

THE VOTE

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

VOL. I.—No. 20.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

Letters relating to editorial and business matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR and MANAGING DIRECTOR respectively. Applications for advertising spaces to be made to the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER.

Offices: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.

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WHAT WE THINK.

Rocky Ground!

Untrammelled by party, we, the women of the country, are watching with considerable anxiety and, perhaps, a little amusement the present chaos in Imperial house-keeping. It would be more amusing if we were not paying for the man-made muddles of the Government. Mr. Asquith, in the "long, long ago," was wont to say to the women of the country: "What I have said I have said." But now to the men of the country he is saying: "What I have said I haven't said"; and they like it as little as we did. Important pronouncements, which, if utilised after the manner of the devil quoting Scripture, could be got to mean anything, have passed the lips of the various party spokesmen. The long-expected mandate may be interpreted to mean anything—save women's suffrage. That, Mr. Asquith has been understood to say, is "rocky ground." As, however, the Government appears to be nearing the rocks, perhaps the Prime Minister may presently find the required mandate amongst them. The first business of the Government was to have been the passing of the Budget, but rather than risk the danger of defeat from his Irish allies on this matter the Veto is to have precedence. If the House of Lords reject or hang up the resolutions for their extinction—and there is little doubt that the "backwoodsmen" will come once more to town for the purpose—Mr. Asquith will again go to the country, this time burdened with two Budgets as well as the Veto. What the issue will be it is easy, though early, to prophesy. The male elector, being in many cases a person of somewhat dull comprehension, is not unlikely to think that if he says "Good-bye" to Mr. Asquith and "So pleased to see you" to Mr. Balfour he may possibly escape one year's income tax. The money which the high principles of Mr. Asquith will not allow him to accept from the country has to be borrowed, and the City and the electorate are alike discontented. Let Mr. Asquith try the "rocky ground" rather than the rocks. He may find there a new electorate with greater comprehension and greater honesty of purpose than amongst his own followers. At the least, he will find those who follow no chimæras and who can see principle apart from party.

The County Council Elections.

The strange apathy shown in the fight for London, which has resulted in a practically drawn battle, was only

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MISS TITA BRAND,
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to be expected at the present moment. Only two out of five women were returned, Miss Susan Lawrence (for West Marylebone) and Miss N. Adler (for Central Hackney). The *Sunday Times* recalls the fact that "it is twenty years since members of the fair sex in the person of Lady Sandhurst and Miss Jane Cobden wooed the electorate, and won, only to be unseated by the decision of Baron Huddleston in the Queen's Bench Division. Miss Cons, who had been selected as an alderman, was also forced to go into retirement." The defeat of Miss Margaret Bondfield is much to be regretted. Her work for the shop assistants and her denunciations of sweated industries from Socialist and Labour platforms have made her widely and deservedly known, and we can only wish her better luck in the future, and remind her that Woolwich plays strange tricks these times. The Hon. Violet Douglas-Pennant was defeated at Islington and Dr. Ethel Bentham at North Kensington. Miss Douglas-Pennant may be remembered, amongst other things, for her defence of the barmaids' "right-to-work" when an attempt was made to oust them. Even those women who were rejected polled a large number of votes.

The Divorce Commission.

The further hearing of witnesses before the Divorce Commission has made many points for those who assert that one sex alone is, from the nature of things, incapable of meting out justice to the other sex. Mr. Pickstone, County Court registrar, Bury, was of opinion that persistent cruelty on the part of the husband should not be in itself a ground for the dissolution of the marriage tie. In many cases, he said, "men who were otherwise good husbands only abused their wives whilst they themselves were under the influence of drink—it might be once a month." "Then, do you consider," asked one of the Commissioners, "that a monthly black eye is one of the obligations a woman undertakes when she enters matrimony?" The witness's reply was: "You must consider the circumstances in which she gets the black eye. She may be very aggravating sometimes when the husband has taken a little drink, and when it does not take much to aggravate him. If she has good sense she will leave him alone when he has taken a little drink, and she will not be touched."

When one considers that the physical inferiority of the woman to the man is continually insisted upon, it seems a monstrous thing that the physically superior being should have the right of persistent cruelty. A good husband, according to Mr. Pickstone, is allowed to become beastly drunk once every calendar month, and during that time he may give the wretched woman who is tied to him one black eye. If this is a typically good husband we should not care to meet with a bad one. The man who has taken drink is not a passive person, and he generally does not wait to be "let alone," but directs his attention to the patient woman who attends to his wants. If Mr. Pickstone's opinion were worth anything it would mean that either drink or marriage should be abolished. It certainly is a matter for the women of the country, when power comes to them, to see that men of his stamp are put in their proper place.

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RECEPTION TO MRS. CHAPIN.

The welcome accorded to Mrs. Chapin at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, March 1st, was an extremely cordial one, and it was made specially memorable by two features—the production of Mrs. Chapin's one-act play "At the Gates" and the delightful speech and recitation given by Miss Decima Moore. The hall was decorated with the insignia of the League and the prisoners' banners and the colours green, white, and gold were prominently displayed. Mrs. Despard was in the chair, and in her introductory remarks spoke of the long imprisonment which Mrs. Chapin had endured in consequence of the ballot-box protest at Bermondsey. Mrs. Chapin, who was made the recipient of several handsome floral tributes, then gave an interesting address, in the course of which she described the horrors of the prison system—the lack of ventilation, the dull apathy and hopelessness of the victims of its horrible routine, and the many poor women who were within its walls because, owing to the economic and moral conditions under which women of the poorer class live in this great England to-day, they never had a chance. Of the hunger strike, she said that though people might say it was played out now as a militant protest, yet they must bear in mind that it made the Government extremely anxious, as they feared the effect on the country of sending out women looking physical wrecks as a result of their prison "discipline." After the ballot-box protest, she was told that she had "killed the movement." The same had been said after every effective protest, and it would seem that it threw on being killed, as the numbers of their members continually increased. In conclusion, she reminded them of the motto of their League, "Dare to be Free."

Miss Decima Moore's Views.

Miss Decima Moore, who was billed to recite Laurence Housman's poem "Woman This and Woman That," gave her reasons for her faith in feminism before her recitation. "Her suffrage views dated," she said, "from the time she went to a mixed school, and a small, flabby, fat boy used to deride her by saying, 'Wot's the use of women?' forgetful of the fact that his mother was a woman, and his earliest instruction was being given him by a woman. At an early age she had had to earn her own living, and the Government saw to it that she paid rates and taxes the same as her brothers, but she was denied the same franchise privileges. And this injustice added to others convinced her more and more of the need for the women's revolt. Like all great movements, it had to go through the period of ridicule; but already people had ceased to laugh. They had realised that it was a great movement, and not a mere agitation. And the news of it had spread far and wide until it was being discussed all over the world. She had just returned from South Africa, and while there she had heard it continually spoken of from one end of the country to the other—from Johannesburg to Lake Nyassa. From America Mr. Forbes Robertson had that morning sent her news of the enormous success of the movement out there.

"There was a new Freemasonry amongst women since the movement had begun. For one woman Suffragist to know that another woman held the same views was to trust

that other. Mrs. Kendal had said of the struggle for enfranchisement: 'It deepens sympathies; it widens out and quickens the intellect.'

After the speeches, "At the Gates," a picketing episode, was produced by the Actresses' Franchise League, the cast being as follows:—

A Suffragette, Miss ELSIE CHAPIN; 1st Policeman, Mr. HAROLD CHAPIN; 2nd Policeman, Mr. A. L. BURKE; A Sympathiser, Mr. ALAN BIRCH; A Seamstress, Mrs. CHAPIN; A Lady, Mrs. SCOTT WILSON; A Drunken Man, Mr. EDWARD COUTTS; An M.P., Mr. H. LAURENCE LEYTON.

The cleverness and humour of the dialogue was much appreciated, and the various actors and actresses made their points easily. Miss Elsie Chapin as the Suffragist divided honours with the impersonator of the gentleman who was continually anxious to know if she could cross Westminster Bridge at five in the morning.

MRS. CHAPIN'S GRATITUDE.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

DEAR MADAM,—I want to thank all and everyone of the W.F.L. who were so very kind, and who sent me such lovely flowers on the evening of my reception at the Caxton Hall on March 1st. As it is impossible to write to them all individually, will you allow me, through your columns, to say how very happy and proud they made me? Holloway lost some of its grimness when viewed through the mist that came over my eyes as I listened to their magnificent welcome.—Yours sincerely, ALICE CHAPIN.

ADULT SUFFRAGE v. "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

Now that the cry of "Adult Suffrage" is on the lips of so many politicians, it is useful to have an opportunity such as that given by the debate arranged by the Willenden Branch for emphasizing the reasons why we should stick to the simple demand for "votes for women on the same terms as they are, or may be, granted to men." Miss Hicks, M.A. (W.F.L.), who opened the debate, dwelt largely on the dangers of confusing the plain issue with a demand for a wider franchise: (1) that this would combine the enemies of a wider franchise with those of votes for women, and so prevent a straight vote on our question; (2) that to increase the electorate at one stroke from 7,000,000 to 24,000,000 was a step which any Government would hesitate to take; (3) that the country, as a whole, was not yet prepared to see a majority of women electors over men; (4) that history, as in 1884 in our own country, and recently in Austria, showed that women could not safely unite their claim with that of "more votes for men." All this pointed to the probability that the promised Reform Bill would result in manhood, and not adult, suffrage, unless the women secured their position beforehand. Mrs. Montefiore (Adult Suffrage Society), who moved the Adult Suffrage amendment, thought that the way to success lay rather in asking for all that was wanted at once, especially as woman's suffrage was in any case considered a revolutionary measure. Also, as the right to a vote at present involved in general either the paying or receiving of rent, few working men's wives would be enfranchised, which would place them in an unfair position. The Rev. C. Hinscliff, in supporting the resolution, pointed out that the evils arising from poverty and class domination were not more serious than those arising from sex domination. Mr. Terry supported Mrs. Montefiore with a general attack on the upper and middle classes, and made it evident that his aim was rather manhood than adult suffrage.

An interesting discussion followed, and the vote taken showed a large majority in favour of the policy of the Women's Freedom League.

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"WHY I WANT THE VOTE."

*** Under this heading we shall have from time to time the personal opinions of our best-known supporters, giving the reasons why they want the vote. We all know the broad reasons why we want it; but the intimate reasoning which has led others of us into the ardent fighting front ranks has a special interest. This week our Managing Director expresses her convictions with that excellent logic which we always expect from her.*



MISS MARIE LAWSON.

I want the Parliamentary vote because I believe that citizenship is the right and duty of women as well as men, and I am convinced that, given the opportunity, women will be an important factor in helping to make legislation more effective. Because I believe that the present position of women is retarding our national development, men and women—the two distinct elements in the world's advancement—each being dependent on the other for the best results.

Because I believe that the success and worth of our political institutions should be measured by their methods and purpose as well as by their results. I consider that this present system of government, whereby the one sex are the masters and the other the slaves, is both antiquated and unfair; and it is only by discarding those of our methods and customs which are in any way obsolete that we can hope to attain, in our national affairs, the desired strength and efficiency.

I want the vote because, whether the franchise is a right or whether it is a privilege, the women of the country are indisputably entitled to it. If it is a right, then it is a human right (not merely a masculine one), and, as was declared by the first National Assembly of France, "ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government." If, on the other hand, it is to be regarded as a privilege, then the privilege must be extended with impartiality and common sense. To shut out one-half of the population from any voice in the nation's affairs is neither equity nor common sense. It would be about as logical for the legislators to decide that no vote should be permitted to red-haired men or men under forty. Such a course would be in the highest degree absurd, but not more so than that which they pursue with regard to qualified women.

I want the vote—and want it now—because, as a taxpayer and a municipal voter, I protest against being

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placed under a supreme coercive power in all national affairs, and because this sort of treatment will lead, naturally, to increasing discontent amongst women—discontent which must in time weaken the State.

I want the vote, finally, because I like fair-play. Here are we, the women of the country, who have been overtaken by robbers, bound and blindfolded. For successive generations the politicians have stood round us discussing whether and how they should procure conveyances for us and disputing as to what road we ought to take. Let them cease their discussions and disputes and free us from our bonds, so that we can speak and act for ourselves. And if then we cannot find a conveyance to suit us we shall at any rate be free to walk. MARIE LAWSON.

N.E.C. CAMPAIGN IN SUNDERLAND.

A delightful reception was given by the Sunderland Branch to the N.E.C. on Saturday evening in the Victoria Hall. The hall was beautifully decorated in the colours and the Holloway banner reminded all of the militancy of the League. The hostesses, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Story, and Miss Clark, received the guests. Mrs. Bernard Storey presided. In an enthusiastic speech she called on all present to join, to work, to agitate, and, if need be, to suffer for the Cause. Mrs. Despard delivered an inspiring address on the future for women, while Mrs. How Martyn spoke very practically, first to those who were not yet members, then to officials and branches. Miss Benett followed on the financial aspect of the work.

Miss Munro moved and Mrs. Robinson replied to votes of thanks, which were accorded very enthusiastically by the audience. Members and friends were present from Newcastle, Middlesbrough, the Hartlepoons, South Shields, and other towns.

A special resolution of sympathy to Mrs. Billington-Greig was passed.

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"When did I become a Suffragist? Why, I've never been anything else—I've lived all my life in a set of people where the women workers were paid equal wages for equal work. In the theatrical world the injustice of paying a woman less because she is a woman is quite unknown. Payment goes by worth, and worth alone. As a matter of fact, in the circle in which I lived the women got larger salaries than the men, because they happened to be cleverer, and were of far greater importance from the age of three up."

"What do I think the vote will do for women? It will give them—all of them—confidence in themselves. Numbers of women have got an idea that they are in some inexplicable way men's inferiors, and the vote will give them a new importance. And while it will tend to raise the humble-minded women, it will make the 'superior' people come down to their proper level. The Anti-Suffragists are usually women who have a very good time without any bother to themselves, and are afraid of losing it, and men, often unconsciously, presume on this fact."

"Women suffer from many disadvantages in their training, but, curiously enough, for that very reason they make better emergency workers than men. I am thinking now of my experiences when designing and getting ready the wardrobes in some of Sir Henry Irving's productions. They get there somehow, when a man, who has had better chances of training, will refuse to undertake anything that has to be done quickly. Their training is not as complete as the men's, and they get quick at their job, which is not a good thing for producing the best work. This faulty training of women in certain manual trades is bound to change when their citizen equality gives them an equal importance with men."

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[Photo Marie Léon, 30, Regent Street, S.W.]
MISS EDITH CRAIG.

"Your artistic training. How did you get it?"
"From my early surroundings. From the time I was a year old I was trained to know an artistic thing from an inartistic, and I'm sure when I was between three and four I knew the difference between Chinese and Japanese art! I was never allowed to have toys which were inartistic. I was brought up on Walter Crane. The earliest thing I can remember is the revolt against the horse-hair sofa and Early Victorianism generally, which expressed itself in the 'aesthetic craze.' I picked up a good deal of my art training from artists—my mother knew many artists, and I had the free run of their studios when I was a child."

"You designed the dresses for some of Sir Henry Irving's productions?"

"Yes, for three or four; and I was in charge of the wardrobe. No; I have not done much acting. I played small parts on tour with my mother and Sir Henry, but I was always too near the best not to realise my own limitations."

But those of us who have seen Miss Craig play Ellen Terry's part in "Pinkie and the Fairies" can only regret her diffidence.

In reply to a question as to how the Woman's Pageant had its origin, Miss Craig said that the Actresses' Franchise League wanted something for a matinée, and they had two or three small plays in which the casts could not include as many well-known names as they could wish, so it was suggested that they should have a pantomime; but the idea was given up.

"There had been some tableaux of famous women at the Caxton Hall, and it was suggested that we might have a Masque, introducing women distinguished for different things, and a male figure denying that they could achieve success in certain lines. Miss Cicely Hamilton made out a list of famous women and wrote portions of dialogue suitable to the different characters. These were read at a meeting of the League, and the idea 'caught on,' and it was thought a good plan to bring into it the tableau of Margetson's fine picture of Woman manacled at the feet of Justice, and Prejudice dragging her away. So it ended in Miss Hamilton writing the dialogue, and my seeing the thing staged. Some of the dresses came from my mother's wardrobe."

But Ellen Terry gave more than her dresses—she gave herself, and the delightful lines that Nance Oldfield speaks as she pauses at the foot of Justice charmed the vast audiences at the Albert Hall more than any of the grand and stately dames who passed in front of them.

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they can arrange for it. Suffrage Leagues—branches of the W.F.L. and others—will provide the necessary characters in each place."

"No," said Miss Craig, in answer to a question as to whether there were many "antis" amongst actors. "Some of our best men belong to the Men's League, and are strong suffragists. A man, when he comes on the stage, steps into a country where men and women are equal if they are equally able, and where the woman who is good at her work is thought infinitely more of than a man who is not good. Men quickly find their level on the stage, and perhaps for this very reason some who are not much good like to think that once outside the stage doors they have a fictitious importance."

"If all the actresses went on strike, would not a pleasure-loving male public be forced to yield any point to get them to come back?"

"In a profession as overcrowded as the stage a strike would be impossible. You could never get people who were paid at different rates—not for the particular part they played, but according to their particular merit in playing it—to work in unison."

But though Miss Craig acknowledges that the stage is fearfully overcrowded, she does not dwell on the gloomy side of the actress's life. "Those who speak of the sufferings and poverty that actresses undergo, sometimes forget," she said, "that the actress can live far more cheaply and much better than almost any other class of woman worker. On tour her lodgings are excellent and cheap, for the simple reason that theatrical landladies can afford to let their rooms cheap, as they are never empty; and by clubbing together, as is nearly always done, good food can be had for very little. You can live like a princess for 25s. a week, all found."

"Yes," said Miss Craig, in answer to a further question, "I belong to eight Suffrage Societies, and I think, when one considers all the cause means, one cannot belong to too many. I joined the Freedom League through seeing one of your workers selling your paper—then the *Woman's Franchise*—in the street, and, getting into conversation with her, she suggested my going to one of the Caxton Hall Thursday meetings. There I met Mrs. Despard, and, of course, joined the League."

The work which Miss Edith Craig has done for us on various occasions, notably at Caxton Hall in designing the dresses for the Fair and again in the making of the *Woman's Pageant*, for which she trained, rehearsed, and grouped the actresses with infinite patience and with such minute attention to detail as made it the great outstanding feature of the Albert Hall Festival, has not always received its due notice, owing to her habit of laughing self-effacement. Her colour-sense and her long experience behind the scenes as the daughter of the greatest actress of our time she places at all times freely at the service of the suffrage, and never thinks to look for payment in gratitude. But not one of us for one moment is unmindful of all we owe her; and her great good humour and rare commonsense, added to her artistry, make her the most delightful ally Suffragist or Suffragette could wish for.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

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Glasgow.

DENNISTOWN BRANCH.—At the meeting on Thursday, March 3rd, Miss Gibson addressed the Branch on the subject of Prohibition. She showed clearly that Britain would never be free from the drink curse until Prohibition was made law, for as long as there were public houses there would be drunkards. Miss Gibson declared that until women had the vote they could do little to forward the Prohibition movement. On Wednesday Miss Gibson spoke at a literary meeting on the subject of "Why Women Want the Vote." She had to undergo a good deal of heckling, but in the end the motion "That women should be enfranchised" was carried unanimously.

CENTRAL BRANCH CAKE AND CANDY SALE.—On Saturday the Central Branch held a very successful Cake and Candy Sale in the Suffrage Centre. Miss Edith W. Kirby presided in the afternoon, and called upon Miss Marguerite Sidley to open the sale. Two excellent concerts were given during

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the afternoon and evening. Songs were contributed by Mr. Rankin, Miss Locke, Miss Evans, Miss Penman, Miss Bothwick, Mr. Bennett, and Miss Colvin. Mr. Kay gave a delightful performance of conjuring tricks. Miss Pearl Stewart added to the enjoyment by two dramatic recitations. Miss Johnstone performed a graceful Spanish dance, and ten lady students, under the direction of Miss Pickup (also a student), gave a very smart and picturesque display of Swedish drill. Thanks are also due to the accompanist, Miss May Sloan. The cakes and sweets sold well, and everyone who came must have gone home convinced that Suffragettes know how to make things go.

Edinburgh.—17, Upper Gilmore Place.

We were fortunate in having as speaker at our afternoon "At Home" on Tuesday, March 1st, Miss Eunice Murray. Miss Mary McMillan and Miss Alice Ross were hostesses, and there was a good audience. Miss McLachlan took the chair, and Miss Murray's address was listened to with great interest. The Branch was again "At Home" in the evening, when Mrs. Bell, president, occupied the chair, and Councillor John A. Young spoke on "Woman's Place in Social Evolution." The causes which have contributed to the present position of women were traced back to very early times, and the important part women have played in progress on its peaceful side was fully brought out. There was some discussion, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded Councillor Young for his interesting address. To these "At Homes" several members brought jam, tablet, &c., which found a ready sale, the proceeds being devoted to our "Special Effort" fund. This is to be continued for a time. Special mention must be made of Miss Thomson, who stood with a collecting chair in Princes Street, and thus raised over £1. The *Evening News* has given prominence to the correspondence that has passed between Miss A. B. Jack, Secretary of the Branch, and Mr. Arthur Dewar, K.C., M.P., re the 1700 post-cards signed by his electors on polling day reminding him of his promise to support women's suffrage in Parliament. He now says he has been in favour of women's suffrage "on a democratic basis." The date of the "Hard Up Social" has been changed to Tuesday, March 15th. We hope that this, our regular meeting night, will suit all members. Miss Meredith has very kindly put the Café Vegetaria at our disposal, and the discussion by a Women's Parliament of a "Votes for Men" Bill promises to afford great entertainment.—HELEN MCLACHLAN.

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TO READERS OF "THE VOTE."

The new series, "Suffragettes at Home," which commences in this number of *THE VOTE* will, we believe, fill a long-felt want. The man-in-the-street who, with hoarse reiteration, tells us to "go home and mind the baby," to "do the washing," to "get the dinner," and to indulge in other domesticities is now provided with an opportunity of seeing us engaged in these labours. Any of our members who have particular domestic hobbies should enter for the prize of £1 is. offered by Mrs. Thomson-Price for the best photo received at the office of *THE VOTE*, 148, Holborn Bars, E.C., before April 2nd.

THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., LTD., 148, Holborn Bars.
Directors—Mrs. C. DESPARD, Mrs. E. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc.
The COUNTESS RUSSELL, Mrs. J. E. SNOW, Mrs. L. THOMSON-PRICE.
Managing Director.—Miss MARIE LAWSON.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1910.

THE MAN WITH THE GUN.

The amazing way in which Mr. Asquith has shown that, though he "has said what he has said," he is quite prepared to say something else, provided the pressure be strong enough, should make us militant Suffragists rejoice. He has proved up to the hilt the wisdom of our militant tactics.

During the last fortnight he has practically boxed the political compass. First the Budget should precede the Veto resolution; then the latter should be taken first. In either case the Government would stand or fall by the result, and brave and big words were spoken at each volta-face. But the interesting fact for us to note is that each change of tactics corresponded with a threatened revolt on the part of the Government's so-called friends. The Nationalists, the Labour, and even some of the Liberal members themselves talked of withdrawing their support, and, hey presto! the man of iron became at once a pliable man of straw. "Don't shoot! I'm coming down!" was the apt description of his attitude by a morning paper.

The Government's surrender to the threat of rebellion is only another proof that it is always the man with the gun who dictates the terms of peace, particularly in political warfare. Pleading hands, no matter how gentle and decorous they be, no matter what faithful service they may have rendered, are never so effective as those that hold a weapon well-oiled, primed, and ready for action should the necessity arise—a truism that may be recommended for the rueful consideration of Liberal women and the encouragement of Suffragettes.

Undoubtedly the men who hold the gun in the present Parliament are the leaders of the Irish and Labour Parties—the former particularly—and unless some measure of franchise extension be passed before the next General Election they will occupy the same position in the next Parliament. The result of the last election proves that the two great parties now are practically equal in the measure of support they receive from the country. Liberals and Conservatives tie with each other. It is the Irish and Labour vote that turns the scale either for victory or defeat.

The fate and the form of the next Franchise Bill rests, then, very largely in their hands. We recognise this, and their probable action must necessarily be a matter of great moment to us. What will it be? Each party claims to stand for democracy and the right of self-government. Will they put these principles into practice on behalf of the women? Or will party considerations blind them to all other issues? We must know the answer soon. Is it to be peace or war? The Socialists say that nothing but adult suffrage will satisfy them. The Nationalists frankly state that they have but one goal—Home Rule.

Of the dangers of a measure of adult suffrage preceding votes for women I need hardly speak. To complicate the simple issue of the removal of the sex disability with other reforms of a complex and far-reaching nature spells failure in advance. We are all practically agreed that we are not prepared to jeopardise our cause in that fashion. It would be a wholesome reflection for the enthusiastic supporters of the Irish Party to remember that the right of self-government is not one that can be limited by geographical or sex boundaries. It is a human right, the heritage of women equally with men. The line of demarcation that exists at present between the sexes is a fundamental one—the line that separates the bond from the free. It is not a question of degree, of geographical distinction, of partial or inadequate representation, of partial or inadequate self-government; and until that line be abolished women must concentrate their energies upon its removal. For them all other grievances must take a

secondary place. They do not demand justice for Irish, English, Welsh, or Scots women, but for *women*. They suffer alike in that women of all four countries have to obey laws that are imposed upon them without their consent by the men of all four countries. They suffer alike in that they are all political outcasts. They must clear out of the way, then, this fundamental injustice of the non-recognition of their sex before they can devote themselves to any national grievance. No other course is consistent with self-respect. Women must be citizens before they can be patriots. So long as they are unfranchised they are aliens, whether they recognise the bar-sinister or not, and the pathetic patriotism of an alien provokes the scornful laughter of gods and men.

The granting of Home Rule without the removal of the sex disability would be for Irishwomen who really desire justice a mockery, a travesty of liberty—Dead Sea fruit. Will Mr. Redmond use his power to help women as well as men? The issue rests very largely, I believe, with the women themselves. He is a politician, and Mr. Asquith has shown us that even the most adamant of politicians is amenable to pressure. Let them use the weapon of pressure, then, in every possible way. The time is propitious. Irishwomen have suffered and paid the price for national liberty equally with Irishmen. Let them insist that the reward when it comes shall be equally theirs. For the time being we have laid aside our militant weapons, but we have not spiked our guns. They are still primed and loaded, ready to be brought into action again if those who have the casting vote decide that it shall be war instead of peace. We should welcome peace with joy and gladness, for there is much work waiting for us to do, but it must be Peace with Honour. On these terms only can we lay down our arms for good.

MARION HOLMES.

IRISH CAMPAIGN.

Londonderry, Belfast, Coleraine, and Bangor have been attacked, and are yielding to the Suffrage Movement. Open-air meetings have been held twice daily in Londonderry since February 24th. Miss K. J. Coyle, who is working that district, has been well received. It is hoped that the local hall, which holds over a thousand, will be filled for Mrs. Despard's meeting on March 11th. A meeting for Mrs. Despard has also been fixed in Coleraine for the 10th, while the Bangor Branch is arranging an afternoon meeting for her on the 12th. Miss Matters will speak at Bangor on the 15th, Belfast on the 16th, and Dublin on the 18th. Open-air meetings in Belfast have been a great success, the women textile workers being for the most part keenly alive to the need of the vote and the men who come to jeer remaining to buy badges and to ask intelligent questions. An address to the members of the Irish Women's Suffrage Society (Belfast) on militant tactics has somewhat rudely shaken the faith of the non-militants in newspaper reports. The local industrial conditions are such as to make one realise more emphatically than ever before the urgency of the women's need.—EDITH A. BREMNER.

SPECIAL EFFORT.

Our thanks are due to our many members and friends who contributed to the success of Special Effort Week. We are glad to register it as a success, and the results from the little receipt books exceeded our expectations. One of our youngest branches—Barry—did splendidly, and other efforts, such as the three babies who gave their chocolate, jam, and biscuits for the whole week, were most encouraging. Our hostesses who lent their drawing-rooms contributed in a great measure towards success. We should like to mention the good results from Mrs. Denibas' meeting. The sale of THE VOTE has gone up by strides, and to the sellers, who stood through all weather at their posts, we are very grateful. The last effort, Mrs. Cope's concert in Kensington Town Hall, was a triumph, and put the coping stone on our edifice of combined endeavour.—MURIEL MATTERS.



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BRANCH NOTES.

Central Branch.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi.

A very successful meeting was held on Wednesday, March 9th, at which Dr. Thornett spoke on "Physical Deterioration." Miss Benett suggested the collection should be taken for Special Effort Week, and gave 20s., so that we were able to send 25s. to the funds. A speakers' class is to be arranged in connection with the Branch, particulars of which will be published later. Next meeting, Wednesday, March 16th, Mr. George Lansbury on "Break Up of the Poor Law." On Wednesday, April 6th, Mr. Hinscliffe will give a lantern lecture on "Evolution" (at 1, Robert Street). The Branch is increasing in membership, and is growing strong once more, thanks, we think largely, to the splendid efforts of our President, Miss Benett.—M. E. T.

Ipswich.—Grasmere, Norwich Road.

On Thursday, March 3rd, we held a meeting at our Club House, when Mrs. Stannard presided. Mrs. McCreery gave an able exposition of the Majority and Minority Poor Law Commission Report, and Miss Howard gave an extremely suggestive paper on "Women of To-day and Yesterday." Arrangements were made preparatory to Mrs. Baillie-Weaver's meetings, and for the sale of THE VOTE. Some of our members have been very successful in disposing of copies of THE VOTE in the market and elsewhere, and we are hoping to extend this useful work. On Friday, March 4th, Mrs. Hutley and I were asked to speak at the Municipal School for Boys Debating Society. Although the voting went against us, much interest was evinced, and we received a very courteous hearing.—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

Swansea.—Chez Nous, Sketty S.O., Glamorganshire.

The past week has been a busy one for members of the Swansea Branch. Taking advantage of Miss Manning's visit to the town, Mrs. Cleaves arranged a public meeting at Pontardawe for Monday evening. The speakers were Miss Phipps, B.A., and Miss Manning, B.A. The Public Hall was crowded with what was for the most part a most attentive and appreciative audience. Our warmest thanks are due to Mr. Jones, who was a most sympathetic chairman, and to other friends at Pontardawe for helping to arrange the meeting and acting as stewards and collectors. On Thursday the first Birthday Party of the Swansea Branch was held, at Walter Road Schoolroom, when about 130 members and friends were present. Miss Manning, who founded the Swansea Branch just one year ago, gave a most delightful account of the General Election campaign at South Salford, where Mr. Hilaire Belloc was opposed by the Manchester branches. Her concluding remarks on the educational

value of the vote were greatly appreciated. The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were most encouraging, and showed that the hard year's work had been very successful, both from the point of view of membership and financially. Much educational work has also been done. Officers and committee for the new year were elected. The Refreshment Committee, consisting of Mrs. Seyler, Mrs. Saunders Roberts, and Miss Kirkland, desire to offer their sincere thanks to the members and friends who so generously contributed towards the refreshment tables. The Branch funds will benefit considerably through their help.—C. E. NEAL.

Manchester (Central Branch).—9, Albert Square.

The Manchester Branch held an informal meeting only on Thursday, 3rd inst., to make final arrangements for the Jumble Sale. Friends who have not already sent parcels are reminded that they may send them to Miss Hordern, care of Mrs. Sharples, 6, Furness Street, Mount Street, Manchester, any time up to noon on Saturday, March 12th.—M. J. NEAL, President.

Waterloo.—21, Haddon Avenue, Aintree.

A small but enthusiastic "At Home" was held at 50, Kimberley Drive, Crosby, on Friday, the 4th. Mrs. Watkins, our latest recruit, was the hostess. Miss Nellie Smith and Miss Urquhart were among the guests. The Secretary spoke for a short time on the chief reasons underlying woman's demand for the vote. At the request of three friends, non-members, her remarks were followed by a warm defence of militant methods by Miss Urquhart. These ladies are now reading Suffrage literature. Arrangements were made for a public meeting to be held in Waterloo on March 12th, when Miss Matters has promised to speak. The public meeting will be followed by an "At Home" at 10, Cambridge Drive, Crosby, on Friday, March 18th. The hostess, Miss Knight, extends a hearty invitation to all Suffragist friends. A collection was taken, but as it was taken in a closed money box, the amount is still unknown. Will all Waterloo and Crosby Suffragists rally round us at Waterloo Town Hall on Saturday next, and ensure the success of our meeting?—S. H. FENTON, Hon. Sec.

Willesden.—59, Wrentham Avenue.

Our debate on "Adult Suffrage" versus "Votes for Women" passed off successfully on Thursday last, and is dealt with elsewhere.

Our next event of interest will be a Jumble Sale, which will take place early next month. Will all friends who are spring-cleaning kindly send any "old clo'" or lumber to Mrs. Gossling, 147, Buchanan Gardens, Harlesden, N.W., or leave them at the office? On Friday, February 25th, Miss Lucas gave a very interesting lecture on "Sex Equality" to the Queen's Park branch of the "Progressive League." The discussion afterwards turned on Adult Suffrage, and two members of the audience who were at first strongly opposed to the "Limited Bill" declared at the end of the evening that they were with us.—L. BENNETT.

Sheffield.—32, Dover Road.

On Saturday last we held our Jumble Sale at the Co-operative Hall, and were immensely pleased with the result. We made £10 5s., and as expenses were very slight indeed, we shall realise nearly the whole of that for the Branch. Of all the ways of raising money a jumble sale seems to be the easiest and least accompanied by heart-burnings, and we shall certainly try it again in Sheffield after a decent interval has elapsed. Next Wednesday, March 9th, we are having an "At Home," and we are looking forward eagerly to Miss Matters' first visit to Sheffield, and hope we shall be able to give her the reception to which she is entitled. Mr. O'Dell has also been good enough to promise to speak.

Swinton.—179, Chorley Road.

The Jumble Sale was very successful, but we still would welcome schemes for increasing our funds. On February 14th we attended the workers' meeting called by Miss Manning in Manchester, and decided to work with the district for Special Effort Week. The preparatory work took the form of bill distributing and sandwiching, whilst at the Memorial Hall "At Home" on February 23rd Swinton provided collectors.

We have chosen for our members of the Organisers' Committee Mrs. Hyde and Miss Johnson, and our secretary. This committee is to sit once a month in town, and will consider any suggestions for district work which members like to propose through their secretaries or through Miss Johnson, 179, Chorley Road, Swinton, secretary to the committee. The next meeting is on Friday, March 11th.

Swinton has formed a "Vote Brigade," with Miss Janet Heyes as captain. Will all members who feel they would like to take part in the sound propaganda work of VOTE selling communicate at once with the captain, at Newholme, Hazlehurst, Worsley? Several members have also persuaded their newsagents to stock the paper, having gone guarantor for half a dozen copies. It is cheering to note that last week not a single copy was left for the guarantors to make good, and the captain wishes to compliment the members who sold their VOTES with such dogged determination at the theatre queues on Saturday, Feb. 26th.

Friday, February 25th, saw a good open-air meeting in Eccles. Until further notice these meetings are to be held weekly on Friday evenings at eight o'clock, on Eccles Cross. Collectors and VOTE sellers will be very welcome. We aim at an "Eccles Branch," in the early spring. Who will help?—JANET HEYES.

Springburn—2, Ruskin-street, Bishopsbriggs.

Springburn Branch held their first business meeting on Thursday, 17th ult., in the Committee Room, Masonic Hall, Vulcan Street, when Miss Wilson explained certain details to us and put our Branch on a business basis. The following office-bearers were formally appointed:—President, Mrs. McRae, 20, Mansion Street, Possil Park; Treasurer, Miss C. MacBeth, 2, Syriam Terrace, Springburn; Literary Secretary, Mrs. Johnstone, 2, Ruskin Square, Bishopsbriggs. Mrs. Thomas Wilson, Mrs. Geo. Wilson, and Mrs. Anderson were elected for working committee. We then arranged to have a public meeting on March 16th, when we expect to have Mrs. Billington-Greig and Miss Sidley with us.—C. O. BOWSIE, Secretary pro. tem.

ADVERTISERS, PLEASE NOTE!

Our Competitions.

The results of the competitions for receipts for goods bought from advertisers will be found below, and any advertiser who desires to assure himself of the genuineness of these can do so by applying to the Editor, at 148, Holborn Bars.

One of our members spends with one of our advertisers alone between £4 and £5 a week, and, though she has not entered for the competition, this fact can also be verified. A very general desire has been shown to benefit those firms to whose continued support we owe some of the success which has followed our young paper from its start. A good many of our friends have not kept their receipts, but we hope that in future they will do so.

(1) The first prize, for the largest number of receipts, is 10s., or two fully paid-up shares in the Minerva Publishing Company, and goes to

Dr. KNIGHT, 7, Gainsborough Gardens, N.W.,

who sent in twenty-seven receipts, for sums varying from £2 9s. 8d. to 1s. 3d., and amounting in all to £16 12s. 0½d. Dr. Knight would also be entitled to the prize for largest sum spent, but we have decided not to award both to the same person.

(2) The second prize, for the largest total amount spent, is 6s. 6d., or a year's subscription to THE VOTE, post free, and goes to

Miss SNOW, 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W.,

for receipts for money spent during the month of March to the amount of £3 16s. 1d.

Other bundles of receipts amounting to £2 6s. 5d., £2 1s. 5d., and smaller sums were also received. This competition will be continued next month, the last day for entry being Saturday, April 2nd.

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

These points will cover the legal, social, and economic grounds on which women demand the vote, and will call attention to the glaring inconsistencies which demand a change in the present condition of the franchise.

10.—THOUGH WOMEN ARE REGARDED AS THE SEX LEAST CAPABLE OF WAGE-EARNING AND THOUGH SONS ARE ALMOST INVARIABLY SUPPLIED AT THE OUTSET OF THEIR LIVES WITH AN EDUCATION WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO SUPPORT THEMSELVES, BY THE LAWS OF INTESTACY SONS INHERIT IN PREFERENCE TO DAUGHTERS.

In France parents cripple their resources and curtail their comfort to establish a daughter in life, while a son is supposed to wait till the death of his parents before entering upon his inheritance. Quite the contrary is the case in England. The resources of the family are spent, not only on educating the son, but in giving him the means to support a wife in comparative comfort, and his claim comes before that of the daughter. That attitude of mind reflects itself in the Law of Inheritance. . . . At present solicitors advise clients that it is usual and proper to make larger provisions for sons than for daughters.—LADY McLAREN.

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"AT HOME" AT CAXTON HALL.

There was a large attendance at Caxton Hall on Thursday last to hear interesting addresses from Mrs. Despard and Mr. Laurence Housman. Mrs. Hicks was in the chair.

Political Emancipation and Industry.

Mrs. Despard spoke with force and conviction on the relation of the Political Emancipation of Women to Industry. She said they were in the storm centre of a great agitation. Economic pressure had become a burning question; there was never any great change in the labour market without economic pressure. The difference in the payment of men and women was pushing women into the labour market, and men out of it. Where a man had earned 40s. for doing certain work, a machine would be installed to do the same work, and a woman, who would only be paid 6s. a week, would be put to work it. The workhouses were crowded with men who had been crushed out of the labour market, and these conditions were all the result of want of balance and want of foresight.

If it were realised that in a community, as in a family, the ages of the workers changed, these changes would be provided for. Politicians alternately regarded the con-

ditions of employment as too big to tackle, or rushed into ill-considered legislation. There was a hypocritical cry that the place of woman was the home, yet the factory bell called her out from her bed at dawn. Formerly the woman had her home work of preserving herbs, weaving, spinning, embroidering, and laundry work, but men stepped in and took these from her, and at the present day it was no uncommon thing to hear men cry out that women were competing with them in the very trades which had originally been the women's, and from which they had ousted them. The present conditions of the labour market were the Nemesis that was waiting on the male employer and employees. They had determined that women should be paid less than men by means of a male House of Parliament and a male electorate. The male mind was not to be disturbed—man was the superior animal: the bread-winner—and if women wished to earn, they must not compete, and they must only work at such hours as the male Government might allow them. Speaking of the loss of sleep and the loss of vitality in many workrooms, owing to the unsanitary conditions of work, Mrs. Despard paid a special tribute to Messrs. Cadbury's colony at Bournville. Of the sweating

industries, Mrs. Despard said that it was punishable by fine in Australia, and she hoped the time would come when it would no longer exist in any country. "Who steals my purse steals trash," but who instigated sweated work makes a theft of life. She did not expect the millennium would come with the women's franchise, but she did hope for a loftier spirit of humanity. With the intelligence, the energy, and the goodwill of a whole people much might be achieved when men and women stood together and worked together.

Mr. Laurence Housman's address will be found on page 238.

DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS.

By the courtesy of Mme. du Mont, of Swiss Cottage, N.W., we were able to hold a most successful drawing-room meeting on Thursday, March 3rd. Mrs. Cope was in the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Despard and Mrs. H. W. Nevinson.

WE NEED MORE DRAWING-ROOM MEETINGS so as to utilise this truce to strengthen the ranks with new workers, and members are urged to assist in providing facilities for such meetings. Anyone having a large drawing-room which can be used for a suffrage meeting is asked to communicate with the Hon. Organiser for London.



SUFFRAGETTES AT HOME.
(1) Mrs. Snow (member of N.E.C.) makes pastry.

HOW TO HELP.

Under this heading from time to time brief articles dealing with good ideas for assisting the work of the League or increasing the sale of THE VOTE will appear.

Street Sales

To those who are pushing the sale of THE VOTE we are deeply grateful. During Special Effort Week over one thousand copies of THE VOTE were sold at the various pitches, street corners, &c., alone—and with the assistance of those members who found the work not nearly as difficult as they thought it would have been, and who have learned how to attract the eye of the passer-by, we hope to increase even this good record. People are pleased with our paper, and they are saying so to our sellers, and this is making their work far more pleasant than they could have anticipated. It is easier to get rid of something people want than something of which they are doubtful. Those members with some leisure who have not already tried selling THE VOTE should apply to Mrs. Snow, at the offices of the W.F.L., 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, and they will be given a pitch.

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OUR TREASURY.

We have already received nearly £100 on account of Special Effort Week, and, if they will allow me, I should like on behalf of the League, to specially thank our Branches for their munificence. As I write a contribution of £4 7s. reaches us from Northern Heights, and we have already acknowledged £4 17s. from Caldicot. I hope by next year every League member may be a member of a Branch, and that in this way we may all have the widest field of usefulness, and a vote.

Table listing donations and collections for the League. Includes names like Mrs. Denibas, Mrs. Lloyd George, and various branch names. Total amount: £2163 2 10.

Mrs. Lloyd George, Suffragist.

Mrs. Lloyd George has now made it clear that she wants a vote; it remains to be seen if she will get it. At the moment she favours Constitutional lines, and seems to think Westminster will come to her, without her going to Westminster. This touching faith would seem to have been learned at the domestic hearth. But if Mrs. Lloyd George could be induced to use some of her husband's dialect on the recalcitrant members of the Cabinet, she might prove to be the most powerful advocate our cause has yet found.

Mrs. Lloyd George, addressing a gathering of women Liberals at Nottingham yesterday, said they were all anxious to get the vote, but they wanted to do it in a constitutional way. There was a great deal of important work for them to undertake in the future.—Daily Telegraph.

A. DARKIN (late Nash's) 36, Essex Road, Islington. WATCHMAKER, JEWELLER & OPTICIAN. ALARM CLOCKS from 1/10. WATCH AND JEWELLERY REPAIRS A SPECIALITY.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE POINT OF VIEW.

Speech by Laurence Housman at Caxton Hall, March 3rd.

What right, it may be asked, has a Suffragist to speak of a point of view which is not his own? What first-hand knowledge is he likely to have about it? The answer is that every man has some germs of Anti-Suffragism in his blood, like a taint of original sin, and when he hears an Anti-Suffragist talk, he may well have that fellow-feeling which prompted Wesley to say of the poor drunkard lurching along the road—"There goes John Wesley, but for the grace of God." Anti-Suffragism is a very easy and natural trap for a man to fall into but for the saving grace of common-sense; and by "common-sense" I mean a sense that is not the peculiar possession of one sex alone, but a sense common to both sexes, a sense which, delivered from sex-prejudice, enables one to look at a question from both sides, and to see it in the complete light of our common humanity.

And especially may any man be aware of the Anti-Suffrage germ in his composition who has been through Public School and University, or has entered on any career from which by law or custom women are expressly debarred. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that Anti-Suffrage ideas are always to the fore in a majority where the male thus occupies a privileged and a protected position to the exclusion of the other sex, and that when he abates his pretensions and admits women to a more equal footing, his Anti-Suffrage prejudices tend to disappear. It is therefore quite in the natural order of things that public school boys, university and medical students, lawyers, barristers, Royal Academicians, and I fear I must also add, Members of Parliament, should, as a majority and in their heart of hearts, be opposed to the removal of the sex disqualification. And my aim to-day is not so much to hold up such prejudices to scorn as to show how naturally they are the product of the conditions under which the bulk of our upper and our middle classes, and in some respects our lower classes, also receive their masculine training.

Look at the inducement there is to every English public school boy to regard himself as a far more important factor of the community than his own sisters. Consider the wealth, the importance, and the prestige of such great schools as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby, to name only a few among scores. We see around us nothing comparable to the training of our girls, although in some cases those foundations and endowments were intended originally for both sexes alike, but were at the time of the Reformation, along with so many other educational facilities, made over to the use and benefit of boys alone. And I would have you bear in mind, in connection with that theft and withdrawal of education from the women which went on through all the seventeenth, eighteenth, and the greater part of the nineteenth centuries, how unfair is the belittlement of woman's intellectual record in which some men are wont to indulge, and their assertion that women have not excelled either in science or art. With equal fairness and truth might it be said that slaves also have not excelled in those things, their enslaved condition being against them. It is only to-day that woman's mind is escaping from the intellectual slavery which has been most wickedly and most unequally imposed on it for whole centuries; and until she can feel in her surroundings that same freedom which men feel, and to which their minds instinctively respond, you have no right to question her ability or to compare her record with theirs.

At school, also, the physical force argument is very much to the fore: boys are taught to worship it: and it

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is very difficult to combat successfully. I remember, when I first went to school, knives and pins used to be stuck into me by bigger and older boys if I dared to go above them in class; and from that treatment I had no appeal to the higher authorities that did not involve a breach of schoolboy loyalty. I was then receiving my Anti-Suffragist training—the training that physical force was the basis of government; and, perhaps, by living it down and refusing to yield, I got my training as a Suffragist, and the opportunity of proving that even in school life physical force was not the "ultima ratio," but only a stage of savagery, of which even the crude young male can be taught to divest himself. And I am quite sure that if it can be overcome, without appeal to the higher authorities, in a rough school community, it can also be overcome and expelled from the mind of modern democracy.

Another and an even more serious element of school life in its effect on character and on the growing man's mental and moral attitude towards women is the fact that, as a rule, the schoolboy is, or was in my generation, left to learn those great central truths which are called "the facts of life," not from his teachers but from his school-fellows, and that he learned them, in consequence, in a very material, unedifying, and often a most debasing form. And you have but to compare that careless, almost contemptuous, neglect of moral instruction of the one sex, with the carefully-fostered ignorance in which a young girl is often sent blindfold into life, or into marriage itself—an ignorance which a mother herself once told me was too "attractive" an element in sex for women competing in the marriage market ever to forgo!—you have but to compare those two conditions in the upbringing of our boys and girls to judge whether they are likely to breed in the man any sense of a woman's equal right in matters of sex.

And when we pass from school to university—a world so elaborately planned and arranged for the delectation and development of the physical and mental faculties of our young males—and from university to that broad choice of career which is then theirs, and that freedom to compete in any profession, the highest posts and emoluments of which are reserved for men alone, can it be any matter for wonder if the idea of woman's inferior and subordinate position has by that time become fixed in the male mind as a natural thing, and inseparable from the conditions of life? It requires a great effort of the imagination to see through these externals, and to realise that the full development of the woman's faculties, together with subsequent freedom to choose, this way or that, between a domestic and an independent, intellectual, and industrial career, are every whit as important for the evolution and raising of the race as the similar freedom which man holds as a natural right. All the externals are against such a conviction finding place; and there seems to be only one point which the male Anti-Suffragist regards as of equal importance in the education of women, and that is the development of their sex-charm.

Now, we never ask the man to enter into a sort of departmental training for the development of his sex-charm; but the woman we do. His comes naturally from the free employment of his faculties, and from the energy with which he applies himself to the task of securing his own independence. But independence, either actual or potential, is not supposed to add anything to a woman's sex-charm—alas! rather the reverse; and so we see the woman set down instead to a course which is rather of

artificial restriction than of free development, and to the practice of an art of pleasing which may win for her a husband, but will not secure for her a livelihood, if it is her fate or her preference to remain single.

That branch of woman's training is recognised and exalted by your male Anti-Suffragist because it provides him at an apparently cheaper cost to himself with the material which he prefers; and your woman Anti-Suffragist, recognising that easy but most short-sighted preference, goes eagerly to meet it, hoping to find thereby the shortest of all cuts to the power and influence she means to exercise. For have no doubt—you have only to look at prominent women Anti-Suffragists to-day to be sure of it—have no doubt that they also are aiming, just as you are aiming, at securing the greatest possible amount of influence in the affairs of men, both domestically and in the State: and they have chosen what they believe to be the most effective course; that which lies, namely, in an appeal through sex-charm to the passions of men rather than to their reasons and their consciences.

Now that power is a very great power of its kind, but it is not a communal power, nor does it spring from that communal spirit which is the new force now awakening in our midst. It is rather an individual power—self-centred both in its origin and in its results; it serves for personal aggrandisement, and has this further quality, that it flatters the mind and senses alike of the person who exercises it and the person on whom it is exercised. It is essentially an anti-democratic power, and you have not to search far beneath the surface to find that your Anti-Suffragist is also an anti-democrat, and that the fight against woman's enfranchisement is, in disguise, a fight against democracy.

Now these weapons, which some women unhappily regard as the provision of Nature herself, depend for their full effect on an artificial encouragement of the possessive passions of the male sex; depend, in fact, on the accentuation of sex throughout the whole order of society. Undoubtedly they enable certain women to acquire a very considerable influence, and to stand in a society of their own, conspicuous, courted, and admired; but this very same force—this accentuation of sex—expanding itself amid rougher surroundings and under circumstances less favourable to the physically weak, grinds thousands into the dust, and doubles and trebles the numbers of prostitution in our streets.

Now, why is this? Why does this accentuation of sex-difference and sex-attraction, which gives power to the few, tend also to the subjection of the many? The answer, though clear, is a little difficult to state publicly. It cannot be denied, I think, that in the relations of the sexes there is an element of surrender by the woman to the man, under certain conditions and for a certain end. It is an accepted phrase that the woman "gives herself to the man she loves." But even in that phrase we see already formulated a claim on the part of the woman, which seldom secures its logical completion, for if the woman's free gift of herself has rightly taken the place of forced marriage and capture, then the power to give herself freely, the right to assent, but not to be compelled, should just as much remain hers within the bonds of marriage as before. Unless the surrender asked of her is always a free and unforced surrender, yielded of her own motion and not by the domination of the male will, there must always be in it an element of subjection and degradation, and that is an ideal of marriage which the over-accentuation of sex and the artificial stimulus of the possessive passions of the male tend necessarily to defeat. While, therefore, the few—the experts in the use of sex-charm—increase their influence under the conditions we are considering, the majority become less able to defend themselves, or to hold their own in a world where the relations which involve surrender on the woman's part are extended and increased to a morbid and unnatural degree. The accentuation of sex-differences, while increasing the male desire, and, as a result, the incontinent tyranny of its demands, has increased also the physical weakness and dependence of the woman in all matters relating to sex and birth, and we have to-day the abominable result that, of the entire animal kingdom,

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woman alone is allowed no "close time," no separation or relief from that relationship which brings her most effectively into subservience and subjection to man. When, therefore, gentlemen like Mr. Belloc tell us that the aim of the woman's movement is immoral, because it would alter the relation of the sexes, we may, I think, boldly answer that such, please God, is indeed the goal towards which we aim, and may claim to justify it on Scriptural as well as on secular grounds.

The Anti-Suffragist seems always to be engaged in an anxious endeavour to perpetuate, as though it were a blessing, the curse brought about by man's fall, and to uphold its conditions as though they were a fulfilment instead of a violation of God's purpose for the human race. If with the curse came, as we are told in Genesis, man's domination over the woman, and following upon it a multiplication of her conception and her sorrow, then with God's blessing we may hope to see it removed; and if in this world man is not to work for the removal of that curse which conditions his present life, then I do not know for what object his labours are to be spent. But should it be rather his aim to make that curse permanent and its foundations more sure and strong, then I can see no better or more direct way than that which lies in the Anti-Suffragist point of view.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.

- Thurs., March 10th **Caxton Hall**, 3 to 6. Speakers, Mr. H. W. Nevinson and Mr. Cameron Grant.
- Fri., March 11th **Kingsland Road** (end of Forest Road), Open-air Meeting, 7.30.
- Sat., March 12th **Urswick Road**, Lower Clapton Road, Open-air Meeting, 7.30.
- Wed., March 16th 1, **Robert Street**, Adelphi, at 7.30. Central Branch Meeting. Mr. Geo. Lansbury.
- Thurs., March 17th **East Ham**, Holme Road. Miss Benett.
- Thurs., March 17th **Caxton Hall**, 3 to 6. Speakers, Mrs. Despard, Ven. Archdeacon Escreet.
- Mrs. Despard, when in London, is at the office on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings, and will be pleased to see members of the League who wish to consult her.

THE PROVINCES.

- Thurs., March 10th **Grove Hall**, Eastbourne, at 8 p.m. Debate on Militant Methods. Mrs. Manson. Chair, A. C. Hillman, J.P.
- Thurs., March 10th **Middlesbrough**, Victoria Hall, at 8 p.m.: Miss Muriel Matters.
- Fri., March 11th **Liverpool**, Hope Hall, at 8 p.m.: Miss Matters and Mr. Joseph McCabe.
- Sat., March 12th **Waterloo** (Liverpool), at 8 p.m.: Miss Muriel Matters.
- Wed., March 16th **Cheltenham**. Mrs. Manson.
- Sat., March 19th **High Wycombe**, at 8 p.m.: Miss F. Underwood.
- Tues., April 5th **Grove Hall**, Eastbourne. Speaker, Mrs. A. Sanderson.

There will also be a few drawing-room meetings, and possibly a big open-air meeting at York.

SCOTLAND.

- Thurs., March 10th **Callander Literary Society**, 8 p.m.: Miss Murray and Miss Sidley.
- Sat., March 12th "At Home" at **Suffrage Centre**, at 7 p.m.
- Tues., March 15th **Kirkintilloch**, Public Meeting, 8 p.m.: Miss Murray and Miss Sidley.
- Wed., March 16th **Springburn Public Meeting**, 8 p.m.: Miss Sidley.
- Sat., March 19th **Cake and Candy Sale**, Dennistoun Branch.

WALES.

- Thurs., March 3rd **Swansea**, at **Walter's Road Schoolroom**, at 7 p.m.: Annual Meeting and Social. Speaker, Miss Manning, B.A.; Chair, Miss Phipps, B.A.
- Thurs., May 5th **Swansea**, **Albert Hall**: **Woman's Pageant**. Miss Cicely Hamilton and Miss Edith Craig.

IRELAND.

- Thurs., March 10th **Coleraine**, Mrs. Despard.
- Fri., March 11th **Londonderry**, **St. Columb's Hall**, Mrs. Despard.
- Sat., March 12th **Bangor**, **Wesley Hall**, at 3 p.m.: Mrs. Despard.

- Tues., March 15th **Bangor**, **Wesley Hall**, at 8 p.m.: Miss Matters.
- Wed., March 16th **Belfast**, **Avenue Hall**, at 8 p.m.: Miss Matters.
- Fri., March 18th "Airfield," **Donnybrook**, **Dublin**, **Drawing Room Meeting**: Miss Muriel Matters.
- Fri., March 18th **Dublin**, **Aberdeen Hall** (**Gresham Hotel**), at 8 p.m.: Miss Matters.

OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

The Suffrage Atelier.

There will be a general meeting of the Suffrage Atelier on March 12th, at 3 p.m., at 3A, Wychcombe Studios, England's Lane, N.W. (by kind invitation of Miss K. Shaw). At 4 p.m. Mr. Laurence Housman will give an address on the aims of the Society. The general meeting is for members only, but any friends or artists interested in the subject are invited to hear the address. Free tickets can be obtained from the Atelier.

Dr. Haslam will give her address on "Women in the Medical Profession" at the designers' meeting on Wednesday, March 16th, at 2.45 p.m. Non-members can obtain free tickets for this from the Hon. Secretary, Suffrage Atelier, 1, Pembroke Cottages, Edwardes Square, Kensington, W.

The New Union for Men and Women.

The New Union for Men and Women, 52, Madox Street, Hanover Square, W., was among the Suffrage Societies at St. George's-in-the-East harassing the Government by imploring voters to "keep the Liberal out." Several stirring meetings were held, in which Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Horn, Mr. E. Duval, Miss Sanders, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Rutter, Mr. E. G. Clayton, Mrs. Storrs, Miss M. E. Baker, and Mr. W. E. Legge, B.Sc., took part.—W. WILSON HORN, Chairman.

Conservative Women's Franchise Association.

The second of the series of "At Homes" of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association was held in St. George's Hall, Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, on Wednesday, March 2nd. The Countess of Galloway was the hostess, and Lady Betty Balfour presided over a very crowded and enthusiastic gathering. Amongst the speakers were Mrs. Ronald McNeill, Mrs. Robie Uniacke, Miss Tuke (Principal of Bedford College), Mrs. Moss, and the Master of the Temple. The third "At Home" will take place on March 16th, when Lady Willoughby de Eresby will be the hostess.

Mrs. Gerald Arbuthnot held a reception at 43, Prince's Gardens on behalf of this Association on March 3rd. Mrs. Gilbert Samuel (Hon. Sec.) gave an account of the work and the aims and objects of the Association, and Lady Betty Balfour and Mr. Gerald Arbuthnot, M.P., addressed the audience. Among those present were Lady Edward Spencer-Churchill, the Hon. Lady Shelley, Lady St. Leonards, Lady Shaw, Mary Lady Inverclyde, Lady Edith Ashley, Lady Arthur, Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brise, Lady Constance Hadow, Mrs. George Forbes, Mrs. Lonsdale, and Mrs. Kerr-Smiley.

N.W.S.P.U.

After a very short respite the members of the Union have again been called for election work. During the week they have been carrying on a strenuous campaign with Mrs. Pankhurst's help at Ilkeston, Derbyshire, to oppose Colonel Seely. Although there are no women in prison at present, the disgraceful treatment meted out to former prisoners was the subject of two questions in the House recently. In both cases Mr. Churchill gave a guarded and inaccurate answer, based on those made by his predecessor. Active preparations are in progress in the provinces for the great mission to women to which the Union is at present devoting its energies.

New Constitutional Society.

Two successful "At Homes" have been held by the New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage.

The first took place at Mrs. Cecil Chapman's, when Mr. Laurence Housman spoke eloquently in favour of the Anti-Government policy.

The second was held at Mrs. Carl Hentschel's. Mr. Pett Ridge made a delightful speech, and in his inimitable style left no room for doubt as to the efficacy of the method of the New Society.

Many new members joined, and good collections were made in both cases.

CAXTON HALL.

Members and friends are cordially urged to come to the "At Home" on Thursday, March 10th, at 3 p.m., for we are to have as speakers Mr. H. W. Nevinson, the well-known journalist and author, who will address us on "Woman and War"; and Mr. Cameron Grant, who has chosen "The Influence of Women's Position on Savage and Semi-Savage Races." This should be one of the most interesting meetings we have held, and members are advised to come early.

On March 17th, the last "At Home" of the present syllabus, the speakers will be our President, Mrs. Despard, and the Venerable Archdeacon Escreet.