all their own way in bringing about the present situation, which even Mr. Lloyd George characterises as a horrible mess. It is a man who considers a birth strike advisable until there is more righteousness and honesty in the conditions into which children are born. The sooner more men see eye to eye with Mr. Harvey the better; and the only way to ensure a termination of such a strike is to give women votes as the first step to making the world "more shipshape." An example of the difference between voting and voteless women is just to hand from the United States. The "Red Light Bill," of Oregon has been held by judicial decision to be constitutional; in Iowa the Supreme Court, upon a technicality, declared a Red Light Bill unconstitutional. These Bills deal drastically with owners

of houses used for immoral purposes, giving the State the right to sell the property if the owners will not guarantee that it shall not be so used. In Oregon women vote; in Iowa they have still to win their political freedom.

Will "Punch" Follow Suit?

Those who have so often laughed over the quips and cranks of *Life*, the well-known humorous weekly of New York, have welcomed the recent appearance of its "Pro-Suffrage Number." On this side of the Atlantic we may well wonder how soon *Punch* will follow suit? We recognise that *Punch* treats Woman Suffrage as a vital and dominating question of the day, and commend to the newly-honoured editor a careful perusal of *Life*, fully expecting that as a New Year's resolution he will determine to give Women Suffragists here equally valuable help. A coloured frontispiece shows four far from ideal types of men voters, surrounding a voteless woman, and throughout the issue the contrast is emphasised in humorous drawings and equally humorous letterpress of the right of any kind of loafer or drunkard or white slaver to vote while women are shut out. A double page drawing with this wording: "Is Woman's Sphere the Home when Man has Surrounded her Children with Evil?" summarises the arguments for Woman's Suffrage. Susan B. Anthony's vision of victorious women accompanies the story of her "illegal voting" forty years ago, for which she was fined \$100 and costs of trial. Other drawings show the Ballot as "The Widow's Might"; woman as captive in a cell built of prejudice, fear, convention, false chivalry; a fettered girl is told by an unfettered man that her shackles "are bracelets and most becoming," but a storm in the nursery shows the newer spirit; sister explains that brother is crying "cause I said when we grow up may-be I'll be President and he won't."

MINERVA.

The worship of Minerva reawakes!
Her gifts once more shall plenteously descend,
And all the earth shall stir from end to end,
While she from every race due tribute takes.
The strength of Ignorance in terror shakes,
Now maidens have hailed Wisdom as a friend,
To her shall songs of lofty praise be penned,
Who, out of darkness, light and knowledge makes.

All foolish pleasures find their meed of scorn,
For we are given new dreams for our delight
And gain fresh power to think and feel and know.
Strange ecstasies have in our hearts been born,
And fire from altars cleansed our lips and sight,
Our spirits now begin to live and grow.

E. URWICK.

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ORGANISERS' FUND: APPEAL FOR £500.

It is not too late for New Year good resolutions, and we specially appeal to our readers to help us to complete our £500 Organisers' Fund quickly. No sum is too small or too big to receive grateful acknowledgment. Our work in some quarters is at a standstill because we have not sufficient organisers to send to these districts. £500 before March is not a large sum to ask for this purpose, and we confidently rely on our readers to supply this amount at an early date.

E. KNIGHT.
F. A. UNDERWOOD.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

London Meetings.—London readers are reminded that on Monday evening, January 19, we shall begin our Discussion Meetings at 1, Robert-street, when Madame Aino Malmberg will speak on "Is the Woman's Movement Identical with the Eastern Revolutionary Movement?" The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock by Miss A. A. Smith. On Wednesday afternoon, January 21, at Caxton Hall, we shall resume our weekly public meetings, and are specially fortunate in booking Miss Cicely Hamilton as the principal speaker for the first of this series. Mrs. Huntsman will take the chair at 3.30. Admission to both these meetings is free, and a very cordial invitation to attend them is extended to all men and women interested in our movement.

Provinces.—This and next week we are running a campaign in Winchester in charge of Miss Andrews and Mrs. Hyde. At the end of the month another meeting will be held in Winchester, at which Miss Boyle will speak. We hope shortly to arrange a meeting in Reading, and form a strong Branch of the Women's Freedom League. Miss E. J. Read has begun work in Bournemouth, is now staying with our valued friend, Mrs. Hume, at Loughtonhurst, West Cliff-gardens, and she will be glad to hear from sympathisers in the district.

F. A. U.

THE CHAMPION OF A DOWN-TRODDEN SEX.*

We have all an ideal self who probably bears but little resemblance to the real being. In this volume, Mr. Belfort Bax seems to contemplate himself in the light of a knight-errant, engaged in the defence of poor, down-trodden man against the "terrific force" of modern feminism. According to the author, woman is "privileged up to the top of her bent." "She is practically immune from the operation of the criminal law when in the dock." "The existing law and its administration is in no essential respect whatever unfavourable to women, but, on the contrary, it is as a whole grossly unfair to men." Indeed, "the whole power of the State is practically at the disposal of women to coerce and oppress men." While, "as to the personal relations between men and women, an impartial view of the case must inevitably lead to the conclusion that, whatever else man in general may have on his conscience, no reasonable reproach lies to his score as regards his treatment of women. The

* "The Fraud of Feminism." By E. Belfort Bax. (Grant Richards. 2s. 6d. net.)

patience, forbearance, and kindness with which, from Socrates downwards, men, as a rule, have encountered the whims, the tempers and the tantrums of their often unworthy womankind is indeed a marvel."

But the wicked feminists, male and female, have insisted that the reverse is the case. Men are now on the point of being trodden under the heel of women and the process is unnoticed, "save for an occasional protest by the present writer," who appears to resent that his services, in championing the cause of defenceless man, have not been appreciated at their full value, while "the influential feminist sisterhood" is accused of putting pressure upon editors and publishers to prevent the spread of that light which Mr. Bax would cause to shine.

To question the essential rightfulness of the dominance of man and the subservience of woman appears to him a patent absurdity. They have, as he remarks, been age-long, and, until recently, taken as "a matter of course." In passing, we may remark that slavery is still a matter of course among the Arabs, as no doubt is cannibalism among the cannibals. Until less than a century ago, it was taken as a matter of course that the many should govern the few without any semblance of their consent. The domination of the worker by the employer of to-day is still a matter of course. He recognises two streams of feminist thought bursting through the dam of man's "natural" dominance. The one claims mental and moral equality with men, hence the demand for the vote. The other he terms "sentimental," and to it is due that special consideration which, he believes, is shown to women in the making and administration of the laws of this country. His method of argument to support his assertion of the inferiority of women to men is peculiar. He says they are inferior, and anyone who thinks differently must be a feminist and consequently a liar, since the book is apparently written to prove that a feminist is a liar. It is admitted, he says, by all who are not feminists that women suffer from pathological mental conditions, commonly known as hysteria, and he finds these symptoms "in well-nigh every second or third woman of whose life we have any

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intimate knowledge," but he is very angry with the "contemptible silliness" of those who would argue that anti-feminists have been unfortunate in their relations with women. Women are also, according to him, illogical, they lack a sense of abstract justice and are apt to be influenced by personal considerations. As Mr. Bernard Shaw has pointed out in answer to Sir Almoth Wright, there is truth in these accusations, but that, unfortunately, these are human delinquencies, of which neither men nor women can be held to be guiltless. He quotes with great respect the generalisation of Otto Weininger (a youth who went mad and died by his own hand at twenty-four) on the subject of the sex nature of women, upon which both he and Mr. Bax, not being women, are able to pronounce pontifically. It would be hopeless to argue on these points. The book is full of allusions to "feminist dogmas," but is, at the same time, congested with unverifiable assertions, which he does not consider it necessary to substantiate. He is satisfied of the depravity of women. The accusations which have been brought by the most extreme feminists against men are as water unto wine to those he brings against women, and against the men who have stood by them in their fight for justice. On showing the book to one of these despicable creatures, he, unfortunately, opened it at one of the most indecent of its pages and refused to read further, urging the impossibility of arguing with a writer whose method of expression is on a level with that of a hooligan, whose arguments consist in misrepresentation of fact, and who shows himself to be quite ignorant of any knowledge of sexual physiology.

Owing to the stream of sentimental feminism, Mr. Bax finds that "the marriage laws of England to-day are a monument of sex-partiality." This partiality he says, begins with the law relating to Breach of Promise, which certainly is invoked with far greater frequency by women than by men owing to the superior economic position of the latter. When opportunity has offered, men have availed themselves of the law and have obtained damages under it. In the majority of cases, it is clearly not worth their while to do so. Nor are women enthusiastic in its defence. It is evident, that it would be inoperative among a more developed community, as it is now among the educated classes.

Women do not deny that there are anomalies in the laws. On the contrary, they have complained very bitterly of these anomalies. It is not their fault if male legislators have muddled their business and have neglected to amend their laws in conformity with modern conditions, or even with legislation which they themselves have passed. Mr. Lloyd George has admitted that married women have a real grievance in the non-recognition of the Married Women's Property Act by the tax-collector. In this case, there is a distinct injustice to both husband and wife when both possess small incomes. There are other anomalies in the laws which clearly date back to the time when all a woman's possessions, even her clothes, became, on her marriage, the property of her husband. It is not true, as Mr. Bax asserts that "every wife can obtain, if not a divorce, at least a legal separation, by going whining to the

nearest police court, for a few shillings, which her husband, of course, has to pay." To obtain a judicial separation, a woman has to prove aggravated assault, desertion, persistent cruelty, wilful neglect to maintain her and her children, or habitual drunkenness. It is true that a man may be directed to pay a sum towards his wife's support, but all who know anything of the life of the poor (it is mainly the poor who apply for judicial separations) are aware that such orders are as difficult to enforce as are affiliation orders against the fathers of illegitimate children. Indeed, the majority of women who escape from the impossible conditions of an unhappy marriage are glad enough to free themselves, with or without alimony, and, in many cases, the woman supports herself and her children rather than take money from a man who has been a bad husband and a bad father. As was shown by the Divorce Commission, the whole procedure of Judicial Separations requires revision. With Mr. Bax, we should be glad for a man to have the right of freeing himself from a bad wife for other reasons than that of habitual drunkenness. Though he seems to consider that the sale of sulphuric acid is allowed by the authorities as a special concession to wives, who find it a convenient sedative for recalcitrant husbands, we have no special sympathy with the vitriol slinger, male or female, though this Mr. Bax may find it difficult to believe.

The theory that women can expect no mercy from their own sex finds no favour with Mr. Bax. He says there is such a powerful "sex union" among women that "it is rapidly becoming impossible, even in the most flagrant cases where man is the victim, to get any woman to acknowledge that another woman has committed a wrong." This appears to dispose of the "cat" woman, perpetually back-biting other women who looms so large in the pages of a certain type of men novelists. (Cat lovers will please forgive the implied libel on cats.) The author asserts that in face of this strong sex-solidarity among women there is no corresponding sentiment among men. "Men," he says "hate their brother men in the capacity of male persons." To this view he returns again and again and to this "sex hatred, so often vindictive in character, of men for men, he attributes the horrible peril of his sex from the hundred-headed hydra of sex feminism. This is, to us, an entirely new idea and we should like the opinion of other male persons on the subject. Certainly, it is not what we have understood by a sex war. However, the class war, as Mr. Bax as a follower of Marx understands it, has been long in coming. Perhaps the sex war will also be delayed.

The keynote of the book is perhaps to be found in a remark made to the author by a minister "holding one of the highest positions in the present Cabinet." (We think we know, but the fear of bringing the Editor under the law of libel prevents us from expressing our strong suspicion.) "The real object," he said "for which these women want the vote is simply to get rascally laws passed against men." In harmony with this enlightened utterance, we find the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1886, described as "One of the most infamous enactments indicative of Feminist sex bias," while as for the White Slave Act of 1912, it is "a monstrosity," and "the result of psychological sexual aberration." The attempt to raise the age of consent is a "favourite feminist crank."

But fortunately for women, men are not all the walking appetites described by Mr. Bax. They are neither so indecent nor so purely animal as one would infer from his book, though the records of the police courts are sufficient to show that there are men of a very low animal type who regard the bodies of women, and even of children, merely as material for satisfying "an urgent and pressing need." Throughout the whole book, there is no intimation of any relation between man and woman except that of a purely physical one. Affection or even mutual edification do not enter into the author's scheme of the marriage relation. To him,

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men and women appear as the male and female of the species.

We hope that this vulgar and scurrilous production will not escape the notice of Mrs. Humphry Ward and Miss Violet Markham. We wish them joy of their comrade.

E. M. N. C.

WHAT IS BEING SAID.

"Tragically Overdue."

"Female Suffrage played a large part in my first novel, published a quarter of a century ago ('The Premier and the Painter' and in this particular romance it is the Conservatives who place it on the Statute Book. This is what I fear will happen. And if the restricted feminine electorate hampers Liberalism for years to come it will be but a righteous Nemesis for the Liberal party's procrastination of a reform so strictly in consonance with its genius and so tragically overdue."—Israel Zangwill, in the *Daily News*, Jan 1.

"What are Men Going to do Do With It?"

"Unless some constructive policy of adaptation is evolved to meet the growing needs and consciousness of women, nothing is more certain than that their great and vital forces will be rapidly diverted to anti-social purposes. They are naturally conservers of order. Under happy and fruitful conditions they exhibit far less than men any tendency to violence and destruction. But when driven past their long patience—when they feel that, having lost all, they have no more to lose—they far exceed men in the recklessness of their excesses. Is our present social and economic order so stable that we can afford to exasperate against it a great mass of womanhood? A ferment is working; new growth is pushing up everywhere. In God's name, what are the men going to do with it?"—Mrs. Swanwick, in the *Daily News*, Jan. 1.

Men and Women Trustees for the Common Good.

"The movement which recognises that men and women are alike trustees for the common good of humanity is advancing from strength to strength. It is part of a set of forces at work all over the world liberating women from traditional customs and ideas and giving them as full and unrestricted a share in the best things and the most educating responsibilities of life as they are willing to seek."—Dr. John Clifford, in his review of 1913.

"Intolerable for the Liberal Party."

"I cannot imagine a complete programme of Liberal reforms which leaves half the citizens of this country unfranchised. Whenever a reform, to which we have set our hands, directly affects women as much as men, nay, more, directly affects women more than men—it always seems to me to be an unarguable proposition that the opinion of women should not be constitutionally sought and expressed upon the rival proposals for settling these questions. This conviction, I am satisfied, is seizing hold so firmly on some of the best minds in the country, especially among the Progressive forces, that the present position must soon become intolerable for the Liberal party.

"I firmly believe that had it not been for the disastrous setback inflicted on the movement by the militant folly, the Liberal party would now have been committed as a party to pressing through this great reform. Militancy alone is holding it back. If it ceased opinion would take some time to recover from its effects. But I cannot think it would take long. Until it ceases however, I frankly despair of success.

"This is a great national misfortune, for every great and beneficent cause would be strengthened beyond reckoning by the admission of women to the franchise, always provided that it was a full and unrestricted admission."

Liberalism False to its High Tradition.

"On the Woman Question it is Liberalism which has to put the question itself in its acutest form. For it is Liberalism which is most obviously false to its own high tradition. It is doing what it professes never to do. It is applying force alone, without bringing into play a simultaneous remedy. It is insisting on governing without the consent of the governed. It is refusing enfranchisement to those who, while abhorring violence, have legitimately and constitutionally, with massive and steady persistence, with high argumentative skill, with profound moral emotion, pressed their claims for direct representation on grounds which no one who calls himself a Liberal can conceivably repudiate or ignore."—*Commonwealth*, January.

Why Women are Prosecuted.

It has been reserved for the British Government to prosecute women for holding opinions identical with those of their rulers.—EVELYN SHARP.

A Champion.

La Follette's Weekly reproduced in its leading editorial Louis D. Brandeis's recent announcement of his conversion to woman suffrage. It said: "Few men have rendered as distinguished service toward the solution of our industrial problems as that freely given by Mr. Brandeis, notably in the successful defence of the ten-hour day for women workers, in the Ballinger investigation, and in the freight rate increases."

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BY-ELECTIONS.

Two more elections are imminent—N.W. Durham, on the promotion of Mr. Atherley Jones, K.C., to the Bench, and High Wycombe, on the promotion of Sir Alfred Cripps to the peerage. The Women's Freedom League must be represented in these contests, and we ask for the necessary funds with confidence that our supporters will send us well equipped into the fray.

Both these elections mean something definite to our Cause. Mr. Atherley Jones, whom we believe to be an honourable and able man as politicians go, has been given a position, with salary and pension, on the Bench, not for patient and assiduous attention to the business of the Courts and the affairs of the public, whose unpleasant fate it is to have to attend them; but for party services in and out of Parliament. Appointments to the Bench are one of the perquisites of sex; and we who know how sorely the country suffers from the want of women in these high positions should make this a special opportunity for indignant protest against the Government.

At High Wycombe the seat is vacant because "the King has been pleased" to confer a New Year's honour on its sitting Member. In the honours list, again, the long roll of British women whose services cry for recognition finds no place. Even without mentioning the presidents of the Suffrage Leagues, the names of Margaret MacMillan, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Miss Gore-Booth, and many and many another noble and devoted soul, leap to one's lips; and these are set aside and ignored; men alone reap the rewards of citizen service. This election contest should give us one of the most favourable opportunities for setting forth the disabilities under which women labour; and we confidently appeal for the funds with which to carry on the campaign, and ask that they may be supplied liberally and at once.

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E. KNIGHT.

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Lot 49. 200 pairs Ladies' Bedroom Slippers, in French Poplin or Quilted Satin and Felt. All sizes. Usual price 1s. 11d. Special Sale Price 1/-

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ON OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WHAT IS WOMANLY?

"What Is Womanly?" By Laurence Housman. Price 4d. (post free 5d.) from W. F. L. Office.

To the modern woman men's descriptions of her, their opinions of her qualities, their rules for her guidance, and their theories about her destiny are a source of amusement tempered by a tolerant indifference. Mr. Housman, therefore, has shown some courage in issuing through The Women's Freedom League a pamphlet entitled "What Is Womanly?" But Mr. Housman has no intention of preaching to woman, or of telling her what he thinks she ought to do; he only concerns himself with the destruction of prudish prejudice "until she has secured full right of way equal to man's—in all directions of mental and physical activity—or, to put it in one word, the right to *experiment*." He discards the idea that mere "ordinariness" can define womanliness any more than it defines "manliness," insists on as much elasticity for the former as for the latter, and on the fact that a woman is the best custodian of her own honour and liberty. A "womanly" woman is not a docile, ineffective human being; but, in Mr. Housman's opinion, the measure of a woman's "womanliness" is the sum of her general effectiveness.

All readers of THE VOTE, and certainly every member of the Women's Freedom League, should secure copies of this pamphlet. They will endorse every word of Mr. Housman in regard to the exclusion of women from our Courts of Justice, will share his regret that no statue has been erected to Caroline Norton, and his indignation at the following pronouncement of Lord Chancellor Brougham:—"There are several legal hardships which are of necessity inflicted on women; therefore we should not relieve them from those which are not necessary, the necessary hardships being greater; and it is a bad policy to raise in women a false expectation that the legal hardships relating to their sex are of a removable kind!"

Yet there are still men amongst us who say that women are the spoil darlings of the Law! F. A. U.

Prejudices Old and New. Eunice G. Murray. (Scottish Council of the Women's Freedom League. 1d., post-free 1 1/2d.)

Liberal Cant. Eunice G. Murray. (Women's Freedom League. 1d., post-free 1 1/2d.)

No better ammunition could be found for Suffrage speakers in public or in private than the two pamphlets recently written by Miss Eunice Murray. Miss Murray's services to the League are manifold, but it is not only the League which will be grateful to her for putting important facts together in so telling a manner; these pamphlets will re-echo in speeches throughout the country under the banners of many societies. "It is prejudice, not reason, that has delayed the emancipation of woman," says Miss Murray in the first pamphlet, and she proceeds to show how in every forward step from bathing and cycling to education and enfranchisement woman has to fight for a foothold. With the humour and hard hitting which are always associated in Miss Murray's speeches and writings she demonstrates the futility of ancient prejudice against the advance of victorious women. People are to-day laughing at the ridiculous pretensions of men in the past to keep women within a man-made sphere; they will soon be laughing at politicians who are willing to make the country pay a high price for the prejudice of denying women political freedom.

How the present Liberal Government keeps its principles for men only is the theme of Miss Murray's second pamphlet. The Prime Minister and members of his Cabinet are convicted out of their own mouths by quite recent utterances of standing for the sex privilege, not justice to all. Such a boast as that of Mr. Churchill that "Liberalism is successful because it does not treat the symptoms but always seeks the cause" is mere emptiness so long as Liberalism turns a deaf ear to the wrongs of women. "Liberal Cant" ought to reach every man and woman in the land. We hope Miss Murray will soon find time to write more of these trenchant pamphlets.

Sir Almoth Wright's Case Against Woman Suffrage Answered by Bernard Shaw.

The Irish Women's Suffrage Federation (29, South Annet-street, Dublin) has published in pamphlet form (1d., post free 1 1/2d.) Mr. Bernard Shaw's reply to Sir Almoth Wright's "Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage." It is reprinted from *The New Statesman* by kind permission of the editor; Suffragists will thank the editor for his courtesy and the Federation for their enterprise in issuing the Shavian reply in so convenient a form. "It is impossible," writes G.B.S., "in the face of history and contemporary facts, to deny that Man as he exists at present is what Sir Almoth Wright calls Woman."

"The Everyday Vegetable Book." By F.K. (Messrs. Stanley Paul, 31, Essex-street, Strand. 1s. net.

This little book of recipes will be useful to the housekeeper who has ideas beyond the usual English ones of "a roast joint and suet pudding." It deals with the proper cooking of vegetables, which is an unknown art to the ordinary cook. Some of the dishes mentioned are new, and many of them appetising and easily prepared. So many people are now taking to a non-flesh diet, and to them we can recommend they should add some of these vegetable dishes to their daily menu. The one fault we have to find with the book is that the author tells us "that marriage is the one and only thing for a woman to do." M. C.

JUSTICE.

"As the result of a gambling raid by police-officers on premises in George-street, Hanover-square, fourteen people appeared at Marlborough-street Police-court," runs a paragraph in a weekly paper. "The prisoners included two women, and were all fashionably dressed." The account of the preliminary proceedings before the magistrate resulted in "The defendants charged with frequenting the premises were *bound over*," the principals being remanded until December 18.

In the same paper some weeks later there are two accounts of raids upon another kind of illegal establishment. In Liverpool two girls were concerned with some Chinamen in bringing men to a house for immoral purposes, and Gertrude Burton was brought up at Lambeth on a charge of allowing her flat to be used for immoral purposes. In each case the police gave evidence that women had brought men to the houses, but no attempt was made to raid when men were on the premises, nor were any men charged with "frequenting." In each case the women were punished and no man's name was mentioned.

Now, it is obvious that a resort of ill-fame cannot be carried on unless men patronise and pay for it—well knowing it to be illegal. What we want to know is, why such men are not brought into court, their names and addresses given, and charged with frequenting and aiding and abetting, as was done to the two fashionably dressed women in the gambling den? It must be abundantly evident that so long as the demoralised victims of the traffic in women alone are made responsible and held punishable for this the pet and protected vice of men, and so long as the administration of the law itself aids and abets and protects the real criminals, so long all our Criminal Law Amendments aimed at the traffic in women will remain what they are at present—a sham and a farce. We recommend our readers to watch this kind of case closely, if they desire to obtain a true estimate of the depths of hypocrisy which were plumbed when the 1912 Act was passed with such solemn parade by the law-makers and law-administrators of the country.

C. NINA BOYLE.

THE "PROTECTED" SEX.

Killed.

Lily Bland, aged 26, murdered by her discarded lover near Bradford last Saturday. Had refused to resume her engagement with John Pitts, who waylaid and shot her, and then committed suicide. Girl's body said to be horribly mutilated; razor wounds as well as revolver shots.—*Sunday Chronicle*, Jan. 4.

Mrs. Drummond, of Glasgow, aged 23, killed on New Year's Day. Quarrelled with her husband, who had struck the little girl. Knocked down, and supposed to have been kicked in the stomach. Lay for some hours before the police were informed. Died on removal to infirmary.

Wilhelmina Crouchman, Southwark, found murdered in her room, with fatal injuries on head and face and 38 punctures with a sharp instrument on right thigh. Literally battered to death. Separated from her husband, of intemperate habits, and living with another man. Had been heard quarrelling with the man about another man. George Williams under arrest.

For the murder of Mary Ann Murray, a street-singer, stabbed in the street at Portrush last August Bank Holiday, John Lavery, a scissors-grinder, has been sentenced to death at the Ulster Assizes. The jury made a strong recommendation to mercy.

Murderous Assault.

Florence Jackson, Grimsby, found in a house with her throat cut and hands and face badly gashed, on confession made to the police by George Marshall, her assailant. Had been living with the girl and had taken her home with his arm round her neck on the best of terms. Turned on her in the entrance to the house and attacked her in the dark. She was rescued by neighbours.

Marion Hutchings, 20, of Pentonville, murderously attacked by Charles Beavor, married man, with whom she lived. Jealous of another man, he awaited her return from a theatre and hacked her about the head, face and hands with a razor. Found lying soaked in blood.

Cruelty.

John Hagan, Glasgow, assaulted his wife, striking her face with his fist; and another woman by kicking her, knocking her downstairs and striking her. Young couple, only a few

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months married. Fined 3 guineas or one month at St. Rollox Police-court.

Compare: Robert McNeilly, Glasgow, stealing a cheese from goods station. One month without the option of a fine.

George Lowe, Birmingham, refused his supper and set to work with a chopper, threatening his wife, who fetched a policeman. Struck his wife on jaw, seriously hurt. She had the baby in her arms at the time. The quarrel was because she had helped her brother when he was out of work. One month.—*Sunday Chronicle*, Jan. 4.

Indecent Crimes.

Francis Parswell, Govan, assaulting young woman in picture palace on December 8. Fined 3 guineas or one month.

Compare: James Orrock, theft of some articles of clothing, at Edinburgh Sheriff Court, sentenced to six months.—*Glasgow Herald*, Dec. 27.

James Thomson, Glasgow, persistently importuning three little girls of from 4 1/2 to 8 years of age for immoral purposes, taking the youngest into two "closes," where he was followed and seen to give her pennies. Six months.—*Glasgow Herald*, Dec. 27.

John Strachan, Aberdeen, living on the immoral earnings of Mary Ann Robertson. Six months.

Desertion.

James Graham, failing to maintain his wife and two children since November, 1912. Had "more or less" deserted them since 1905. Appeared perfectly callous. Sheriff Fyfe passed sentence of two months.

Thomas Caldwell, same charge. Wife and children had become chargeable to the parish. Two months.

George and Mary Robinson, Dunfermline, neglecting and ill-treating their two sons of 13 and 9 years, and the baby of their daughter, by failing to feed, clothe and clean them adequately. Two-roomed house, 15 people—9 of whom were adults—living in it. Both accused drank. Sheriff Umpherstone said he "would put the woman where she could not obtain drink for as long as he could," gave her six months, the husband (legal parent) three months.

Mr. J. R. Motion, Inspector of Poor, Glasgow, in his half-yearly report, complained bitterly of the frequent and increasing cases of desertion of families by emigrating fathers and husbands.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE.

I.—THE INTERPRETERS OF THE LAW.

In the early seventeenth century, Francis Bacon defined the position of our judges as that of lions at the foot of the throne and they immediately accepted the office of jealous guardians of the Royal prerogative. Self-interest was probably their motive rather than an exalted feeling of loyalty, for at that time the King alone had the right to dismiss them from their offices, a right of which both James I. and Charles I. promptly availed themselves when the righteous and courageous few proved themselves in the least opposed to the Royal claims. In dread of losing their positions, the judges sacrificed popular liberties to personal profit, and the extravagant theories of despotism which they promulgated provoked both the Great Rebellion and the Revolution of 1688. When, in 1701, by the Act of Settlement, the judges were made dependent on Parliament, it was supposed that from that date onwards they would constitute themselves the champions of the people and would interpret the laws with a bias in favour of popular rights rather than of the extension of the Royal prerogative. This would most certainly have been the case if the House of Commons had really been representative of the people, but for generations it was merely the mouthpiece of the aristocracy, and when in the nineteenth century the three Reform Bills extended the franchise, one sex was entirely and definitely denied the privilege of the vote. Therefore we find that, in these islands, the learned judges have become the ardent champions of male monopoly, as in previous centuries they were the guardians of the Royal prerogative or aristocratic privilege. Innumerable cases could be cited of the unequal treatment of men and women under our present judicature, and especially glaring ones are to be found by a comparison of the recent sentences passed upon men and women political offenders. Women are not, as has been asserted, the "darlings of the law"; they are outcasts from it, they are kindly allowed to suffer its penalties without fully enjoying the benefit of its protection.

A very slight acquaintance with the attitude of the judicature in lands where women vote will show how much more really impartial are the decisions of the interpreters of the law in the cases where the two sexes are concerned.

As Sydney Smith wrote in the early Nineteenth century, "We are governed not primarily by laws, but by public opinion," and in the lands where women count and public opinion includes their views as well as those of men the point of view of both sexes is given due consideration.

In the election of the Legislative House the women's voice is as potent as the man's, and it is almost pathetic

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to hear a candidate for Parliamentary honours pleading with the "ladies" to ask him questions and give him their point of view. For these same "ladies" have by the magic of the possession of the vote been transformed from political nonentities into an important political asset in his eyes, and he suddenly becomes conscious of the immense importance of ascertaining their opinions and conciliating them in every possible way. The judges are dependent upon the legislature and, therefore, indirectly on the electors, and they, too, have to take the woman's point of view into consideration. It is a hard lesson for them to learn, for they have ignored and safely ignored women's opinions for so long that they are as unskilful in understanding them as the women are diffident in pronouncing them. Still we do find in New Zealand and Australia, where the women have had the vote for eleven and twenty years respectively, that a marked change has come over the attitude of the judicature, especially in all questions relating to women and children and to sex relations.

In February, 1913, in the Dominion, Judge Edwards was called upon to try some cases of criminal and indecent assaults upon children at the Auckland Assizes. In his address to the grand jury, he said "I want to point out to you that in most of these cases the physical harm done to the victims is, perhaps, nil, but the moral harm is enormous. You know as well as I do that there is immense danger in familiarising the mind of youth with vice—it is the worst possible thing for a child." The grand jury were much impressed by the address, and urged the introduction of flogging as a deterrent from this class of crime. The judge, in sentencing the criminals after the petty jury had found them guilty, gave them ten years with hard labour, and four floggings, to be followed by ten years' police supervision—and he severely reprimanded the prisoners, pronouncing them "worse than wild beasts." There is a movement on foot, and a petition has been presented—mainly signed by women—to secure the permanent detention of sex maniacs of this kind, without the infliction of flogging. If we contrast the pronouncement of Justice Edwards with those of English judges and magistrates who are so anxious to give men, convicted of this horrible offence, another chance, and who are content to pass a sentence of a week or a fortnight upon them, and who even urge the plea that "the best of us are liable to sudden temptation," in excuse for this vile crime, we shall understand how the woman's point of view as to the comparative importance of the preservation of the child's purity and the indulgence of the man's lust has filtered through from the legislature to the judicature, and we shall realise the immense importance of admitting women to full citizenship.

The question of divorce is dealt with in an entirely different spirit by the judges in the Commonwealth and the Dominions from that which it receives in the British Isles. In Western Australia and in New Zealand there is absolute equality for men and women under the Divorce Law, and the Commonwealth will soon adopt a uniform law on this subject.

The judges, in all cases of disputes between husbands and wives, show a real desire for impartiality, and any case of wife-beating is punished with relentless severity. A Victorian judge lately gave a man six months with hard labour for wife-beating, and pronounced him far worse than an orang-outang. The sound of the word overawed the criminal far more than the comparison, for he had, in all probability, but little knowledge of the treatment these animals accord to their mates.

In cases of seduction under promise of marriage and of desertion or refusal to pay maintenance of the child, by the denial of fatherhood, very exemplary severity is shown. In Melbourne, recently, an unhappy girl, who had been betrayed and deserted by a man of property, and had claimed the allowance for her child, was refused and insulted by her seducer, who asserted that she had

other lovers, and that he had no responsibility. She brought an action against this man for maintenance, and the judge not only insisted on the allowance being paid in full, but condemned the miscreant to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for the calumnies by which he had sought to evade his responsibilities.

The economic condition of the women in the old world is one of the gravest of social evils, as a New Zealander, visiting this country last year, wrote:—"The women of this imperial race are sold on the streets more cheaply than in an Eastern slave market." The judges in the lands where women vote have shown themselves almost without exception in favour of the principle of equal pay for equal work. Where women are voters, they take their proper place and have their right value in the industrial world; they are neither ill-treated nor under-paid. The famous Renmark judgment of 1911 definitely stated that if the women on the fruit farms did the same work in the same time that the men did, their sex should be no disqualification, and they should receive the same wages.

Justice Cussen interpreted the minimum wage of £2 8s. per week to typists to apply equally to men and women. This would have been accepted as final if some girl typists had not been terrified into thinking they would lose their posts, as they were not competent enough to earn this minimum wage. Under the influence of this fear, they went on a deputation to Justice Cussen, who was moved by their entreaties to declare that women should have from one-half to two-thirds of the amount. On Eight Hours' Day (April 21st), this decision was caricatured in the procession. A cart containing an effigy of Justice Cussen surrounded by women typists pleading and wringing their hands, and labelled "Cussen's Victims," brought in a spectacular way before the public the importance of the decision, which was naturally greatly resented by all women typists, even the petitioners themselves, when they realised its bearing. Since that date, a Commission has been busy enquiring into the question of equal pay. The silly arguments brought forward against this manifestly just principle were pretty well disposed of by the evidence of a number of competent business women, and there is little doubt that in this department, as in others, the principle will be adopted. The feeling is steadily growing that equal pay for equal work is as necessary for the protection of men's interests as for women's, and on every occasion when we addressed street-corner meetings in Melbourne, we found men ardent and enthusiastic in support of it. In Cape Town, at an outdoor meeting by Van Riebeck's statue, a bearded middle-aged man thanked us most heartily for advocating this measure of justice, and added: "Now I know what the Suffragists are out for, I'd give every woman in England thirty votes if I could!"

The establishment of the Children's Courts throughout the Commonwealth and the Dominion has been an immense stride forward. Women are admitted to the Bar in New Zealand and in some of the States of Australia and can practise as attorneys in nearly all; it will not be long before these Children's Courts are in the hands of the right sex. In Melbourne we have, at present, a woman appointed as assistant to the Judge. In fact the whole tone of the community is different where the women have the vote, although much of the change that has taken place is unnoticed and unappreciated by the generation that has grown up under the new conditions. The keen resentment felt by the members of the legislature at any reflection upon the women voters was shown in Dr. Maloney's and Mr. Kelly's recent spirited defence of the woman voters, after Sir Almoth Wright's contemptuous dismissal of them as "pawns in politics." Even those M.P.'s who strenuously opposed the women's vote in the old days bristle up in intense indignation at the accusation that they could ever have been opposed to so obvious a measure of justice. The newspapers were filled, just prior to the elections, with angry letters from a candidate

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for Parliamentary honours, who had been confused, from the similarity of his name, with a vigorous anti-suffragist of 1898. Will the leading anti's in the British Parliament and outside have also occasion to eat their words and deny their convictions? In any case it is a very cheering experience to go from the old lands into these Greater Britains beyond the seas and to witness the cheery comradeship between the sexes, the spread of the human as distinct from the masculine and feminine point of view. We met with a very signal instance of the real desire to learn what women think upon a question of importance to the community in an incident which occurred just before we left Sydney. A man had been condemned to be hanged, and although his guilt seemed less heinous and less proven than that of two previous criminals, who had escaped the extreme penalty of the law, the Legislative Assembly had rejected his appeal for mercy. The Committee concerned in getting up the appeal entreated women to come and speak for him at their meeting—"A woman's opinion will have so much weight." We, with other women, consented to do so and the commutation of the sentence to life imprisonment was quickly secured by the co-operation of men and women. Great as is the gain to the community, where the women count, in the rapid acquisition of a really human point of view, the advantage to the women themselves is still greater. They are benefiting enormously by the exercise of power and they are learning much from the new weight of responsibility. Men are finding in women able coadjutors and sympathetic helpers, fertile in resource and in suggestion. Most of all the new power is an inspiration and incentive to the women themselves, who are for the first time beginning to realise their inherent potentialities and to appreciate the vastness of their opportunities.

MARGARET HODGE.

THE VOTE.

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Secretary—Miss H. HOLMAN.

FRIDAY, January 9, 1914.

NOTICE.—Letters relating to editorial and business matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR and SECRETARY respectively. Applications for advertising spaces to be made to the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER. Offices: 2, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

EDITORIAL.

The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraphs or cuttings dealing with matters of interest to women generally will be welcomed. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. If a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editor cannot be responsible in case of loss.

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THE "MILITANCY" LIE.

With wonderful unanimity, considering their dissensions and differences on other grounds, a number of "leading journals" of conflicting views have for some time past assured their readers that the Women's Cause was dead. Lost; ruined; destroyed; further from victory than it ever (*sic*) had been; fatally injured; "reduced to chaos"; and all by Militancy. It was very sad. There had been logic in it, and reason in it, and justice in it, and all manner of other virtue in it; and men had loved it and women revered it and thinkers been converted to it—until all this violence and disorder came and nipped its promising buds and shrivelled up the sympathy and loving-kindness with which it was watered—an odious frost of public disorder and law-breaking. Heads were shaken over us; warnings freely administered, support "alienated." And we would not heed; and now we were done for; the Cause was "as dead as the Dodo."

After glooming over the sad fate that has overtaken us through our own misbehaviour, the Press then proceeds to show how triumphantly vigorous the dead thing is. We might naturally have expected to have our attention called to symptoms of decomposition; instead of which we are confirmed in our belief that the diagnosis was wrong. A brief glance over the daily collection of Suffrage news which this office has to cope with would convince the most gloomy or the most perverse that the "dead" Cause is very much alive indeed, and that, surreptitiously, the powers that be are taking thought how they can best meet its new demands and attacks.

The *Times*' issue of Dec. 31, with its "Pacific Coast Supplement," is worth the modest expenditure of twopence for its educative value in this direction. We do not mean that we require educating in the strength and value of our Cause; the education is in the falseness and hypocrisy of those who hate us. In its review of the last year's events as touching this country, there is no reference whatever made to the growth and progress of Women's Suffrage. No mention of the growing and successful resistance to law and taxation, the pilgrimage, the outrages, the steady secession of men and women from the Liberal organisations, the formation of new men's Suffrage Societies; although almost every other feature of the year's social and political activities is adequately and proportionately dealt with. The withdrawal of the Franchise Bill and the passing of the Cat and Mouse Act are the only allusions made to the greatest and most overwhelming movement the world has yet seen. But in the Supplement—compiled far from the centre of prejudice and designed to please another public, we find columns and columns devoted to the work of the newly-enfranchised women citizens of California, whose record in less than two years is

surely one that no other band of citizens has ever excelled, if equalled.

Special articles on daily life and occupation, clubs and organisations, what women are doing in California, history of the movement, and a number of other interesting details, are furnished in the "Pacific Coast Supplement" under the headings of "Pacific Coast Women," "Equal Suffrage," and "Women's Suffrage." No better advertisement has ever been given to the Cause than this dispassionate presentation, in a bitterly anti-Suffrage paper, of Women's Suffrage at work; or, as we prefer to emphasize, Equal Suffrage in its results. Mr. Geoffrey Robinson, the editor, whose feelings must have suffered heavily in the conflict between fact and fancy, richly deserves the letter of thanks sent to him by Mrs. Fawcett; and we here and now congratulate him on having taken the first genuine step towards clearing away the cobwebs of sex arrogance that have so long befogged the office of our "leading journal."

Mr. Robinson, however, has not yet cleared his own brain. He belongs to a confraternity that habitually errs by under-estimating the intelligence of its foes. With that insolence of untruthful suggestion with which our opponents are so well equipped, an article in the same issue alludes to the Suffrage in Washington State, beginning: "After a quiet campaign entirely free from militant tactics, the franchise was extended three years ago to the women of the State of Washington." One wonders why it was not also extended to women in this country three years ago. The dexterous *suggestio falsi* is that militant tactics have prevented it; and *The Times* requires to be reminded, firstly, that militant tactics were first used on women by anti-Suffrage men, a disgrace that it will take many a long year to wipe out; and secondly, that had British women the position and treatment accorded to American women, militant tactics would never have been heard of. It is not our fault that British men are more stupid and less generous; but it is a galling comparison for us to have to make. The day is not far off when one of his sudden impulses to action—to action that shall set the pace for others—will seize upon the stolid Briton, and will urge him to make up for lost time and wasted opportunities. And when that happens—it is, practically, beginning to happen now—the journalistic Robinsons will have to look to themselves. Their sands will have run out.

Two more elections stare the country in the face, and give fresh opportunity for Suffragist propaganda. The re-opening of Parliament is at hand, when fresh conflict will be engaged by the party protagonists. Women are not so formidable as Ulstermen, so well equipped as Nationalists, or so closely organised as Trades Unionists. Neither are they so rich as Liberals or Conservatives. But they have more staying power and more real devotion to the Cause they serve than any of these. It only remains for them, this year, to forge an effective weapon for bringing this force and devotion into play, and the last stubborn defences of the party of prejudice will crumble into ruins.

C. NINA BOYLE.

RESPONSIBILITY.

Of-times a man who lightly spends his days
Changes when cause for gravity comes nigh.
Showing an unconceived ability,
As those of old who trod heroic ways.
So woman, when the world due tribute pays,
And gives her equal power with man to vie,
Shall walk with firmer step and clearer eye,
Illuminate with Reason's healthful rays.
Doubt not her strength. In wifehood, motherhood,
She flinches not from poverty or pain.
Ill-armed, she fares forth daily to the fight,
For child and husband spending her heart's blood
In sacrifice for them her soul's chief gain,
In prayer for them her solace through the night.

EDWARD URWICK.

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The Sign-Post.

THE HONOURS LIST AND A STRANGER FROM MARS.

The tall Stranger took up the morning paper. "This is interesting!" he said. "Let me see, who are the people in your country whom

The King delighteth to honour.

"The King?" queried the Englishman. "Oh, we call it the King, and of course the list is submitted to him."

"Five Peers, six Baronets, twenty-two Knights," read the Stranger. "Happy country, to find so many sons worthy of special honour. For naturally, all her sons serve her *con amore!*"

"Ahem!—naturally. They have all done good work," said the Englishman, hurriedly, "and helped their Party. You see that must be taken into account."

You stick to your Party and your Party sticks to you!

The Stranger read on. "Surely you are broader than Party? Here I find a doctor honoured, and a colonel, also a contractor and a miller. How wise is your Government! This miller has doubtless provided the good bread for your people. The 'Staff of Life' you call it. You, my friend, have told me that one of your great Statesmen has been some years employed on a Bread and Milk Bill. Truly a question which so affects the health of the children should be in the forefront of the laws of a wise Government."

"Yes, certainly—oh, certainly! But they must take their turn. We must think of the safety of the country first!—Army and Navy, you know."

The Stranger laughed. "But no! How can you have good soldiers or sailors, if you have not healthy children? But that is naturally a matter that the women—the mothers—must see to."

The Englishman leant forward and poked the fire. "Some of these honour qualifications puzzle me! And I seek—Ah! here it is! Here begins the Honours List of the women also who serve their country. We in our far-away Star judge the nations greatly by the position they accord their women. It is the sign of the evolution of a people."

"How is this? Only one woman's name, and that of a Reverend Mother of a convent in Assam! But why? Are there none in England worthy of honour?"

The Englishman looked puzzled; then a happy thought struck him.

"Ah, yes! The wives of all the men mentioned share in the honours of their husbands."

"But the women who *do* work themselves—they are not honoured? Ah! is it then for this that they desire the Vote?"

"Oh, no; I don't think it is that. You see they are all men's jobs, so men get the honours."

"But women are doctors, writers, scientists, teachers, artists, actresses, lawyers—Ah no! that is in France—and philanthropists. Why, then?"

The Englishman rose from his chair, and faced the Stranger squarely.

"Look here, you may manage your show differently, but here

money counts—

Yes, even in the Honours List,

and Party counts,

No one even pretends it doesn't.

and Votes count.

And I don't hold myself responsible! I didn't make this world."

"Ah! that is where you go wrong," cried the Stranger. "You *do* make the world—you, and every man of you. You make the world you want! You must learn as we have that it takes both men and women to make a decent world."

When the Stranger left, the Englishman studied the list again and shook his head dubiously. But perhaps he was a Conservative!

MARY MAUD.

OUR INTERNATIONAL COLUMN. WHAT'S IN A NAME?

We have received the following interesting information from Mademoiselle Marczali, of Budapest:—

"The ladies of Nyiregyhazai, a town in Hungary, have petitioned the Home Secretary to take measures against night coffee-houses, low inns, dancing halls and places of even worse repute. This incident is made the subject of an inquiry by one of our famous publicists. He warmly supports the women's protest, and proposes forcibly to suppress such forms of night life, because they tend further to depress family life, which, he says, has already been destroyed, infected and weakened by many 'isms'—among them, feminism.

"These statements, however, are more than counter-balanced by the conclusion of his article, which runs as follows:—'If the State invitingly offers opportunity for dissipation to every light-minded individual, let the better world at least applaud those brave women, their souls being brimful of disgust, who break forth in indignation. Well would it be were men also capable of revolt, instead of holding out their necks so indolently to anyone who chooses to throw a rope to catch them!'

"Since these words contain the chief motives of the Women's Movement, every one of its participators owes a debt of gratitude to the author for expressing them so clearly. It is noteworthy that, after having declared his anti-feminism, he instils into the open and trusting souls of his sympathetic readers the great truths of feminism, under the name of anti-feminism. But does a name change a reality? Is it not rather a trade-mark which, having never hitherto embraced the whole scope of a powerful idea, is quite indifferent from the pretensions of him who fights for its truth? Indeed, does it not tend even more to strengthen the fighters' belief in the power of their Cause to find that, unconsciously and against his will, the enemy of their 'ism' is an 'ist'?"

"POLY MARCZALI.

Items of Interest.

Madame Montessori, who was in Washington at the time of the recent National Suffrage Convention, was interviewed as soon as she arrived on the great question of the day. "I am a Suffragist," she said. "Until women have votes they are practically outlaws."

"British Columbia has its Asquith," says *The Woman's Journal* in giving the following news:—"In reply to a large deputation of women who called upon him in Victoria recently, Sir Richard McBride, Prime Minister, refused their request for the introduction of a Suffrage Bill by the Government of British Columbia. He suggested that the Bill be brought in by a private member, and said he feared that if women got the vote they would soon sit in Parliament, and it would be reasonable to suppose that sometime they would form a woman's party and thus attempt to run the affairs of the country."

Speaking in New York on the results of enfranchising the women of Illinois, Miss Jane Addams said:—

"Our experience in Illinois has thoroughly exploded the idea that women have more respect and influence without a vote. Every woman who has been to the city hall or has had anything to do with city officials has observed a very striking change in their demeanour since the Woman Suffrage Bill passed. They are much more respectful and gallant."

Mr. George Lansbury is being warmly welcomed in the United States. *The Woman's Journal*, writing of him, observes:—"Lansbury declares there has been no martyrdom in anything he has done for Woman Suffrage. 'I should have felt it martyrdom to do otherwise.' He is an eloquent speaker, and there is 'a man behind' the speech."

THE ELM-TREE.

It has been my calm, strong friend for years. I have watched the green of spring deepen and thicken to the full foliage of summer, which in turn gives place to the clear gold of autumn till the tree stands dark and wet in winter, revealing its mighty branches and dainty intricacies of twigs. Through all its changes it bears a message of healing. When hot passion surges through me because of the wrongs of life, I have sought sanctuary under its branches.

"Be calm," it says. "Beauty, truth, righteousness, these things are. You, a creature of the moment, distracted by the forces of evil let loose around you, cannot judge. I, who have been here so long and seen so much, know."

"But does right prevail?" I asked one day. "There are injustices laid on us to-day that were before your time and may be when the axe is laid to your root. Woman's subjection to man, that was, and is, and—"

"No," it answered, "do not say will be. Even in my time I have seen differences and greater ones are coming. Listen!

"More than a hundred years ago there was a girl who used to play in this garden with her brother. She was a lively child, and they had good times together. She was not always a romp, though, for at times she would steal here with her book, and, climbing up me, would read. If she was caught she was scolded for both offences, and her mother would bring her sampler and make her work. She would stitch for a little time, and then put her needle down to gaze wistfully before her. I often wondered what thoughts were going on in that little dark head.

"Time passed. The brother came but seldom, for he had passed into the great world of school and college and the girl was alone now. She did not often seramble up me, for her dresses would not allow it, but still she read and pondered. I could see she was unhappy, and at last she took me into her confidence. In her childhood's days she talked to me, and she revived the habit out of sheer misery.

"I must tell someone," she said, "it will kill me if I keep it in. I hate my life—stifled, shut in! Why am I always kept here? My brother goes into the world, why can't I? Always it calls me—the life out there." At times she would rage. I have seen her fling her sampler on the ground and stamp on it. The mad flutter of the bird against the bars!

"Presently a man came and walked in the garden with her—just an ordinary man. I thought at first she was in love with him, perhaps she was, but she was not one of those who, in finding a man, finds all their life's claim. He was a distraction, something that dulled the sharp longing a little; he might even be a way of escape from her narrow lot. There was no doubt he loved her after the manner of his day, as something to be shielded and petted and minister to his needs.

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The parents were pleased, for he was titled and had riches, so, after a time, they were married. I shall never forget the night before her wedding day, how she crept down in the moonlight to climb up me as of old and sobbed.

"She had only walked from one cage to another. If she had thought the wife could enter a world the girl could not, she was mistaken. Her husband understood her less than her father. His wife to take part in public affairs or to know even of that great underworld that lay beyond the garden gates! For the longing of youth had crystallised and she knew that what called her was the suffering womanhood outside.

"After a few years her father died, and she, with her husband and family, came to live in the old home. Two children were theirs, and she made a pretty enough picture playing with them under my shade. Although a stately woman in the main, she was capable of a reckless gaiety at times, though that mood passed as the boys grew older. But her children could not fill her life; her husband did not like her to do too much for them; moreover, with a wisdom beyond her age, she saw it was not good for the children to be too much with their mother. As they grew up the husband assumed control of their training, and life became emptier than ever.

"They posed before the world as a model couple. The guests who paced the lawn around me were never weary of their praises. And, indeed, I never heard a rough word from him until—

"I had forgotten to tell you that she had taken to writing when the boys went to school. She would sit out here and work, looking tranquil, almost happy. But these days came to an abrupt end. Her husband discovered her manuscript and destroyed it, less because of the contents than of the idea that his wife should do such an unwomanly thing. I shall never forget that scene. She came out here ablaze with fury; he tried to bully her, but, in the end, was frightened. I thought she would have killed herself or him, as the pent-up feeling of years had its way.

"She did neither; but from that day she became old. She was ill for a long time, and when she came out of doors again she was just a worn, faded woman. She never wrote again, she scarcely read, and she died at the age of fifty—crushed.

"Do you think that if she had lived to-day her life would have been like that? Think of a girl's life now! You can go to college, enter a profession, speak in public; and if you long to help other women, as this woman did, you are free. I know what you are going to say—you have not the vote—but do you think that will not come? In the past woman has been in the innermost dungeon. Gradually she has fought her way through one door after another. Now the last is reached, and you are so intent shaking the bars that you forget the past dungeons. It is right to shake the bars and make them yield, but not wildly, hopelessly. Let the past deliverances be an earnest of the future."

The voice ceased. Perhaps I had been dreaming, though I do not know at what point I fell asleep. Overhead the leaves of my old friend were rustling and shining, and in the sun the trunk looked as gnarled and implacable as ever.

M. LAWRENCE.

MILITANT CHINESE WOMEN.—From China details of a daring escapade by a Miss Shen Pei-chen, a militant Suffragist, have come to hand. Entering a newspaper office in Peking, she administered a thrashing to the editor. She said she was the leader of the lady Radicals, or Hungmenhui Party, as they are called locally, and reminded him she had performed deeds of merit in previously whipping members of the National Assembly and caused disturbances at the residence of the President of the Republic. Women recently made demonstrations in the National Assembly at Peking, demanding the Suffrage, and complaining that during the Revolution they formed a scout brigade, and also a fighting brigade armed with hand grenades, but that their warlike services were forgotten and their claims ignored.

"VOTE" APPEAL: WANTED £100.

Dear Readers,—Again I wish to thank all who are responding to my appeal for £100 for the enlargement of THE VOTE, and to say how deeply I appreciate their help. We have not yet attained our goal, but every gift, large or small, helps. I want to be sure of success, so that we may go forward with confidence in this New Year.

I need only repeat briefly the reasons for the appeal: the importance of our paper in the work of the League and the demand of advertisers for space in it. I renew my appeal for VOTE sellers in all parts of the country. A definite promise of a stated time each week is what we desire, so that the work may be well organised. Your circulation must go up; it is you who can help.—Yours sincerely,
C. DESPARD.

[A CORRECTION.—The contribution of 5s. already acknowledged as from Mrs. W. A. H. L. should be from Madame Wohl.]

COME TO THE "VOTE" RALLY!

We want to see a crowded room at the VOTE rally at Headquarters on Friday, January 9, at 8 p.m. More sellers are urgently needed and volunteers will gather courage by hearing the experiences of those who have only just begun, and others who are veterans in the work. Miss P. Leahy, the Street Sales Organiser, will be very glad to receive the names of sellers in all parts of London who will give time to the work whenever political or other important meetings are held in their neighbourhood.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

"A shocking bad case, four children in the shelter, all underfed, dirty and verminous; parents both serving terms of imprisonment." This was the report read at the Dumbartonshire Committee of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, of which I am a member. Both parents were found drunk and incapable, they had been repeatedly warned, and finally brought before the magistrates. In sentencing the father to three weeks, the magistrate said "it was a most discreditable state of affairs, and must not occur again; but as he did not wish to damage his reputation more than could be helped, he would impose as light a sentence upon him as he could." To the mother he said "he had no words in which to express his horror at her unnatural conduct, and he was only sorry that he could not pass a heavier sentence upon her"—as it was he imposed the maximum sentence of sixty days. Sixty days—and which parent was the most to blame? The father, a big, strong, man who was able to earn £3 a week in the shipbuilding-yard if he chose to work; but this he rarely did. He generally earned 25s. a week, and never brought his wife home more than 18s.; the balance he spent in drink and tobacco. Eighteen shillings, out of which she had to pay rent and taxes, provide food, buy boots and clothes for husband, four children and self. I saw her when she came out of prison and she said to me, "How could I keep my house and children clean; how could I feed them on that sum of money? As for drink, miss, I never touched it till I was forced to." "How forced to?" I asked. To which she replied, "He knocked me about so much when he was drunk, and I found the only way to stand up to him was to take a drop myself. Then, for years I've never had enough to eat, and when I drink I forget that I'm hungry, so that's how I became a drunkard." Yet the punishment fell with all its might on the woman. The magistrate did not consider the loss of her reputation when he inflicted the maximum sentence on her. Through all the years of her married life she had no legal claim to any of her husband's wages. She had no legal control over her children—yet it was she who had to suffer when money was short; she was held responsible when the children were neglected and half starved. The law which recognises only the father as a parent when all goes well makes the mother pay the penalty when both parents stand convicted of cruelty.

Another case we had some months ago was that of two children who were brought to the shelter. The little ones were both neglected, dirty and hungry. The mother was incapable of looking after them, as she was slowly dying of consumption in a miserable, bare garret. Her husband allowed her 8s. a week, he having departed to Canada with another woman. The authorities thought it scarcely worth while troubling about him as he did send some money towards the maintenance of his wife and children. So he was allowed to escape the punishment of his evildoing. He is now altogether released from all responsibilities, as his wife is dead and the children are in an orphanage.

A third case to illustrate the unfair and unequal punishments meted out to men and women was the Hicks family. The mother was sent to prison for two months for neglecting her house and children. Her husband was not even censured by the court, because he brought her home regularly £1 a week. This was evidently considered quite enough, though he retained each week £1, which he spent on drink and gambling. Mrs. Hicks was neither a drunken nor a depraved woman; she was stupid, and was a bad manager. She found £1 a week quite an inadequate sum upon which to provide her seven children with the necessities of life. To supplement it, she went out as a field labourer, and earned in this way 2s. per day. Her house was neglected, her children were dirty and uncared for. But why did the law punish her? Why did it not insist on her husband giving her sufficient money to keep her house clean and comfortable. If he did not bring her money and she was forced to work to try and get money to feed her children, she had neither time nor strength to clean and care for her home.

Lord Loreburn, shortly before his resignation, declared at an anti-suffrage meeting, that the law favoured women. Such is not our experience. Whatever it does in theory, it certainly does not do so in practice. If we are to have a just administration, if our sex is to be protected, we must have women lawyers, women judges, magistrates and jurors. We have had in law for many centuries the man's point of view; now we wish the woman's point of view.
E. G. M.

IN MEMORIAM. MARK MELFORD.

The spark of life, kept burning for months by his indomitable will and the tender care of his daughter "Jackey," went out last Sunday, and Mark Melford, veteran Suffragist, actor, author, is no more. All honour to our champion for his work; he who made the multitudes laugh never feared when a laugh was turned against him because he dared to fight for unpopular causes. In assuring his daughter of our sympathy in her loss, in wishing her success both in completing the novel her father left unfinished and her own enterprise, we remember with abiding appreciation that Mark Melford took farewell of the public after forty years' service by reciting his Suffrage poem, "A Perilous Path is the Pioneer's." With an energy that was amazing he stopped the National Anthem, which was to conclude his farewell, by saying, "Not yet! Not yet! Not yet! I have given 'The Pioneers'!" And give it he did with a fire that almost burned the frail form and brought tears to the eyes of strong men who heard it. The poem is to be found in his humorous and pathetic book, "Life in a Booth" (2s. 6d.), which may be obtained in the Literature Department, Women's Freedom League, and is "a faithful story of the chequered career of the author, who found 'sermons in stories and good in everything.'"

MRS. THOMAS ASHTON, OF MANCHESTER.

A link with Florence Nightingale has been broken by the passing of Mrs. Thomas Ashton, of Manchester, who was associated with "The Lady of the Lamp" in the pioneer work of district nursing. Her love of service has descended to her children; the name of her daughter, Councillor Margaret Ashton, is known not only in Manchester, where with characteristic energy she grapples with city problems, but far and wide in the world where she is honoured also as a Suffragist. Another daughter is Mrs. James Bryce, of whom it was said when the Ambassador retired last year that the greatest loss to the United States was that Mrs. Bryce would no longer be in Washington. To all her family we offer our sympathy in the loss of their honoured mother.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Women on a Norfolk Farm.

A number of Dutch and Belgian women are being employed at Cantley Farm, in Norfolk, where sugar beet is grown. They wear trousers for the rather trying work of pulling the beet. This custom, practical though it may be, considering the nature of their employment, they will doubtless take back with them to their Continental homes without protest.

Chair-caners on Strike.

For the first time in the long history of the chair trade at High Wycombe the caning girls and women are now out on strike with the men in all branches of the industry. In the streets women pickets are to be seen with the regulation bands on their arms. There is no prospect of a settlement. The earnings of girls and women in caning the seats of chairs have for the last forty years been twopence per chair! The masters decided to increase the remuneration from 2d. to 3d. per chair, but the girls have come out in sympathy with the men. The price hitherto paid in some instances has been as low as 1½d. per chair, and even then workers had to find their own beading, the strip round the outer portion of the chair seat.

Hostels for Women.

The year 1913 in London, says *The Manchester Guardian*, has been notable for the increased attention given to the needs of working or professional girls and women, especially with regard to lodgings. At the beginning of the year the large Ada Lewis Hostel in the New Kent-road was opened, and since then the Mary Curzon Hostel, which if not so large is as perfectly equipped, has been completed, the second McKirdy Home has been opened, and the Stead Memorial Committee has purchased at Westminster the first of the hostels it intends to establish in London. The Jewish Working Girls' Club which flourished in Dean-street, has been provided with a very handsome new home near Tottenham Court-road, and the Girls' Friendly Society is just preparing to open a very large and excellently designed hostel in Francis-street, Westminster, which will accommodate eighty girls and will, it is hoped, give a great impetus to the work of the G.F.S. in the diocese. It is certainly one of the finest hostels for women in the country. The Salvation Army have extended their medical work at Hackney, where they have opened a perfectly appointed maternity hospital, a school for midwives, as well as a smaller home for distressed women.

Rapid Increase in Inventions by Women.

One of the most interesting features of the Patent Office statistics for the current year is the increase in the number of inventions by women. In all, about 30,000 applications for patents have been made during the year, of which nearly 400 were from women. The proportion to the total is small, but it is notable that women's inventions have grown much more rapidly during the past few years than those by men. Only a few years ago, not more than 16 applications by women were filed at the Patent Office.

Chapter 6

A Bar of Fels-Naptha soap,

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WHAT THEY DIDN'T SAY.

XI.

Berkeley: Introduction to Principles of Human Knowledge.

I proceed to examine what can be alleged in defence of the doctrine that politics and State-craft are the sphere of men only, to the exclusion of the entire feminine portion of mankind, and to try if I can discover what it is that inclines the men of speculation to embrace an opinion so remote from common sense as that seems to be. There has been of late a somewhat doubtfully esteemed philosopher, who no doubt has given it very much countenance by seeming to think that there is, between the moral and intellectual endowments of men and women, a divergence as great as there undoubtedly is between those of mankind and the brute creation. "For woman," saith he, "looks upon her mind solely as an instrument for obtaining various creature comforts," which, indeed, may with justice be said of the greater manner of brutes, though even here we find upon record such touching instances of fidelity and devotion to man as may well make us pause before postulating such a statement concerning them. But as regards the female sex, the experience of living men, and the voice of history are unanimous in declaring that the virtues of self-sacrifice, humility, patience, perseverance and devotion, are especially to be found in women. Indeed one learned author declares his opinion to be that women have in all things more of the divine attribute, and their souls dwell nearer to the throne of God. But here it may be said that though this be so, it does not show women to have that practical sense which may enable them to take part in the framing of wise and just laws. To which I would reply: Let each man consult his own experience and say whether it is man or woman, who by universal consent is considered best able to control and manage house and home, and all matters appertaining to family life. Since then the State is nothing but an innumerable collection of families bound together by the accident of contiguity, by self-interest, and by the moral sentiment of patriotism, I ask whether it be probable that the State can be well controlled when its women have no voice in the framing of its laws.

Again, ask any man to look into his own mind and then repeat the word which in its connotation includes most virtues, and he will give in reply the word "Mother." Yet our philosopher observes: "We may say, and not be far from the truth, that there are no good women, but only those who have lived under the influence of good men."

But is not this a direct repugnancy, and altogether inconceivable?

XII.

Tennyson: Lloydley Hall.

Comrades, leave me here a little, while I take a look about; Leave me here, but do not wander; when I want you I will shout.

Ere I speak to-morrow evening I must well the country know; I must learn all ways of exit should the audience hostile grow.

Though I love the people dearly, and am called the people's friend, I'm afraid I shan't be comy if they grab me at the end.

This back door—where does it lead to? There's a garden over there!

If, forgetting all my lime-house, I should speak the owner fair,

I might enter through his garden, climbing o'er the garden wall; He might even lend a ladder, as I am not very tall.

So I might, by coming early, gain the platform quite unseen, They won't seek me in a garden—I'm more often on the green.

If those women try to stop me, if they seek to interrupt, I shall speak them very gently, shall not be at all abrupt.

I can trust my friends, I fancy, knowing how to put them out; P'raps a few boys from Llanstumdwy may be somewhere near about.

I'm quite safe upon the platform, and can fling my words about; Then when all the street's in tumult, waiting for me to come out,

Through this ever-blesséd garden, darkness covering my head, I can slip out while they're shouting, and go quietly home to bed.

H. S.

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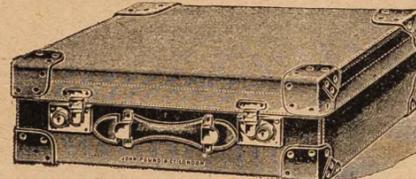
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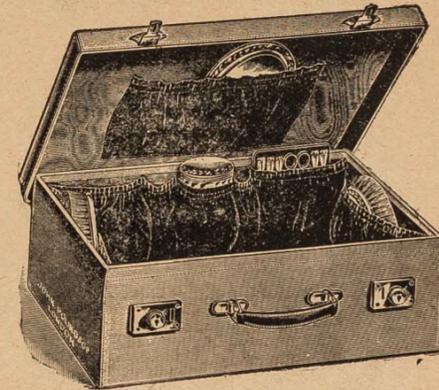
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WAYS TO HELP.

OUR OFFICE.

Our Resolution and Some Assets.

We were the proudest Branch in the whole of the Women's Freedom League when first we opened Our Office. The venture was a courageous one, for we are a decidedly poor Branch so far as worldly possessions go, but though we have now been installed only a few months, we have met out preliminary expenses of fittings, furniture, &c., and have kept clear of debt. And if we can do it, other Branches can—and should—for the advantages of having a central meeting place are incalculable.

True, we knew we had certain assets that promised success to our venture, but they are probably the common possession of most Branches—at least, for the honour and glory of the League we will hope so.

1. A Secretary who is an organizing genius, and possesses tact enough for half-a-dozen ordinary women.

2. A Committee with whom "Votes for Women" comes first second, third, and amusements, holidays, bargain sales and all other hobbies—nowhere.

3. A friend, whose generosity made it possible for us to have a shop in the central part of the town.

(This last advantage I admit is one that is not within the reach of all Branches, but I believe a great many of our plans for making money and advertising the Cause could be followed out in a room in a private house if it were in a fairly central position.)

4. A perfectly astonishing amount of talent amongst our members. Or it would be astonishing if they were not Freedom Leaguers. There was an artist, for instance, who could—and did—write the most attractive window tickets and posters. A business woman, whose knowledge of wholesale and retail prices and customs proved invaluable. And the number of members who could cook like professionals was staggering—or would have been to an "Anti."

Nothing Venture, Nothing Have.

It was astonishing on taking a referendum to find how much could be contributed in the way of necessary furniture by the members. Chairs, tables, cups and saucers, tablecloths were soon forthcoming. One of the husbands contributed a piece of handsome linoleum for the floor. Money was voted for the purchase of curtains—and "everything that can be in the colours *must* be in the colours." Carried unanimously. The Branch banner was proudly unfurled and mounted on the

walls. Before we knew it almost we were installed in an inviting-looking shop, with a window display of posters, literature, and green, white and gold curtains that was in itself an invaluable advertisement for the Cause.

Raising the Wind.

The question of revenue seemed more serious than that of furniture, but another referendum produced most cheering results. We must have other things to sell beside the literature of the League, and nearly everyone on the Committee found on consideration that they could "work" friends to supply us with various commodities on excellent terms. And we could get tea direct from Headquarters. Tea is wanted by every member of the League. It immediately became a point of honour with us to get it at Our Office. New laid eggs, jam, marmalade, home-made cakes and sweets, were all articles for which we could guarantee a steady demand amongst our own members, and offers to supply these were promptly forthcoming. A friendly chemist provided us with a stock of soap, toothpowder, &c., at a price that promised a handsome profit. We had window space that we could let to a sympathetic registry office, and the office itself could be let in the evenings at a small rental.

A member who always insisted that she had genius—though not of a kind that could find an outlet in speaking or sandwiching—came to the fore with the appended practical and novel hints of a circular for distribution, and, after reading it, we all publicly and unreservedly withdrew any scoffing criticism of her claim to the title. The following is an extract from the circular:—

Cars from all parts stop near Our Office. Ladies requiring help in any of the little difficulties that sometimes arise during shopping, etc., can obtain same at our Office. Please read the following:—

Use of ladies' cloak room, charge 1d. (no charge to children); with wash (hot water) use of soap, towel, and comb. &c., charge 2d.

Use of workbasket for temporary repairs. Boot and glove buttons, &c., 1d.; safety pins, all sizes, 4 a 1d.

Soft twill tape, per knot, 1d.

Brown paper and string, 1d.

Sheet of note-paper, envelope, use of pen, ink, and blotter, 1d.

Postcard, ½d.

Small surgical bandages and sticking plaster for children's tumblers, nominal charge.

Handkerchiefs, 1½d. each, washed ready for use.

Ladies may leave parcels while doing their shopping, charge 1d.

Delicious home-made marmalade at shop prices.

Home-made cakes to order—prices according to quality.

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(Continued on next page.)



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Home-made marmalade or jam, per portion, 1d. New laid eggs, 2d. Orders taken at our Office for plain needlework. Anything you may require that is not in the above list, please ask us as you would a friend. We want to be of use to you, as in that way we are working for our great cause.

The Advantages of a Centre.

Since we have had Our Office the secretary finds both her work and her expenses greatly lessened, for the cost and trouble of pinning up a notice is infinitesimal compared with that of sending round separate notices by post. We have all got to know each other better, too; and isolated members have been drawn into more active co-operation. Members turn up much more regularly to Committee meetings and the weekly working party since we have held these in Our Office. Indeed, so attractive a place is it that I have never yet entered it without finding several members there. And there's tremendous rivalry as to who shall serve when a customer comes in!

But lest we should forget the end, aim, and object of our existence as Freedom Leaguers, our political member exerts a steady influence by presenting awe-inspiring pictures of the pitfalls and difficulties that lie in wait for our Bill, when we are discussing lightheartedly the prospects of some one coming in to tea, and who, in that case, shall fetch the milk! H. M.

FORTY-SIX YEARS AGO!

From some verses entitled "The Extension of the Franchise to Women," which appeared in *Fun* on March 2, 1867, the year of the Reform Bill and John Stuart Mill's Woman Suffrage amendment, and reproduced recently in *The Burton Daily Mail*, we take the following:—

We all of us no doubt believe
What we are taught in church and chapel,
That sin was born to Mother Eve,
By eating the forbidden apple;
That she made Adam eat some too—
An act to be forgiven never!
And therefore punishment is due
To her and to her sex for ever.

And if the ills she has to bear,
Compared with ours, are often rougher,
She does not in our Suffrage share,
Although for her we have to suffer!

But if afflicted for her sin,
And we for hers, as well as ours,
Why visit it upon her, in
Depriving her of equal powers?

Women are merchants, rulers, queens,
And govern men in every station;
Yet do we not accord them means
To help in governing the nation.

'Tis now as 'twas with Eve of yore,
Man bows to her, the Legislator!
Then why should we this fact ignore,
And try to make ourselves the greater?

Give her free scope, and ample space
To exercise her rightful powers,
Nor fancy that it will disgrace
Our manhood if she equals ours.

Yes, give her public power to do
What now in private she is doing:
Give her a vote to give to you
Instead of for another's suing.

I will not trespass further, sir,
Except to say the motion made is,
That we the franchise should confer
On mankind's better half, the ladies!

"Forty-six years ago!" writes "Terminus ad quem—" who sends the verses to the *Burton paper*, "and this elementary justice still denied, after half a century of work and waiting!"

A BANNER OF UNION.

An interesting and beautiful banner, designed by Mr. Laurence Housman and exquisitely worked by Miss Clemence Housman, is on view at the office of the Suffrage Atelier, 2, Robert-street Adelphi, Strand. The design represents a Viking ship with the devices of the oarsmen displayed according to the ancient custom. The brown sail is decorated with a radiant sun, and the motto is, "Union is Strength." Aloft at the prow is the prison device of the W.S.P.U., and floating above it a pennant bearing the word "Justice." Raised on a spear at the bows is a shield quartering the four Church Leagues—the Catholic, the Scottish Churches, the Federated Free Churches, and the Established Church. Beneath it is the shield of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Suffrage Association; that of the Men's League is on the mast.

On the bulwarks hang the shields of the Women's Freedom League, the New Constitutional Society, the Irish League, the Tax Resistance League, and the National Union of Suffrage Societies, which latter is at the steering oar. The oars dip into a somewhat turbulent sea, but manned by such doughty warriors and capable oarswomen, the good Suffrage ship will undoubtedly soon reach the shore.

BRANCH NOTES.

Will Branch Secretaries kindly write their reports very distinctly and briefly on ONE SIDE of a sheet of paper, leaving a margin on the left, and address them to the Editor, THE VOTE Office, 2, Robert-street, Adelphi, London, W.C.? A halfpenny stamp is sufficient; the flap of the envelope should be tucked inside. All reports must reach the office on or before the first post on Monday mornings.

NATIONAL OFFICES, LONDON, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.—Croydon.—Office, 32A, The Arcade, High-street.

Members will be glad to know that Miss Foster has undertaken the office of hon. treasurer. The postponed Jumble Sale will be held during this month, so will members and friends please send along as many parcels of clothes and boots as possible?

Kensington.

Will all members who have not already paid their Branch subscriptions for 1913 please send them as soon as possible to Miss A. C. White, 6, Ellerby-street, Fulham, S.W.? Funds are urgently wanted.

Peckham.

A discussion meeting will take place at Mrs. Pickering's, 23, Albert-road, Peckham, on Thursday, January 8, at 7.30.

Stamford Hill and Tottenham.

After our most successful meeting in the Municipal Hall on December 16, when Mrs. Mustard, Miss Boyle, and Miss Neilans delighted our members and the audience with their speeches, all of us returned to our homes feeling well repaid for the work we had done and most hopeful for the success of our branch in the New Year. To Miss Trott and Miss Smith for the tremendous amount of work they put in we are most grateful. We intend holding regular fortnightly meetings this year alternately in Stamford-hill and Tottenham, and Mrs. Harbord has kindly invited us to the first gathering at 91, Mount Pleasant-road, Tottenham, at 7.30 p.m. on Thursday, January 22, when we shall have a speaker to address us and hope to see a large number of members and their friends.

PROVINCES.—Middlesbrough.

It is hoped that all members who have not been actively interested in business meetings during the past year will have put it among their resolutions for the New Year to make an effort to attend them regularly. They will find them both interesting and instructive. The first meeting is to be held January 12, after which business meetings will be held on the first Monday of each month.

Portsmouth and Gosport.

A large and merry party gathered at Mrs. White's on New Year's Eve to play whist and incidentally to augment the funds of the Branch. Many thanks to Mr. and Mrs. White for so kindly placing their house at our disposal. The next members' meeting will be on Tuesday, January 13, at the Castle Tea Rooms, when Miss Phillips will read a paper on "The Position of Women in Commerce." Arrangements will be made for Miss Boyle's meeting at the Lower Albert Hall on January 27; so members are urged to attend.

Southampton.

A meeting was held in connection with the Southampton Branch of the Women's Freedom League, at Fawley Rectory, Hants. Mrs. Leigh Rothwell gave an interesting and effective address dealing with the main points of the movement. The meeting was well attended, and a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was carried *nem. con.* All copies of THE VOTE were sold.

THE W.F.L. AT TOLLINGTON, N.

An open-air meeting was held on Friday evening, January 2, in Tollington-road, N., when Miss E. J. Read spoke to a very interested audience on some of the benefits women would derive by the granting of the Parliamentary Franchise. A man whose aim it was to interrupt the meeting was removed by the police, after unsuccessful requests had been made that he should desist. In dealing with his objections, "being those of matrimony," great applause was elicited from the listeners. Miss Trott was excellent in the chair. THE VOTE sold well. Will members in this district please "look out" for other meetings to be held at the same place?

THE CHURCH—FEARFUL.

At Haddington Established Church Presbytery recently a petition was read from the Women's Suffrage Society asking that a deputation be heard. Lady Frances Balfour was to be one of the speakers. The request was supported by the Rev. Mr. Clarke, Saltoun, who, after denouncing militancy, said that "the Church could not summarily dismiss the great Woman's movement"; but the opposition insisted that it was a veiled attempt to drag the Presbytery, as a court of the Church, into politics. The hearing was refused by eight to six votes. Later the Glasgow Presbytery took a broader view and gave its approbation to the Woman Suffrage Movement. This action provoked a letter of protest by the Scottish League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, signed by the Duchess of Montrose and Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, which has been sent to all ministers of the Church of Scotland. It urges "the necessity of keeping the Church of Scotland free from all such disruptive influences."



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FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L.



DARE TO BE FREE.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.

Fri., Jan. 9.—CAXTON HALL, Tango Practice Class, 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., under the auspices of the London Branches Council. Tickets 2s. each (including tea) from Mrs. Huntsman, W.F.L. Office, 4 Party of Croydon Branch members to visit Croydon Workhouse, conducted by Mrs. Ackroyd (Poor Law Guardian), 2.30 p.m. Croydon Branch Committee Meeting at Croydon Office, 8 p.m. VOTE Rally, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C., 8 p.m. CATFORD, 53, Torrion-road, Drawing-room Meeting (by kind invitation of Miss G. Poppleton), 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Nina Boyle.

Sun., Jan. 11.—REGENT'S PARK (weather permitting), noon. *Speaker:* Miss Eunice Murray. *Chair:* Miss Trotter.

Mon., Jan. 19.—W.F.L. OFFICE, 1, Robert-street, Discussion Meeting, 8 p.m., to be opened by Madame Malmberg, Subject: "Is the Woman's Movement identical with the Eastern Revolutionary Movement?" *Chair:* Miss A. A. Smith.

Wed., Jan. 21.—Caxton Hall, 3.30 p.m., Public Meeting. *Speakers:* Miss Cicely Hamilton and others. *Chair:* Mrs. Huntsman.

Thurs., Jan. 22.—TOTTENHAM AND STAMFORD HILL BRANCH, Meeting for members and friends, 91, Mount Pleasant-road, South Tottenham, 7.30 p.m. (by kind permission of Mrs. Harbord).

Sat., Jan. 24.—Tolmers-square Institute, Drummond-street, N.W. London Branches Council Jumble Sale, 3 p.m.

Wed., Jan. 28.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting 3.30 p.m., Sur-Gen. Evatt, C.B.: "The Life and Work of Florence Nightingale."

Fri., Jan. 30.—CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, 32a, The Arcade, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Tanner.

Mon., Feb. 2.—W.F.L. OFFICE, 1, Robert-street, Discussion Meeting, 8 p.m., to be opened by Mrs. Nevinston. Subject: "That men having sole political power are to blame for the present muddle of Society."

Wed., Feb. 4.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. *Mrs. Nott Bower:* "Reforms urgently needed in Criminal Law."

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.

Wed., Feb. 11.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. Mr. John Scurr on "Go Home and Mind the Baby."

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."

Wed., Feb. 18.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. The Rev. Moritz Weston, D.D., on "Christianity and Mary Magdalene."

Wed., Feb. 25.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. M. Cunningham: "The Race-Bearers and the Falling Birth-rate in France."

Tues., March 3.—CRIPPLEGATE INSTITUTE, Performance of *Madame Marcelle*, by Miss C. Maud, and *Courage* (a Dutch play), by K. H. (Evening).

Tues., March 24.—CRIPPLEGATE INSTITUTE, Performance of *Hiawatha* (afternoon).

PROVINCES.

Mon., Jan. 12.—Middlesbrough, Hinton's Cafe, 8 p.m. Meeting.

Tues., Jan. 13.—Portsmouth, Castle Tea Rooms, 7.30, Members' Meeting. *Speaker:* Miss Phillips. Bournemouth, Freedom Hall, 8 p.m., Members' Meeting.

Mon., Jan. 19.—Middlesbrough, Hinton's Cafe, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Schofield Coates. Subject, "Suffrage Up-to-Date."

Thurs., Jan. 22.—Chester, Brown's Sale Room, St. John-street. Meeting, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* H. F. Brown, Esq., LL.B., on "Liberalism and Women's Suffrage."

Mon., Jan. 26.—Middlesbrough, Hinton's Cafe, 7.30 p.m., "At Home." Rev. T. C. Gobat (Darlington). "Ethics of Woman's Suffrage." Vocalist, Miss Ruth Dawson.

Tues., Jan. 27.—Portsmouth, Lower Albert Hall, 8 p.m., Public Meeting. *Speakers:* Rev. G. W. Thompson and Miss Nina Boyle. *Chair:* Mrs. Whetton.

Wed., Jan. 28.—Portsmouth, Dockyard Gates, Dinner-hour Meeting. *Speaker:* Miss Nina Boyle. Southampton, Morris Hall, Public Meeting, 8 p.m. *Speakers:* Miss Nina Boyle and Mr. Laurence Housman. *Chair:* Mrs. Rothwell.

Thurs., Jan. 29.—Winchester, Masonic Hall, Parchment-street, Public Meeting, evening. *Speaker:* Miss Nina Boyle.

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 Cafe, 8 p.m. Business Meeting.

Mon., Feb. 9.—Middlesbrough, Hinton's Cafe, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Alice Dewhurst. Subject, "Child Study."

Mon., Feb. 16.—Middlesbrough, Hinton's Cafe, 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 Cafe, 7.30 p.m., "At Home." *Speaker:* Miss Winifred Jones. Subject, "Things That Count."

SCOTLAND.

Wed., Jan. 14.—Edinburgh, 90, Lothian-road, 7.30 p.m., "At Home." *Speaker:* Mrs. Murray.

OTHER SOCIETIES.

Fri., Jan. 9.—Wallington, WOMEN'S ADULT SCHOOL, Meeting at 5, Kemsne-road, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Munro.

Fri., Jan. 16.—THORNTON HEATH PARLIAMENT. Debate, "That this Parliament Provide for the Representation of the People by Granting Votes to Women Without Delay." *Affirmative:* Miss Nina Boyle. *Negative:* Miss Mabel Smith.

Sun., Feb. 8.—KINGTON HUMANITARIAN SOCIETY, 7 p.m., Miss Munro.

Tues., Feb. 17.—WEST ESSEX WOMEN'S FRANCHISE SOCIETY, Buckhurst-hill Hall, 8 p.m., Miss Nina Boyle, W.F.L.

Tues., Mar. 24.—THE SUFFRAGE CLUB, 3, York-street, St. James's, S.W., 8.30. Miss Boyle (W.F.L.) on "Some Reform Bills."

TO THE CHURCHES.

That the Churches are—very tardily—recognising something of the significance of the Woman's Movement is evident by the growth of the religious leagues and important pronouncements by—a few—clerics.

A letter has been sent to the clergymen of the Established Church and the preachers of the Free Churches, pointing out that though it is the tradition of the clergy not to introduce into their sermons questions of social and political controversy, there are times when some specific or general wrong (such as the White Slave Traffic or the exploitation of child labour) raises an issue not only of policy but also of conscience. "We venture to suggest that at such times and on such issues an attitude of silence and neutrality is incompatible with the highest traditions of the Church of England. As you are one of those who are entrusted with the spiritual leadership of the nation, the members of the Spiritual Militancy League beg you to turn your attention, if you have not already done so, to one prominent issue of this character, namely, the political enfranchisement of women."

The Women's Freedom League

WILL RE-COMMENCE THEIR

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON PUBLIC MEETINGS

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CAXTON HALL,

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JANUARY 21st, at 3.30 p.m.

Speakers: Miss CICELY HAMILTON and others.

Chair - - - Mrs. HUNTSMAN.

Admission Free.

A DISCUSSION MEETING

will be held at

'W.F.L.' OFFICE, 1, Robert St., Adelphi, Strand, MONDAY, JANUARY 19th, at 8 p.m.

Subject: "IS THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IDENTICAL WITH THE EASTERN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT?"

Opener - - MADAME AINO MALMBERG.

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WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MEETING

AT THE

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Wednesday Jan. 21, at 8 o'clock.

MRS. ST. CLAIR STOBART will speak on the Women Convoy Corps Hospital organised by her at Kirk Kilisise in the Balkan War.

MISS E. ROPER, B.A., and MISS GORE-BOOTH will speak on the Present Industrial Situation.

Admission Free. Reserved Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. Apply, The Inter. W.S. Shop, 11, Adam-street, Adelphi, Strand; Miss Esther Roper, 33, Fitzroy-square, W.

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HUMOROUS INCIDENTS.

Bought Off.

From an amusing sketch sent by "N. B." of the attempt to silence the ear-splitting yells and squeals of Mr. Punch by a generous contribution to "Mrs. Punch's" collection of pennies, on a recent occasion when Mrs. Despard was speaking at an open-air meeting at Edinburgh, we take the following:—

"I gathered from Mrs. Punch that no interruption of the drama could be entertained for a moment, but that, at the conclusion, Mr. Punch would emerge, and might possibly be bought off from starting a second performance. Patiently I waited, therefore, while Punch rained blows on all and sundry with ever-increasing fury, enduring the surprised and pained glances of friends who passed me on the way to the meeting, and who imagined I had deserted Suffrage and Mrs. Despard for the Punch-and-Judy show!

"How long will it last?" I asked Mrs. Punch at length, despairingly. "Oh, it'll no' be long noo," she replied, with an encouraging smile; "it's juist near the execution." True enough, that grim tragedy was shortly enacted before my anxious gaze, and the gentleman emerged into the light of day. After prolonged bargaining, silence was secured for the space of half-an-hour for the sum of one shilling; in the event of the speaker holding out longer than that time, more 'hush' money to be supplied!"

DO NOT MISS THIS OPPORTUNITY.—When Messrs. Huntley and Co., 1, Conduit-street, Regent-street, announce a sale you may be sure that you will get surprising value for your money. They have no "bad" stock, but are compelled to make room for spring models. It is the one chance to get Spunella and other famous tailor-made shirts at unusually low prices. Do not miss it. Their sale is now going on, but it is a short one.

THE PIONEER PLAYERS.—The next performance will take place on Sunday, January 11, 1914, at 8.30 p.m., and Monday, January 12, 1914, at 3 p.m., at King's Hall, Covent-garden. *Paphnutius* (the Conversion of Thais), by Hroswitha, a nun of the Order of St. Benedict, translated by Christopher St. John. The play, written in the tenth century on the model of the old Latin comedies, will be produced by Edith Craig on the simple lines demanded by its archaic construction. After the Sunday evening performance the President and committee will give a reception to members and their friends. Tickets, 7s. 6d., 5s. and 3s., can only be obtained through members. Early application is advised. All particulars from the Secretary, 139, Long Acre, Telephone, 4086 Regent.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND READERS OF "THE VOTE."

WE MAKE A SPECIAL APPEAL to all who support our Advertisers to send receipts or amounts spent with these firms to the Advertisement Manager before January 16.

The Criminal Law Amendment Committee

has arranged a series of 6 Lectures by experts on Social Problems for WOMEN ONLY.

The Lectures will be held on alternate Thursdays at 5.30, beginning Jan. 22, at the Kingsway Hall (Lecture Hall).

THE FIRST LECTURE on JANUARY 22nd, will be on "The Civic Responsibility of Women,"

By **MISS CICELY HAMILTON.**

Other subjects dealt with will include:—

THE MORAL AND PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF TOLERATED VICE, SLUM LIFE, ASSAULTS ON CHILDREN, AND THE RISING MORAL STANDARD.

Lecturers: Miss CICELY HAMILTON, Miss E. MARTINDALE, M.D., Miss WAKE-FIELD, Miss MARGARET McMILLAN, Mrs. COLONEL FISHER, S.A., and Miss L. ECKENSTEIN.

For Syllabus and Tickets (2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.), apply to THE SECRETARY, C.L.A. Committee, 19, Tothill Street, S.W.

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The increased amount of comfort derived from the foregoing will be obvious to all. To those not fully acquainted with all the advantages of Toric Lenses we shall be pleased to further explain if they will call upon us.

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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*.

MEETINGS will be held at the Suffrage Club, 3, York-street, St. James's, S.W., on Tuesday, January 13, at 8.30 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. C. A. V. CONYBEARE. Chair, Mrs. LOUIS FAGAN. Subject: "Liberal Women and the Franchise." Thursday, January 15, at 3.30 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. NOTT BOWER. Chair, Mr. CECIL CHAPMAN. Subject: "Problems in Criminal Law Amendment."

LITERARY.

HAVE YOU READ?—"LIBERAL CANT," by EUNICE MURRAY, 1d. "PREJUDICES OLD AND NEW," by EUNICE MURRAY, 1d. "WHAT IS WOMANLY?" by LAURENCE HOUSMAN, 4d. If not, send to the LITERATURE DEPARTMENT, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C.

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CO-EDUCATION. WEST HEATH SCHOOL, FERNCROFT AVENUE, HAMPSTEAD.—Principal, Mrs. ENNIS RICHMOND. In addition to the Day School a few BOARDERS are now taken who can spend week-ends with the Principal in the country.

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SITUATIONS VACANT.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE REQUIRES additional SECRETARY, middle of February. Office work essential, speaker desirable.—Apply by letter on or before January 12, to SECRETARY, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's-Jane, W.C.

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