

VOTES FOR WOMEN

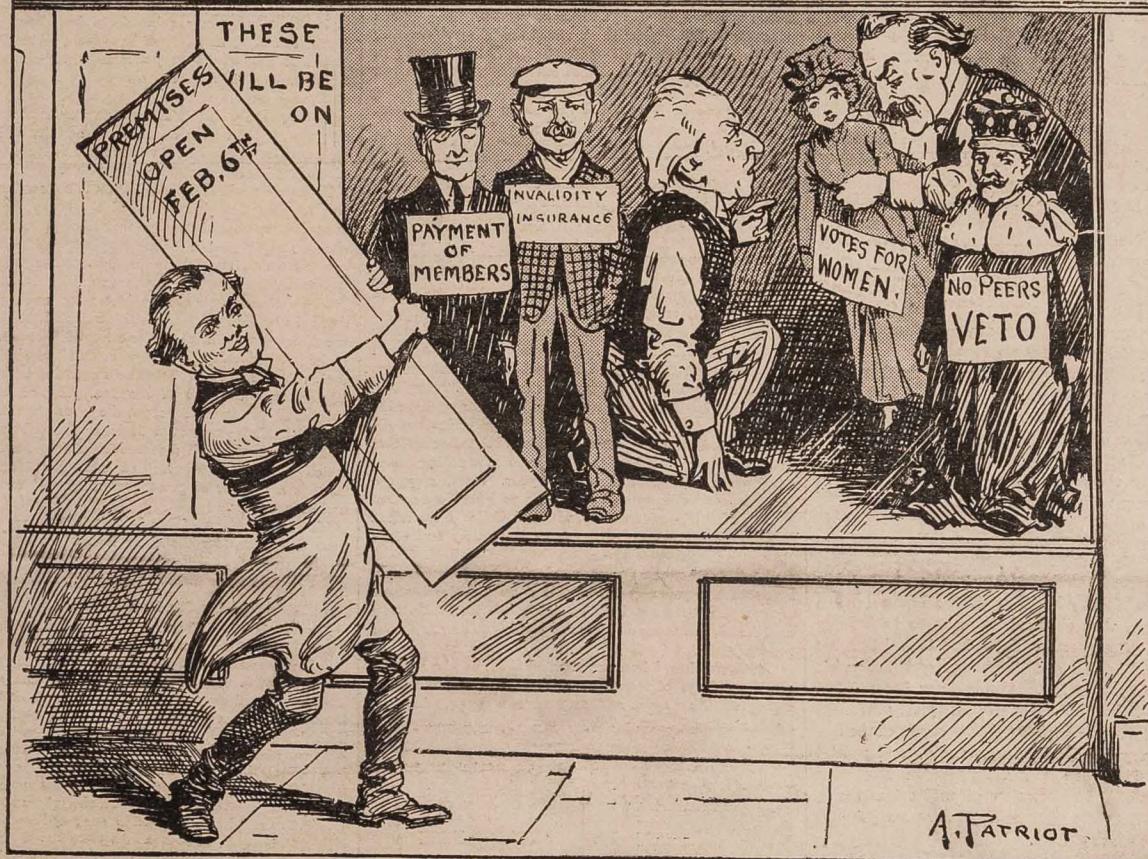
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THE LIBERAL STORES



WINDOW DRESSING.

Shopman Asq-th. **Must we put this in the Window?**

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Real business in Parliament will begin next week with the opening by the King in person and the reading of the King's Speech. We shall then have the first indication of the attitude which the Government propose to adopt this Session towards Woman Suffrage. We deal with this question elsewhere in our leading article this week.

Private Members' Days.

We referred last week to the rumour that the Government would seek to curtail the time usually

available for private members during the earlier part of the Session. It seems only too probable that this rumour was well founded, and that of the seven or eight Fridays on which private Members' Bills are wont to be discussed the Government are proposing to take all but two or three. The *Standard* connects this decision directly with Woman Suffrage:

It must be remembered that such a course would have many recommendations for Ministers. It would remove the possibility of inconvenience which the chances of the ballot may always provide for a Government in the early days of its existence. It might, for instance, defer the hour of dealing with women's suffrage or the Labour party's plan for neutralising the Osborne judgment.

There is therefore all the more urgency to secure that a large number of M.P.'s take part in the ballot on behalf of Woman Suffrage in order that one of the few days remaining may be secured for its discussion.

Suffragettes as Upholders of British Liberties.

The question of the encroachment of the Government is, however, far wider than a mere Woman Suffrage issue and extends to the whole scope of Parliamentary practice. We are glad to see that the *Morning Post* urges resistance, though it seems hardly to expect any result.

It would be a good thing in the public interest if some powerful section of the House were to take up the attitude which in the old days used to be adopted by men like Mr. James Lowther and Mr. Labouchere, and protest against the increasing tendency of Governments to suppress on the slightest pretext the opportunities which the Standing Orders afford for the exercise of the initiative of the private member.

Successive amendments of procedure, commenced in the early Eighties of the last century under Mr. Gladstone, have so curtailed the rights of the unofficial member that he is now for the greater part of the Session reduced to an occasional speaking and a frequent voting machine. Of recent years the Treasury Bench, without formally altering the Standing Orders, has by special resolutions sensibly reduced the rare occasions on which business, other than that desired by Government, can be introduced. And demands of this kind are resisted with but half a heart by the Front Opposition Bench, which—though it votes against the proposal of the moment—knows that when it crosses the floor it will probably itself resort to the same practices. If the Labour or any other Party could successfully resist this growing disposition to treat the House of Commons as a machine for simply registering the decisions of the Government and to regard any initiative by non-front-bench men as a sort of treason against the Ministry, much good would result. But the Labour Party—just as many protesting members did in former days—will probably content itself with a verbal protest, and finish by voting straight.

Just so! The only real fight for the liberties of the House of Commons is being made to-day, not by any of the parties inside the House, but by the militant Suffragists.

An Anti-Suffragist on Woman's Emancipation.

Speaking last week at a reception given by the lady students of Queen Margaret's College, Glasgow, Lord Curzon referred to the increased opportunities which existed at the present day for the intellectual occupation of women. He had always been, he said, and always would be, not merely a devout believer in the intellectual equality of the sexes, but also in the desirability of offering to women every opening to which their intelligence and their character fitted them.

Earlier in the day, in the course of his Rectorial address, he had said, "And when the day comes in which the Eastern world shall address itself seriously to the emancipation of woman, the Christian Church may be powerful both in aid and example." It is difficult to reconcile these statements with Lord Curzon's avowed opposition to Woman Suffrage. We are aware that he advocated the admission of women to degrees at Oxford, but we should have supposed that a man of Lord Curzon's intellectual attainments could not have failed to realise that the exclusion of women from the exercise of the Parliamentary vote operated to close to them many "openings to which their intelligence and their character fitted them."

Sex in Science.

We have no sympathy with the proposal of the French magazine the *Revue des Français* that there should be an additional French Academy for ladies only. There is no sex in literature or science and there can be no good reason whatever why persons of distinction of either sex should not be elected indiscriminately to positions of honour in the academies which already exist.

The Black Fact.

A correspondent forwards us a paper which is intended for children, which refers to the present terrible infant mortality as follows:—

The lives of 90,000 children are thrown away in this country every year. 100,000 babies die before they are one year old, and, if all mothers loved their children, 90,000 of these lives could easily be saved.

If the word "fathers" be substituted for "mothers" there would be more truth in the statement, for it is the mothers who are excluded from any part in making the laws and regulations which go to protect infant life. In New Zealand twenty years ago the death rate of children was one of the highest in the civilized world. Then women got the vote and at once directed their attention to this evil, with the result that the death rate was brought down to a figure lower than that of any other country, with the solitary exception of one State in Australia where women also have the vote.

Educational Work.

The Women's Social and Political Union have conducted a vigorous week of propaganda all over the country. On Monday last the audience in the Queen's Hall, London, were charmed to welcome back Lady Constance Lytton after her illness, and to find that her speech had all its old arresting power and her spirit the same indomitable fire. She told her hearers that while men talked of the perils of giving Woman Suffrage, she saw the perils of delay—perils of the loss of child life, perils of sickness, poverty, and mental disease. The decision of Mr. Asquith in November had necessitated the resumption of militant methods, and with these methods the W.S.P.U. were going to bring their cause to victory.

East and West.

The leading article of the *Westminster Gazette*, in commenting on Lord Curzon's speech at Glasgow with regard to East and West, contains the following interesting passages:—

Clearly we cannot safely base our proceedings for the future on the assumption of two fundamentally different kinds of human nature, one of which is appointed to rule and the other to be ruled.

The question for a Western nation with great Oriental influence is, shall it shun this movement with alarm and despair, or welcome it with courage and cheerfulness? We have no doubts of the answer. The policy of fear and resistance is a hopeless policy; a statesman who has nothing better to contribute than the old separatist maxims about East and West, and who relies upon the supposed inherent incapacities and inferiorities of the Eastern races, had better retire from the scene. We have ample warning that they may not always be incapable and inferior.

If we substitute for relations of "East and West" relations of "Men and Women," the unwitting leader writer has said all that we could want him to admit upon the Woman question; and it is difficult to see how it is possible to take his view with regard to the one matter and not with regard to the other.

Items of Interest.

Miss Hamilton has been elected to the chair of the Portrush Urban Council. We understand that this is the first council in Ireland to choose a lady for chairman.

The Hull City Council has passed a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill.

A statement has recently been made that there is a proposal being brought forward in Colorado to disfranchise the women voters. We are able to state that this is entirely without foundation.

GETTING NEW READERS.

How splendidly the campaign to break down the press boycott by means of our own paper is proceeding will be seen from the figures given below. Members are taking the matter up with the energy which can always be relied upon, and we are certain to achieve great things. Fresh orders have been given this week for the paper to be sent to New York, Paris, Basutoland, Brooklyn, Hungary, and Russia. A Russian lady, in sending a cheque for a year's subscription, writes:—

For the past few months I have been getting the paper, and am so deeply interested in the matter contained therein that I wish to become an annual subscriber. I am an Englishwoman, though by marriage I have become a Russian subject; and, although forced to spend the greater part of my life away from my dear country, my interest in everything concerning her is not lessened by prolonged absence. It is a deep regret to me that, living in a country where justice is rendered neither to man nor woman, I can do nothing in the great and holy cause of the W.S.P.U. in England. I can but form the sincerest and warmest wishes for its success.

An Essex friend writes that she has secured five new readers. They are taking the paper through newsagents. A London friend sends the paper each week to a woman she knows in a Norfolk village. She learns that the paper is passed from hand to hand all round the village. Another she sends to a Cottage Hospital. She adds: "Recently on my way out to the Riviera I took out my Vores for Women to read. This led to conversation and I found all in the carriage were in favour, but two ladies who came from Staffordshire did not know much about it."

A Matlock member has induced the proprietor of one of the leading hydrotherapeutic establishments there to place Vores for Women in the reading-rooms, where it can be seen by the guests. A friend in Haslemere distributes additional copies of Vores for Women in her district each week.

Another member, who sends in two new order forms, says that though an invalid she works hard for the cause, and always takes several copies of the paper, which she passes on to others. Another writes to say she supplies the paper each week to the reading-room of Selfridge's. Another supplies it to a local library. Miss Annie Kenney, sending in an order form, says she has also secured several subscribers, who have decided to take it from their newsagent. One lady, she says, who is returning to Bavaria, is going to have the paper discussed regularly at a little weekly gathering, and she hopes in this way to gain new readers. Another member in Fishponds, quite a hard-working woman, is selling twelve every week instead of six as last year. Another sympathiser from Weston-super-Mare writes to Miss Kenney that she is having 25 copies weekly, while M. Colby, a veteran of the movement, takes five dozen copies weekly and sends them broadcast.

Our Glasgow workers have promised to increase the circulation of the paper by 100 copies a week, Leicester have sent up promise cards for 29, Scarborough for 12, Nottingham for 13, and other districts are working to secure similar results.

I have also heard from some school children who recently canvassed some of the streets in their locality and sold 35 copies of the paper, and secured several promises for regular subscriptions. They are a splendid example to others.

F. W. P. L.

Jan. 23-Jan. 28.	
Previously acknowledged	Miss M. S. Dentett..... 1
Mr. Pankhurst..... 700	Miss M. Lawrence..... 3
Miss M. Lowrie..... 1	Miss H. Taylor..... 1
Mrs. Reilly..... 3	Miss T. Terrell..... 1
Mrs. M. Macmillan..... 1	Miss E. Whittaker..... 1
Miss E. Lake..... 1	Miss Edwards..... 1
Mr. W. E. Hart..... 5	Miss Massey..... 5
Mr. W. E. Hart..... 1	Miss G. Newell..... 1
Miss E. Hart..... 1	Miss Cawing..... 1
Mr. Reinold..... 3	Miss Gray..... 1
Mrs. A. Krasnoselsky..... 1	From Huddersfield..... 6
Mrs. Horne..... 1	Miss F. M. Smith..... 1
Miss P. Lawrence..... 2	Miss Engall..... 1
Miss R. Smith..... 1	Miss Richards..... 1
Mrs. Collie..... 1	Miss D. Thompson..... 1
Miss D. Thompson..... 1	Miss Janie Whittaker..... 2
Miss Lewis..... 3	Miss Kranich..... 1
Miss M. Taylor..... 2	Miss L. S. Brown..... 1
Miss A. L. Durham..... 2	Miss E. Winterle..... 1
Miss S. Jones..... 2	Miss Wadsworth..... 1
Mrs. Fasker..... 1	Miss Hoare..... 1
Miss J. Kenney..... 1	Miss Lewie Lawless..... 1
Miss J. Kenney..... 1	Miss L. M. Lovell..... 1
Miss E. Freeman..... 1	Miss M. Petre..... 1
Miss Llewellyn..... 1	Miss I. F. Lewis..... 1
Miss P. Lawrence..... 2	Miss J. O'Connell..... 1
Miss P. Lawrence..... 1	Miss M. Preston..... 1
Miss L. E. Hart..... 1	Mr. H. Ballie Weaver..... 1
Miss L. E. Hart..... 1	Miss M. V. V. 1
Miss L. C. Read..... 1	Mr. Underwood..... 1
Miss L. C. Read..... 1	Miss Flatman..... 2
Miss Mansell Moulin..... 2	Miss A. E. Billinghurst..... 1
Miss Corcoran..... 5	Miss A. E. Billinghurst..... 1
Miss P. Fairhurst..... 1	Miss Grieve..... 1
Mrs. J. A. Russell..... 6	Miss Coping..... 5
Mrs. Cunningham..... 4	Miss Anon..... 6
Miss H. Murray..... 8	Miss A. Kenney..... 3
Miss Haarlebecker..... 2	Total 848

"WOMEN SHOULD NOT VOTE."

Now don't ye let the women vote,
They'll make an awful fuss.
They'd poke about in everything,
An' see both sides of us.

They'll see us as we ought to be,
They'll see us as we are;
They'll see us pledge an honest vote
Before an honest bar.

Now don't ye let the women vote,
It's a mighty risky plan.
They're lots too smart, these women are,
To take the place o' man.

ANNIE H. QUILLY, in
"The American Suffragette."

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Albert Hall Meeting.

The Women's Social and Political Union are holding a meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, London, on Thursday evening, March 23, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pankhurst, and the speakers will be Miss Vida Goldstein, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. The W.S.P.U. March, composed by Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus.Dee., will be played and sung by a choir conducted by the composer.

A full set of the hall has been obtained, and reserved and numbered tickets for the whole of the seats can be obtained from Miss Florence Cooke, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, at the following prices: Stalls, 2s.; arena and lower orchestra, 1s.; upper orchestra and balcony, 6d.; boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s., and 1s. 6d. As the lower orchestra will be reserved for the choir, the number of whom is at present uncertain, it is not possible to sell any lower orchestra seats until this is known.

History repeats itself. As it has been with other movements, so it is with the Woman's Movement. For

centuries women have accepted poverty, dependence, and legal injustice. They have submitted to the mental bondage of restricted opportunities for education, to the housing of the poor, the treatment of the poor and of criminals. Women feel deeply on all these questions, and when they are voters candidates of all political parties will find that in order to win their support at the polls they will have to set these questions in the forefront of their programmes. In the second place, women know that the possession of the vote is necessary to safeguard the interests of women. No human being is good enough to be entrusted with absolute power over another human being, and no section or class of a community is good enough to be trusted with absolute power over another section or class. At present the male electorate controls the making and the administering of the laws, and as a result the law is not fair to women, and it is also administered to their disadvantage. Finally, the vote is the hallmark of citizenship, and confers a status which those who are excluded from it cannot possess.

FACTS FOR NEW READERS.

(Those who want more information than is given here should obtain "Women's Fight for the Vote," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence, from The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road. Price 6d. net paper and 1s. net cloth.)

The demand women are making is that sex shall not be a disqualification for the possession of the Parliamentary franchise. Women suffragists have accordingly drafted a Bill to effect this which they desire to see carried into law. It is estimated that between a million and a million and a quarter women would be immediately enfranchised by it. As there are at present between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 male voters, this would mean that the female electorate would be about one-seventh of the whole. The Bill which was before Parliament last session was slightly different from this, and would have enfranchised about one million women. Of these about 80 per cent belonged to the working class.

Why Women Want the Vote.

In the first place, they desire to play their part in the life of the nation and introduce their point of view, so long neglected, into the government of the country. Among the matters decided in Parliament are questions of education, infant mortality, sweating labour, the conditions of women's work, the housing of the poor, the treatment of the poor and of criminals. Women feel deeply on all these questions, and when they are voters candidates of all political parties will find that in order to win their support at the polls they will have to set these questions in the forefront of their programmes. In the second place, women know that the possession of the vote is necessary to safeguard the interests of women. No human being is good enough to be entrusted with absolute power over another human being, and no section or class of a community is good enough to be trusted with absolute power over another section or class. At present the male electorate controls the making and the administering of the laws, and as a result the law is not fair to women, and it is also administered to their disadvantage. Finally, the vote is the hallmark of citizenship, and confers a status which those who are excluded from it cannot possess.

Where the Law is Unjust to Women.

Those who oppose giving votes to women are the loudest in their claims that the place of women is in the home, yet it is precisely in the home that the rights of the man are by law entirely superior to those of the woman. The husband has the power to select where the home shall be and how it shall be conducted. In the eyes of the law he is the sole parent of the child so long as he is alive, and the decision as to the child's upbringing rests entirely with him. Whether the husband be good or bad, the wife is by law entirely subservient to him. She has no legal right to any share of the husband's income except in the case of actual desertion; and if, while continuing to live with her, he refuses to pay to her a single penny of his wages, she cannot obtain such payment except by breaking up her home and going into the workhouse. Short of this she and her children can starve, and yet she cannot claim the protection of the law to obtain maintenance from her husband. Finally, in the event of either party to the marriage being guilty of definite immorality, there is a total difference in the treatment accorded to husband and wife.

Women and the Administration.

In administering the country the Government has set up an entirely artificial differentiation between the sexes. In the first place, from a very large number of positions (including all the more important) women are excluded altogether, to the disadvantage of women, who are thus denied opportunities of well-paid employment, and to the disadvantage of the community, which is thus obliged to appoint a man where a woman might be more suitable, or have better qualifications. In the second place, where men and women are both employed, the woman receives a far smaller wage than the man for precisely the same work, as is the case with school inspectors, sanitary inspectors, post office employees, &c. Finally, the Government is one of the worst of swatters in the wages it pays to women, either directly or through its subcontractors in its Army clothing works and other departments.

Answers to Anti-Suffrage Arguments.

Women have shown their demand for the vote by petitions, by great public meetings, and by willingness to undergo imprisonment for the sake of the cause. These are the only methods available for the unenfranchised. That woman suffrage is popular among the electors is shown by the way candidates for Parliament secretly hostile to it hedge on the subject when questioned at election time. Though man's principal work may lie in the workshop and woman's in the home, that does not prevent man and it should not prevent women from taking a reasonable interest in the affairs of the country, and from sparing that small amount of time required to cast a vote at elections, to attend an occasional political meeting, and to discuss the questions of the day with other women. Common sense and the experience of countries where women vote can tell us that woman suffrage does not lead to dissensions in the home, nor to women being treated with less respect by men, but does lead to the enactment of beneficial laws which they have been for years asking for in vain. There is no ground for thinking that woman suffrage will unduly strengthen any one of the present political parties at the expense of the others. Nor will it necessarily lead to adult suffrage or to women M.P.'s. After women have won the vote the male electorate will still outnumber the female electorate by about six or seven to one, and only those changes which are approved by the whole electorate will be made. When women have been called upon to govern they have generally been remarkably successful, as witness the famous matrons of Elizabeth, Queen Victoria, Maria Theresa, the late Dowager Empress of China, and Queen Victoria; but the possession of the vote does not mean the liability to be called upon to govern, but merely to select those who will govern; and women are certainly capable of this quite equally with men. Many anti-suffragists pin their faith to the "physical force" argument; they say that the ultimate basis of all government is physical force. This is untrue; it is not the physically strongest race which governs the world, but those who possess the finest combination of physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual force; and the same is true within the confines of a single State.

THE VISION.

"Daunted," say you? "And discouraged,

Checked by a thousand dangers,

Saddened by odds overwhelming,

Chilled by the taunts of strangers?" —

Crushed and broken in spirit,

And weary in body and mind,

Oh, faithless looking worldlings,

Ye are blind—blind—blind!

Ye see not the vision and splendour

Which has moved each arm for the fray,

Ye hear not the voice thro' the darkness

Saying "Forward! right on the day!"

Ye know not the call of the Master,

Ye feel not the Power Divine,

Which strengthens the feeble and fainting

As a draught of the godliest wine.

There's a goal that is set in the distance

Which Earth-blinded eyes can see,

The way thither is rugged and thorny,

But it leads to the Land of the Free,

We stand steadfastly shoulder to shoulder,

And if felled in the thick of the fight,

The last words on our lips will be, "Vict

WHY MEN AND WOMEN GIVE THEIR LIVES.

Extracts from a speech by Lady Constance Lytton at the Queen's Hall, Monday, January 30.

Only a few days back I had this fine saying of Milton handed to me, that in order to ensure peace and good government, both in private and public life, one thing is necessary:-

"To make the people fit to choose, and to make the chosen fit to govern."

It is the total and absolute and entire exclusion of women from that category that is the root of our grievance, because in saying "people" it is not people that are meant, but solely male people. When one looks into it one sees that this great and terrible and far-reaching, far-reaching fact is not based on argument or reason, or justice or expediency, but solely on a most absurd prejudice—a prejudice which one would have thought must have died out of civilisation long ago. Some instances came near me in my small circle during the election time. The Conservative candidate had varied from being an anti-Suffragist to voting for our Bill the last time it was before Parliament. Then, again, at the election he expressed himself very doubtful. I was, therefore, surprised to see in his ordinary speeches this heading one day: "Ask Your Wives." He was a very ardent Tariff Reformer; and in speaking to his male audience he suddenly realised that they were not able to answer the questions he was asking as to the price of food, the price of the ordinary necessities of life, bread, meat, day by day. And he accordingly recommended his male voters to go back and ask their wives what had been the price of food during the spell of the Liberal Government. Another time, referring to the question of Woman Suffrage, he said that it was the militant tactics that had put him off Votes for Women; and at another of his meetings he said he felt honoured and proud because he had got to stand by him on his platform a descendant of the great Hampden. Did that not seem a rather extraordinary juxtaposition of things?

The Liberal candidate believed himself to be an ardent believer in Votes for Women, but he would not vote for the Conciliation Bill because he feared that fabulous creature, the woman of property, the woman who would have more than one vote, the female plural voter. Yet at one of his meetings he said that he himself was a plural voter, and that he was going to use all his three or four votes while other men used them. Why should not a woman have the same right in this respect as a man has? Though there are many women who feel that the electoral law is a bad one, and should be altered, yet those women have as much right to share electoral laws, whatever they are, as men have in all parties.

"Unfit."

What is the result of this grave theoretical injustice, the exclusion from the franchise of all women? When we look at it, we see it means the exclusion of women from the national life altogether, in almost every other respect. We find that women are not appealed to by the nation for national help and national service.

I have a friend, a man in the Colonial service, who has been offered a Governorship, and he finds it almost impossible for him to accept that office because he is not a married man, and he feels, and those who invited him to take the job feel, that this post of Colonial Governor cannot be adequately filled unless there is a woman to share responsibility, to do her very important part of the Colonial government. And yet we know only too well that when men have wives, and those wives are eminently suited to be the vigorous, single-minded, honest and splendid man who conceived the idea of that Committee, Mr. Brailsford, and also to my brother, Lord Lytton, who was the Chairman, you know that our worst enemy has always been the false democrat—the man who said he was for giving votes to women, but he would give none until he could give them on a much larger scale, and a much wider basis than the women themselves demanded.

When that question was put to the members of the House of Commons we found that they were not even ready to give what the women asked—a simple measure of justice removing the sex-barrier and giving the vote to women on the same terms as men. Now they proceeded to slay and hark until the women's vote was to be given on a much smaller and more restricted basis. So much for our friends, the democrats and the ordinary rank and file of the Liberal and Labour Party. Then when it came to the Front Bench, as you all know, a deliberate attack was made on that Bill by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill. They complained that it was not democratic, but when they were asked, "Will you then give us another Bill?" they said "No." "Will you give us time to discuss a Bill if there is an open title?" "No." They were not ready to give anything at all. That brings me to a very important point, the most important point of all in our tactics which have been so much criticised. In a pamphlet—I dare say most of you have seen it—which Mr. Brailsford wrote in the summer, in prophesying the likelihood of what would happen, he said: "If the opportunity which this year has brought with it is allowed to go by; if it ends in an academic and fruitless Second Reading, women will feel

that a great chance has been used only to insult their hopes."

Why Men Help.

As you know, there was ample time. The first session was over and they had done nothing for the women, after the friends in the House of Commons had shown themselves to be favourable to this measure by the enormous majority of 110. Mr. Asquith is supposed to have suggested the genuineness of that majority. If that were so, why did he not let the Bill go forward? It would have saved the Liberal Government a great deal of trouble for many months to come if he could have shown that the House of Commons was opposed to our Bill. But, of course, he felt no confidence in anything of the kind, and he simply repressed any further discussion on the question.

Mr. Brailsford goes on: "If the moment is lost, men, indeed, may return to their party questions, but the women will be left to meditate on the still unsolved problem of how best a voiceless class may impress the handful of men who control the time of the House of Commons. A spectacle more repugnant to the whole spirit of representative Government it would be difficult to conceive." There is one point where Mr. Brailsford does not get it quite right. He says: "Women will be left to meditate on this still unsolved problem." We have said good-bye to meditation on that point.

That brings me to our militancy itself. Many even of our friends tried to criticise our militancy at the break up of the last Parliament. They asked questions like this: "What do you hope to attain when Parliament is breaking up, and nothing can possibly be done for you?" Such questions as this showed that even the men who worked for us have not in the least realised the fundamental principle of our militancy, which is this: When great wrong is being done, when injury, harm, misery, and death result from that fundamental injustice, then no matter even if we can do nothing to effect a change, we still should make our protest. We know quite well from experience that it is an exceedingly wise expedient, but even if it were not so it would not make the smallest difference. When I was lying through long weeks of illness there was one symbol which seemed exactly to express what we feel on this question. In the early morning, when I noted the dawn coming after the long darkness of the night, I saw that the first result of this light was to deepen the shadows. One saw that every object of darkness had a growing shadow, and it seemed at first as though everything were darkened. But very soon, no matter from what quarter, no matter what aspect, the shadows disappeared and an even light dispersed through the room. That is exactly what happens with us. You have to look back to see the advance, and it is possible to do that even if we have only been a month or two in the movement. There are two things which have happened lately that are quite new. They are these: That men have protested and suffered for us, and that women have died for us. Those two things are new and are amazingly significant. Men are beginning to look with disfavour upon the part taken by politicians in regard to this movement. That is a very great thing to have established. I know that those women who have left the good to go to another sphere altogether, if they could be here amongst us, would say that they feel just as these men feel; that though they are only two instances of actual death they feel themselves to be representative of a great many other women, they are typical of perhaps some thousands, perhaps some hundreds of thousands of other women, who are ready not only to devote their lives but to give up their lives for this movement, and when people of that calibre are in a movement the tide is so high that nothing can suppress it.

A Little Kneeling Figure." I had a letter only this morning from one woman, a friend of mine, a splendid woman, who said she was down for the next deposition, and she felt very humble, very diffident, very doubtful of herself, and she wished she could have the entire confidence in her own powers which seemed to be in all the other women. I can assure her—I speak for myself and many, many others—that we do not feel any confidence in ourselves. It is only when we reach the point of forgetting completely ourselves and our own, as we think them, disabilities and lack of power, that we are able to do anything in this movement. When I was in Liverpool making a protest at a meeting which led to my imprisonment, I was to go to the house of some friends who were to show me the outside of the prison where the meeting would be. It was dark in the evening and very foggy. I lost my way and was unable to find the house. I felt utterly disheartened as one is apt to do at those moments. I felt that I had lost touch with the movement. I felt how utterly absurd was the idea that such a person as myself could do anything at all helpful to a great tidal movement of this kind. I was standing there in the dark and saw suddenly close by me a little kneeling figure. A woman was bending down and chalking on the pavement a notice of this very meeting. I cannot describe to you what it was to see that woman. All the courage came back

when that question was put to the members of the House of Commons we found that they were not even ready to give what the women asked—a simple measure of justice removing the sex-barrier and giving the vote to women on the same terms as men. Now they proceeded to slay and hark until the women's vote was to be given on a much smaller and more restricted basis. So much for our friends, the democrats and the ordinary rank and file of the Liberal and Labour Party. Then when it came to the Front Bench, as you all know, a deliberate attack was made on that Bill by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill. They complained that it was not democratic, but when they were asked, "Will you then give us another Bill?" they said "No." "Will you give us time to discuss a Bill if there is an open title?" "No." They were not ready to give anything at all. That brings me to a very important point, the most important point of all in our tactics which have been so much criticised. In a pamphlet—I dare say most of you have seen it—which Mr. Brailsford wrote in the summer, in prophesying the likelihood of what would happen, he said: "If the opportunity which this year has brought with it is allowed to go by; if it ends in an academic and fruitless Second Reading, women will feel

WINNING OVER THE PUBLIC.

With the prospect of a short, sharp fight before the final victory, members have one special task before them—to explain to the unconverted the need of militant methods, to bring them over to the side of the forward section, and to ensure that the great body of public opinion backs the women's demands, and will support and protect them actively should the Government render another deputation necessary. To this end the speakers at Monday's meeting in the Queen's Hall dwelt on the fact that the militant methods were the only effective ones, and that to ensure a full understanding of the movement members must do everything to bring into the hands of an even larger public the paper *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, which was the only one that gave the facts. All through history great reforms had been gained only by strong measures, as Miss Pankhurst pointed out: people would understand this if they read the paper, and it must be read by everyone with influence—politicians, social workers, women of leisure, clergy, teachers, and others. Miss Pankhurst put in one sentence the duty of members who are unable to go to prison for the cause:—"You will be disloyal to the women who go to prison if you do not put the truth about them before the public."

Miss Pankhurst stated that in view of the likelihood of the introduction for the present year of payment of members, she had declined to pay Income-tax, objecting, as she did, to maintain members whom she was not allowed to elect. A few days ago came a notice announcing that steps would be taken to enforce payment. As she had no goods which could be seized, she could think of no way in which payment could be enforced. The authorities might imprison her, or confess themselves beaten, as they might let the matter drop, but they certainly could not compel her to pay Income-tax against her will.

In the course of a deeply interesting speech, extracts from which we print on p. 283, Lady Constance Lytton gave two trenchant answers to criticisms which everyone has heard made. People admit that militant methods have brought many active friends to the movement, but add that they have also created opposition. "They have not created opposition," said Lady Constance; "they have merely exposed it." The whole audience felt with her when she also said, in answer to those who questioned the wisdom of the recent deposition as having no immediate result, "When a great wrong is being done, with injury and misery resulting from that fundamental injustice, then, no matter if we can do nothing to achieve a change, we still ought to make our protest."

As a climax to the strong and determined tone of the speeches, Mr. Pethick Lawrence gave instances of the disabilities of women, their unprotected position being actually encouraged and fostered by our present one-sided legislation. This state of things was absolutely rotten and needed drastic amendment—a result that would not be achieved till women got the vote.

Another man writes:—"As Mr. Haldane turned in my direction with that terrible smile of his, I got up and shouted, 'Are you going to give facilities for a Women's Suffrage Bill this session?' There followed a horrible minute while Mr. Haldane was giving away the prizes. I said, 'What are you going to give women the vote?' and he held the seat in front. They made my hand bleed by digging their nails in it to make me let go, and it was a little while before they got me.

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* Twenty Years at Hull House." By Jane Addams. New York. The Macmillan Co. 10s. 6d. net.

"CLEAN YOUR OWN DOOR-STEP."

That, after all, is the fundamental idea of the social settlement. Finding yourself in the midst of an area that needs to be cleared of weeds and other unwanted growths, as well as of the rubbish that invariably accumulates where human beings are herded together, you clear a space round you. And since the same idea, i.e., housekeeping on an extended scale, is at the root of the woman's movement, Suffragettes as well as other social workers should read the story of Hull House,* and how Jane Addams and the devoted band of workers she has gathered round her have been carrying out this principle during the last twenty years in Chicago. Miss Addams herself tells the story, and one of the most interesting parts of an interesting and valuable work is her account of how her appointment as garbage inspector was received:—

Many of the foreign-born women of the ward were much shocked by this abrupt departure into the ways of men, and it took a great deal of explanation to convey the idea even remotely that it was a woman's task to go about in tenement houses in order to nurse the sick; it might be quite as womanly to walk through the same district in order to prevent the breeding of so-called "filthy diseases." While some of the women ethically approved the slowly changing conditions and saw that their household duties logically extended to the adjacent alleys and streets, they yet were quite certain that "it was not a lady's job."

It is not surprising that the idea of the Settlement should "catch on" in America, the home of "settlers." One of the most charming pictures of home life is that which Miss Addams tells of her own childhood, and of her passionate devotion to her father, which showed itself even in her childish attempts to acquire a "miller's thumb," and the "tiny purple and red spots which are always found on the hands of the miller who dresses millstones." She owed much of her early education to her father, a Quaker of Illinois, to whom she applies Mrs. Browning's words:—

"He wrap me in his large
Man's doublet, careless did it fit or no."

How she passed through school and college days, with their high ideals, to the stern realities of life and the ceaseless battle with the complex problems of poverty presented by a large foreign population of almost every nationality under the sun, Miss Addams tells in her own graphic way. Here is a word-picture of a poor old woman she rescued from the fate of being taken away to the workhouse:—

The poor old creature had thrown herself bodily upon a small and battered chest of drawers and clung there, clutching it so firmly that it would have been impossible to remove her without also taking the piece of furniture. She did not weep or moan, nor indeed make any human sound; but between her broken gasps for breath she squealed shrilly like a frightened animal caught in a trap.

Here is another, equally touching:—

I recall one woman who, during seven years, never missed a visiting day at the penitentiary, when she might see her husband, and whose little children in the (Hull House) nursery proudly reported the messages from father with no notion that he was in disgrace, so absolutely did they reflect the gallant spirit of their mother.

One of the hardest problems was that of child-labour.

An Italian father came to us in great grief over the death of his eldest child, a little girl of twelve, who had brought the largest wages to the family fund. In the midst of his genuine sorrow he said: "She was the oldest kid I had. Now I shall have to go back to work again until the next one is able to take care of me." The man was only thirty-three, and had hoped to retire from work at least during the winter. No foreman cared to have him in a factory, untrained and uninterested as he was. It was much easier to hire bright, English-speaking little girl to get a chance to carry pigeon. The effect on the child was no one concerned thought about, in the abnormal effort she made thus prematurely to bear the weight of life.

There is a vivid little sketch, too, of an Italian goldsmith who for twenty years shovelled coals in a furnace-room. He committed suicide when in delirium tremens, and the tragedy was that when the "restless fits" came on, a bit of metal on which to work would keep him contentedly at home till the danger was over. But the poor wife could not always get the metal, and the suppression of the instinct led to this tragic end. "This story," says Miss Addams, "threw a flood of light upon the dead man's struggle and on the stupid maladjustment which had broken him down."

She was a Suffragist by instinct:

My companion in all these arduous labours (at Rockford College) has since accomplished more than any of us in the effort to procure the franchise for women; for even then we all took for granted the righteousness of that cause into which I at least had merely followed my father's conviction.

When the question of the municipal franchise for women was being agitated for in Chicago, Miss Addams acted as chairman of the federation of a hundred women's organisations. The demand came from all classes of women:—

There was a complete absence of the traditional women's rights clamour, but much impressive testimony from busy and useful women that they had reached the place where they needed the franchise in order to fulfil their own affairs. A striking witness as to the need of the ballot, even for the women who are restricted to the most primitive and traditional activities, occurred when some Russian women waited upon me to ask whether under the new charter they could vote for

* Twenty Years at Hull House." By Jane Addams. New York. The Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

† The Creators." By May Sinclair. London: Constable. 6s.

covered markets and so get rid of the shocking Chicago grime upon all their food; and when some neighbouring Italian women sent me word that they would certainly vote for public washhouses if they ever had the chance to vote at all. It was all so human, so spontaneous and so direct that it really seemed as if the time had come when the public opinion of the public in the part of women which has so long been forced to seek indirectness. None of these busy women wished to take the place of men not to influence them in the direction of men's affairs, but they did seek an opportunity to co-operate directly in civic life through the use of the ballot in regard to their own affairs.

There is the woman suffragist's position in a nutshell.

Notwithstanding the severe handicap of physical weakness, necessitating long periods of rest, Miss Addams has accomplished a truly wonderful work in Chicago. Her sympathy with all forms of suffering and her broad human outlook, which never seems to get stereotyped, but is always awake to new ideas, have made her name a household word among social workers. Her outlook is, indeed, judging from her book, wider than the Charter of Hull House itself, viz.: "To provide a centre for a higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago."

G. Vaughan.

FOUR BRAVE WOMEN.

Mrs. Bearne has written a volume* which is the more romance inasmuch as it is true history. She has chosen four women of high position during the times of the French Revolution and afterwards, and though she calls them fascinating—as indeed they were—their chief characteristic was their courage. Whatever their faults, they met misfortune and risked death smilingly, and one of them, the Duchesse de Berry, entered France at a time when capture would probably have meant death, and for six months, disguised as a man, endured the greatest hardships endeavouring to raise a rebellion in order to win back for Henry V. the throne of France of which she was Regent. Several of the heroes of this book sought exile in England, and it is interesting to note that the Duchesse de Berry was inspired to her brave attempt by reading at Holyrood of the bravery of Walter Scott's heroines.

MARRIED GENIUS.

Miss Sinclair's new book is of unusual interest, apart from the great同情 it shows for women—because it deals with women of all countries. All the chief characters are writers; to one success comes naturally, to another it comes through sorrow and despair, and to a third it comes in spite of harassing home troubles. They are all rather intense; they talk too much of their "genius" and how it can best be preserved, and they sometimes crowd the picture too much. Yet the composition of the cleverest part of an almost too clever book is the description of the married life of Jane, who is in love and wants to be domesticated, but is torn in half by her genius, and Brodrick, who wavers between admiration for his wife's cleverness and his inborn desire for a smoothly-running household.

MARIE CLAIRE.

Those who were interested in our review last week of "Marie Claire," the life story of a French sempstress which has had such an enthusiastic reception in Paris, will be glad to hear that a splendid translation into English, by J. N. Raphael, has just been published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall. Price, 6s.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Our House." By Elizabeth Robins Pennell. London: Fisher Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.

"Some Noble Souls." By E. Severs. London: Theosophical Publishing Society. 4s. 6d. net.

"Scriber's Magazine." February. London: Scriber's Sons. 1s. net.

A MESSAGE FROM GERMANY.

The following poem has been sent to the Suffragettes who have gone to prison for the cause by Dr. Kathle Schirmacher, an eminent German suffragist and the author of "Modern Youth," recently reviewed in these columns. We give a rough translation below:—

Die Frauenwacht.

Wir reiten,
Wir reiten durch Nacht und Tod,
Wir reiten,
Wir reiten ins Morgenrot.

Wir sind die Scharen der
Frauenwacht,

Wir sattelten schon vor Mitternacht,

Wir haben zeitung uns aufgeremacht;

Denn der Weg ist lang,

Und der Weg ist weit,

Er führt durch Ode und Feindlichkeit,

Wir sind die Scharen der
Frauenwacht,

Wir haben zeitung uns aufgeremacht;

Und fallen die Einen

In Nacht und Tod,

Die Anderen, die schauen

Das Morgenrot:

Freiheit, Dich grüssen wir.

KATHLE SCHIRMACHER.

Still so much fighting and clashing of arms, . . .

We are the Advance Guard,

We saddled before midnight,

We were up and away betimes,

For the fight is for freedom,

And dear honour's sake,

For life and for love,

For Right and Protection! . . .

We are the Advance Guard,

We saddled before midnight,

We were up and away betimes,

And if some fall

In Night and Death,

The others, they see

The coming down;

Freedom! we greet thee!

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A SYMPOSIUM ON WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The following questions have been put by *The New Age* to representative persons in science, art, politics, and economics:

1. What, in your opinion, is the most powerful argument for votes?

(a) For, or

(b) Against Woman's Suffrage?

2. Is there any reasonable prospect of obtaining woman's suffrage in the present Parliament, still less in this immediate future?

3. Have the militant methods, in your opinion, failed or succeeded?

4. What alternative methods would you suggest?

We give some extracts from the replies:

Mr. Hilaire Belloc.

1. (a) Fun. (b) Sex.

2. Yes.

3. Yes.

4. Bribery.

Mr. Arnold Bennett.

1. The most powerful argument for Woman's Suffrage is that the women represent only one half of human nature.

2. There is no reasonable prospect of obtaining woman's suffrage in the present Parliament, still less in this immediate future.

3. The militant methods, in my opinion, failed or succeeded?

4. What alternative methods would you suggest?

[Mr. Bennett believes there is no alternative to militant methods, but his reservations as to how they should be applied.]

Mr. Moma Caird.

1. The most powerful argument in favour of the Suffrage for women is that it is to be desired that reform representation to all qualified adults. A representative government is to place them utterly at the mercy of those who are represented; to deprive them of all power of self-government, and to submit to a law of endurance, no man's rights are inviolate, and nothing that may be imposed (and often have been imposed) by the governing sex; to deny them all responsible voice in the destinies of their country; in short, to place them in a position of dependent subjects and slaves, who would seem ludicrous as well as intolerable to any self-respecting person were it not that tradition and long use and wont have blinded the eyes to the real nature of their condition.

2. These militant measures have, I think, brilliantly succeeded in bringing the subject in a few short years into the region of practical and immediate questions.

3. Alternatives are indeed difficult to suggest for weapons fighters.

The Rev. Hugh B. Chapman, M.A., Chaplain of the Royal Chapel, Savoy.

My attitude towards Women's Suffrage is such an ideal character that you must excuse a poet if he hesitates to put his opinions into words.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton.

1. (a) That the regrettable absence of ferocity in our politics. (b) The rooted dislike of all forcible women for government by discussion.

2. The late Dr. Lister's phrenetic and hysterical methods might have some chance still.

3. Failed. The newspapers took them up and so they are now simply a bore.

4. The conversion of women to Female Suffrage. The Hon. Sir John Cocteburn.

1. Amid innumerable and unanswerable arguments for Woman's Suffrage the following appears at the present time to be the most conspicuous: That, as major, as the chief magistrate of the town, she is a citizen, so she should be an alderman of the L.C.C.

2. Fair, a fair prospect. The more intelligent among the anti's know that the granting of the Suffrage is inevitable; and the desire for it, and the great organization you will lead many to think that what must come soon may as well come at once.

3. Militant methods have brought the question into the front rank of practical politics, and therefore cannot be said to have failed.

Mr. William de Morgan.

1. That no argument has hitherto been advanced against the enfranchisement of women that is not an equally strong one for the disfranchisement of man.

2. None.

3. They are successful thus far, that great swarms of liars are now claiming to have been supporters of the movement all along, but they say: "It is the method we object to."

4. Answers to this question are outside my best. I am not able to take an active part in the movement.

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Wolstenholme Elmy.

1. (a) In the enfranchisement of women on the same basis as men we shall find the surest people guarantee for all other social and political justice.

2. In my opinion the militant methods (for which, as a member of the Executive of the Women's Social and Political Union, I share the views of the Union) have been successful in rousing the attention of the people at large to this grave question—far more so than all our previous quiet and peaceful agitation of forty-five years.

Miss Florence Farr.

3. The Vote will have to be taken by force, not given; that is what makes it worth having.

Miss Beatrice Harraden.

1. The strongest argument in favour of Woman's Suffrage is contained in the words: No taxation without representation.

2. I am unable to say at this juncture.

3. The militant methods have, in my opinion, succeeded in becoming dominant. We Suffrage societies had the courage to become militant. I believe we should get the Suffrage at once.

4. I can suggest no alternative methods. The so-called constitutional methods have failed all along the line.

The Rev. Canon Scott Holland.

1. The strongest argument generally used against Woman's Suffrage—i.e., that woman are weaker than man—is really the strongest argument in its favour. They need the Suffrage to balance their weakness.

3. I am sure that the militant methods have

been made for the sake of political agitation.

4. The methods of all rational political

thrown the cause back, while the women's splendid power of persuasive and effective agitation has done wonders.

Mr. Laurence Housman.

To my own mind the strongest argument for Woman's Suffrage is that the man represents only one half of human nature.

3. Militant methods have failed to arouse during the majority of the debates that have taken place in the House of Commons.

Militancy has doubtless won *new support*, in view of many women's excitability; but the new resistance is in the same ratio.

causes. *If brawling is good for this cause, why not for all?* The first brawl in the gallery of the House proved a success, and a victory, and it set off a new activity of opposition.

Militancy has doubtless won *new support*, in view of many women's excitability; but the new resistance is in the same ratio.

Mr. Frank Rutter.

1. (a) Because nowhere on earth can the interests of women and children be safeguarded where Parliament is not equally responsible to them.

2. Yes.

3. Yes.

4. Bribery.

Mr. Gilbert Slater.

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