

THE VOTE.
May 16, 1913.
ONE PENNY.

THE GODS & THE GOVERNMENT. BY G. COLMORE

THE VOTE

THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1913.

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.

STILL CLOSED



—BUT IT SHALL OPEN!

OUR POINT OF VIEW.

The Confusion of the Commons.

The aftermath of comment on the defeat of the Dickinson Bill in the House of Commons last week reveals one important point, namely, that Woman Suffrage is neither scotched nor killed, but will assuredly remain a haunting spectre that can only be "laid" by the inevitable recognition by Parliament of the justice of the demand. We find very little real anti-ism in the Press comments; most of the so-called opponents base their opposition on the unsuitability of the moment to grant votes to woman, owing to extreme militancy or political exigencies, not on the impossibility of the reform. *The Evening Standard* is generous enough to show how the debate might have been improved by the more emphatic setting forth of the excellent results—which it enumerates—of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand and Australia. The Prime Minister, however, waived aside Mr. Chancellor's reference to Australia with the remark that it was Great Britain only which was the subject of discussion. The event proved, as we, in common with other Suffrage Societies foresaw, that Mr. Asquith himself was the chief stumbling block, rendering reliance on a Private Member's Bill absolutely futile. He declared his willingness to bow to the decision of the House, but at the same time explained that he had seen no sign of dissatisfaction among his colleagues with an Anti-Suffragist Prime Minister. *The Nation* puts very clearly the impossibility of a "free vote" on the subject, and admits that it was mistaken in regarding the Prime Minister's offer as an equivalent to the pledges with regard to the dead Franchise Bill. It says:

It was clear that Tuesday's vote was not a free one. The Irish were not free. They voted not on Woman Suffrage, but on Home Rule. The Tories were not free. They voted on the Parliament Act. Many Liberals were not free; they voted with one eye on the Prime Minister and another on the general stability of the Government. There was no hint of effective assistance for the Bill in the event of its emerging from the stage of second reading.

We anticipated no success from the Bill, so we are in no way surprised or discouraged, but we do not intend to allow the tactics of Mr. John Redmond to pass uncondemned. While professing, equally with the Prime Minister, to allow his followers a "free vote" he threw off all pretence on the Friday before the debate by issuing an official whip summoning the Nationalists to their places for the Woman Suffrage debate, "when critical divisions will take place." The result turned the scale; Mr. Asquith was saved "embarrassment," seeing that he is still necessary to the success of Home Rule, and Irishmen are content to climb to freedom on the necks of women. The comment of our vigorous and able contemporary, *The Irish Citizen*, is characteristically forceful:

This openly hostile Whip, besides giving us the great advantage of getting Mr. Redmond out into the open as the enemy of Woman Suffrage, also affords a double proof of the growth of the movement, both in Great Britain and in Ireland, since March, 1912, when Mr. Redmond was able to kill the Conciliation Bill without a word of explanation and under the cover of one of the most impudent pieces of dishonesty that ever disgraced a Party politician.

We are glad to note that *The Nation* scorns the Prime Minister's arguments about chivalry by asking

What kind of a "chivalry" is it which mocks women's hopes, admitting them to the intrigue and diplomacy of politics, and over-using them for its mere electoral cajoleries, while playing with the one serious political boon they ask? A "chivalrous" male world may turn a better face to the looking-glass when it ceases to sweat women workers and to humbug women politicians.

It also goes on to show that his arguments against Women Suffrage are arguments for other Liberal principles as applied to men:

It is the recoil on Liberal policy and Liberal feeling which especially concerns us in the defeat of the Dickinson Bill. No better proof that Woman Suffrage is a Liberal measure can be afforded than the fact that Mr. Asquith's speech against it contrived to spike his own guns on Home Rule and on the male

franchise. The Prime Minister complained of Mr. Dickinson's Bill that it did not enfranchise all women (only a paltry six millions), just as if he himself were not a few weeks ago fathering a Franchise Bill which fell far short of manhood suffrage. He would condemn the Suffrage Bill because he could not find a direct electoral mandate for the enfranchisement of women, just as if he were not proceeding in the matter of Home Rule on a general mandate for a Liberal policy of self-government in Ireland and everywhere else. While he makes the sex barrier an absolute disqualification for the small political responsibility of the vote, he himself flings it aside with generous freedom when he sets women inspectors over capitalists, and gives them seats on Royal Commissions, whence they may advise and instruct statesmen and judges. There is not, and cannot be, a session in which an active Liberal Government does not tax women and legislate for them, altering their status in marriage, prescribing their morals or those of their companions, or fixing their wages. Who, living in the world of to-day, imagines that in all these transactions the mere instinct of male "chivalry" gives women the equivalent of political power?

For Principle.

It is to the credit of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the National Labour Press that they are willing to undertake to print *The Suffragette* and stand the consequences. It remains to be seen whether the leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons will be arrested this week, as have been the printers of the last two issues of the paper. Whatever happens, a stand is to be made against terrorising printers and suppressing a paper before it appears. We welcome this new move on the part of Mr. MacDonald, and take it as a fuller recognition that coercion of women means coercion of workers, and that both must stand together in this fight for freedom filched by those in power. It is well in this connection to note that in the articles now appearing in *The Times* on impressions of travel in Ulster, two points are emphasised, the determination with which Ulster is preparing for armed resistance to Home Rule—though no arrest of great or small "inciters" has yet been made—and the definite declaration that

By disciplining the Ulster democracy and by teaching it to look up to them as its natural leaders the clergy and gentry of the province are providing against the spread of revolutionary doctrine and free thought.

So it seems that Ulster's militancy is to be double-edged; against the Government and against the democracy. The outcome will be interesting.

At Long Last.

Too old at 83! But why? Is not experience ripe at fourscore years and three, even though eyes be dim and ears dull? What matters that the embodiment of justice, completely out of touch with modern movements, speaks with mumbling tones? He is able to pronounce sentence. Surely that is enough. No! At long last, Sir Albert de Rutzen, Chief Magistrate for the Police Courts of the Metropolis, is to retire at the age of 83, and his responsibilities, together with £1,800 a year, are placed on the shoulders of a juvenile of 67 in the person of Mr. Henry Curtis-Bennett. Truly wisdom is justified of her children. Tiresome Suffragists, who object to police proceedings as allowed by these gentlemen of ripe wisdom and riper physical infirmities, hail the disappearance from active service of one who has mumbled out uncalled-for reproaches and harsh sentences on them; they are determined to carry on their vigorous campaign for reforming such courts, and demand that common-sense shall be applied to the law as administered in this country. Too old at 60 or before applies to the Civil Service; why should judges and magistrates escape? It is a simple way of proving the dictum that Justice is blind—in a sense that brings shame, not glory.

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WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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WELCOME TO PRISONERS.

Miss Nina Boyle and Miss Anna Munro will have served their sentence by Monday, May 19. We hope all who can will be outside Holloway Prison to meet them at eight o'clock that morning. In the evening at eight o'clock we have arranged to give them an enthusiastic welcome at Portman Rooms, Baker-street, W. (entrance in Dorset-street). We urge our members to show their appreciation of the protest of Miss Boyle and Miss Munro by making this meeting a great success. The speakers will include Mrs. Despard, Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Anna Munro, and others. Tickets for this meeting can be obtained from the W.F.L. office at 1s. and 6d. each.

Wednesday afternoon we shall have our usual public meeting this week, at Portman Rooms, Baker-street, W., when Mr. G. E. O'Dell has promised to lecture on "The Character of Ann Whitefield in *Man and Superman*," and Miss Nina Boyle will also speak. Will our many friends kindly make a special effort to ensure a crowded audience on that occasion? We have been refused Caxton Hall as a result of entirely inaccurate statements on the part of an Alderman of the Westminster Council, and we rely on our readers to see that we suffer neither financially nor in popularity because of such statements. We hope to deal further with this matter next Wednesday afternoon. The chair will be taken at 3.30.

HOLLOWAY MEETINGS.

The open-air meetings outside Holloway Prison are improving in their character. This spot had become a centre of rowdiness of the lowest and most brutalised nature, so much so, indeed, that one member of the W.S.P.U. went there armed with a revolver with which to protect herself from the attentions of the hooligans. Our first meeting was very rowdy; our second somewhat less so, and our Saturday afternoon meeting was quite orderly. Perseverance wins. We hope that this week the meetings will continue in orderly fashion. They will be held nightly at 7.30—Saturday at 3.30—and all members living within reach are urged to attend and help in some way—help to let our prisoners hear that friends are without, and come to meet them at eight o'clock on Monday morning, when they will be released. Meanwhile, we sincerely thank our good friends Miss Reeves, Mrs. Tempest, Miss Read, Mrs. Juson Kerr, Mrs. Mustard, Mr. Simpson, and Mr. Kennedy, who have given splendid assistance in the meetings.

CAXTON HALL REFUSED TO THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE: A CHALLENGE.

The Westminster City Council has become frightened at what it imagines to be the militancy of the Women's Freedom League, and has refused the further use of the Caxton Hall, cancelling the engagements already made.

A letter intimating the decision was received by the League on May 9. The following statement, signed by Miss Underwood, secretary, was issued to the Press:—

The Women's Freedom League has this morning received a letter from the Westminster City Council refusing the use of Caxton Hall for meetings because "violent militant speeches" were made there at a recent meeting of the League. An interview with the town clerk failed to get any definition of "violent militant speeches," or any record of statements to which the council took exception. In *The Morning Advertiser*, however, we read that Alderman Emden read a newspaper report of a meeting of the Women's Freedom League recently held at Caxton Hall, which he claimed showed that people were urged to subscribe

to the placing of bombs in houses and churches. This statement is absolutely false, and we are demanding a public apology from Alderman Emden for having made it. The militancy of the Women's Freedom League is directed against the law and its administration, and not against the public. Our speakers have never advocated the use of bombs, and I challenge Mr. Emden to publish the report to which he refers. The ratepayers whom he represents have at least the right to expect an honest statement from him on this matter.

The League is determined to sift the matter thoroughly, and the result of the challenge to Alderman Emden is awaited with interest.

THE GODS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

Whom the gods will to destroy they first make mad. An ancient saying, illustrated to-day by the outrageous action of the Government.

The madness of the Government has many phases, manifests itself in various forms of unreason. It rises to acute mania in the endeavour to suppress the right of free speech and the right of public meeting; it shows itself as chronic imbecility in its treatment in Parliament of the Woman Question. Herein delusion stands forth prominent and paramount, the delusion that it can, by rejecting a Bill which all the Women's Suffrage societies knew it never intended to pass, dismiss the demand of women for the Vote.

Are there any who mistake the childish cunning for wisdom, its buffoonery for statesmanship, who take its Women's Suffrage Bill and the debate upon it seriously? Hardly; save possibly those Honourable Members who, with exploded arguments or fierce denunciation, spoke against the Bill. But no sane man or woman can look upon the situation regarding granting of the vote to women as being affected in any degree by the introduction or the throwing out of the Bill. The introduction of it does not mend the Prime Minister's broken pledge, any more than its rejection breaks the unalterable determination of women to continue the agitation for the vote until the vote is won. The only body which has been touched in any way is the Women's Liberal Federation, in whose ranks, signs of rebellion have followed the revival of the farce so often played in the House of Commons Theatre.

Chronic imbecility, the inability, that is to say, to distinguish the real from the unreal, is a lamentable malady, and it is obvious that to this malady the Government has fallen a prey. They seem to imagine, these men, in whose jealous hands the gods have, with purpose inscrutable, placed for a time the helm of the State, that they can crush a thing instinct with vitality by treating it as if it had no life; by saying to living beings: We have food, but you shall not eat it, water, but you shall not drink. We decree that you are better without that which nourishes us, and so without nourishment you are to remain.

To think that this decree can be carried out, proves that the men in whose hands are the reins of Government suppose themselves to be dealing with an unreality. But so blurred are their brains that reality to them seems to touch only things which play the Party game, and they cannot comprehend that anything in the nature

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of an ideal can take to itself a physical form, and become embodied as a fact.

Their madness takes an acuter form, and bursts forth in the endeavour to destroy by imprisonment and ill treatment of physical bodies a spirit which is indestructible. By such means, it is supposed, the uprising of women is to be crushed down.

Oh pitiful delusion! Too late, the foolish feet are planted on the worm. The chrysalis state was passed seven years ago; and even as the rulers stamp and strike, the butterfly, winged and wonderful, floats far above their heads. That they do not perceive it is because they keep their gaze so low, fixing their eyes upon the ground and never dreaming it were wiser to lift them to the hills.

All this because their understanding is darkened. Physical eyes they have, but they may not see.

Long ago in Israel a mad king was cured of his madness by the medicine of music. There is music sounding to-day, of the sweetness of harp strings, of the volume of an organ.

But the Ministers may not hear.

To the prayers of women they have been deaf; of the aspirations of women they have been contemptuous; of their deeds, heedless; and so to the call of the coming race their ears are closed.

About them the music sounds, the song of freedom. But they may not hear. The anguish of the birth throes, the joy notes of new life, alike pass them by unheard.

Saul of Israel knew that he was mad and longed to be rid of his madness. So the door to his soul was made open and the music entered in. But the rulers of to-day vaunt themselves of their hallucination and are proud in their folly. It were vain to blame them; the time for their is past, the time of sanity, the probationary period. Weighed in the balance, the Government has been found wanting, and the gods, willing their destruction, have in order to compass it, first made them mad.

G. COLMORE.

POLITICAL NEWS.

Liberal Women's Indignation: Too Late.

On May 7 the Liberal Women in Council burned with indignation—too late: they refused "to congratulate" the Government on anything, only "expressed satisfaction." Lady Carlisle, interposing in a speech on Home Rule, said she wanted to dissociate the people of Ireland, who had done no wrong, from those fifty-five members and their leader who betrayed them on May 6. Referring to conversations she had had with Mr. Redmond and with Ministers, she said: "I do not know whether it is discreet or indiscreet; I am not a Ministerialist, I am a Liberal. You can say what you like about some of us having sons and relations in Parliament. I have been a free lance all my life, and I do what I can on your behalf. Every pressure has been put upon the Irish by our friends in the House, from Ministers downwards." Mrs. F. D. Acland asked: "In which direction has pressure been put upon the Irish in the House of Commons in the last eighteen months?" Lady Carlisle replied: "So far as I know—and I do know something about it—I know perfectly well that very severe pressure has been put upon Mr. Redmond and his Party by our Members in the House to vote straight or to leave it. Mr. Redmond said to me: 'I have left my following absolutely free.' Later, Mr. John Burns was denounced by the Countess of Carlisle: 'I have heard something this morning which has made me very wroth. So wroth am I, that I cannot keep it to myself. I have heard that the Right Hon. John Burns, for whom I went bail, did not vote. The

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democrat of democrats, who in his whole life has never done anything but support Woman Suffrage through good or ill repute, for some reason, unknown to me, did not vote. Now, I say he can only repent in sackcloth and ashes, and show good cause for repentance by receiving our deputation. I think that a man who is a real democrat, but who has forsaken us because Militants threw chrysanthemum pots at him at a flower show, where he spoke, is not a stable politician."

The Federation, on May 6, the day of the division on Mr. Dickinson's Bill in the House of Commons, defeated the following resolution—proposed by Mrs. Eva McLaren, and seconded by Mrs. Acland—by 471, the voting being 298 for, 629 against:

No Women's Liberal Association is eligible for affiliation who will not pledge itself to abstain from working for any Liberal candidate who is not able to satisfy the Executive Committee of the Association that he is determined, if returned to Parliament, to promote the enfranchisement of women by every means in his power.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Offer to Publish "The Suffragette."

An important development in the attempt of the authorities to suppress *The Suffragette* is reported by *The Daily Citizen*. On the question of principle, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, will, if necessary, become manager of the National Labour Press, and publish *The Suffragette*, and stand by the consequences. Mr. MacDonald has never believed in militant tactics, but he is of opinion that it is not legal to suppress a newspaper in advance, irrespective of what is going to appear in it, and he believes that such suppression is highly dangerous to free speech and public policy. Mr. Keir Hardie, in a telegram to Mr. T. D. Benson, a director of the National Labour Press, states that he is prepared to act with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

Woman Suffrage to be Discussed at the National Union of Teachers, Lowestoft.

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Teachers has again discussed the question of the Parliamentary franchise for women, says *The Standard*. The Ladies' Committee recommended that the motion which appeared on the agenda at Weston-super-Mare be repeated at the conference of 1914.

An amendment was suggested to the effect that no action be taken, but Miss Cleghorn pointed out that the women in the local associations—the majority of whom were constitutional people and not Militants—would still send the motion forward, and for the executive to take no action would be to show a cowardly spirit, and do harm to a large number of loyal women members of the union.

Mr. Bentliff, an ex-president of the union, opposed, in the interests of peace at the conference, any reintroduction of the controversy. So long as the motion appeared on the agenda it would be a source of unrest, and a bone of contention. He was prepared to support votes for women on any platform outside the union.

Mr. Sharples, of Manchester, argued that the National Union of Teachers, which consisted largely of women, was not justified in standing aside and allowing others to do the spade work. Miss Conway declared that if the executive deserted the position it had hitherto taken up each local association would become a battlefield, and the present friction be intensified. She thought the attitude of the conference had greatly improved. Aberystwyth was a bear-garden, although Miss Cleghorn was in the chair; Hull was better, and Weston showed a marked improvement.

After further discussion, the recommendation of the Ladies' Committee was adopted by 21 votes to 10, two members, Messrs. Lewis and Smith, not voting. A full discussion on the Suffrage will, therefore, take place at Lowestoft in the Easter of next year.

Suffrage Pilgrims.

The National Union is organising a big demonstration for July. Each of the Federations is to organise a Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage and march to London, joining other Federations on the way, carrying on propaganda work, and having as the final goal a great Hyde Park meeting on Saturday, July 26. The Pilgrims will march along the great trunk roads converging on London. The main routes will be the Great North-road, Watling-street, the Bath-road, and the Portsmouth-road. On Sunday, July 27, the Pilgrims are to attend the afternoon service at St. Paul's Cathedral.

Voting in the Dickinson Bill.

The figures were: Against the Bill, 266; for the Bill, 219; majority against 47.

Fifty-five more Members took part than in the division against the Conciliation Bill last year. The parties were divided as follows:

| AGAINST. | | FOR. | |
|--------------|-----|--------------|-----|
| Radicals | 80 | Radicals | 151 |
| Unionists | 131 | Unionists | 22 |
| Nationalists | 55 | Nationalists | 12 |
| Labour | 0 | Labour | 34 |
| | 266 | | 219 |

The tellers for the Bill were: Lord Wolmer (U.) and Mr. Harry McLaren (L.). Against: Mr. Arnold Ward (U.), and Sir Maurice Levy (L.).

Ministers voted as follows:—

Against the Bill.—Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill, Colonel Seely,

Mr. Harcourt, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. C. Hobhouse and Mr. T. W. Russell.

For the Bill.—Sir E. Grey, Mr. George, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Buxton, Mr. McKinnon Wood, Sir Rufus Isaacs, Sir J. Simon, Mr. Ure, Mr. E. S. Montagu, Mr. H. J. Tennant, Mr. Gulland, Mr. Acland, Dr. Macnamara, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Mr. Geoffrey Howard, Captain Guest, Mr. Webb and Mr. W. Jones.

Mr. John Burns did not vote. Mr. Illingworth, who is a Suffragist, abstained from voting because of his position as Chief Whip, and two non-Cabinet Ministers voted against the Bill, viz., Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Harold Baker. Mr. George Lambert, who is in Malta on Admiralty business, paired against the Bill. Mr. J. M. Robertson abstained. Of thirty-five Members of the Government who took part in the division twenty-five voted in favour of the Bill and ten against.

Among the leading members of the Opposition, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lyttelton abstained from voting; Mr. Long, Mr. F. E. Smith, Mr. Chaplin, Sir R. Firlay, Sir W. Anson, Lord E. Talbot, Colonel Lockwood and Lord Valentia voted against the Bill.

The Conservatives who supported the Bill were: Mr. Agg-Gardner, Mr. Amery, Mr. Harwood-Banner, F. Bennett-Goldney, Sir A. G. Boscawen, Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck, Lords Hugh and Robert Cecil, Messrs. Ernest Craig, Arthur Fell, E. A. Goulding, J. E. Gordon (Brighton), Hume Williams, Harry Lawson, E. Pryce-Jones, Samuel Roberts, W. W. Rutherford, Beville Stanier, Arthur Strauss, George Terrell, W. Mitchell-Thomson, Robert Thompson, George A. Touche, L. Worthington Evans, C. B. Stuart Wortley, Sir John Rolleston and Viscount Lewisham.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE LIBERALS.

The Liberals who voted against the Bill included: Mr. Agar-Robartes, Sir George Agnew, Mr. C. P. Allen, Sir Edward Beauchamp, Messrs. Cecil Beck, A. W. Black, Handel Booth, J. F. L. Brunner, Annan Bryce, D. Davies, Timothy Davies, Munro-Ferguson, E. A. Fiennes, Gerald France, W. G. C. Gladstone, Hamar Greenwood, Major Guest, R. L. Harnsworth, S. L. Hughes, C. H. Lyell, Hector Morison, Harry Mansfield, Wm. Pearce, W. M. Pringle, A. MacCallum Scott, E. A. Strauss, Thomas Taylor, Eugene Wason, Wm. Young, Sir Edwin Cornwall, Sir Walter Essex, Sir John Dewar, Sir Chas. Henry, Sir George Marks, Sir A. Priestley, Sir Wm. Priestley, Sir Courtenay Warner, Sir Thomas Whittaker and Sir Archibald Williamson.

The Irish Nationalists who supported the Bill were: Messrs. J. P. Boland, L. Ginnell, James Gilhooly, Stephen Gwynn, R. Hazleton, Maurice Healy, T. M. Healy, Arthur Lynch, Wm. O'Brien, J. J. O'Shea, Willie Redmond, D. D. Sheehan and Patrick White.

Mr. John Redmond, the Nationalist leader, and his son, Mr. W. Archer Redmond, voted against the Bill, also Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Captain Donelan, and the majority of the party. Mr. Dillon was not present in the House when the division was taken.

The pairs were as follows:—

| FOR. | AGAINST. |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Sir A. Gelder. | Sir J. Barran. |
| Sir W. P. Beale. | Mr. Neil Primrose. |
| Mr. J. W. Logan. | Sir D. Goddard. |
| Mr. P. Morrell. | Mr. Hay Morgan. |
| Mr. J. A. Baker. | Mr. C. T. Mills. |
| Mr. R. Munro. | Mr. G. Lambert. |
| Mr. L. Walrod. | Mr. Austen Chamberlain. |
| Mr. R. MacNeill. | Mr. A. J. Sykes. |
| Captain Craig. | Sir J. Lonsdale. |
| Mr. J. Chambers. | Mr. Featherstonhaugh. |
| Baron de Forest. | Mr. McMordie. |
| Mr. H. Barrie. | Mr. W. Moore. |
| Captain Faber. | Sir C. Quilter. |
| Mr. Marshall Hall. | Sir Gilbert Parker. |
| Mr. C. C. Craig. | Mr. H. W. Foster. |
| Mr. H. Hope. | Major Archer-Shee. |
| Mr. E. Lamb. | Mr. Houston. |
| Mr. J. Wilson. | Mr. G. Wheeler. |
| Mr. R. Yerburgh. | Lord Winterton. |
| Mr. W. E. Harvey. | Mr. St. G. Hamersley. |
| Mr. W. Astor. | Mr. Niell. |
| Mr. Ormsby Gore. | Viscount Castlereagh. |
| Mr. J. Haslam. | Mr. J. Rutherford. |
| Mr. Wilkie. | Mr. E. Gardner. |

For Captain Morrison Bell, Mr. J. Gordon, Mr. Jesse Collings and Mr. Hamilton Bell (all against the Bill) no pairs could be provided. Excluding the Speaker and Chairman of Committees, the number of Members unaccounted for is 125.

PRESS COMMENTS.

The Times.

Mr. Asquith has a keen eye for mandates, and can sometimes spy them when they are invisible to other people. Such an emphatic denial of an adequate mandate in the present case is the more impressive, therefore, as coming from so good a judge. We believe him to be absolutely right; nor is there any inconsistency between his view and the opinion which Mr. Snowden did us the honour to quote from *The Times* of November (not December), 1910. We did not say that Parliament would have a mandate, but that it would be considered to have one.

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Manchester Guardian.

Mr. Asquith's argument was temperate, but it was not sound. He brought it against the Bill that it had not a responsible Government behind it now, and that it would not have a responsible Government behind it, either, if the Conservative party were in power. But what of that? If a political change be right in itself, why taboo it because it has, say, half a Ministerial party in its favour, instead of having a whole Ministerial party in its favour and a whole Opposition party against it? Only too much of legislative responsibility is put nowadays on the Government of the day. Instead of being a bad thing, it would in some ways be a particularly good thing that Parliament should charge itself once more with a serious piece of legislation not backed by a Ministry but supported steadily by a balance of the strength of each party in the House, or at least by a net balance on a non-party vote. Such legislation would certainly not lack moral authority in the country, where it is a much commoner sneer against this or that law that it represents only the party action of Liberals or Conservatives in office.

Daily Herald.

Even if Parliament were a strong and serious institution, and not, as it is on the whole, a sham, it could not indefinitely delay the triumph of the women pioneers. They ask what it is in the nature and spirit of democracy to give and give gladly.

The vote is just a means to an end. Woman is coming forth to a wider and freer life, to her due place in the social, political, artistic, intellectual, and indeed all the great fields. Her liberation and the play and scope for her highest and deepest talents and instincts will mean that in due course the race as a whole will change a lopsided and frustrated civilisation for a really human destiny.

Class-lawyers, pettifogging politicians, exploiters, and their empty, echoing minions may try to vulgarise and retard the ideal, but they only show up their own vanity and meanness. They cannot prevail. Their littleness is against nature, an offence to the great verities.

Star.

Sex ought to have nothing to do with citizenship. As to the fear that the vote will destroy "chivalry," if we were women we should reply that we prefer bare justice to the chivalry that denies it.

Daily Citizen.

The Suffrage movement is too strong, too firmly rooted in the principle of equity, to suffer lasting set-back by a Parliamentary reverse. . . . The Suffrage movement will now concentrate on the demand for a Government measure. The road

may seem longer, but at least it is an open road with victory at the end, and so many of the by-paths have led to a *cul-de-sac*. In the meantime we must allow no interference with the legitimate rights of free speech. . . . All who value freedom of speech and liberty of the Press, however little they sympathise with recent manifestations, must join in keeping the authorities in their place.

Westminster Gazette.

It was inevitable that votes given on the principle of Woman Suffrage should dwindle away or be divided, as we approached a practical proposal for giving effect to the principle. . . . There are questions coming up, questions of the marriage law, questions of social and industrial legislation, which may in a short time give this movement an entirely new direction and restore it to its position among practical problems which the country must solve.

Pall Mall Gazette.

The Women's Suffrage Bill received no injustice from the indifference with which the debate was treated last night by the majority of the House of Commons. . . . The House of Commons would commit a gross abuse of its authority if it saddled the nation with this unwanted change, and treacherously curtailed the power of the electors by whom it was created.

Nottingham Guardian.

If the Militant Suffragists were to cease their activities the question would go to sleep again, and no more would be heard of it. No assemblage of men will grant the franchise to women unless they are goaded into it. But agitation, if it is to be of any use, must be limited to methods that do not arouse strong antagonism. . . . We shall now have to see what the next House of Commons will do for the Cause. It is useless to expect anything from the present one. It is too party ridden and too flippant.

Nottingham Daily Express.

It must not be said in future that the return of a member of Parliament who has declared his approval of Woman's Suffrage is meaningless. The advocates of this reform will not be put off with evasive and impracticable pledges, nor ought they to be expected to prove more than the justice of their claim. The presumption is that in a democratically governed nation sex is no barrier to the franchise. It is for the opponents of that presumption to prove a strong case against the granting of the vote to women. At present the Anti-Suffragists are trading upon apathy, prejudice, and disgust, but these bulwarks will not suffice to stem the rising tide of women's freedom.

Birmingham Post.

In the days when advocates of the extension of the franchise were content with the passage of resolutions expressing no more than "pious opinions" on the broad principle there was no difficulty in securing large majorities. Members knew that the resolutions would be recorded in the journals of the House, and that there the matter would end. Similarly, they were ready to vote for the second reading of the private members' Bills of 1910 and 1911. The chief cause of these considerable majorities was a knowledge that the exigencies of Parliamentary business would prevent any further progress with the measures.

Yorkshire Observer.

We maintain that the right of women to vote is a right involved in the democratic theory of government to which Liberals subscribe. To refuse the demand of a large section of the community to a share in the control of the Legislature may be consistent with autocracy and oligarchy. But it is not consistent with a democratic system of government, and Sir Edward Grey says quite truly that the root of the objection to the enfranchisement of women is really to be found in anti-democratic feeling. . . . We regret that the Prime Minister is not in this matter in the true line of Liberal development, and we hope the day is not far distant when the enfranchisement of women may take its place as an accepted principle of democracy.

South Wales Daily News.

We hope Suffragists will not be disheartened. The amount of support which they commanded yesterday was greater than many of them expected. A noteworthy feature of the debate was the small part which militancy played in the arguments of those who spoke against the Bill. . . . The arguments of the Prime Minister do not in our opinion refute the right which is demanded by some of the most enlightened women in the country for a measure of political liberty. That demand must be satisfied. But for the present the Suffragists must be content to renew their propaganda until they have created a body of public opinion which no Government dare resist.

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GOOD WORK IN MANCHESTER.

Last week I had the great pleasure of visiting the Manchester Branches. The occasion was the opening of a sale of work and confectionery, and the object, naturally, to raise money for office and other expenses.

The members of the Branches' Council had wisely determined to spend as little as possible on mere organisation, and the sale, with the meetings, was held in our own office, which is situated in one of the busiest streets of the great industrial city. Hence we were none of us quite prepared for the sensation we created. On the evening of Wednesday, when the sale was first opened, we had a good muster of our own members, with a few of their friends. Deep interest was felt by all present in the account which I gave of our recent protests, their motive and their result, and a message of sympathy and appreciation was sent to Miss Boyle and Miss Munro, now undergoing imprisonment. This was followed by another resolution of thanks to those who had taken part in the former protest, and to the N.S.C. and Headquarter staff. The sale proceeded merrily after the meeting, and there was a good result.

On the following day, Thursday, it was arranged that again in the office we should hold two meetings, afternoon and evening. It occurred to one of our enthusiastic new members (Mrs. Watson) to display our flag at the window. Others went down to sell THE VOTE and announce that I would speak. The effect was phenomenal. In a few moments the street was almost blocked by an eager crowd. Numbers of men and women poured up the stairs, and far greater numbers had to be sent away, as our office could not hold them. But there was no disturbance, no rowdiness. Those who came in were serious, sympathetic, attentive. They wanted to hear and understand our point of view. In the little debate that followed my address one man pronounced himself an anti; but he spoke quietly and seemed only desirous to find some point where we could meet and be at peace.

In the evening I spoke to a different audience on "Theosophy and the Woman's Movement." Again we were crowded out; and our friends and neighbours of the Clarion Café kindly lent us a room, where Miss Janet Heyes held an overflow meeting that I addressed, this time on the Suffrage, when my work at the office was done. Here much interest was shown and many questions were asked.

The result of the two days' sale and meetings was very good. New members were made, the interest of the public was aroused, THE VOTE sold well. We could easily have disposed of many more copies, and there was a good and timely addition to the funds.

All this was gratifying; but what pleased me still more was the spirit that reigns in all the Manchester Branches, the enthusiasm of every member I met, their loyalty one to another, and the readiness of each one to serve the Cause which they love. With all my heart I congratulate my Manchester colleagues on the splendid work they are doing.
 C. DESPARD.

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FRIDAY, May 16, 1913.

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EDITORIAL.

The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraph 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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WISDOM—WHILE YOU WAIT.

There was no surprise amongst Women Suffragists over the numbers announced to a cheering House of Commons as the result of the second reading of Mr. Dickinson's Bill. There had been no expectation. Tricked, duped, and cheated as we have been by the present Parliament and its autocratic chief, very few of us could have imagined that anything like a fair chance would be given to a Private Member's Bill. The result, therefore, is very much what we anticipated.

It may clear our way to understanding of the situation if we consider Mr. Asquith's contribution to the debate.

He threw himself on the sympathy—almost the compassion—of his followers. The division in the Cabinet pained him. The position was unique. Never before had he and Sir Edward Grey found themselves in open opposition; and had the majority of the Cabinet, which, he confessed, as regarded this measure, was against him, shown the faintest indication of want of confidence in his leadership, he would, in spite of the great reforms that are in progress, have willingly given up his task to other and worthier hands. As things were, laying aside all personal feeling, he counted himself free to discuss the question on purely utilitarian grounds. There was a brief, emotional reference to the care of the male House of Commons, and especially of the present Government, for the interests of women, in connection with which we remember Mr. Asquith's answer (of a like character to that given again and again) when a deputation of Trade Unionist Women laid their grievances before him on May 1. He admitted that the changes which the women demanded could only be met by legislation; then, after suggesting a closer co-operation between the persons affected and the inspectors, he went on to say that he could make no definite promise, but hoped for legislation at no distant date. The old story: Pity—sympathy, but no relief; and in the meantime, in one trade alone—a trade in which women are largely employed—we have, as Mr. Snowden informed the House on April 9, 656 cases of poisoning last year, of which eighty were fatal. We have further testimony from Belfast, given before a judge and not denied, that in one large firm 50 per cent. of the women workers were suffering from curvature of the spine on account of bad conditions and unnatural attitudes at their work.

In face of all this the Prime Minister of the country dares to say that no legislature in the world "has ever done so much for the women as the man-elected legislature," and that to assert that Parliament "has been unduly negligent or oblivious to the interests of women is a case totally destitute of foundation and totally incapable of proof." We are glad to note that Professor Karl Pearson, in *The Times*, and Mrs. Swanwick, in *The Manchester Guardian*, immediately refuted the Prime Minister's self-satisfied statement.

The experience of politicians of Mr. Asquith's type is limited, or perhaps they will not see the facts which are continually before them. Does the Prime Minister

happen to know that in New Zealand and Australia and the American States where women have the vote, the interests of women are really attended to? Does he know—has he ever heard—that women in Government employment in Great Britain are shockingly underpaid?

Setting this for the moment aside, we go on to relate that having thus soothed and hypnotised his impressionable audience, the arbiter of the nation's destinies proceeded to unfold his words of wisdom.

While we wait, then—for we are waiting—not placidly with appealing eyes fixed on those with whom we have to reckon; but actively, full of an enthusiasm which is kindled afresh by every new reverse—while we wait, may we venture (or is it *lese majesté*?) to disentangle the intricacies of the Prime Minister's pronouncements, and to attempt to interpret some of his his-sounding, myriad-meaning words?

We are struck with one of his phrases: in coming to close quarters with the arguments of the opposite side, he says in his grandest manner that it is not a question of the inferiority of one sex or the superiority of the other. Here naturally the House cheered. If man feels himself superior to woman, he does not often say so now, especially in public. "No," went on Mr. Asquith, "it is a question of the appropriateness or otherwise of the particular function." By-and-by, "while we wait," Mr. Asquith may do us the favour of explaining what the particular function is. We gather from the context that he alludes not only to the comparatively innocuous business of voting, but to what will follow woman's intrusion into the sacred domain of the legislature. That is to say, to put it plainly, women may be legislated for, but they must not have a voice in legislating. In other words, woman is subject and her subjection must continue. In spite of Mr. Asquith's elaborate reasonableness, it is impossible to read any other meaning into his cryptic utterances. "We, the men," we seem to hear, "know better than you do what your interests are. Though the particular function of motherhood, though the other function of home-administration, though industry in many forms may belong to you; though we do not deny that you have grievances and disabilities, less than the women of other nations, it is true, but still some that we regret, it is quite certain that you are better off with men to rule over and protect you than you could be were you free to rule yourselves."

Now all this beautifully ancient, stale and patriarchal talk might come very well from a feudal lord of the Middle Ages, or from a plutocrat of to-day; it has a curious ring when coming from the lips of a person who is, professedly and even with emphasis, a democrat.

Perhaps, however, we have not understood the grand old word, democracy. "Government of all, through all, under the guidance of the wisest and the best." Every soul with its inalienable right to self-expression and self-government, guided, for the good of all and by the consent of all, along the path of order which makes life in a community possible.

So said Joseph Mazzini in the revolutionary turmoil of last century. Apparently he was wrong. Mr. Asquith, trained as a lawyer, and, we presume, deeply read in history, gives a different interpretation to this much-disputed word. "Democracy," he says, "aims at the obliteration of arbitrary and artificial distinctions. Democracy has no quarrel whatever with distinctions which Nature has created and which experience sanctions."

How subtle that is! How finely it reads! For ineradicable differences the blame is laid upon Nature, who, in her wisdom, has ordained that man should have his function and woman hers. But in the name of all that is sensible, what has Nature to do with human laws and institutions? She has laid down the foundations of the family. Men like Mr. Asquith have built up the modern State. Why, the whole of our Governmental system is artificial in the extreme. Many of our laws are unnatural. The Statute-book is full of ridiculous blunders, and much of the time of our legis-

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Women Workers' Deputation to the Prime Minister.

On May 1 the Prime Minister, accompanied by the Home Secretary, received at the House of Commons a deputation of working women arranged by the Women's Trade Union League and the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs. Among the trades represented were the manufacture of aerated waters, wholesale stationery, tailoring and dress making, box-making, relief-stamping, and chocolate covering. Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., introducing the deputation, said that the Women's Trade Union League represented a quarter of a million workers, while affiliated to the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs were 472 clubs.

Miss Ward declared that in the laundry trade accidents had increased among women and children during the last three years. The League would like legislation prohibiting women and children from cleaning machinery while it was in motion. Girls often had to carry heavy weights in factories, and there should be a maximum weight decided by law for women and children. Mrs. Lowin said that girls of sixteen to eighteen years of age often had to carry loads on their backs weighing one or two cwt.

Miss Tuckwell appealed to the Government to appoint more women factory inspectors all over the country, stating that many things went on in factories and even in outwork shops, which did not come to the surface, and which girls could only explain to a woman. If the Government would abolish fines and deductions the Women's Union would be delighted to enforce a thing which its officials did not understand. As a matter of discipline fines and deductions were entirely unnecessary. The best employer ruled not by punishment. Miss Cave, of the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, spoke upon the question of overtime. Miss Myers suggested a statutory hour for dinner. Miss Constance Smith pointed out that one third of the women employed in this country were under the age of twenty, and, after passing eighteen years of age, had to work overtime. The strain of three days' overtime a week was very great.

The Prime Minister's Reply.

In his reply, Mr. Asquith said:

When I went to the Home Office I was told by all the competent authorities that if we once appointed women inspectors we should be very near approaching the end. Despite the confident predictions of failure, we tried, though on a modest scale. We started with two lady inspectors, and I am glad the experiment has so amply justified itself that Mr. McKenna has a staff of eighteen, and you are wanting still more. I sincerely hope you will get them. Other points, he said, divided themselves into two kinds—those which would involve a change in the law and those which were complaints against its imperfect and haphazard administration. He admitted fully that the law was not perfect by any means, but it compared favourably with that of any other country. At any rate, it compared very favourably with what it was fifty or even twenty-five years ago.

There were some points, he agreed, which did not come within the second category and which, as reasonable and just demands, could only be met by legislation. That was the case in respect of the suggestions with regard to truck. Nothing would satisfy Miss Tuckwell short of the complete abolition of fines and deductions. Whatever improvements were to be made in the law of truck could only be made by the action of the Legislature.

It was true also, in regard to the cleaning of machinery in motion and the one hour for dinner, as well as in regard to the carrying of excessive weights so far as women and young persons were concerned, that the changes which the deputation had suggested were changes which could only be affected by legislation. Those seemed to him to be *prima facie* reasonable changes, and he hoped it might be possible to secure the assent of Parliament to them. Mr. McKenna reported that he would not be able to carry out what was desired without applying to Parliament for fresh powers. As regarded weight-carrying it was possible, by making more stringent regulations, to afford greater protection to children and young persons. That did not apply to women above the age limit. In regard to dangerous machinery he was told that regulations were being drafted by the Home Office.

The efficient administration of the Factory Acts in all their particulars, he added, depended largely upon co-operation between the persons affected and the inspectors. He could quite understand the feeling—sometimes it was a feeling of fear, sometimes it was lethargy, sometimes diffidence—which from time to time dissuaded persons who had either been themselves victims or seen their fellow-workers victims of breaches of the Act from communicating with the inspectors and setting the law in operation against their employers. But co-operation between the workers themselves in the first instance and the administrators of the law in the next instance is really, in the long run, the best safeguard for the enforcement of the administration of the Factory Acts and for carrying into effect the intentions of the Legislature. "We shall take into careful consideration what you have said, and I hope it will be possible—though I cannot hold out any confident prospect of legislation during the present year—to have legislation at no distant date, and in the meantime, by tightening up the machinery for the administration in the various ways I have suggested, to do something which will go a long way towards meeting the cases you have represented to-day."

lators is consumed in making laws to amend or render nugatory other laws that ought never to have been made.

Moreover, it might be well for Mr. Asquith to remember that he is not original. Long ago, persons whose predictions have been falsified by history used the same stale and unprofitable arguments and warnings. Ages ago, when he was supporting chattel-slavery as a divinely ordained institution, Aristotle said that there were natural differences between the Greeks and Barbarians which made it fitting that the one should serve the other. Yet in those Barbarian nations were being moulded the forces that were to break up the ancient civilisations. The warriors who captured Rome and robbed her of empire were the sons of free women.

Similar sophistries were set forth by pious American citizens at the time of the great war that brought slavery in the United States to an end. The black man was not capable of self-government. He did not know what was for his own interests. He required the protection of a master, and the law that made him pay the price of that protection in submission, service and obedience was a righteous law.

"Wisdom—while you wait!" We have no doubt that the gentlemen of the House of Commons who voted against Mr. Dickinson's Bill were much instructed by the Prime Minister's speech.

Alas! If our country is to be saved; if our countrymen are to recover from their debauch, and become sane men and true; if we are to regain as a nation the prestige we are rapidly losing, we must have wiser and nobler statesmen than Mr. Asquith to guide us. He has lost his opportunity; his words of wisdom ring hollow; the time will not be long before the nation will discover that, as a leader of Democracy, he has miserably failed.

C. DESPARD.

OUR INTERNATIONAL COLUMN.

Further Progress in Norway.

Woman's Suffrage has secured another notable victory in the unanimous acceptance by the committee of the Norwegian Parliament of the Bill to grant the vote to women in Parliamentary elections on equal terms with men. Norwegian women have participated in municipal elections since 1907, but the Parliamentary vote has been enjoyed hitherto only by those in possession of considerable property. If, as is now probable, the Bill is carried through Parliament, the number of women electors will be increased by 225,000. There was a Socialist proposal in committee to lower the age limit from twenty-five to twenty-one years, which would have still further increased the electorate by 140,000.

In Italy: Premier Favourable.

In response to the demand made in the Roman Senate for women to be allowed to vote at administrative elections, Premier Giolitti has shown readiness to face the entire question of female suffrage in the frankest possible manner. He considers that the recent adoption of quasi-universal suffrage by Italy in its new electoral law, which enfranchises every citizen over twenty-one years, irrespective of whether he can read or write, and thus swells the voters' list by another eight and a half millions, really creates an imperative necessity for thorough revision of the legal standing of Italian women.

The Premier avowed himself a friend of the suffragette movement in Italy, which is growing very strong, particularly among the upper and middle classes, but is altogether alien from militant methods, though Italian women fret under disabilities so grievous as to defy comparison with Great Britain. The Premier is favourable to a gradual grant and enlargement of political privileges to women much on the same principle as has been followed in the progressive development of male suffrage.

The Central Feminist Committee in Rome is endeavouring to obtain declarations in favour of Woman Suffrage from the candidates at the forthcoming parliamentary elections. Up to the present twenty-eight candidates have promised to support the feminist programme in the next Chamber of Deputies if they are returned.

The Beneficial Effect of the Women's Vote.

According to Dr. John Randolph Haynes, of Los Angeles, "Woman Suffrage has exerted a wonderfully beneficial effect in California and its political sub-divisions. It has an excellent influence on the women of the better-to-do classes, compelling them to take an active interest in the affairs of city and State, which they had formerly tended to neglect. Its most valuable result has been the immediate impetus given to legislation looking to the welfare of women and children engaged in industry."

PHYSICAL FORCE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN AT THE CAXTON HALL "WEDNESDAY."

Full to overflowing. This was the state of the Caxton Hall on May 7, when Mr. Laurence Housman gave his promised lecture on "The Relation of Physical Force to Self-Government." Eager anticipation was fully rewarded, and all who heard the admirable lecture, and all who were disappointed in not being able to be present, will rejoice to know that Mr. Housman has generously given it to the Women's Freedom League, and it will be published in pamphlet form by the Literature Department as soon as possible.

In masterly fashion, and with evidence gathered from many aspects of life, Mr. Housman proved that physical force and self-government cannot exist side by side: coercion is government without consent, but eventually consent has to take the place of coercion. As self-government, as a human growth, has emerged, physical force has gone under; self-government by those capable of it means a reduction in the cost of maintaining law and order, a refusal of it means an increase in the cost. Mr. Housman applied to the happenings of to-day Burke's famous words that wherever there is increase in agitation and crime for the sake of reform, it means that there is bad government; self-government promotes order, a denial of self-government promotes disorder.

Taking physical force as applied to labour, Mr. Housman proved that with regard to slave labour, as a basis for industrial work, it was a failure. Under the fear of the whip, torture, imprisonment, and even death, for refusal to work, slave labour was less profitable than free labour. Those who accepted such

conditions were less efficacious and more expensive than those who resisted; the cost of control destroyed the profits of slave labour.

In the same way physical force as applied to the increase of the race through marriage by capture was a failure. While woman was submissive and hypnotised by physical force, she chose the stronger, the more savage and bloodthirsty man; the result was that savagery and bloodthirstiness were bred in her sons and submission and slavery in her daughters. It led to the increase of war between tribe and tribe, and thus became exceedingly expensive. The Trojan War was the result of the capture by one man of another man's wife; and it was a high price to pay, said Mr. Housman, even for the poetry of Homer. The result of physical force as applied to marriage was a failure, and gradually other methods came to be substituted, among them child-marriage, a horror which the Church struggled long to eliminate. Women, no doubt, helped to make marriage by capture impossible by being ready to die rather than submit. Men, however, added Mr. Housman, are still trying to coerce women in other ways—in the labour market, in education, in insisting that their duty is in the home, and that it is right for them to wait. Mr. McKenna has said to women: "Submit and you will not be hurt!" Women, by refusing to submit, are showing that they will not be governed without their consent. Self-government breaks down the physical force argument; physical force has effect upon a certain section of people—on those who are deaf to reason and justice, that is, criminals and Cabinet Ministers.

In religion, too, physical force has been a failure; it has always been the few who have dared to go to prison and death who have prevailed against physical force. The Quakers suffered imprisonment and loss of property rather than give up liberty of conscience; in the seventeenth century there were more Quakers in prison than there are Quakers in England to-day; they forced upon the Government a reform of the marriage laws.

In education, corporal punishment was once the basis of law and order, but it has decreased because it produced bad results. It made a great gulf between teacher and taught; there was less understanding, and consequently less teaching than when law and order are kept by co-operation and consent. A revolt against injustice, instilled into parents, goes down to their children, who begin to undo physical force and build up self-government. Mr. Housman referred to the George Republics of the United States in which self-government amongst bad boys has achieved wonderful results. The Montessori system is most successful in teaching children how to develop and govern themselves; such lessons learnt in childhood will have a great effect when extended to the service of the State by those children when they have grown up.

Applied to the code of honour, physical force has also proved a failure. Are non-duellists less honourable than duellists? asked the lecturer. One basis of duelling was, he said, sex possession, when a man claimed that a woman's honour was his, not her own. Individuals have given up physical force as a code of honour, but nations still believe in it. In theory, said Mr. Housman, we go to war to avenge an insult; in practice, however, we only go to war when political interest is to be gained. Nations, he added, should learn that their honour is not nearly so much involved when other nations do wrong as when they do wrong themselves.

Self-government, said the lecturer in summing up, begins with the individual in power of self-control; leave out such individuals and the State suffers in strength. "I have yet to learn that women have less patience, temperance, self-discipline than men, yet they are left out to the detriment of the State. We cannot make laws better than ourselves; women's qualities supplement those of men; women are more law-abiding, yet they are denied influence by representation in law-making. Submission or revolt shows



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at what stage a nation has arrived. The revolt of the women to-day is an answer to the cry that physical force is the basis of law and order; there will be no rest till self-government is given, and once again the truth of Burke's words is proved that, if there is an increase in agitation and crime for the reform of laws, the fault lies with the Government, not with the people."

FOOD REFORM.

The lecture given at 1, Robert-street on Wednesday evening, May 7, by Captain Carey, on "Food Reform," was one of special interest. He maintained that vegetarianism did not necessarily mean living on vegetables; *vegeo* means "I thrive," and a vegetarian lived on natural foods, the fruits of the earth, any food, in fact, which was not obtained through slaughter. Without eating flesh, men and women could be just as strong, just as intelligent, much better tempered, and less liable to disease than they were at present. "Food Reform," declared Captain Carey, was a woman's question, for women were the biggest buyers of the food of the nation. Vegetarianism was intimately connected with social reform; vegetarian people would be more humane than a flesh-eating people; suffering less from indigestion, their temper would improve, and the curse of drink would in time disappear.

Questions and discussion followed the lecture, after which Mrs. Walter Carey and Master Dennis Carey did a splendid trade in some choice vegetarian dishes which they had kindly brought to the meeting, all the proceeds of which went towards the funds of our League.

Keen interest was aroused, and all present expressed their appreciation of the lecture and the kindness of the lecturer and his helpers, and welcomed with enthusiasm the promise of another lecture in the near future.

COMPETITION RESULT.

"WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE HOME."

The judges have awarded the prize this week to Miss Beatrix H. Watson, 11A, Grafton-street, Oxford-road, Manchester; and specially commend Miss Kathleen Holmes, 33, Ladbroke-road, W.

Miss Watson's answer is as follows:—

A charming phrase—if only Life was a "Noah's Ark." Two

by two, but what of the large army of "odd women," who through death, high ideals, lack of opportunity (we all admit the insufficiency of men) fail to be "paired" and are left in the world alone to fight the battle of Life? Whose homes must they be in?

OUR NEW COMPETITION.

ANSWERS TO ANTIS.

We offer each week a PRIZE FOR THE BEST ANSWER to Anti-Suffrage objections. The winning answer will be published in THE VOTE.

This week's objection is:

Politics Do Not Concern Women.

The answer is limited to sixty words; it may be grave or gay.

RULES.

1. The competition is open to all our readers.
2. Each answer must be accompanied by the coupon below, and give the name and address of the sender.
3. Answers, written on one side only of the paper, must be addressed to the Editor, VOTE Office, 2, Robert-street, Adelphi, London, W.C., the envelope marked *Prize Competition*, and must reach the VOTE Office on Monday, June 2, 1913. A halfpenny stamp is sufficient if the flap of the envelope is tucked inside.
4. Competitors may send as many answers as they like, provided each is accompanied by a coupon.

The prize this week is a 2s. box of chocolate.

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May we send you our new Catalogue of "Spring and Summer Fashions"? It is full of interesting suggestions for the coming season.



WILLIAM OWEN, LD.

MIDDLESBROUGH CAMPAIGN.

One of the most pleasing social functions that has ever been held by the Middlesbrough Branch of the W.F.L. was the "At Home" on May 5 in Hinton's Café. Mrs. Schofield Coates performed the duties of hostess and made an appeal for those who were not members to join us and help us in our efforts.

A splendid address, which was greatly appreciated by all present, was given by Mrs. Tanner on "Women's Fight against Ignorance and Prejudice."

It was a great pleasure to those of us who, at Mrs. Tanner's open-air meetings, had been busy selling the VOTE on the outskirts of the huge crowds, to be able to listen to her eloquent speech in its entirety. In the course of the evening, an excellent musical programme was given by Miss Edith Calvert and Miss H. Woodruff, L.R.A.M. Miss W.M. Jones in moving a vote of thanks to Mrs. Tanner, Mrs. Schofield Coates, and the artists, made a pleasing little speech, and Miss Shepherd, who seconded, wished Miss Winifred Jones, whose birthday it was, many happy returns of the day, and offered the good wishes of all members of the League, who appreciate so highly the splendid work done by Miss Jones in the cause of Woman's Suffrage. Seven new members and two associates joined the Branch.

On Tuesday evening a debate was held. Mrs. Tanner took the affirmative to the question: "Would the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women benefit the whole community?" Mr. C. Little opposed. After twenty minutes' speeches from Mrs. Tanner and Mr. Little the audience was allowed twenty minutes for three-minute speeches, and a very keen discussion resulted. The anti's were overwhelmed, and in an audience of over 150 Mr. Little had only one feeble supporter. The affirmative was carried almost unanimously, only six voting against it.

Our last open-air meeting was held last Wednesday night. Miss A. Mahony took the chair, and Mr. Charles Coates gave a short address, and was followed by Mrs. Tanner. I regret to say that it was one of the most disorderly meetings that has ever taken place in Middlesbrough. Mr. Asquith answers the demand of women for the vote by a statement of his belief in the old-fashioned virtues of chivalry and courtesy; but the lack of a spirit of chivalry among youths who regard a Suffrage meeting as a rare opportunity for displaying an unreasoning rowdiness is a matter of very grave concern. Thanks to the splendid efforts of the police and our male supporters, Mrs. Tanner and the other ladies present got away without any injury, though at the close of the meeting the crowd assumed a very menacing aspect.

We are very grateful to Mrs. Tanner for holding this campaign, which has been very inspiring to all of us here. We wish her every success in her work in London, and desire to say how much we have all admired her splendid fighting spirit, her rare tact, and great enthusiasm. Miss Janet Heyes, of Manchester, has accepted an invitation to address open-air meetings in Middlesbrough in July.

TAX RESISTANCE.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, the novelist, has written to Mrs. Kineton Parkes, the organising secretary of the Women's Tax Resistance League, to say that though not a member of the League she is refusing to pay the county rate on some property she owns because she has no vote for the County Council, and refusing also to pay the house property tax because she has no voice in the way such taxes should be spent. "The amount in dispute," says Mrs. Steel, "is some 25s. I propose it shall be met by the sale of the first chapter in manuscript of my Mutiny book, 'On the Face of the Waters.'" The book was placed amongst the "Hundred Best Books of the Century." Critics said of it that "many an officer would give his sword to write military history as Mrs. Steel has written it." "I know that someone will give the State 25s. for my manuscript," says the authoress. "So the men of England get their farthings."

HYDE PARK MEETING.

The meeting organised by the Mid London Branch of the W.F.L. on Whit-Sunday was very successful, in spite of the rain. Mrs. Jason Kerr made a fine opening speech, and soon attracted a large crowd, the majority of whom stood through the rain listening to Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, who, as usual, struck just the right note, and appealed to the better nature of her audience. There was no disorder. An old man who repeatedly interrupted with stupid irrelevancies was angrily rebuked by the men standing near. K. S. T.

PIONEER PLAYERS.—The last performance of "The Pioneer Players'" present season will take place on Sunday, May 18, at The Little Theatre under the direction of Miss Edith Craig. The casts of the three new one-act plays which are to be produced are of more than passing interest. In *The Month of Mary* (*Mese Mariano*), written by the celebrated Neapolitan dramatist, Salvatore di Giacomo, Annie Schletter, Olive Terry, and Ivan Berlyn will play leading characters. In *The Last Visit*, by Hermann Sudermann, Miss Hedda Faber will take the part of "The Unknown Lady" and James Berry that of "Lieutenant Von Wolters," while the cast of "The Great Day," by Cecil Fisher, will include Alfred Sangster and A. B. Tapping. This will be the first appearance in England of Miss Hedda Faber, who, although an Englishwoman, has won her laurels in Germany, where she has created many Shakespeare and Ibsen parts in German.

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.—Clapham.

We have held weekly open-air meetings during the past month. Our thanks are due to Mrs. Tanner, Mrs. Watson, Miss Underwood, Miss Read, Miss Neilans, Miss Rogers, who have very kindly spoken for us. We regret to say, however, that the hooligans of the neighbourhood have prevented our speakers having a fair hearing. They have kept up a continual chorus of shouting and indecent remarks, and the police either could not, or would not, check the rowdiness. Last week Miss Underwood appealed to *The Daily Herald* for supporters to come and see fair play. There was a good response, and the annoyance was soon stopped. After one or two attempts our hooligans recognised that there was no fun for them that evening, and we were left with a crowd, anxious to hear, and quite sympathetic in attitude.

Croydon.—Office: 32A, The Arcade, High-street.

Thanks are due to all those who have already contributed to the Protest Fund. The proceeds of the first Cake and Candy Sale, managed by Mrs. Abbott, were encouraging, and will be added to the same Fund. Articles for the Jumble Sale should be forwarded to the secretary. Next "At Home," May 22, at the office. Meeting at Wallington on May 30. At the members' meeting at Mrs. Ridley's, on April 15, Mrs. Despard lost her umbrella. Will those who were present kindly see if by mistake they have exchanged umbrellas, and let the secretary know?

Stamford Hill and Tottenham.

A meeting of members of committee belonging to both Branches concerned was held on Tuesday (by kind invitation of Mrs. Cashmore), to discuss the advisability of amalgamating the Stamford Hill and Tottenham Branches, with the view of doing more strenuous work for the Cause. The union was unanimously agreed upon by members present; a secretary, an assistant secretary, a literature secretary, a treasurer, and a collector for Tottenham were appointed. It was thought well that the two committees should remain *in toto* and form one joint committee, meeting for business once a month, preferably on first Tuesday or Thursday as can be arranged. Propaganda meetings will be held monthly if possible, in alternate constituencies, and it is hoped to have the first in Stamford Hill at an early date. Miss Munro and other good speakers have promised to help; subjects of special interest will be chosen; we expect to do thorough and steady work, and find that "union is strength."

PROVINCES.—Brighton and Hove.

Miss Hare gave an address on the White Slave Traffic on Monday, to an audience chiefly composed of mothers and working women in connection with St. Luke's Church. The more the facts of this subject and the knowledge of its causes are spread, the more difficult will the traffic be to carry on successfully. Miss Hare also addressed the Church League on the work of a teacher of the deaf on Thursday, and awakened keen interest by her practical demonstrations. Miss White spoke to the Women's Co-operative Guild on Thursday on "Things that Want Doing," and emphasized the Woman's Movement and Sex Education. It is hoped to arrange for a working woman's meeting in Hove shortly. Particulars will be sent to members.

Burnage.

A most enjoyable evening was spent at our last Branch meeting, when Miss Neal gave an address on "The Present Position of Things Suffrage," which was greatly appreciated. Through the kindness of Mrs. Gartside the meeting was held at her house in Grangethorpe-drive. There was a good attendance in spite of the busy week preceding the holidays. We meet again on Monday, May 19, at 7, West-avenue, and hope all members will kindly note.

Ipswich.—Suffrage Shop: 22, Queen-street.

At the weekly meeting, on May 8, the business accomplished included the election of officers for the year, delegates' report of the Annual Conference, result of recent meetings, &c., and discussion on future work. The attendance was good, in spite of bad weather. Now, members, stick to it!

Manchester.—Office: 46A, Market-street.

The event of the week has been the sale of work which Mrs. Despard opened on Wednesday evening, May 7. It had been well advertised, with the result that a detective haunted our vicinity all day, and several times interviewed and tried to get information from our helpers as to our plans for the immediate future. No less than four reporters honoured us at the meeting, and were much interested in our President's address and views on the recent occurrences in London. The audience, if not as large as we had expected, more than made up in enthusiasm. The cake and flower stalls were practically cleared and most of the work was sold. The great day, however, was Thursday. The sight of our flag and our VOTE sellers awoke the interest of passers-by. The room was crowded, and the audience listened with keen attention to a speech for nearly an hour, while the police outside grew more and more excited, and their numbers increased from a solitary constable to ten. For the evening meeting the ground was prepared. We were not allowed to display our flag again, but the sight of the police, reinforced by an inspector, and our members with VOTES, drew another big crowd, which overflowed on to the staircase and necessitated holding an overflow meeting—by the courtesy of our good friend, Mr. Pearce—in one of the rooms of the Clarion Café, where Miss Janet Heyes spoke until Mrs. Despard could come in.

Meanwhile, at our own room, Mrs. Aldridge took the chair, and in (Continued on next page.)

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.
Fri., May 16.—"At Home," at 9, Titchfield-terrace, Northgate, Regent's Park, N.W., by kind invitation of Mrs. Carey, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Despard.
Sun., May 18.—REGENT'S PARK, Open-air Meeting, noon. Mrs. Nevinson and Mrs. Mustard. *Chair:* Mrs. Nourse. BROCKWELL PARK, 3 p.m. *Speakers:* Mr. H. J. Bostock and Miss Underwood.
Mon., May 19.—Reception to Released Prisoners, PORTMAN ROOMS, Baker-street, W. (entrance in Dorset-street), 8 p.m. *Speakers:* Mrs. Despard, Miss Boyle, Miss Munro, and others.
Tues., May 20.—CORNER ST. LUKE'S ROAD, High-street, Clapham, 8 p.m. CORNER BLACKBURN ROAD, West-End-lane, Hampstead. Open-air Meeting, evening.
Wed., May 21.—Public Meeting, PORTMAN ROOMS, Baker-street, 3.30 p.m. *Speakers:* Mr. G. E. O'Dell, on "The Character of Ann Whitefield in 'Man and Superman,'" and Miss Boyle, TOTTENHAM, Miss Munro.
Thurs., May 22.—CROYDON, 32A, The Arcade, High-street. Weekly "At Home," 3.15 p.m. KENSINGTON Branch Meeting, 6, Argyle-road, 8 p.m. Conference Report. WOMEN'S POLITICAL DEBATING SOCIETY, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C., 7.45 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss H. Normanston, B.A. Subject, "Constitution Making and Breaking."
Sat., May 24.—"At Home," 140, Highbury-hill. *Speaker:* Miss Boyle.
Sun., May 25.—BROCKWELL PARK, 3 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Andrews, REGENT'S PARK, noon. Miss MUNRO.
Wed., May 28.—Public Meeting (hall to be announced later), 3.30 p.m. *Speakers:* Mrs. Bracher, "Woman's Suffrage in New Zealand," and Miss Nina Boyle.
Thurs., May 29.—Open-air Meeting, HIGHBURY CORNER, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Mustard.
Fri., May 30.—Meeting at WALLINGTON, afternoon. *Speakers:* Mrs. Despard and Mrs. P. M. Webber.
Sun., June 1.—REGENT'S PARK, noon. BROCKWELL PARK, 3 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Mustard. REGENT'S PARK. Mrs. Tanner.
Wed., June 4.—Public Meeting (hall to be announced later), 3.30 p.m. *Speakers:* The Rev. F. M. Green, "The Place of the Suffrage in the Woman's Movement," and Mrs. Violet Tempest.
Thurs., June 12.—CROYDON. "At Home," The Lecture Room, Public Hall, Wellesley-road, 3.30 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Abadam on the White Slave Traffic.

PROVINCES.
Fri., May 16.—Ipswich. Shop Exhibition at 22, Queen-street.
Sat., May 17.—Ipswich. Shop Exhibition at 22, Queen-street. West Hartlepool. 37, Grange-road, 7 p.m. Meeting. *Speaker:* Miss Elphick.
Mon., May 19.—Gravesend. "Kismet," Pier-road, 8 p.m. Branch Business Meeting. Burnage. Branch Meeting, 7, West-avenue, Garden Village.
Tues., May 20.—West Hartlepool. Hussey's Café, 3.30 p.m. "At Home." *Speaker:* Miss Elphick.
Thurs., May 22.—Ipswich. 22, Queen-street, 8 p.m. Branch Meeting.
Mon., May 26.—Burnage. Branch Meeting.
Wed., May 28.—Halsby. "At Home," 8 p.m. *Hostesses:* Mrs. Crosland Taylor and Mrs. R. Howroyd. *Speakers:* Mr. Laurence Housman, Rev. C. Hinscliff, and Miss Anna Munro. Chester. Freemasons' Hall, Hunter-street. Public Meeting. *Speakers:* Mr. Laurence Housman and Miss Munro, 8 p.m.
Mon., June 2.—Burnage. Branch Meeting.

SCOTLAND.
Fri., May 16.—Rothesay. Meeting, 3 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Andrews.
Sat., May 17.—Edinburgh. Jumble Sale, Arthur-street Hall, Pleasance, 3 p.m.
Wed., May 21.—Edinburgh. Open-air Meeting, King's Stables-road, 8 p.m.
Thurs., May 22.—Glasgow. Dennistoun. *Speaker:* Miss Andrews. *Chair:* Miss Buntin.
Fri., May 23.—Glasgow. Whiteinch. *Speaker:* Miss Andrews. *Chair:* Mrs. Wilson. Edinburgh. "Hard-Up" Social, Cathedral Hall, Albany-street, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Despard. Dramatic sketches, dancing, &c. Tickets, 1s.
Sat., May 24.—Paisley. Public Meeting. *Speaker:* Mrs. Despard.
Mon., May 26.—Dundee. West Forrester's Hall. "At Home." *Speaker:* Mrs. Despard.

BRANCH NOTES—(Continued from p. 49.)
 a brief speech spoke of the present situation and of the wide interest in the influence of Theosophy on the woman movement. Mrs. Despard rivetted the attention of her audience, and everyone present realised more clearly than before how truly our woman's movement is linked with the deepest and best religious life of the day. The financial result of our effort we do not yet know, but we know that the League has made itself felt in Manchester, and that its work will be more noticed and better recognised than hitherto. That is our reward.
West Hartlepool.
 Two very successful meetings—May 8, afternoon, Hussey's Café; evening, 62, Grange-road—were held. Miss Elphick addressed both meetings, making it very clear to those present, "Why We Want the Vote." Four new members joined the Branch at the evening meeting.
SCOTLAND.—Edinburgh.—33, Forrest-road.
 The open-air meetings to be held on Wednesdays at King's Stables-road, were started this week, when a large and, for the most part, very sympathetic crowd quickly gathered. Miss M. Ferguson presided, and the speakers were Miss A. B. Jack, Miss Nannie Brown, and Miss McLachlan. Miss Brown, from her experiences of the March,

disposed of the statement that the country was unprepared for and hostile to Woman Suffrage; while Miss Jack and Miss McLachlan answered other "arguments" used in the previous day's debate in the House. A good collection was taken, and Miss Ethel Holmes quickly disposed of her stock of VOTES. The presence of so many members was an immense help. On Saturday street-selling of THE VOTE was resumed, with very encouraging results. Volunteers for a VOTE Brigade are wanted, as we are anxious that the selling should be done regularly.
 Tickets for the "Hard-up" Social (1s. each) are now ready. *Lady Butterby and Mrs. McBean and Mr. Peppercorn's Awakening* (the latter original) will be performed, and we shall have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Despard. Fancy dress optional; bring your own supper. More fumbles are needed for Saturday afternoon, and helpers will be welcomed.
Glasgow.—Suffrage Shop: 70, St. George's-road.
 Miss Buntin has returned to work after a well-earned holiday, and the Glasgow Branch is now in fine form. THE VOTE sales continue to be good, and our stock of twenty dozen is almost sold out, and this is only Monday morning! An open-air meeting was held at Partick on Saturday afternoon, at which Miss Buntin took the chair, and Miss Andrews was the speaker. A very large crowd gathered round the waggonette, and many questions were asked. Meetings for working women are being arranged in Whiteinch and Dennistoun.
WALES.—Swansea.
 A public meeting will be held in the Albert Minor Hall on Monday, May 19, at 8 p.m. *Speaker:* the Hon. Mrs. E. S. Henley. The Mayoress, Mrs. Councillor David Williams, will preside.
KINDRED SOCIETIES.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage.
 A public meeting, at the Adler Hall, Stepney Green, E., Sunday, May 18, at 8.30 p.m. *Chair:* The Rev. Morris Joseph. *Speakers:* Miss Hannah Hyam, Miss Winifred Elkin, the Rev. Dr. J. Hochman, Mr. Harry Lewis. Admission free.
Women Writers' Suffrage League.
 At the suggestion of the president (Mrs. F. A. Steel) the Women Writers' Suffrage League will hold an exhibition of women's sweated and ill-paid industries on Wednesday, May 28, at the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel, from 3 o'clock till 10 p.m. Admission 1s. Women workers will give demonstrations of the manufacture of children's

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The Church League for Women's Suffrage.—Offices, 6, York-buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

May 16.—Greenwich and Lewisham Branch Meeting, Park Hospital, Lewisham, 8 p.m. Ventnor, I. of Wight. White Slave Traffic meeting. Mrs. J. E. Francis, 3 p.m. **May 17.**—Shanklin, Open-Air Meeting in the Square, 6 p.m. Mrs. J. E. Francis. **May 18.**—Sandown. Drawing-room Meeting, White Slave Traffic. Mrs. J. E. Francis 3 p.m. **May 19.**—Ryde. Open-air Meeting. Mrs. J. E. Francis. **May 20.**—Bloomsbury Branch. American Bazaars. St. George's Vestry, Little Russell-street, 6-9 p.m. Tickets 3d. each. **May 22.**—Brighton and Hove Branch. Lecture at Office, 151, North-street, Brighton, 3 p.m.

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THE CLUB has been formed as a Social Club for MEN AND WOMEN interested in the Suffrage Movement. CONSTANT LECTURES ARRANGED.

On TUESDAY, MAY 20th, A MEETING will be held at 3.30 p.m. *Speaker:*—Mrs. HYLTON DALE.

Subject:—"HOSTELS FOR WOMEN." Questions and Discussion Invited. There are only a few vacancies remaining for Founder Members at £1 1s. subscription and no entrance fee.

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