

# THE VOTE

(THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE).

VOL. III. No. 77.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1911.

ONE PENNY.

## 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: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

Published by W. SPEAIGHT & SONS, 98 & 99, Fetter Lane, E.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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United Kingdom ... 6/6 per annum, post free.

Foreign Countries ... 8/8 " " "

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## OUR POINT OF VIEW.

### Watch and Prepare!

In less than a month we shall know the fate of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Assurances have been received that the Government do not intend to appropriate the time—Friday, May 5—fixed for the second reading of the Bill. As Ministers, since their return to office, have shown no particular regard for the rights of private members, we suppose we may consider ourselves fortunate in having this assurance. It would be, however, the greatest possible mistake to slacken our efforts in consequence of this pledge. If success is to be achieved, nothing must be left to fortuitous events. In Parliamentary circles it is a well-known fact that the second reading of a Bill of any importance is a momentous crisis in its fortunes. It is rumoured that our Bill will have the support of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Hitherto, Suffragists have had little reason to place reliance upon the promises and fair words of this right honourable gentleman. But Mr. Lloyd George, in his late enforced idleness, has had much time for reflection, and may in truth have come to see the error of his ways. If such be the case—and recent utterances of Mrs. Lloyd George certainly lend colour to the suggestion—we shall most cordially welcome the fact. We must, however, be prepared for any eventuality. And always it should be remembered that open enmity is easier to fight than the veiled and covert attacks of "friends."

### Success of Militancy.

Militant Suffragists have a very grave responsibility in regard to the Women's Bill. It has been said in more than one quarter that militant tactics have failed. This is a serious allegation, even though no proofs have ever been forthcoming to substantiate it. The object of the militant tactics was, in the first place, advertisement. Will anyone suggest that that object has been defeated? It was hoped that the advertisement thus gained would draw attention to the anomalous position occupied by the women of the country. Has not that hope been realised? It was expected that when women were aroused to a sense of the injustice meted out to their sex, they would demand its instant removal. Has not that expectation been fulfilled? The second stage in the militant agitation was intended to make the question of Woman Suffrage one of practical politics by bringing pressure to bear upon the Government. This pressure was none the less effective because

the weapons employed were neither fists nor steel, but merely ridicule and obstruction. Who will deny its success? The direct aim of the militants is, of course, the enfranchisement of women. And though our methods have not yet succeeded in bringing us to the goal we have in view, no reasonable person will refuse to admit that they have carried us the greater part of the way. Already it is in sight. This last statement will probably be questioned by the political tyro, and the person whose reason invariably goes hand in hand with his inclination. Nevertheless, until militancy has been continued for at least forty years—"constitutional" agitation has been carried on for twice that length of time—without producing the result aimed at, there will be no truth in the assertion that it has failed.

### The Price of Liberty.

Those who make a fetish of abstract reasoning are apt to attach undue weight to the power and strength of logic. In connection with Woman Suffrage it has been argued that the adherents to this principle have arrived at their conviction *via* the mind, not violence. There is a certain amount of truth in this statement. But though the intellect may prove impregnable to every assault but reason, logic alone has seldom been the means of inspiring an act of justice; it never yet succeeded in carrying a Bill through Parliament. Political liberty has invariably exacted a heavy price. Part of its fee has generally been paid in blood. Pressure of some sort it has always demanded; it has never been purchased by reason alone.

### A False Standard.

There are those who argue that tactics which may be admirable when adopted by men are deplorable when used by women. But that is setting up a false standard—a sex standard—which is the very thing women Suffragists wish to abolish. Women are, before everything else, human beings. Why should they be expected to possess a higher moral standard than men. If their sex had secured them immunity from evil; if it had procured them preferential treatment in the labour market; if it were an impersonal ideal and no mundane legislation for which women are agitating, there might be some reason in expecting them to exercise a restraint which men, under more fortunate conditions, have never considered necessary. But the very contrary is the case. Women have been exploited physically and morally. Their sex has never inspired chivalry to the extent that it has provoked brutality.

Nevertheless, women Suffragists have striven to accomplish their object without resorting to physical force. They would have accounted it a triumph if it could have been done. Women still deplore violence although they have never on that account been spared nor have they wished to be spared—from participation in its effects. To men the glory, to women the pain battle! But as we do not live in a different world from that in which men won their rights, it is possible for politicians may attempt to exact the same price from the women. Already opponents are threatening to wreck our present Bill, as they did the last, by voting it to a Committee of the whole House after the second reading stage has been completed. Suffragists, morally bound to do all in their power to circumvent this intention. Whether or not militant action again takes place depends to a great extent upon efforts we exert between now and May 5.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

Tickets for our Queen's Hall evening meeting, May 5, can now be had from this office, price 6d. and 1s. Every member and sympathiser in London is urged to be present on this occasion, when we hope to have members of the Conciliation Committee to address us, and when also we shall unfold our plans for future action. It will be an important date in the history of the Women's Freedom League, and we confidently claim the loyal support of all our friends in London at this meeting.

John Stuart Mill Meeting.

We have again decided to honour the memory of this great champion of woman's liberty, and on Saturday, May 20, there will be a procession to lay a wreath on his statue in Temple Gardens, after which we shall hold a demonstration in Trafalgar-square to mark our appreciation of the early pioneers of women's enfranchisement.

Women's Procession, Saturday, June 17.

Cards are now ready and can be sent to Branch Secretaries and to sympathisers who will walk under our colours. Miss Edith Craig would be glad to know of volunteers who would help with the decorations. This is extremely interesting and effective work, and the more assistance we have in this matter the more successful will be our part of the procession. Tickets for the Kensington Town Hall meeting, to which we are inviting distinguished foreigners and Colonials, can now be had at 2s. 6d., 2s., 1s. and 6d. Early application for tickets is recommended.

Membership Cards.

We have a new stock of these, and they can be forwarded to all who can help us by securing fresh members.

Caravan.

In spite of the uncompromising weather, Mrs. Tanner has done excellent work from this caravan in South London, and after the Easter holidays will renew her efforts, when our other open-air meetings should begin. Will all who are willing to speak in the open-air kindly send their names to this office? It is hoped that every Branch in London will make itself responsible for regular meetings in its particular district. We hope, too, to receive reports of regular open-air meetings in the Provinces. This is one of the very best means of propaganda work.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Owing to the Easter holidays we go to press much earlier next week. Will BRANCH SECRETARIES therefore kindly send their reports as soon as possible? All matter intended for our next issue should reach the Editorial Offices not later than the first post on Saturday.

THE Play Department of the Actresses' Franchise League announces the second of a series of performances at the Rehearsal Theatre on Tuesday, April 25 at 3 p.m. for the trial of propaganda plays. The programme will consist of three one-act pieces, entitled "Trimmings," by M. Shieve McGowan, "An Allegory," by Vera Wentworth, and "The Eclectics Club," by J. Maurice Hunter. Among those who have already promised their services are Mr. Dennis Clough, Mr. Frederick Worlock, Miss Violet Bazalgette, Miss Beatrice Filmer, Mr. Ross Shore, Mr. Alfred Harris, Mr. A. E. Filmer, Mr. Athol Stewart, and Miss Irene Moncrieff. Tickets may be obtained from the hon. treasurer, Play Department: Miss Victoria Addison, 37, Avonmore-road, Kensington, W.V., or from the offices of the League, 2, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C., price 3s. and 2s., all unreserved. As the accommodation is limited to 150, those desirous of witnessing the performance should apply early for tickets.

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OUR TREASURY.

Now that the Census is safely over, we can examine the results of our work. The appeal has been generously responded to, and we were able to finish up with a most successful meeting in Trafalgar-square, and I think the general impression appears to be that the Freedom League has added another and perhaps the most effective militant protest to its record.

I have as yet received very few answers to the appeal for self-denial in Census week and hope that members will send in anything they were able to collect.

CONSTANCE TITE.

NATIONAL FUND. Branch and District Funds Not Included.

Table with columns for 'Amount previously acknowledged', 'For Census Protest', and 'Total'. Lists names of individuals and their contributions in pounds, shillings, and pence.

PREPARATIONS are in full swing for the Imperial Exhibition and the Coronation, and already our colonial and foreign visitors are arriving. Countless opportunities will arise for advertising our League and THE VOTE, and readers and members are earnestly asked to remember that there is no time like the present. A large army of street sellers is needed in order to impress and arouse the interest of strangers. Sales are sure to be brisk, and now the weather is improving I hope no one will hesitate to take their share in this important work.—ETHEL FENNINGS, VOTE Sales Organiser.

DEBATE BETWEEN MISS CICELY HAMILTON AND MR. G. K. CHESTERTON.

A debate on the question of Woman Suffrage took place between Miss Cicely Hamilton and Mr. G. K. Chesterton, at the Queen's Hall, on Friday last. In opening the debate, Miss Cicely Hamilton said:—

"I have come here to-night to find, I suppose, a good many points of disagreement with Mr. Chesterton. It is just as well, therefore, to point out that there is one meeting-ground in common between us: neither of us feels any great enthusiasm for votes as votes. Anyone can gather that from Mr. Chesterton's works. For myself, I can only say, that although I am in the habit of delivering various speeches at meetings, which I believe are called suffrage meetings, I usually begin them by announcing that I do not care a button whether I get a vote or not.

"I should also like to point out that we are going to talk a good deal about women to-night, and will you please remember that Mr. Chesterton and I will be talking about two totally different things. Of course, I leave it to Mr. Chesterton to correct me later on, but I take it on his own authority that "every woman is an attractive woman, and the crowd of women is a harem let loose." If he can think of them like that, other men may be able to think of them in that light. A man may think of them so, but not a woman; and to-night I am not going to talk of them from the man's point of view—as a wife, a mother, or a mistress. I am going to talk of them as the human beings that I know. When I speak of women, it is woman from her own point of view which matters to me.

"I look upon the Parliamentary franchise demand solely as a symptom and sign of progress; and progress I take to mean the development from the simple and uniform to the various. Life began by being uniform. It spread out into branches of many and various forms. To take the human race. The original man was a hunter, and walked upon the earth. From that original man and hunter there have now come men of every sort and kind of trade. Men not only walk on the earth; they fly in the air, and man is already looked upon as a being of enormously new qualities; but such progress has been denied to women. Man's idea of woman was that she should remain the thing useful to man—the wife and mother, and domestic animal. The whole essence of woman's training hitherto, from generation to generation, has been production, not varied, but uniform, and therefore it has been opposed to progress. The demand for the political franchise is a great thing. The mother is tired of being married, and is trying to become a political animal. To become a wife, it may be, or not, but to become a political animal—it is a sign of progress, and a demand on the part of torpid woman to try her powers.

"New qualities make new beings, because the movement is, and must be, experimental. It is quite possible that the political enfranchisement of women may be a failure; but failure or not, the experiment has got to be tried. The idea is, of course, that woman in descending into the arena of politics or entering in any way into the sphere of man, is losing the "crown of womanhood," of which we hear so much. Now, I just ask you to think for yourselves what that means. We hear a lot of talk about the beauty of motherhood, and so on. Don't listen to it. Motherhood is not exalted, as we are told to believe. Motherhood, as it is to-day, is a somewhat degraded thing. I read the other day—I think in The World—an article written by Mr. Arnold White on the refusal of the modern woman to bear children, dislike of marriage, and so forth. It finished up by explaining that men prefer charming women to clever women; but of course the whole point is not what man prefers, but what woman prefers herself. I am perfectly sure Mr. White is right, and it is to this I trace the absolute degradation of womanhood: the fact that a man prefers to live with a woman who is

his inferior. As long as it can be truthfully said that a man prefers the mother of his children to be a fool, so long is there very little beauty about motherhood.

"To go back to the point. What would be said if you told every man in this room that he had got to make his living by being attractive to the other sex? Of course he could not do it. (Laughter.) Even if a man were so handsome as to be able to make his living by being a fascinating doll, he would not be compelled to take it up as a business. A man may be an engineer, or anything he likes; but we have got to spend our lives in trying to be charming. No doubt there are women in this room who have felt like myself, that the attraction of men was not the only thing that would bring us happiness in this world. For me that day was the beginning of my life, and it is that feeling which lies at the bottom of this movement, which we call by the poor little name of "Woman Suffrage." We are out to experiment with our own lives and please ourselves. Of course it is abominably selfish; but there is another way of looking at it. Self-sacrifice has been enjoined upon us for generation after generation. We are to give our lives as a great self-sacrifice; but to give a gift which has been taken from us makes it of no value.

"I have quoted over and over again Mr. John Burns's homily to the Poor-law children, in which he addressed the boys and girls, and told the boys that he hoped that they would learn to be happy craftsmen, because they were trained to be healthy men and happy craftsmen; but the girls he told that their duty was to cook, to nurse, to sew, and to make others happy. I hope to goodness he did not address the two sets at the same time and in the same room, for small boys are quite selfish enough as they are. We are told that we are here to make men happy. Why not try to make ourselves happy just for a change? I think if you had something to give you would give it; but no woman has been able to give self-sacrifice for generation after generation. She has had it taken from her. Do not imagine, for heaven's sake, that you get respect. You do not. Respect is a thing which I always insist on, which cannot be got by coaxing, but by standing out and commanding it. Have you never heard a man say, "You women." There are lots of ways of saying "You women," but it is always contemptuous. You try to say it. You cannot do it. I have tried to say "You men" as I have heard men say "You women," and I cannot do it. Why? Because I do not despise them. Until a woman has lived on her own, and is absolutely free to develop her own capacity, she is not a very respectable person.

"How difficult it is for a woman merely to speak the truth on the small things of life! How many women would dare to get up and frankly say before a roomful of people that she disliked children if she wanted to have anybody's good opinion? It is not done as a rule. (Hear, hear.) You see? But after all, which is the better—to affect an affection for children which is not felt, or to speak the truth? Before your duty to your children, or your duty to your husband, comes your duty to yourself.

"Of course, the meaning underlying the whole thing is this. You have been our all in all, but you have now been reduced to an episode in our lives. It is not a thing one wants to say, but if one must, one hopes to say it as courteously as possible; and it has got to be said. It is not that you have grown any less, but that we have grown larger. You do not fill up all the blanks. You may fill our hearts, but you do not fill our brains. We have got to have something of our own. Of course, it is a little hard for you to understand it, but you will have to get used to it. After all, you have had your innings. You have had the time when you told us, for instance, that we could obtain nothing except through you. In fact, we were not complete without

you. You had the impertinence to say that the Almighty could not make a human being without calling you in to finish it."

Replying to Miss Hamilton, Mr. Chesterton said:—"I should like to devote the whole of my speech to an expression of admiration for the eloquence and wit of the opener, but, as you know, that is not my function here this evening. It would be difficult to do justice to her eloquence, but to expose her fallacies will be easy. I do not know whether it would be better to deal with the particular points she has raised, or to do what she has not done; that is, discuss the question at issue. As to the points she has raised, I will only say this: I am not prepared to meet so violent an attack upon the female sex. She has said that women hitherto in the world have been torpid. I remember mothers, grandmothers, aunts and grandaunts, who were far from torpid. She has said that hitherto women have been slavish, craven, cowering—apparently to earn our respect. What happy lives we should have if women really had looked for our respect! Never for one single moment did they look for that. Now let us ask why that is. Throughout the whole of Miss Hamilton's speech there runs one great, simple, fundamental fallacy. It is this (you may know it or not), but you are thinking in terms of comparison between the sexes and other divisions of mankind. You are thinking of the division between the man and the woman as if it were the division between the Englishman and the Irishman. You are thinking of the distinction between man and woman as if it were the distinction between the white man and black man. You are making analogies out of political situations and political conquests which conquer and govern one race over another, one nation over another. All that is bosh. There is no analogy between sex, and that for a very simple reason. Sex is the only thing in this world which is a division of which the result is an attraction. The two people are separated—they both have wrongs—if you like, the woman has greater wrongs, I don't mind; it is probably so—they are separated—only the moment they are separated they desire to come together. Now, that is not true of any other division you can mention in the whole human philosophy. When humanity breaks up into white men and black men, it is not true that immediately all the white men begin to think all the black men very beautiful. It is true about the sexes. I am not maintaining, and I am sure my opponent will not maintain that I have maintained, that there has not incidentally been gross tyranny and abominable misuse of power on the part of man. I am sure there has been. I happen to believe in a religion that thinks men are prone to sin, and women also, and wherever either of them has used power they very often used it wrongly. I am not trying to point out that men have never been wrong, or have never made laws unjust to women. I think they are in a large number of points, also unjust in their favour on a large number of points; but I do point out to you that the whole of your argument is based upon a perfectly simple primary blunder—in that there is no thing in this world that is like the division of sex. When you see a black man and a white man together you are pretty sure of one of two things—either the white man is just going to make a slave of the black man, or the black man is going to make a meal of the white man. In either case there is coercion, but that is not true of the sexes.

"It is not true, I protest, even on the most liberal interpretation, that this is the case with regard to the sexes. The sexes are not founded upon force or anything like force. The family relations are not founded upon force, but upon an attraction existing from the beginning of the world. Poets call it 'nature,' Christians call it 'God,' and bores call it 'evolution.' The fundamental fact which you all neglect is this, that marriage or the family is the one absolute and fundamental institution in human affairs. I remember in my youth how easily I was taken in—no, not by sex (I will tell

you about that some other time); but how easily I was taken in in my boyhood by that apparently simple phrase about the primeval man knocking his wife down with a club and taking her away. Of course, all people who have no argument at all on their side that can be drawn from life always draw their arguments from prehistoric times. There are no principles on that subject that affect us in this world, and the simple test is: Why not do it to-day? Does every man knock his wife down and take her away? The whole of the relation of the sexes rests upon consent—the primal and fundamental attraction. Tyranny has crept into it, as into everything else in the world. But is it not perfectly self-evident that it only comes into effect by mutual desire? This fundamental fact about sex is not a thing you can argue about as about anything else. The subject of 'knocking his wife down with a club' can be relegated to mythology. From this principle there are two important results which I should like to put before you. First of all, that principle—quite a simple principle, and indeed, self-evident when it is mentioned—which destroys altogether all the economic argument about women looking after women in factories, and so on. Why is it self-evident that women will not look after women? Anyway, it is self-evident, of course, that a negro will look after a negro, because he has some sympathy with a negro and none with white men. One of the many things that the opener has not said, and ought to have said, is some argument for showing that women will look after women as such. I should think not. (Cries of 'No' and 'Yes.')

That appears to provoke some disagreement. Let us ask ourselves: Is it your experience—is it mine?—that women are specially tender to women? (Cries of 'Yes' and 'No.')

Well, I have heard an answer, though slightly confused; but I should like to say that this kind of thing is not to be answered by cries, but by facts. Is it actually true that it is always the master who docks the maid-servant of her wages? Is it true that it is always the woman who refuses the extra fee to the cabman?

"My argument is quite simple. I say that the fact of the attraction of sex smashes up and disposes of for ever all argument about the sympathy of woman for woman, as such, in the sense that you talk of the sympathy of negroes for negroes. If that is not self-evident, I know of nothing in mankind that is self-evident. Suppose I had been on the jury in the Crippen case. Suppose I had some tendency to sympathise with poor old Crippen because he was a man like myself and liked smoking cigars and enjoying himself. That is perfectly true, and that is sex comradeship, which does exist. What I ask the opener is: Will she dare to deny—will anybody with their five wits deny—that there is another passion much more powerful in the life of man which would lead me to sympathise with Miss Le Neve? Therefore I say that the whole of the argument about the sympathy of woman with woman, or of man with man in political affairs goes completely smash. It does not exist. I don't want to be intemperate. I quite admit there is such a thing as the desire to support your own sex; but I say there is another passion much stronger, a passion which produces murders, acts of heroism, and martyrdom. That is what I say about it.

The other point that I want to make from that perfectly simple principle is this: that whenever you find in this ancient human race of ours any one little distinction between men and women, something that men have been allowed to do and women have not been allowed to do, or something that women have been allowed to do and men have not been allowed to do, you cannot say that it was imposed by the man upon the woman. You cannot say it for the reason that I have given. When you see a serf who has to wear a collar, and a lord who may wear a sword, you can say that the lord has imposed the collar upon his inferior; but you cannot say when a woman wears a skirt and a man a pair of trousers that that has been imposed by the man. It rises out of the desire of the two people to figure

well in each other's eyes, and it may be that the distinction is a distinction created by the two people.

"The question between me and the opener, upon which she has not touched, is whether the desire to keep women out of the fighting of the market-place is a thing that only comes from men or from men and women. She thinks it comes only from men. I think it comes from both men and women—(applause)—and in support of that I will apply one perfectly simple and obvious test. Women have never been kept out of any form of dignity or authority except that of the voter. It is a very curious historical fact that only democracy has ever denied the power of ruling to women. History is full of great queens. There have been Salic laws, but they have always been broken—by invasion, as in the case of the French Salic law, or by deliberate repudiation, as in the case of the Austrian Salic law. From the beginning of the world women have had magnificent positions, and a very good thing, too. Women have ruled in the great religious houses and administered judgments with almost despotism in the Christian civilisation. Women have been queens, priestesses, peeresses in their own right, and all those kinds of things. In history humanity has never had the slightest objection to a woman being a despot—she always is one—but humanity has had an objection to her being a democrat; humanity has had an objection to her mixing in the excitement of the market-place. This tradition is very old. There have been democracies for ages and ages. They never gave female suffrage. There have been despotisms ages and ages ago. They always gave the crown to women, and that is because despotism is a thing like a family, and the woman, when she is a queen, will rule like a mother. Her rule is parental; she orders people about, and says such a thing is to be done; that is consistent with the ideal of woman, and that is the reason why they have not been allowed to join in the violence of the market-place. Of course, voting is nothing. The real democracy is barging about in the market-place, knocking people down and yelling. That is the only sort of democracy that will ever do any good to us. Humanity has had it from the beginning that this is unwomanly and inconsistent with the particular kind of dignity that woman has. If you think it was an attempt to make her captive, it is not true, because they made her queen. They made her everything else except the voter, and the reason is simply that they had never heard of voting. If democracy remains an unreality, as it is at present, then it is not worth your going in for. If it becomes a reality, you won't want to go in for it.

"We have only got to look at literature to see that women, as women, have not been despised, but exalted. Look at the Muses, the Vestal Virgins, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Theresa. Did the man who wrote 'Alcestis' despise woman? Therefore I say that it is absolute nonsense from beginning to end, that theory that women have been despised. They have been ill-used; they have been wrongly governed; they have been unfairly treated; and as with all people, they have unfortunately fallen under tyrannous and difficult government; but they have not been despised. Statues have been carved of them, goddesses have been made of them, their names have been given to the most dignified forms of expression. Why is it? For instance, when we want to make England comic, we talk of a very fat, short man like me, called John Bull; when we want to make her dignified, we call her Britannia. Therefore all that argument is false; and I still wait for an answer to my two perfectly simple questions. I privately believe that women have not the vote for the perfectly simple reason that if they were asked to vote they would vote against it."

In reply to Mr. Chesterton, Miss Hamilton said:—"Mr. Chesterton has done exactly what I said he would; he has talked about wives and mothers and so forth. He also made one statement which I think is entirely incorrect—that marriage is a voluntary institution. Marriage for men is a voluntary institution, but marriage

## MADAME LOUISE



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for women has been for many generations a mere trade—not only a trade, but a compulsory trade. Why it is not voluntary Mr. Chesterton has just said himself when he spoke of us as wives and mothers as though that were all we need.

"There is one point he raised about the enmity of women to each other. If it is so, an enormous lot has been due to the force of competition among women because they have been confined to one profession. There is one thing that I must say. I should think that the Anti-Suffrage woman who believes that woman's place is the home would rejoice at the Suffrage movement. What they are doing now is to increase the competition in their line of business. If I were an Anti I would encourage every other woman to go into some other trade. It is short-sighted of them.

"I cannot expect Mr. Chesterton to see anything but his point of view, and it is the point of view of every single man I have met. I cannot expect him to understand when sex attraction is only sex attraction. The great thing is to disentangle business from the sex attraction and find out exactly how far it goes. I believe most strongly that those of us who are trying to do that job have an enormous respect for what should be purely sexual attraction, and love for the children of such attraction. We do not think it right that any woman should bring children into the world because she is afraid of being called an old maid. I cannot help thinking that when Mr. Chesterton talks of humanity he means man. Democracy is opposed, I understand, to our going into the market-place because it is unwomanly. What is unwomanly and what is womanly? The question will not be answered in our time. It will be answered when we have had an opportunity of seeing what we can do. There are certain qualities which we are brought up to consider are womanly. If we stick to them we are womanly women; but these qualities are not necessarily the qualities that belong to the

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## THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 1, Robert Street  
Adelphi, W.C.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1911.

### IN THE HOUR OF SUCCESS.

There is an old proverb which says, "None are so blind as those who will not see." Sight, like imagination, memory, and many other of our faculties may, at times, be inconvenient, and then how easy it is to disown them!

"I did not see you": "No one could have dreamt of such a thing!" "Really, I quite forgot." These are the sort of phrases by which persons, well aware of their own failures, seek to cover them up. Many, indeed, go further. Positively, they try to make the world believe that the triumph is on their side. In their relation of certain happenings, an insult becomes a compliment and a defeat bears the appearance of a victory.

The Secretary of the Local Government Board has a mind of this complexion. Before he can definitely know how many women have evaded the Census, he proclaims to the world that they are a negligible quantity; and when asked whether any penalty would be inflicted on these perverse law-breakers, he answers blandly, "In the hour of success mercy and magnanimity will be exercised."

How fine and also how subtle this is! But what is the real position? Knowing what we know not only of public halls, concert rooms, open spaces where Suffragists outwatched the dawn of Monday morning but also of the large numbers of occupiers, men and women, who kept open house the whole night through, we venture to assert that Mr. John Burns dare not allow the record of those who refused to register themselves in the Census of 1911 to be published. That is his mercy and magnanimity. "For heaven's sake," I can hear him whisper, "keep quiet! Assume that all is well and it will be well."

To us, meanwhile, the inaction of the Government and the special grace of Mr. John Burns are the measure of our success. For had the number of law-breakers been few no such mercy would have been shown. Rather the few would have been severely dealt with to show how few and insignificant they were.

Here I am not drawing upon my imagination. I am judging by analogy. It would be easy enough to show, from the ever-open pages of experience and history, that in all ages the few who failed, or who seemed to fail, have been punished by triumphant Governments. And here I recall the words breathed out by Shelley's Prometheus in the moment of his deepest humiliation: "This is defeat, fierce king, not victory"—words eternally true of the powers that set themselves in opposition to justice and truth.

But dealing with the present moment and Mr. John Burns's speech, let us ask him and those who, their fears allayed, accepted it as gospel truth, if this being an hour of victory for the Government you can afford to be merciful, what have you been doing during the last five years? In every way possible, and in some ways we had imagined impossible under our law, women have been punished. They have evaded or disobeyed the law. Yes, we acknowledge it. In refusing to fill up the Census papers they have also evaded the law. Why is mercy shown in one case and not in the other? You say that in the hour of triumph you can afford to be merciful. Can it possibly be that these other unlawful doings—presenting of petitions at the door of the House of Commons, processions in prohibited areas, gatherings of protesters outside Ministers' houses—were victories? Can it be that you fear the "wild women"?

These are the questions we address to Mr. John Burns. His subtle brain and quick tongue would no doubt furnish him with an answer good enough to please his easily-satisfied followers. We offer it nevertheless as a solution of the sudden leniency that has been shown to us. The Government knows now that the women are victorious along the whole line and that their just demands must be speedily met.

We have said, "None are so blind as those who will not see." Here is another and very striking evidence of the truth of this old adage. Mr. Balfour, from an amiable desire, no doubt, to please the House of Commons, gave in answer to Lord Hugh Cecil's vigorous indictment a gentle pat on the back to his colleagues. He gave it as his experience that the opinion of members had a very powerful effect upon the shaping of legislation. On which *The Daily News* of yesterday made the following remarkable comment:—"That is good testimony, and we are inclined to think that Mr. Balfour might have gone even further. Since the *Liberal Government came into power* there has been a real increase in the power of the private member, and a marked intolerance of Cabinet dictation."

When I read those words I wondered if I was dreaming. Then I thought they might possibly be ironical. Surely there was never a Cabinet so despotic as that which is now in power. Twice in the space of their tenure of office, in the face of majorities (extraordinarily large on the last occasion), has the Women's Bill passed its second reading; and the Cabinet still refuse to take it further. Nay, during this last session the private member has been deprived of even the small space of time that is ordinarily allotted to him. Does this look like any real increase of his power?

Soothing syrup given by some to babes is by others considered a dangerous remedy. "Better the child should cry," say these, "than be artificially stilled."

I sometimes think as I watch our brothers—politicians, statesmen, lawyers—in their pleasant slumber that an earthquake shock is needed to awaken them; and, indeed, if they do not themselves awake, that may come.

C. DESPARD.

### PRIZE COMPETITIONS TO INCREASE OUR CIRCULATION.

A prize of a framed and autographed photograph of Mrs. Despard will be awarded to the reader who obtains the largest number of new subscribers to THE VOTE during the three months ending Saturday, June 24. If every member of the League would obtain one new subscriber our circulation would become so large that we should shortly be enabled to double the size of our paper. Send in the names and addresses of new subscribers week by week, enclosing with each postal order for 3s. 3d. (subscription for six months) and your own name and address. Write the word "Circulation Department," on the top left-hand corner of the envelope.

#### Receipts from Advertisers.

To encourage our readers in supporting advertisers, we offer a first prize of 10s. or two fully-paid up shares in the Minerva Publishing Company, and a second prize of 6s. 6d., or a year's subscription to THE VOTE, post free, for the largest number of receipts for goods bought from advertisers in THE VOTE during the three months ending July 1.

#### CARAVAN CAMPAIGN.

It was most unfortunate that the blizzard should have visited us just as the caravan was touring South-west London. In spite of the weather, we held meetings every night except Wednesday and Thursday. Among those who braved the elements to speak for us were Mrs. Gatty, Miss Neilans, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Gugenheim, and Miss Hillsworth. I have to thank Mrs. Thomas for 5s., and Mrs. Hoare for 2s., towards the expenses of campaign.

K. S. TANNER.

## QUAKER BLOUSE



Quaker Blouse (as sketch), thoroughly well made in our own workrooms from extra fine Cotton Voile, tucked and hand-veined, with hand-veined white lawn collar and cuffs, a very practical and inexpensive shirt, in grey, sage, navy, heliotrope, pink, sky, rose du barri, white and black, also in white with black spots.

12/9

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### BRANCH NOTES.

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

Anerly and Crystal Palace.—Hon. Secretary: Miss J. FENNINGS, 149, Croydon-road.

Our branch has made most effective Census protests at two different houses. At one a large all-night party was held, and on the Census form was written: "The occupier is away, but there is a large party of Suffragists here who refuse any information. As women are not persons in the eyes of the law (see Hope Beresford versus Cobden, 1888) they cannot be counted as persons." Evidently the news leaked out, as the local Press gave us a paragraph. One resister boldly showed the "No Vote, no Census" bills in the window. Our local Hon. VOTE Secretary, Miss Muriel Fennings, has gained several new subscribers lately, and THE VOTE poster is shown at ten different newsagents.

Stamford Hill.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Cunningham, 114, Holmleigh-road.

So far as this part of the constituency was concerned, the Census Protest quite answered all our expectations. Not the least interesting of the series of "Literary Afternoons" was spent last Wednesday afternoon at Mrs. Cunningham's, when Mrs. Thomson read a paper entitled "The Women's Charter: What it Means." On Thursday afternoon Mrs. Goodwin moved her resolution: "That married women should not be excluded from the labour market" in a very carefully prepared speech, illustrating many of her remarks with statistics founded upon different industries in Birmingham. The conclusion arrived at was that as necessitous circumstances were chiefly responsible for married women working for money, no more restrictions should be placed upon them than upon other workers. On Wednesday next Miss Brodie will move: "That making the actual necessities of life so cheap as to be within the reach of the poorest would be more helpful to the needy than pecuniary State aid." All open-air meetings will be discontinued until Monday, April 24.

Herne Hill and Norwood.—Miss B. SPENCER, 32, Geneva-road, Brixton, S.W.

On Wednesday, March 29, a committee meeting was held at 28, Carson-road, Dulwich. As our President, Dr. Vickery, is removing from Dulwich, and will not be able to attend our meetings so regularly in future, Mrs. Jones was unanimously elected vice-president. We were all grateful to her for expressing so earnestly our gratitude to Dr. Vickery, for her sympathy and

encouragement in whatever work we have undertaken; and our regret that in future she will not be so frequently with us. Our members who took part in the Census Boycott have given most enthusiastic accounts of the delightful reception that was given to them by the kind hostesses with whom they spent that memorable night, and to whom our best thanks are due.

Croydon.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. TERRY, 9, Morland-avenue, Croydon. Office: 3, The Arcade, High-street, Croydon.

We are arranging with the other local Suffrage Societies to hold a Mass Meeting in the Large Public Hall on May 4. Our thanks are due to Mrs. Ferguson for the gift of a cupboard and table for office use. THE VOTE sellers are needed. Will members, who can spare a few hours each week, please send word to the secretary? All will be glad to know that Mrs. Marion Holmes has returned from Switzerland, and has greatly benefited by the change and rest.

Brighton and Hove.—Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. FRANCIS, 51, Buckingham-place, Brighton; Miss HARE, 8, San Remo, Hove.

The last of our Sixpenny Socials was held last Saturday, when Miss Giraud very kindly allowed us the use of her beautiful studio. It was a fit setting for the treat afforded by Mme. Brunel to those who had the privilege of hearing her. Mme. Brunel, "the Eleanora Duse of recitation," gave a Browning recital and captivated the audience by the entirely natural, effortless way in which she made the poet's men and women live. Her talent is a great gift to our cause. Next week our arrangements for an after-Easter programme will be given.

Portsmouth and Gosport.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. WHETTON, 64, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.

Our Census Protest was a success, and our thanks are due to the member who kindly opened her house to us. We completely mystified the authorities as to our whereabouts and numbers, although they were on the look-out for us. The local paper (after interviewing me) gave us a very good report. Again let me remind members of the Jumble Sale which is to be held in May. Members will be notified of the next branch meeting, which will be held after Easter.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Hon. Organiser: Miss MANNING, B.A., Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire.

From all parts of the district come accounts of successful Census resistance. In Manchester and the suburbs sixteen houses and offices were placed at our disposal, and in all of these lurked large numbers of resisters. The largest party gathered at Harper-hill, Sale, and proved a very representative group. Mothers of families, with their children, business and professional women, all ready to put up with temporary inconvenience that they might not be party to the continuance of unrepresentative government. "This," said one of our protestors, "is the best thing we have done; this is real revolution." In the early dawn four enthusiasts stole out and posted Sale's public buildings with "No Vote, No Census." Even the police-station did not escape. In Eccles and Manchester the protest was well carried out, and the bill-posters did excellent work. From Eccles comes the story of a lady of seventy-six years who evaded the Census by walking from one daughter's house to another during the night. Altogether we are very proud of our protest, and ready to develop the policy of Passive Resistance when another opportunity arises.

Chester.—Hon. Secretary, ELLA WOODALL, 13, Abbey-square.

On Monday night a very successful meeting was held at 102, Foregate-street, through the kindness of Mrs. Roberts, who lent her large room for the occasion. Mrs. H. F. Brown, B.A., was in the chair, and gave a short, interesting speech. Miss Nellie Smith, A.R.C.M., was the speaker, and took for her subject "Militant Tactics," giving personal experiences which were very enlightening to all present, and justifying our firm attitude by an appeal to history. It was gratifying to find that three new members joined and nine newcomers were present as sympathisers. Seven-and-sixpence was collected, also one regular subscriber for THE VOTE gained, and the Chairman gave a special subscription of 10s. for the branch fund. A number of members are practising self-denial of sweets, trams, &c., to raise funds.

Eccles.—Hon. Secretary, MISS JANET HEYES, Newholme, Hazelhurst, Worsley.

The Census Protest was entirely successful. A spice of adventure was felt by the cyclists who sped at midnight through Swinton, Pendlebury, Monton, Patricroft and Eccles, posting the "No Census" bills, and by those resisters who, realising the resistance houses were being watched, hired a room in Eccles, and spent the night there. Last Wednesday a drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Juniper's, Crasleigh, Kildare-road, Swinton. The meeting broke entirely new ground, and we ought to get dozen new working members from it. Our very grateful thanks are due to Mrs. Juniper. Our literature secretary is indefatigable. We want a "VOTE" band. Who will volunteer? Our treasury will supply League Toffee, in quantities large or small, at the small cost of 1d. per ounce—profits for the branch fund. For the same fund Miss Baines will make bonnets for little girls at 2s. 6d. each, and the daintiest of tidies at 6d. each. Miss Timperley will give one special lesson in painting on satin at 1s. per head—profits for us. I want names quickly, please. Also want names of helpers for open-air work. Sir George Pollard must not again vote our Bill to a Committee of the whole

House. We are already in communication with the League for Young Liberals, and the Chairman of the Swinton Council, pending the sending of petitions to Parliament and Sir George on behalf of Woman's Suffrage.

**Manchester, Central.**—Hon. Secretary, MISS HORDERN, 89, Clitheroe-road, Longsight.

Owing to the kindness of Dr. French and Mrs. Rose Hyland, members of the Manchester Central branch joined with great ease in the Census Protest, enjoying the luxury of beds and sleep denied to resisters in the suburbs. We are most grateful to both ladies for the inconvenience and risk to which they willingly exposed themselves.

**Sale.**—Hon. Secretary, MISS GEILER, Thornlea, Wardle-road. Sale. VOTE AGENTS: MRS. HOBSON, 13, Northenden-road; MRS. WALKER, 125, Washway-road.

The night of April 2, 1911, will be long remembered by the branch as the most successful protest we have yet made, unique in point of the numbers who took part in it. An anti-Suffrage meeting was held in Sale on April 6, at which the Women's Freedom League was well represented. The resolution put to the meeting by the "antis" was defeated by an overwhelming majority. On April 7 a deputation which included Mrs. Manning, Mrs. Sandys, Miss Geiler, and Miss Manning waited upon the Sale Urban District Council in order to request the passing of a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage. The Council, taking a leaf out of Mr. Asquith's book, refused to receive the deputation. Full accounts appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* and the local paper.

**Urmston.**—Hon. Secretary, MISS M. HUDSON, Oaklands, Flixton.

On Sunday night several members of the Urmston branch walked over to Sale and took part in the Census Protest there, whilst others evaded the Census in various ways. On Friday evening a "Hard-up" Social was held at Hughenden Hall, and was most successful. A programme of games and competitions had been arranged, and a splendid supper was provided by the guests. Our special thanks are due to Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Beauland, Nurse Griffin, and Mrs. Gray, who helped to provide the entertainment; to Miss Sells, who presented us with a prize; to Mrs. Edwardes, who came at such short notice to play for us; and to Mr. Allen for his recitations, which were greatly appreciated. After the payment of all expenses there remained 17s. 6d. for the cause. There will be no meeting next Friday night, but activities will be resumed after Easter.

**NORTH-EASTERN.**—Hon. Organiser: MRS. SCHOFIELD COATES, Wilstrop House, Roman-road, Middlesbrough.

**Sunderland.**—Hon. Secretary, MISS M. C. CLARK.

Our Census Protest was carried out successfully, and, as our local Press, *The Echo*, declared, some 100 Suffragettes met in secret under the very noses of, and almost in the shadow of, the Central Police Station. I only wish there had been the number stated. Never mind, we successfully evaded it. The enumerator chased our secretary about on Tuesday for the precious bit of paper; he was very dissatisfied because there was nothing added to that which was successfully printed. Our annual meeting was successful. Treasurer's and secretary's reports on year's work was much appreciated. Mrs. Palliser was elected president, Miss Clark secretary, and Mrs. Robinson treasurer. With a committee of fifteen members we should do some real good work during the coming year. Music and refreshments were provided by the committee for the members. We all felt greatly encouraged, and hope to introduce new schemes and innovations in order to keep our members together.

**EAST ANGLIA.**—Hon. Organiser: MISS ANDREWS, 160, Norwich-road, Ipswich.

**Ipswich.**—Hon. Secretary: MISS ANDREWS, 160, Norwich-road.

The Suffragette evasion of the Census caused a good stir in Ipswich. Several journalists offered to share our all-night vigil, but we thought they would be better resting. Our party in the Museum Rooms was a great success; games, recitations and songs made the night appear to vanish, and when dawn streamed in upon us it saw bright faces and heard happy laughter. It would be invidious to mention names, but an exception may be made in the case of our friend Mr. Bastian, who nobly supported us. On Thursday we spent a pleasant evening at our offices. After the Easter holidays we intend to start a working party with a view to raising funds. Contributions towards this scheme will be thankfully received.

**WALES AND MONMOUTH.**—Hon. Organiser: MRS. CLEEVES, "Chez Nous," Sketty, Glamorgan.

Members from Cardiff, Swansea, Barry, Aberdare and Caldicot helped in the Census boycott. They resisted in various ways; some took part in an all-night walk, some went to the houses of those able and willing to evade, and others resisted in their own homes, this being quite possible when the head of the house was in sympathy. At Chez Nous we had quite a merry time. The children of the party were very excited at being such rebels, and entertained us with some Morris dances. I am very grateful to Miss Clark, of Newtown, and Mr. Howard Hyde for chalking and bill-pasting the whole of the town, and to Miss McLeod for helping me entertain such a delightful party of evaders. Since Sunday I have received five visits from the enumerator and two from the registrar.

**Swansea.**—Hon. Organising Secretary: MISS HILDA DAVIES, B.A., Training College. Hon. Corr. Secretary: MISS PHIPPS, B.A., 5, Grosvenor-road, Sketty, Glamorgan.

At the first meeting of the new Committee it was decided to work this year on two main lines—viz., first, to have at branch meetings addresses dealing with matters of social reform, such as the Poor Law, the Endowment of Motherhood, Child Labour, Trade Schools for Girls, as well as lectures with a literary trend, on such social reformers as Wells and Olive Schreiner; second, to do propaganda work in the outskirts of the town by addresses on the elements of our movement for Woman Suffrage. It is hoped that our members will loyally support this latter branch of work, even though it may be "a twice-told tale" to many of them. One member has for sale, for the League funds, a fine linen drawn-thread teacloth, 38 inches square. For particulars please apply to Secretaries.

**Caldicot.**—Hon. Secretary, MISS L. CORBEN, Ivy Lodge.

Our working parties have been a distinct success this winter, both in work done and as a means of bringing in more members and sympathisers. The last one for this season was held on Tuesday at Mrs. Hillier's, and we had a delightful "house-warming" at her new home. Our thanks are also due to Mrs. Corben and Mrs. Rust for entertaining us.

Our forthcoming jumble sale, &c., on the Wednesday after Easter, bids fair to be well patronised. The tickets for the whist drive are going splendidly. Will all friends kindly send in their contributions for the sale this week to Ivy Lodge? Miss George is kindly undertaking the refreshment stall, and will gladly receive promises of gifts for same.

### MISS CICELY HAMILTON AND G. K. CHESTERTON.

(Continued from page 297.)

ordinary woman at all. They are attributes of the class—wife. We are all brought up, or they have attempted to bring us up to that class. But woman is not necessarily a wife. That is what we have got somehow or another to bang into their heads because they have no other use for us. The question is: What use have we got for ourselves? That is the important thing it really comes to. You have got to stand up and ask for another use. There has been nothing so condemned and despised as the single woman. The woman without a husband was a mark for scorn. It is a thing that cannot be denied; but that is past now. We have made a way for ourselves. Do you suppose that forty or fifty years ago a woman would have dared to stand up on a platform and say, without the slightest shame, that she was over thirty and unmarried? She could not do it. That is past. It can be done, simply because we have fought our own way out and made a place for ourselves which is not connected with the compulsory trade of marriage."

Mr. Chesterton, continuing the debate, said:—"You will not blame me if my remarks sound a little cold after the remarks you have just heard. I have great difficulty in keeping pace with or even understanding this view of her own sex that Miss Hamilton displays. I am a very simple, ordinary human being; I have been brought up in this world; I do not propose to be very clever or very moral. I have seen women: my mother was a woman! I do not understand all this talk about people being torpid. None of the women I have met were torpid. Most of the women I have met have been very powerful, very humorous, very energetic, and very independent people."

"So much for the general point of view. Now let us come to the main issue. Miss Hamilton has made no attempt to answer the perfectly simple question that I put in my remarks, which were those showing that sex distinction differs from all other kind of distinctions because there is not only a division, but also an attraction. It is for you to prove that when a man or woman has some particular thing, such as a pair of trousers or a skirt, it is not due to a spontaneous and mutual desire to please each other. It cannot be denied that the sexes come together by attraction and not by force. The two people are mutually attracted in normal cases. I am afraid that Miss Hamilton has met with abnormal cases, because I really cannot make head or tail of what she says in that respect. She contends that I only think of woman as belonging to the class 'wife,' and I certainly do so in exactly the same sense as I should speak of the man as belonging to the class 'husband.' It

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### THE CORSET QUESTION OF TO-DAY.

Practically speaking every reader of this paper is interested in the question of Corsets, and that interest must, in the natural order of things, at some time or other find its practical outlet in the act of purchasing. Now it is one thing to buy a corset and quite another thing to be perfectly satisfied with it, after you have bought it, and that is just where we want to be of service to you.

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### OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

#### The Actresses' Franchise League.

The Actresses' Franchise League held their usual successful "At Home" at the Criterion Restaurant, April 7. The hall was crowded out almost directly the doors opened, and it was with satisfaction that the faces of several well-known antis were recognised. Miss Lilian Braithwaite, who looked charming, made a telling and forceful speech from the chair, and declared that women of the theatrical profession felt that their rights as citizens ought to be recognised. Personally she was unable to understand why the "chivalrous sex" had not come forward long ago, and offered women the vote, so that they might improve the laws with regard to divorce and labour. Mrs. Nevinston said that the stage was the only profession in which women could win success without the cry "not bad for a woman" resounding, and then gave instances of how the law pressed hardly upon women. She was glad that in many of the Census papers returned women had put themselves down as "Head of the Family." Where they earned the living and kept the home together, this was quite correct. The Census Protest was a necessary one, for the Government had got to that point when the only thing one could say to them was: "Oh, ye fools, when will ye understand?" Some people said the Census resistance was "silly." The same has been said of the great reforms in history. Mrs. Archibald Little said that although the Englishman considered himself superior to the mankind of any other nation, there were points of similarity between himself and his Chinese brother, i.e., in their treatment of women. Both wished to impress upon women their inferiority. Mr. Harold Gorst gave an interesting account of his experiences with modern girls, in schools and colleges, both in England and America. The next meeting will be on May 5.

#### The Church League for Women's Suffrage.—Hon.

Secretary, REV. C. HINSCLIFF, 11, St. Mark's-crescent, Regent's-park, London, N.W.

Branches are being formed in the City (St. Ethelburga's,

women. Members had a treat on Monday when Madame Malmberg lectured on "The Woman's Movement in Finland." "The Awakening" was beautifully sung by Miss Nellie Anderson. There was a good sale of THE VOTE. At Thursday's Branch meeting Mrs. Allan read a paper on "State Endowment of Mothers." A good discussion followed, and three new members were gained. Miss Wilkie presided over a large attendance. The School Board Election took place on Thursday and Miss Husband, President of the Branch, has again been chosen a member.

**Edinburgh.**—Hon. Sec. MISS A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleuch-place. Hon. Treas., MISS M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street. Hon. Shop Sec., MRS. THOMSON, 39, Rosslyn-crescent.

Census evasion has aroused much interest here, and the local press has devoted columns to the doings, real or imaginary, of the evaders; and to correspondence on the subject. Our householder members had responded well to Miss Sidley's appeals, and held a number of all-night gatherings. In addition the "No Votes for Women, No Census" bills were posted on pillar-boxes and public buildings throughout the city by Mrs. Linlayson Gould, Miss Sidley, and Miss McLachlan. Incidentally while thus adorning the Inland Revenue Office, these members were "obstructed in the execution of their duty," and conducted by three stalwart policemen to the Police Office, but released after a short time without being charged; after which, under the very eyes of the said policemen, they resumed operations, and proceeded to complete their task. The annual business meeting of the branch was held on Wednesday evening, when very encouraging reports were submitted by the secretary and Treasurer. Over 100 meetings have been held during the year, six being big public meetings, while other forms of activity have been both numerous and varied. More than £250 have been raised, and £218 expended. Officials and committee were elected as follows:—President, Miss Sara L. Munro; Vice-President, Mrs. Bell; Hon. Sec., Miss A. B. Jack; Assistant Sec., Miss H. McLachlan, M.A.; Treasurer, Miss M. A. Wood; Shop Sec., Mrs. Thomson; Literature Sec., Miss Harvey; Committee, Mrs. Gibson, Mrs. Simpson, Misses Dundas Grant, Colville, Jolly, Stirling, Muil, and Gilooly.

On Saturday open-air meetings were held in East Lothian, where Mr. Haldane's "elevation" has caused a bye-election. Miss Sidley spoke at Prestonpans and Tranent, with Mrs. Thomson in the Chair, and Miss Jack and Miss McLachlan at Tranent and Cockenzie; Miss Thomson, Miss Jolly and Miss Muil also assisted. Though some antediluvian arguments were met with, keen interest was shown both by the miners

## FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

### LONDON.

**Sat., April 29.**—Jumble Sale. Will friends send contributions to Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Van Raalte, 23, Pandora-road, West Hampstead.

### SCOTLAND.

#### DUNDEE.

**Thurs., April 20.**—Gilfillan Hall, at 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Husband. Subject, "Women on Public Boards."

#### GLASGOW.

**Fri., April 14.**—Sauchiehall-street. Miss Anna Munro.

**DARE TO BE FREE.**

**April 15 to 17.**—Glasgow Holiday Week-end. Coast meetings. Miss Anna Munro.

**Wed., April 19.**—Democratic Unionist Association. Miss Anna Munro.

**Mon., April 24.**—1, Robert-street, National Executive Committee, 2 p.m.

**Tues., April 25.**—1, Robert-street, National Executive Committee, 11 a.m.

**Thurs., April 27.**—"At Home," Caxton Hall.

**Fri., May 5.**—Queen's Hall Meeting.

**Sat., May 20.**—John Stuart Mill Meeting, Trafalgar-square.

## OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

(Continued from page 303.)

Bishopsgate, E.C.) under the presidency of Rev. Dr. Cobb, and at Parkstone, Dorset, under Rev. and Hon. Reginald Adderley. The secretary will address meetings held under the auspices of the Church League for Women's Suffrage at Worcester, May 2, Shrewsbury, May 10, and Oswestry, May 11. The inaugural meeting of the Worthing Branch takes place on May 4. Speakers, Hon. Mrs. Henley and the secretary of the League. Friday, May 5, will be observed as a Day of Intercession. The Royal Chapel of the Savoy will be open all day for private prayer and meditation, and addresses will be given at 11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m. by Rev. C. Hinscliff, and at 6.30 p.m. by Rev. Hugh B. Chapman, Chaplain of the Savoy. Arrangements for the May Mission are nearly completed, and the following meetings can be announced:—Tuesday, May 16, Caxton Hall, 8 p.m. Chairman, Rev. Canon Wilson, of Worcester. Speakers: Dr. Letitia Fairfield, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., and others. Wednesday, May 17, Caxton Hall, 8.30 p.m., for members only. Speaker, Miss Maude Royden.

**Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.**—Hon. Secretary, Miss HONEY, 5, Brixton-hill, S.W.

It has been decided to take a stall at the Festival of Empire, Crystal Palace. Members are earnestly asked to offer help in one of three ways: (1) By sending a small donation—from sixpence upwards—towards the stocking and decoration of the stall; (2) by giving their services at the stall for at least one afternoon during the summer; (3) by sending small blue, or blue, gold, and white articles for the stall. Literature, badges, and things in the colours will be sold. Offers of help should be sent to Miss H. Packer, Hon. Organiser for stall, 48, Dover-street, W., or to the Secretary.

**The New Union for Men and Women.**—52, Maddox-street, Hanover-square, W.

In order to make a united, civic protest against the misrepresentation of the people, over a million of whom, being women, ratepayers and municipal voters, are excluded from voting at Parliamentary elections, a considerable number of citizens, comprising men and women, members and friends of the New Union—among others, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Horn and Miss Sanders, secretary—met here on Census night and morning. They were all omitted from the Census, and, at the same time, thoroughly enjoyed Miss Sanders' hospitality.

**Free Church League for Woman Suffrage.**—Hon. Organising Secretary, Rev. EDWARD CLARK, 1, Burns-road, Harlesden, N.W. Hon. Corresponding Secretary, Miss HATY BAKER, 25, Hartington-villas, Hove.

The Brighton Secretary, Miss E. L. Pickworth, Kenmore, Dyke-road, Brighton, writes that her Branch is now formally constituted, with a goodly list of vice-presidents, among them being Revs. T. Rhondda Williams, E. J. B. Kirtlan, B.A., B.D., T. W. Jamieson, D. J. Llewellyn Gervis and Mrs. Arthur Miriams. Mrs. W. Lawson is chairman of committee. The next public meeting is on 25th inst., at 8.15 p.m., at the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Old Steine. Particulars later. The secretary will be glad of new members; minimum subscription 1s. In London members and sympathisers are looking forward to a Suffrage service to be held on Thursday, May 4, at 8 o'clock, at Bloomsbury Central Church, the preacher to be Rev. Thomas Phillips, B.A. Subject: "Christ and Womanhood." It is hoped that all Suffragists who would like to join, whether Nonconformists or not, will take part in it.

**Women's Tax Resistance League.**—Hon. Secretaries: Mrs. COBDEN SANDERSON, MISS SEME SERUYA.

Though the rain on April 2 made it impossible to hold the series of open-air meetings in the London parks, no ill-fortune marred the work of the W.T.R. League connected with the Passive Resistance of the Census. The Committee are deeply indebted to those gentlemen and ladies who contributed towards

the cost of this protest, to those who placed their houses at the League's disposal, to those who worked in the office, distributed literature and sold badges, and to those who would have spoken, had weather permitted, at the open-air meetings, from the lorries of the League on Census Day. On Monday, March 27, by kind permission of Mrs. Fyffe, a crowded drawing-room meeting at Roxburgh-mansions, Kensington, was addressed by Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, and Mrs. Katharine Gatty. That evening a keen debate between Miss Lowndes and Mrs. Gatty was arranged by the Artists' Suffrage League at Miss Wiggan's studio, Chelsea. Miss Palliser, Miss Emily Ford, and most of the speakers advised Census compliance; Miss Cecily Hamilton and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson advocated Census resistance. On Wednesday afternoon, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Gatty spoke at a drawing-room meeting at the Misses Neligan's, at Croydon. Though Miss Neligan, one of the great pioneers of the higher education of women, was absent through ill-health, her sister and niece made the meeting a complete success. Dr. Bonnerghie, an Indian lady, and one of Miss Neligan's ex-pupils, took part in the discussion. On Wednesday evening, at Mrs. Crummie's kind invitation, Miss Underwood and Mrs. Gatty spoke at Clapham. On Thursday, at Mrs. Lizzie Morris's, 147, Harley-street, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Kineton Parkes spoke to an interested gathering. Owing to a recent bereavement, Miss Nina Boyle, of South Africa, was unable to speak at the last moment. Mrs. Gatty spoke that afternoon at Amersham, Bucks, at a meeting kindly arranged by Mrs. Gilliat Smith, of the W.S.P.U., and on Thursday night to a most enthusiastic audience at the Socialist Hall, Gillingham, Kent. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Kineton Parkes, and Mrs. Katharine Gatty represented the W.T.R. League at the mass demonstration in Trafalgar-square, convened by the Women's Freedom League, on Saturday afternoon, after which Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Gatty addressed a capital meeting most kindly got up by Miss Rodgers at 59, Church-road, Willesden. On Sunday night the real work began, but for necessary reasons "the rest is silence."

As a result of Mrs. Hamilton's refusal to pay an Imperial Tax, a sale took place on April 6, in the lodge room of the very ancient hostelry of the Red Lion, in the old-world village of Wendover, Bucks, a number of friends, neighbours and village fathers coming by request to assist at the sale of her coffee-pot. It was offered by Mr. Mead and bid up to the required sum, when it was knocked down to a lady who restored it to its original owner as a memento of a unique occasion. The Red Lion was standing when John Hampden represented Wendover in Parliament. Mrs. Kineton Parkes, who made Mrs. Hamilton's protest, by Mr. Mead's kind permission, spoke of the great patriot to an audience whose pride it was to remember that he had his home at their doors and that his work of resistance was done in their own neighbourhood.

She reminded her hearers of his great defence of liberty, which was now the possession of the nation. She urged women to have the courage to come forward in the interests of justice and men to use their intelligence to see their true reason for demanding the vote, and resisting taxation until they had it. Mrs. Kineton Parkes received a most sympathetic hearing, not a single objection being raised. The proceedings closed with cordial thanks to Mr. Mead for his courtesy in the conduct of the distraint and sale.

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## MR. H. B. IRVING.

When I asked Mr. Irving for his views on Woman's Suffrage I scarcely dared to hope for any result. However, Mr. Irving wrote me, what he has since told me verbally, that his views on the matter were not for publication, but that he would be happy to tell me his thoughts of the stage as a career for women.

Now, I am not a journalist—I don't know anything about journalism. As I told Mr. Irving, I never "interviewed" anyone before in my life. Therefore, it was in fear and trembling that I sought him in his hotel, where he had generously arranged to spare me some of his precious time. But his kindly, tactful manner soon put me at my ease, while he gave me the following expression of his approval of and regard for the work of women on the stage.

"Yes, I certainly think the stage a very good profession for women—very good indeed. It is a very difficult profession, but if a woman has the perseverance, and the determination, and the talent, it is a very fine one. It makes women very much more self-reliant, and I think actresses are the most interesting women to talk to I have ever met, because they have had to work their way through a good many difficulties, and, you see, they have to take an interest in outside affairs. This kind of work and life develops their character, and brings out very striking qualities in them. For those who have it in them I think the stage is a profession that develops not only the character, but resources and intelligence. It is a very large part of the artistic world—the only sphere in which women are treated on an equality with men. Here they are judged absolutely on their own merit.

"There is a lot of nonsense talked about 'favour,' and all that 'favour' can do; but, as a matter of fact, the only way in which 'favour' can help is in giving you a start. In the beginning some may be luckier than others in their opportunity. But if they fall short of the required standard, 'favour' cannot help them; they fall behind; the public weeds them out.

"It is hard work, especially if the woman has a family, for she has to be always at the theatre every night, whether she is well or not.

"It almost seems to me that it does prove that economic independence and thinking about public matters, as actresses have to do, increase the intelligence and make women more alive. That is my feeling. Actresses are more alive than most women. Take such women as Lady Bancroft, Ellen Terry, Mrs. Kendal—they are all women of character, who would have succeeded in any profession, but their full and active lives have had some share in developing their personalities.

"A lot of nonsense is talked about the life of the theatre being so peculiar, but in reality it is not. People surround the theatre with a lot of glamour, and they cannot believe that what they see on the stage is not carried away outside the stage.

"I should advise men and women alike not to take up the profession unless they are prepared to do a good deal of hard work and take a good deal of disappointment before making any way.

"I think it is, however, a better profession for women in England than in any other country, because the actor and actress occupy a rather different position in England than in some other countries. Conditions here are more favourable than in other countries."

Later, when I was taken to Mr. Irving's dressing-room between the acts of *The Princess Clementina*, which, by the way, received a tumultuously favourable reception in Edinburgh, he told me that he thought "actors have so much to do with the public in their own business that the less we come forward prominently on social or political questions the better. The actor must remember that his audiences are composed of both parties, so that it is very undesirable he should identify himself prominently with either on any question."

"But one reads between the lines!"

Mr. Irving smiled. "I must go 'on' now," he said. "Good-night—don't get arrested again."

MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

## CAXTON HALL "AT HOME."

A large and enthusiastic audience assembled at Caxton Hall last Thursday.

Mrs. How Martyn, who was in the chair, said the Women's Freedom League had reason to be exceedingly pleased at the extent of the Census Protest. From all parts of the country most encouraging reports had arrived. A letter from Miss Sidley, Edinburgh, stated that the number of those who refused to give information on the Census paper ran into four figures. That was their side of the protest; they would now look at the other side. Mr. Burns was also pleased at the "success of the Census"; but he did not say on which side the success lay. However, the Women's Freedom League were willing to make him a present of his "mercy and magnanimity." They did not intend to pay any fines; so if Mr. Burns liked "mercy and magnanimity," he could have it.

Miss Nina Boyle, of Johannesburg, said the Census Protest seemed to her the proper thing to do, and she was glad to take part in it. On Census night she went out with others and saw policemen everywhere. With regard to the Suffrage movement, Miss Boyle said she did not criticise methods. A few years ago the Salvation Army was despised by almost everyone. Now General Booth was received as an honoured guest by Royalty, and the speaker ventured to predict that Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pankhurst, and others who had taken part in this struggle would be equally honoured later on. Continuing, Miss Boyle said the vote was not a privilege or reward, but a weapon of defence. She would like to tell the audience a little about the position of women in South Africa. Women were allowed to vote for municipalities, but they were not allowed to sit on them. They could sit on School Boards, but might not vote for them. Women had had three votes, but since the union of South Africa two had been taken from them at one stroke of the pen. They had not taken the votes from the black men, who had no idea of morality and whose standard of conduct was altogether different from the white people's. Why did they take these votes from the white women and not from the black men? There was a Parliamentary election pending, and women had no votes for that, so the black man had more rights than the white woman. The speaker said it was impossible to convey any idea of the magnificent work the pioneer white women had done for South Africa, yet that was the position to-day in that Union of South Africa of which Englishmen were so proud.

Mrs. Despard, who spoke with her usual impassioned eloquence, made a strong appeal to all present to support THE VOTE. The paper was the organ of the Women's Freedom League. It contained all information and news of their work. They had a scheme on foot to enlarge the paper in order to make its appeal wider; but this could not be done unless members gave it their whole-hearted support.

THE Bureau of Labour at Washington is now inquiring into the condition of women and children in Southern cotton mills. It is stated that no article ever published in a newspaper or magazine of this country ever painted a picture so black of the whole system of working mere babies at machines as is contained in the words of this cold, unemotional Government report.

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normal thing if you are a man to be a husband, and a normal thing if you are a woman to be a wife. There are exceptions of enthusiasts who are above marriage and of fanatics who are below marriage. The opener says men have never respected woman except as a wife. Good Lord in heaven! Have you never heard of the Elgin Marbles, and that they were put up in honour of a virgin, and that the very name of their temple is that of a virgin? Have you never heard of the Muses? The muse of the poet? Don't you know that they were supposed to be virgins? Have you never heard of the vestal virgins who were held sacred in Rome? Have you never heard of the Middle Ages and the female judges who administered office with a turn of their hand because they were virgins? Have you never heard of St. Theresa and St. Catherine of Siena, whose names were thundered throughout Europe? Did no casual historian in your youth mention Joan of Arc to you? Is it not self-evident that men have respected women from the beginning in the same sort of way as they have respected all their other ideals; that is constantly violating them, constantly disregarding them, and trampling on them, but always respecting them? It is nonsense to say that from the beginning of the world men have despised women."

Continuing, Miss Hamilton said:—"I do not for an instant deny that there is a sex attraction. Why should the man who is susceptible to sex attraction alone have the vote and the woman, who is also susceptible to sex attraction, not have it? Sex attraction is common to both sexes. Sex attraction in woman is a thing that is on an entirely different footing to the case of the man. In a woman there are a great many complications, one of them being, for instance, her livelihood, and until we disentangle these two things you really cannot see how far sex attraction takes the woman. I thank Mr. Chesterton for his examples of women who were not wives and mothers, and certainly some of the biggest things in the world have been done by women

who were single. It has always been my custom to bring forward these examples, not because I have any particular respect for them because they were not married. That is not our point of view; we do not care whether they are married or not; but by standing apart, by living a separate life, a woman could have a career apart from that of wife and mother. It is a lesson the world has taken a very long time to learn, and it is a lesson that it is our business to teach. That woman is first a human being with an individual life, and love and marriage are only episodes in her life."

### SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Suffrage Centre, 302, SAUCHIEHALL-STREET.  
Hon. Secretary: MISS MINA STEVEN.  
Hon. Treasurer: MISS JANET L. BUNTEN.  
Shop Manager: MISS McARTHUR.  
Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.  
Glasgow.

The Census protest was carried out with great enthusiasm by our members. Many householders who were protesting entertained large parties of evaders. Many left town, while others travelled far to be with us. A large girls' club and our Suffrage Centre were also open. On Monday morning over a hundred ladies and gentlemen met at a city restaurant for breakfast. On all sides graphic stories were told of the midnight protest.

On Saturday evening a very enjoyable gathering was held at the Centre. A talented concert company, arranged by Miss Kate Evans entertained the audience. Especial appreciation was evinced when Madame Annette Hayward, who was presented with a bouquet in the colours favoured the company several times in response to their applause; also to Mr. Yorke Gray, looking very dainty in a pretty pale blue hobble gown, who received an ovation for his wonderful vocal imitations of Madame Melba in the Jewel Song and Miss Gertie Millar in "Moonstruck," the audience recalling him again and again. Supper and dancing brought to a close a very pleasant evening.

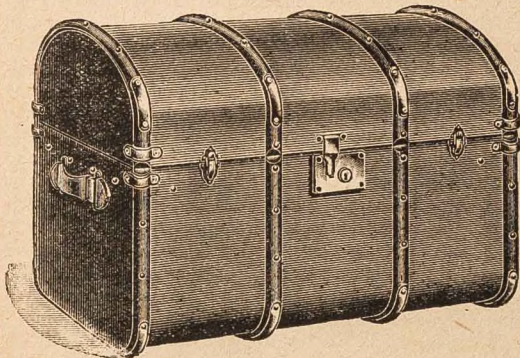
Dundee.—Hon. Secretary, MISS L. CLUNAS, 1, Blackness-crescent.

Census night passed off successfully in Dundee. Houses of resisters were well filled, and the authorities have been pertinacious in their efforts to discover the numbers of evaders. We are greatly indebted to those members who not only resisted themselves, but who also generously gave hospitality to other

(Continued on page 303)

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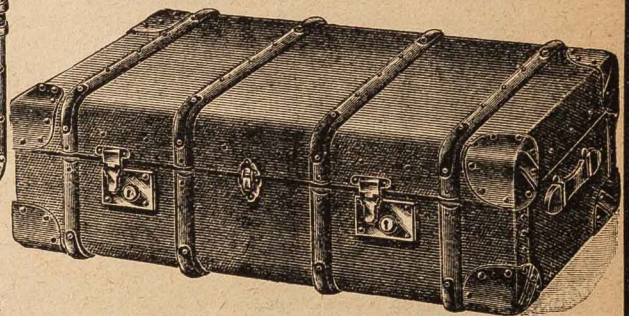
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