

THE VOTE, May 15, 1914. ONE PENNY.

THE WOMEN'S REMINDER OF MAGNA CHARTA, 1215-1915

THE VOTE

THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1914.

Edited by C. DESPARD.

OBJECTS: To secure for Women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

The Lords and the Sex War.

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OUR POINT OF VIEW.

Magna Charta Commemoration.

We make to-day an announcement which will be of great interest to all members of the Women's Freedom League and our many friends in all parts of the kingdom. We are organising a grand commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the signing of Magna Charta by King John, 1215. Seven centuries after that historic event, which is the people's great charter of liberty, women—an important section of the people—are still deprived of citizen rights and classed by the law with lunatics and criminals. We look backwards in order to look forwards, and in "The Women's Reminder of Magna Charta" we shall demonstrate our determination to continue the struggle until we have won our badge of freedom—the Parliamentary Vote. We recognise that since Simon de Montfort's day Parliament has lived through many changes and that still greater changes are impending, but we claim our just right to be in those changes with the power to influence them from the inside. If the Government were wise—if they would take to heart the advice of their Lord Chancellor, given in the House of Lords debate on Woman Suffrage last week—they could add to the impressiveness of our commemoration by making it signalise a Government measure for Woman Suffrage, well on its way to the Statute Book. We shall not wait, however, for the laggards, but with pomp and circumstance, in pageants and procession, demonstrate the fact that liberties were wrung from a reluctant king and will again be wrung from reluctant male legislators and justice done to women. We invite our friends and well-wishers to co-operate in making the "Women's Reminder" a triumphant success. We have twelve months in which to organise it; eager minds are already at work, and news of the practical progress of the scheme will be given in THE VOTE. In the meantime those who are interested are invited to send their names to our secretary at Headquarters.

Their Majesties.

We have often heard it whispered that King George is not so hostile to the women's movement, or even to the militant movement, as some of the "fashionable" publications would have us believe. At any rate, Queen Mary has for the first time associated herself in interest with the National Union of Women Workers, and this a very short time after the secession of some of its prominent members because they could not tolerate its suffrage tendencies. This is a notable gain, and we do not see any reason why it should not be taken at its full value. It is only in party, not in public, questions that the Crown is debarred from showing sympathy. The Crown was openly in favour of the first Reform Bill, and made its resentment of "anti" treachery felt by dissolving Parliament. The Crown played its part in the emancipation of the slaves; and there is no valid reason why it should not throw its influence into the scale to secure the true representation of "the people," seeing that Mr. Asquith himself has referred to the movement as "cutting athwart all party lines."

Mental Deficiency Act.

Miss Anderson kindly furnishes us with the sequel to the case of the mentally deficient boy at Acton whom Mr. Jeffries, the magistrate, refused to place under the control of the Court. The Relieving Officer was applied to and the boy was sent to the Infirmary, and subsequently drafted to an asylum. It now transpires that the Mental Deficiency Act, which will hardly apply to such cases as that of this child, is not yet in working order, there being no machinery ready to carry out its complicated conditions. It is impossible to feel anything but contempt for the men and the administration who carry measure after measure, to "come into operation" on a certain date, without making the slightest preparation before that date for the proper working of the measures. Probably both the Sanatorium clauses of the Insurance Act, and the Mental

Deficiency Act itself, will have fallen into desuetude before the necessary homes, refuges, sanatoria and what-not essential to their success will have come into existence.

Legislation in Haste.

The same criticism holds good of the new Budget proposals. There is no machinery for carrying out Mr. George's vast schemes for taking toll of the national wealth, and at least five new Acts will have to be passed to enable him to collect the new taxes and deal with the new forms of expenditure. As the Liberal side of the House firmly and disrespectfully declines to discuss the possibility of an autumn session, and as the business of the country is already in a congested condition, there will be a period of extreme confusion and muddle before things are pulled straight. It is in these ways that the monopolists manifest their superior fitness for conducting national and Imperial affairs; and the methods of the House of Commons are a diverting commentary on the lofty claims to masculine efficiency voiced in the House of Lords by the egregious gentleman, the results of whose unappreciated efforts in India are still causing a certain measure of anxiety.

Distinctions and Differences.

We are not in the least concerned to make Mr. McKenna's embarrassing position in the House of Commons any easier when confronted by Mr. Keir Hardie with the direct question as to why militant Ulster men—even gun-runners and obstructors of servants of the Crown, as well as Privy Councillors, K.C.'s and Army officials—are allowed to go scot free while fresh measures are being taken against militant women. We only note the usual evasion and subterfuge which can permit proceedings to be taken against Mrs. Drummond and Mrs. Dacre Fox, members of the W.S.P.U., while Sir Edward Carson and his friends are consulted and cajoled and allowed full freedom to continue to organise armed resistance. "I am unable to draw any parallel of criminality between the advocacy of arson and the advocacy of armed rebellion," said Mr. McKenna, sheltering himself behind *sub judice* with regard to the cases against the women. A writ has been served on the printers with reference to the issue of *The Suffragette* on January 22, and the Government is absolutely impenitent with regard to the filching of the people's rights over the Serpentine incident. Mr. Wedgwood Benn informed Mr. Touche that the First Commissioner, acting on the advice of the police, is quite prepared to take similar action in similar circumstances. We remind our law makers that sins against the rights of women have a knack of coming home to roost.

THE SPUR.

Awake! ye selfish dreamers of the world,
Leap from the drowsy beds on which ye lie,
Supine and nerveless—dead before ye die;
Deaf, blind and impotent, though softly curled!
Ye smother in the dust so thickly hurled
From eager footsteps as they onward fly,
See! See! The noble-hearted pass ye by!
The battle is begun, the flag unfurled!
Shame on ye! Slothful souls that idly sleep
Beside the weapons ye alone might wield
While unregarded day creeps into night.
Arise! Arise! and succour those who weep.
With ardent hearts rush forward to the field
Where victory is sure for all who fight.

TAMAR FAED.

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THE "PROTECTED" SEX.
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THE WOMEN'S REMINDER OF MAGNA CHARTA! 1215—1915.

The Women's Freedom League has for some weeks been organising a grand commemoration in June, 1915, of the passing of Magna Charta. Seven centuries will then have elapsed since King John reluctantly conceded the great charter of the people's liberties and signed the historic document at Runnymede. The Women's Reminder of this historic event will take the form of a Procession on Saturday, June 12, 1915; on succeeding days an Indoor Pageant and also a Water Pageant, as well as an outdoor Commemoration meeting, will take place.

Further particulars will be announced in due course. Help from outside is being welcomed. All who are interested in the scheme are invited to communicate with the Secretary, Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, London, W.

THE PRESIDENT.

We are very glad to say that Mrs. Despard continues to progress, though slowly, and has now been able to travel back to town. Her doctors have stipulated for several weeks' rest, and she will for the present live quietly at Brackenhill, Bromley, where letters may be addressed to her.

In the meantime she sends her love to every member of the League. We all send Mrs. Despard our warmest love and much sympathy in this trying time; an enthusiastic welcome awaits her on her complete recovery, and for this we shall wait as patiently as we can. Our one desire is to see our beloved President restored to full health and strength.

E. KNIGHT.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

Caxton Hall Meeting.—Next Wednesday will be the last of our afternoon meetings at Caxton Hall until June 10. We are pleased to announce that the principal speaker will be the Rev. William Piggott, who helped us so much by speaking from our platforms at the recent N.U.T. Conference at Lowestoft. We hope that our readers will rally in force to welcome him. The chair will be taken at 3.30 by Dr. Helen Bouchier.

Discussion Meetings.—Next Monday evening Miss Olive Ashdown will open a discussion at this office on "Madame Curie." It will be the last Discussion Meeting this summer at the office, and we look forward to seeing a good number of our members and friends on this occasion.

A lecture on "Feminism and Passion" will be given by Mr. W. L. George at Caxton Hall the following Monday evening at eight o'clock. We feel sure that our readers will be interested in so distinguished a writer's views on this subject and that many will be pleased to take part in the subsequent discussion. Admission will be by ticket only, obtainable at the W.F.L. Office, 1, Robert-street, at 2s. 6d. (numbered and reserved), 1s. (reserved), and 6d., or at the doors of Caxton Hall on the night of the meeting. F. A. U.

THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE.

Under the crushing weight of statute upon statute, the ground on which a "free people" is supposed to stand is rapidly giving way. Year after year Governments add to the eight-thousand-odd ordinances whereby the rights of the community are safeguarded—or restricted, as the case may be; and the trend of modern legislation is undeniably to restrict, and to take away what has been won by heroic endeavour in the past. We do not want to comment in detail on the Criminal Justice Administration Bill now in the hands of "Standing Committee C." of the House of Commons; but it is symptomatic of the spirit of the legislator of to-day that he takes the "better" administration of justice to be the giving of greater powers to officials and the cutting away of means and methods by which men may resist injustice.

At the present moment, liberty is being hacked away by the square foot, no one protesting on the main principle except the rather ineffective Mr. Wedgwood. The Criminal Justice Administration Bill is steadily lopping the tree of liberty. Increased power in summary jurisdiction for magistrates, increased power of officialdom over the persons and affairs of prisoners young and old charged with offences both slight and heavy; increased blind sanction, to save trouble, of arbitrary powers for the Secretary of State, the police, and public institutions. With the Insurance Act, which has ticketed and registered and classified the working-class community and divided up the population into taxable and insurable; the Criminal Justice and the Mental Deficiency Acts; and the new Budget admitting the Government to greater control of local Government matters; the people are in a grip which a century of fierce agitation will not be sufficient to unloose.

The Budget will result in Government interference in rating and valuation, expenditure, and the appointment of officials, in Local Government matters. The Treasury and the Local Government Board will take charge of many things hitherto left to the local authorities. Women will have less say than ever in their "natural" sphere—that "great field of equal rights and opportunities" so vaunted by Miss Violet Markham. At present women voters in Local Government are handicapped at the outset, by innumerable penalties, as the result of which they are in a minority of one to six. Besides that, they have no parliamentary vote, as the men Local Government voters have, with which to influence or control the President of the Local Government Board and the Cabinet. Roughly, then, the woman's vote in Local Government is only worth two-fifths of the man's vote in value. With the further intrusion of the Government into local control, its value will sink to one-fifth. Thus, whatever rights or powers women may win or wring from Governments they have no power to protect or keep them; and what is not actually taken from them by statute or by administrative custom (as in the case of admission to the law-courts) can be whittled away just as effectually by the encroachments of legislative tyranny and fresh enactments which voteless women are powerless to repel or repeal.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, MAY 5 and 6, 1914.

For the first time in their existence the House of Lords last week debated for two days the question of Votes for Women. A Bill was introduced by the Earl of Selborne; its terms were as follows:—

Any woman shall be qualified to be registered in a constituency as a Parliamentary elector, and whilst so registered shall be entitled to vote at an election of a member or members to serve in Parliament for that constituency, if she is a local government elector for the purposes of any local government election in that constituency.

The majority of speakers were in favour of the Bill, including the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Oxford, Lords Selborne, Tenterden, Courtney, Willoughby de Broke, Malmesbury, Aberconway, and Lytton. Lords Curzon, Charnwood, St. Aldwyn, Amptill and Lamington opposed. The Earl of Crewe, leader of the Government, sat on the fence during the debate and gave a "Party" vote against the Bill in the Division. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops voted in favour.

The result of the Division was:—

For the Bill	60
Against	104

We give our readers extracts in parallel columns from the debate showing the noble lords' pronouncements on themselves on others, and various aspects of the women's demand for the vote. The most impressive speech was that of Lord Lytton.

THE LORDS ON THE COMMONS.

"The record of the House of Commons in this matter is, to say the least, unfortunate. For several years a Bill conferring the franchise on women was passed by very large majorities in the House of Commons. That was when there was no apparent chance of that Bill passing in the Lords. But the moment the Bill emerged into the region of practical politics that Bill was thrown out in the House of Commons. My noble friend will doubtless say that that gives him the right to dispute the former votes of the House of Commons as a just representation at that time of the two views of the House of Commons, and I should not demur to the justice of his claim, but you can judge the resentment of those of our fellow-countrywomen and countrymen who have this cause at heart that they should have been treated in this manner by the House of Commons."

Lord Selborne.

"No individual woman had ever been treated worse by any individual man than women collectively had been treated by the Liberal Government and the House of Commons since 1906."

Lord Newton.

"He thought that the women who desired the vote had been very poorly treated by the House of Commons. (Hear hear.) There had been much hard-heartedness in the manner in which Members of that House, yielding to the dictation of a small fraction of their constituents, had voted year after year for the second reading of the Bill, knowing very well that it could never become law and also intending that it should not become law. He admitted that women had a good deal to complain of in that respect."

Lord St. Aldwyn.

"What was really exasperating the women was that they had been beaten not by fair and open opponents like Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer, but by their nominal friends. The real enemies of the women's movement, the real villains of the piece, were the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had the brazen effrontery to boast that he had torpedoed the Suffrage ship just as it was about to enter port, and the Prime Minister, who induced the women to believe that he was going to help them, and took refuge in the discredited expedient of a private Member's Bill. A private Member's Bill, indeed! Nobody could be taken in with such an assurance. If it had not been for the dishonest action of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill, and the so-called friends of the women, and also for the excesses of the so-called militants, a moderate measure of Women's Suffrage would by this time have passed the House of Commons."

Lord Newton.

THE LORDS ON MILITANCY.

"Their proceedings appear to me to be equally criminal and stupid—criminal not only in the legal sense, but criminal morally."

Lord Selborne.

"He was not going to stand up for the later exhibitions of militancy. They were ill-judged, ill-timed, and particularly distressing. He did wish if they had wanted to destroy some picture they would have chosen some other than the beautiful Velasquez. (Laughter.)"

Lord Willoughby de Broke.

"I deplore militancy. I think it has thrown back this cause."

The Lord Chancellor.

"The noble lord has spoken of the tactics of the militant party in the tone and with the accents that I should have expected. He expresses his absolute detestation of these senseless and audacious acts. But those expressions of condemnation do not dispose of the matter. We are repeatedly told that these outrages are the acts of a small and contemptible minority of ill-balanced and demented women. I do not think that that is altogether the case. These acts are promoted by a great

THE LORDS ON THEMSELVES

"I think your lordships are greatly to be congratulated because whatever vote you give on this question it never can be said that you have broken any pledges or that you have given your vote as part of a party manoeuvre."

Lord Selborne.

"He was glad that the question should be debated in that House, where they were not influenced by the fear of constituents and could speak and vote precisely as they thought."

Lord St. Aldwyn.

"In announcing my intention of going into the Lobby against the second reading of this Bill I desire to make it quite clear that I am giving a purely party vote. (Laughter.) I have never taken a part on either one side or the other of this question."

"But I wish to make it clear that on this particular occasion I propose to record my vote against the Bill because I regard it as a purely Conservative measure, and therefore one of the kind for which I am not in the habit of giving my vote."

Lord Crewe.

"The noble Marquess who led the House was going to vote against it. He had never listened to a more shameless and unblushing exhibition of cynicism than that of the noble Marquess. Eighty per cent. of the women municipal electors belonged to the working classes; yet the noble Marquess said the Bill would enfranchise only well-to-do women, and, presumably because the majority of them were anti-Liberal, he opposed the Bill."

Lord Lytton.

The Lords on Militancy (continued).

organisation, the Women's Social and Political Union, which boasts of having raised £750,000 up to the beginning of the present year, which defends the action of these women in newspapers, and which applauds their acts almost in proportion to their violence."

Lord Curzon.

"He was at first prejudiced against the movement, partly by the acts of militancy. It was hardly a tactful way of trying to convert him to the movement to place a bomb under his throne."

Bishop of London.

"It (the Women's Suffrage Movement) manifested itself in many inconvenient and unusual forms."

Lord Courtney.

"The movement had been arrested to some extent by the action of those who, by their despair at the slow movement of the Cause, and who, by their impatience of the truth that 'the mills of God grind slowly,' had been led to resort to expedients which revolted humanity."

Lord Courtney.

"But I can say of them (the militants), as one says of that series of Irish crimes, that their action retards and will retard the success of the Cause which they have at heart."

Lord Crewe.

"He thought he had more reason than any Member of the House to hate and detest the action of the Militant Suffragists, because that policy rendered infinitely harder the task in which he and other promoters of this Bill were engaged."

Lord Lytton.

much one may deplore the outrages of militancy, they certainly do not afford any ground on which one can allow one's vote to be deflected upon questions such as we have to consider now."

The Lord Chancellor.

"Why have two Ulsters on their hands? The noble lord would have a woman's Ulster before he knew where he was. He felt they could not consistently refuse to apply the reasoning they applied to Ulster to the Women's Movement. Condemning violence as they must do, they were bound to ask what was the cause of this unrest. He was constrained to the belief that there was a real and deep-seated sense of injustice; and there was a profound feeling of indignation against the triviality of the sentences often imposed on men in grave cases."

The Bishop of London.

"The impatience of women who had risen in revolt, the anarchy of their sex, sad, mad, and bad as it was, was still intelligible."

Lord Courtney.

"Those who had been responsible for the government of the country by their attitude towards these women had largely produced the frame of mind which had resulted in the very deplorable state of things they saw to-day. He did not believe that if the responsible leaders of this movement were to withdraw their support it would check these outbursts, but that it would probably lead to a recrudescence of militancy of an aggravated type. The statesman had got to consider could he resist this movement and go on governing the country peacefully and satisfactorily; and ought he to resist it in the best interests of the country."

Lord Willoughby de Broke.

"I am not so unfair as to say that because a number of women are guilty of these abominable acts, that that shows the incapacity of woman as a sex or as a class for the Vote."

Lord Curzon.

"I should like to say that I have never been able either to regard the acts of violence perpetrated by the militant section of women as having any real bearing on the question as to whether the Franchise ought or ought not to be given to them. It is thirty-two years ago to-day since the terrible affair in Phoenix-park. It is true that so far the militant section of women have not adopted these methods of extreme violence."

Lord Crewe.

"While he deplored the folly and wickedness of it, he saw also the pity and the tragedy of it. It had been his painful experience to be brought very closely in contact with the results of the militant movement. He had seen the sacrifice of health, the sacrifice almost of life itself of some who were very near to him and whom he loved and admired. He had seen the expenditure of human qualities, which he considered to be as rare and as precious as anything that the nation possessed, given to a Cause which in itself was as great and noble a cause as they could find, but given in such a way as to defeat the very object which was sought. He felt these magnificent things were being wasted, squandered, thrown away, and that to his mind was a tragedy. Therefore, he did not say that he would do nothing to support this movement. He said rather that he would never slacken in his efforts until he had accomplished that which could alone put an end to this deplorable waste of courage, devotion, heroism, and self-sacrifice. He appealed to noble lords who were not opposed to the Bill in principle not to be deterred from doing what their judgment told them was right merely because of an excess of zeal in others led them into what was wrong. If a responsibility rested on anybody it rested on those who supported this question in principle and never did anything to put their principle into practice. (Cheers.)"

Lord Lytton.

THE EXTENT OF THE MOVEMENT.

"The main reasons why I am opposed to giving the Vote to women are, first, that the great mass of women do not want it. . . . The mass of women, I firmly believe, take no interest in politics and are content that their political interests, in so far as they are at stake, should be left to the custody of their husbands."

Lord Curzon.

"He did not believe for a moment that there was any popular feeling among the present electorate in favour of the Bill. If the country were polled, as it certainly ought to be before this great change was made, the large majority would be against it."

Lord St. Aldwyn.

"... legislation behind which there is not the remotest sanction, which has never been before the country at a General Election and which has not even passed through the House of Commons."

Lord Curzon.

"He shared the view of the Prime Minister that the question was going back rather than forward."

Lord Weardale.

"One of the principal arguments that our opponents use is that the majority of women do not want the Vote at all. That is not our opinion; but, as there are no reliable statistics on the question, it is quite as impossible to disprove as it would be to prove that statement. What we can show is that there is a very large body of opinion amongst the most able and highly educated women who ardently desire the privilege of the Vote. We go further and say that, even if there are women, or a very large number of women, who do not want the Vote, that is not a conclusive argument why those who do very sincerely and earnestly want it, and who, in our judgment, are fit for it, should be deprived of it."

Lord Selborne.

"I want your lordships to appreciate the fact that although there may be many women in the country who do not want the Vote, yet there are a large number who do most earnestly desire it and believe that they are competent to exercise it and regard it as a grave injustice that any man, however unfit, if he happen to be a householder, may claim the Vote, and no woman, however great her stake, however cultured, however high in character, however fit in fact, can have the Vote. (Hear, hear.)"

Lord Selborne.

"The noble earl (Earl Curzon) said this was a question on which there was no mandate. If one looks round and sees the growing interest taken in the questions of which I have spoken,

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and if one sees the growth of this agitation and of the associations which were formed for promoting this movement, can one doubt that there is a very real and strong case growing up which in a short time will make itself felt with overwhelming force? I believe that the right to Vote is a right which will have to be conceded before long.

The Lord Chancellor.
"It is too late to go back."

"The country had been deprived of the opportunity of gauging the real strength of this movement owing to the suppression by the newspapers of its public expression."

Lord Willoughby de Broke.

"They could not be blind to the fact that the movement was growing, and was one they had not much hope of resisting. In view of the advances that had been made step by step there was no reason for discouragement. One by one the outlying works had been captured and the very citadel was now in danger."

Lord Courtney.

"I believe that the Cause of Woman Suffrage is making progress."

Lord Crewe.

"The difficulty was that the nature of that movement was to a very large extent unknown, and the reasons were to be found in the peculiar circumstances of the agitation. Owing to the fact that it was not included in the programme of either political party it could never be tested at a General Election, and, if he might use a paradox, he would say that if women had had the Vote to-day they would not have had to wait so long to obtain it, and it would have been impossible for any Government to deal with this agitation in the way that it had been dealt with by the present Government."

Lord Lytton.

"It was inconceivable that any human being could believe that the movement had made no progress during the last few years. The progress had been phenomenal, unprecedented, and unparalleled by any other political movement in the country. In no other movement had they the same degree of enthusiasm, zeal, devotion, self-sacrifice, and even spiritual force. Wherever women were organised for trade, profession, or occupation their organisations had expressed an opinion in favour of Woman's Suffrage. Could they conceive any question in which men were concerned of which it could be said that every separate opinion among men was in favour of it, and then be told in debate in Parliament that the men did not want it? (Hear, hear.) One hundred and seventy-nine City or Town Councils or municipal bodies had petitioned in favour of the Bill, as had 50 Trade Councils, 35 Trade Unions, and the Trade Union Congress, and the principle was supported by the Labour and Independent Labour Party, which embraced the whole field of the working classes of the country. There were 53 Woman's Suffrage Societies in the country composed of women and men, although he was aware that the membership of these different societies overlapped considerably. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies had 480 affiliated societies with 53,000 members, and, adding the persons who approved of its policy, but did not subscribe, it was true that the avowed supporters of the Union numbered 100,000, and they had an income of £45,000. They organised a great pilgrimage last year from all parts of England to London, during which they held 480 meetings and collected over £8,000 from their sympathisers en route. The Women's Social and Political Union, which was the militant society, had 15,000 adherents and an income of £36,000. In 1912 they held 25,000 meetings, and for the last two or three years had regularly held from 200 to 300 meetings a week all the year round. When they were told that there was no demand for the Vote it was absolutely necessary to read those dry facts and statistics. Upwards of 2,000 petitions had been presented to Parliament representing over 1,000,000 names. Could the opponents of Women's Suffrage produce statistics in any way comparable to those?"

Lord Lytton.

"By every test that politicians applied to the consideration of political questions women had shown overwhelming evidence of their demand. There was a stronger case in the country for this Bill than for any measure introduced since the Government came into power."

Lord Lytton.

ARE WOMEN FIT TO BE CITIZENS?

"But I do say that it raises a doubt as to the fitness of the female temperament and character for the discharge of political functions."

Lord Curzon.

"I think it does show that there are qualities in the female temperament and impulses in female action which should confirm our doubts as to the granting of Votes to Women. Surely it is a lamentable thing that the first exhibition of the activities of those who feel most strongly on the matter should be to perpetrate these disgraceful and idiotic acts."

Lord Curzon.

"I cannot believe they possess qualities or temperament which would render them useful agents in the exercise of political power."

Lord Curzon.

"I could understand that there was a case for limiting this proposed Franchise if it were argued that there are a number of women who are intellectually or educationally qualified to take part in political life."

Lord Curzon.

"Underlying the arguments of our opponents is the latent idea that the roll of electors should only be a roll of the fit—that is, presumably, of those who by special education, special intellect, or special experience are fit to be on the roll. That might be a very good system of government, but it is not the system of government under which we live. If that were the theory a very large proportion of men who are on the roll would disappear, not from one class only, but from all classes, and the electoral law would consist of a selection of the comparative fit out of every class. Such a roll of the fit could not, in my opinion, fail to include a large number of women. As a matter of fact, the voters' roll is prepared on theories based on the desirability of giving the Franchise to the greatest possible number of those who may be affected by the action of the Administration or of Parliament, or that, where all are concerned in good government the greater the proportion of those who are governed that can take part in that government the better for the State. We are dealing, not with the intellect, the education, or the experience of our fellow-countrymen, but with them in the

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"As to the increasing share of women in public affairs, and even in Parliamentary elections, he thought it was unfortunate. It was not well either for the country or for women themselves that they should go addressing political meetings and canvassing for Votes as they did now."

Lord St. Aldwyn.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE STATE.

"I do believe that our domestic policy would gain nothing in refining influences. I do think that a disturbing influence would be introduced into public affairs, and I am pretty certain that the influence of our country would not gain in the estimation of foreign nations."

Lord Curzon.

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mass as human beings, and we have to look more to their instinct and their character than to their special fitness."

"I would not be urging this Bill if I did not believe that such a measure would add to the stability of the State."

"I believe women from their experience can bring a great contribution to the consideration of our national problems. I also believe that that experience will never be really fully utilised by men, however anxious they may be to do so, so long as the women who have that experience are extraneous to our Parliamentary system."

"Sometimes the arguments of our opponents seem to me to amount to this—it is not only permissible, but highly to be encouraged, that women should take an interest in politics, should range themselves on different sides as men do, form themselves into political organisations, write and speak, and on election days assist men to bring voters to the poll; that in fact they ought to embark and ought to be encouraged to embark in politics to the fullest possible extent except to go the polling booth and put their cross on a piece of paper. That is to me a perfectly incomprehensible argument."

"The great majority (municipal voters) are poor women. They are women who have fought the battle of life and triumphed. Hard as is the battle of life for men, there is no battle so hard as that of the widow with children. Besides there are women who do belong to the more richly-endowed classes—women who are employers of labour, whether on the land or in business. Every one of these women pays rates and taxes."

"In addition to having satisfied a claim which I believe to be just, in addition to having increased the stability of the State, you would have got into politics an influence which has already been felt in American States and in Australia and New Zealand, where women have the Vote. Are our politics to be a noble science, in which men from different points of view are striving to make people better and happier, or are they to be a struggle for power, place, titles, and salaries? In the struggle the influence of women, I confidently believe, will be on the side of the angels against the machine. (Cheers.)"

Lord Selborne.

"In our political life, women were chosen to persuade, to argue with, to convince the ordinary voter, to tell men how, when, and why they should vote, and yet these women were said to be incapable of forming a conclusion themselves as to how, when, and where they were to vote. Was the position tenable? Could they go on addressing Primrose Leagues and exhorting women to go out into the highways and byways at election times to canvass, persuade, entreat, adjure, and almost to compel voters to come in and vote, and yet say that they were unfit to come in and vote themselves?"

Lord Courtney.

"A woman was good enough to be a Royal Commissioner, to be the Mayor of an important city, or even to receive a gold medal from Lord Curzon himself in connection with geographical research, but if she asked to be allowed to put a cross opposite the honoured name of a Parliamentary candidate she was told the line must be drawn at that. That was a privilege which must be carefully reserved for any illiterate lout who got his name on the register."

Lord Newton.

"I do not suppose for a moment—in this I agree with my noble friend—that if his million of women were added to the register any immediate catastrophe would overwhelm the country. I do not imagine that the Empire would come to an end or that anything very sinister or serious would ensue."

Lord Curzon.

"There was no body of human beings nobler, more capable, better instructed, and better equipped to be voters than was to be found in that body of women who were foremost in demanding the Vote; and there was no system of Statecraft which justified the withholding of the Vote from them. He could not understand how especially anyone who had taken part in social work in England could deny their claim."

The Bishop of Oxford.

"It was said that women had no interest in Imperial affairs, but they would be found as distinctly divided on those questions as men were."

Lord Courtney.

"I have equally never been able to believe in the prophecies of disaster which are so freely uttered from various quarters if the Vote was given. I have never been able to suppose for a moment that our Imperial degradation would be brought about if this change were made."

Lord Crewe.

"This question blocked the progress of all franchise reform."

Lord Aberconway.

"They had been assured by almost every speaker in opposition to the Bill that in his opinion women did not want the Vote. When Mr. Gladstone was told in 1884 that the agricultural labourers did not want the vote, he replied, 'I am not concerned whether they want it or not; the State wants it for them.'"

Lord Lytton.

"We are entering upon an entirely new set of problems as regards these things which can be dealt with only by the co-operation of women. Official statistics show that the deaths of infants amount to the enormous total of 128 in the thousand during the first year. That in itself means a tremendous drag upon the growth of the population. But when you come to ante-natal deaths, due to preventable causes, then you come to a question which concerns the future of the race most closely,

and a question with which women are more concerned than probably any other class of the community."

The Lord Chancellor.

"The housing question, which was one of the worst scandals in our modern civilisation, was primarily a woman's question, and they would never get it settled on national lines until women could exercise some pressure on the Government. If he had a million women voters behind him he would be sure of carrying his Bill raising the age of consent and also his Sunday Closing Bill. Some of the reforms they were most asking for here were passed in New Zealand after two years' experience of the Women's Vote."

The Bishop of London.

"He believed that the admission of women to the Suffrage was consequent upon their admission to other spheres of public life which had proved to the advantage and happiness of the country."

Lord Malmesbury.

"Both in the interests of expediency and justice it is better that we should go forward."

The Lord Chancellor.

IS WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THE INTEREST OF WOMEN?

"I think it would be injurious to the interests of women."

Lord Curzon.

"It was not the fact that in any matter the interests of women were opposed to or conflicted with the interests of men or the interests for which public-spirited men cared, and that, in dealing with social questions, women of knowledge and good counsel were unable to make their influence felt to-day."

Lord Charnwood.

"I could understand it being argued that in the female population of this country that class which pre-eminently needs representation is the class of working women who are earning wages."

Lord Curzon.

"I have always thought that this question is one that touches most nearly those who are worst off in the community—women who live with their families upon very narrow means and earn their living. When you think of the extent to which men have changed the factory laws, mining laws, and the laws regulating the social environment in which they work, and when you contrast these changes with the slow changes in the field of women's work, you realise the effect of the absence of political influence in the ranks of women."

The Lord Chancellor.

"His contention was that the exclusion of women from the Parliamentary Vote did involve a matter of injustice. Women were a distinct class which was not and could not be represented by the votes of men."

"If women did not need separate representation as a class, then they did not need separate legislation, but if Parliament gave them separate legislation, Parliament could not deny their right to separate representation. From the moment that they passed the factory laws and Shop Hours Acts and Insurance Acts, which differentiated between the industrial conditions of the men and the women, from the moment that they passed the divorce laws, which differentiated between the position and the rights of husband and the wife, and, more particularly, from the moment that they passed such laws as the Married Women's Property Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and laws dealing with nurses and midwives—laws dealing with women and with women alone—it was impossible to say that women were not a class, and therefore did not need special legislation. Their right to separate representation was not based upon any inherent right to a vote in an individual; it was established by the condition of women on the Statute Book to-day."

"One-third of the total number of women over fifteen in this country were working for their living. Fifty per cent. of the single women, 30 per cent. of the widows, and 10 per cent. of the married women were wage-earners. That meant that nearly 5,000,000 women were obliged to work in order to obtain the home which they were told was their special sphere, and in that work they found themselves in competition with men who had not only their trade organisations, but the vote and representation in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) Parliament regulated the labour of these women in every direction, restricted their employment, and dealt with their industrial conditions, and it was only adding insult to the injury they felt when they were told that they were represented to-day by the votes of the men with whom they were in competition. (Hear, hear.) So long as that class was specifically recognised in law and specifically disfranchised by law Parliament was not representative, and all their boasted democracy and the theory of the government of the people by the people were a falsehood and a sham. (Hear, hear.)"

Lord Lytton.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND THE SEX WAR.

"But, in proportion as this million is swollen, as it would be swollen, to five or ten and even more millions, you could no longer count with certainty upon a state of affairs in which women would not combine together as a sex against men. It is from that point of view that those who disagree with my noble friend regard the granting of the Suffrage to women, even to this limited degree, as a profoundly dangerous experiment."

Lord Curzon.

"I think that it would have an unfortunate and mischievous effect upon the social relations between the two sexes."

Lord Curzon.

"There is a difference which we must all recognise between men and women. It is a difference which nature has created, and, having been created by Nature, no law you can pass will ever succeed in wiping it out. (Cheers.)"

Lord Curzon.

"This was a step in a wider movement that tended to produce a state of competition between men and women in which the fine edge of respect and reverence for women stood in some danger of being blunted."

Lord Charnwood.

"Similarly it is incomprehensible to our opponents that we should advocate Woman Suffrage, knowing that there are more women than men, and that it is conceivable that the principle, once adopted, might lead to an electorate in which there were more women than men. The root of that argument was that some day a measure might be passed by the votes of women against the votes of men. I believe that to be a complete delusion. I claim it to be morally certain that, if women had the vote, their opinions would be divided on exactly the same lines as were those of men, and that it would never be possible to say that a particular measure or a particular policy had triumphed or had been defeated by the votes of one sex or the other."

Lord Selborne.

"The sex disability which existed to-day was a disability imposed by law. If it were a disability imposed by Nature, obviously it would be foolish to attempt to do away with it by Act of Parliament. But it was a purely artificial barrier imposed by law, and it was by law that that barrier could and should be removed."

Lord Lytton.

"He wanted to know why was it more coarsening and debasing for a woman to take part in a political fight than it was to take part in a municipal fight?"

Lord Newton.

"Let them ask any ordinary man or woman whether it would be advantageous that women should serve on juries or as magistrates. Almost any man, and absolutely all women, would prefer to be tried by a jury of men."

Lord Charnwood.

"Women generally were far more impulsive, far more actuated by sentiment, personal feeling, and emotion than men. Men were more given to reason and judgment. Given a large majority of women for a certain question, with the support of a minority of men, they would be able to pass laws and govern administrative actions. He saw very great danger to the country in such a state of affairs."

Lord St. Aldwyn.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION.

"It would introduce a great social revolution."

Lord Curzon.

"Many said that women could not reason, and Lord St. Aldwyn had hinted that their method of reasoning was different from that of men. Yet they often arrived at very correct conclusions; and a correct conclusion arrived at by natural instinct was better than a wrong conclusion arrived at by apparently correct reasoning."

Lord Malmesbury.

"The quality of motherhood did not suffer from, but rather developed by, public responsibility. The giving of the vote as proposed in this Bill was a matter of bare justice."

Lord Selborne.

"If this franchise is now granted there would not be, as some of our supporters think, 'red ruin and the breaking up of laws'; but, on the other hand, I do not suggest to your lordships that the result would be a new heaven and a new earth."

Lord Selborne.

"The grant of the franchise was a necessary accompaniment of the evolution of woman."

Lord Willoughby de Broke.

"It is said that the introduction of Woman Suffrage will amount to a social revolution. Well, there have been social revolutions before now, and looking back upon them we see that they came gradually."

"The magnificence of antiquity, the splendid buildings of Athens and Rome, the Pyramids of Egypt, were the results of the power of a small dominating section of the community. The institution of slavery enabled the people to do things which otherwise they could not have accomplished."

"But slowly, inevitably, the social revolution was brought about that brought down that state of things with a crash. It was the great work of Christianity to teach that men were equal before God. By slow degrees the great work of Christianity progressed, and now the abolition of slavery seems to us so perfectly natural that it appears unnatural that slavery existed so long. Are there not indications that some similar change of attitude is taking place to-day? Certainly there have been tremendous changes in opinion in the last one hundred years, and we now invite women to take part in political discussions, and they are connected with institutions which concern themselves with Imperial politics. I believe it has become impossible to discuss this question to-day in the abstract, for you have let women into the very *arcana* of your political life. We have advanced to such a point that we seem to be on the brink of bringing about a new condition of things."

The Lord Chancellor.

WOMEN AND MUNICIPAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

"He selects another class, and it happens to be a class who have shown a most extraordinary indifference to the privileges which they already enjoy. At the last London County Council election, out of 120,000 female voters on the register only 30 per cent. voted; in the whole country at the local elections not much more than 25 per cent. voted. Further, in these municipal elections women have the right not only to vote, but also to stand. But their indifference to the discharge of their duties is only equalled by the indifference of the electors to their claims, because at the London County Council election only one woman was returned, and in the whole of the elections throughout the country the number was also insignificant. Therefore I submit that before my noble friend asks Parliament to give this new vote to women possessing the municipal franchise, it would be better for him to impress upon them the more active use of the privileges which they already enjoy."

Lord Curzon.

"They were told that women had not made full use of the opportunities they already had, but the figures showed that women were hardly behind men in municipal contests. Another argument was that women did not come forward in large numbers to stand for election in local government. That was said by those who did not know, or had forgotten that the qualification had been fixed on so narrow a basis that only a tiny minority of women could possibly come forward."

The Bishop of London.

"The noble earl (Earl Curzon), who spoke on the previous night, said that women did not show that they cared for the use of the privileges which had already been accorded, as evidenced by the number who voted in municipal elections. He believed the truth to be that in London there had been great slackness on both sides, and what was impressed on them by a review of all the accessible facts was, that in the shortest possible period of education women should be found to come forward and vote in municipal elections in approximately the same proportion as those who were entitled to do so among men."

Lord Courtney.

THE THIN EDGE OF THE WEDGE.

"There was not a single argument in favour of the Bill that would not give women judicial work and open to them the ministry of the Church, or hand over to a woman the seals of the Foreign Office in a time of great national danger."

Lord Charnwood.

"My noble friend defended the right of women to vote, but he said nothing about the inevitable logical corollary of that right if conferred—the right to sit in Parliament. I do not see that there is any good argument which can be used against the admission of women to Parliament which would not be invalidated by their admission to the franchise. If justice or expediency demands the concession of the right to vote, surely it equally demands the concession of the right to sit. Would it not follow, too, that if women were admitted to sit in Parliament you could not deny them the right to fill executive offices in the House of Commons or to sit in the Cabinet? Once women get into the House of Commons you could not put a rope round the Treasury Bench and say, 'Ladies must stay outside.'"

Lord Curzon.

"It was asked whether this Bill would be an end of the question. Of course it would not, any more than the Bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884 settled the question of the enfranchisement of men. It would settle one thing only—the question whether or not sex alone should be a barrier to women. This movement was a democratic one, and whatever the result of the division on the Bill, the opposition to Women's Suffrage was a losing cause."

Lord Lytton.

"The prospect that if women got the vote they would have the right to sit in Parliament did not dismay him in the least. He believed the cases in which women sat in any Parliament were extremely rare."

Lord Newton.

THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., LTD., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Secretary—Miss H. HOLMAN.
FRIDAY, May 15, 1914.

EDITORIAL.

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

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THE LATTER-DAY BOURBONS.

Of the Bourbons it was said that they learnt nothing and they forgot nothing. The tag applies with peculiar aptitude to those who may be said, with some truth, to have inherited, or annexed, the Bourbon tradition. Henri V., in his sheltered retreat, was not more ignorant of the progress of modern thought or insensible to the beat of the waves of modern progress, than are the gentlemen who acted as spokesmen on the anti-Suffrage side in the debate on Lord Selborne's "Conciliation" Bill in the House of Lords. These interesting survivals had a "day out" last week, and gave utterance to what is probably the swan-song of their reactionary movement. For we cannot think so poorly of the common-sense of the race as to imagine that many more opportunities will be furnished them for wasting public time in such unremunerative and unmitigated foolishness.

Lord Curzon is the orator among these smug worshippers of privilege and sex arrogance. This sleek-haired "Superior Person" is wrapt away from all reality in the contemplation of the nestimable glories and greatnesses of his own sex. Turning a resolute back to facts, he faces fancy-wards with unruffled complacency. Neither the preposterously congested state of public business, the Home Rule *impasse*, nor even his own contempt for the Liberal programme, shakes his fixed belief in the superiority of Man, the Male Animal. The demoralisation of the House of Commons and the degradation of the House of Lords, both of which rouse him to passion, do not disturb his blind faith, even though he knows that the majority of the male electorate approves of what he so deplors. We wonder, being only women, what it is, then, on which he can so confidently base his claim to fitness and superiority for his sex; for if the majority of them believe most ardently in what Lord Curzon so deeply abhors, which are we to consider the most unfit—the majority whom he believes to be wrong, or himself and his following, who must be wrong unless the majority is!

With a majestic and almost touching infirmity of vision, Lord Curzon can see on the Suffrage horizon no figure save the sensational one of the Militant. On militancy, or, rather, against it, he plants his forlorn standard, and speaks as if it were the sole phenomenon of the Suffrage Movement. This is, surely, rather hard on Mrs. Fawcett; especially in view of the new inscription on the cover of *The Common Cause*. The cold ingratitude which ignores the unpopular denunciations levelled by the constitutional body against the far less numerous militants must be as depressing to our fellow-workers as the silliness of it is encouraging to us. He described Lord Selborne's attitude towards Militancy as the "thinnest casuistry" and the "grossest immorality," because he was rash enough to say that the Church League was justified in believing that "the cause is greater than the methods"; and he begged supporters of Suffrage not to support until Militancy ceased. This is a high tribute to the power of Militancy; but what we really admire is the object-lesson in casuistry and immorality set by Lord Curzon, who is loud in support of Ulster's contumacy, and has no word of rebuke for the prelates and parsons who are blessing Sir Edward Carson's big guns and hanging on his big

drum, across the Irish Channel. We do not recollect to have come across a more brazen example of Satan rebuking sin.

Lord Curzon further illustrated his own mental deficiency by declaring that the actions of Militant Suffragists proved that women as a sex were not intellectually inferior—he has abandoned that level, and "granted" and "conceded" and "admitted" the whole position of intellectuality on various previous occasions—but weighted with a strain of mental and moral instability. With the male sex furnishing two-thirds of the mental defectives and abnormalities, and an overwhelmingly large proportion of the nation's criminals and drunkards also male, we should draw our breath at this audacious deduction even without turning our eyes to the political field. But when we consider the enormous turnover of male votes that, with increasing iteration, turns out one Government to put another in, we ask of male "stability" as we do of the currant in the bun, "Where is it?" A century ago, the men of the "northern iron," forefathers of the Ulstermen of to-day, took up arms in rebellion against the Union they now take up arms in rebellion to maintain. Is that stability? Fifteen years ago the Empire echoed with the clang of arms to "put down Krugerism," and to-day the party that raised the cry joined forces with the Government to approve Krugerism and support it. Where is the stability? *The Birmingham Post* calls this "the root of the matter," thus showing itself as ill-balanced as Lord Curzon; and the frank declaration made by two or three other papers to the effect that the ordinary man is unmoved by a plea for justice and only cares to nurse his wrath against militants (while preserving his own right to be as disorderly as he likes), is a definite confession of masculine unfitnes to have great decisions referred to masculine judgment.

The Times has perhaps the most ludicrous criticism of all. It alludes to the "passionate resentment" of women and "detestation of the whole cause" by other women, because "women feel that their sex has been degraded and made an object of mockery." Women who have waited until the advent of the Militant Suffragette to feel this are almost as archaic a survival as Lord Curzon. We can only advise them to study the thoroughfares infested with street-walkers, the Lock hospitals full of young girls, and the rescue homes crowded with little children, and ask themselves, has nothing degraded womanhood and made a mockery of it before the great movement of 1906?

We welcome the Bishop of London as a convert through the inexorable logic of fact and justice. Like Mrs. Creighton, he came to it reluctantly; the same forces proved irresistible with both. No real reform will be granted, and no administration will uphold it, until women are behind it with the power of their votes.

We must make one allusion to Lord Charnwood's contribution to the debate. This young anti-Suffragist peer was the only one who attended to our campaign in the Wetherall case. His interest in it, and the investigation he promised, flickered out like a candle in the wind; yet he has the assurance to ask whether "the ordinary man" would think it advantageous to have women as magistrates or on juries? After saying that "almost any man, and absolutely every woman," would prefer to be judged by men, he goes on to protest against "the fine edge of respect and reverence for women standing in danger of being blunted." Lord Curzon's speech made one smile with a sentiment that is almost pity; he has so persistently misunderstood all the forces he has had to deal with, from Oxford to India, that one cannot hold him responsible. But Lord Charnwood knows better. He went to this debate with a case of foul judicial treachery fresh in his mind; he hit below the belt. We know now, and shall not forget, that sex treachery in law, politics, and morals has his support and approval.

C. NINA BOYLE.

OUR INTERNATIONAL COLUMN.

Head of International Department: MRS HARVEY,
4, Cleveland-gardens, Ealing, London, W.

International Council of Women: Queen Mary Becomes President of the English Council.

During the Session in Rome this week of the International Council of Women Mrs. Creighton announced, amid great enthusiasm, that Queen Mary had consented to become President of the British Council.

Great Suffrage Demonstration in Washington.

The greatest Women's Suffrage demonstration that Washington has ever seen crowded the streets leading from Lafayette-park to the Capitol on May 11. Every State was represented in the parade. On reaching the Capitol they sang with impressive effect. Dr. Ethel Smyth's Suffrage song, "The March of the Women."—*Daily Mail*.

Janet Galloway: Founder of a Woman's College.

On May 4 the University of Glasgow witnessed an impressive ceremony in the Bute Hall, when a window was unveiled to the memory of Miss Janet Galloway, a pioneer of higher education in Scotland. The ceremony was attended by the Principal of the college, Sir Donald Macalister, the members of the Senate, University court and council, the subscribers to the Memorial, and the women students of the college.

Dr. David Murray, father of Miss Eunice Murray, well known in the Women's Freedom League, gave an appreciation of the life and work of Miss Galloway. From 1877 onwards she gave her services, as secretary and resident Head, to Queen Margaret College, then in its infancy, and till the day of her death, in January, 1909, never ceased to cherish the cause which lay so near her heart. It is only twenty years since the first woman graduated in the University of Glasgow, yet Queen Margaret College to-day, with its hundreds of students, its long and ever growing roll of graduates, in arts, medicine, science, and theology, its world-wide reputation, might be thought to be an institution of ancient date, gathering in the fruits of the labour of centuries. The task of organising, arranging, and carrying on the work lay with Miss Galloway, both before and after the college was incorporated with the University. She possessed an extraordinary capacity for work, and she was a great organiser. She visited the principal seats of learning at home and abroad to be abreast with the latest achievements for the higher education of women. Queen Margaret College may be said to be Miss Galloway's creation. She gave it individuality, vitality, and popularity, and proved herself a broad-minded and judicious administrator, always in harmony with the Court and Senate of the University. The result of her labours has been to produce an extraordinary solidarity among the women students, who all felt her remarkable power of gaining their love and devotion.

Careless of her own ease, and Spartan in her private life, she was an affectionate mother to all her girls; always ready with wise counsel, and also with help in organising meetings, theatricals, and debates for the Unions. Happy Miss Galloway to live to see Queen Margaret flourish, and to know herself beloved and honoured by all who came under her sphere of influence!

The memorial window, which occupies a place in the fine Gothic Hall, where the great functions of the University of Glasgow take place, is the work of the Aberdeen glass stainer, Strachan, and cost over £1,000. It represents in allegory the story of "Ideal Education." The memorial is a brilliant testimonial to a great and good woman whose virtues are still enshrined in many hearts, and not the least in the memory of the writer of this notice.

FRANCES MURRAY, Cardross.

An Editor's Declaration.

Oswald Garrison Villard, owner and editor of *The Evening Post* (New York), says: "It is because we know the absence of political power weakens the social status of a citizen where it does not actually degrade him that we want the ballot for our women. I am certain there can be no room for dispute about one thing, and that is the way in which our political life will profit by the entrance of women. Inequality by reason of sex must go the way of distinction of rank and caste."

The Danish Woman Captain.

"Would you travel in a steamer where a woman was the captain?"

This question, provoked by the news from Copenhagen that Mme. von Bouditz has been made captain of a Transatlantic steamer, has been put by a writer in *The Intransigent* to some distinguished French people.

M. Marcel Prévost says he would not be afraid. "Each time," he says, "that a woman takes the place of a man in any work she succeeds admirably. Women are only inferior to us physically."

"I would travel in a steamer captained by a woman as peacefully as I would ride in a motor-car with a woman at the steering wheel."

The only decisive criticism comes from Admiral Touchard. He says: "Brrr. . . . I hope the first mate will be there to help her." But, after all, he is only an admiral.—*Daily Express*.

BY-ELECTIONS.

The following General Manifesto has been issued to electors. A special Manifesto will be brought out in each constituency dealing with local conditions.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

TO THE ELECTORS:

The House of Commons, which professes such horror of the ACTIONS OF MILITANT WOMEN, is entirely concerned with the disputes between the MILITANT MEN OF IRELAND. The Government is determined to do "justice" to the Nationalists who for over FIFTY YEARS have used CRIME and LAW-BREAKING in their Home Rule agitation; the Opposition is determined that LEGISLATION WITHOUT CONSENT shall not be imposed on the Ulstermen who openly boast of their DEFIANCE OF THE LAW and the King's officers. Both unite in REFUSING justice and in imposing Government without consent on WOMEN, WHETHER MILITANT OR LAW-ABIDING.

The only other matter with which legislation will deal for the moment is the IMPOSITION of FRESH TAXES, which will be wrung from women as well as men. Women will have no voice in the adjustment or in the allocation of these taxes; and the further powers which will be claimed by the Government in supervising the State grants made to Local Government bodies, will TAKE AWAY in a great measure the very small control women now wield in Local Government affairs.

VOTE AGAINST the candidate who supports an undemocratic Government, and HELP to give Women a share in controlling the taxes they are forced to pay, by

KEEPING THE LIBERAL OUT.

C. NINA BOYLE.

Head of Political and Militant Department,
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert-street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C.

Weekly Paper: THE VOTE, 1d. Colours: Green, Gold, and White.

Grimsby.

Result: Mr. T. G. TICKLER (U.) 8,471
Mr. A. BANNISTER (L.) 8,193

Unionist majority 278

Mrs. Tanner, writing just before the poll, gave the following interesting information:—

Our work here is going splendidly. We have held three or four meetings each day, and invariably large and keenly interested audiences draw round our trap, which Mrs. Hull has decorated gaily in our colours. Friday was very wet, but we held our meetings just the same, and had huge audiences at three different pitches. One meeting was held in a very poor quarter of the town, and it was pathetic to see how the women especially hung on our words, and came to speak to us and shake hands at the end. We sold THE VOTE as quickly as we could take the pennies. Three and a-half dozen were disposed of in one evening from the trap alone. There were many drunken men about on Saturday, but we had three fine meetings in spite of them. The people here work very hard, and seem to lead very drear, drab lives, so I suppose they fly to drink as a refuge.

The only opposition we get is from Liberals on our anti-Government policy. There is absolutely none to the principle of Woman Suffrage. Both candidates have publicly declared themselves in favour of Votes for Women. In spite of this the N.L.O.W.S. have opened committee-rooms here, and I believe are holding meetings, though I have not seen much of them. On Friday, in the Market-place, we saw their poster, "Women do not want the Vote," in charge of a very forlorn-looking man. Nobody seemed to be taking the slightest interest and his effort had all the appearance of a lost cause. Our prettily-decorated trap creates a great deal of interest, and looks very gay as we drive through the town.

Monday being the eve of the poll, Grimsby was seething with excitement. We had an excellent dinner-hour meeting, our trap being drawn up close beside the Liberal candidate, who was also addressing the crowd. In the evening we held four meetings (one in pouring rain), and at each we had large and enthusiastic crowds. At the end an old working man came up to me and said, "I hope when you go back to London you'll tell them what a good reception you got in Grimsby!" "Of course," I said, "I shall do so with the greatest pleasure." We have held in all eighteen meetings,

sold our papers and pamphlets, and a large number of badges.

Whatever the result of the election may be, our work has not been wasted. There are very few people now in Grimsby who have not heard of the Women's Freedom League, its objects and its policy. In addition to THE VOTE we have sold a large number of pamphlets at all our meetings.

KATHLEEN TANNER.

Ipswich.

Liberal majority, January, 1910 382
Probable polling, Wednesday, May 27.

The Conservative party has chosen Mr. F. J. C. Ganzoni as their candidate. He is well-known in the district, and, we believe, inclined to support the Women's claims.

The Liberal candidate has still not been decided upon; the local Labour Party is anxious that Mr. R. Jackson, a member of the Town Council and Education Committee, should contest the seat in the Labour interest. Meanwhile the local Freedom Leaguers, following out the businesslike suggestions of our energetic secretary, are making all possible preparations for the fight, and collecting useful information of every kind to assist Miss Munro, who will reach Ipswich to-day.

N.-E. Derbyshire.

Candidates: Mr. J. P. HOUGHTON (Lib.).
Mr. JAMES MARTIN (Lab.).
Major HARLAND BOWDEN (C.).

Labour majority last election 1,750
Polling day, Wednesday, May 20.

Mrs. Sproson is in charge of the fight here, and has the assistance of Miss Maclean, who knows the district and the condition of the workers, and the Sheffield Branch. Dronfield is the centre from which the Freedom League campaign is being run. All who can help are urgently requested to communicate with our Sheffield secretary, Miss Macdonald, 21, Harcourt-road, Sheffield.

MARRIED WOMEN AND INCOME TAX.

The petition of right in the above matter, brought by Mrs. Ayres Purdie, is to be heard at the Law Courts, Strand, on Tuesday next, May 19. The petitioner conducts her own case, and the King will be represented by the Solicitor-General or the Attorney-General. The doors are opened at 10 o'clock. The case may not come on until a later hour, but those wishing to hear it will be well advised to arrive early and secure seats directly the doors open, as the court is small and many people are interested in the case.

THE "PROTECTED" SEX.

Criminal Assault.

Fred Lyons, collier, charged at Leeds Assizes on May 6 with criminally assaulting Minnie Scott, his wife's sister, aged fifteen. He was found **Not guilty**.

(Although discharged, in summing up in the case against Minnie Scott, his Lordship said the case against Fred Lyons had made it clear that it was desirable the girl should not return to the place where these events had occurred.)

Minnie Scott, fifteen, was charged, at Leeds, at the same time, with concealment of birth of an infant, born in the cellar, and with the murder of the baby. The charge of murder was dropped, but the unfortunate victim of a man's lust was found **Guilty** of the first offence. Placed in the care of the wife of an inspector of the N.S.P.C.C. for twelve months.

Abduction.

Albert Edward Dodd, married man, charged at Leeds Assizes last week with the abduction of Edna Bradley, sixteen, residing with her mother. The girl used to go to Dodd's house, where the offence was committed, to look after his two children. Prisoner took the girl away in a motor-car and stayed with her at Huddersfield, then took her on to Manchester. It was urged in prisoner's defence that a court of law was not a court of morals. Verdict of **Guilty** was found, but the judge remarked that there were circumstances which alleviated the offence, and he was prepared to accept the view that Dodd had been willing to take the girl eventually to some respectable place (1) **One month in the second division.**

John Raper, curate, also charged at Leeds with betrayal of Alice Kendrick, eighteen, daughter of well-to-do parents. Betrayed her a few months after her return from boarding school, when only sixteen years of age, and on several subsequent occasions. Was on friendly relations with her parents while wrecking their daughter's life. **Ordered to pay £400 damages.**



New wine in old bottles is a bad combination, but new spirit in an old firm combines new ideals with the dignified traditions of previous generations.

MARSHALL & SNELGROVE, LTD.

Vere Street and Oxford Street, W.

Living on Immoral Earnings.

Tom James Pickford, forty-seven, manager of a brush and bristle business, charged last week at the London Sessions with living on the immoral earnings of Annie Morfydd Pugh, a girl of twenty. Prosecutrix went to live with the accused, who ill-treated her and made her frequent the West-end streets. Once he burned her wrist with a lighted cigar because she would not go. The girl had tried many times to get away from him, and finally he took her luggage in order to keep her. Had a wife and four children in Leeds. Mr. Justice Lawrie, in passing sentence, said, "It is the worst case of the sort that has come before me." **Twenty-one months' hard labour.**

Brutal Assault.

Mrs. Lawrence, charged last week at West Ham Police-court with having stabbed her husband, John T. Lawrence, said that he attacked her with a knife and she snatched it away and struck him. A terrible story of his drunkenness and brutality was related, calling from the magistrate the remark, "You have treated her worse than a South Sea Islander or any savage would treat his wife." Woman was forced to take her children and go to the workhouse as he took all the furniture from the house. Mrs. Lawrence discharged, the magistrate saying that but for a technicality the man should have been in the dock.

(There appears to have been sufficient evidence brought forward to convince the magistrate of the dangerously brutal character of this man, and yet no steps are taken to prevent him from making fresh attacks on the unfortunate woman who is his wife and who can get no release from such a tie.)

Douglas Thomas, insurance clerk, summoned last week at Stratford Police-court by his wife, who alleged persistent cruelty, and asked for a separation order. Defendant repeatedly struck her if she remonstrated with him for staying out late or all night; on one occasion assaulted her and turned her out in the rain; another time he blacked both her eyes; he kicked her severely. Last September she summoned him, but after the case had been adjourned she agreed to try him again. After a month he became worse than ever and threatened her life. **Separation order granted—husband to pay 18s. a week, the wife to have the two children.**

Threats.

George Craig, of Dam of Aber Farm, on April 13, presented a revolver, which he knew to be loaded, at his employer's sister and used threats concerning a wages dispute. **Ten days, at the Dumbarton Sheriff Court, before Sheriff Macdiarmid.**

OUR TREASURY. NATIONAL FUND. (Now Including Branch and District Funds.) Amount previously acknowledged: October, 1907, to December, 1913, £19,320 5s. 5d.

	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Amount previously acknowledged	1,342	12 5
<i>Political and Militant Fund—</i>				
Per Miss M. Campbell—				
Miss Young	2	6		
Miss Robertson	2	0		
Miss Marshall	1	0		
Miss Fraser	6			
Mrs. Tritton	10	0		
			16	0
<i>Special Levy for General Election—</i>				
Miss McCulloch, per Manchester Branch	2	2	0	
Mrs. Walter Carey	10	0		
Bowes Park Branch	7	6		
Clapham Branch	8	6		
Middlesbrough Branch	19	0		
Mid-London Branch	19	6		
Northern Heights Branch	1	0	0	
Scattered Members Branch	2	0	0	
Sheffield Branch	8	6		
Southampton Branch	2	10	0	
Waterloo Branch	1	3	1	
			12	8 1
"To Fight Injustice"			10	0 0
<i>Per Miss Bensusan (Woman's Theatre)—</i>				
Mrs. Holmes	1	8	6	
Miss Hale	11	9		
Mrs. Sewell	11	6		
			2	11 9
Mrs. Snow			2	0 0
H. S. L. Fry, Esq.			1	0 0
Miss M. Campbell			10	0
Mrs. Terry			10	0
Miss C. E. Lawson			5	0
Miss D. Pallin			1	0
Collections			3	8 10
Office Sales			10	4
<i>Branches—</i>				
Middlesbrough	2	1	3	
<i>Capitation Fees—</i>				
East London			5	6
			£1,379	10 2

Cheques to be made payable to the Women's Freedom League, and crossed "London and South Western Bank, Ltd."

To Branch Treasurers.—In future Branch and District Funds will be added to the National Fund, and for this purpose a list should be sent monthly to the Hon. Treasurer.

Special Notice.—The Birthday Fund list will be published on July 10.

YE WAKING UP OF WINCHESTER.

The activities that have been going on in Winchester for the last fortnight culminated on Friday in a unique experience for the town. Carrying huge posters, headed by the words, "Wake Up Winchester!" and preceded by one of the League's beautiful hand-worked banners (lent by Headquarters for the occasion), sandwich women solemnly marched up and down the town during the busiest time of the morning announcing two meetings to be held later in the day. To judge by the astonishment and opprobrious remarks, Winchester's sleep was somewhat rudely disturbed. Its chivalry was displayed by missiles thrown from the safe shelter of upper windows, the warmest point of attack being immediately facing the sign, "Manners Makeyth Man."

In the afternoon a meeting was held at the ancient West Gate. Mrs. Whetton, in the absence of Mrs. Rothwell, who was prevented by illness, had kindly come from Southsea to speak. Mrs. Hyde explained the causes which led to the necessity of waking up a city that had played such an important part in the past history of our country, a city especially rich in memories of women. Miss Trotter presided. In the evening, under the shadow of King Alfred's noble statue, another huge meeting was held. Again Mrs. Whetton and Miss Trotter put the case for Women's Suffrage in a clear and convincing manner, pointing out the improved position of the workman to-day compared with his hopeless condition before enfranchisement. The thanks of the Branch are warmly given to our willing helpers who came from Southsea and other places to enable this day to be so great a success.

On Thursday Mrs. Walter Carey invited the members of the Branch and friends to an "At Home" in her beautiful grounds. Mrs. Hyde spoke on the "Broader Aspect of the Women's Movement." On Wednesday Mrs. Hyde and Mr. Price held a meeting at Eastleigh. Judging by the attention of the audience Eastleigh appreciates Women's Suffrage. Winchester is a young Branch of the Women's Freedom League, but its members make up in enthusiasm what is lacking in age.

AUCTION OF THE SECRETARY'S WRIT.

Though this document has not yet arrived, Mrs. Carey has started the bidding at £1. Further bids should be made without delay, so that we may be ready by the time the writ appears.

D. H. Evans & Co., Ltd.

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SUMMER WEAR



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The latest Models are now on view in our Costume Showrooms for the benefit of all Ladies interested in the Newest Phases of Fashion.

No. 2.

An elegant Costume in Moire Poplin, Coat with basque and slightly pouched in front, waist is finished with White Kid belt, double collar of own Silk piped with Black Satin, and prettily embroidered in corner in contrasting colours, Two-piece Corset Skirt, gathered at back and finished with strap. This can be had in all colours. Coat lined White Satin.

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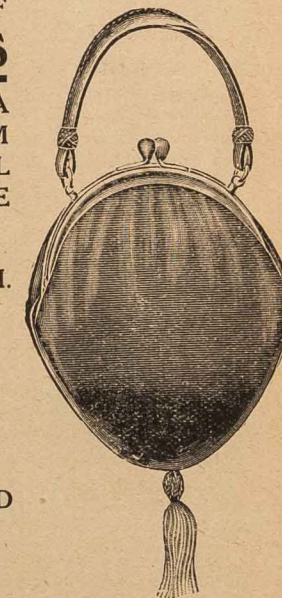
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Write for Price List and address of nearest Branch or Agent, who will collect and deliver free of charge. If you prefer to send direct, we will pay carriage one way.

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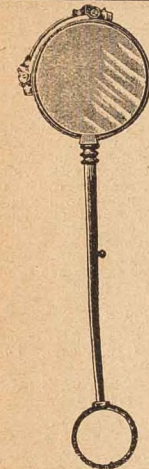
Mr. McCLEAN will be pleased to test the eyes of readers of this paper entirely free of charge and advise thereon.

By our method of testing the sight and fitting the individual face, perfect satisfaction is assured, both with regard to sight and comfort in wear.

Gold-filled Spectacles and Pince-Nez from 5/- per pair.

We hold a large selection of LOUIS LORGNETTES, as illustrated, latest designs, at 15s.

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Special Price

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NORTH WALES COAST SUMMER CAMPAIGN.

The North Wales Summer Coast Campaign was so successful last year, that, at the request of a large number of people, a second campaign will be held this year. The places to be visited will be Aberystwith, Aberdovey, Barmouth, Conway, Colwyn Bay, Llandudno. The campaign will begin about the third week of July and finish the first week in September. Miss Anna Munro, who, last year, created so favourable an impression in North Wales by her convincing speeches and charming manner, will again be the chief speaker during the campaign.

Will members and friends who have not yet decided where to spend their holidays kindly fix on one of the above places? Help is urgently needed for VOTE and Suffrage literature selling, collecting, chalking, &c., &c. A little time given every day out of your holidays will not be missed, but will add enormously to the success of the campaign. Money is also urgently needed to make the work really effective, so will one hundred members kindly send me sixpence per week until the third week of July? I shall then have money in hand to begin a campaign which I hope will result in new Branches of the Women's Freedom League in various parts of Wales, and a large increase in VOTE and literature sales, &c., &c.

LIX MINNIE CLARK, Hon. Organiser,
Severn-street, Newtown, Montgomery Boroughs.

CAXTON HALL "WEDNESDAY."

Presiding at a well-attended and enthusiastic meeting at the Caxton Hall on May 6, Mrs. Johnson said that twenty-one years ago she had taken part in a college debate in favour of woman suffrage, and every year made her a keener advocate of it. Women were rebelling against servitude. Thousands of women in the country, who were silent about their grievances, were filled with resentment against the position of women, and as soon as they realised that it was their duty to come out and stand by other women who were fighting against the subjection of their sex, they would do so and would never turn back until victory was secure.

Mr. Lansbury, in maintaining "The Religious Duty of Revolt," ridiculed the Lords' contention that militancy was a stumbling block to woman suffrage. Had not Lord Selborne and Lord Curzon recently signed the British Covenant, and had not the Bishops blessed the soldiers and banners before they were sent to South Africa? They could not honestly denounce militancy on principle and sanction a particular kind of militancy. Proceeding with his subject, Mr. Lansbury said that when religion gets hold of a person it is expected to effect a revolution in that person; it alters his point of view; if a drunkard, it makes him turn from drink to fight against it. The motive force behind religion is the power that makes for righteousness. All of us were profoundly dissatisfied with the present condition of things, and those who had any religion at all could not acquiesce in it and were impelled to make open and avowed protest. No one could lead a truly religious life while one soul in the community was debased by conditions from leading an equally religious life. Religion imposed on every one the necessity of never resting from the struggle against wrong in the world. Each individual person was responsible to his Maker and himself only for the part he took in that struggle. We must therefore have charity with one another. What was it that made quite respectable women resist their taxes, break the law, take up a case like the Wetherall case, parade the facts of it, face the obloquy of friend and foe, suffer imprisonment and all the torture that a barbarous system could impose, if not the intensity of spirit, the revulsion and revolt against the injustice meted out to women, and the horrible crimes inflicted on children? The faith in their Cause engendered this spirit among women, and nothing could stand against it.

Mrs. Mustard declared that the strongest opposition to the suffragist movement had come from Mr. Asquith, and the sooner he was removed from the position he held the better it would be for our Cause. The opposition to it by Mr. Asquith as Chancellor of the Exchequer under a suffragist Premier was far greater than the support given to it by Mr. Lloyd George under an anti-suffragist Premier. Continuing, the speaker said there had been a good deal of discussion on the New Budget both in Parliament and in the Press, but it had occurred to no one to voice the women's side of the question. She could not understand how any woman could be anything else but a rebel, and no one who had the woman's Cause at heart could get weary in the fight. The realisation that they were outlaws lighted an unquenchable fire in women's hearts. Referring to the Ulster difficulty, Mrs. Mustard said that women had a greater grievance than any Ulsterman, they had no representatives in the House of Commons except the self-styled ones who took women's money and did nothing in return for it. Women had a more strenuous fight than the one in Ulster. They must put the fight for women's enfranchisement first and foremost; they must fight against all fresh legislation passed over their heads without their consent.

"VOTE" BRIGADE.

Great enthusiasm was shown at THE VOTE Brigade Rally, held at Headquarters last Thursday. New "VOTE" sellers were introduced. It is hoped that other members of the League will follow this good example, as there are still pitches needing volunteers.

WITH THE CARAVAN.

The Caravan Campaign started at High Barnet on May 5. Members from London turned up to give it a good send-off by their presence and gifts for the provisioning of the journey northwards. Miss Underwood opened the meeting amid a deluge of rain. A large crowd, however, listened to her statement of the Women's Freedom League's position and general principles of the Suffrage Cause. Miss Munro followed, and found it necessary to devote a considerable amount of her time to answering the characteristic objections from people who have heard little or nothing of the Cause from the women themselves. At the subsequent meetings much greater interest, attention, and order was accorded to Miss K. Smith and Miss Munro. THE VOTE was sold and collections taken. Miss Smith, Miss Evans, Mr. and Mrs. MacLaughlin, Miss Hunt, and others have all contributed to the success of the week's work.

The caravan will continue its way north through Potter's Bar, Hatfield, Knebworth, and Hitchin, stopping at the various places according to their size and the intelligence of the inhabitants.

A DRAMATIC APPEAL.

Woman's wit and wisdom justified again! It was Delia Larkin who saw through the sadness and suffering of the Dublin strike a shining jewel—the natural gift of music and dramatic sense. She determined to turn it to good account, and though food often failed and shelter—the official statistics of Dublin's slums are sufficient to cause a shudder of horror—she kept aglow the artistic power and fanned it into flame. On Saturday night, at the King's Hall, Covent-garden, her Irish Workers' Dramatic Company gave a taste of their skill before a London audience, and were received with great enthusiasm—enthusiasm to be turned to practical use in the establishment of workers' restaurants, in Dublin run by victimised workers, as well as in other aspects of her co-operative scheme. "Workers all, and the children of workers!" was her reply on Saturday to the eager inquiry as to whether the songs and the dances were not given by trained artistes. The dancing children, May and Leo Ryan, evoked loud applause by their skill; the older dancers also; the singing of Maire McMahon and P. McInerney was warmly appreciated.

Delia Larkin herself scored a dramatic triumph in her irresistible representation of Mrs. Grogan, the miserly old woman in William Boyle's grimly satirical comedy, *The Building Fund*. She was excellently supported by Seamus Smith, Kathleen and Terence O'Moore, and Tim Whelan—all giving evidence of true dramatic skill in the naturalness of their playing. It was an Irish comedy in reality. Miss Cicely Hamilton made a moving appeal by her description of the conditions of women's labour in Dublin. The company is to give performances in various parts of London and the neighbourhood, particulars of which may be obtained from Miss V. Tillard, care of Women's International Suffrage Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

WOMAN IN FICTION.

At our last discussion meeting at Headquarters Mrs. Tanner delighted her audience with her review of *Women in Fiction* from Goldsmith to Sarah Grand. It was a fine survey of the evolution of the modern woman who stands for self-realisation. Jane Austin, Thackeray, Dickens, Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, Meredith, Laurence Housman and Grant Allen were some of the authors quoted, and the types of heroines they portrayed were graphically described. Meredith was declared to be "The Apostle of Womanhood," making his women work out their own lives and rejecting the slave woman as the type of true womanliness. It is to be hoped that others will have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Tanner's interesting and discussion-provoking lecture and another one on women in modern fiction. Mrs. Kineton Parkes presided and made an interesting speech on the development of the modern woman in fiction and real life, laying stress on the importance of the suffrage movement in that development.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

The first class was held on May 7. The attendance was very satisfactory. Most of the pupils showed great promise. Many suffragists have the gift of convincing appeal and only need a little practice to gain confidence. Will everybody make an effort to attend these classes? No obligation to speak in public will be incurred, but those who avail themselves of this opportunity will find great help in the clear expression of their thoughts.
P. LEAHY.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF A FOUR-FOOTED HELPER.—All who took part in or watched the historic picketing of the House of Commons by the Women's Freedom League five years ago, will remember how Mrs. de Vismes' splendid Borzoi, "Lady Wanda," was always at her post at the entrance to St. Stephen's Hall. The dog attracted great attention and played an important part in the memorable protest. Lady Wanda met with a serious accident on May 5, and had to be put out of pain immediately. All who knew her will sympathise with our fellow-member and helper, Mrs. de Vismes, in the loss of the pet which rendered such good service to the suffrage cause.



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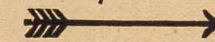
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BRANCH NOTES.

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

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

Will all poster paraders meet at the office on Friday, May 22, at 11.15 a.m. for poster parade at 11.30 a.m.? Members are asked to attend the open-air meetings, whenever possible; they start on Friday, May 15, at 7.45 p.m., at the top of Morland-road, and will be continued on Friday evenings at the same pitch. Members who were not present at our meeting on May 8 will be glad to know that Mrs. E. M. Moore's most interesting address on "Woman and Freedom" will be published in full in THE VOTE. All were grateful to Mrs. Moore for giving the address before she had recovered from a very severe cold. Miss L. Denham acted as hostess.

We want to fill the lecture-room at the Public Hall on May 22. Will all members make known that Mrs. M. W. Nevinson will be the speaker on that afternoon? Goods wanted for jumble sale.

Clapham.

A good open-air meeting was held at the corner of St. Luke's-road last Monday evening, the speakers being Mrs. Juson Kerr and Miss Winifred St. Clair. The chair was taken by Miss F. A. Underwood. The crowd was immensely interested in Mrs. Juson Kerr's description of Suffrage work in the North of England, and in Miss St. Clair's account of the influence of the women's vote in Australia and New Zealand. All readers living in the South of London are cordially invited to our indoor meeting next Monday evening at the Lower Hall, High-street, Clapham, when the speakers will be Mrs. Tanner and Mrs. Mustard.

Hackney.

The Hackney Branch will hold a Drawing-room meeting by courtesy of Mrs. Williams, 218, Evering-road, on Thursday, May 21. Mrs. Cobden Sanderson will be the speaker at 3.30 p.m. As this is the first effort of the Branch towards the "Birthday Fund," all members are asked to come and bring friends.

Kensington.

At our opening meeting in Hyde Park Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mrs. Merivale Mayer soon drew a large and sympathetic crowd, the resolution in favour of Women Suffrage being carried by a large majority. The second meeting was addressed by Mrs. Juson Kerr and Mrs. Merivale Mayer. A crowd of two thousand listened attentively for two hours in spite of inclement weather. At the mention of Mrs. Despard's name loud cheers were given by the audience. A comprehensive account of the betrayal of the Suffragists by the Government was given. Next Sunday Mrs. Juson Kerr and Mrs. Merivale Mayer will again address the meeting at 6 p.m. Meetings in N. Kensington commenced on Monday. Miss Rushbrooke was much appreciated. We found an unexpected champion in the gathering, a hospital cleaner,

who worked for 2½ an hour. We should be glad to hear of members or friends able to chair at these meetings.

Tottenham and Stamford Hill.

The Jumble Sale advertised for April 25 had to be postponed, owing to the fact that so many members and friends who have promised us contributions did not send them to us in time. Our hon. organiser for the sale, Mrs. Harbord, who is so kindly giving house-room to all the goods already to hand, will be most grateful to all members who have goods for us if they will send them to her at 91, Mount Pleasant-road, Tottenham, by Monday, May 18, at the latest, so that we may hold our sale on the following Saturday if possible.

Will all members please note that our next Branch meeting will be held at the above address on Monday, May 18, when we hope to arrange for the sale and put everything in order for our summer open-air and Vote selling campaign?

Tufnell Park.

A social evening will be held on Friday, June 5, at 8 p.m., at Spencer Hall, Dartmouth-park-hill. Tickets, 6d., music and cards. Further details later.

PROVINCES.—Aintree.

Miss Andrews addressed a meeting of the Co-operative Women's Guild on April 27, and so impressed her audience that ten new members were enrolled. At the monthly meeting of the Aintree Branch, Mrs. McGuffie presided, and a paper was read by Miss Firth, who showed how the vital forces of the present day were furthering the fuller development of mankind, the chief of these forces being the Woman's Movement. The paper was very much enjoyed, and Miss Firth had the satisfaction of having evoked a hearty discussion.

Burnage.

At an interesting meeting on May 3, held at the house of Mrs. Macpherson, Miss Andrews gave an account of the various reforms which have been brought about in prison by Suffragist prisoners; she also spoke interest in the Bill at present before Parliament dealing with the administration of criminal justice. Our interest in the Suffrage movement has in no way abated, although we are suffering from the temporary withdrawal of our secretary, Mrs. Brickhill.

Ipswich.

We had the excitement of Mrs. Lane's tax-resistance at Woodbridge this week, and on May 7 we gave our members an account of it. We also discussed bye-election prospects and plans. We hope any one interested in the Suffrage staying in Ipswich will come to the shop and offer their help. There will be work for all; the earlier we know how many will help, the easier it will be. All assistance will be very welcome. Each of the big societies will be represented, and we must keep the Freedom League flag to the front. Our Shop is attracting many enquirers, but we are badly in want of jams, pickles, eggs, and other things for sale. Will all members rally round and make a very special effort to help during the next fortnight?

Manchester.

On May 6 a drawing-room meeting was held at Didsbury, by kind invitation of Mrs. Cressy, who has for a long time been sowing the seeds of Suffrage in her neighbourhood. Miss Fildes presided, and made a very effective opening to a pleasant afternoon. Miss Andrews spoke on the necessity of women rousing themselves to take part in the Suffrage work. A discussion revealed the fact that much interest has been aroused, and it is hoped Didsbury will come along to swell the ranks of the Women's Freedom League.

Middlesbrough.

There was a very large gathering on May 4 at Hinton's Café to celebrate the birthday of our Branch president, Mrs. Schofield Coates. Miss Winifred Jones presided, and Mrs. Schofield Coates gave a short address in which she reminded those present that though on this occasion they had met for pleasure, the League existed for serious work, and urged those who had not already joined to give in their names. Miss L. Mahony expressed the congratulations of the members to Mrs. Schofield Coates on her birthday, and their appreciation of all the good work she had done for the Women's Freedom League.

The rest of the evening was given to the delightful musical and dramatic programme arranged by Madame Richardson. A sketch entitled, "A Domestic Jewel," was very amusing, and was given by Madame Richardson and Miss Edith Davies. Miss E. Harrison and Miss E. Calvert charmed the audience with their fine singing, and received very enthusiastic encores. They were accompanied by Miss Frances Richardson, our talented young member, who gave great pleasure by her artistic violin playing. Miss Darnborough accompanied her on the piano with great success.

A birthday cake, on which were the words, "Many Happy Returns from the W.F.L.," made by Mrs. Mahony, was presented by the League to Mrs. Schofield Coates, and shared by all present. The party ended with the singing of the "Women's Marseillaise."

Will members please note that there will be no Branch meeting on Monday, May 18, as they are asked to attend a meeting of the Workers' Educational Club, to be held in the Settlement Hall, Church-street, and to take part in a discussion on "Women in Industry"?

Portsmouth and Gosport.

Our meeting on the Town Hall Square on May 7 was held under very difficult conditions owing to a number of young hooligans. Miss Trott took the chair, and Mrs. Whetton was the speaker. On Friday, May 15, Mrs. Rothwell, of Southampton, will be the speaker at an afternoon and evening meeting. Afternoon, at the Castle Tea Rooms, Great Southsea-street, at 3 o'clock, by kind invitation of Mrs. Madderly. Evening, Town Hall-square, 7.45 p.m.

SCOTLAND.—Dundee.

The annual business meeting was held on May 7, Miss Husband presiding. Very satisfactory reports were given by Mrs. Mitchell and Miss H. Wilkie, hon. secretary and hon. treasurer respectively. These two ladies were unanimously reappointed for the ensuing year, Miss Husband remaining president. Miss Broughton, who was also present, gave a very interesting account of her work in Dundee and district, and the different meetings she had held. It was agreed to send £5 from the Branch towards the Birthday Fund. Members are looking forward with pleasure to the visit of Miss C. Nina Boyle and Miss E. Murray next week.

During the past week many mills have been visited, at which good

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dinner-hour meetings were held. On Monday evening, at the High School, a successful open-air meeting was held, presided over by Miss Barrs. The following evening another excellent meeting was held at Hilltown. Miss Clumas took the chair; at both these meetings the speaker was Miss Broughton. Two meetings had to be abandoned owing to the bad weather, but the campaign has created great interest in the town; new members have joined, and others are likely to follow.

Dunfermline.

At a Branch meeting of members held at 2, Kirkgate, on May 7, it was agreed to send the following resolution to the Town Clerk of Dunfermline, to be submitted to the next Town Council meeting: "That the Provost, Magistrates and members of the Town Council of Dunfermline be asked to petition the Prime Minister to introduce without further delay, a Government measure granting the Parliamentary Franchise to women, as it is or may be granted to men." We await the decision of the Council. The meeting also empowered the hon. secretary to send a letter to the House of Lords protesting against their action in rejecting by a majority of forty-four votes Lord Selborne's Woman Suffrage Bill. Will members please note that Miss A. B. Jack will address an open-air meeting at the top of New-rose on Tuesday, May 19, at 7.30 p.m.; also public meeting to be addressed by Miss C. N. Boyle on Friday, May 22, in Masonic Hall, at 8 p.m.?

Edinburgh.—Suffrage Shop: 90, Lothian-road.

There was a splendid attendance of members and friends at our first summer "At Home," when Miss Sara Munro presided and the speaker was Dr. Aimée Gibbs. Taking as her subject "Woman's Place in the Home and in the State," Dr. Gibbs answered the "Anti" argument that woman's only place is the home by showing that there, just as in the State, woman has really no recognised position. Despite the honour supposed to be paid to motherhood, the mother has no legal rights in her children: she is only entitled to maintenance by her husband, and (in England) has no claim on his property after his death. Many actual instances illustrating the position of woman were given, all pointing the same moral: let women be recognised as citizens, and the righting of other wrongs will follow. Dr. Gibbs was heartily thanked for her address. Miss Jack spoke of the work in hand for the immediate future, and called upon all members to co-operate in making Miss Boyle's visit a success. Miss Munro and the Misses McLaren are kindly arranging drawing-room meetings. Miss Eunice Murray will speak with Miss Boyle at the Oddfellows' Hall on May 20, when the chair will be taken by the Rev. James Black. Tickets, 1s., 6d., and 3d., may be had at the shop or from the ticket secretary, Miss Belle Marchbank, 41, Grange Loan. Mrs. Crabbe will be glad to have as many helpers as can possibly come to the Jumble Sale in Arthur-street Hall on Saturday (16th). Experience shows that the best results are got when there are plenty of sellers as well as buyers.

Glasgow.—Suffrage Shop: 70, St. George's-road.

A very successful Jumble Sale was held on May 2. Misses Sorymgeour and Misses Stewart were in charge of the arrangements and over £23 was taken. The expenses are very small, so that there should be a profit of about £20. Miss Boyle has been with us for a week, and open-air meetings have been held almost every day in addition to the

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indoor meeting on May 4. The Council met on May 7 at 6.30 p.m. to discuss business, and at 8 p.m. the monthly Branch meeting was held in the shop. Miss Normanton, one of the delegates to the annual Conference, gave an interesting account of its proceedings there. Miss Boyle also spoke and outlined some schemes to be carried out in the near future. It was decided to have a self-denial week during the first week in June in order to raise money for the President's Birthday Fund. On May 9, Miss Findlay's sale of work took place. It was opened at 3 o'clock by Miss Nina Boyle. A sum of over £15 was raised. Miss Findlay has worked very hard to make this sale a success and we congratulate her on the result.

Paisley.

On May 9 we had two excellent outdoor meetings. In the afternoon Miss Eunice Murray spoke for nearly two hours to a large and enthusiastic audience. At night Miss Nina Boyle held an enormous crowd spell-bound. At both meetings the crowds were entirely sympathetic, and frequently evinced their approval of the speeches. THE VOTE was sold out, and the literature found a ready market, besides which a good collection was taken.

At the last Branch meeting of the season, on April 30, in Central Halls, there was a record attendance of members and friends. Mr. John Martin was an excellent chairman; Mr. James Ingram gave an interesting paper on the Suffrage movement; Mrs. Bell gave amusing incidents of her canvassing for the woman member for the school board; Misses Isa Bell and L. Dracup recited.

Perth.

Under the auspices of the Scottish Council of the Women's Freedom League a fortnight's campaign commenced in Perth on Saturday afternoon, May 9, when a magnificent open-air meeting was held in St. Paul's-square. A very large and sympathetic crowd soon gathered round the League's platform, and remained solid for nearly two hours listening to the speaker, Miss Ada Broughton, who won the admiration of her audience by the able manner in which she answered her many hecklers. The meeting was presided over by Miss Barrs; Miss Davidson and Miss Lowden assisted her in selling THE VOTE and other literature, all being in great demand; one gentleman, who began by refusing to buy a paper, ended by buying more than a shilling's-worth of literature. During the week a series of midday and evening meetings will be held in and around Perth, and the organisers hope members and sympathisers will do their utmost to help in this campaign. They are earnestly requested to make the public meeting in the Guildhall on May 19, when Miss Nina Boyle and Miss Eunice Murray are to be the speakers, a distinct success. Helpers are needed for distribution of bills, selling THE VOTE and other literature.

Too Good to Miss.—Miss Alix M. Clark, 11, Severn-street, Newtown, Montgomery Boroughs, has begun again to make the famous mayonnaise sauce, the sale of which last year added substantially to the Birthday Fund for our President. This year Miss Clark hopes to realise £15 from its sale. Will members send orders to her direct, enclosing postal order 1s. for 9d. jar, post free?

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L. LONDON AND SUBURBS.



DARE TO BE FREE.

Fri., May 15.—CROYDON, Morland-road. Open-air Meeting, 7.45 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss E. St. Clair.
Sat., May 16.—CLAPHAM, PosterParade, 3.30.
Sun., May 17.—REGENT'S PARK, noon. Mrs. Nevinson and Mrs. Hyde, HYDE PARK (near Marble Arch), 6 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Merivale Mayer.
Mon., May 18.—1, ROBERT-STREET, Adelphi. Discussion Meeting, 8 p.m. Miss Olive Ash-down: "Madam Curie." Admission free. LOWER HALL, High-street, Clapham. Public Meeting, 8 p.m. *Speakers:* Mrs. Mustard, Mrs. Tanner. *Chairman:* Mrs. Hull. KENSINGTON, corner Portobello-road and Blenheim-crescent, 8 p.m. Miss Rushbrooke.
Tues., May 19.—HERNE HILL, Stradella-road, Half Moon-lane, 8 p.m. Open-air Meeting.
Wed., May 20.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30. Rev. W. Piggott. *Subject:* "Woman's Work as Citizen." *Chair:* Dr. Helen Bourchier.
Thurs., May 21.—HIGHBURY CORNER, 8 p.m. HACKNEY, 218, Evering-road, Drawing-room Meeting, 3.30 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Cobden Sanderson. W.F.L. OFFICE, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C. Speakers' Class, 7 p.m.
Fri., May 22.—CROYDON, Poster Parade, 11.30 a.m. Lecture Room, Public Hall, Wellesley-road. Public Meeting, 3.30 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Nevinson. *Chair:* Mrs. Baillie, B.Sc. *Hostess:* Mrs. Ridley. Morland-road, Open-air Meeting, 7.45 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. K. Tanner.
Sun., May 24.—REGENT'S PARK, noon. Miss Anna Munro. HYDE PARK (near Marble Arch), 6 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Merivale Mayer.
Mon., May 25.—Caxton Hall, 8 p.m. Lecture by W. L. George, Esq., on "Feminism and Passion." *Chair:* Miss A. A. Smith. Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s. and 6d., from W.F.L. Office. KENSINGTON, corner Portobello-rd. and Blenheim-crescent, 8 p.m. Miss Beatrice Kent.
Thurs., May 28.—HIGHBURY CORNER, 8 p.m. Mrs. Tanner.
Sun., May 31.—REGENT'S PARK, noon.
Thurs., June 4.—HIGHBURY CORNER, 8 p.m. Mrs. Mustard.
Fri., June 5.—SPENCER HALL, Dartmouth-park-hill, Social Evening arranged by Tufnell-park Branch, 8 p.m. Music and cards. Tickets 6d.

PROVINCES.

Fri., May 15.—Southsea, Castle Tea Rooms. Afternoon Meeting 3 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Leigh Rothwell. Town Hall-square, Open-air Meeting, 7.45 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. Leigh Rothwell.
Sat., May 16.—Manchester, Longsight, L.L.P. Rooms, Jumble Sale.
Mon., May 18.—Reading, Lodge Room, Palmer Hall, Faith Tea, 5.30 p.m. Readings from "The Doll's House," Miss Ruth Hinder and friends, songs, &c. Sale. "Thornlea," Drawing-room Meeting, 3 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Fildes. Burnage. Branch Meeting.
Mon., May 18.—Middlesbrough.—Open Night.
Wed., May 20.—Liverpool, Walton, Open-air Meeting. Miss Andrews.
Thurs., May 21.—Liverpool, Walton, Open-air Meeting. Miss Andrews.
Sat., May 23.—Middlesbrough. Jumble Sale.
Tues., May 26.—Northam, Nicholls Hall, Northumberland-road, Jumble Sale, 6.30 p.m.
Miss Boyle's Week in East of Scotland.
Sun., May 17.—Leith, Links, 3 p.m.
Mon., May 18.—Dundee, Lamb's Hotel, "At Home," 8 p.m. Miss Eunice Murray. Admission 1s.
Tues., May 19.—Perth, Guildhall, Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Miss Eunice Murray.
Wed., May 20.—Edinburgh, 37, Murrayfield-gardens, Drawing-room Meeting, by kind invitation of Mrs. Gibbs, 3 p.m. Oddfellows' Hall, Forrest-road, Public Meeting, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Eunice Murray. *Chair:* Rev. James Black (Broughton-place U.F. Church). Tickets, 1s., 6d. and 3d.
Thurs., May 21.—Edinburgh, 28, Gayfield-square, Drawing-room Meeting, by kind invitation of Miss McLaren, 6 p.m. Leith, Kin- naird's Hall, 8 p.m.
Fri., May 22.—Dunfermline, Masonic Hall, Public Meeting, 8 p.m.

SCOTLAND.

Fri., May 15.—Perth, King Edward-street, Open-air Meeting, 8 p.m. *Speakers:* Miss Nina Boyle and Miss Eunice Murray.
Sat., May 16.—Rothsay, Open-air Meeting. Miss Boyle and Miss Murray. Edinburgh, Arthur-street Hall, Pleasance, Jumble Sale, 3 p.m. Perth, St. Paul's-square, Open-air Meeting, 3 p.m.
Tues., May 19.—Dunfermline, New Row, Open-air Meeting, 7.30 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss A. B. Jack.
Thurs., May 21.—Cowdenbeach, Co-operative Hall, Public Meeting, 7.30 p.m. *Speaker:* M. Wilson-Paul, M.A. *Chair:* Mrs. E. Watson.
Sat., May 30.—Edinburgh, 90, Lothian-road, Summer Sale, 2.30 p.m.

PIONEER PLAYERS.

The Pioneer Players gave a performance of *The Patience of the Sea*, by Conal O'Riordain (Noneys Connell), last Sunday evening at the Ambassadors' Theatre. If comedy may be described as "an inverted or perverted tragedy," then the official description, "A Comedy in Three Acts," of *The Patience of the Sea* may stand. There were a good many elements of tragedy in it—a self-styled philosopher, who considered himself a Socialist, a Stoic, and a generation or two ahead of his times, because he held "advanced" views on marriage and other social institutions, and had deluded himself into believing that his latest book would influence humanity to the end of time; a younger man, his secretary, who had been at Oxford, read the Fabian essays, and was ready to worship blindly any man or woman who fascinated his intellect or his

emotions; and Eva, a woman, "not very young," but charming, perverse, passionate and incomprehensible, who loved the former but had wedded the latter. After refusing to take part in an impromptu duel with the husband, the Socialist went out to drown himself, and his precious book was thrown after him. But in his youth he had learnt to swim, and couldn't forget it. The consequence was that after a dramatic scene between the wife and husband, just when the latter was on the point of blowing out his brains, the elder man, fresh from his contest with the sea, appeared carrying the manuscript which he had managed to rescue; and before he fell exhausted by his efforts but cared for by Eva, he sent his secretary off for a year's holiday! The effect was too much of an anti-climax for real comedy. Harcourt Williams as the middle-aged Socialist and man of letters was admirable; Basil Hallam, as his secretary, performed a trying post very creditably; and Gertrude Kingston was delightful as Eva. One grumble: these performances would be so much more pleasurable if the intervals between the different acts were not so prolonged. F. A. U.

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OTHER SOCIETIES.

The Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.

The Society attended a special service, and prayed for the Suffrage Cause on Sunday last at the Westminster Cathedral. The Lady Chapel was reserved, and Mass was said by Monsignor Howlett. At the conclusion of the service the members went in silent procession to the Shrine of Blessed Joan or Arc. A beautiful laurel-wreath tied with ribbons in the colours of the Society was placed on the shrine by Miss O'Sullivan.

The procession was led by Mrs. Alice Maynell, and amongst those who attended were Miss Abadam, Miss Gadsby, Miss Kathleen Fitzgerald, Lady Loughton, Miss de Alberti, Mrs. Christitch, Mrs. Springett, Miss St. John, Miss Quinlan, and the members of the Committee.

Women's Tax Resistance League.

The League held a meeting on May 5 at the Suffrage Club, at which Mrs. Steel, who has just returned from America, told the story of her absurd detention on Ellis Island. She also related how last year the MSS. of the first chapter of "On the Face of the Waters," was sold by public auction under duress for King's taxes, and that this year she intends to hand Chapter II. to the collector. Dr. Stanton Coit presided, and made a fine defence of the ethics of Tax Resistance, saying that he had been threatened with imprisonment for refusing to pay his wife's taxes.

On May 7 Miss Anstey, Principal of the Anstey Physical Training College, Birmingham, had two pianos seized for refusal to pay Imperial taxes. A protest meeting was held in the Gymnasium, presided over by Miss Anstey and addressed by Mrs. Kineton Parkes and Miss Margesson. On May 8 Mrs. Monck Mason, of Chelsea, had antique jewels sold at Battersea for Tax Resistance. Through the courtesy of the auctioneer, Mrs. Kineton Parkes was allowed to occupy his rostrum for a quarter of an hour. An open-air meeting followed, at which Mrs. Jason Kerr and Miss Underwood addressed the crowd. At a protest meeting outside the Dulwich Library on May 9, owing to the refusal of Miss A. E. Metcalfe, the hon. treasurer of the League, to pay her dog-tax and the fines subsequently imposed, Miss Metcalfe, in a most humorous speech, explained how she had been able to cause a great deal of trouble to fourteen Government officials over the small sum of 7s. 6d., owing to a disputed point of law. Mrs. Kineton Parkes also spoke.

FORTHCOMING SALES.

Friday, May 15.—Miss Alice Davies' sale, at Harding's Auction Rooms, 44, Wilton-road, Victoria Station, 6.30 p.m. *Speakers:* Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Kineton Parkes.

Monday, May 18.—Mrs. Thompson Price, Mrs. Hicks, Dr. Adeline Roberts, Mrs. Hartley, Mrs. Milligan, the Misses Collier, the Misses Davies Thompson, and Mrs. How Martyn, will have goods at Matthews' Auction Rooms, Swiss Cottage, 11 a.m. *Chair:* Mrs. Thompson Price. *Speakers:* Mrs. Kineton Parkes, Rev. Charles Wills.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.

The Northern Men's Federation held a large meeting in the East Meadows, Edinburgh, on Sunday, May 3, presided over by Mr. J. Wilson McLaren. Baillie Alston, Glasgow, said the Glasgow Town Council was by no means half-hearted on the question of Women's Suffrage. In the year 1892, their council had taken up such a firm stand on the question of getting votes for men that the members were in danger of being put into prison, and now in 1914 they were equally strong in favour of getting votes for women. He held that the present Government, by opposing the perfectly just claim of the women, was greatly to blame for militancy. There were 100,000 women in the federated Suffrage societies working on perfectly constitutional lines. Why, he asked, did they get the attention paid to them, which they merited? He appealed to the men in the audience to show at the General Election their determination to see this act of justice carried through. Mr. Trainer, referring to social conditions, condemned in strong terms the unequal moral standard existing at present between the sexes. It was natural that men who traded upon women, and men who sweated and underpaid, should be bitterly opposed to granting votes to women. Ex-Baillie Gordon protested against the attitude of the majority of men in standing idly by, refusing to help women in their great struggle for justice. He maintained that women after the experiences they had come through would not be hide-bound by party in the same way as men. A resolution in favour of extending the franchise to women was carried unanimously.

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The Religious Leagues united in a most successful and enthusiastic meeting at the Conservatoire, Swiss Cottage, Hampstead, on May 12. The use of the Town Hall was refused for the meeting, and a strong protest to the Mayor was extensively signed. Mr. Cecil Chapman presided, and the speakers were Mrs. George Morgan, Mrs. Percy Bignold, Miss Abadam, Rabbi Mattuck, the Rev. Percy Dearmer.

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